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A
COMMENTARY .
ON THE
HOLY SCRIPTURES:

CRITICAL, DOCTRINAL, AND HOMILETICAL,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINISTERS AND STUDENTS.

BY
JOHN PETER LANGE, D. D.
IN CONNECTION WITH A NUMBER OF EMINENT EUROPEAN DIVINES.

TRANSLATED, ENLARGED, AND EDITED

BY
PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D.
IN CONNECTION WITH AMERICAN SCHOLARS OF VARIOUS EVANGELICAL DENOMINATIONS.

VOLUME IV. OF THE OLD TESTAMENT: CONTAINING JOSHUA, JUDGES,
AND RUTH.

NEW YORK:
CHARLES SCRIBNER & CO., 654 BROADWAY.
1872.

THE

BOOK OF JOSHUA.

BY

F. R. FAY,

PASTOR IN CREFELD, PRUSSIA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, WITH ADDITIONS,

BY

GEORGE R. BLISS, D. D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEWISBURG, LEWISBURG, PENN.

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PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA relates the history of the conquest of Canaan under the lead of Joshua, the successor of Moses, the division of the conquered land among the tribes of Israel, and the provision for the settlement of the theocracy in that country. The Book of JUDGES continues the history of the theocracy from the death of Joshua to the time of Eli, under the administration of thirteen Judges, whom God raised up in special emergencies for the restoration of social order and deliverance from foreign oppression. It covers the transition period of about three hundred years from the theocratic republic to the theocratic monarchy. The Book of RUTH is a charming episode of domestic virtue and happiness, in striking contrast with the prevailing character of this period, when might was right, and "every one did that which was right in his own eyes." It teaches the sure reward of filial devotion and trust in God, the proper use of the calamities of life, the overruling providence of God in the private affairs of an humble family as well as in the palaces of princes and the public events of nations. It also shows how God had children outside of Canaan and the Jewish theocracy. The incorporation of Ruth, the Moabitess, into the Church of the Old Testament, may be regarded as an intimation of the future call of the Gentiles to the gospel salvation. The story of Ruth is told with touching simplicity. Göthe (*Westöstlicher Dican*, p. 8) says: "It is the loveliest thing, in the shape of an epic or idyl, which has come to us." Humboldt (*Kosmos*, ii. 46, Germ. ed.) calls it "a most artless and inexpressibly charming picture of nature."

These three books are here brought together in one volume.

The Commentary on JOSHUA was prepared in German, 1870, by the Rev. F. R. FAY (Dr. Lange's son-in-law), Pastor in Crefeld, Prussia, and in English by the Rev. GEORGE R. BLISS, D. D., Professor in Lewisburg University, Pennsylvania. Dr. Bliss writes: "My own impression concerning the author (Mr. Fay), derived from a close and protracted familiarity with his book, is highly favorable to his learning, his piety, his Christian catholicity and amiableness of spirit." He has made a careful use of the most recent helps even in the English language touching the questions of geography and topography of the holy land, which occupy a very prominent position in a Commentary on Joshua. The Textual and Grammatical Notes are added by the American translator, who has also materially enriched the other departments, in accordance with the general plan of the American edition.

The Commentary on JUDGES and RUTH is by Professor PAULUS CASSEL, of Berlin, and appeared several years earlier (1865). The English edition was prepared by the Rev. P. H. STEENSTRA, Professor in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School at Cambridge, Mass.

Professor Cassel is a converted Rabbi, one of the best Talmudic scholars of Germany, a man of genius and ardent Christian spirit. His commentary is very original, fresh, suggestive, abounding in historical examples and parallels, but sometimes very fanciful, especially in his philological efforts. Here the translator has very properly expressed his dissent from many of his views. Professor Steenstra has paid special attention to the textual department, and supplemented his author where he takes too much for granted. The grammatical notes on the Book of Ruth are quite full, because it is often read by students of Hebrew in Seminaries, owing to its simplicity and literary merit.

I conclude these introductory remarks with the closing sentences of Professor Cassel's Preface:—

"It will not be considered my greatest fault that, as far as possible, I have avoided polemics, and have contented myself with positive exposition of the meaning as I understood it. I cannot help feeling that in many expositions there is less eagerness to explain the sacred

text than to give battle to the views of other writers. The same principle has guided me in the Introduction, which on that account I could confine to brief outlines. A departure from this principle was deemed necessary in only a few passages.

“What shall I say more! Scripture says everywhere *Tolle, lege!* and such especially is the language of the Book of Judges and of Judgment now before us.

“Verily, the sacred canon here presents us with a book of history and historical art, such as our generation, prolific in writings on history, but nevertheless poor in historical feeling and perception, stands in pressing need of. *Sic inveniatur, sic aperiatur!*”

PHILIP SCHAFF.

BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK, *October*, 1871.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Name of the Book. Place in the Canon. Contents and Character in general.*

NAMED not from its author but from the distinguished hero whose history it relates, the Book of Joshua stands first in the canonical list of נְבִיאִים רְאוּשׁוֹנִים, the *prophete priores*, of the Old Testament. To these belong also the Book of Judges (שׁוֹרְטִים), the two Books of Samuel (שְׂפָתַיִל), and the two Books of Kings (מְלָכִים). These writings are collectively so designated, primarily because, according to old Jewish tradition, they were composed by prophets, and in the second place, also, doubtless because they dwell largely, the Books of Samuel and of the Kings in particular, on the deeds of certain prophets. Still, both these reasons together do not of themselves explain the name. The Masorettes, rather, from whom all these designations and titles are derived, certainly had a feeling that the same spirit which swept through the prophets, strictly such, the נְבִיאִים אַחֲרֵינִים, and their writings, was traceable in these historical books also; that, accordingly, the history of the people of God had been written in this spirit, not as a profane but a sacred history. The guidance of that people by Jehovah, the God of Israel, as he is called in this book (xxiv. 2, 23), their relation and that of their leaders to their God, their fidelity or unfaithfulness, their conformity to his commandments or transgression of them, their worship of Jehovah or apostasy to idol-worship, are the proper themes of this holy historiography. These books of the first or prior prophets are not merely historical books, but, as De Wette in his Introduction to the O. T. has aptly styled them, *theocratico-historical* books, pervaded and filled with the same spirit of profound piety, noble moral courage, and holy reverence for the commands of Jehovah, which breathes through the "theocratically-inspired books" of the prophets properly so-called.¹

This character shows also in the *Book of Joshua*, which, as on the one hand it introduces the נְבִיאִים רְאוּשׁוֹנִים, נְבִיאִים אַחֲרֵינִים, the Pentateuch. While in former times, under the supposition that "the law" constituted an absolute literary whole, scarcely any attention was given to the all-pervading relationship between the Book of Joshua and

¹ [We append to this the following interesting remarks of Kell, on the prophetic character of the historical books.

"These books thus present no general history of the nation of Israel in its merely political and civil development, but the history of the people of God, that is of Israel, in its theocratic development as the covenant people and bearer of the salvation which from the seed of Abraham was to be revealed, in the fullness of time, to all peoples. Their authors have accordingly selected and delivered through prophetic illumination, out of the rich and various multiplicity of family, tribe and national history furnished by written and oral tradition, only those facts and occurrences, which were of moment toward the history of the kingdom of God. These were, besides the revelations of God in word and deed, and besides his wonderful works and the prophetic attestations of the divine counsel and will, above all, the moments in the life, the action or inaction of the people which had operated to further or obstruct the progress of the divine commonwealth. Whatever did not stand in intimate connection with this higher aim and peculiar calling of Israel is, generally speaking, entirely omitted, or at most only so far touched upon as it served to make clear the position of the entire people or of its leaders and governors toward the Lord and his kingdom. Hence we readily understand the apparent inequality in the treatment of the history, that here and there long periods are characterized only by some general remarks, while the fortunes and acts of certain persons are portrayed with almost biographical completeness; that the natural causes of the events and the subjective motives which determined the conduct of the historical personages, remain for the most part unnamed, or are only incidentally and briefly intimated. The divine agency and influence therein are meanwhile constantly made prominent and, so far as they were manifested in extraordinary ways, carefully and circumstantially related. . . . The prophetic character, however, by which these historical works are distinguished from the other sacred historical writings of the Israelites, consists in this: that they describe the theocratic history not from the point of view of the individual author, but in its actual course answering to the progressive unfolding of the divine plan, as could be done only by prophets to whom the spirit of the Lord had disclosed the vision of God's economy of salvation." — *Bib. Commentar über d. A. T. II. Theil*, 1 Bd. p. x. f. — Ta.]

the Pentateuch, modern criticism has the unquestionable merit, both of recognizing this position of our book in the O. T. Canon, and of instituting profound and highly instructive investigations concerning it. These Knobel, in particular, has in part thoroughly explained, and in part independently carried still further, in his *Criticism of the Pentateuch and Joshua* (*Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, xiii. pp. 489-606). The results of the investigations concerning the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua may be found in shorter compass in Bleek's *Introduction to the O. T.* [translated into English by Venables, Lond. 1869], §§ 137, 138, where they are summed up as the issue of minute and conscientious researches in §§ 59-136. Indeed, so many and so various are the points of mutual approach between Joshua and the Pentateuch, in respect both to language and to facts, as obviously to raise the suspicion that the two together originally formed one great work, from which our book was, only at a later period, perhaps in the time of Ezra (Bleek, § 140), separated. To set one's self against this discovery because the "neological" or "modern" criticism has first brought it to light, is unworthy of believing Scriptural research.

In the closest connection with the last verse of Deuteronomy (xxxiv. 5-12), our book relates first, how Jehovah commanded Joshua to arise and cross over the Jordan to take possession of the land which He had given to the children of Israel; and then declares further how Joshua communicated this order to the leaders of the people, and at the same time required of the two and a half tribes of the Reubenites, Gadites, and half of Manasseh, who had already received of Moses (Deut. xxxii.; Josh. xiii.) their possession on the east side of the Jordan, that they should, according to the conditions fixed by Moses (Deut. xxxii. 20), take part in the coming conquest of the land (ch. i.). Next follows the account of the mission of the spies to Jericho, their reception by Rahab, their danger, deliverance, and flight (ch. ii). After the return of the messengers the people pass over the Jordan, not without experiencing a proof of the divine assistance in that the passage of the river was accomplished dryshod, although the stream at that season, in the days of harvest, was unusually swollen with the water (chaps. iii., iv.). In the fifth chapter we are informed of the circumcision at Gilgal and of the first passover-festival on the soil of Canaan, with which closes the First Section of the First Part of the book. The preparation for the holy war, of which the author furnishes us a report in that Part, is now finished. And Joshua himself, the leader of the people, has been strengthened and encouraged by a special manifestation from above (ch. v.).

Now begins the narrative of the struggles between Israel and the Canaanites (vi. 1-xi. 23). In a flowing and vivid relation the author depicts, successively, the capture of Jericho, whose walls fall at the sound of the trumpets, the destruction of the city, the rescue of Rahab, the imprecation on the foundation and site (ch. vi.); then Achan's crime, the unfortunate expedition to Ai, Joshua's humble supplication before Jehovah, the discovery and punishment of the criminal (ch. vii.). Upon this follows the truly brilliant description, characterized by the greatest vividness of representation, of the conquest and destruction of Ai (ch. viii. 1-29). After this, however, the course of the hitherto well-ordered narrative of martial exploits, is interrupted by an account (ch. viii. 30-35) of the altar of blessing and curse on Mount Ebal, which appears, as we will show hereafter, to belong properly not to this place but rather after ch. xi. 23. For the conquest of the land is not yet finished; we hear, on the contrary (ch. ix. 1, 2), that five Canaanitish *kings* unite themselves in a formal league against the triumphantly invading Israelites. The *burghers* of Gibeon, having heard what Joshua has done to Jericho and Ai, take another course, that of cunning and stratagem, and completely attain their end. Supposing from their old garments, their ruptured wine-skins, their tattered shoes, and their musty bread, that they had come from a distant land, Joshua, without inquiring of Jehovah (ch. ix. 14), concludes a treaty with them by which their preservation is assured. The deception is afterwards discovered, but the promise nevertheless maintained, because it had been confirmed (ch. ix. 15) by a solemn oath which the princes of Israel felt themselves bound in conscience to keep. The Gibeonites are not destroyed, but as a punishment for their falsehood they are made wood-choppers and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of Jehovah (ch. ix. 3-27).

But now the wrath of Adoni-zedek and his allies turns against the inhabitants of Gibeon, as apostates from the common cause who must be punished for their treachery (ch. x. 1-5). In this strait the latter appeal to Joshua for help, which is promptly and heartily afforded. Specially cheered by Jehovah he advances, smites the five kings in the great battle of Gibeon,

poetically celebrated (ch. x. 12, 13) by an after-age, pursues them with their hosts over the pass of Beth-horon, down to Azekah and Makedah, hangs them, when the pursuit is over, on five trees, but at sundown causes their corpses to be taken down and cast into the cave at Makedah, where they had been found concealed. This victory over the five kings was followed by the conquest of the whole southern portion of the land, west of the Jordan, and Joshua now returns to the camp at Gilgal on the Jordan. This seems to have remained the head-quarters of all these operations (ch. x.). Thus the south of the country west of the Jordan — of Canaan proper (see on this designation § 6) — was subjugated. To the same fate must the north also submit. In vain, as before Adoni-zedek gathered the kings of the south, does Jabin king of Hazor now collect about him those of the north in a second compact against Joshua, for continuing the war of defense. Like sand by the sea for multitude, is the host which they bring into the field (ch. xi. 4); but with surprising rapidity they are reached by the able leader of Israel, at the water of Merom, where they are encamped, — reached, surprised, smitten, annihilated. For after this defeat also, Joshua fails not to pursue and to so strike the enemy, that he “left them not one remaining” (ch. xi. 8). Their horses were hamstrung, their chariots burnt with fire. The history of these events is more meagrely given than that of the capture of Jericho and Ai, and of the slaughter at Gibeon, but not less plainly and vividly (ch. xi. 1-9). After now reporting further (ch. xi. 10-15) how Joshua took the cities of the north, except those which stood upon hills, and slew their kings and people, while he gave their spoil as booty to his army, which had not been allowed at the taking of Jericho (ch. vi. 17; vii. 1 ff.), the author closes the chapter with a general review of the conquest of the whole land west of the Jordan. Here he recalls particularly the destruction of the Anakim in the mountain of Judah, as accomplished by Joshua (ch. xi. 16-23). With this closes the Second Section of the First Part, since ch. xii. is to be regarded as a special section. It contains a complete list of the kings subdued under the leadership of Moses and Joshua, on both sides of the Jordan, thirty-one in number. Here the First Part of the book (chaps. i.-xii.) is brought to a conclusion.

The Second Part (chaps. xiii.-xxiv.) describes the division of the conquered territory among the Israelites.

A considerable time, as would appear, has passed since the conquest of the land (xiii. 1). Joshua has become old; there remains also, very much to be occupied, partly in the southwest “where the territory of the Philistine kingdoms was,” and partly in the north, “the country on Lebanon;” yet must Joshua now undertake the distribution of the land (ch. xiii. 1-7) among the nine and a half tribes. The mention made of the one half of the tribe of Manasseh leads the author to look back over the district already allotted to the two and a half tribes east of the Jordan (ch. xiii. 8-33), where the remark is repeatedly brought in that Joshua gave no possession to the tribe of Levi, because the sacrifices of Jehovah, nay, Jehovah himself was their possession (ch. xiii. 14, 33). In the following chapter (ch. xiv.) the writer begins his account of the division of the land (ch. xiv. 1-5). This is not resumed until ch. xv. 1 ff., so that the narrative concerning Caleb’s demand for a possession, which is repeated in another form ch. xv. 13-19 (comp. Judg. i. 12-15), shows itself plainly an intrusive fragment. For clearness of arrangement, we may, with Bunsen, conveniently make these two chapters the First Section of the Second Part, and then group ch. xv.-xxi. as the second.

These seven chapters contain — with the exception of ch. xv. 13-19, xvii. 13-18, xviii. 1-20, xx. 1-6 — very dry, but, for the knowledge of the holy land, extremely valuable, notices, which are often surprisingly accurate. In a few places only, particularly xvi. 5 ff. and xix. 34, is the sense obscure and hard to determine, as will appear in the discussion of those passages. A degree of difficulty characterizes ch. xvi. 1, also, as has been noticed particularly by Hauff (*Offenbarungsglaube und Kritik*, p. 139 ff.), and especially ch. xvii. 1, where “a mass of explanatory phrases” is found, while the intervening narratives (ch. xv. 13-19, xvii. 14-18) are distinguished by the same beauty of delineation which we have already often met in the first part of the book. How vividly is the transaction between Caleb and his daughter given, how freshly and succinctly that between Joshua and the exacting sons of Joseph, his fellow tribesmen!

The third and last section comprises chaps. xxii.-xxiv. Here the release of the two and a half tribes from beyond the Jordan, who could now be sent home, after the conquest and allotment of the country, is announced, and then reported in detail; and how they raised an

altar on the west bank of the Jordan, the building of which excited the ill-humor of the other Israelites. This was allayed, however, when the commission sent out under Phinehas brought back a satisfactory explanation (ch. xxii.). Next follow the farewell discourses of Joshua, the first delivered probably at Shiloh, the second at Shechem (ch. xxiv. 1). Old and full of days (ch. xxiii. 1), feeling that he too must go the way of all the earth, the brave, disinterested, pious follower of Moses, takes leave of his people, admonishes them to fidelity towards Jehovah, warns them against apostasy and idolatry, and finally lays them under the obligation of a solemn renewal of the covenant (ch. xxiv. 25). To commemorate this a monument of stones is erected (ch. xxiv. 26, 27). One hundred and ten years old, the precise age of his ancestor Joseph (Gen. i. 22), Joshua dies and is buried at Timnath-serah, in his own city (ch. xxiv. 29, 30). While he and the elders live, Israel serves Jehovah (ch. xxiv. 31). But Eleazar, also the faithful helper of Joshua, the son of Aaron, the high-priest of Israel, dies and is buried at Gibeah-phinehas, in the city of his son, who as being distinguished by a holy zeal for the true worship of God, was exceptionally provided with a possession of his own (ch. xxiv. 33). A notice concerning the bones of Joseph is inserted between these reports of the decease of Joshua and Eleazar.

If now we look back and bring up to ourselves once more the total impression which the Book of Joshua makes, it may be said with reason that the account of the historical events is given on the whole, in a well-ordered succession, and the connection but seldom broken; and further, that the notices concerning the division of the land are characterized in general by remarkable clearness and accuracy. This is especially evident when one compares the corresponding section of Josephus (*Ant. v. 1, 22*). At the same time it need not be overlooked that, as manifest interpolations attest (ch. viii. 30-35, x. 12-15, xiv. 6-15, xv. 13-19, xvii. 13-18), we have before us here, as little as in the Pentateuch, an original work emanating from one author; but rather a literary product, which, although finally revised with a view to unity of representation, bears plainly on its face the marks of its origin. The book itself cites (ch. x. 13) one of its documentary sources; and if one why may not a number of them have existed, although they are not directly quoted?

OBSERVATION. *The Samaritan Book of Joshua*, called also, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, of which an Arabic translation in Samaritan characters exists in the Leyden Library (printed under the title: *Chronicon Samaritanum*, Ed. Joh. Juynboll, Lugd. Bat. 1848), is pronounced by De Wette, Hengstenberg, and Ewald, all agreeing on this point, a revision of our Book of Joshua, with an addition of Samaritan fables, and dating from late in the Middle Ages. See De Wette, *Introd. to the O. T.* § 171. Hengstenberg, *Authenticity of the Pentateuch*, i. 5. Ewald, *Geschichte d. Volks Israel*, ii. p. 349, 350; iv. p. 247, 249. ["A splendid legend" from this work is communicated by Stanley, *Hist. of Jew. Ch.* i. p. 245. f. — Tr.]

§ 2. Origin.

I. Memorandum of Views held by leading Authorities.

According to the Talmud (Tr. *Baba bathra*, fol. 14, 2, "*Joshua scripsit librum suum et octo versus in lege*"), Joshua was the author of the book which bears his name, Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the high-priest, then added the conclusion (ch. xxiv. 29-32), but the last verse of all (ch. xxiv. 33) was appended by Phinehas (*Baba bathra*, 15 a, 15 b; in Fürst, *Kanon des Alten Testaments nach den Ueberlieferungen in Talmud und Midrasch*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 10). Various older theologians, among them Starke, appealing to ch. xxiv. 26, shared this view. "If," says Starke, "he himself wrote the covenant made with the people, why not also the preliminary, and in part very important and necessary, records?" The same argument is employed also by L. König (*Alttest. Studien*, i. Heft: *Authentic des Buches Josua*, 1836, p. 127), as well as Baumgarten (Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* vii. 40, 42), to sustain Joshua's authorship; against which Keil (*Commentary on the Book of Joshua*, p. xl. [Martin's Transl. p. 39]), remarks how precisely the fact that the writing in the law-book is limited to the renewal of the covenant at Shechem proves that the remaining contents of the Book of Joshua were not recorded therein. Hävernick (*Einleitung in d. A. T.* ii. 1, pp. 26, 62), resting on the Kethib in ch. v. 1, 6 (וַיִּכְתֹּב), combined with the notice in ch. xxiv. 26, ascribes the entire first part and the two last chapters to Joshua, while he refers chs. xiii.-xxii., after the example of Bertholdt (p. 857), to the chorographical descriptions spoken of in ch. xviii. 1-10. Gerlach (*Bibelwerk*, ii. p. vi.) supposes it probable that, after the example of Moses, Joshua himself or one of his im-

mediate attendants, under his direction, wrote down the history of the conquest, and thereupon of the division of the land, so important in its future bearings, and exhibiting traces of very high antiquity. These he thinks were composed in separate sections which then some editor finished out with the account of the renewed covenant. Keil (ut sup. p. xlvi. [Eng. Transl. p. 46]; *Biblich. Com. über d. A. T.*, ii. 1, pp. 5, 6) denies the authorship of Joshua altogether, not so much on account of the oft-recurring phrase (previously urged by Spinoza and others), עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה (chaps. iv. 9; v. 9; vi. 25; vii. 26 (bis); viii. 28, 29; ix. 27; xiii. 13; xiv. 14; xv. 63; xvi. 10), as because the book gives account of occurrences belonging to the period after Joshua's death. That phrase he thinks by no means supposes the lapse of centuries, but is employed rather, according to its quite relative signification, of things only a few years past, although he fails to furnish any proof of this.¹ Of the class of later occurrences he reckons, above all, the narrative of the capture of Hebron by Caleb, of Debir by Othniel (ch. xv. 13-19), and of Leshem by the Danites (ch. xix. 47), as well as the statement in ch. xv. 63 resting on Judges i. 8. But since these wars and conquests might have occurred not long after Joshua's death; since moreover the book contains definite proofs that it was composed not *after* but probably *before* the establishment of monarchy in Israel (ch. xvi. 10: the Canaanites in Gezer, comp. 1 K. ix. 16; the Jebusites yet in Jerusalem, ch. xv. 63, comp. 2 Sam. v. 3, 6-9; a place for the temple not yet determined, ix. 27, comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 ff.; 1 Chron. xxi. 26 ff.; the Gibeonites still wood-choppers and water-carriers, ix. 27, comp. 2 Sam. xxi. 1 ff.); since, finally, the book nowhere shows traces either in its style or contents, of later times and relations, but in language as well as in views of things connects itself *closely* with the Pentateuch (of which ch. xiii. 4-6; xi. 8; xix. 28, are cited as examples²), it becomes highly probable that it was composed not more than twenty-five or thirty years after the death of Joshua, perhaps by one of the elders who had crossed the Jordan with Joshua, taken part in the conquest of Canaan (ch. v. 1, 6), and lived some time after Joshua (ch. xxiv. 31; Judg. ii. 7). *Com. on Joshua*, p. xlvi., [47]; *Bib. Com.* ii. 1, p. 7.

So Keil, who, as is obvious, has given up the old, traditional view of the authorship of Joshua, while yet he maintains the unity of the book and its high antiquity. This latter point was disputed already by Andreas Masius, by Spinoza and Clericus, who placed the composition of the book in the time after the exile, in which they have been followed by Hasse, Maurer, and De Wette. And in proportion as the Pentateuch, since the middle of the preceding century, has been subjected to sharper scrutiny touching its unity, our book has shared the same treatment. The different hypotheses of modern criticism enumerated by Lange (*Com. on Holy Script.* Introd. to Genesis, § 3, 7), the *Documentary* as well as the *Fragmentary*, the *Supplementary*, as well as the peculiar theory of Ewald, called by Delitzsch the *Crystallization* hypothesis, to which quite recently Fürst inclines (*Gesch. d. Bib. Lit., u. des Jüdisch-hellenist. Schrifthum*, i. pp. 362, 404 ff., 442 ff.; to be compared with Diestel's Review, in the *Jahrbüchern für Deutschen Theologie*, xiv. 2, pp. 338-342), have all been attempted with reference to the book of Joshua as well as to the Pentateuch. Not unsuccessfully the *Supplementary hypothesis*, in reference to Joshua in particular, has found defenders in Bleek, Knobel, and very recently in Noldeke.

According to Bleek (*Introd. to the O. T.* § 137) there were for a considerable time writings extant concerning the events of the period between the death of Moses and that of Joshua, as in particular concerning the division of the land among the several tribes; precisely as in the time of Moses himself, and in part from his own hand, there were written laws, songs, census-rolls, and the catalogue of the nations. But a connected history of the fortunes of the people, either in the Mosaic period or in that of Joshua, had not then been composed. Both were produced simultaneously at a later time, and in all probability, in the age of Saul, at which time the work of the so-called *Elohists* arose. This work treated only of the main epochs in the history, those of special importance to a knowledge of the relation between God and man, and of God's providences. Such were the creation, the deluge, the choice of Abraham and God's covenant with him, the history of Jacob and Joseph, then that of Moses and Joshua, while the intervening periods were only summarily touched upon, in short genealogical lists which served to join together two Epochs and the representative personages belonging to them.

¹ [Keil does adduce (*Bib. Com.* p. 5), as an instance of this, the statement (ch. vi. 25) that Rahab is living in Israel "unto this day." — Tr.]

² [In these passages respectively, "the Sidonians alone are called Phœnicians, and these are reckoned among the Canaanites to be extirpated by Israel (ch. xiii. 4-6), altogether differently from the view of David's time (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 K. ch. v. 1; 1 Chr. xiv. 1); moreover, Sidon by the epithet "the great" is designated as the capital of Phœnicia (sl. 8, xix. 28); while as early as David's day Tyre had taken the lead of Sidon." — Keil, *Bib. Com.*, p. 7. — Tr.]

The greater part of our Book of Joshua was contained in this oldest history. Probably in the age of David, and not in the very last part of his reign, this work was enlarged and rewrought by a later hand. The older writing remains the *foundation*; but it was in part *increased* by many new additions, which the writer either found already extant like the former, or himself first wrote down from previous oral traditions; and in part the earlier written relations were modified by additions and changes, by abbreviations also and omissions where this *Jehovist* availed himself of a different source of information concerning the same circumstances and events. It differed from the previous work conspicuously in this, that the author names God Jehovah, from the very beginning, whereas the Elohist had refrained from that designation before the time of Moses. By this revision the earlier work gained some not unessential additions, but lost not a little in literary *unity*. It embraced (a) the first four books of the Pentateuch, essentially of the entire compass in which we have them, but with trifling exceptions, particularly Lev. xxvi. 3-45; (b) the report of the death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 1-8), taken from the Elohist writing; (c) *our Book of Joshua in the form in which the author of Deuteronomy found it*. For the *last revision* of the work was effected by the author of Deuteronomy, at whose hand the whole received the form and compass in which it lies before us in our Pentateuch and *Book of Joshua*. The author of this revision probably took the above work (that of the *Jehovist*) entire, as he found it, allowing himself only here and there particular changes and additions, *especially in the history of the time of Joshua*. The principal alteration however, consisted in the expansion of the writing by the reception of Deuteronomy itself (chaps. i.-xxxiii. It is possible that he had *other written authorities* besides the Book of the *Jehovist*, but nothing definite can be made out on this point. As the date of the composition of Deuteronomy and the last revision of the whole work, the reign of Manasseh, King of Judah, in the first half of the seventh century before Christ, may most probably be assumed, and at all events a time not later than the eighteenth year of Josiah (624 B. C.). Comp. 2 K. xxiii. 21, w. Deut. xvi.

According to Knobel (*Kritik des Pentateuch und Josua*, p. 496 ff.), there lies at the bottom of the Pentateuch and Joshua, an old work (Elohim document, Elohist, Ground-text), which relates the history from the creation to the division of the land of Canaan, which is distinguished by definiteness of plan and by consecutiveness, and may be easily followed from Gen. i. to Joshua xxii. The composition of this work falls in the time of Saul (p. 523). The author was beyond question an Aaronide or priest. This we learn from the deep interest which he takes in sacred persons and usages, and his accurate acquaintance with those matters, the tabernacle, for instance, and its furniture, which a layman would not have known so well about. He lived therefore in the southern part of the country, where the Aaronides had their residence (p. 523). From this *ground-text* (as Knobel almost everywhere calls it) the other parts of the Pentateuch deviate widely in matter and style, the proof of which is given with great care and to the minutest detail (pp. 524-532), but they altogether *lack unity*. There are indeed non-Elohistic sections, as in our book chaps ii-iv. which, overlooking minor points, have been plainly made up of *two* different elements. The same two elements may then each for itself be further clearly recognized in particular sections, the one *e. g.* in Josh. ch. xxiv., the other in chaps. vi.-xii. They appear again blended with Elohist sections, either one or the other or both together, as in Josh. xv., xvii., xviii. The old ground-text has therefore received additions from *two* other documents. These two documents are mentioned by name Num. xxi. 14; Josh x. 13. The one is the *Law-book*, the other the *War-book*. According to its name (סֵפֶר הַיְיָשָׁר, book of the right, *i. e.* right-book, law-book, to be interpreted after עָשָׂה הַיְיָשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה, "to do what is right in Jehovah's eyes," *i. e.* to follow the divine law, — a phrase common in the historical books to designate conformity with the law, 1 K. xi. 33, 38; xiv. 8; xv. 5, 11, etc. (?)), the former contained laws, according to Josh. x. historical reports also, and according to 2 Sam. i. 18, poems, which all suits with the first document of the *Jehovist*.

In this book, however, which originated in the Northern kingdom (p. 544), in the Assyrian period (p. 546), there was an older סֵפֶר הַיְיָשָׁר inwrought which is designated, Joshua xxiv. 26, סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה אֱלֹהִים. This older *Sepher Jaschar* contained already most of the laws of the law-book employed by the *Jehovist*, especially the Mosaic Decalogue (Ex. xx.), probably also the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.), of the time of Saul, David's lament over Saul (2 Sam. i.) and the hymn of triumph (Ex. xv.), which dates only from the time of Solomon. Lower than Solomon we need not bring it. In Jeroboam's time it seems to have been

already known (p. 547). Where this older law-book was composed Knobel does not say: probably also in the northern kingdom.

The second document of the Jehovist, the War-book (ס' מלחמות, Num. xxi. 14, "book of the wars of Jehovah," i. e. the wars of Israel with the heathen, p. 559), contained a great number of warlike narratives, more in fact than all the others together (p. 559), and appears to have originated in the southern country (p. 560), as it agrees very nearly in matter and style with the ground-text, and in the time of Jehoshaphat († 889). The author, from his interest in religious legislation, was probably a Levite (p. 560).

The *Jehovist's* course of procedure now was the following. He laid his foundation in the Elohim-text, which is, accordingly, preserved tolerably complete; then took his supplementary matter chiefly from his two documents, more out of the law-book, less out of the war-book, since the former offered more that was peculiar, the latter only that, in many places, which lay already in the ground text. To all the three documents he adheres, as far as possible, word for word, whether he extracts from them great or small. The texts have for him a certain inviolability, and he is guided in this by the consciousness that he has before him and is editing venerable works of Mosaic authority. He is concerned to harmonize the various reports, and effects this often in a truly ingenious manner; witness Gen. xxi. 25 ff., xxvi. 19 ff. comp. w. xxvi. 15, 18; Gen. xxxv. 3, 7, xxxv. 4 ff., 14 ff.; xxxiii. 1-8 comp. w. xxxii. 21; xxxiii. 13, etc. In many cases, however, he saw the irreconcilableness of his authorities and proceeded mechanically to combine the different and contradictory materials, leaving it for the reader himself to bring them into connection and harmony. *His primary endeavor was to preserve the contents of the older writer, when they appeared to him important, and, as far as possible, just as he found them.* Hence even what was divergent also might, as being something independent, seem to him worthy of preservation; in proof of which Knobel adduces Josh. viii. 12, 13. The mechanical nature of his process appears from the retention of remarks which in the originals stood quite correctly, but in the combination of sources should have been omitted, as in Josh. x. 15. Frequently, however, in his supplementary additions, he allowed himself considerable freedom, transposing particulars, retrenching incompatible designations of time, but especially interweaving little additions into the reports of his predecessors, where they appeared to him appropriate, and especially where necessary to harmonize differences. The introduction of a historical sentence into the discourse of God, Josh. xiii. 1, likewise exhibits this freedom. On the whole, the author shows great tact, since he often applies with real aptness his additions to the statements of his predecessors (e. g. Gen. xii., xiii., xvi., xxxii., xxxix.). On the other hand, the signs of the compilatory process are indeed plain and numerous enough (pp. 573-578). He cannot have lived before the Assyrian period, because he has the law-book and war-book before him (p. 570). Since, moreover, the law-book, especially, comes down (p. 546) to Hezekiah, the last years of this king are about the earliest date to which the *Jehovist* can be assigned. He probably sprang from the kingdom of Israel. For he has a fondness for the law-book, and cleaves very closely to that in the contents and mode of expression; is not offended by the plurality of sacred places; gives the account (Gen. xxxii. 24 ff.) of God's wrestling with Jacob, which no one else but Hosea (xii. 4 f.) mentions; and finally he uses many expressions which occur elsewhere only in writings of the northern kingdom, and separately in those of later date, e. g. the שַׁפְּרָא Gen. vi. 3¹; שָׁרָה, "to wrestle," Gen. xxxii. 29 [Eng. 28] as also in Hosea xii. 4; שִׁרְרִיר, "thistle," Gen. iii. 18, as also in Hos. x. 8; הִרְרִינִי "pregnancy," as also Hos. ix. 11, etc. (p. 579). *As modified now by this Jehovist the Elohistico-Jehovistic Work is preserved from Gen. i. to Num. xxxvi. (p. 497).*

Into that work still another writer (pp. 589, 590), the *Deuteronomist*, has at a later period inserted his discourses, repetitions, and laws, and among them wrought in a number of *explanations, also several accounts of events* which the *Jehovist* had taken from the law-book and appended to Num. xxxvi. He did not meddle with the first four books, but rewrought that merely which followed Num. xxxvi. by giving to it its present great expansion, and furnishing it besides with special additions. He is the last elaborator of the law. His statement Deut. xxxi. 9, belongs to the imprudent expressions which we often meet with in him [!]

His hand, however, is to be traced after Deut. xxxiv. also, in places, as far as to Josh. xxiv., but not at all, on the contrary, in the later books of Judges, Ruth, and Samuel (pp. 487, 579). His language affords the chief proof of the age to which he belonged (p. 591). It is closely

¹ [But comp. Lange, *Gen.* in loc. (cont. Taylor Lewis); Conant, *Heb. Christ.* p. 43. — Ta.]

related to that of Jeremiah, and other late writers; for which evidence is adduced (p. 591). *But we have no sufficient reasons for bringing the author down into the age following the exile.* At that time certainly they no longer allowed themselves to deal so freely with the law-book, and increase it with new laws, as this author does. *He must have lived in the last days of the kingdom of Judah, perhaps under Josiah, and appears to have been a man of importance, or he would not have made so bold as to take considerable liberties with the book of the law* (p. 591).

At the close of Knobel's critique upon the Pentateuch and Joshua he has given in tabular form a synopsis, in accordance with the foregoing view, of the several ingredients of the Pentateuch and Joshua (pp. 600-606), which we here append, for the better comprehension of his theory:—

| Ground-text. | Law-book. | War-book. | Jehovist. | Deutero onist. |
|---|--|---|----------------------------------|---|
| iv. 15-17, 19. | ii. iii. 1, 7-17. iv. 1a, 4-7, 14, 18, 20-24. | i. 1, 2, 10-16. iii. 2-6. iv. 1 b-3, 8-13. | | i. 3-9, 17, 18. |
| v. 10-12. | v. 1-9, 13-15. | vi. 1-17 a, 18-21, 24, 26, 27. vii. except ver. 25 in pt. viii. 1-11, 14-29. | vi. 17 b, 22, 23, 25. | vii. 25 in part. viii. 31 in pt., 32, 33 34 in part. ix. 27 in part. |
| xiii. 15-33. xiv. 1-5. xv. 1-13, 20-44, 48-62. xvi. 1-9. xvii. 1-10. xviii. 1, 2, 11-28. xix. exc. ver. 47. xx. 1, 2, 3 in part, 4, 5a, 6 in part 7-9. xxi. 1-40. xxii. 9-11, 13-15, 21, 30-33a. | viii. 12, 13, 30, 31 in pt. 33 in pt., 34 in pt., 35. x. 12-15, exc. ver. 13 in part. xiv. 6-15. xv. 14-19. xvii. 14-18. xxii. 7, 8. xxiv. exc. ver. 1, in part. | ix. exc. ver. 27 in pt. x. 1-11, 16-43. xi. xii. xiii. 2-5, 6 in pt. 9-14. xv. 45-47, 63. xvi. 10. xvii. 11-13. xviii. 3-10. xix. 47. xxi. 41-43. xxii. 1-4, 6, 12, 16-20, 22-29, 33 b, 34. xxiii. 1 a, 2 in pt. 3, 9, 10, 12-15. | x. 13 in part. xiii. 1, 7, 8. | xiii. 6 in part. xx. 3 in pt., 5 b, 6 in part. xxii. 5 xxiii. 2 in pt. 4-8 11, xxiv. 1 in part. |

Nöldeke (*Alltest. Literatur*, p. 25 ff.) pronounces the separation of two chief sources in Genesis and the following books, among which he also includes the Book of Joshua, as the first result of critical investigation. *One of these sources is a single and homogeneous writing* (p. 26), showing throughout the same systematic proportion, and regularity (!) as the first chapter of Genesis. It gives for the most part only short, outline statements, with little of pictorial filling up, but shows a certain heaviness and verbosity of style, and a special fondness for reciting names and for numbers. Very recently, in his *Researches toward the Criticism of the O. T.* (*Untersuchungen zur Kritik d. A. T.*, Kiel, 1869), Nöldeke has still more closely examined this ground-text and, like Knobel, traced it also in the Book of Joshua. *The other source is not so homogeneous.* In it again two main writings are distinguishable (*O. T. Lit.* p. 26), one of which is the work of the second Elohist, first clearly brought to view, throughout Genesis at least, by Hupfeld, while the other has the Jehovist for its author (*O. T. Lit.* p. 26, *Researches*, p. 3). This Jehovist, the most talented of all the writers of the Pentateuch (*Res.* p. 3), has used the work of the second Elohist as a main authority, and taken from it large portions in so independent a way that what is due to the Jehovist himself is not always clearly to be separated (as Hupfeld and also Knobel assume) from what he has borrowed of the Elohist (*Res.* p. 3). A redactor, different in Nöldeke's view from the Jehovist (*Res.* p. 3), combined now this work of the Jehovist with the ground-text. But the Deuteronomist, who is to be distinguished again from the Jehovist, thrust into the work of the redactor almost the whole of the present book of Deuteronomy, and *completely reworked the portions relating to Joshua* (*Res.* p. 5, *O. T. Lit.*, 27, 30). The time of writing, Nöldeke defines in the works quoted (*O. T. Lit.* p. 31 ff., *Researches* p. 138 ff.), so as to place Deuteronomy in the reign of Josiah, the redactor about the year 800 or soon after, the ground-text, — whose author was a priest at Jerusalem, — in the 10th or rather the 9th century before Christ. About this last period also originated, he thinks, the older materials of the Pentateuch generally (*O. T. Lit.* p. 32, *Res.* p. 140). Among these older materials Nöldeke counts the two ground-texts which were combined in the work of the Jehovist. But there are besides in the Pentateuch still older sources, which also must be borne in mind, because all these writings refer to them and occasionally make use of their words (*O. T. Lit.* p. 32). Thus we have some frag-

ments of ancient songs, for one of which "the book of the wars of Jehovah" is cited as a source (Num. xxi. 14). In Josh. x. 13 likewise "the book of the upright" is quoted, in which, according to 2 Sam. i. 18, stood a song of David, which¹ therefore could not have been written, at the earliest, before the time of this monarch.

The traces of the ground-text have been followed by Nöldeke, in his investigations, both in the Pentateuch and in the Book of Joshua, with much acuteness. In our book their discovery is, in his view, rendered specially difficult by the subsequent modifications effected by the Deuteronomist (*Researches*, pp. 94, 95). He finds that text in the following passages: ch. iii. 1, iv. 19, v. 10-12, vi. 20, 24 (?), ix. 15 b, 17-22, 27, x. 28-43 essentially; ch. 11 (only accords with the ground-text); ch. xii. originally belonging to it but interpolated; xiii. 15-xxi. 40, substantially throughout; ch. xxii. (has a report from the ground-text for its basis); xxiv. 33. (*Researches*, pp. 94-106, where the details which we cannot here repeat may be found.)

II. Estimate of these Views.

Our former assertion that the supplement-hypothesis had not unsuccessfully tested itself on the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, is sufficiently sustained by this representation of the researches of the critics we have named. For they agree among themselves and, with still others, as *e. g.* Hupfeld, (1) in the assumption of a common *ground writing* (Elohim-text) for the Pentateuch and Joshua, whose date is fixed in the earliest period of the Hebrew monarchy, the author of which is designated as a priest, dwelling in the southern part of Palestine; (2) in the further assumption that the last redaction of the Pentateuch and Joshua took place in the time of Josiah, or, at the earliest, under Manasseh (Bleek), by the hand of the Deuteronomist, who at the same time incorporated into it his own work (Deut. i.-xxxiii.), itself also resting in part on old reports, and that he worked over the Book of Joshua more than either of the others, which he left comparatively untouched; (3) in the assumption in general of a great Jehovistic element, on the composition of which, however, in particulars, their opinions differ. Bleek is the most cautious, avoiding definite discriminations and rejections. Knobel and Nöldeke, after the example of Hupfeld, and in part that of Ewald, are bolder, and suppose they recognize within this Jehovistic composition the *two* main writings, which Knobel (very unfortunately imitating Ewald's passion for giving names to the particular documents) designates as Law-book and War-book. We may freely allow that, as the first part of Joshua at once shows, such different portions of the great Jehovistic element may be pointed out; but that the *סֵפֶר הַיְשָׁר* cited Josh. x. 13, 1 Sam. i. 18, was one of the authorities of the Jehovist, and the *סֵפֶר מִלְחָמוֹת*, Num. xxi. 14, was the other, is certainly a mistake. The two books are to be regarded rather, with De Wette, Bleek, Fürst, Nöldeke, Hitzig (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 102), [Keil,] and many others, as lyrical books, and *יְשָׁר* like the plural form *יְשָׁרִים* (Num. xxiii. 10, Ps. exi. 1), as a poetical designation of Israel, properly "the pious congregation," and so precisely like the poetical *יְשָׁרִים* which comes from a ground-form *יְשָׁר = יְשָׁר*; comp. *קָהָן* and *קָהָנִים*. (See Fürst, *Geschichte der Bibl. Literat.* p. 457, *Anmerk.* 3.) They were ancient sources to which Nöldeke, among many others, quite distinctly points, poetical sources, and neither law nor war books. Although Knobel, therefore, may be perhaps essentially right in distinguishing two chief writings or documents of the Jehovist, the designation which he gives them, and the resulting identification of them with the poetical productions mentioned, we must oppose. And so far as we know, he has in this found no followers hitherto. How these two chief writings were related to each other, whether each existed independently by the side of the other (Hupfeld, Knobel), or whether the Jehovist, as Nöldeke supposes, directly compounded his work and that of the second Elohist (the law-book of Knobel); whether this Jehovist was the same as the redactor (Bleek, Knobel), or the redactor was different from the Jehovist (Nöldeke), those are mere questions which yet await a conclusive answer, and will perhaps never find one completely satisfactory.²

1 [I. e. the song could not; of the book it would only be true that it could not have been finished earlier. — Tr.]

2 [To most English-speaking Christians the freedom with which these critics, especially Knobel, discuss the sacred books will give pain as being irreverent and apparently incompatible with sincere Christianity. Such Christians generally hold that the Church of Christ does rest "on the authenticity of the New Testament Books," and they on the O. T. theocracy, and that on the Books of the Old Testament (see Lange's *Commentary on Genesis* in this Bible-work, p. 99, Obs.). And there is evidently danger that the too extensive analysis, composition, and re-composition of these books should impair confidence in their divine authority. Yet Knobel's labors on the Pentateuch and Joshua have been not only of prodigious toil, but in various respects of great value. The same is true in their several proportions

As for our own view, we cannot, especially after the example of Bleek, avoid giving in our adherence to the supplement-hypothesis. Yet it seems to us too rash, to undertake as Knobel does, to point out even to minutiae, now this and now that author's hand. Nöldeke's procedure is already much more cautious, most moderate that of Bleek, who contents himself with *intimations*. Neither do we venture more, when we express the opinion that in the first part of the Book of Joshua, as also again in the last three chapters, the Jehovistic character prevails; that within this Jehovistic portion different elements may be distinguished, as was already indicated in § 1, and as the exegesis will show in the particular cases; that in the second part, on the contrary, as specially in the description of the division of the land, the ground-text prevails, itself resting again on other records, perhaps even of Joshua's time; that finally, and particularly in ch. i. and xxiii., perhaps also elsewhere (ch. vii. 25, viii. 31, etc.), the hand of the Deuteronomist is plainly to be recognized. That this Deuteronomist was author of Deut. i.—xxxiii., appears to us to be a fact which cannot longer be successfully denied. It may doubtless be questioned, however, whether admonitions, warnings, and particularly also *prophecies* of Moses did not survive in oral traditions, or in separate records, which in the time of Manasseh and Josiah, were revised and edited, as we might say, in a free, very beautiful, and edifying manner, and that too without any, the slightest pious fraud, but in good faith, and the fullest persuasion of the perfect justifiableness of such a literary attempt. In reference to Moses himself, we hold firmly with Bleek against Knobel (*Kritik*, p. 592), that written records from his hand are very probably to be recognized. We maintain the same in regard to Joshua, and cannot therefore allow that ch. xxiv. 26 is a fiction.¹

§ 3. *Credibility.*

The history of the conquest of the land of Canaan, as related in our book, has given great offense to the heathen opponents of Judaism and Christianity, at first, to the Manichæans, afterwards, and, in more recent times, to the English deists, and the rationalists of Germany; see the proofs in Lilienthal: *Die gute Sache der göttlichen Offenbarung*, Th. iv. p. 891 ff. Eichhorn, among many others, in his *Introduction*, p. 403 (in Keil's *Commentary on Joshua*, p. liii. [Eng. Trans. p. 52]) speaks very strongly, exclaiming with high moral indignation: "How impious is the narrative of the Book of Joshua! It makes God not only give away to the Israelites, against all right, the land of Canaan, which the Canaanites as the first occupants most justly held, but also sketch out a horrid plan for its conquest, and directly order the most dreadful bloodshed and the total extinction of the Canaanites. Who can reconcile this with even a partially correct view of the Godhead?" Eichhorn objected not only to this procedure against the Canaanites, as recorded in our book, but particularly also to the

of the other men to whom we refer; and in estimating their religious character we are doubtless bound to consider carefully what Lange, in the passage just referred to, has intimated concerning the distinction between Revelation and the written record of it as the ground of the Kingdom of God. Charity will often be constrained to hope that the distinction is soundly drawn.

But apart from this, and conceding that scientific research is equally allowable touching the Word and the works of God, the fancifulness and "subjectivity" of such elaborate and minute specifications as some of those above summarized, and the tenacity of many of the reasons assigned, provoke laughter rather than argumentative confutation. That one should gravely split a verse in numerous passages so as to refer the various fragments to their respective authors, and should be obliged to do it to save his theory, is, to most minds, slaughtering the theory at its birth. Our curiosity is naturally raised by such attempts to imagine what the next speculator in Biblical criticism will propose for our wonderment; nay, we inquire what even the same mind, after having dropped for a time and forgotten the particulars of his previous fabrication, would invent, if he were to take up the whole subject anew. We believe Knobel has never been outdone in ingenuity of fiction in this province of literature, except by Ewald, whose theory (briefly outlined in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 2411, Am. ed.) must probably yet bear the palm. It would seem that the climax is admitted to have been reached, and subsequent writers, of whatever theological school, — even Nöldeke, — while maintaining generally the composite character of these books, are much more modest in attempting to partition the authorship. — Ta.]

[The reader interested in the question concerning the origin of our book (connecting itself so closely with that of the Pentateuch) will do well to consult again the "General Introduction to the O. T." by Lange in vol. i. of his *Commentary on the O. T.* and Prof. Lewis' "Special Introduction to the Book of Genesis" there. Add Dr. Conant's brief but comprehensive *Introduction to the Book of Genesis* in his revised version, the articles on Genesis, Pentateuch, Joshua, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, with particular reference to the additions of the American edition. The translator would only say further that in his judgment there seems to be no good ground for the reluctance with which many of even the most reverent of recent German scholars admit the possibility that Moses and Joshua should have written considerable parts of the works that bear their names. In the darkness which covers the details of the subject it is *a priori* probable that those leaders should have written, or caused to be written, very much of such history and such statutes as their reputed books contain. And certainly no other names present themselves, during the period within which all agree that the main body of this literature must have been composed, as nearly so likely to have effected the authorship. If this be conceded the modifications and additions of subsequent redactions need have been much less thorough and transforming than is generally supposed. See Milman's interesting Note, *Hist. of Jews*, I. 160. — Ta.]

miracles, whose reality he, like Paulus, disputed, and which he then attempted to explain in the well-known ways. The substance of the book, it is true, he thought could not have been fabricated; the events were stamped with the unmistakable seal of antiquity (iii. 399 ff. in Hävernäck, *Eint. in d. A. T.* ii. 1, p. 3), but we must carefully distinguish between the view of the author which is conceived as narrowly as possible, and the history contained in the book. De Wette went still further when he declared that, "as in the Pentateuch, the narrative is, in its prevailing character, mythical" (*Introd. to O. T.* § 166). Afterward he added, following Maurer, "but there are also individual instances of real history, as ch. i. 11, comp. v. 12; iii. 4, comp. v. 15 ff." (*Introd. to O. T.* p. 214, 4 [Germ.] et.).

Applying a sharper criticism, yet from a position of belief in revelation, G. A. Hauff has discussed the question of credibility, or historical truth, in the Treatise: "*Offenbarungsglaube und Kritik der biblischen Geschichtsbücher am Beispiele des Buches Josua in ihrer nothwendigen Einheit dargethan (Belief in Revelation and Criticism of the Historical Books of the Bible exhibited in their necessary Unity, in the Case of the Book of Joshua)*, Stuttgart, 1843." Having in the first part of his work sharply defined the process of Biblical criticism, as such that the style and mode of representation, the person of the writer, the use of authorities, the time of the composition, plan, and design, and especially also the credibility of the historian must lie open to free investigation, in which however the religious element of this history is to be constantly kept in mind (p. 65 ff.), he proceeds to apply these principles to the Book of Joshua, and finds memorable contradictions in its statements: (a) to the statements of other books; (b) among themselves. The former class relate to the unity of the people, the conquest and division of the land, the religious institutions, the religious character of the people, the mode of divine worship; the latter principally to the conquest of the land, the conquering personages, the division of the land, the genius and character of Joshua and of the people, the divine worship. While, for instance, as Hauff proceeds, p. 70 ff., the Book of Joshua reports to us that the *whole* people, without exception, stood under the command of Joshua (ch. i. 2; iii. 1), that the *whole* land, excepting the coast-strip and Geshur on Hermon (xiii. 1-3), was captured by Joshua, and distributed, this account of the leadership of Joshua over the whole people cannot easily be reconciled with the question raised in the very first verse of the Book of Judges (p. 76). The situation in which they there stand indicates that the whole land has by no means yet been taken; and, in reference to the division of the *whole* land, the notice in Judg. xviii. 1 squarely contradicts the data of our book. Now as regards this notice compared with Josh. xix. 40-46, the explanation will be found in the commentary on that passage; but in reference to the other two supposed contradictions between Judges and Joshua, we think that question, who should lead the war against the Canaanites, after the death of an all-controlling personage, like Joshua, is easily explainable, the more so, as he had died without designating a successor in the office, as Moses had once done. It not only proves nothing against his single leadership, but shows on the contrary, how greatly they needed such a "duke" as Joshua had been.

No more can we allow any formal contradiction between Joshua and Judges in respect to their views of the conquest of the land. According to Hauff (and in this others, *e. g.* Noldeke, have followed him), this discrepancy exists also within the Book of Joshua itself (p. 111 ff.), if the accounts of the first part are compared with those of the second. Here, however, Ewald appears to us to have hit the truth (*Hist. of the People of Israel*, ii. p. 342, 2d ed.) when he assumes that Joshua incontestably, in the first years of his invasion of Canaan, subjugated the land on all sides and received the submission of the entire body of the Canaanites, as many as were spared: when he declares further that on closer consideration no doubt is left that even then, after the first victory over Canaan, much of really permanent importance had been accomplished (of which character he reckons the division of the land, the establishment of the tabernacle in Shiloh, the institution of different religious usages and ordinances pertaining to the cultus, particularly the appointment of the Levitical cities, pp. 337, 341); when he shows finally — and this is of principal moment here, — how, out of this new condition of things itself, there must directly arise new dangers (p. 342). For, although the conquest had been effected with great rapidity (p. 336), the first expeditions of the Hebrews could be little more than what the Arabs in all the three quarters of the globe called *Alghären*, or rather (since the Hebrews had no cavalry,) *razzias*, swift forays, that is, for momentary conquest rather than for the permanent subjugation of the land; and when the camp, whether of many united or of single tribes, was at a distance, then certainly after the raids had passed by, the dense columns of the inhabitants would soon gather again, having promised submission, indeed, but

for the most part without any thought of rendering it (p. 342). With great propriety Ewald then reminds us further how long it was before the Saxons in England, the Mohammedan Arabs in Egypt, were entirely established. In this view of the case we cannot, although fully recognizing the different documents which lie at the bottom of our book, in this respect either, affirm any proper contradiction between it and the Book of Judges, or, within the Book of Joshua, between its first and second parts.

In regard to the religious institutions, Hauff considers the difficulties to be still more important (p. 84). Shechem, made a free and Levitical city (Josh. xx. 7; xxxi. 21), appears in Judges ch. ix. as a common city provided with idolatrous worship (ver. 4, 46), in which, therefore, a Levite in the sense of the Mosaic law cannot possibly be imagined. But could not idolatry, in an age of disorder like that of the Judges, when idolatry broke in everywhere, invade Shechem also? Again, is it anything contrary to the historical accuracy of the account given in Josh. xxi. of the assignment of the Levitical cities, and to the high legal respect which, as we learn from Josh. viii. and xxii. priests and Levites enjoyed, that at the same period, according to Judg. xvii. 7, xix. 1, "a Levite from Bethlehem-Judah wanders about homeless?" We need only consider that the excellent system established must be gradually carried into effect, and that for this the time following Joshua was not especially suited.

When in regard to the religious condition of the people in general, we are told that it was excellent under Joshua, but afterwards (Judg. iii. 7) was such that idolatry had *universally* crowded out the worship of Jehovah, we may certainly concede that Joshua xxiv. 31 (comp. also Judg. ii. 7) favors this view; but the word of Phinehas to the Gileadites (xxii. 17) as well as the whole transaction of Joshua with the people at Shechem (xxiv. 1 ff.), and in particular his demand that they should put away their false gods (xxiv. 23), proves how untrustworthy the religious disposition of Israel was, how strongly the people inclined to idolatry, how easily they might fall back into it.

Of the contradiction between statements made in different parts of the book itself (of which Hauff treats, p. 102 ff.) one, and perhaps the most notable, we have already explained. For the most part the matters enumerated are properly the same as in comparing this book with the Book of Judges. We select one more point only, which Hauff himself brings up, when he writes, p. 128: "In general it is statements in relation to *worship* — the place where it should be offered, as well as the persons on whom its duties devolved — in which we find discrepancies hard to be reconciled. At first the main camp is at Gilgal (v. 9 ff.), even after the altar was built (viii. 30–33, xiv. 6) on the mountains Ebal and Gerizim (?); finally, the tabernacle is reared in Shiloh (xvii. 1), and there is also the abode of the heads of the people (xxi. 1 f.); there the people come together to consult about the attempt of the two and a half tribes to build an altar beyond the Jordan; there, also, perhaps the heads of the people (xxiii. 2) were collected with Joshua. But how comes it that in ch. xxiv. 1, Shechem is the place of meeting, since here, a solemn covenant is adopted and a written document concerning it deposited with the law-book (ver. 26)? Still further; the holy ark is in many places the symbol of the presence of Jehovah; in ch. iii. it is borne in front in the passage of the Jordan; so ch. vi. at the destruction of Jericho; in neither of these chapters is a word said of the tabernacle, not even in connection with the residence in Gilgal; ch. xviii. first tells of its erection in Shiloh, ch. xxii. 19 names a "מִשְׁכַּן there; while ch. xxiv. 1, on the contrary, speaks of an assembly of the people לְפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים in Shechem; and ver. 26 of a "מִקְדָּשׁ there, beside a great terebinth-tree. Those are certainly not harmonious intimations, but they involve no essential contradiction. For if the tabernacle is not mentioned in the account of the capture of Jericho (ch. vi.), but its erection is first reported after the entire land was conquered (ch. xviii. 1), we find the one fact as natural and appropriate to circumstances as the other. What could the tabernacle have to do with the storming of a town? Quite otherwise was it with the chief possession of the tabernacle, its most remarkable piece of furniture symbolizing the presence of Jehovah — the ark of the covenant, — which could be, as it was, carried before the people. And in reference to Shiloh and Shechem, to the "מִשְׁכַּן in Shiloh and the "מִקְדָּשׁ in Shechem, we easily understand them both side by side. There are already nascent, self-developing relations in which Shiloh represents the unity of the cultus at which Moses aimed, which Joshua also, and Eleazar and Phinehas strove after, while the "מִקְדָּשׁ at Shechem looks back yet to the patriarchal time as well as to the transaction recorded in ch. viii. 30 ff.

So much in reference to some of the principal objections of Hauff. These, even if we add what the author says, p. 191 ff., concerning the *scope* and *date* of the book of Joshua, are not strong enough, in our judgment, to bring down the historical value of the book, as Hauff, evidently influenced very strongly by De Wette (p. 204), would do. He comes to the result, in regard to chaps. i.-xi. at least, that the author "aimed not to give any history of Joshua, in our sense of the word 'history,' but a history of the taking of the land of Canaan by the Israelites under the mighty power of God; that the person Joshua is indeed gathered out of the history, and the events as such for the most part belong to the real history, but that the plan and arrangement serve a higher end." This higher end indeed he understands to be essentially of a religious and moral kind, — to enliven zeal for Jehovah and his service by a representation of God's dealings with his people, only, according to Hauff's conception, the end so influences the narrative that the facts are shaped to correspond to it (p. 237). The consequence of this theory is the mythical conception of the Biblical history. This meets us in Noldeke quite unqualifiedly, while Ewald favors it, but only in part. Now we will grant that the Book of Joshua "aims to give no history of Joshua in our sense of the word," for that would have required our time with its rich scientific helps, and its advanced scientific culture. But that the book would give the facts, as they survived partly in written records, partly in oral tradition, without enslaving them to any higher aim even though that were the highest of which a Hebrew writer could conceive — the interest of Jehovah's worship, — that we cannot give up. "A higher aim," in itself we would not deny, as may be seen from § 1, only we would and must dispute that this affected the writing of the history in such a way that out of the *history* there comes at last a *fiction*, and that one proceeding on these principles feels obliged to concede, in regard to Moses, *e. g.*, that "on the whole it results from the criticism of the Pentateuch, alas! that the noble, living image of Moses, as we find it, especially in Exodus and Numbers, wears no historical features, but is mainly a grand creation of later hands. Of the historical Moses there remain to us only a very few certain traces; at the bottom we know surely concerning him only that he was Israel's leader out of Egypt, and gave a mighty impulse to the religious development of his people" (Noldeke, *O. T. Lit.* p. 26). That truly would be little enough, and strongly reminds us of similar assertions of Strauss, according to which Christ is likewise a grand creation of a later hand, an imagination of the apostolic congregation.

The primary stumbling-block for most of the critics is, when we reach the bottom, *miracles*, which are assumed beforehand to be something impossible, and incongruous with rational conceptions, whether we find them on Old or New Testament ground. Hauff does not deny this; he explains rather: "the interpreter of the Bible must not bring to his work the assumption beforehand that miracles are impossible. With all his effort, and all his force, it cannot be got rid of sometimes that the Biblical historians intended to relate miracles" (p. 211). On these principles he proceeds, although disavowing the purpose of Rationalism, to fish up in the accounts of miracles some expressions out of which the original, natural occurrence might possibly be discovered (p. 211). On the other hand, however, Hauff objects to our author that he is accustomed, in order to suit *his design*, to treat of miracles with intentional exaggeration of the supernatural (p. 215); and, with reference to this his design, in a given case would attempt an enhancement of the miracle (p. 223); in view of which the miraculous narratives in him "must be apprehended quite otherwise than elsewhere." How far this assertion is correct or otherwise, will be shown by the particular examination of the five miraculous accounts, in ch. iii. and iv.; v. 13-15; vi.; vii.; x. 12-15. *On our own general position as to this matter, we may be permitted here to remark merely, that we most certainly hold to the possibility of miracles, because God is a living God (iii. 10), and can find, therefore, in miraculous narratives no objection to the credibility of a Biblical Book, while yet we would not, on this account, avoid a careful scrutiny of the reports existing in regard to them.*

§ 4. Chronology.

* The chronological data afforded by our book are very few, but enough at least to guarantee some standards for fixing the reckoning of time. Chap. iv. 19 we are told that on the tenth day of the first month (Abib) the people "came up out of the Jordan," but, unfortunately, not as in 1 Kings vi. 1 is the year after the Exodus given. We learn nothing further than that the passage of the river took place in the spring of the year. If now we place the Exodus, according to the common view, about 1500 B. C. (1495 B. C., Fürst, *Gesch.*

d. Bibl. Lit. p. 351), we reach the time about 1460 as the date of the passage of the Jordan. But here arises the second question, How many years were required for the conquest of Canaan? upon which follows the third, How long Joshua held the government altogether, or, What space of time does our book embrace? For answer, we have the passages ch. xi. 18; xiv. 7, 10, 11; xxiii. 1; xxiv. 29. In ch. xi. 18 it is only reported in general that Joshua waged war a long time יָמֵי רַבִּים with the Canaanite kings. Ch. xiv. 7, 10, 11, leads to a more accurate determination of this period, since Caleb says he was forty years old when Moses sent him out to explore the land of Canaan (ver. 7), and Moses swore to him that he would give him as an inheritance the land to be conquered by him (ver. 9), that *now forty-five years have past* since Jehovah spoke this word to Moses, *which* (= during which) *Israel wandered in the wilderness.* Here evidently "the years of the conquest of Canaan during which Israel had not yet come into the peaceful possession of the land, are in a loose expression added to those of the wandering in the wilderness," as all interpreters without difference admit; because, when Caleb offered this petition, the conquest of the land, as ch. xiv. 5, agreeing with ch. xi. 23, declares, was already completed. How long then did the conquest require? Since the mission of the spies under Moses, with which coincides in time the promise of God to Caleb which the latter here recalls (see the Comm.), took place in the second year of the Exodus (Num. xiii. 14; Deut. ii. 14), and the wandering in the wilderness lasted from that time exactly thirty-eight years, as Deut. ii. 14 states, Jewish tradition had already quite accurately determined the time required for the conquest to be 45-38 = 7 years (Joses *Seder Olam*, ch. xi. in Fürst, *ubi sup.* p. 408). This was adopted by Theodoret, whom Keil, Gerlach, Bunsen, of modern commentators, and Fürst (but with peculiarities and various emendations of the text) have followed. Josephus on the contrary (*Ant.* v. 1, 19) gives the duration of the conquest as only five years. He says, *l. c.* "Ἔτος δὲ πέμπτον ἤδη παρεληλύθει καὶ Χαναανίων οὐκ ἐν' οὐδὲς ὑπολείπειτο, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινες εἰς ὄχυρότατον τεῖχος διέφυγον." Ewald supposes the author of ch. xiv. 10 also thought only of five years, which certainly seems very probable when we consider the fondness of the Hebrews for reckoning in round numbers. Knobel is of the same opinion, remarking on ch. xiv. 15, "the wars of Joshua therefore had, according to our author, lasted about five years." To pronounce a definite judgment is difficult, and is quite unnecessary, as the difference between five and seven years is of no consequence. But when Fürst (*ubi sup.*) assumes that the conquest occupied seven years in all, five of which were spent in the south and two in northern Palestine, the text gives no clear and definite support for his opinion.

There still remains the *third* chronological question, How long in all did Joshua hold the government? which is the same as, What space is covered by our book? Chap. xxiii. 1 speaks just as vaguely as xi. 18 of יָמֵי רַבִּים, after which Joshua, who was already old and advanced in years, יָרַח בָּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, held the national assembly. In ch. xxiv. 29 it is said that he was one hundred and ten years old when he died. These are all the notices which the Book of Joshua, and even the whole Bible gives. We find more in Josephus, who reports, *Ant.* v. 1, 29: Καὶ ὁ μὲν (sc. Ἰησοῦς) τοσαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διαλεχθεὶς τελευτᾷ, βιοὺς ἑκατὸν ἑτῆ καὶ δέκα, ὡν Μωϋσῆϊ μὲν, ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν χρησίμων, συνδιέτριψε τεσσαράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτῆν γίνεσθαι πέντε καὶ ἑξοστί. Here the life of Joshua is defined, in agreement with ch. xxiv. 29, as having covered one hundred and ten years, of which forty belonged to the period in which Joshua was yet with Moses, and twenty-five to that of his sole leadership. There are then forty-five years left for the time before the Exodus. Ewald (*ubi sup.* pp. 330, 331) and Fürst (p. 351) maintain that Josephus took this, in their opinion trustworthily, notice out of "an old document which did not show the gaps of the 'book of Origins,' as Ewald calls the ground-text" (p. 330). At the same time Ewald (*l. c.* Rem. 3) and Fürst (p. 351, Rem. 4) call to mind that other writers of these later centuries give always twenty-seven (Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 3, 24; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21; Euseb. *Chron.* I. pp. 160, 170 of the Armen. translation, and G. Syncellus, *Chronogr.* p. 284, ed. Bonn), and Eupolemos (ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 9, 30; 10, 14) names even thirty years. Nay, the *Chron. Sam. Arab.* ch. 39, gives him forty-five years dominion, but in other places (ch. xxi., xxv.) only twenty-one. Of these higher figures the number twenty-seven is explained by supposing that the conquest was reckoned as occupying seven years; the others appear to be taken quite arbitrarily. Starke also speaks of twenty-seven years, referring to this reckoning among the Christian Fathers, as follows (*Pref. to Joshua*, § 10, p. 5): "The chronology of this book is variously

given; some assume twenty-seven years"; but he then immediately adds: "others, however, with more probability, only seventeen, from the beginning of Joshua's rule to his death. The latter rest on 1 Kings vi. 1, since from the Exodus to the temple of Solomon there are reckoned four hundred and eighty years. For the government of Joshua there are actually left seventeen years, if we reckon before and after that government as follows:—

| | |
|--|-----------|
| " (a.) From the Exodus to the government of Joshua are | 40 years. |
| " (b.) From the beginning of the government of Joshua to the division of the land | 7 " |
| " (c.) From the beginning of the division to the death of Joshua | 10 " |
| " (d.) From Joshua to Eli | 299 " |
| " (e.) From Eli to Samuel (1 Sam. iv. 18) | 40 " |
| " (f.) From Samuel to David (Acts xiii. 21) | 40 " |
| " (g.) From David to Solomon (1 K. ii. 11) | 40 " |
| " (h.) From the accession of Solomon to the beginning of the building of the Temple | 4 " |
| | 480 " |

Instead of four hundred and eighty years, we read in Acts xiii. 20 of four hundred and fifty years only; in Josephus, on the contrary (*Ant.* viii. 3, 1), of five hundred and ninety-two, and in two other places (*Ant.* xx. 10, 1, *Cont. Apion*, 2, 2), of even six hundred and twelve years. In the passage in Acts (xiii. 20) the number four hundred and fifty is given not as chronologically exact, but approximate only (ὅσος), and can therefore decide nothing against 1 K. vi. 1 (Bähr, *Bibelwerk*, A. T. vii. p. 41). But Josephus contradicts himself; four hundred and eighty years must therefore, with Ewald, Winer, Thenius, Rösch, Bähr, and very recently also, Hitzig (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. pp. 13, 14), be held as correct. This being done, then, if we take the twenty-five years of Josephus for the rule of Joshua, the period of the Judges must be shortened, against the reckoning of Starke, by eight years, thus:—

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| (a.) | 40 years. |
| (b. and c.) | 25 " |
| (d.) | 291 " |
| (e.) | 40 " |
| (f.) | 40 " |
| (g.) | 40 " |
| (h.) | 4 " |
| | 480 " |

Since, however, Josephus generally, as Ewald himself concedes, is not "a good chronologist" (p. 484), we ought not to lay too much stress on his twenty-five years in and of themselves (comp. also the explanation of ch. xviii. 4 ff. in reference to the date ἐν ἰβήδωσ ἡγῆν in *Ant.* v. 1, 21, *ad. fin.*). It is possible that Joshua's command lasted so long, and so Des Vignoles and Winer also assume, and that our book embraces thus a space of a quarter of a century, but it is possible also that this space was shorter. The results of our investigation would accordingly be these: (1) the passage of the Jordan by the people of Israel took place in the spring of the year about 1460 B. C.; (2) the conquest was effected in not less than five, at the most in seven, years (1460-1455 or 1453 B. C.); (3) the leadership of Joshua, embraced a period of at least fifteen years, at the most twenty-seven (1460-1445 or 1433 B. C.); (4) the same number of years is included also in our book.

OBSERVATION 1. The time of the elders mentioned in ch. xxiv. 51, and again in Judg. ii. 17, we agree with Ewald in ascribing to the יִרְמְיָהוּ of Joshua. He assumes that to the time of Solomon from the Exodus (that being regarded as the *terminus a quo* of the Hebrew time-reckoning, p. 479) such יִרְמְיָהוּ, twelve of forty years each, are to be recognized (pp. 481, 482). So also Fürst, pp. 351, 352, 409.

OBSERVATION 2. Departing altogether from all other inquirers, Bunsen, in his *Biblischen Jahrbüchern*, incorporated into his *Bibelwerk*, vol. 1., places the crossing of the Jordan in the year 1280 B. C. on the authority of Egyptian and Assyrian chronology. He further assumes that Moses died in the twenty-second year of the Exodus (1299 B. C.); that Joshua, who at that time took upon him the command, completed the conquest and division of the land in seven years, and immediately thereupon, in the forty-seventh year of the Exodus (1274 B. C.), closed his life. According to this reckoning also Joshua was leader of the people for twenty-five years (pp. cxxviii., cxxx.).

not all, however, in Canaan proper, but eighteen years in the land east of the Jordan, and seven on this side. The accuracy of the chronological notice contained in 1 K. vi. 1, Bunsen likewise disputes, since, according to his calculation, the Exodus took place in the year 1320 B. C. during the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, and the building of the Temple in 1004 B. C. during the twenty-first dynasty, not four hundred and eighty years, therefore, but only three hundred and sixteen after the Exodus.

§ 5. Character of Joshua.

As at the time of the Exodus, which as an event of the very highest significance was ever after retained in the mind of the people so vividly as to become their epoch for the reckoning of time, as then Moses, the chosen instrument of God's providence, led his nation and impressed upon it the stamp of his own mighty soul; so Joshua, in the period immediately subsequent, carried forward the work already begun, and by the establishment of a regulated theocratic commonwealth, brought it to a definite conclusion. His period is, as we at least cannot but view it, something more than "a beautiful twilight after the descending sun of the Mosaic day" (Ewald, *ubi sup.* p. 311). It has an original, fresh, youthful aspect of its own, is a true image of the spirit which lived in Hosea the son of Nun, as he was called at first (Num. xiii. 8) until Moses named him Joshua (Num. xiii. 16). He was a man in whom there was spirit (Num. xxvii. 18), and that a spirit of wisdom (Deut. xxxiv. 9) such as must fill the real man of God in the O. T. Joshua was not indeed a prophet, as Jesus Sirach makes him out (ch. xlvi. 1), and Josephus also (*Ant.* iv. 7, 2: *Μωϋσῆς δὲ γεραῖος ἤδη τυγχάνων, διάδοχον αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τε ταῖς προφητείαις, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶ που δεήσειε γενησόμενον*), since he was directed, Num. xxvii. 21, to seek the divine will through Eleazar the high-priest; but he was a divinely inspired General and Regent, greater than any of the heroes who followed him through the time of the Judges, a real Joshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ or יְהוֹשָׁע, contracted Neh. viii. 19, יְהוֹשָׁע; LXX. *Ἰησοῦς*, "whose help is Jehovah," like יְהוֹשֻׁעַ 2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chron. xiv. 5), a warrior of God, whose help was Jehovah. On this very account also could he become a savior of his people. Truly did Moses "at the right moment perceive the real greatness of this hero, and give him the right name; instead of Hosea (יְהוֹשָׁע), i. e. *help*, which he was already called as the delegate of his tribe, Moses named him thereafter, with little change of the sound but with an important addition to the sense, Jehoshua, i. e. *God-help*" (Ewald, p. 306).

Born in Egypt, Joshua had, in common with all other Israelites, deeply felt the load of oppression which weighed the people down, and joyfully hailed the hour of freedom from the house of bondage, of deliverance from the iron furnace (Deut. iv. 20; 1 K. viii. 51; Jer. xi. 4). He was early allowed an opportunity, as one of the chief men of Ephraim (Num. xiii. 8), to show his *bravery*, when at Moses' command, he opposed the swarms of wild Amalekites in Rephidim (now Erraha, or Raha, see Knobel on Ex. xvii. 6), and, supported by the prayer of Moses, triumphantly overcame them. For Joshua discomfited (יִתְחַלֵּף) Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword (Ex. xvii. 8-13). By this exploit Joshua rose in the estimation of Moses, accompanied him (Ex. xxiv. 13) on the Mount of God, was at other times constantly about him (Ex. xxxiii. 11) as his minister (see on ch. i. 1), and, being then in the strength of his life (Ex. xxxiii. 11, כֹּחַ), laid the foundation in this intercourse with Moses of his knowledge of God and confidence in Jehovah who had for the first time revealed himself (Ex. vi. 2, 3) as such to Moses. Through such confidence in God, which was never afterward more gloriously manifested than in the victory at Gibeon (Josh. x. 12-15), his native bravery gained a mighty support, so that he trembled not, whether the enemy met him in open fight, or the excited people, believing rather the extravagant reports of the other spies than the plain and truthful words of Caleb and himself, cried out that he should be stoned (Num. xiii. 31-34, xiv. 6-9, 10).

With this boldness, invigorated by filial trust in the Lord, there was joined in him a *gift of keenest observation*, which enabled him to perceive that their defense had departed from the Canaanites (Num. xiv. 9), so that it might be foreseen that they must become a prey to the Israelites, "bread" for them, as he expresses it in that popular style which we elsewhere recognize in him (*e. g.* Josh. xvii. 14-18; xxiii. 10; xxiv. 12).

These qualities fitted him in a high degree for the position which Moses, before his death, by the command of God, assigned to him (Num. xxvii. 16-23, comp. with xxxii. 28; Deut. iii. 28; xxxi. 23). He was appointed, as Moses had desired of Jehovah, to go in and out before

the congregation, and lead them out and in, that the congregation of Jehovah might not be as a flock without a shepherd (Num. xxvii. 17). Being now, probably, of about the same age as his trusty companion Caleb, of the house of Judah, the latter being then, as would seem, about eighty years old (s. § 4), and the sole survivor besides himself of all the Hebrew men who came out of Egypt (Num. xiv. 30, 38), he inherited the leadership of his people. From this time onward how eminently did he prove himself ever a God-fearing commander (ch. iii. 5, 9, 10; iv. 6, 7, 21-24; v. 1-9; vii. 6-9), trusting confidently in the help of God (ch. iii. 5; vi. 6 ff.; viii. 3 ff.; x. 12-15, 19, 25), often strengthened and consecrated to the strife by God himself (ch. i. 1-9; vi. 2, 3; viii. 1, 2; x. 8; xi. 6, especially v. 10-15), circumspect and prudent (ch. i. 11; ii. 1; viii. 4-8), quick and bold (ch. x. 9; xi. 7; x. 28-43; xi. 10-23), always taking full advantage of victories gained, of unexceptionable energy (ch. viii. 26; x. 10, 19, 28-42; xi. 8, 9). A commander, nevertheless, who humbly and modestly asked for himself (ch. xix. 49, 50) only a small possession, and in his farewell discourse (ch. xxiii. 1-16; xxiv. 1-15), despising self-laudation, gave all the honor to Jehovah, of whom it is said that he was with Joshua so that they spoke of the latter in all lands (ch. vi. 27). If he at times dealt fearfully according to our conceptions with some, as against the King of Ai (ch. viii. 29), and against those other five kings (ch. x. 1, 16, 23-27) whom he shamefully humbled and pitifully hanged, let us not forget the vast difference between our time and his. If he—to touch yet on one chief complaint brought against him by Eichhorn and Paulus (*not*, however, by Herder, as Keil assumes, p. liii. (53)),—if he proceeded not only against individuals, but against the Canaanites generally with the edge of the sword (כַּרְסֵי הַיָּדָיִם), burning their cities with fire, and casting them down unsparingly (ch. vi. 24; viii. 24; x. 28-43; xi. 10-19), and this all, as is repeatedly stated (viii. 2; x. 25, 40; xi. 15), by divine command, with the coöperation of Jehovah, by whom the heart of the Canaanites had been hardened to meet the children of Israel in battle (xi. 20), we may with Ewald reply to all such attacks upon Joshua, nay, even upon God himself, “that a people, sinking ever more deeply into divisions and moral perverseness, as the Canaanites, in great part at least, then were (comp. vol. i. p. 324 ff.; Wisd. Sol. xii. 2-6), should fall before another people in whom there arises the harmonious strength of a life trusting in divine powers, and so striving upward, is an *eternal necessity*.”¹ Thus it happened also in the storms of the popular migrations, in which old but corrupted states of much cultivation crumbled before the pressure of mighty natural races. Not less do the conquering expeditions of the Arabs in the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ furnish an analogy. So much on this topic here. We shall have frequent occasion in the interpretation of the book to touch upon it again. We here simply remark that there was no lack of mildness in the hero of Ephraim. He spared Rahab, faithful to the promise which the spies had given, and with her her father's house (ch. vi. 25), saved the Gibeonites from the hand of the children of Israel (ch. ix. 26), although they had deserved for their cunning falsehood a far different punishment from that which was inflicted on them, namely, to perform menial service in the sanctuary (ch. ix. 27) and appointed the cities of refuge for the manslayers (ch. xx. 1-9).

1 [“It is better”—so spoke a theologian of no fanatical tendency, in a strain, it may be, of excessive (?) but still of noble indignation,—“it is better that the wicked should be destroyed a hundred times over than that they should tempt those who are yet innocent to join their company. Let us but think what might have been our fate, and the fate of every other nation under heaven at this hour, had the sword of the Israelites done its work more sparingly. Even as it was, the small portion of the Canaanites who were left, and the nations around them, so tempted the Israelites by their idolatrous practices, that we read continually of the whole people of God turning away from his service. But had the heathen lived in the land in equal numbers, and, still more, had they intermarried largely with the Israelites, how was it possible, humanly speaking, that any sparks of God's truth should have survived to the coming of Christ? Would not the Israelites have lost all their peculiar character? and if they had retained the name of Jehovah as of their God, would they not have formed as unworthy notions of his attributes, and worshipped him with a worship as abominable as that which the Moabites paid to Chemosh, or the Philistines to Dagon?”

But this was not to be, and therefore the nations of Canaan were to be cut off utterly. The Israelite's sword, in its bloodiest executions, wrought a work of mercy for all the countries of the earth to the very end of the world. They seem of very small importance to us now, those perpetual contests with the Canaanites, and the Midianites, and the Ammonites, and the Philistines, with which the books of Joshua and Judges and Samuel are almost filled. We may half wonder that God should have interfered in such quarrels, or have changed the course of nature, in order to give one of the nations of Palestine the victory over another. But in these contests, on the fate of one of these nations of Palestine, the happiness of the human race depended. The Israelites fought not for themselves only, but for us. It might follow that they should thus be accounted the enemies of all mankind—it might be that they were tempted by their very distinctness to despise other nations: still they did God's work,—still they preserved unhurt the seed of eternal life, and were the ministers of blessing to other nations, even though they themselves failed to enjoy it.” Arnold's (Dr. Thos.) *Sermons*, vi. 35-37, as found in Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, lect. xi. p. 283 ff. And see Stanley's whole treatment in that Lecture of the moral difficulty connected with the extermination of the Canaanites.—Ta.]

Joshua, moreover, was not only as a general an illustrious, highly endowed leader of his people, and one filled with the spirit of God, but, conspicuous equally in the deeds of peace as in the deeds of war, he was not less capable as a *regent* than as a *soldier*. In this relation also he acts always from the higher, theocratic motive. He will establish a commonwealth for his people; but this commonwealth must correspond to the description given in grand outlines by God, through Moses, in the wilderness. It should be a commonwealth consecrated to Jehovah, in the midst of which should stand the sanctuary, whose people should be holy to Jehovah. For Israel was to be a holy people (Ex. xix. 6). Accordingly, as soon as the Jordan is crossed, by God's marvelous help, and they tread the soil of Canaan, the land of the fathers, Joshua causes the long-neglected circumcision to be performed at Gilgal (ch. v. 1-9); and then immediately, on the same ground, the Passover to be celebrated for the first time (v. 10-12). He divides the land not according to his own preference, but by the lot, that God himself might, as it were, give the decision (chaps. xiii.-xix.), *raises the holy tent in Shiloh* (xviii. 1), arranges not only the cities of refuge which have been mentioned, but also the Levitical cities (ch. xxi.), acts in harmony with the high-priest Eleazar (xvii. 4; xxi. 1), maintains the unity of the cultus when the two and a half tribes build the altar on the bank of the Jordan (xxii. 12-34), in his farewell address admonishes to fidelity towards Jehovah, warns against apostasy (ch. xxiii. 1-16; xxiv. 1-15), and, having already earlier — perhaps directly after the conquest of the country west of the Jordan — caused blessing and curse to be proclaimed from Gerizim and Ebal (viii. 30-35), solemnly renews the covenant between Israel and Jehovah at Shechem (ch. xxiv. 25) with an earnest demand that all other gods which might possibly still be cherished, should be put away. Conscious as he was, therefore, as a general, of his commission from God, he was not less so as a ruler, who constantly kept in view, and followed with all tenacity and perseverance, his great, heaven-appointed aim, namely, to found a theocratic commonwealth. If he was adorned, as a general, with a bravery supported by fear of God and confidence in him, so as a regent he wore the most beautiful ornament of civil rule: an unselfish, noble spirit of justice coupled with gentleness and wisdom. It was a spirit which gave to every man his own (xiv. 6-15; xxi. 1), but claimed for itself only what was reasonable and moderate (xix. 49, 50), and which could sharply repel unjustifiable demands (xvii. 13-18), although not with "humiliating sarcasm" or with "pointed scorn," as Ewald represents (*ib. sup.* 317, 316). Of this charge, however, we shall have to take fuller notice in our explanation of the passage.

Thus Joshua stands before us distinguished equally as *general* and as *ruler* of his people, a worthy follower of Moses; not a prophet like the latter, and no lawgiver, as was the son of Amram, but filled with the same spirit of fidelity towards Jehovah, and of zeal for the newly incipient commonwealth of God; a man of God in all that he does and in all that he omits. "In the kingdom of God," says Kurtz (*Manual of Sacred History*, p. 102), "he is great who knows that of himself he is nothing. This greatness had Joshua. Among the heroes of the sacred history he stands forth as the one, above almost all others, free from self-will. The most conscientious fidelity towards the law, and a disposition the most imperturbably theocratic, distinguish him. He is prudent, circumspect, where he has to act of himself, for he conducts the wars of the Lord; but unhesitating, quick, and decided where the Lord sends him. His courage is humility, his strength is faith, his wisdom is obedience and fear of the Lord. A gentle disposition, but the furthest possible from feebleness, as is proved by his sternly solemn sentence upon Achan, and the strictness with which he executes the curse upon the Canaanites. Such a union of mildness with strength, of simplicity with prudence, of humility with magnanimity, has in it something evangelical. This peculiarity of his character, together with the peculiarity of the period in the kingdom of God in which he lived, and of the position which he took, makes him and his work a rich type of Him that was to come. He leads the people into the land of promise and of rest, but there is yet a better rest to be enjoyed, to which his antitype and namesake must introduce us (Heb. iv. 9)." With this glance at that unique, glorious antitype, at *Christ* the true Joshua, we close the attempt at a description of the hero of our book.¹

¹ [Baumgarten's characterization of Joshua in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*, s. v. *Josua*, is in much the same tone as the above. From Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, vol. i. lect. 10, we extract the following vivid and impressive sketch of the sacred leader of Israel, breathing a somewhat different sentiment, and hardly giving (as many will think) that regard to his sacredness which it deserves: —

"The difference, indeed, between Moses and Joshua, was marked as strongly as possible. Joshua was the soldier, — the first soldier consecrated by the sacred history. He was not a teacher, not a prophet. He, one may say, hated the extension of prophecy (?) with a feeling which recalls a well-known saying of the great warrior of our own age. He could

OBSERVATION 1. In the N. T. Joshua is mentioned only twice: (1) in the speech of Stephen before the chief council, Acts vii. 45, where it is said that the fathers brought in the tabernacle with Joshua into the possession of the Gentiles, whom God drove out before their face (*ἐξώρεν ὁ θεός*); (2) Heb. iv. 8 (see on ch. i. Doctrinal and Ethical, No. 4). From this passage Starke gives some intimations concerning the typical relation of Joshua to Christ. He says: "Joshua was in name and action a beautiful type of the Messiah. As he led the children of Israel through the Jordan into the land of Canaan, so the latter leads his believing followers finally through death into the heavenly Canaan. He carried out what Moses could not effect; the law of Moses could insure to men no peace and no blessedness, which Jesus and his gospel can, Rom. viii. 3; Heb. vii. 25. Jesus and Joshua begin after Moses leaves off. Joshua was the leader of the bodily Israel, overcame their enemies, distributed to them their land; all which Jesus, the Captain of Salvation, does for the spiritual Israel, Heb. ii. 10" (Starke on ch. i. 1).

Obs. 2. "We find in the East historical traces of Joshua's heroic deeds, outside of the Hebrew writers. Thus Procopius, *Vandal.* ii. 20, mentions a Phœnician inscription near the city Zingis in Mauritania, which had originated with the Phœnicians who had fled from Canaan, and ran thus: 'Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φεύγοντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ληστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ (Suidas s. v. Χαναάν: 'Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν Χαναανοὶ οὓς ἐδίωξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ληστής); and a letter of the Persian king Shaubec in *Chron. Sam.* c. 26, names Joshua likewise "lupus percussor," but according to another recension, "lupus vespertinus," *זאב ערב* (comp. IIab. i. 8). Winer, *Realw.* s. v. Josua. Ewald regards the inscription as a fabrication (p. 298); and in the *Chron. Sam.*, from its character before described (§ 1 obs.), no confidence can be placed. "Other accounts similar to that in Eutropius are more simple, such as the brief statement that Tripolis in Africa was founded by the Canaanites fleeing before Joshua (apud Euseb. *Chron. Gr.* ed. Scaliger, p. 11); but present too little that is definite, and may have arisen out of vague conjectures in which later writers so richly abound" (Ewald, p. 299).

§ 6. *The Holy Land.*

The land captured by the Israelites under the brave leadership of Joshua, we call commonly *Palestine*, or the *holy land*, sometimes also, after Hebrews xi. 9 (cf. Gen. xv. 18; i. 24; Num. xxxii. 11, etc.), the *promised land*. It was called a holy land (אֶרֶץ קֹדֶשׁ) by Zechariah (ii. 12), by the author of the Second Book of Maccabees (i. 7), and in later ages with preference by the Catholics; against which Bachiene (in von Raumer, *Palestina*, p. 23, Ann. 3), without reason remarks, that "this designation rests merely on superstition." It is rather, as Zech. ii. 12 shows, more Biblical than the name *Palestine*, פְּלִשְׁתִּים, which originally referred only to the southwestern part of the land, the country of the Philistines. So Jerome

not restrain his indignation when he heard that there were two unauthorized prophesiers within the camp. 'My lord Moses forbid them.' He was a simple, straightforward, undaunted soldier. His first appearance is in battle. 'Choose out men, go out, fight with Amalek.' He is always known by his spear or javelin slung between his shoulders or stretched out in his hand. The one quality which is required of him, and described in him, is that he was 'very courageous.' 'He was strong and of a good courage.' 'He was not afraid nor dismayed.' He turned not to the right hand nor to the left; but at the head of the hosts of Israel he went right forward from Jordan to Jericho, from Jericho to Ai, from Ai to Gibeon, to Beth-horon, to Merom. He wavered not for a moment; he was here, he was there; he was everywhere, as the emergency called for him. He had no words of wisdom, except those which shrewd common sense and public spirit dictated. To him the divine revelation was made not in the burning bush nor in the still small voice (?), but as the Captain of the Lord's host, with a drawn sword in his hand; and that drawn and glittering sword was the vision that went before him through the land, till all the kings of Canaan were subdued beneath his feet.

"It is not often, either in sacred or in common history, that we are justified in pausing on anything so outward and (usually) so accidental as a name. But if ever there be an exception, it is in the case of Joshua. In him it first appears with an appropriateness which the narrative describes as intentional. His original name, *Joshua*, 'salvation,' is transformed into *Jehoshua*, or *Joshua*, 'God's salvation;' and this, according to the modification which Hebrew names underwent in their passage through the Greek language, took, in the later ages of the Jewish Church, sometimes the form of Jason, but more frequently that which has now become indelibly impressed upon history as the greatest of all names, — Jesus.

"Slight as may be the connection between the first and the last to whom this name was given with any religious significance, it demands our consideration for the sake of two points which are often overlooked, and which may in this relation so catch the attention of those who might else overlook them altogether. One is the prominence into which it brings the true meaning of the sacred Name, as a deliverance, not from 'imputed' or 'future' or 'unknown' dangers, but from enemies as real as the Canaanitish host. The first Joshua was to save his people from their actual foes. The second was to save His people from *their sins*.' Again, the career of Joshua gives a note of preparation for the singularly martial, soldier-like aspect — also often forgotten — under which his Namesake is at times set forth. The courage, the cheerfulness, the sense of victory and of success, which runs both through the actual history of the Gospels, and through the idealization of it in 'the Conqueror' of the writings of St. John, finds its best illustration from the bolder church in the character and career of Joshua.

on Is. xiv. 29 says, "*Philistæos Palæstinos significat*;" and Willermus Tyr., "*Palæstina quasi Philistina a Philistiim dicitur*" (in von Raumer, p. 24). In our book we find none of these names. As a general designation appears rather (ch. i. 4) "the land of the Hittites," whose bounds, according to the old promise, Gen. xv. 18-21, are very widely extended. Further we meet principally with *two* names for the two main divisions of Palestine, for the country west of the Jordan and the country east of the Jordan. The former is *Canaan* (פְּנֵינִי=lowland, as opposed to אֶרֶם=highland), the latter is *Gilead* (גִּלְעָד see on the etym. on ch. xii. 5), as may be seen from ch. xxii. 9, 10, 11, 15, 32, where *Bashan* (בָּשָׁן, from בָּשָׁן, "level, soft soil"), elsewhere standing separate from Gilead, as in ch. xiii. 11, is included with it. Between the east and west country lies the Jordan valley, now Ghor, then called in one part of it פְּרִיר־הַיַּרְדֵּן (Gen. xiii. 10, 11), "circuit of the Jordan," as in Matt. iii. 5, ἡ περιχωπος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, or briefly הַפְּרִיר (Gen. xiii. 12; xix. 17), and in our book synonymously גְּלִיל־וְהַיַּרְדֵּן (ch. xviii. 17; xxii. 10, 11), but in its whole extent called הַעֲרָבָה "low ground, plain, field" [rather, "arid, sterile, desert tract," Gesen., Fürst. — Tr.], (ch. xi. 16; xii. 1, 3). Instead of this in ch. xiii. 27 we have also עֲמָקָה (see Robinson, *Phys. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 81). The west side of the Ghor belonged to Canaan, the east side to Gilead; the Jordan, as we learn partly from the boundaries (ch. xiii. 27; xvi. 1, 7; xviii. 12, 19; xix. 22, 34, etc.), partly from the notices in ch. xxii. (vers. 10, 11, 19, esp. 25), formed the border between those two great provinces of West and East Palestine.

Palestine as a whole lies nearly between $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ east longitude, and between $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of north latitude, almost equally distant from the equator and the Arctic circle. The greatest extent from north to south is about one hundred and fifty-five miles, and from east to west about eighty-five miles. Reckoning the average width at seventy miles we have a surface of 8,560 square miles. It is therefore about half as large as Switzerland, one third as large as Bavaria (von Raumer, p. 25), about the size of the Prussian Rhine province.¹ "*Pudet dicere,*" writes Jerome, "*latitudinem terræ repromissionis, ne ethnicis occasionem blasphemandi dedisse videamur.*" The boundaries of the land, both for its western and its eastern divisions, are given in our book with accuracy, and will be noticed in the commentary on the passages pertaining thereto, ch. xi. 16, 17; xii. 1-6, 7, 8; xiii. 1 ff. In general, they give us to understand that at that time Palestine was already bounded on the south by Arabia Petraea (ch. xv. 2, 3) and the brook of Egypt (xv. 4); on the west by the Sea (xv. 4), sometimes called also (Num. xxxiv. 6) the Great Sea, that is, the Mediterranean Sea; on the north by the mighty heights of Lebanon and Hermon (ch. xi. 17); on the east by the wilderness of Syria and Arabia, toward which Saleha is mentioned as a border town, ch. xii. 5. To denote the extension of the land from north to south we frequently meet with the expression "from Dan to Beersheba" (e. g. 2 Sam. ch. xvii. 11; Judg. ch. xx. 1; 1 Chron. ch. xxi. 2), but not in the Book of Joshua. A similar designation of the breadth appears not to have been used.

In this its secluded position the land was eminently adapted to the purpose which the people of Israel, according to their historical vocation, had to fulfill. On the south and east, far-stretching deserts separated it from contact with all other nations. On the west was spread out the sea, which in those ancient times was little traversed, and even to that extent only by methods of a very imperfect description. On the north rose the protecting mountain walls of Lebanon and Anti-lebanon. Here might the O. T. commonwealth of God develop itself in admirable separateness from the world, the more so as Palestine, in the quality of its soil, its climate, its fertility, answered all the conditions which are requisite for the prosperous development of a community, and for awakening love and attachment to the country, the possession of Jehovah, where the dwelling of Jehovah was erected (ch. xxii. 19; comp. Lev. xxv. 23; Ps. lxxxv. 1). Truly, Israel should, as God had said to Moses (Ex. iii. 8; comp. w. xiii. 5; Lev. xx. 24; Ezek. xx. 6), be led into a good and wide land (אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלֶב וְדָבָשׁ), into a land flowing with milk and honey (אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלֶב וְדָבָשׁ), the fruitfulness of which is praised (Deut. viii. 7-9) in these words: The Lord thy God leads thee into a good land, a land in which are brooks and fountains and seas, that flow (יְצַיֵּן

¹ [Robinson says (*Phys. Geog.* p. 18): "The whole area of the land of Palestine does not vary greatly from twelve thousand geographical square miles, — about equal to the area of the two States of Massachusetts and Connecticut together." See also Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, Am. ed. 2286 ff. — Tr.]

De Wette: "spring out") on the hills and in the meadows (בְּבִקְעוֹת, prop. valley between mountains), a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates, a land of olive-trees and honey, a land in which thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, in which nothing is wanting, a land whose stones are iron and out of whose mountains thou mayest dig brass." (Comp. Deut. xi. 10-12; 2 K. xviii. 32; Neh. ix. 25, 35; Is. xxxvi. 17, etc.) With these descriptions of the Bible agree Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, 21), who praises the fertility and beauty of Palestine; Tacitus, who says, after his manner, with pregnant brevity: "*Uber solum. Exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem præterque eas balsamum et palmæ*" (*Histor.* v. 26); Justinus (xxxvi. 2); Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 8). And these all speak of the later times when many desolating wars on the soil of the "land of the Hebrews" (Gen. xi. 15, and in Joseph.) had robbed it of its excellence. Only one voice, that of Strabo (xvi. 2, 3, 6), appears to contradict these reports. He relates (quoted by von Raumer, p. 92) that Moses led the Jews to the place where Jerusalem stands, and easily took possession of it, because, being rocky and unfruitful round about, no man had claimed it. To this Reland has already replied that this report of Strabo itself, like others, shows Strabo's ignorance in respect to Palestine, and that the vicinity of Jerusalem is not Palestine. True, the soil was not, if we bring before our minds the topography of the land, everywhere equally fruitful; but even in the south of West Palestine, in the Judea of a later day, where the rough lime-stone hills show in many places only a few traces of vegetation, and, towards the Dead Sea, except in the neighborhood of En-gedi, almost none at all, — even here there were more favored districts like that about Gibeon, the plain of Rephaim near Jerusalem, the low-lands (רְפַיִם) on the sea-coast, which have maintained their productiveness till the present day. The mountain of Judah which rises northwardly from Beer-sheba like a higher story of the land, to an average height of 2,400 feet (von Raumer, p. 87), gives that region in many places a gloomy aspect; but so much the more beautiful appears the green of the deeply-cleft wadies whose waters flow partly towards the Mediterranean, and partly towards the Dead Sea. Much more fertile was and is the northward extension of the mountain of Judah, called the mountain of Ephraim, "Mount Ephraim," also ch. xi. 16 the mountain of Israel, whose summits, at the time when Joshua divided the land, were still densely covered with forest (ch. xvii. 15). On account of this richer vegetation, the patriarchs also found here in the early days pasture for their herds about Beth-el and Shechem (Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3; xxviii. 19; xxxvii. 13). It is most luxuriantly produced, either where the Shephelah¹ extends itself through the plain of Sharon even up to the woody and far outstretching promontory of Carmel, or, north of Carmel, in the plain of Jezreel, on the heights of the mountain of Naphthali, named only once in the Bible and that in our book (ch. xx. 7), and in the plain by the sea of Gennesaret. This, now el-Ghuweir, is "described by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 10, 8) in glowing terms for its fertility and productiveness" (Robinson, *Phys. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 77.)

While thus Canaan proper, especially in its middle and northern portions, was eminently adapted to agriculture, the land east of the Jordan offered the most excellent pasturage for cattle. Hence the Reubenites and Gadites, abounding in herds, to whom also half of the tribe of Manassah joined themselves, had early requested of Moses to be allowed to settle on that side of the stream (Num. xxxii. 1 ff. 33; Deut. iii. 12; xxix. 8; Josh. xiii. 7, 8), on those high table-lands which stretch eastward to the mountains of Hauran, and to the Arnon on the south. These, now called en Rukrah and Belka, were then Bashan and Gilead, or merely Gilead. The former is even to this day of extraordinary fruitfulness, and everywhere tillable. The latter, cleft by the deep valleys of the Jarmuk and Jabbok, and other smaller torrents, is famous as a grazing-land, its soil being adorned with a luxuriant growth of grass, out of which rise majestically the evergreen oaks, the oaks of Bashan (Is. ii. 13; Ez. xxvii. 6; comp. Robinson *ubi sup.* p. 57 ff. 139 ff.). Here on these high grounds (3,000 feet above the Mediterranean, 4,300 feet above the Dead Sea), breathes a fresh and invigorating air, doubly invigorating to the traveller who emerges from the deep Jordan valley. This lies far below the surface of the Mediterranean, — 625 feet below it where the Jordan leaves the Sea of Gennesaret, and 1,231 where it empties into the Dead Sea. In it there is no tillable soil except at Bethshan in the north and about Jericho at the south end of the Ghor; between these two places the river is shut in on both sides by two ranges of chalky hills (von Raumer, p. 58). The region about Jericho in particular was celebrated for its fertility (von Raumer, p.

¹ [The Philistine lowlands. See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Shephelah." — Tr.]

58, Anm. 118 a). Further south all vegetation is dried up. There the *Dead Sea*, as we commonly call it, after Galenus and Jerome, but which appears in the historical books of the O. T. under the name of the Sea of the Plain (הַיָּם הַיְצֵרָבָה, Deut. iv. 49; 2 K. xiv. 25), or the Salt Sea (יָם הַמֶּלַח, Gen. xiv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 3, 12; Josh. xv. 2, 5; xviii. 19), or under both names at once (Deut. iii. 17; Josh. iii. 16; xiii. 3), spreads out its desolate surface, forty-seven miles long and more than ten miles wide, between bare, high, steep cliffs of limestone and chalk, inhospitably silent, aptly called by the son of the desert "a curst sea" (von Raumer, p. 61). From its southern point the southern border of Canaan ran across to Beer-sheba, according to ch. xv. 2, and to the river of Egypt, that is, to the point from which we began this survey of the land.

We have before remarked incidentally how very different is the temperature in the Jordan valley from that on the heights to the east of the Ghor. Other such contrasts appear in the holy land, embracing as it does very lofty heights and profoundest depths; so that on its *climate* no general judgment can be pronounced, as can usually be done in the case of so small a country, with more uniform quality of soil, and a different situation. Of Lebanon, whose magnificent mountain-scenery has been described in the liveliest colors by Furrer, in his *Wanderungen durch Palästina* (p. 356 ff.), a work which we shall often have to quote, the Arabic poets say, "that he bears the winter on his head, the spring on his shoulders, in his bosom the autumn; and that summer slumbers at his feet" (von Raumer, p. 89, after Volney, i. 243). Consistently with this writes Burekhardt as he comes, on the 5th of May, 1812, to the mouth of the Mandhur (Jarmuk, *Hieromax*), where it empties into the Jordan: "Northward rose the snow-covered Jebel el-Scheick (Hermon); on the east the fruitful plains of Jaulan lay bedecked with the flowers of spring; while in the south the drooping vegetation appeared to show the effects of a tropical heat." The temperature of Jerusalem (and the same is true in general of the whole hill-country west of the Jordan, Robinson, *ubi sup.* p. 297 f.) is for the most part cool and pleasant, and never oppressively hot except while a sirocco or south wind lasts (p. 293). On the western plain, which rises only a little above the Mediterranean, it is of course warmer, so much so, indeed, that the harvest ripens there about two weeks earlier than on the mountain (p. 298 f.). Disregarding the rough, high mountain regions of Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, and on the other side the tropical heat of the Ghor (where Van de Velde found it more trying than in South Africa, von Raumer, p. 89), the great part of Palestine has a pleasant, generally healthy climate, excellently suited to agriculture and grazing; for there are but few swamps or other causes to operate against the salubrity of the atmosphere (Rob. p. 308). Yet Palestine, as in ancient times so now, is not without contagious diseases, and "the pestilence that walketh in darkness," Ps. xci. 6 (Rob. l. c.).

Of the *natural productions* of the country, wheat, barley, vines, fig trees, pomegranates, olive trees, and honey are mentioned in the passage (Deut. viii. 7-9) before quoted, and it is there said also, that the stones of the land are iron, and brass is dug out of its mountains. As a matter of fact many iron mines are still found on Lebanon, and, from the communications of Rusegger, who has accurately explored Palestine in respect to its geology, they use the brown iron-stone and spathic iron-stone for building near Merjibah (Ruseg. i. 690, iii. 284, ap. von Raumer, p. 96). "Iron and brass shall be on thy shoes," was promised to Asher in the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 25). And according to our book Asher must, with great probability, have received a place precisely on Lebanon (ch. xix. 24-31). So that the occurrence of iron and brass in Palestine is a fixed fact, although it is a question whether by the stones of the land which "are iron," we are not to understand rather (as von Raumer supposes, p. 96), the widespread basalt formation of Hauran, Leja, and Jaulan. The plants mentioned in Deut. viii. 7-9, *wheat, barley, vines, fig and olive trees*, as well as *pomegranates*, are still met with, and are often mentioned in the books of travel. The olive trees grow to the height of from twenty to thirty feet; the fruit begins to ripen in October, and is pressed after lying in hot water. Early figs were the first fruit of the year to ripen; a second sort, the summer figs, came on in August, and a third, the winter figs, remained till January on the tree. The vines bear very heavy clusters, grow to be even thirty feet high (Stephan Schultz, in von Raumer, p. 101 [Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 610, 622]), and yield excellent wine. Pomegranates grow about Gaza, Hebron, and elsewhere in the land. Of the other tall-growing plants of Palestine, we ought specially to indicate the oaks (Is. ii. 13; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Zech. xi. 2) which are found not on the east side of the Jordan alone (Robinson, *Bibl.*

Res. in Pal., etc. ii. 443 [Tristram, *ubi sup.* p. 120, etc.]; the palm trees, near Jericho and Engedi formerly (Judg. i. 16; iii. 13), at the present day near Gaza (Rob. ii. 276), and in Jerusalem (Tobler, *Denkschriften*, p. 109 [at Jaffa, Tiberias, and elsewhere, Tristram, pp. 413, 429, etc.]); and finally the cedars, the glory of Lebanon (von Raumer, p. 31 [Tristram, p. 630 ff.]). The richness of the land in honey (Ex. iii. 8, 17; xiii. 5; Deut. viii. 8; Jud. xiv. 8; 1 Sam. xiv. 25-45) presupposes the multitude of flowers; hyacinths, anemones, jonquils, on Carmel; on the plain of Sharon, tulips, white and red roses, white and yellow lilies, narcissuses and stockgillies (von Raumer, p. 98).

The mention of honey leads naturally to some remarks on the *animals* of Palestine. While the bees are a blessing to the country [comp. Tristram, p. 87 f.] the locusts bring upon it the horrors of desolation, such as Joel has pictured with a master's hand (ch. i. 3 ff.). To the locust which rises out of the abyss (Rev. ix. 3, 5, 10) was power given, as the *scorpions* have power on earth. These latter are found in extraordinary numbers in the Jordan valley below Jericho (von Raumer, p. 103), and the mountain of Akrabbin is named from thence (ch. xv. 5, from שַׂרְפָּיִם, "a scorpion"). *Serpents* which, like them, are created for vengeance on the wicked (Sirach, xxxix. 36), are in modern Palestine but few (von Raumer, p. 106). Their place, however, is well supplied by numerous *birds*, especially singing birds, not merely in Samaria and Galilee, but also along the Jordan, where Robinson (*Lat. Bibl. Res.* p. 316) heard the nightingale warble [comp. Tristram, pp. 513, 523, 585]. Even the Dead Sea is not uncheered by these songsters. "We ourselves," writes Robinson (*Phys. Geog.* p. 219), "and many other travellers, saw birds flying in all directions over the sea. That no water-fowl are here to be met with is simply owing to the fact that the sea shows no trace of fish or plant on which those birds subsist. But the region is full of birds; and at Ain Jidy we were surprised and delighted to hear their morning song in the midst of the solitude and grandeur of these desolations. The trees, and rocks, and air around were full of the carol of the lark, the cheerful whistle of the quail, the call of the partridge, and the warbling of many other feathered songsters; while birds of prey were soaring and screaming in front of the cliffs and over the waters of the sea."

Of *predaceous quadrupeds*, the *lions* (Judg. xiv. 5, 6; 1 Sam. xvii. 34-36; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 K. xiii. 24, 26; Jer. xlix. 19) which, in the days of Samson and David showed themselves in cultivated districts of Judæa, and when Jeremiah lived still haunted the Ghor, have now disappeared from Palestine. *Bears*, on the contrary, are yet found in the mountains of the North (von Raumer, p. 106), but especially are *foxes* and *jackals* numerous in all the land, and not less so the *hares* (p. 107). Of *domestic animals*, the country had dogs, camels, asses, horses (mentioned in our book ch. xi. 4 as belonging to the Canaanites), mules, oxen, buffaloes, numerous flocks of goats and sheep in which the patriarchs, Jacob in particular, were already rich (Gen. xxx. 43).

§ 7. *The Original Inhabitants of Palestine.*

When the Israelites forced their way into this highly favored land where once their fathers had dwelt as nomads, they found, east of the Jordan, the kingdoms of Sihon and Og (ch. xii. 1 ff.) and, in Canaan proper, thirty-one smaller kingdoms besides, as would appear, one free state, Gibeon with its dependent towns Chephira, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim (ix. 3, 17). The land was already cultivated, and owed this cultivation to its inhabitants. These lived in cities, tilled the ground, and had planted olive-yards (ch. xxiv. 13), were acquainted with writing, as the previous name of Debir, Kirjath-sepher (ch. xv. 15), proves, owned horses and chariots (ch. xi. 4; xvii. 18); but in a moral and religious respect were very degraded (Gen. xv. 16; xix. 5; Deut. xii. 29-31; xviii. 9-12; Ex. xxiii. 31-33; xxxiv. 11-14; Josh. xxiii. 12, 13; xxiv. 15). Of them are separately named in our book, —

1. *Canaanite tribes* (ch. iii. 10; ix. 1; xi. 3, where their places of habitation are given, xii. 8; xxiv. 11):¹

A. *The Hittites*, חֵטְתִּים (Χετταῖοι), living on the mountain of Judah (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3, and in general חֵטְתִּים near Hebron where Moses bought of Ephron the Hittite, a cave for a burial-place (Gen. xxiii. 3-20; xxv. 9, 10 ff.). The race appears to have been very powerful, since ch. i. 4 the whole land promised to the Israelites is called the land of the

¹ [On the different races of the Canaanites compare the brief but comprehensive sketch by Stanley, *Hist. of Jewish Ch.* lect. ix., and the articles under the respective titles in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.* — Ta.]

Hittites. According to Ewald (*Gesch. des Volkes Isr.*, i. p. 279 ff.) the Hittites were *dwellers in the valleys*, which, however, does not agree with ch. xi. 3, where they, together with the Amorites, Perizzites, and Jebusites, are reckoned with the inhabitants of the mountain. [This name is used in the Hebrew always in the singular, "the Hittite," with five exceptions.]

B. The Amorites, אֲמֹרִי (Ἀμορραῖοι, according to Ewald, "mountaineers"¹). Sometimes a name for all the peoples of Canaan (ch. xxiv. 18; Gen. xv. 16; Judg. vi. 10; 2 Sam. xxi. 2, and often), according to ch. xi. 3, dwelling on the mountain also, either on the mountain of Judah, in particular (Gen. xiv. 7, 13), or on the mountain west of the Dead Sea, thence called mountain of the Amorites (Deut. i. 7, 19, 20, comp. w. Num. xiii. 30), and to be regarded as a southerly continuation of the mount of Judah; or, northwardly, on the mount of Ephraim, about Shechem (Gen. xlvi. 22, comp. w. John iv. 5): also on the east of the Jordan where the kingdoms of Sihon and Og in Gilead and Bashan are designated as Amoritic kingdoms (ch. ix. 10, comp. w. xii. 2, 4; Num. xxxii. 33, 39; Deut. iv. 47-49). [Hebrew always singular.]

C. The Canaanites, הַכְּנַעֲנִי (Χαναανῖοι, according to Ewald [and Gesen.] "lowlanders"), a designation in a wide sense for all the people of Canaan (Gen. x. 18; xii. 6; xxiv. 3; Ex. xiii. 11, and often), more strictly for a race along the sea and along the Jordan (ch. v. 1; xi. 3; Num. xiii. 29; Deut. xi. 30). That they dwelt in Gezer, is expressly mentioned ch. xvi. 10, comp. the Comm. in loc. In ch. xiii. 4 the land of the Canaanites is the same as that of the Sidonians (ch. xiii. 5), that is, the *Phœnicians*. [Almost always plural.]

D. The Gîrgashûes, הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי (mentioned in ch. iii. 10; xxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1; Neh. ix. 8, while they are wanting in the lists, ch. ix. 1; xi. 3; xii. 8; Ex. iii. 8; xxiii. 23; xxxiii. 2; xxxiv. 11), according to Gesenius "those dwelling on clayey or loamy soil" (גִּרְגָּשִׁי). They had probably (ch. xxiv. 11), as von Raumer suspects, settled as colonists on the west side of the Jordan. In Matt. viii. 28 the Cod. Sinait. reads not Γεργεσηνῶν, which is probably no more than a conjecture of Origen (von Raumer, Gesen.), but Γαζαρηνῶν. [Plural with two exceptions.]

E. The Hivites, הַחִוִּי (Ἰβῆαιοι, according to Ewald, "townsmen, midlanders" [Gesen.; pagani, villagers]; in the cities Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 2) and Gibeon (Josh. ix. 7; xi. 19), but also on mount Hermon in the land Mizpeh, ch. xi. 3, cf. Judg. iii. 3). [In the Hebrew always singular.]

F. The Perizzites, הַפְּרִזִּי (Φερεζῆαιοι; according to Gesenius connected with פְּרִזָּה, "open country," whence פְּרִזִּי Est. ix. 16; Deut. iii. 5; 1 Sam. vi. 18, and then also פְּרִזִּי = "countryman, rustic," with which also *paganus* may be compared), according to ch. xi. 3; Judg. i. 4, 5, likewise living on the mountains, probably with Canaanites, between Beth-el and Ai in Abraham's time (Gen. xiii. 3, 7). It may be questioned, with von Raumer (p. 362), whether also near Shechem? which is, I think, from the connection of Gen. xxxiv. 30 not improbable. [Always singular in the Hebrew.]

G. The Jebusites, הַיְבוּסִי (from יְבוּס, a place trodden down, threshing-floor, ר. בַּיִטָּה" Gesenius), at Jerusalem (Jebus), and in the region around Jerusalem (ch. xv. 8, 63; xviii. 28; Judg. xix. 11), according to ch. xi. 3 on the mountain also (cf. besides Num. xii. 20), like the Amorites, Hittites, and Perizzites; invariably, except ch. xi. 3, named in the lists (ch. ix. 1; xii. 8; xxiv. 11; Gen. xv. 21; Ex. iii. 8; xxiii. 23; xxxiii. 2; xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1). [Always singular.]

"As regards the *origin* of the Canaanites," says Winer (*Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, s. v. "Canaaniter"), "they are reckoned in Gen. x. 15, comp. vers. 6, 18; ix. 22 — as descendants of a certain Canaan who was a son of Ham, and so grandson of Noah, — among the *Hamites*. But this ethnographical conception, which rests, perhaps (Tuch, p. 245), on the tradition concerning the original abodes of the Canaanites, is contradicted by the language of this race, which was no other than the Hebrew (Is. xix. 18, see Gesenius, *Hist. of the Heb. Lang.* 16 f.). The prevailing view of antiquity regarded them (the Phœnicians, Sidonians) as *immigrants* in western Asia, comp. also Justin, xviii. 3, 2; and according to Herod. i. 1; vii. 89, they must have dwelt originally on the Red Sea (that is, on the ocean south of Asia), especially, per-

¹ [This interpretation is said by Grove, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Amorite," "to be due to Simonis, though commonly ascribed to Ewald." — Tr.]

haps, on the Persian Gulf (comp. Strabo, i. 42; xvi. 784), where at a later period, two islands, Tyrus and Arados, were pointed out as the home of the Phœnicians (Strabo, xvi. 766). . . . That, finally, the immigrant Canaanites first occupied the northern (Phœn.) coast, and then, crowding back the primitive inhabitants, spread themselves south and east throughout Palestine, is probable under all the circumstances." Knobel has, as Lange remarks (*Comm. on Gen.*, p. 347), "solved the problem by the supposition that the Canaanites who migrated to that country might have received the Shemitic language from Shemites who had previously settled there. Add to this that the affinity of the Phœnicians and Canaanites with the Hamitic nations of the south seems to be established (Kurtz, p. 90, Kaulen, p. 235)." J. George Müller, on the contrary, had still earlier maintained (*Schweizerisches Museum*, 1837, p. 275 ff. esp. 282), and again repeats (*Herzog's Realencyk.*, vii. 241), in agreement with Grotius, Clericus, and Gesenius, that the Hebrews had, as early as the patriarchal age, received their language from the Canaanites who migrated from the Egyptian sea.

On a more careful consideration of these several views, the question at once arises, Whether the ethnological table in Gen. x. shall maintain its historical character or not. This is denied to it by the majority of recent critics. An error in the Table is assumed and then ascribed to national hatred, which is supposed to have shrunk from the idea of a common derivation (*Realencyk.*, *ubi sup.* 240). Knobel, Bertheau, and J. G. Müller, on the contrary, defend the table, and assume that the Hebrews and Canaanites were of different families, the former belonging to that of Shem, the latter to that of Ham. On this supposition arises the second question: How we are to explain the undeniable agreement in language, as it appears *e. g.* in the inscription of Eschmunazar, king of the Sidonians (cf. Schiottmann's careful explanation of it in the treatise, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazar's Königs der Sidonier, geschichtlich und sprachlich erklärt*, Halle, 1868). Knobel supposes that the Canaanites had, upon their settlement in the country, received the language of the Shemites, whom he conceives to have been resident there already. Among them he reckons the Rephaites [Raphaim], Emites [Emins], Susites [Zuzim], Samsumites [Zamzummim], Enakites [Anakim], Avites, Hivites; and he supposes that the Terahites then followed at a later period. Müller, as we have seen, gives the opposite explanation. He maintains that "the Hebrews, who as a rule, throughout their history, have with great facility appropriated to themselves the languages of the peoples among whom they dwelt" (better, perhaps, "appropriate," for whether it was always so we know not, can only conjecture), "without in the least sacrificing their nationality, had substituted the language of the Canaanites for their own, as they also borrowed of them other elements of civilization, especially alphabetic writing, republican institutions (Suffetes), architecture, etc." (p. 242).

This is the present state of the discussion. One class of investigators give up the ethnographical table, and arrive at a not unsatisfactory result; the others have striven to support the historical authority of the table, but are then compelled to propose hypotheses of which that of Knobel, supposing the Rephaitim, etc., to have been Shemites, is against all previous views (see below), while that of Müller raises against it the consideration, Whether indeed a people so originally endowed as the Hebrews could so easily have given up their "primitively Indogermanic," more specifically their "Aryan or Iranian language (!)," and adopted that of the Canaanites? Under these circumstances we hold that the whole question concerning the origin of the Canaanites is as yet by no means satisfactorily answered.

2. The *Philistines* (פְּלִשְׁתִּים), more rarely פְּלִשְׁתִּים, LXX. in Pent. and Josh.: *φυλιστινῆς*, elsewhere commonly: *οἱ ἀλλόφυλλοι, Παλαιστίνιοι* Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, 18. According to Gesenius: "wanderers, strangers," which is the meaning of ἀλλόφυλλοι, from the Æthiop. *fulasa*, "travel, wander," Heb. פְּלִשְׁ, mentioned in our book, ch. xiii. 2, 3.¹ Their cities, according to ch. xv. 45-47, were allotted to the tribe of Judah, but Ekron later to Dan, ch. xix. 43. They were, as appears from Gen. x. 13, 14, descendants of Mizraim, the son of Ham, and hence, like the Canaanites, were Hamites. From [Deut. ii. 23;] Jer. xlvii. 4; Am. ix. 7, we learn that they came from the island Caphtor, probably Crete. With that agrees, as von Rauner observes, Deut. ii. 23, where it is said that the Caphtorim who came out of Caphtor destroyed the Avim, who dwelt in villages unto Gaza (later the city of the Philistines), and then dwelt there, in their stead. From this, through confusion of names, may have arisen the story handed down by Tacitus: "*Judeos Creta profugos novissima Libya insedisse*" (*Hist.* v. 2). Hitzig, particularly, in his *Urgeschichte der Philister* (p. 17 ff.), has

¹ [The almost entire absence of the article with this name throughout the historical books is noticeable. — Ta.]

proved that the designation of David's body-guard הַפְּרִזִּי וְהַפְּלִיִּי (2 Sam. xv. 18; xx. 7; 1 Kgs. i. 38, 44; 2 Sam. viii. 18; xx. 23) lends support to the Cretan origin of the Philistines. That the name of Crete is preserved in הַפְּרִזִּי is clear at a glance, and in reference to פְּלִיִּי, Hitzig (p. 21) has shown the possibility of its arising from פְּלִשְׁתִּי. Whether the former of these words is applicable to the southern, the latter to the northern portion, or whether פְּרִזִּי is the more general, פְּלִיִּי a more particular term, the Philistines being Cretans, is questionable. Vaihinger (Herzog's *Realencyk.* xi. 557) decides for the former view, and would make the immigration of the Cretes or Caphthorim (Deut. ii. 23; Am. ix. 7) to have taken place not till after Joshua's time, and at first into the district south of Gaza, which thus included the נֶגֶב (Josh. xv. 21-32), but not the אֲשֶׁלָּח embracing the five Philistine cities (Josh. xiii. 3; comp. w. xv. 45-47). Be that as it may, it is certain that the whole people of the Philistines inhabited the "southern sea-plain," as von Raumer descriptively calls it (p. 365), and that this plain was preëminently Palestine (see above, § 6). Even in the time of Abraham and Isaac they dwelt about Beer-sheba and Gerar (Gen. xxi. 34; xxvi. 1). Already at an early day they appear as a people practiced in war, whose country Moses on that account avoids (Ex. xiii. 17, 18). Joshua seems, if we consider ch. xiii. 3, not to have come into conflict with them, and the division of the Philistine territory among the tribes of Israel (ch. xv. 45-47; xix. 43) was and remained, as Winer expresses it, "a project." But under the Judges begins the strife with them, thenceforth prolonged through centuries (Judg. iii. 31; x. 7; xiii. 1, 5), most victoriously maintained by David (2 Sam. v. 17-25; viii. 1), after he had already under Saul distinguished himself as a youthful hero, by the overthrow of Goliath especially (1 Sam. 17), but still leaving it necessary for Hezekiah at a much later period to "smite the Philistines"! (2 K. xviii. 8). *It is historically remarkable that precisely this, the people most hostile to the Israelites, should have given to the country of the latter the name by which it must probably be forever most familiarly known to us of the West, — Palestine.*

3. Other Peoples.

Among these belong, above all, the *giant peoples* (רִפְאִים), of whom repeated mention is made in our book as well as elsewhere, *e. g.* ch. xii. 4; xiii. 12; xv. 8; xviii. 16. They were divided into various tribes, of which, in ch. xi. 21, 22; xiv. 15; xv. 13; עֲנָקִים, עֲנָקִים, עֲנָקִים are specified. Although they are noted, Judg. i. 10, as Canaanites, this statement does not agree with the other places in which they are spoken of. Von Raumer therefore regards them as aborigines. He says: "Before the time of the Canaanitish races, and among them, dwelt giants (רִפְאִים) in Palestine" (p. 364). To these aborigines belonged also, probably, the *Horites* (Gen. xiv. 6, 36; 20 ff.; Deut. ii. 12, 22), — cave-dwellers, troglodytes (comp. Job xvii. 6; xxiv. 5 ff.; xxx. 1 ff.), but not mentioned in our book; and besides these the *Avites* (עֵיִתִים) subdued by the Philistines ch. xiii. 3; Deut. ii. 23; also the *Geshurites* at the foot of Hermon not far from Maacha (ch. xii. 5; xiii. 13), and the *Geshurites* (גִּשְׁרִים) perhaps connected with גִּשְׁרִי a bridge) in the south of Palestine, near Philistia (ch. xiii. 2; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8), and finally the *Giblites* (ch. xiii. 5, הַגִּבְלִי from גִּבְלָה, Arab. jebel = mountain) in the region of Lebanon.

§ 8. Division.

PART FIRST.

THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND OF CANAAN; OR, "THE EXPLOITS OF THE WAR"
(F. Burmann). Chaps. i.-xii.

Section First. The preparation. Chaps. i.-v.

1. The summons to the war, ch. i.

a. The command of God to Joshua, i. 1-9.

1 [See further on the Philistines particularly the very valuable article *s. A. c.* in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*. On the whole subject of the aborigines of Palestine, the account given by Ritter in vol. II. of W. L. Gage's abridgment of his great work may also be strongly recommended. — Tr.]

- b.* The command of Joshua to the leaders of the people, and to the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, i. 10-18.
- 2. The mission of the spies to Jericho, ch. ii.
 - a.* Sending of the spies and their reception by Rahab, ii. 1-7.
 - b.* Preservation of the spies by Rahab on their promise to her that they would spare her and her father's house in the capture of the land, ii. 8-21.
 - c.* Return of the spies to Joshua, ii. 22-24.
- 3. The passage of the Israelites through the Jordan, chaps. iii., iv.
 - a.* Regulations of Joshua in regard to the passage through the Jordan, iii. 1-13.
 - b.* The passage itself of the people through the Jordan, iii. 14 - iv. 18.
 - c.* The erection of the memorial at Gilgal, iv. 19-24.
- 4. The consecration to the holy war, ch. v.
 - a.* The effect of the entrance into Canaan on the inhabitants of the land, v. 1.
 - b.* The *circumcision* of the people, v. 2-9.
 - c.* The Passover. Bread of the land, v. 10-12.
 - d.* The war-prince of God, v. 13-15.

Section Second. The contests of Israel with the Canaanites. Chaps. vi.-xi.

A. Contest against particular cities. Chaps. vi.-viii.

- 1. The capture of Jericho, ch. vi.
 - a.* Preparation for it, vi. 1-14.
 - b.* Capture and destruction of Jericho, vi. 15-27.
- 2. Achan's theft, ch. vii.
 - a.* The crime, vii. 1.
 - b.* The evil consequences in the unfortunate expedition against Ai, vii. 2-5.
 - c.* Joshua's humble prayer and God's answer thereto, vii. 6-15.
 - d.* Detection and punishment of the culprit Achan, vii. 16-26.
- 3. Conquest and destruction of the city of Ai, ch. viii. 1-29.
 - a.* Joshua's stratagem against Ai, viii. 1-13.
 - b.* Apparent flight of the Israelites. Their victory, capture of the city, and its destruction, viii. 14-29.
- 4. The altar of the blessing and curse on Ebal, ch. viii. 30-35.

B. Contest against the allied kings of the Canaanites. Chaps. ix.-xi.

- 1. The first league of Canaanitish kings against Israel, ix. 1, 2.
- 2. The fraud of the Gibeonites, ix. 3-27.
 - a.* Coming of the Gibeonites to Joshua and league with them, ix. 3-15.
 - b.* Discovery and punishment of their fraud, ix. 16-27.
- 3. The great victory at Gibeon over the five allied Canaanite kings, x. 1-27.
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 - b.* Battle at Gibeon, x. 6-15.
 - c.* Flight and destruction of the five kings, x. 16-27.
- 4. Conquest of South Canaan, x. 28-43.
- 5. Vanquishment of the northern Canaanites. Capture of their land. General review of the conquest of Canaan, ch. xi.
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 - b.* The great victory at the water of Merom, xi. 7-9.
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 - a. Its boundaries, xvi. 1-4.
 - b. Portion of the tribe of Ephraim, xvi. 5-10.
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 - i. Joshua's possession, xix. 49, 50.
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 - a. Demand of the Levites that cities should be given them, xxi. 1-3.
 - b. General account of the Levite cities, xxi. 4-8.
 - c. Cities of the children of Aaron, xxi. 9-19.
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 - e. Cities of the Gershonites, xxi. 27-33.
 - f. Cities of the Merarites, xxi. 34-42.
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Section Third. Release of the two and a half tribes belonging across the Jordan. Joshua's farewell discourse. His own and Eleazar's death. Chaps. xxii.-xxiv.

1. Release of the two and a half tribes, ch. xxii.

- a. Joshua's parting discourse, xxii. 1-8.
- b. Return of these tribes to their home. Erection of an altar on the Jordan, xxii. 9, 10.
- c. Embassy of Israel to these tribes on account of the altar, xix. 11-20.
- d. Apology of the two and a half tribes for building the altar, xxii. 21-31.
- e. Return of the embassy. Naming of the altar, xxii. 32-34.
2. Joshua's parting with the people. His death and that of Eleazar. The bones of Joseph, chaps. xxiii., xxiv.
 - a. The first parting address, ch. xxiii.
 - α. Promise that Jehovah will still further contend for his people and help them to the complete possession of the land, xxiii. 1-11.
 - β. Warning against apostasy from God, xxiii. 12-16.
 - b. The second parting address. Renewal of the covenant. Conclusion, ch. xxiv.
 - α. The second parting address, xxiv. 1-15.
 - β. Renewal of the covenant, xxiv. 16-28.
 - γ. Death of Joshua and Eleazar. Joseph's bones, xxiv. 29-33.

§ 9. Literature.

I. *Isagogical*. — Besides the Introductions to the O. T. of De Wette [translated into English by Theo. Parker], Bleek [translated by Venables, 2 vols. London, 1869], Hävernick [translated, Edinb. 1852], [Horne (Davidson)], and Keil [translated by C. Douglass, 2 vols. Glasgow, 1870], the following treatises are worthy of special mention: C. H. Van Herwerden, *Disputatio de Libro Josue sive de Diversis, ex quibus constat, Josue Liber Monumentis deque Elate, qua eorum vixerunt Auctores*, Gröning. 1826. G. A. Hauff, *Einige Bemerkungen über das Buch Josua in Kläuber's Studien der würtemb. Geistlichkeit*, ii. 1, 105-126; and by the same author: *Offenbarungsglaube und Kritik der biblischen Geschichtsbücher am Beispiele des Buches Josua in ihrer nothwendigen Einheit dargethan*, Stuttgart, 1843. König, *Alttest. Studien*, Heft. 1. *Authentie des Buches Josua*, Meurs, 1836. See *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, xi. 260 ff. Baumgarten, on *Josua*, also on *das Buch Josua in Herzog's Theol. Realencyklopädie*, vii. 38-43. Winer, in his *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, art. *Josua*. Knobel, *Kritik des Pentateuch und Josua in the Exeget. Handbuch*, 1861, part xiii. pp. 489-606. Noldeke, *Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, Leipz. 1868, pp. 13-42. Noldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments*, Kiel, 1869, pp. 1-144. Fürst, *Geschichte der biblisch. Literatur*, Leipz. 1867, vol. i. Fürst, *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig, 1868. Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars, Königs der Sidonier*, Halle, 1868, pp. 9-34.

II. *Commentaries*.

"Ephraem Syri, *Explanatio in Libr. Josue* in vol. i. of his *Opera Syriace*. Theodoret, *Questiones in Josuam*, in vol. i. of his *Opera*, ed. Schulze. Aurel. Augustini, *Questiones in Libr. Josue*, in vol. iii. of his *Opera*, Antwerp, 1700, fol. R. Sal. Jarchi (Raschi), *Comment. Heb. in Libr. Josue, etc., Lat. vers.* a Jo. Fr. Breithaupt, Goth. 1714, 4to.

"Jo. Calvini, *Commentarii in Libros Mosis necnon in Librum Josue*, Amstelodami, 1667, fol. Nic. Serarius, *Comment. in Libr. Josue, etc.*, Mog. 1609, vol. i. fol. Andreas Masius, *Josue Imperatoris Historia illustrata*, Antwerp, 1574, fol. Dav. Chytraei in *Historiam Josue, etc., Explicationes Utilissimae*, Lips. 1592, fol. J. A. Osiander, *Commentarius in Josuam*, Tüb. 1681, fol. J. Christ. Ysing, *Exercitationes Historicae in Pentateuchum et Librum Josue*, Regiom., 1683, 4to. Seb. Schmidt, *Annotationes in Libr. Josue*, appended to his *Comment. in Jesaiam*, ed. 2, Francof. 1692, 4to. Critici Sacri, containing *Annotata in Libr. Josue* by Seb. Munster, Fr. Vatablus, Isid. Clarius, A. Masius, Jo. Drusius, and Hugo Grotius, vol. i. ed. 2, Francof. 1696, fol. *Synopsis Criticorum, etc.*, adorn. a Matth. Polo, Francof. 1694, vol. i. 4to. Corn. a Lapide, *Comment. in Josuam, etc.*, Antwerp, 1718, fol. Jo. Clerici, *Veteris Test. Libri Historici, etc.*, ed. nov. Tüb. 1783, fol.

"Aug. Calmet, *Commentaire Litéral sur le Vet. Test., Josue, le Juges, etc.*, Paris, 1711, 4to. J. D. Michaelis, *Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*, with his Germ. translation of the O. T., part v. i. Götting. 1774, 4to. Jo. Christ. Frid. Schulzii, *Scholia in Vet. Test.*, vol. ii., Norimb. 1784, 8vo. *Exegetisches Handbuch des Alten Test.*, part i. with appendices in three parts, Leipz., 1797, 8vo. Thadd. Ant. Dereser, *Anmerkungen zu der heiligen Schrift des Alten Test.* (as

edited by him and Dom. v. Brentano) part ii. vol. i., Frankf. 1801, 8vo. F. J. V. D. Maurer, *Commentar über das Buch Josua*, Stuttg. 1831, 8vo. Ern. Fr. Car. Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.*, part xi. vol. i. Josuam continens, Lips. 1833, 8vo.*

To this list of Commentaries given by Keil, and very carefully prepared, we may add still: Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* iv. 466 sqq., 980. *Das Buch Josua nach dem Masoretischem Texte neu übersetzt* (by Edward Kley), edited by Frankel, Leipz. 1817. F. J. V. D. Maurer, *Commentarius grammaticus criticus in V. T. in Usum maxime Gynasiorum et Academicarum adornatus*, vol. i. 97–126, Lips. 1835, 8vo. K. F. Keil, *Kommentar über das Buch Josua*, Erlangen, 1847, 8vo. [translated into English, Edinb. 1857¹]. *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Test.*, part xiii.; Numeris, Deuteronomium und Josua, erklärt von Dr. A. Knobel, *Nebst einer Kritik des Pentateuch und Josua*, Leipz. 1861, 8vo. *Biblicher Kommentar über das Alte Test.*, edited by K. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, Zweiter Theil. *Die prophetischen Geschichtsbücher*, Erster Band: *Josua, Richter und Ruth*, von K. F. Keil, Leipz. 1863.² (An abridged edition of his former work, revised with reference to the commentary of Knobel, which had appeared in the interval [translated into English, Edinb., 1865]).

[Many of the general Commentaries on the O. T. and special Treatises on pertinent topics mentioned in the first volume of this Commentary on the N. T., p. 19, and in the first on the O. T. pp. 62, 63, might here be recalled. In particular, our old popular commentators should not be altogether overlooked: Mat. Henry, Scott, Gill, Ad. Clarke, etc. Though they may be often less than satisfactory on the "hard places," and sometimes unduly swayed by their theological systems respectively, their insight into the religious significance and uses of the divine word at times shows itself very instructively.

We may mention especially on the Book of Joshua:—

Bush, *Notes Critical and Practical on the Books of Joshua and Judges*, 1838.

Chr. Wordsworth, *Holy Bible with Notes*, ii. part i. pp. 1–74, Lond. 1865.—Tr.]

Of the numerous monographs which have been published on particular passages of our book, especially on ch. x. 9 ff., we specify the following: A. Calmet, *Concerning the Command of Joshua that the Sun and the Moon should stand still, and the Rain of Stones which fell on the Canaanites*, Josh. x. 11 ff., in his *Biblical Researches*, iii. 1, 53 ff. *An Attempt to prove from the Scripture that the Sun did not stand still in Joshua's Time: in the Theological Repository*, vol. i. See *Allgem. Deutsche Bibliothek*, iii. 29 ff. *Biblich-astron. Abhandlung von der Kopernischen Meinung der Weltban, als der heil. Schrift nicht entgegen*, Leipz. 1774. Sturm, *Ist Jos. x. 12 der Stillstand des Sonnes oder des Hagelwetters zu verstehen?* Schleitz, 1778. J. D. Ilgen, *De Imbre Lapideo et Solis et Lunæ Mora inter Pugnã Israelitarum sub Josuæ Auspiciis cum Amorrhæis*, Lips. 1793, 4to. J. Chr. F. Steudel, *Was sagt der Stillstand der Sonne auf Josuü Geheiss?* in the *Tübing. Zeitschrift*, 1813, i. 126–152. N. A. Chr. Weigle, *Ueber Josua x. 7–15*, *ibid.* 1834, iv. 107–165. Hengstenberg, in the *Evangelische-Kirchenzeitung*, 1832, No. 88, and *ibid.* 1868, Nos. 47 and 49. *Das Wunder des Herrn in der Schlacht wider die Amoriter: A Reply to the Essay in the Evang. Church Gazette (Nov. 1832) on the standing still of the Sun*, Josh. x., Barmen und Schwelm, 1833. G. F. Goltz, *Die Stillstehende Sonne zu Gibeon, nach Grundsätzen des Koperikanischen Systems erläutert und vertheidigt*. Dr. G. Barzilai, *Un Errore di Trente Secoli*, 1868, translated into German by Dr. J. M. Triest, under the title: *Josua und die Sonne: Explanation of the passage Josh. ch. x. 9–14 by Dr. G. Barzilai*, Printing-House of the Austrian Lloyds, 1868. Zöckler, *Kopernikus oder Ptolomæus? Betrachtung über Josua x. 12, 13*, in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, iv. (July and August 1868), p. 248 ff. G. Jahn, *Der gesunde Menschenverstand und die stillstehende Sonne zu Gibeon*, Ducherow, 1868. A. Hengstenberg (in Bochum), on Josh. x. 12–14, in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, v. (June 1869), pp. 287, 288.

III. Historical Writings.

J. J. Hess, *Geschichte der Israeliten vor den Zeiten Jesu*, Zürich, 1776–1778, 12 Bde.; in particular Bd. 1, History of the Commanders. Bertheau, *Israelit. Geschichte*, p. 271 ff. H. Ewald, *Geschichte des volkes Israel bis Christus*, Bd. 2, p. 296 ff. (2 Ausg.) Göttingen, 1853 [translated into English by Russell Martineau, Lond. 1868. The references in this work are to the 2d Germ. edition, but the nature of the topics will easily lead in all cases to the place intended.—Tr.] J. H. Kurz, *Lehrbuch der heiligen Geschichte*, 6 Aufl., Königsberg, 1853, pp. 97–103.

¹ [References to this earlier work of Keil in the present commentary will be adapted to the English translation.—Tr.]

² [References to this work in these pages will apply to the German Edition.—Tr.]

[Translated into English, Edinb. 1859.] L. Noach, *Von Eden und Golgotha, Biblisch-geschichtl. Forschungen*, Leipz. O. Wigand, 1868. (Hitherto two volumes have appeared full of the strangest hypotheses suited to confound all previous researches. See the critique in the *Literar. Centralblatt*, 1869, No. 25). F. Hitzig, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel vom Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung Masada's im Jahre 72 nach Christus*. In two parts, Part I. To the end of the Persian Rule. Leipz. 1869, p. 95 ff. [Oehler, *Das Volk Gottes*, in Herzog, *Realencykl.* vol. xvii. p. 259 f. Dean Milman, *History of the Jews*, N. Y. 1867, book v.: Dean Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, 1st Series, lects. ix.-xii. "The Conquest of Palestine." Rawlinson's *Historical Evidences*, Boston, 1860, lect. iii. — Tr.]

IV. Geographical Writings.

1. *Books of Travel*. As important towards the geographical explanation of the Book of Joshua, we must mention particularly: *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, by Burckhardt, Lond. 1822. In German: J. L. Burckhardt's *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai*, edited by Gesenius, Weimar, 1823, 2 Bde, 8vo. Seetzen's *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönizien, die Transjordanländer, Arabia, Petraea und Unteregypten*, edited by Kruse, Berlin, 1854, 3 Theile. G. H. v. Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 u. 1837*. Erlangen, 1838-40, 3 Bde. *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea; A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, by E. Robinson and E. Smith, edited by Edw. Robinson, D. D.; 3 vols. Boston, 1841.¹ [2d ed. 1856, 2 vols. 8vo.] *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, by the same, 1856, 8vo.² [Next in importance to Dr. Robinson's invaluable writings, for the American student, and almost indispensable to interpret even them to our imagination and heart, must now be reckoned Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* (Am. ed. N. Y. 1868). The praise bestowed on this by Grove in the *Dict. of the Bible*, is not exaggerated. Singularly valuable towards a revision of the English version of the O. T. is the Vocabulary of Topographical Terms, with which, as an appendix, this work is enriched. — Tr.] Strauss, *Sinai und Golgotha*, 7 Aufl. Berlin, 1859. J. Rusegger, *Reisen in Europa, Asien und Africa*, Stuttg. 1841-50, 7 Bde. Philip Wolf, *Reise in das Gelobte Land*, with a new plan of Jerusalem, Stuttg. 1849. E. W. Schultz, *Reise in das Gelobte Land*, Mulheim a. d. M. 1853. Titus Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina, im Jahr 1857; A ride through Philistia, travels on foot in the mountain of Judæa, and gleaning in Jerusalem; Gotha, 1859, with a map. Titus Tobler, Nazareth in Palästina. Nebst Anhang der vierten Wanderung*, with a supplement of Illustrations; Berlin, 1868. Konrad Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina*, with a view and plan of Jerusalem and a map of Palestine (by Henry Lange), Zurich, 1865. Fr. Valentiner, *Das heilige Land, "wie es war" und "wie es ist."* Keil, 1868. Van de Velde, *Memoir*, in explanation of his Map of the Holy Land, mentioned below. See on the whole subject, Titus Tobler, *Bibliographia Geographica Palæstine*, Leipz. 1867.

[This work is said by Dr. Hackett (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Palestine, p. 2319) to present the names of 1066 writers on subjects connected with the geography of Palestine. The appendix to Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches* gives a chronological list of such authors, embracing almost all of much importance up to that time, and the catalogue published in Gage's Translation of Ritter (vol. ii.), with that at the close of the article, Palestine, in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, Amer. edition, will supply all that is needed to fill out this department of bibliography to the present date. And here we take occasion to say that in that Dictionary almost every geographical topic, mentioned in the present work, and scarcely less topics of biography, antiquities, ethnology, will be found treated with a satisfactory fullness of learning and admirable succinctness. The corrections and additions of the American edition are valuable throughout, and within the sphere of sacred geography are quite essential to the due presentation of a few important questions. It may almost replace for the English student, and is in some respects superior, in point of geographical information, to the great German Theological Dictionary, Herzog's *Theologische Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Stuttg. & Hamb. 1844-1866.

Much of the same praise is believed to be due to the geographical articles in the last edition

¹ [The references to this work in the present volume are adapted to the edition of 1841. The copious indices will in almost all cases readily direct to the desired portion of either edition. — Tr.]

² [The references to *Later Bibl. Res.* in this work are conformed to the 2d ed., Boston, 1857.]

of Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, and Fairbairn's *Imperial Bible Dictionary*, illustrated; with which, however, the present writer is less well acquainted.

We repeat the titles of two or three books of travel, besides those named above, which seem most likely to be accessible and of service to Biblical students generally, in this country, so far as the *Book of Joshua* is concerned.

H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel, a Journal of Travels in Palestine, undertaken with Special Reference to its Physical Character*. Lond. 1866. Worthy to stand on the same shelf with Robinson and Stanley.

Wm. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book; or Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and the Scenery of the Holy Land*; with maps, engravings, etc. 2 vols. N. Y. 1865. Full of general information on the country, the fruit of twenty-five years' experience as a missionary there, and rendered more useful by a large number of really illustrative pictorial representations.

A multitude of American and English travellers in Palestine have published books within a few years, all contributing something towards a complete knowledge of the land, its present aspect and condition, its productions, its ancient monuments, and its history. We name the following without pausing to give full titles, because their works are, for the most part, familiar and easily procurable: Bausman, Miss Beaufort, Drew, Durbin, Fiske, Hackett, Herschell, Lieut. Lynch, McGregor (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*), Miss Martineau, Olin, Osborne, Miss Rogers, Stephens, Wilson. — Tr.]

2 *Geographiæ of Palestine*. Adriani Relandi, *Palæstina ex Monumentis Veteribus illustrata*, Trajecti Batavorum, 1714, 4to. K. Ritter, *Erkunde*, 2 Ausg., Berlin, 1850–1852 (Bd. 15 u. 16). [Of these remarkable volumes, which must long remain the great storehouse of all that had been communicated concerning the Bible-lands, the portions most essential to the Biblical student have been translated by Wm. L. Gage, and published in four octavo volumes. *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, N. Y. 1866. — Tr.] By the same author: *Der Jordan und die Beschiffung des toden Meeres*, Berlin, 1850; and, *Ein Blick auf Palästina und seine christliche Bevölkerung*, Berlin, 1852. K. v. Raumer, *Palästina*, with a map of Palestine, 4 Aufl., Leipz. 1860. L. Völder, *Das heilige Land und das Land der Israelitischen Wanderung*, with a map of Palestine and a number of engravings, 2 Aufl., Stuttg. 1864. Edw. Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, Boston, 1865 (excellent). G. Arnoud, *La Palestine Ancienne et Moderne ou Géographie Historique et Physique de la Palestine*, avec 3 cartes chromo-lithographiées, Paris, 1868 (leaves much to be desired, and in the accompanying maps also. Comp. the Review in the *Jahrbüchern für Deutsche Theologie*, xiv. 2).

[On the Geography of Palestine we may add, as perhaps more appropriately belonging under this head, —

N. C. Burt, *The Land and its Story: or the Sacred Historical Geography of Palestine*, N. Y. 1869.

H. S. Osborne, *Palestine, Past and Present, with Biblical, Literary, and Scientific Notices*, Phil. 1859.

Very full and valuable on the Geography of Palestine are the articles, "Palestina," by Arnold, in Herzog's *Realencyk.*, vol. xi., and "Städten und Ortschaften," vol. xiv. by the same.

"The *Bibliotheca Sacra* (vols. 1–26, 1864–1869) is particularly rich in articles on Biblical Geography from Dr. Robinson and various American missionaries in Palestine and other parts of the East." — (Hackett).

The following are worthy of notice more particularly in reference to the Natural History of the Holy Land: —

The Natural History of the Bible, by W. H. Tristram, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The sketch by the same author in the article Palestine in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 2307 ff. is a real *multum in parvo*.

H. S. Osborne, *Plants of the Holy Land with their Fruits and Flowers*. Illustrated. Phil. 1860.

W. S. Gage, *Studies in Bible Lands*, with 72 Illustrations, N. Y.

H. B. Hackett, *Illustrations of Scripture suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land*, Boston, 1866.

J. G. Wood, *Bible Animals: being a Description of every Living Creature mentioned in the Scriptures, from the Ape to the Coral*. N. Y. 1870.

Finally we must notice the publication of a work which, from the proved ability of its authors and the peculiar advantages which they have enjoyed, is sure to add much to the accuracy of our knowledge of the Holy Land:—

The Recovery of Jerusalem; a Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and in the Holy Land. By Capt. Wilson, R. E., Capt. Warren, R. E., etc. With an Introduction by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Dean of Westminster. Edited by Walter Morison, M. P., Honorary Treasurer to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1871. — Tr.]

3. *Maps*. Besides those given in the different travels and geographical works on Palestine we mention: *Karte von Palästina*, principally after the itineraries and measurements of Robinson and Smith, constructed and engraved by H. Kiepert, Berlin, 1840. *Karte von Palästina nach den neuesten Quellen bearbeitet und gezeichnet von H. Kiepert*, edited by C. Ritter, Berlin, 1842. H. Kiepert, *Wandkarte von Palästina in acht Blättern*, 3 Aufl. 1866. *Karte von Palästina*, by C. W. M. Van de Velde. Eight sheets printed in colors. Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1866. A German edition of the 2d English edition of the map of the Holy Land, first published in Gotha by Justus Perthes, 1858. The scale is 1–315000. (Extremely valuable for the study of the second part of our book, and in general quite excellent). — From the same publisher appeared in 1868: *Der Bibelatlas in acht Blättern*, von Dr. Theodor Menke, which has rightly met with high appreciation in all the criticisms upon it, and has rendered us the most essential aid in the preparation of our commentary, by its clear cartographic representation of the territory of the twelve tribes of Israel before the exile. It even distinguishes by the appropriate numbers (Map iii.), the groups of cities (Jos. xv., xviii.) in Judah and Benjamin.

[Preëminently valuable is the *Bible Atlas of Maps and Plans* by Samuel Clark, M. A. (Lond. 1868), published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Except for the expense, this might satisfy all wants until further discoveries, especially of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall, as they must, supersede the best representations heretofore possible.

Only less complete and accurate than this is Menke's *Bible-Atlas*, deservedly praised above, and which, although the names are given in German, will still be quite intelligible to any English scholar, — at less than one third the cost.

What the foregoing collections of Maps are for hand use, in the study, that is the large *Wall Map of Palestine and other parts of Syria*, by H. S. Osborne, LL.D., and Lyman Coleman, D. D., Philadelphia, for public exhibition in the Sunday-school, or lecture room. It is 6 feet by 9 in size, with a side map of Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity, on a scale much larger still. Its delineation of the boundaries of the tribes west of the Jordan differs, however, considerably from that on Menke's Maps, and needs to be carefully tested by the record in our book.

About two thirds the size of the former is Kiepert's *Wall Map of Palestine*, very highly recommended and costing about half as much.

Raaz's *New Wall Map of Palestine*, photo-lithographed from a very excellent relief, so that "all the effects of the relief in light and shadow, mountains, valleys, lakes, streams, etc., are produced on a plane surface without destroying the illusion of a raised surface," has been reproduced in this country with the names and descriptions in English, and at a very moderate price. N. Y. 1870. Size 52 inches by 32.

There is also an excellent Relief Map of Palestine, after Van de Velde, easily obtainable through the German bookstores. Size 22 by 17 inches.

Less ambitious and costly than most of these are several good atlases and maps (but varying in excellence), published by the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union, and by private publishers, such as Colton, New York; Garigues & Co., Philadelphia, etc., etc.

A small relief map, prepared by W. L. Gage, is worth far more than its cost; and quite marvelous for its combination of accuracy, fullness, and cheapness is the little *Atlas designed to accompany the New Hand-Book of Bible Geography*, Carleton & Lanahan, New York, 1870. — Tr.]

V. Homiletical Literature.

Besides the well-known Commentaries of Starke, von Gerlach, Lisco, Dächsel, the Berleburger, Herschberger and Calwer Bibles, we cite also: Franciskus Burmannus, *Die Richter*

Israels oder Auslegung und Betrachtung der Bücher Josua, der Richter und Ruth, Frankfurt bei Jost Hinrich Drecker, Ao. 1695, 4to. Handel has musically wrought Joshua into his glorious Oratorio.

[J. N. Darby, *Synopsis of the Books of the Bible*, in 5 vols. Vol. i. pp. 299-345. 2d ed. Lond.

Matthew Henry deserves to be specially mentioned under this head. Many of his quaint remarks equal both in piety, aptness, and point, the rich comments of the German writers given in the following pages.

The *Gospel in the Book of Joshua* (Anon. N. Y. 1870) may suggest some profitable Christian applications of the language of the O. T., although, like Darby above, but in a greater degree, too much inclined to *make gospel* where the revealing spirit had only seen fit to put something else, perhaps equally good in its place. — TR.]

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

PART FIRST.

THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND OF CANAAN, CHAPTERS I.-XII.

SECTION FIRST.

THE PREPARATION. CHAPTER I. 1-V. 15.

1. *The Summons to the War,*

CHAPTER I.

a. The Command of God to Joshua.

CHAPTER I. 1-9.

1 Now [And¹] after the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord [Jehovah], it came to pass, that the Lord [Jehovah] spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying, Moses my servant is dead; now therefore [and now²] arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people, unto [into] the land which I do [omit: do] give to them, *even* [omit: even] to the children [sons³] of Israel. Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said [יְהוָה יְהוָה properly: spoke] unto Moses. From the wilderness and this Lebanon even [and] unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast [border⁴]. There shall not any man be able to [Not a man shall] stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, *so* [omit: so] will I be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.⁵ Be strong and of a good courage [strong and firm⁶]: for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance [for a possession⁷] the land which I swore unto their fathers to give them. Only be thou strong and very courageous [firm], that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it *to* the right hand or [Heb. and⁸] *to* the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest. This book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but [and] thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous and then thou shalt have good success.⁹ Have not I commanded thee? [.] Be strong and of a good courage [firm]; [?] be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord [Jehovah] thy God *is* with thee whithersoever thou goest.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. The obvious and exact rendering of the conjunction here by "and" seems required to indicate the true grammatical relation of this to the preceding books. It is a circumstance of some, although perhaps not great, signifi-

cauce, in respect to the composition of the historical books of the O. T. that, as the first four books of the Pentateuch are closely joined together by the copulative conjunction at the beginning of each after the first, so the historical books, without exception as far as to First Chronicles, are thus linked to each other, and all to the Pentateuch as parts of one great whole. The Chronicles appear to make a new beginning; and various reasons might be assigned why Deuteronomy should in this point differ from the three preceding books of Moses. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 2. — וְעַתָּה. In rare instances the conj. in this compound needs to be understood in an illative sense; but generally it marks the simple succession of thoughts, and what there is of inference is equivalently expressed by our "and now." So, invariably, De Wette and Fay; but the English Version almost always renders as in this passage. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 2. — בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. Fay also translates: "children of Is.," De Wette, always, "sons." This is exact and much more faithful to the spirit of the East which now, precisely as in ancient times, names a people with reference to its males, "the Beni Hassan," "Beni Sakkar," etc. So the Hebrew nation were the Beni Israel, even when, in many instances, probably the women and children were distinctly thought of; but generally the men were considered in a political respect as *instar omnium*. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 4. — The word "coast" is in this book synonymous with border (boundary line), except in the three places, ch. ix. 1; xii. 23; xix. 29, where it was intended to denote "coast" in our present sense, but incorrectly, as would appear, in the last two passages. "Border" is what we should now say, and that, especially in the plural, signifies figuratively, like the Hebrew, "territory," "tract," "country." — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 5. — Gesen. s. v. רָפָה: I will not *cast thee off* and not forsake thee. So substantially Fay; De Wette, on the contrary: I will not withdraw myself from thee, etc. "Fail thee," etc., in our familiar expression, is, perhaps, as near the Hebrew as anything proposed. — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 6. — וְעָמְדוּ יְדֵיכֶם. "Verbum עָמַד proprie notat vires quæ sunt in manibus ad prehendum retinendum-que viriliter; sicut contra עָמַד firmitudinem, quæ in genibus est, ad consistendum, ne ab alio quis evertatur," Michaelis; (conf. וְעָמְדוּ Job iv. 4, וְעָמְדוּ, 1 K. xii. 18, עָמַד, equus *alacer*, Zech. vi. 3." Maurer. — Tr.]

[7 Ver. 7. — Fay here renders "divide for an inheritance" with the English Version, but De Wette gives simply "to partition," and Gesenius appears to be abundantly warranted in saying, s. v. לָקַח, that "the specific idea of inheritance in this verb is rare." — Tr.]

[8 Ver. 8. — The expression is stronger with "and," and "that *vav* is put as a disjunctive between words, i. q. *or*, is hardly supported by a single probable example." Gesen. *Lex.* p. 236, Robinson's Trans. Fay after this "and" supplies [not]. — Tr.]

[9 Ver. 9. — יְהַשְׁכֵּל should in consistency with ver. 7 be translated "shalt thou prosper," and the whole clause might then perhaps be rendered "for then shalt thou have success in thy way, and then shalt thou prosper." — Tr.]

b. Joshua's Command to the Leaders of the People, and to the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the Half Tribe of Manasseh.

CHAPTER I. 10-18.

10, 11 Then Joshua commanded the officers [overseers¹] of the people, saying, Pass through the host [camp] and command the people, saying, Prepare you victuals; for within three days ye shall pass over this Jordan, to go in to possess the land which the Lord [Jehovah] your God giveth you to possess it.

12 And to the Reubenites [Reubenite], and to the Gadites [Gadite], and to half the
13 tribe of Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying, Remember the word which Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah] commanded you, saying, The Lord [Jehovah] your God
14 hath given [giveth] you rest, and hath given you this land. Your wives, your little ones, and your cattle shall remain in the land which Moses gave you on this [the
15 other²] side [of the] Jordan; but ye shall pass [pass over] before your brethren
16 armed [eager for war, or, in ranks³], all the mighty men of valour [strong heroes⁴],
and help them; until the Lord [Jehovah] have given [shall give] your brethren rest,
as *he hath given* you, and they also have possessed [shall possess] the land which the
17 Lord [Jehovah] your God giveth them; then ye shall return unto the land of your
18 possession, and enjoy [possess] it, which Moses the Lord's [Jehovah's] servant gave
you on this [the other] side [of the] Jordan toward the sun-rising. And they answered
16 Joshua saying, All that thou commandest us, we will do, and whithersoever thou
17 sendest us, we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things,⁵ so will
18 we hearken unto thee: only the Lord [Jehovah] thy God be with thee, as he was
with Moses. Whosoever *he be* [Every man] that doth rebel against thy command-
ment [literally, mouth], and will not hearken unto thy word, in all that thou com-
mandest him [or, us] he shall be put to death: only be strong and of a good courage
[firm].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL

[1 Ver. 10. — To indicate distinctly the office of the שֹׁמֵרֵי הַחֵטְאִים, is desirable, but perhaps (with our scanty data) scarcely possible. While etymologically (ר. שֹׁמֵרֵי) scribe or clerk, would suit very well, yet from the passages cited in the exegetical notes on this verse, and from many others, it appears that the name designates a kind of overseer of a section of the people, in some way ordering them, and on the other hand representing his charge to the judge, governor, or commander to whom he was subordinate. Thus in Egypt they stood between the people and the task-masters. According to Num. xvi. 18, the *shoterim* appear then to have been chosen from the elders of the people, and to have constituted sometimes a council of advisers, with Moses, and sometimes (Deut. i. 16; xvi. 18) a sub-magistracy who, in connection with the "Judges" dispensed justice to the people. Superintendent, overseer, or director (Fay: Vorsteher, Ordner), probably gives substantially the sense, but is not so clearly specific as we could wish. — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 14. — בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן. This phrase constantly denotes the region beyond the Jordan where the speaker then was: a *Scriptor ex eo, in quo ipse constitutus erat, loca. l. c. ex Palestina rem mittitur.* Maurer. — Ta.]

[3 Ver. 14. — Fay, in *Schawren*. See the authorities in exegetical note. — Ta.]

[4 Ver. 14. — De Wette, Fay: *a'le streitbaren Männer*. But while the English phrase "mighty men of valor," implies something too marvelous, it may well be doubted whether הַחֵיָל הַחֵיָלִים does not often convey the idea of special ability in the military service, from natural endowments or extraordinary experience of war, something like "heroes," or "veterans in war." — Ta.]

[5 Ver. 17. — A little more exactly for the sense: In all respects as we hearkened unto Moses, etc. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

a. Vers. 1-9. *The Command of God to Joshua.*

The history of the conquest of the land of Canaan, commencing here and constituting the first part of the Book of Joshua, connects itself closely with Deuteronomy. There, at the end, ch. xxxiv., the death of Moses is reported, Israel's mourning for him described, and mention made of Joshua (ver. 9) his successor, while yet Moses himself is once more celebrated in words of highest praise as a prophet and leader of the people without parallel in all the subsequent times. Only Samuel afterward in some sense reached the same level (Jer. xv. 1). Here in ver. 1, Moses, after notice of his death, is honorably entitled שֹׁמֵרֵי הַחֵטְאִים as in ver. 7, as in Deut. xxxiv. 5; Num. xii. 7, 8, in a long series of places in our book (i. 7, 13, 15; viii. 31, 33; ix. 24; xi. 15; xii. 6; xiii. 8; xiv. 7; xviii. 7; xxii. 2, 4, 5), 1 K. viii. 56; 2 K. xviii. 12; xxi. 8; 2 Chr. i. 3; xxiv. 6; Ps. cv. 26. Sometimes also he is called

שֹׁמֵרֵי הַחֵטְאִים. Ps. xc. 1; 2 Chr. vi. 49; 2 Chr. xxiv. 9; Dan. ix. 11; Neh. x. 29. Besides Moses there are so designated or so addressed by God: the *Patriarchs*, Deut. ix. 27, especially Abraham, Gen. xxvi. 24; Ps. cv. 6, 42; Job i. 8; ii. 3; xlii. 7, 8; *Kings*, as David (Ps. xviii. 1;¹ xxxvi. 1; lxxviii. 70; 1 K. viii. 66; 2 K. viii. 19; Ezer. xxxvii. 24), and Hezekiah, 2 Chr. xxxi. 16, as a theocratical leader, but Nebuchadnezzar also as one who executed God's designs (Jer. xxv. 9; xxvii. 6; xliii. 10); *Prophets*, as Isaiah xx. 3, whom God himself so names (Is. xliii. 10; xlv. 26; Jer. vii. 25; xxvi. 5; Am. iii. 7; Dan. ix. 6, and often). Properly all the *Israelites* also are servants of God (Ex. xix. 5; Lev. xxv. 42-55) and recognize themselves as such, the authors of the Psalms most freely expressing this consciousness in their distinct individuality (Ps. xix. 12, 14; xxxiv. 23; xxxv. 27; lxix. 37; xc. 16; cxix. 17, 65, 84, 122, 176; cxxxv. 14; cxliii. 2). Hence in the second part of Isaiah, the *whole* people is so named (Is. iv. 8, 9; xlii. 19; xlv. 1, 2, 21; xlv. 4; xlvi. 20), and then again He who is the Israelite κατ' ἑξοχῆς, the

Messiah, (Zech. iii. 8; Is. xlii. 1-7; xlix. 3, 5, 8; lii. 13-15, 53). On the sense of this designation, see below under Doctrinal and Ethical. — Concerning Joshua see Introduction.

Moses' Minister. Observe that Joshua is not spoken of as Moses' servant, but as שֹׁמֵרֵי הַחֵטְאִים, minister; "adjutant," we should now say, in so far as Moses was not law-giver but commander-in-chief. The formal installation of Joshua in this position is reported to us in Num. xxvii. 15 ff.

Jordan. יַרְדֵּן, almost everywhere in the O.

T. with the art., from the r. יָרַד "to go down," or, when a stream is spoken of, "to flow." "The Jordan therefore means, the 'flowing' ["the Descender," Stanley], perhaps with allusion to its extremely abrupt fall and rapid course. At the present day it is called by the Arabs esh Schiriah, 'the drinking-place,' occasionally with the addition el-Kebir, 'the great.' The name el-Jardun (Jordan), is however not unknown to the Arabic writers The length of the Jordan from where it leaves the sea of Gennesaret to the Dead Sea is about sixty miles," measured in a straight line [but following the sinuosities of the stream two hundred miles]. Farrer, *Wanderungen*, p. 155. Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* p. 144 ff. Von Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 54 ff.²

Ver. 4. Here the boundaries of Canaan are laid down very much as they are given in Deut. xi. 24. In the other passage, however, the wilderness, Lebanon, and the Euphrates are taken together as opposed to the great sea, while here, (1.) the wilderness and Lebanon (south and north), and then again (2.) the Euphrates and the great sea (east and west) are brought together. Substantially they amount to the same. The land should be bounded on the south by the Arabian desert, on the north by Mount Lebanon, on the east by the Euphrates, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea, as was already promised to Abraham (Gen. xv. 18-21). Still more vaguely it is expressed (Ex. xxiii. 31) "from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the Philistines," and "from the desert unto the river" (Euphrates), while in Num. xxxiv. 1-12; Josh.

¹ [It will be noticed by the reader of the English Bible that in references to the Psalms, the title sometimes counts as one verse. — Ta.]

² [The article on the Jordan in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, will be found quite full and satisfactory. See also the art.

"Palestine" in the same work; *Bibl. Sierra*, Aug. 1848, p. 396 ff., Nov. 1848, p. 764 ff., Apr. 1850, p. 333 ff. Lynch's *Expedition to the Dead Sea; Cruise of the Rob Roy on the Jordan*, N. Y. 1870. — Ta.]

xiii.-xix., the boundaries, stated only in a general way in our passage, are quite accurately fixed.

The territory to be occupied by the people of Israel is further and more exactly ascertained from the definition, "all the land of the Hittites."

This Lebanon, as in ver. 2 this Jordan, because the river was visible close at hand, and the mountain could be seen although at a great distance.

הַלְבָנוֹן (in prose always with the art.) is, from לָבָן "to be white," the white mountain. Further particulars see in the Introduction, and in von Raumer p. 29 ff. Concerning the *Hittites* as well as the other Canaanitish peoples, comp. the Introduction, § 7.

Ver. 6. **Be strong and firm.** Luther translates finely but not accurately: "Be comforted and undismayed." De Wette: "Be firm and strong." Schroeder: "Be strong and firm," Deut. xxxi. 6 ;

vii. 23. We prefer this rendering of חֹזֶק וּבְטָחָה, since the words, as J. H. Michaelis has noted, signify not firmness and strength in general, but the strength in the hands (חֹזֶק) and the firmness in the knees (בְּטָחָה, Is. xxxv. 3, cf. Heb. xii. 12, 13). Joshua must lay hold boldly and with a strong hand, and then when he has done so, allow nothing to drive him from his position. It will be noticed that in ver. 6 we find simply repeated, in almost the same words, what has been said to Joshua in Deut. xxxi. 7, 23, precisely as the promise ver. 5 is a repetition of Deut. xxxi. 6, 8.

Vers. 7, 8, admonish Joshua to a careful observance of the law, in order that the great work laid on him by the Lord may be successfully accomplished. **Not depart out of thy mouth,** is the same as "to be continually in the mouth." Joshua must, on the one hand, speak to the people in the words of the law, in order rightly to impress on them its sacred design, and on the other, must also ground *himself* always more deeply therein. Hence it is added: —

Thou shalt meditate therein day and night. We are not to think of this meditation as a learned study, but rather as a mature reflection upon the law by which Joshua penetrates more deeply into its meaning, and thus becomes qualified to speak more clearly, pointedly, and powerfully to the people. For to that particularly, and not to the "reading aloud," as Bunsen explains it, is the reference in the command, that the law should not depart out of his mouth. Comp. Deut. vi. 7 ; xi. 19 ; xvii. 19. Comp. further, Ps. i. 2, and on תְּשִׁיחָה, ver. 3 especially.

Ver. 9 : "The assurance gains in strength when to the positive חֹזֶק וּבְטָחָה there is added also the negative אַל תֵּעָרַב וְאֵלֶיךָ, as in Deut. xxxi. 6, 8." Keil.

How did God speak to Joshua ? By the Urim and Thummim, as Hess (*Gesch. Jos.* i. p. 29) supposes, appealing to Num. xxvii. 21, or, as most interpreters assume, immediately, by an inward revelation ? Probably the latter, because, although we must admit that Joshua had been directed by God himself to employ the other means, and therewith the mediation of the high-priest, yet the Lord himself by whom — observe that — the initiative is here taken, was not bound to this means, as appears very clearly from the manifestation of the angel, ch. v. 13-15. The Lord spoke to Joshua as he had spoken to Moses, and as he afterwards

spoke to the prophets. Together with the divinely regulated office there went on this free communication of God's purposes without disturbance to the functions of that office when they were in proper exercise, but sometimes also to awaken them to life when light and right was extinguished in Israel, 1 Sam. iii. ; Joel i. 13.

b. Vers. 10-18. *The Command of Joshua to the Magistrates of the People as well as to the Reubenites, Gadites, and the Half Tribe of Manasseh.*

After Joshua has received the command from God to cross the Jordan with the people, he adopts his plans and immediately enjoins upon the שָׂרִים (comp. Ex. v. 10 ; Num. xi. 16 ;

Deut. xvi. 18 ; Josh. viii. 33 ; xxiii. 2 ; xxiv. 1) to go through the camp, and call on the people to provide themselves with victuals (the need of which is explained by the cessation of the manna, ch. v. 12), since within three days the march would begin. This statement of time is not exact, since rather, as Keil also assumes, seven days in all intervene, namely, one day for the journey of the spies to Jericho, three days for their stay in the mountain, three days for the march from Shittim to the Jordan, and the delay there, after all which the crossing of the river took place. Keil says concerning this: "We give up the attempt to identify the three days in ch. iii. 2 with those mentioned in ch. i. 11, since the text in ch. iii. 2 contains not the slightest hint of such a combination.

The article is not found with יָמִים (ch. iii. 2) by

which the **שְׁלֹשַׁת יָמִים** might be referred to ch. i. 11 ; and we stand by the simple statements of the text, assuming that the spies were sent out immediately after the command in ch. i. 11, probably on the same day, *i. e.* on the third of Nisan, that they returned after three full days, *i. e.* on the 6th of Nisan, at evening (ch. ii. 22), and that on the next morning, *i. e.* on the 7th of Nisan, Joshua broke up from Shittim, came on to the bank of the Jordan (ch. iii. 1), where he rested three days, and on the tenth effected the passage." Not so Gerlach, who says rather: "As regards the chronological succession of these events, we see from ch. iv. 19 that the passage of the Jordan was effected on the tenth of the first month. That command of Joshua (ch. i. 11) was given therefore on the 7th. Early the same day he sent out the spies, and they so quickly accomplished the journey of perhaps scarcely a dozen miles that they left Jericho *before* the approach of that night;" (but how does this agree with ch. ii. 2, 5 ff. ?) "the three days which they spent in the mountain were not full days" (where are we told that ?) "being the remainder of the 7th" (which must thus have been an uncommonly long day), "the 8th, and part of the 9th. On this last they returned to Joshua, and thus he was able, in accordance with his orders received early on the 7th, to cross over on the 10th. Thus we have a very satisfactory correspondence between the series of events and the successive dates." The perplexity in which these two interpreters find themselves may be very simply cleared up if, with Knobel, we assume that the three days mentioned in ch. iii. 2 are identical with the three days here in ver. 11, but that ch. ii. was a separate report here worked in by the author, and in the insertion of which, attention was not paid to the exact determination of the dates.¹

¹ [In his later work (*Bib. Com.* in loc.) Keil still denying that the "three days" here, ver. 11, are the same as in ch

There follows now, vers. 12-18, a special demand of Joshua upon the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh. These had, according to Num. xxxii. on account of their wealth in flocks and herds, received their possession in the land of the conquered Amorite kings, Sihon and Og, east of the Jordan. This was on the condition, however, that they should help the other tribes to conquer West Palestine; and Joshua now calls upon them to fulfill that condition and carry out the promise they had made. This they declare themselves ready to do.

Ver. 13. Remember the word which Moses commanded you, etc. Num. xxxii. 20-24 is quoted not literally but freely according to the sense, for *לִבְנוֹתָם* does not occur in the passage cited, — a very beautiful expression: to afford rest, to cause to rest. It is the same as giving a dwelling-place secure and undisturbed by enemies (Deut. xxv. 19), after the long, restless wanderings through the wilderness. The disobedient (Num. xiv. 26 ff.) come not into this rest (Ps. xcv. 11); but not even this is the true rest, the full *κατάπαυσις*, the true *σαββατισμός* of the people of God, Heb. iii. 11, 18; iv. 1, 3, 8, 9.

This land (Deut. iii. 18) as in ver. 2, *this* Jordan, ver. 4, *this* Lebanon: the land in which then the whole people as yet and the speaker also were, the land east of the Jordan, — while *בְּעֵבֶר*, translated by Luther, De Wette, and Eng. Vers. "on this side," means on *that* side, or beyond, and is employed from the writer's point of view.

Ver. 14. *שָׂרְפָה* is variously derived; either (Ges. Fürst, [with whom agree Masius, De Wette, Keil]), from *שָׂרְפָה*, *lumbus, venter, tanquam, sedes, roboris* = *lumbis accincti*, with which comp. Num. xxxii. 27, 32 (*שָׂרְפָה*, or *שָׂרְפָה*); also Job xxxviii. 3; Lu. xii. 35; Eph. vi. 14; 1 Pet. i. 13, — or, (Ewald) from *שָׂרַף*, five = arranged in fives, i. e., in companies. With this Knobel sides, in so far that in Ex. xiii. 18, he defines the word, which is met with only here and in ch. iv. 12; Ex. xiii. 18; Judg. vii. 11 (cf. also the iii. 2, seeks to reconcile the present date with the actual time of the crossing, by assuming first that it is not meant that they should pass over within three days, but only begin to move towards it; and secondly, that although Joshua did design to reach the Jordan and cross it within three days, his intention was frustrated by the delay which his spies unexpectedly experienced. He says: "The designation 'in three days' (i. e., as appears from a comparison of Gen. xi. 13 and 19 with ver. 20, reckoning from the day of giving this command, on the third day following) 'shall ye pass over the Jordan,' is not to be taken as an announcement of the time within which the crossing should actually take place, but, with Vatabl, and J. J. Hess, as the term against which the people should be prepared for the crossing; as if he had said: 'Prepare you yourselves in order to go over the Jordan within three days, i. e., in order then to break up from Shittim, to cross the Jordan and be able to commence the conquest of Canaan. Thus apprehended this statement agrees with chapters ii. and iii. For according to ch. ii. Joshua sent from Shittim spies to Jericho, who after their escape from that city had to hide themselves three days in the mountain, before they could come to the camp of Israel. They were absent therefore certainly three or four days, and returned at the earliest on the evening or in the night of the fourth day from that on which they were sent out. Not until then did the Israelites break up from Shittim in the morning, and moved to the Jordan, where they still tarried, and then after three days more, crossed over the stream. At the least, therefore, eight full days, 4 + 1 + 3, must have

שָׂרְפָה, Num. xxxii. 17, which should be amended to this form), as meaning, drawn together, collected, i. e., in separate divisions or fixed companies, as opposed to individual separateness and irregular dispersion. Knobel seeks the proper etymon in the Arabic with a comparison of the Heb. *שָׂרַף*, to compress. We translate with Ewald, Knobel, and Bunsen, "arranged in companies."²

But ye shall pass before, etc. So had they promised Num. xxxii. 17, 27, 32.

All, not to be taken strictly, since according to ch. iv. 13, only forty thousand men went over, while the two and a half tribes had, according to Num. xxvi. 7, 18, 34, 110,580 men.

Vers. 16-18 contain the joyful answer pervaded by the spirit of obedience and fraternal love, closing with the same call from the two and a half tribes, to be strong and firm, which God had addressed to Joshua. So David also addresses himself when he sings: Be of good courage and he shall strengthen thy heart, *לִבְךָ יִצְחָק*, Ps. xxvii. 15.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. If we would accurately determine the meaning of the distinguishing title "servant of Jehovah," ascribed to Moses in ch. i. 1, we cannot be content to say merely that it signifies a "worshipper of Jehovah" who may be also a messenger, an ambassador of Jehovah. We are concerned rather to know how it comes to pass at all that the pious worshippers and messengers of God are called his *servants*. The answer might be given in the following hints. In the first place, we must not forget that we are here on *oriental ground*, where kings and subjects stand related to each other as lords and slaves, where the inferior towards the superior studies the most humble submission and unconditional obedience, and expresses himself also in a proportionately humble manner (Gen. xlv. 27, 32; Dan. x. 17). And thus God himself appears only as under the figure of the Most High, the Ruler of all worlds, the Lord of Hosts, before whom all the world keeps silence (Hab. iii. 20; Zach. ii. 13),

passed between the first mission of the spies and the passage of the Jordan by the people. Without doubt Joshua designed to march to the Jordan within three days from the sending of the spies, and to go over the river; and simultaneously with his command to the people to prepare to cross over within three days, he had sent the spies, so that he was warranted in hoping that they would have accomplished their errand and returned within two or three days. But since they, through the unforeseen discovery of their arrival in Jericho, and the chase of the pursuers, were obliged to hide themselves three days in the mountain, Joshua could not until the day after their return break up from Shittim, and proceed to the Jordan. Neither then could he immediately cross the river, but must tarry yet three days after his arrival at the brink."

As this provides for the loss of only three days of the eight, it would appear that Joshua's "design" must have been still a miscalculation by at least two days. In other respects the explanation is not as successful as could be desired. — Tr.]

1 [Gesenius derives the word not from *שָׂרַף* but from an assumed root *שָׂרַף*, *acrem, strenuum esse*; and the sense in which he understands the partic. is *strenuus, alacer*. Thes. p. 494. — Tr.]

2 [After all is said, the derivation remains very obscure, and the considerations in favor of the two principal renderings very evenly balanced. For the meaning "armed" the lexicographers give little authority. — Tr.]

before whom also on his throne, the seraphim veil their faces (Is. vi.). He is, therefore, the master, men the servants. Those, however, among men (more particularly in Israel, the *שְׂפָרָה*, Ex. xix. 5; Deut. vii. 6; xiv. 2; xxvi. 18) who serve him with special obedience, and, with extraordinary talent, like the angels in heaven (Job iv. 18), perform his will, are called his servants in a preëminent sense. So Moses; before him Abraham; after him David, Hezekiah, the prophets; all Israel, moreover, in so far as they are, according to Hurm. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xlv. 2, the Jeshurun, the beloved, pious people, who rightly (*יְרֵאָהוּ*) from *יְרֵאָהוּ* walk before Jehovah; and lastly the Messiah, since in Him all the excellences of his people are combined. In the second place, it is carefully to be considered that in the *economy of redemption* we are still on the ground of the old covenant, therefore on the ground of the Law, where God commands, and man has unconditionally to perform his dictates exactly to the letter, without any freedom whatever, hence as a slave, not as a child (Rom. viii. 15). Not even the most pious, therefore, can claim any higher distinction than this. A relation of freedom between God and man does not yet exist. Man stands yet under the law, not yet under grace (John i. 17); but precisely this absolute obedience leads to freedom. Moses is the instrument of effecting the deliverance of his people out of the slavery of Egypt, where they pined in the house of bondage (Ex. xx. 2), the iron furnace (Deut. iv. 20); but the Messiah makes many righteous (Is. liii. 11) and is a Servant, the Branch (Zech. iii. 9). In his time God gives holy increase, takes away the sins of the land in one day (Zech. iii. 9), and makes peace, so that one invites his neighbor under the vine and fig-tree (Zach. iii. 10). He is the true *παῖς θεοῦ* (Matt. xii. 18; Acts. iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30), whom, on account of his obedience, God acknowledges as his Son; on which cf. Nitzsch, Treatise on the *παῖς θεοῦ* in the Acts (*Studien u. Kritiken*, 1828, 2).

2. The declaration in ver. 4, that God has assigned to the people of Israel its portion of the earth, is in accordance with Deut. xxxii. 8 and Acts xvii. 26, in which passages he marks off to the nations their bounds. This is involved in God's government of the world, which embraces everything, the least as well as the greatest, so that all accident is excluded. As He determines for each particular man his place on earth, by birth, education, external circumstances, so He determines for each people its habitation in congruity with the disposition and character which He has lent to them, and the design which He entertains concerning them. That was peculiarly the case with Israel, when He actually gave to them the land promised to the fathers, where they might in beautiful seclusion serve the Lord their God. True, the previous inhabitants must give way, but *jure divino*, because through their enervating idolatry they had forfeited the right to a historical existence. It is not just, therefore, in the manner of the Wolfenbüttler fragmentist, to charge God and his agents with cruelty and injustice, but rather to heed the fundamental laws of divine Providence, according to which also his judgments are executed. An analogy may be seen in the destruction of the Roman empire amid the storms of the northern invasions. See *Introduct.* § 3.

3. The silent collection of one's thoughts, holy meditation, is, in the over-busy activities of our

time, an aid to all religious and moral life, which cannot be too earnestly recommended. It is enjoined upon Joshua in ver. 8, in simple but very suitable words, and is necessary, in order that the soul may constantly remember its origin, that the heart may lose itself in God and his word, that from this inward concentration of the living faculties, word and deed may come forth in noble perfection. "Oratio, meditatio, tentatio," make not only the theologian, but in general every religious, pious, and, in his piety, morally capable, man.

4. The rest which God gives (ver. 15) is, first, the secure possession of the land of Canaan which had been promised to the people of Israel. This *מונוחה* however is not, according to the view of the Epistle to the Hebrews (iv. 8), the true rest; rather, since God long after Joshua offered through David (Heb. iv. 7) an entrance into rest, must there still be another rest; "for if Joshua had brought them to the rest, He (God) would not speak of another day after this time" (ver. 8). "Therefore," the conclusion is from these arguments, "there yet remains (*ἀπολείπεται*) a Sabbath rest (*σαββατισμός*) for the people of God. For he who has entered into his (God's) rest, has given himself also rest from his works" (*i. e.* the works of the labor-week). It is still to be carefully noted that to express this rest of God, not *κατάπαυσις* but, in allusion to ver. 4, or to Gen. ii. 2, the word *σαββατισμός*, occurring nowhere else in the N. T., is employed. The *σαββατισμός* is the completed *κατάπαυσις*, the holy and blessed Sabbath rest in eternity for the people of God, the *ἱσραήλ τοῦ θεοῦ*, after the pilgrimage of life is finished with the toils of the hard week of our earthly existence. Of this rest the

מונוחה in the earthly Canaan is a type. So speak the Rabbins also of the *שְׁבִיט הַיְהוּדָה* (Tr. *Thamid.* f. 33, 2; *Jabk. Rub.* f. 95, 4). Compare also the beautiful, profoundly tender hymn by Jno. Sigmund Kunth (†1779), "A rest there is which yet awaits us."

HOMEILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

God's command to Joshua that he should cross the Jordan, indicates (1) the task proposed to him; contains (2) the promise of his assistance in its accomplishment; but requires also (3) the conscientious observance of his law, in order to success; and closes (4) with another enlivening exhortation to the new leader of Israel.—As Moses was a servant of the Lord, so should we also be his servants, that we may be found faithful like him. (Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2)—Moses the servant of the Lord. Joshua as a type of a good servitor (not slave).—The earthly Canaan a type of the heavenly—God is faithful (ver. 5). I will not fail thee nor forsake thee,—a promise; (1) its rich import; (2) under what conditions to be appropriated by a Christian to himself.—Be strong and firm, comforted and undismayed, a text in connection with Ps. xxvii., xli. of inexhaustible use for the field-worship of God.—Of fidelity to the commands of God.—How should a true general be characterized? (1) He should be strong and firm, but (2) also pious and conscientious, that all may go well with him.—Fear not, neither be dismayed, for the Lord thy God is with thee in all which thou shalt do; to be well considered before the outbreak of a war, as well as before a battle.—Joshua and the Gileadite tribes; (1) his powerful appeal to them for fraternal assistance; (2) their cheerful answer

(ver. 12-18). — The Rest of the people of God: (1) Who gives it? (2) In what does it consist? (3) How do we attain to it? (ver. 13). How beautiful when the call of a commander, or a governor of the people, meets with a joyful readiness on their part! Should we not so meet the claims which God himself by his Word makes on us, and especially those which call for brotherly help, even though sacrifices also be required?

STARKE: O soul, remember here first of all the true Joshua, thy Saviour Jesus Christ, who has for thy good acquired the heavenly Canaan, to prepare for thee a place there, that thou also mayest dwell there and remain; fight, therefore, and subdue thy foes under the lead of thy Jesus, that thou mayest also one day take it. Whom God sends, him He also qualifies and procures for him authority and respect. The Bible and the sword with Christian rulers go very well together. O that these would also avail themselves rightly of both! One Christian should take upon him the necessity of another — and bear his burden. In the strife of Christianity also one should not be pusillanimous, but strong and firm (2 Tim. ii. 3). A spirit that would all goods and blood fain for thy mere pleasure proffer, and the heart's desires all offer, give me, Supreme Good, through thy precious blood.

CRAMER: As the eyes of the servants are to the hands of their masters, and the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so should our eyes also look constantly to the Lord, Ps. cxiii. 2. If God is for us who can be against us? (Rom. viii. 31). Christian rulers also are bound to submit themselves to God's commands; it should not be with them, *quod libet licet*, i. e. what I please I do, 1 K. xxi. 7.

MARGINAL NOTE (of Luther): He who walks according to God's words acts wisely and happily, but he who goes according to his own head acts unwisely and to no profit.

BIBL. WIRT.: In dangerous duties and circumstances there is no better comfort than when one has a regular call to the position, and God for his patron and protector. God's command should be promptly performed without any long discussion as to whether we will do it or not; for God requires obedience.

BIBL. TR.: Consoling promise! O soul mark it well, for what God says to Joshua He says also to thee. Therefore be of good courage in the struggle with sin and Satan; God will stand by thee.

OSIANDER: We should (in many cases) first care for our neighbors, for love seeks not her own, 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

GERLACH: The first revelation of God after the death of Moses instal's Joshua formally in his office, gives him the double commission to lead the people into the promised land and to distribute this among them, renews the assurance of divine aid, and admonishes to steadfast fidelity towards God's law and imperturbable confidence in Him (ver. 1-9).

[DARBY: "Every place that the sole of your feet shall tread upon, that have I given you." They must go there, overcome the obstacles with the help and by the power of God, and take actual possession. . . . They never took possession of all the land which God had given. Nevertheless to faith the promise was sure, ver. 3. Spiritual strength and energy, the courage of faith, are necessary in order that the heart may be free from the influences, the fears, and the motives which act upon the natural man, and that he may take heed to the Word of God.

MATTHEW HENRY: The removal of useful men should quicken survivors to be so much the more diligent in doing good. Such and such are dead, and we must die shortly, therefore let us work while it is yet day. It is a great mercy if, when useful men are taken away in the midst of their usefulness others are raised up in their stead to go on where they broke off, ver. 2. It is a great comfort to the rising generation of ministers and Christians that the same grace which was sufficient for those that went before them shall not be wanting to them if they be not wanting to themselves in the improvement of it (ver. 5). — When God has given us rest we ought to consider how we may honor Him with the advantages of it, and what services we may do to our brethren who are unsettled, or not so well settled as we are (ver. 15). — We must not so magnify them that are gone, how eminent so ever they were, either in the magistracy or in the ministry as to be wanting in the honor and duty we owe to those that survive and succeed them.

G. R. B.: As Joshua received and doubtless profited by the admonition of his Gileadite brethren, so may the leaders in Israel at all times gain benefit from the pious and well intended, even though superfluous, counsels of God's "plain people." — Tr.]

2. The sending out of the spies to Jericho.

CHAPTER II.

a. Sending of the Spies, and their Reception by Rahab.

CHAPTER II. 1-7.

- 1 And Joshua the son of Nun sent out of Shittim two men to spy [as spies] secretly, saying: Go, view the land, even [and] Jericho. And they went, and came into an har-
- 2 lot's house, named Rahab, and lodged [lay down] there. And it was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came men in hither to-night of the children [sons] of
- 3 Israel, to search out the country [שׂוֹטְטִים, land]. And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab, saying, Bring forth the men that are come to thee, which [who] are entered

4 into thine house, for they be come to search out all the country [land]. And the woman took the two men, and hid them, and said thus, There came men unto me
 5 [and said: 'True,¹ the men, came to me] but I wist [knew] not whence they *were*; and it came to pass *about the time* of shutting of the gate, when it was dark, that the men went out; whither the men went, I wot [know] not: pursue after them quickly
 6 for ye shall overtake them. But she had brought them up to the roof of the house [omit: of the house²], and hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid in
 7 order [spread out, or stacked up for herself] upon the roof. And the men pursued after them the way to [the] Jordan unto [to] the fords: and as soon as they which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the gate.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 4.—So the lexicographers and interpreters with one consent understand יָדָע. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 6.—“Of her house” is purely superfluous. The LXX. had substituted δόμα for יָדָע, and the Vulgate combined both notions, and was followed by the English Version. — Tr.]

b. Rescue of the Spies by Rahab on their Promise to her that, in the taking of the Land, they would spare her and hers.

CHAPTER II. 8-21.

8 And before they were laid down, she came up unto them upon the roof; and she
 9 said unto the men, I know that the Lord [Jehovah] hath given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land faint
 10 [מִלֵּגְגָה, melt] because of you. For we have heard how the Lord [Jehovah] dried up the water of the Red Sea for [before] you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites that *were* on the other side [of the] Jordan, Sihon and Og, whom ye utterly destroyed [ye devoted¹]. And as soon as we had heard *these things*, our hearts [heart] did melt [צָרָה, flow down], neither did [does] there remain any more courage in any man, because of you [ch. v. 1]: for the Lord [Jehovah] your God, He *is* God in heaven above, and in earth beneath.
 12 Now therefore [And now], I pray you, swear unto me by the Lord [Jehovah], since² I have showed you kindness, that ye will also show kindness unto my father's
 13 house, and give me a true token [a token of truth]; and *that* ye will save alive my father, and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters, and all that they have
 14 [ch. vi. 23, 25], and deliver our lives from death. And the men answered her, Our life for yours, if ye utter not this our business. And it shall be,³ when the Lord
 15 [Jehovah] hath given us the land, that we will deal kindly and truly with thee. Then she let them down by a [the] cord through the window: for her house *was* upon
 16 the town-wall [in the “wall-side,” Gesen.], and she dwelt upon the wall. And she said unto them: Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers meet you, and hide yourselves there three days, until the pursuers be returned; and afterward may ye go
 17 [go ye] your way. And the men said unto her, We *will be* [are] blameless of this thine oath which thou hast made us swear, [unless thou doest what we now say to thee].
 18 Behold, *when* we come into the land, thou shalt bind this line of scarlet [crimson] thread in the window which thou didst let us down by: and thou shalt bring [gather] thy father, and thy mother, and thy brethren, and all thy father's household home unto thee. And it shall be, *that* whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house into the street, his blood *shall be* upon his head, and we *will be* guiltless [blameless, as ver. 17]: and whosoever shall be with thee in the house, his blood
 20 *shall be* on our head, if *any* hand be upon him. And if thou utter this our business, then we will be [are] quit [blameless] of thine oath which thou hast made us
 21 to [omit: to, as ver. 17] swear. And she said, According unto your words, so *be* it. And she sent them away, and they departed: and she bound the scarlet [crimson] line in the window.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 10.—הִרְגוּם מִלְּפָנָיו. The meaning of this verb is well indicated in the Exegetical Note on the verse. It seems very desirable to express it more specifically than is done by the vague phrase “utterly destroyed.” In employing for this

purpose, throughout, the word "devote," which is used Lev. xxvii. 23, 29, Num. xviii. 14, etc., it is to be regretted that we have not a cognate noun to denote the devoted object. Still we may come near to the Hebrew directness by adhering to "devote," "devoted thing," etc. — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 12 — י *ut alius sapissime significat quod or.* Maur. To imitate exactly the Hebrew construction is not possible in idiomatic English. A nearer approach to it would be: Swear . . . that I have shown you kindness and ye will also show kindness to my father's house, and give me a token of truth (ver. 13), and save alive, etc. Fay explains by inserting after "that" [as], De Wette, "because," and both omit, of course, the "and" before "give me," or rather substitute "also." Either way gives us substantially the proper sense so far, but whether the verbs $\text{וְהָיָה$ and $\text{וְהָיָה$ and $\text{וְהָיָה$ are to be translated as coordinate with the latter, the practice of interpreters differs. We incline to side with Masius, who translates are), or as coordinate with the latter, the practice of interpreters differs. We incline to side with Masius, who translates the verbs in question as all depending alike on י : *jure . . . Vos usuros esse . . . pietate; et duros . . . conservaturosque . . . crepturosque.* — Ta.]

[3 Ver. 14. — Modify, and connect the two sentences thus: Our life for yours! If ye utter not this our business, then it shall be that when, etc. — Ta.]

c. Return of the Spies to Joshua.

CHAPTER II. 22-24.

22 And they went, and came to the mountain, and abode there three days, until the
23 pursuers were returned: and the pursuers sought *them* throughout all the way, but
24 found *them* not. So the two men returned, and descended from the mountain, and
passed over, and came to Joshua the son of Nun, and told him all *things* that befel
them. And they said unto Joshua, Truly [omit: Truly¹] the Lord [Jehovah]
hath delivered into our hands all the land; for even [and also] all the inhabitants
of the country [land] do faint [melt] because of us.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 24. — י simply introduces the following clause as quoted. See Gesen. *Lex.* B. 1, b. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

a. Vers. 1-7. *Sending out of the Spies and their Reception by Rahab.* Probably still the same day on which Joshua had received the divine command to cross the Jordan, he sends forth secretly two spies to go over to Jericho, which was somewhere about fourteen miles distant.

Ver. 1. Shittim, Num. xxxiii. 49, Abel-shittim, i. e. Meadow of the Acacias, from שִׁטִּים , acacia, probably lying northward from Beth-jeshimoth in the land of Moab, the last camping-place of the Israelites east of the Jordan, at the outlet of the Wady Heshban, known from the history of Balaam (Num. xxv. 1; Micah vi. 5), not far from the Jordan, 60 stadia = 3 hours from the place of crossing according to Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, 1; v. 1, 1; *Bell. Jud.* iv. 7, 6). Near to this evidently well chosen camp-ground (Num. xxiv. 5, 6) lay the city of Beth-peor, where Moses delivered his last discourse and was buried (Deut. iv. 46; xxxiv. 6). Compare, further, Knobel on Num. xxii. 1, [and Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 291 f. Am. ed. — Ta.]

Spies. According to the LXX. two young men, nothing like which is said in the Heb. here, but in vi. 23 we learn that the spies were young men. At all events Joshua would choose brave and prudent men for this mission, because, having himself been one of the twelve spies (Num. xiii. 9)

he knew from experience the dangers to which they would be exposed. He takes only two and sends them secretly (שֵׁטֶר , prop.: Silence, here used adverbially) that the enemy might get no intimation of it.¹ Should he have done this! the question has been asked.² Toward the answer it may be said, that the use of human prudence, with all trust in divine providence, is not ofly allowable, but often also a binding duty. Joshua ought not, in his position as a general, to enter into a strange and hostile land without having explored it first. He proceeded in full conformity with the example of Moses, Num. xiii.

Jericho. Written here "and everywhere in our book יְרִיחוֹ , but in the Pent. only יְרִיחוֹ ," Keil; 1 K. xvi. 34, יְרִיחוֹ ; a very strong city (ch. vi. 1), the key to all the land west of the Jordan, the city of palm-trees (עֵיִר הַתְּמָרִים), Dent. xxxiv. 3; Judg. i. 16; 2 Ch. xxviii. 15); in the LXX., in the N. T. (Matt. xx. 29; Mark x. 46; Luke xviii. 35, xix. 1, x. 30, Heb. xi. 30), and in Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 3), Ἰεριχώ ; in Strabo xv. 2, § 47, Ἰεριχώ ; the city of odors and fragrance (from יְרִיחוֹ , יְרִיחוֹ , fragrant place; the ending וֹ הוּ being for וֹן , comp. עֲפֹה, שִׁילֹה , Gesen.³); just as far west of the Jordan as Shittim was east

¹ [The accent connects יְרִיחוֹ with לְאִמֶּר , and it is probable that the secrecy is to be understood as referring equally to the Israelites and to the Canaanites. Maurer would seem to confine it to the former. He quotes Schultz as follows: "Cum Josua tristis experientia edoctus (Num. xiii. 14) sciret, quantum periculi habere posset exploratorum et multitudinis et missio publica, duos tantum eodemque clam etque inscio populo emisit, ne, si tristia referrent, in vul-

gus dimanaret narratio, timidique ac fracto animo fientis Israelite laeto ceteroquin duorum aequae ac plurium nuntio facile alacrioris futuri." — Ta.]

² [E. g. by Masius in *loc.*, who formally discusses the question and decides it in favor of Joshua's course. — Ta.]

³ [For other derivations and other forms of the word, see art. "Jericho," in Smith's *Bibl. Diet.*, where also a full topographical and historical account of the city may be found. See Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 299-304. — Ta.]

of it. The *immediate* vicinity of Jericho is very fertile. As the climate approximates to that of Egypt the harvest is ripe here by the end of March. Toward the Jordan, however, the surface is arid, and the region between Jericho and Jerusalem was a rocky wilderness, — the Quarantania, not even to this day entirely safe for travellers (Luke x. 30). Comp. Furrer, pp. 149, 151-154.

The spies successfully reach Jericho, towards evening (ver. 2); "at a time, therefore, when the courtizans traversed the streets (Prov. vii. 9 ff.; Is. xxiii. 16); they met with Rahab and followed her to her house" (Knobel). She was a זְנוּנָה, πόρνη (Heb. xi. 31; Ja. ii. 25), and not an innkeeper פְּנֵי הַיְהוּדִים, πανδοκείτρια (Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1, 2, Chald., Rabb., Vatab., Hess, *Hist. of Josh.* i. p. 37). Her name is mentioned also in the Genealogy of Jesus (Matt. i. 5) where she appears as wife of Salma or Salmon, and mother of Boaz. "The Rabbins derive from her eight prophets and priests" (Knobel). The Epistle to the Hebrews, and that of James celebrate her memory and glorify her faith and her works (Heb. xi. 31; James ii. 25). See on this the Doctrinal and Practical below. In our narrative she is seen as a very prudent person (ver. 4), of great presence of mind, degraded indeed, but by no means sunk in vice, and who therefore has intimations of the power of Jehovah the Almighty God (vers. 10, 11).

To-night (לַיְלָה) as in Gen. xix. 5, 34, here more precisely defined ver. 5). The king of Jericho receives word that in the evening twilight two strange men have arrived in Jericho and been received into Rahab's house. Perhaps there were, as Calvin conjectures, men standing at the gates, to notice suspicious people, especially as they were aware, no doubt, in Jericho, of the intentions of the Hebrews beyond the Jordan. The king sends to Rahab, therefore (ver. 3), and demands that she shall give up the men. At the same moment (not earlier, as Keil supposes) she hides the spies, as the demand of the king's servants was probably made from the outside, with which the "bring forth" (ver. 3) plainly agrees. She boldly lies to the king's messengers (ver. 4, 5) who go away, frustrated, in order to pursue as soon as possible Joshua's spies, whom they suppose to have escaped and fled toward the Jordan (ver. 7).

Ver. 3. Notice the full circumstantiality of the king's command.

Ver. 4. In וַתִּשְׁפָּטֵנוּ the suff. sing. is not to be changed into ׁ, but is an instance rather of "the free discourse in which one passes from the plural to the singular" (comp. Ewald, *Gramm.* § 309 a.)¹ I knew not. . . . Spoken with the air of simplicity.

Ver. 5. And it came to pass about the time of shutting of the gate. Heb. וַיְהִי הַשְּׁעָרַי לְסֹבֵר לְסֹבֵר as Gen. xv. 12, וַיְהִי הַשְּׁמֶשׁ לְבָא, and it came to pass about the time of the going down of the sun (cf. Gesen. § 132, Rem. 1).

¹ [Speculations of the Rabbis on this, given by Masius, are curious. "This use of the sing. R. Solomon thinks to indicate both the delay of the woman in hiding them, and the narrowness of the place in which they were stowed away. RR. Kimchi and Levi, however, suppose them to have been hid not in one and the same place, but each one separately, either that the flax piled on them both might not rise too high and become thus an object of suspicion, or

When it was dark, וַיְהִי עֵרָב, De Wette: as it grew dusk. It may, however, well be translated, "when it was *dark*," since in the East, night comes on soon after sundown, and the evening twilight (הַלְלָה, Job xxiv. 15; Prov. vii. 9) is of very short duration, so that sometimes הַלְלָה signifies simply night (Is. v. 11; xxi. 4; lix. 10).

Ver. 6, relates further where and how Rahab had hidden the spies (ver. 4) on the roof, under the stems of flax. The roof was flat (Mark ii. 4). According to the Jewish law it must be provided with a "battlement" (Deut. xxii. 8), that blood should not come upon the house by any one falling therefrom. "Here many men," as Starke observes, "might stay together, Judg. xvi. 27 (comp. also Acts ii. 1); they could walk about there within the battlement securely (2 Sam. xi. 2); could speak from thence to others (Matt. x. 27), and there they used to pray (Acts x. 9). The Romans also, but not all, had such roofs, and not over the whole house; but parts of some of their houses were furnished with such flat roofs which were called *solaria*, because they lay exposed on all sides to the sun, and also *maeniana*, as the Italians now also call them *altana*. וַיִּשְׁפָּטֵי הַלְלָה, LXX. correctly ἐν τῇ λινωκαλάμῳ, Vulg. *stipula lini*, therefore flax-stalks, not cotton, as De Wette (cf. also Furrer, p. 151, obs. 2), following the Arab. translation, will have it, "since פְּנֵי הַיְהוּדִים and פְּנֵי הַיְהוּדִים are everywhere else used only of flax" (Knobel). Unbroken flax is meant, the stalks of which, about Jericho as in Egypt, reach a height of more than three feet and the thickness of a reed (comp. Winer, *Rehw.*, s. v. "Flachs" [and Smith's *Dict.*])

Ver. 7. To the fords—A more exact determination of "the way," and not to be referred to "they pursued after." The fords themselves cannot be identified; one may consult the maps, especially Van de Velde, who gives a road from Jericho south-eastwardly to a ford.

c. Vers. 8-21. *Rescue of the Spies by Rahab, on their Promise to her that in the taking of the land they will spare her and hers.* After the departure of the royal messengers Rahab goes up on the roof to the spies, describes to them the faint-heartedness of the people, desires an oath from them as security that they will show kindness to her and her family in return for her kindness to them, and after receiving this lets the men down by a rope through the window (vers. 8-15).

Ver. 9. *Jehovah.* The word is remarkable as used by Rahab, but she might easily, as even Knobel grants, be acquainted with the name of the God of Israel, as the people had already camped long in the neighborhood.

Terror is fallen upon us [וַיִּפֹּל תַּיְהוֹמָתָם], suff. having the force of obj. Gen., Dent. ii. 25; xi. 25, cf. particularly Ex. xv. 13-16. The vision which was there expressed in Moses' song of triumph (ver. 15) has now been fulfilled. The inhabitants of the land melt away for fear; for they have heard how God (ver. 10) has dried up the Red Sea (Ps.

lest they should both be discovered at once. . . . What is handed down in the Commentary which we have said to be called *Tanhuma*, is a Jewish dream, to wit, that when the woman had hidden Caleb, the other, Phinehas, said to her: I am a priest. Now the priests, being like the angels, are visible when they please to be, when not they are not perceived; therefore the other one alone, not he, was hidden by the woman." *Com. in Josuam, in loc.* — Tr.]

cvi. 7, 9, 22; cxxxvi. 13, Heb. reed-sea, sea of reeds, and in Egypt, Schari-sea (schari = reed) i. e. the Arabian Gulf; and have heard also how ill it has gone with Sihon king of the Amorites (Num. xxi. 21-31; Deut. ii. 30-37), who refused the Israelites a passage through his land (Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 30), and after him with Og king of Bashan (Num. xxi. 33-35; Deut. iii. 1-7). Both have lost land and people by the edge of the sword, and the recollection of this victory lived yet in the memory of after ages, as may be seen from Ps.

cxxxvi. 19, 20. Gesenius derives כִּחוֹן from כָּתָה = כְּתָה, from which also כְּתִי, sweepings, filth (περικθάρια, περίψημα, 1 Cor. iv. 13), comes. Granting the correctness of this etymology, the name Sihon might perhaps be rather a nickname which the Hebrews had applied to the Amorite chief than his real name; but this we will not assume to decide. The name עִוֵּג, from עוּג, according to the Arab., to bend, med. E. to be bent, crooked = the crooked one, would suit well with that supposition.

Ye devoted (הִתְּרַמְתֶּם), Hiph. of הִרַם. The ground signification of the unused Kal is "to cut off,"¹ in support of which we may compare partly הִרַמְשׁ, a sickle, and partly the related words הִרַץ, הִרַשׁ, הִרַת, הִרַת. Accordingly הִרַם is that which is cut off, separated, and especially, separated for God, devoted to him (Lev. xxvii. 21, 28, 29; Num. xviii. 14; Deut. vii. 26; xiii. 18; Josh. vi. 17, 18; vii. 1 ff.; 1 Sam. xv. 21; Ezek. xlv. 29), and that too "without a possibility of redemption." ἀνάθεμα (Rom. ix. 3; 1 Cor. xii. 3; Gal. i. 8, 9; 1 Cor. xvi. 22),² κάρδα (Gal. iii. 13). Objects of such a doom might be persons, as here Sihon and Og (comp. further 1 K. xx. 42; Is. xxxiv. 5) or things (Josh. vi. 17, 18; vii. 1 ff.).

Therefore הִתְּרַמְתֶּם is to put something under the ban, to doom, i. e. to consecrate or devote it exclusively to Jehovah without a possibility of redemption, whereby the consecrated object perishes, being destroyed. Thus the word is to be understood here as often in our book, viii. 26; x. 28, 37; xi. 21;³ found in xi. 12, as in 1 Sam. xv. 8, having "with the edge of the sword" appended. [See further on this subject the exeget. note on ch. vi. 17, and the doctrinal and ethical there, No. 1.]

Ver. 11. Neither did there remain any more courage, that is, on account of fear. Differently in 1 K. x. 5, where "there was no more spirit in her" expresses the result of astonishment, — Rahab recognizes God as the Almighty and Omnipotent, a knowledge which is possible to the heathen (Rom. i. 19-21).

Ver. 12. A token of truth, Heb. אֵימָה, a sign, σημεῖον, *testis*, as in Ex. iii. 12; 1 Sam. ii. 34; x. 7, 9; 2 K. xix. 29; xx. 8, 9; Is. vii. 11, 14; xxxviii. 7, 22; Lu. ii. 12; 2 Cor. xii. 12; 2 Thess. iii. 17. ["Sign of truth, i. e. a sign by

which they guarantee to her the truth, or reality, of the exhibition of the אֵימָה desired by her," Keil.] Knobel interprets: "a proof, an evidence (Job xxi. 29), that you are honest and true men," and supposes further that "Rahab points them to the moral law, which for a favor shown prescribes a thankful and true return," and he rejects the common supposition of an outward sign, with the remark that "this would have been demanded by her not till after the request in ver. 13, and would have been given by the spies now before they were let down."⁴ But (1.) such a sign might be required just as well before as after the request in ver. 13; (2.) all the passages quoted above, especially 2 K. xx. 8, 9; Is. vii. 11, 14; xxxviii. 7, 22; Lu. ii. 12; 2 Thess. iii. 17, favor the common explanation which is supported by an actual instance in 1 Sam. xviii. 3, 4; (3.) in ver. 18 the crimson line is in fact given as such a "token;" (4.) Rahab might provisionally content herself with the oath given in ver. 14, although the sign was not yet given her, but she received it afterwards.

Ver. 14. Our life for yours, [lit. "our soul instead of yours for death," *anima nostra pro vobis moriatur*, Maur.] i. e. "You with the population of Jericho are threatened with death, but it shall not strike you but us, if we prove false; God shall in this case destroy us instead of you" (Knobel).

Ver. 15. Her house was, etc. The house was built against the city wall, but she dwelt on the city wall, that is, her chamber was in the upper story of the house, which rose above the wall. Many such houses still stand in old cities, as along the Rhine, for instance.⁵ As the spies were rescued here so was Paul (Acts ix. 25) at Damascus. Starke makes here the following honest observation: "It was generally held, particularly in ancient times, punishable to leap or climb over a wall; but we readily see that this was so considered properly on account of the wanton contempt that was shown, comp. Neh. iv. 2. But here the thing was done to save the lives of innocent people and servants of God; besides, as has already been seen, Rahab was no longer bound to seek the interest and honor of her town, accursed and doomed by God."

The men have reached the ground and stand below. Rahab, from above, advises them to turn to the mountain, while they point out to her the special conditions on which they will keep the oath; and then go their way (vers. 16-21).

Ver. 16. Get you to the mountain. Probably the cavernous mountain to the north of Jericho, which the Arabs now call Kuruntal (see Robinson, ii. 303 [Quarantania, see Stanley, S. & P. 301 f.]). On the road to the Jordan the king's messengers would undoubtedly have met them, as Rahab implies in the beginning of her counsel, "lest the pursuers meet you."

Ver. 17. We are blameless, etc. To understand these words we must supply: Unless you do what we shall now say to you, Gen. xxiv. 41.

¹ [So Winer (Simon's Lex.): Gesen. and First take separate views of the etymology of the verb, but all agree as to the meaning of this form. — Tr.]

² [See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Anathema. — Tr.]

³ [Whatever unholy object was devoted to Jehovah, being of course, incapable of use, for him and for his cause, and an abomination in his sight, must needs be destroyed. — Tr.]

⁴ [Keil also supposes that "this sign consisted in nothing else than the solemn oath which they were called upon to

render and did render, ver. 14." This view, however, it may be remarked, is entirely precluded by the translation of vers. 12 and 13, advocated above in the textual note on the passage; for what the men are called upon to swear that they will do, they cannot in the very act be doing. — Tr.]

⁵ [Knobel supposes the house may have been partly embraced within the wall, and Rahab's chamber strictly on top of the wall "which must therefore have been tolerably thick." — Tr.]

Vers. 18-20. This line of crimson thread תְּהַנְּהוּ = תְּהַנְּהוּ is line, not rope, חֶבֶל. This line was spun out of "crimson thread" (רוֹשֵׁת הַשָּׁנִי), שָׁנִי is the crimson color produced by תוֹלְעֵת הַשָּׁנִי, *Coccus ilicis*, Linn. a cochineal insect living on the holm-oak, the larvæ of which yield the crimson dye ("crimson," from the Arabic name of the insect, *Kermes*). This line is to be distinguished from the cord (ver. 15), and not identified with it as is done by Luther, who even connects the relative clause בֹּרֶךְ אֱשֶׁר — ungrammatically with הַרוֹשֵׁת instead of חֶבֶל, as Knobel also approves. This is the "token" given by the spies to Rahab, and by her (ver. 21) fastened to the window.¹ A thick red cord would hardly have been proper for this, as Schulz perceived when he remarked: "Neque etiam probabile est, eundem illum funem, quo Rachab in demittendis exploratoribus usa sit (ver. 15), fenestræ alligatum fuisse, uti Lutheri versio vernacula statuit multis sequacibus; funis enim iste facilis suspicionem movisset, exploratores in Rachabis aedibus quæritos ejus restis ope demissos esse, eum contra tenuæ ac leve filum coccineum nihil suspecti haberet." This view is held also by Maurer and Keil, and before Schulz, by J. D. Michaelis. From its bright red color the line was visible at a distance. But how did Rahab reach the line when the men were below and she above at the window? They probably fastened it to the cord which she then drew up. To this first condition the spies add a second, namely, they would be clear of their oath also if she did not gather all her relatives into her house, which they were not to leave (vers. 18, 19). The third and last condition is that Rahab shall betray nothing (ver. 20).

His blood be upon us. Blood = blood-guiltiness, responsibility for blood, Gen. xxxvii. 26; Lev. xvii. 4. In this signification we have the plural also בְּדָמַי. Hence יָרִיד דָּמַי, בַּיִת, house, city of blood, 2 Sam. xxi. 1; Ezek. xxii. 2; "man of blood," Ps. v. 7; xxvi. 9; lv. 24. Compare besides Matt. xxvii. 19, 24, 25.

Ver. 21. She fastened the line in the window, not the cord.

c. Vers. 22-24. *Return of the Spies to Joshua.* The last verses of the chapter relate the return of the spies who, after tarrying three days in the mountain, recrossed the Jordan [probably by swimming, as the water at this season was too high to ford. — Tr.] and came with joyful tidings to Joshua (vers. 22-23).

All that befel them. "The פְּלִי-הַמַּשְׂאוֹת אוֹרָם is synonymous with פְּלִי-הַתְּקוּרָת אוֹרָם Gen. xlii. 29" (Keil) "On בָּקָעָה, to overtake, befall, comp. Ex. xviii. 8; Num. xx. 14. Similarly הָרָתָה, Gen. xlii. 29." (Knobel)

Ver. 24 contains the most important part of their report, that the inhabitants of Canaan were very much dispirited and fearful (בְּמַחֲזֵק, as in ver. 9).

1 [Knobel denying the reference to any material sign in ver. 12, is obliged by the art. in תְּהַנְּהוּ to identify תְּהַנְּהוּ (line) with חֶבֶל (rope) ver. 15. — Tr.]

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Besides that Rahab has received an honorable position in the genealogical record of Jesus (Matt. i. 5), she is mentioned with praise by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 31) as well as by James (ii. 25), as a woman of vigorous faith. "The former of these," as Rüetschi observes (*Real-Encyclop.* xii. 514), is followed by Clemens Rom. who not only makes Rahab a pattern of πίστις and φιλοξενία, but praises in her a certain προφητεία, since he finds in the red line a sign of the redemption through Christ's blood of all who believe and hope in the Lord." This red line is applied allegorically by Starke also. "This red, scarlet precious line," he says, "leads us to the blood of the paschal lamb of the O. T. . . . but still more plainly points us to the precious, crimson blood of Jesus, shed for us, etc., by which we are upheld and kept unto salvation, as Rahab and her family were kept alive and safe by that red line."

It need scarcely be said that the Scripture itself knows nothing of this signification of the red line, and yet it may be well worth while to subject the two passages, Heb. xi. 31 and Jas. ii. 25, to a brief examination. In Heb. xi. it had just been said that the walls of Jericho fell down through faith after they had been compassed about by the Israelites seven days. Then we read: "by faith the harlot Rahab perished not (οὐ συναπάλεστο) with them that believed not (τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν,) since she received the spies with peace (μετ' εἰρήνης, Luth.: with friendship). Faith is thus ascribed to her as to the Israelites, that faith, namely, which is the "substance" a confident expectation (ὑπόστασις) of that for which one hopes, and the "evidence," or conviction of the reality of things not seen (Heb. xi. 1). She is also called, honestly, πόρνη, while the Rabbins (see above, after the example of Josephus, *Ant.* v. 12, 7), uniformly make of her an inn-keeper, or also a concubine (Künclli). On the same track Christian interpreters followed later, proposing to translate הַזְּרָה "stranger" or "heathen woman." But in this matter we must abide by the historical truth of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as Matthew also, in bringing in Tamar, Rahab and Bathsheba into the genealogical register, "without doubt aimed to show the Jewish-Pharisaic spirit that there was a higher righteousness than that of outward Jewish holiness" (Lange, *Comm. on Matt.* i. 5). By her faith Rahab was led to this higher righteousness, "and rose above the fact that she had until then been a heathen and a harlot" (Lange, *l. c.*). Therefore she perished not with the unbelievers when she had received the spies with peace. Her faith in the God of heaven and earth (Josh. ii. 11) had so sharpened her sight that she distinctly foresaw the conquest of the land (ch. ii. 9) and clearly perceived the disheartened mind of the Canaanites. It was a strong faith, which showed its fruits in works of love (Gal. v. 6). Hence James places her beside Abraham (ch. ii. 24) and says of her that by (ἐξ) works she was justified; "likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified (ἐδικαιώθη) by works since she received the messengers (ἀγγέλους not κατασκόπους, as in Heb. xi. 31) and sent them out another way." We first notice here that, as in Heb. xi., Rahab is called πόρνη, then that her practical faith exhibited in the reception of the spies is praised, as Abraham's practical faith manifested in the offering of Isaac is in ver. 21. But yet it is in James also expressly faith (ver. 22) which constitutes the principle of all out-

ward conduct. Therefore, since we must deny all fundamental difference between Paul and James, we cannot agree with Rüetschi in saying (*ubi sup.*): "The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews brings forward Rahab as an example of faith, and James (ii. 25) consistently with his position, as an example of righteousness through works." For, in reference to *δικαιώθη*, Lange has hit the truth when he says on this passage, "The term *δικαίουν* means with James, according to the O. T. way of speaking but with a N. T. depth, that God declares righteous in the theocratic forum before the theocratic congregation regarded as permanent. It is the divine declaration of the proof [proved reality] of faith in God's kingdom and for it, while the *λογίζεσθαι εἰς δικαιοσύνην* of James, or the *δικαίουν* of Paul is an act which passes simply between God and the sinner in the forum of his consciousness." In this theocratic sense now Rahab was justified, "not merely in that her life was granted (Josh. ii.; vi. 22 ff.), but in that, still further, she became a highly honored mother in Israel" Lange, *Comm. on James in l. c.*) Her faith was not a dead faith but living and effectually active. But faith remains ever, even according to the view of James, the principle of her action, for he adds in confirmation of this (ver. 26): "For as the body without the spirit is dead, so is faith also without works dead." Faith must perfect itself through works (ver. 22) that it may suffice for justification not only before God but also before the congregation. So was it with Abraham's and also with Rahab's faith. Both stand justified before God and before men; before God immediately through faith, before men through faith, evincing, certifying, displaying itself in works.

[If God acts He goes beyond the limits of the existing dispensation, and oversteps his established relationships with man. It is thus that the divine nature of Jesus, and the divine rights of his person, manifested themselves. He was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. That was the limit of his formal relationship with men. But if faith lays hold of the goodness of God, can that goodness deny itself, or limit itself, to those who for the time being were alone the subjects of his dispensation? No, Christ could not say, God is not good, I am not good, to the degree you have imagined. How could God deny himself? The Syrophenician woman obtains what she asks for. Precious prerogative of faith, which knows and owns God through everything; which honors Him as He is, and ever finds Him what He is!]

"Wherein was manifested that faith in Rahab which the Apostle cites as a pattern? Admirable proof that the way in which God acts in grace is before and above law, that grace overlaps the boundary which law ascribes to man, even while maintaining its authority,—an authority, however, which can only manifest itself in condemnation. What then was Rahab's faith? It was the faith which recognizes that God is with his people, all weak and few as they may be, unpossessed of their inheritance, wandering on the earth without a country, but *beloved of God*. If Abraham believed God when there was not a people, Rahab identified herself with this people when they had nothing but God." Darby, p. 309.—Tr.]

But Rahab lied to the messengers of her king. Did this falsehood also come through faith? Cer-

tainly not; rather in it she showed her natural disposition, precisely as it was with the Hebrew midwives (Ex. i. 19) who, although they feared God (Ex. i. 17), nevertheless deceived Pharaoh; or with that woman at Bahurim (2 Sam. xvii. 18–20), who denied that Ahimaaz and Jonathan, David's spies, were with her when Absalom's servant sought them. Abraham on the other hand, when Isaac's perplexing question (Gen. xxii. 7) tempted to a so-called "white" lie, answered from faith (Gen. xxii. 8) and gave in so doing an example for every one in such cases.

[ADDED FROM KEIL BY THE TRANSLATOR: The falsehood with which Rahab was shrewd enough not only to turn off all suspicion of her being in collusion with the men of Israel who had come into her house, but also to lead the further pursuit of them away from her house, and to frustrate the attempts to capture them, can be excused neither as a lie of necessity to accomplish a good end, nor with Grotius on the unfounded plea, that "ante Evangelium mendacium viris bonis salutare culpe non debebatur." Nor can it be explained as either "allowed" or "even praiseworthy," because the author simply reports the fact without judgment of his own, nor yet because Rahab, as appears from what follows (ver. 9 ff.), being persuaded of Jehovah's omnipotence and of the reality of the miracles wrought by God for his people, acted in pious faith that the true God would give the land of Canaan to the Israelites, and that all opposition to them was vain and a resistance to Almighty God himself. For a lie is and always must be a sin. Although, therefore, Rahab in this was moved by no thought of protecting herself and her family from destruction, and the disposition from which she acted was rooted simply in faith in the living God (*πίστει*, Heb. xi. 31), so that what she did in this disposition for the spies, and so for God's cause, is reckoned to her for righteousness (*ἐξ ἔργων δικαιώθη*, James ii. 25), still the course which she adopted was a sin of weakness, which for her faith's sake was graciously forgiven her,—an "infirmitas, quæ ipsi ob fidem gratiose condonata est." Calov.—Tr.]

2. That the spies gave their *oath* was quite proper, since "necessity required it." Generally in antiquity, and so also among the Israelites, the taking of oaths was much more common than with us (Gen. xxiv. 37; 1. 5; Judg. xxi. 5; 1 Sam. xiv. 24 etc., Matt. xiv. 7), and this was especially the case in *private* intercourse. To avoid, as far as possible, the use of God's name in this, they in later times availed themselves of other objects by which to swear, as clearly appears from Matt. v. 33–37; xxiii. 16 ff.; James v. 12. Against such frivolous swearing both Christ and the Apostle James speak, while both alike indicate the ideal of Christian truthfulness in that you should be *yea*, and *no*, *yea*. The more our life and the life of others approaches to perfection, the less need will there be of oaths and confirmation of the nature of oaths. In the private intercourse of Christians with each other, this is indeed the case now wherever the spirit of Christianity is in any considerable degree active in their hearts. The state also will have to strive after this, but as things in general now are, and representing as it does the law and not the gospel, it cannot yet forego the oath as a means of justice.¹ Therefore the Christian also, out of

¹ [On the propriety in itself of the appeal to God by a sincere worshipper in confirmation of his veracity (which is essentially the oath), see Tholuck's *Com. on the Sermon on*

the Mount, at Matt. v. 33–37. But this being fully granted, it seems to the present writer extremely questionable whether the entire disuse of such appeals before our courts, custom

obedience to "the powers that be" (Rom. xiii. 1) will have to submit to the taking of the oath. The rejection of the oath by Anabaptists, Mennonites, and Quakers, was closely connected with that of military service, and with the refusal to assume public offices, and rested on antinomianism. — That to pledge the soul, therefore the life, as is done here, ver. 14, and elsewhere in the O. T., is not allowable for us Christians, needs no argument. On the other hand, it is carefully to be observed, and has with right been specially pointed out by interpreters of this passage, what care the spies take with the conditions, under which they should be clear of their oath; how precisely they put them in form, how clearly and plainly they express them, that they might not afterwards be charged with perjury (vers. 14, 17 ff.) Another example of great conscientiousness in reference to an oath, see in ch. ix. 19, 20.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The sending of the spies to Jericho. (1.) Sending forth and reception by Rahab (ver. 1-7); (2.) their rescue (ver. 8-21); (3.) their return to Joshua (ver. 22-24). — The heathen woman Rahab as a heathen of true faith, with reference to Heb. xi. 31; James ii. 25. — Base things before the world and things which are despised has God chosen — proved by the example of Rahab especially as presented by Matt. i. 5. Comp. 1 Cor. i. 28. — How faith sharpens discernment concerning the condition of an individual or of a whole people. — Dependency as a result of heathen sentiment and life. — Even yet we may hear what the Lord does if only we will hear. — The glory of God as (1.) above in heaven, and (2.) below, on the earth. — One should care not only for himself but for all those belonging to him. — Rahab as a faithful daughter and sister. — Kindness and truth a beautiful ornament of God, not less also of men. — The rescue of the spies out of Jericho and that of Paul out of Damascus compared with each other (ver. 15; Acts. ix. 25). Good advice ought always to be received. Proceed carefully when you have to take an oath, that no one afterwards may charge you with its violation. — Of an oath; (1.) when is it allowable? (2.) what is it? (3.) what results from it? — Let it be as you say — much spoken in few words. — The joyful return of the spies to Joshua with praise and thanksgiving to the Lord.

STARKE: Christian! To us also heaven is promised, Luke xiii. 24; Col. iii. 1, 2 [Heb. iv. 1, 11]. Truth and friendship are never better sought than in extreme danger. — Woman's craft exceeds all craft, therefore beware of it. By God's name only

house officials, revenue assessors, etc. etc., would not rather promote the ends of justice, while it would certainly do away with a shocking scandal to religion. This is of course, on the supposition that something like the "affirmation" now allowed should be regularly substituted, and the civil penalties for falsehood here be righteously assigned and rigorously exacted. It is one thing to conjecture of what use the oath might be in these civil transactions if reverently administered and intelligently taken; it is quite another thing which we actually witness, and are likely to witness, when men by myriads throughout the land daily mumble over the most solemn form of words, without a thought of their significance, and seal the mockery for the most part by an act of superstitious nonsense. When we consider that

should one swear, Deut. vi. 13, Zeph. i. 5. — How sacred and inviolate must the oath have been at all times among the Israelites, when even a heathen woman would trust her life to it. O, that Christians would observe this, and keep their oaths also sacred and inviolate! Ecc. v. 4. — In making contracts men should explain themselves clearly to each other, and use no ambiguous language. — Christians should be silent, for a loquacious tongue brings many into sorrow, Prov. xiii. 3, 16, 26; [James ii. 2 ff.]. In time of persecution to conceal one's self is quite proper for the ministers and servants of God also. God can soon take courage away from enemies.

HEDINGER: While one has ordinary means one should use them; but if these fail one may betake one's self to God's immediate help. We enter not by the little side door except when the great portal is shut. Even the greatest sinners when they truly repent, are agreeable to God (Jer. v. 3). One discreet and faithful person in a house is wont to cause much good; where, on the contrary, all are careless and secure, then it often happens that they all perish together (Gen. xxxix. 2-5).

CRAMER: For the best good of his country every patriot should give himself up even to the hazard of body and life (1 Sam. xvii. 41). Those who are on their journeys God can wonderfully keep from dangers, Ps. xxxi. 21, xci. 1.

OSLANDER: Right faith breaks forth thus in free confession of the truth, magnifying and praising God, and streaming out in love towards fellow men.

[MATTHEW HENRY: There are many who before their conversion were very wicked and vile, and yet afterward come to great eminence in faith and holiness. — They who truly believe the divine revelation concerning the ruin of sinners, and the grant of the heavenly land to God's Israel, will give diligence to flee from the wrath to come, and to lay hold on eternal life, by joining themselves to God and to his people. — They that will be conscientious in keeping their promises will be cautious in making them, and perhaps may insert conditions which others may think frivolous. — Sinners' frights are sometimes sure presages of their fall.

THOS. SCOTT (on ver. 12, 13): When we really discover the danger to which our souls are exposed, from the wrath of an offended God, and are earnestly seeking salvation, we shall begin to feel for those who are not sensible of their own lost condition. This will induce us to attempt what we can to forward the salvation of our beloved friends and relations; and thus they who have been the grief and disgrace of their families, may, by the grace of God, become their protection as well as ornament. — Tr.]

an oath thus carelessly employed, is in the most aggravated sense, taking the name of God in vain, and that our laws almost necessitate this in cases so numerous that their united sound may be imagined rising as a constant murmur to heaven amidst the voice of our public life, we may well dread the condemnation due to a profane people. Is there really any counterbalancing gain in the ascertainment of the truth?

Is not the evidence now got by affirmations as satisfactory as that by oaths? The word of the man who actually regards God needs not the sanction of an oath; for him who does not the penitentiary alone has any terror, and to that he might as well appeal. — Tr.]

3. *The Passage of the Israelites through the Jordan.*

CHAPTERS III.-IV.

a. Joshua's Regulations concerning the Passage through the Jordan.

CHAPTER III. 1-13.

1 And Joshua rose early in the morning; and they removed [broke up¹] from Shit-
 2 tim and came to [the] Jordan, he and all the children [sons] of Israel, and lodged
 3 there before they passed over. And it came to pass after three days, that the officers
 4 [overseers] went through the host [camp]; and they commanded the people, saying,
 5 When ye see the ark of the covenant of the Lord [Jehovah] your God, and the
 6 priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove [break up] from your place,
 7 and go after it. Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand
 8 cubits by measure: come not near unto it, that ye may know the way by which ye
 9 must go; for ye have not passed *this* way heretofore.

10 And Joshua said unto the people, Sanctify yourselves; for to-morrow the Lord
 11 [Jehovah] will do wonders among you. And Joshua spake² unto the priests, say-
 12 ing, Take up the ark of the covenant, and pass over before the people. And they
 13 took up the ark of the covenant, and went before the people.

14 And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee
 15 in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that as I was with Moses, *so* I will
 16 be with thee. And thou³ shalt command the priests that bear the ark of the cove-
 17 nant, saying, When ye are come to the brink of the water of [the] Jordan, ye shall
 18 stand still in [or, at the] Jordan.

19 And Joshua said unto the children [sons] of Israel, Come hither, and hear
 20 the words of the Lord [Jehovah] your God. And Joshua said, Hereby ye shall
 21 know that the [a] living God is among you, and *that* he will without fail⁴ drive out
 22 from before you the Canaanites [Canaanite], and the Hittites [Hittite], and the Hiv-
 23 ites [Hivite], and the Perizzites [Perizzite], and the Gergashites [Gergashite], and
 24 the Amorites [Amorite], and the Jebusites [Jebusite].⁵ Behold the ark of the cove-
 25 nant of the Lord of all the earth passeth over before you into [through the]
 26 Jordan. Now therefore [And now] take you twelve men out of the tribes of Israel,
 27 13 out of every tribe a man. And it shall come to pass, as soon as the soles of the feet
 28 of the priests that bear the ark of the Lord [Jehovah] the Lord of all the earth,
 29 shall rest in the waters⁶ of [the] Jordan, *that* the waters of [the] Jordan shall be
 30 cut off *from* [omit; from], the waters that come down from above; [.] and they
 31 [omit; they] shall stand upon a heap [in, or, as a heap.]

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 [Ver. 1. — עָרָב, see Gesen. s. r. — Tr.]

2 [Ver. 6. — Prop.: said, נִשְׁאָר, but since, when this verb is (very rarely) repeated as here, our language would not
 now bear "he said . . . saying," there is no way but either to render the first verb "spake" with English Vers.
 or omit the participle altogether. — Tr.]

3 [Ver. 8. — Fay translates, "and now," as though he read וְעַתָּה instead of וְעַתָּה, — Tr.]

4 [Ver. 10. — וְהָיָה וְיָדָע. The emphatic force of the infin. absolute in connection with the finite verb is habit-
 ually neglected in translation by De Wette and Fay. Herein we think our version certainly is to be preferred, although
 it doubtless sometimes makes too much of this peculiar Hebrew combination. To give as nearly as possible the shade of
 meaning intended is often a matter of much nicety of expression. Cf. Gesen. *Gram.* § 133, 3a. — Tr.]

5 [Ver. 10. — The Gentile names here are all in the sing., and although the Hebrew usage in this respect does not
 always coincide with the English, in the present case at least our version would gain as much in force as in fidelity by an
 exact imitation of the original. — Tr.]

6 [Ver. 13. — The Hebrew noun for water is always plural, but construed with verbs of either number. The English
 Vers. varies capriciously between the two. In some connections the plural is doubtless more adequate in the English, but
 generally "water" would be the right expression. — Tr.]

b. The Passage of the Jordan.

CHAPTER III. 14-IV. 17.

14 And it came to pass, when the people removed [broke up] from their tents to
 pass over [the] Jordan, and the priests bearing the ark of the covenant before the

15 people; and as¹ they that bare the ark were come unto [the] Jordan, and the feet
of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water, (for [the]
10 Jordan overfloweth all his [its] banks all the time of harvest,)² that the waters which
came down from above stood *and* rose up upon an heap, very far from [by³] the
city Adam, that *is* beside Zaretan; and those that came down toward the sea of the
plain [the Arabah⁴] *even* [omit: even] the salt sea, failed, *and* were cut off [were
17 entirely cut off]: and the people passed over right against Jericho. And the
priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord [Jehovah] stood firm on [the]
dry ground in the midst of [the] Jordan, and all the Israelites passed over on [the] dry
ground, until all the people [nation, הַגּוֹי] were passed clean over [the] Jordan.

1 IV. And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over [the] Jordan,
2 that the Lord [Jehovah] spake unto Joshua, saying, Take you twelve men out of
3 the people, out of every tribe a man, and command ye them, saying, Take you
hence out of the midst of [the] Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood
firm, twelve stones, and ye shall carry them over with you, and leave them in the
lodging-place where ye shall lodge this night.

4 Then [And] Joshua called the twelve men, whom he had prepared of the children
5 [sons] of Israel, out of every tribe a man; And Joshua said unto them, Pass over
before the ark of the Lord [Jehovah] your God into the midst of [the] Jordan,
and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the
6 number of the tribes of the children of Israel: that this may be a sign among you,
that [omit: that] when your children ask *their fathers* [omit: their fathers] in time
7 to come, saying, What *mean* ye by these stones? Then ye shall answer them
[say to them], That the waters of [the] Jordan were cut off before the ark of the
covenant of the Lord [Jehovah]; when it passed over [the] Jordan, the waters of
[the] Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children
8 [sons] of Israel forever. And the children [sons] of Israel did so as Joshua com-
manded, and took up twelve stones out of the midst of [the] Jordan, as the Lord
[Jehovah] spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children
[sons] of Israel, and carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged,
9 and laid them down there. And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of [the]
Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant
10 stood, and they are there unto this day. For [And] the priests which bare the ark
stood in the midst of [the] Jordan, until every thing was finished that the Lord
[Jehovah] commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, according to all that Moses
11 commanded Joshua: and the people hasted and passed over. And it came to
pass, when all the people were clean passed over, that the ark of the Lord [Jeho-
12 vah] passed over, and the priests in the presence of [before] the people. And the
children [sons] of Reuben, and the children [sons] of Gad, and half the tribe of
Manasseh passed over armed [eager for war, or, in companies ch. i. 14] before the
13 children [sons] of Israel, as Moses spake unto them. About forty thousand pre-
pared for [the] war passed over before the Lord [Jehovah] unto battle, to the plains
[desert plains, steppes, עֲרְבוֹרִים⁵] of Jericho.

14 On that day the Lord [Jehovah] magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel, and
they feared him [;] as they [had] feared Moses, all the days of his life.

15 And the Lord [Jehovah] spake unto Joshua, saying, Command the priests that
bear the ark of the testimony [law, Gesenius] that they come up out of [the] Jor-
16 dan. Joshua therefore [And Joshua] commanded the priests, saying, Come ye up
17 out of [the] Jordan. And it came to pass, when the priests that bare the ark of the
covenant of the Lord [Jehovah] were come up out of the midst of [the] Jor-
dan, *and* [omit: and] the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up [plucked out
נִתְקַרְקַר] unto the dry land, that [and] the waters of [the] Jordan returned unto their
place, and flowed over all his [its] banks, as *they did* before.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 [Ch. 3. Ver. 15. — Our version is here particular to mark the difference between **ב** with Inf. const. (פְּבֹרִים) and **ב** in the same connection in ver. 13 (פְּנִכְעֵ). The distinction is slight, and in many cases probably none was deliberately

aimed at in the choice of the particle; yet strictly the latter (ב) denotes an action as contained in another (in time), the former (ע) denotes it as bearing a comparison with that other in respect to time (or quality or condition), as simultaneous, following close upon, about the same as, etc. — Tr.]

² [Ch. iii. 15. — Literally, and the Jordan was full on all its banks all the days of harvest. — Tr.]

³ [Ch. iii. 16. — Very, far ("sc. from the place of crossing," Keil) at or by the city of Adam. Our version followed the Keri here apparently without good reason. — Tr.]

⁴ [Ch. iii. 16. — The Arabah (as in ch. xviii. 18, 22) the definite, individual "plain," which bordered the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. See the Exeget. Note on this verse. — Tr.]

⁵ [Ch. iv. 13. — These were the expanse of the Jordan-valley (Arabah) in the neighborhood of Jericho, greatly widened here by the retreat of the mountains toward the west. — Tr.]

⁶ [C. i. iv. 18. — The exact translation would be: "And it came to pass — were come up out of the midst of the Jordan, the soles of the priests' feet were plucked out unto the dry land, and the waters of the Jordan returned and went as before on all its banks." The return of the water to its course is thus carefully associated with the last step of the priests from the muddy bed of the stream. — נִתְּקוּ אֶל הַיַּבֵּשׁ is *prag.* for, "were plucked up out of the bed of the stream and stepped on the dry or solid land." Keil. — Tr.]

c. The Erection of the Memorial at Gilgal.

CHAPTER IV. 19-24.

19 And the people came up out of [the] Jordan on the tenth *day* of the first month,
20 and encamped in Gilgal, in the east border of Jericho. And those twelve stones
21 which they took out of [the] Jordan, did Joshua pitch [set up] in Gilgal. And he
spake unto the children [sons] of Israel, saying, When your children shall ask their
22 fathers in time to come, saying, What *mean* these stones? Then ye shall let your
23 children [sons] know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on [the] dry land. For
the Lord [Jehovah] your God dried up the waters of [the] Jordan from before you,
until ye were passed over, as the Lord [Jehovah] your God did to the Red sea,
24 which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over: that all the people
[peoples] of the earth might know the hand of the Lord [Jehovah], that it *is* mighty,
that ye [Fay: they] might fear the Lord [Jehovah] your God for ever.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

a. *Joshua's Arrangements for the Passage of the Jordan.*—And Joshua rose early: וַיִּשָׁחַ as in Gen. xix. 2, 27; xx. 8; xxii. 3; xxviii. 18; xxxii. 1, with and without the addition "in the morning."

Properly הַבֵּשֶׁשׁ is a denom. from שָׁחַ, "to load up, on the backs of beasts of burden, which among the nomads is done early in the morning,"

= שָׁחַ Is. xxxiii. 20. — This breaking up took place immediately after the return of the spies, and this verse accordingly belongs properly to ch. ii.

Ver. 2 is in continuation of ch. i. 10-16. The three days here are the same as in ch. i. 11. In ch. ii. which is otherwise very appositely inserted, and in a way completely suiting the connection, the differences in the dates were not, we must simply admit, duly taken into account. On the other hand it seems to us unnecessary, to assume a contradiction between ver. 1 on one side and vers. 2-6 on the other, on the grounds that (a.) the people, according to ver. 1, were *at* the Jordan and not 2,000 cubits off from it; (b.) the Israelites spent only *one* night (לַיְלָה) there, and so could not have been there after three days. Although we grant that the word here translated "lodge" commonly means to "spend the night" (Gen. xix. 2; xxiv. 25; xxviii. 11; xxxii. 14, 22), still in view of such passages as Job xix. 4; xli. 14; Ps. xxv. 13; xlix. 13), we may well take it here in the sense of to encamp, to tarry, as the Vulgate, when it translates

norat sunt. [The English word "lodge" very appropriately represents לָוַן.] Again: "they came to the Jordan, וַיָּבֹאוּ עַד הַיַּרְדֵּן" is certainly not to be understood with literal preciseness. It means: they came near to the Jordan, not exactly on the brink of the river. Two thousand cubits may very naturally still have intervened, especially when we take into account the great extent of the camp. This view is very evidently supported by vers. 14, 15, which, according to Knobel from the same author as ver. 1a, state that the people removed out of their tents and the priests came to the Jordan. Had they encamped close on the river-brink, as ver. 1 is interpreted by Knobel, we should have been told immediately of the dipping of their feet in the water, but not certainly of their coming to the Jordan.

Ver. 3. *Overseers.* As in ch. i. 11 so also here שָׂרֵי, LXX. *γραμματέας*; Vulg. *præcones*; Luther, *Hauptleute* (head-men); Stier, *Audite* (officials); at first probably altogether general officers, head-men of the people (Ex. v. 6-19; Num. xi. 16), those who knew how to write. Later, the magistrates in the towns (Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Chron. xxxiii. 4). In Arabic שָׂר signifies simply to write. In 2 Chr. xxvi. 11 שָׂר and כָּתָב stand side by side. In Prov. vi. 7, the former, English Vcrs. "overseer," stands with מְשַׁל "guide" and מְשַׁלֵּט "ruler."¹

¹ [Leyrer, in Herzog's *Encyclop.*, vol. xiv. p. 1, note, supposing the ground-meaning of שָׂר to have been "to put in order," "set in a row, hence to make a row, of let-

ters," says: "we may rather conceive that the שָׂרֵי, from the ground-meaning of the word and from their primary function, are called *ordinatores*, than from a derived

Ark of the Covenant. Here "ark of the covenant of Jehovah," elsewhere also "ark of God," 1 Sam. iii. 3, "ark of the testimony" [law], Ex. xxv. 22: the sacred ark with the tables of the law (according to Heb. ix. 4, with other objects also), prepared by Moses (Ex. xxv. 10 ff.) after a divine pattern. It was two and a half cubits long, one and a half cubits high, and the same in breadth. It was made of acacia wood, overlaid within and without with gold plate. The name אֲרֹן is derived from אָרַן, to bore out, hollow out, and signifies properly something hollow, hence also "a coffin," Gen. i. 26. Figures may be seen in Hoffmann and Redslob, *Universal Bibel-Lexicon für die People*, i. 244; Kiepert, *Bible Atlas*, v. Fig. 15. [Smith's and other *Bible Dictionaries*, and works of the same design, may be consulted. Also Jahm, Coleman, and other writers, on Hebrew antiquities. — Tr.]

Ver. 4. Yet there shall be a space . . . two thousand cubits by measure. As a reason it is given that the ark should show the way. Had the masses of the people, who by no means marched as soldiers, crowded around it, those that were behind could not have seen it. The sacredness of the ark is not here directly the reason, as various interpreters have supposed (Mas., C. a Lapide, Seb. Schmidt, v. Lengerke and Knobel), but yet may come in as a secondary consideration. According to Num. iv. 15 the sons of Kohath bore the sanctuary, but might not touch it. Uzziah died when he did this (2 Sam. vi. 7). We may notice also what Starke has pointed out, that no longer the pillar of cloud but the ark of the covenant leads the way. The mauna likewise ceased at this time. The days of the pilgrimage are past. Two thousand cubits = one Sabbath day's journey (Acts i. 12) = three thousand feet. The Kethib בניו is to be retained instead of Keri, בניו. So also ch. viii. 11, "since the plural בניו is limited almost entirely to the case where the suff. also has the plural sense. Comp. Ewald, § 266 a." (Keil).

Ver. 5. [Sanctify yourselves. "The sanctification of the people consisted not in the washing of their clothes, which is mentioned Ex. xix. 10-14 with the נִדְּשׁ, for there was no time for this: nor in the changing of garments merely, which according to Gen. xxxv. 2, might take the place of washing, and in abstinence from conjugal intercourse, Ex. xix. 15. These were only the outward signs of the sanctification which really consisted at the same time in the spiritual purification, the turning of the heart to God, in faith and trust in his promise, and in willing obedience to his commands, that they might rightly take to heart the wonder of grace which the Lord would the next day perform among them." Keil. — Tr.]

To-morrow. According to ch. iv. 19 the 10th of Nisan.

Ver. 6. And they took up the ark of the covenant. This statement is not exact [not in place here], the correct account is given in ver. 15, since vers. 7-13 could not be spoken after the procession was already in motion. Keil: "Whether the command in ver. 6 was given the evening before, as Maurer, or on the morning of the crossing, as Rosenmüller supposes, cannot be determined, since both were equally possible. The former is the more

probable; but it is certain that the execution of this command in the last words of the verse is anticipated. For the following revelation of God to Joshua, together with Joshua's discourse to the people, cannot have taken place after the priests with the ark had already begun the march." Knobel refers the words to the breaking up of the camp from Shittim.

Vers. 7, 8. Revelation of God to Joshua, in which the Lord promises to make him great from this day forward as he had made Moses great; agreeing substantially with ch. i. 2-9. Then follows, ver. 8, God's command that "Joshua should direct the priests bearing the ark to halt when they came to the edge of the water of the Jordan, i. e., as soon as they reached the water in the bed of the Jordan, and their feet stood in it, and to remain standing. On יָצַד comp. Gen. xliii. 15. What Jehovah communicated further is not here told, because it appears from the following." (Knobel).

Ver. 9-13. In these verses we have to think of ourselves as addressed in a solemn assembly of the people, a congregation of Jehovah. They contain the purport of the divine revelation, and more fully than it had been stated in vers. 7 and 8.

Ver. 9. "בְּשֵׁר" with accent drawn back as in Ruth ii. 14; 1 Sam. xiv. 38, comp. Ewald, § 100 a, and 227 b." (Keil).

Ver. 10. Hereby shall ye know that a living God is among you. The design of the miracle, the furtherance of the knowledge of God as a living mighty God, is significantly put first. אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה; God is here called אֱלֹהֵי from אֱלֹהִים, prop. the Strong One in opposition to the gods of the heathen, which are אֱלֹהֵי לְבָנִים, Lev. xix. 4; xxvi. 1, nothings, אֱלֹהֵי הַבְּרִיָּה, prop. breaths, Deut. xxxii. 21; Jer. viii.

19; xiv. 22; Ps. xxxi. 7, or even נְשֻׁוֹת הַבְּבֵלִי, Jon. ii. 8, "lying vanities." He is, however, not called אֱלֹהֵי merely, which term in the plural occurs also of the gods of the heathen (Ex. xv. 11), but אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה, to indicate that he is not dead like them, comp. Jer. x. 9, 10. On the original inhabitants of Palestine see the Introduction, § 7. As here, so previously in Deut. vii. 1, and again in this book ix. 1; xi. 3; xxiv. 11, seven races are enumerated, but in varying order. The Jebusites, however, always, except in ch. xi. 3, stand last.

Ver. 11. Lord of the whole earth. A significant appellation of God, where the conquest of a land is in question. From Him Israel has his title to Canaan.

Verse 12 compared with ch. iv. 2 occasions difficulty. Two questions arise: (1.) When was this direction given; before the crossing or during the crossing? The former according to this passage, the latter according to iv. 2. The former seems more probable, because the twelve men could not possibly be chosen during the passage. (2.) Does the choice of the twelve men rest as Knobel teaches, according to our passage, on the regulation of Joshua alone, or on the divine command, as ch. iv. 1 expressly says. Answer: The author has here the same view of the divine authority of the command as in iv. 1, otherwise he would not have incorporated these words in a discourse which contains the solemn announcement of a divine revelation.

Ver. 13. Soles of the feet, comp. ch. i. 3. —

The water . . . shall be cut off, **יִכָּרְתוּן**, Luther: be broken off; De Wette: part; literally: "shall be cut off," that is, the water above the place of crossing stood still, so that no more flowed by. The water below ran away toward the Dead Sea.

b. Chaps. iii. 14-iv. 18. *The Passage of the People through the Jordan.* This took place according to ch. iv. 19, on the tenth day of the first month (called Nisan or Abib), hence in the same month as formerly the departure out of Egypt. This like that was immediately before the Passover, which according to ch. v. was celebrated four days later for the first time on the soil of the Holy Land. The harvest here, in the deeply sunken heated valley of the Jordan, was already begun. The "yellow" water of the river stands high at this season, because the snows are melting on the mountains (comp. Furrer, p. 154). So much more wonderful was the event, a proof of the actual help of the "living God."

Ver. 15. And the Jordan overfloweth . . . harvest. A parenthetical sentence. The Jordan valley, the Ghor, is two hours across, the proper river bed, through which the stream flows, only a quarter of an hour, and the stream itself, according to Furrer's estimate (p. 154), only 90 feet in breadth. This latter valley was overflowed, and is still overflowed, by the "high-water" at the time of harvest, precisely as then. See Seetzen, Burekhardt, Robinson, [Stanley, *S. & P.*] Furrer. The last named says: "When, late in the spring, the snow on Hermon begins to melt, the Jordan commonly overflows its lower bank, and puts reeds and bushes under water. So found it, as was related in Israel, the fathers under Joshua; 'The Jordan was full on all its banks all the time of harvest.'"

Ver. 16. Near Adam. Heb. **בְּאֵדָם**. The Kethib is to be preferred, since its meaning is that very far from the place of crossing, by the city Adam which lay at the side of Zaretan, the water stood still. This city Adam was situated, probably, where now we find the ford Damith with remains of a bridge of the Roman period (Lynch's *Report*, p. 150 f., Van de Velde, *Narrative*, ii. p. 322 f.), "Several hours north of Jericho" (Knobel). Zaretan. "Not improbably Kurn Sartabeh, near the ford Damieh, a long, prominent rocky ridge, from which a lower range of hills reaches almost to the Jordan, and seems to extend itself obliquely through to the eastern mountains. Here the Jordan valley is compressed within its narrowest limits, and the Ghor divides itself into the upper and the lower. On Kurn Sartabeh it is reported that there are still ruins." So Knobel after Robinson (*Lat. Bibl. Res.* pp. 283 f., 217 f.). It is worthy of remark that just here the water "is cut off" where from both sides the mountain ridges narrow the river,

1 ["The plain" here (**הַיַּבֵּשׁ**), is the arid bottom land in the gorge of the Jordan — "the Ghor" (see *Intro.* § 6). To this remarkable feature of the country the name is uniformly applied throughout our book, where it is never applied to anything else. It always has the article in this connection, and nothing seems to hinder its being understood simply as a proper name (in which sense our version twice views it, xv. 6; xviii. 18) except the occurrence of the plural form to denote the broader parts of the depressed valley, as about Jericho. Robinson (*Phys. Geog.* p. 73) nevertheless declares it decidedly "the proper name of this valley." This plain encompassed the Dead Sea also, more or less distinctly, and then stretched on in the modern Wady el-Arabah to the head of the Eilatitic Gulf. But see, for a complete account of this very extraordinary natural phenomenon,

and the river valley. The name Zaretan, perhaps identical with Zareda, the home of Jeroboam (1 K. xi. 26), as Knobel conjectures, is explained from the Arabic: *elatus montium locus*. Gesenius likewise holds the two names identical, but derives from

זָרַעַת, according to the Arabic, to be cool = cooling, also a suitable name for a town on a fresh hill-top in the vicinity of a river. The name Adam calls to mind Adnah, one of the five cities in the vale of Siddim (Gen. x. 19; xiv. 2; Hos. xi. 8), as also Adami, a city of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33). Edom may also be compared with it.

Failed and were cut off. [The conception of this scene indicated by the Keri ("very far from Adam.") is different from that of our author and the recent commentators generally. It coincided with (although not necessary to) what we suppose to have been the common (popular) view, well stated and explained by Gill (among others) on the place. He naively remarks, indeed, that "both readings, as is usually, if not always the case, are to be received," but his own exposition does not require anything so unreasonable. Let the waters have been actually "cut off" above where the priests stood, in full view of the people (as the spirit of the whole account seems to lie in the visibility of the wonder to the people), and still the water would be arrested and "stand," before the crossing was finished, "very far off." The current might have ceased "at Adam," though that were thirty or even more miles above. Not only would this be immeasurably more impressive to the multitude as an exhibition of the divine power than the mere phenomenon of a bare river bed, the reason for which they could not see, but thus the fear with which "they hastened and passed over" (see on ch. iv. 10), is much more naturally accounted for. This view of the miracle ought, at least, not to be wholly ignored. Indeed, Keil seems so to conceive the scene, and he even represents (on ver. 8) the priests with the ark (symbolizing the divine presence) as constituting the dam, so to speak, by which the rushing waters were restrained and piled up in a heap. — Tr.]

Toward the sea of the plain (Arabah), the salt sea. It is evident that the Dead Sea is meant, concerning whose origin we have a report in Gen. xix. 24. It is called sea of the plain in Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49 also.¹ The region round about is desolate, yet birds sing on the shore of the sea in numerous choirs and fly freely over the water (Furrer, p. 258, Robinson, *Phys. Geog.*, p. 219). The water of the sea is clear but very strongly tintured with salt, and hence fatal to fish. Bathers become covered with an oily envelope, sometimes painful, sometimes not. From the southern point of the Dead Sea clear to Elath stretches the desert valley in which the Israelites wandered for forty years.²

Mr. Grove's article on the Arabah in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, and Foulke's on the Jordan, in the same work. — Tr.]

² [A very full and interesting digest of what is known concerning the Dead Sea is given in Smith's *Dictionary*, Art. 'Sea, the Salt.' In reference to the relation between this sea and the cities of the plain, the criticisms of Dr. Wolcott on the views of Mr. Grove in the article just named and in those on Sodom and Zoar, and Siddim, should by all means be carefully considered. See also Conant's instructive notes on his *Revised Version of Genesis*, p. 79. Nor should Stanley's vivid and flowing representation in ch. ix. of *Sin. & Pal.*, "The Jordan and the Dead Sea," be overlooked. The colored views of the sea and its surroundings in Tristram's *Land of Israel* assist the imagination greatly in picturing to itself the scene. — Tr.]

Ver. 17. **וְיָצֵא**: "Properly: *firmando*, i. e. *firm-iter*, with solid foot." **וַיֵּלֶךְ** used here of Israel, as ch. iv. 1; v. 6, 8; x. 13; Ex. xix. 6; xxxiii. 13; Deut. xxxii. 28. Where the passage took place cannot now be determined.

Chap. iv. After the author has, in ch. iii. 14-17, briefly related the history of the crossing, he completes his report in this chapter. The account is not strictly speaking without order, and confused, as some have said, but yet neither is it without repetitions which indicate a variety of authorities, blended together by a later hand. These, however, we cannot assume that it is possible to determine accurately, according to their original parts, as Knobel has with much acuteness attempted to do.

Ver. 1. And it came to pass when all the people were clean passed over the Jordan. These words were omitted by Luther in his translations. Why? Did he possibly consider the immediately following Piska (o) as a sign of their spuriousness? This Piska is, according to Keil (*Bib. Com.* in loc.), "a sign in use before the Masorettes, and by them left remaining to denote a division in the middle of a verse where a Paraseche begins: comp. Hupfeld, *Ausführl. Heb. Gramm.* pt. i. pp. 86 and 89. Gesenius in his *Lehrgeb.* p. 124, takes a different view."

Ver. 2. See ch. iii. 12.

Ver. 3. For **וַיֵּלֶךְ** we should read **וַיֵּלֶךְ**, as in ch. iii. 17.

Ver. 4. Knobel regards this as a continuation of ver. 1, a. What intervenes he refers to the second source of his Jehovist, according to which the choice of the twelve men rested on a divine direction, while the first knew nothing of it. We confidently hold that ch. iii. 12 presupposes a divine direction, which however is first stated here in the way of a supplement.

Ver. 6-9. When your children ask. Comp. xxii. 27-28; Ex. xiii. 8-14.—Stones. Here it is a heap of twelve stones, in Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxv. 14 a single stone, but in Gen. xxxi. 46, again as here, a heap of stones. They were sacred memorials of the simplest kind. According to ver. 9, "Joshua takes twelve other stones, and sets them up in the bed of the Jordan on the spot (**הַחֵרֶב**) as in Ex. x. 23; xvi. 29) where the feet of the priests stood, and where the stones have remained till the time of the narrator" (Knobel). It has been asked: To what purpose, since afterwards the water streamed over them again? They might become visible in a low stage of the water.¹ This second measure Joshua adopts of himself without express divine direction.

Unto this day. A very common phrase in our book, as Bleek (*Introd. to O. T.* § 135) observes: ch. v. 9; vi. 29; vii. 26 (bis); viii. 28, 29; ix. 27; x. 27; xiii. 13; xiv. 14; xv. 63; xvi. 10.

Ver. 10. The priests remain standing in the Jordan until all the people have passed through. They had therefore, when the camp broke up, only gone the two thousand cubits in advance to show the way, then remain standing after they have taken their position in the midst of the dried bed

1 [Or might it be that the "midst of the Jordan" where the priests stood in this time of the freshet, was at the edge of the dry flat in ordinary seasons? Then the pile of twelve stones would in general be visible and less exposed to the force of the water when high. Here the caution of Maurer, *Ne premas*, **וַיֵּלֶךְ** *verbum*, is to be heeded. — Tr.]

of the stream until the passage is completed. Their quiet waiting was well calculated to impart courage to the people who hasted and passed over through fear. The contrast well deserves consideration. Knobel assumes that this very standing still of the priests was the ground of this haste. He says: "The people passed as quickly through as possible, and that on account of the priests, who during this long passage must stand in one place and bear the ark." This reason may possibly have operated also, yet such a consideration is rather modern than conformable to the sentiment of antiquity. The chief reason for the haste was certainly fear.²

Ver. 11. After the passage, the ark again takes the lead, as in ch. iii. 3 ff.

After the history of the crossing has thus been given first briefly in ch. iii. 14-17, then more completely ch. iv. 1-11, we have *some supplementary notices* in vers. 12-17, and finally the *conclusion* ver. 18 announcing the return of the water.

On vers. 12 and 13 comp. ch. i. 12-18.

On ver. 14 comp. ch. iii. 7.

What is related in ver. 15-17 is a more particular statement of the fact mentioned in ver. 11 of this chapter, referred by Knobel, on account of the designation of the ark as "the ark of the testimony," to the Elohist original. This he supposes to have been used here first in the book of Joshua.

Ver. 18. States the conclusion, pointing back to ch. iii. 16.

c. On ch. iv. 19-24. *Erection of the Monument at Gilgal.*—Ver. 19. The date, on the tenth (day) of the first month, is very exact, and on this account Knobel ascribes the verse to the Elohist. The first month (as Ex. xii. 2, 18; xl. 2, 17 and often) is elsewhere called also Abib, i. e. month of green ears (Ex. xiii. 4; xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 1), and subsequently Nisan (Neh. ii. 1; Est. iii. 7.) "This name is probably of Persian origin, and to be explained from the Zend *navaçan*, new day, which was transferred to the first month of the year, from New Year's day. See Benfey, *Names of the Months*, p. 131 ff." Gesenius.³ Fürst, in his *Hist. of Bibl. Lit.* p. 400, fixes the year as having been 1454 B. C. There were four days before the Passover which fell on the 14th, ch. v. 10.

Ver. 20. Gilgal, see ch. v. 9.

Ver. 21 like ver. 6, with Epic breadth as in Homer.

Ver. 22, 23, might, from the repetition of **וַיִּבְרַח הַיַּרְדֵּן מִפְּנֵי הָרִבּוּשׁ הָרִבּוּשׁ**, seem to be a citation from a poetical panegyric on the Passage of the River, as Bunsen assumes in ver. 7 when he translates:—

"As through the Jordan passed the Ark,
Flowed away the waters of the Jordan."

Here we are reminded of the "Book of Jasher," mentioned ch. x. 13, which, however, was not a "Law-book" but precisely the opposite, a poetical Hero-book. See *Introd.* and on ch. x. 13.

Ver. 24. All the peoples of the earth, [Keil: of the land, *sc.* of Canaan. But not well.] Might know the hand of Jehovah. A beau-

2 [This fear would evidently be much more natural on the supposition stated above on ch. iii. 16, that the waters were cut off and stood in a threatening precipice immediately above the place of crossing. But is not the haste of the people sufficiently explained by the fact which Keil emphasizes, that so vast a multitude must cross in one day? — Tr.]

3 [But see this disputed in Smith's *Dict. of the Bibl.* s. v. Months, p. 2006. — Tr.]

tiful catholicity! The miracle made the passage possible and easy for Israel, but was at the same time to serve also for imparting to the heathen nations of all ages a knowledge of the power of Jehovah, and a fear of the Almighty," (Knobel). Instead of יְהוָה read יְהוָה (Ewald, Maurer, Knobel), with reference to the coördinate לְמַעַן דַּעַר. [This is quite doubtful; we rather agree with Keil, that the Masoretic pointing should stand. — Tr.]

[Stanley in the following paragraphs has finely combined the various incidents of this marvelous event, and we have only to regret that he should, as his custom too often is, bring in the Septuagint version, and Josephus, and what not, as if of about equal authority with the inspired text. His work thus wears, with all its charms of learning, arrangement, and style, too much the air of a secular relation of the history of the ancient "Church."

"The scene of the passage of the Jordan is presented to us in the Sacred Narrative in a form so distinct, and at the same time so different from that in which it is usually set forth in pictures and allegories, that it shall here be given at length, so far as it can be made out from the several notices handed down to us, namely, the two separate accounts in the Book of Joshua, further varied by the differences between the Received Text and the Septuagint, the narrative of Josephus, and the 114th Psalm.

"For the first time they descended from the upper terraces of the valley, they 'removed' from the acacia groves and came to the Jordan, and 'stayed the night' there before they passed over.

"It was probably at the point near the present southern fords, crossed at the time of the Christian era by a bridge. The river was at its usual state of flood at the spring of the year, so as to fill the whole of the bed, up to the margin of the jungle with which the nearer banks are lined. On the broken edge of the swollen stream, the band of priests stood with the Ark on their shoulders. At the distance of nearly a mile in the rear was the mass of the army. Suddenly the full bed of the Jordan was dried before them. High up the river, 'far, far away,'¹ in Adam the city which is beside Zaretan, 'as far as the parts of Kirjath-jearim,'² that is, at a distance of thirty miles from the place of the Israelite encampment, 'the waters there stood which "descended" from the heights above,' — stood and rose up, as if gathered into a water skin;³ as if in a barrier or heap, as if congealed;⁴ and those that 'descended' towards the sea of 'the desert,' the salt sea, failed and were cut off.' Thus the scene presented is of the 'descending stream' (the words employed seem to have a special reference to that peculiar and most significant name of the Jordan), not parted asunder, as we generally fancy, but, as the Psalm expresses it, 'turned backwards;' the whole bed of the river left dry from north to south, through its long windings; the huge stones lying bare here and there, embedded in the soft bottom; or the shingly pebbles drifted along the course of the channel.

"The ark stood above. The army passed below. The women and children, according to the Jewish

tradition, were placed in the centre, from the fear lest they should be swept away by the violence of the current. The host, at different points probably, rushed across. The priests remained motionless, their feet sunk in the deep mud of the channel. In front, contrary to the usual order, as if to secure that they should fulfill their vow, went the three Transjordanic tribes. Their own memorial of the passage was the monument already described.⁵ But the national memorial was on a larger scale. Carried aloft before the priests as they left the river-bed, were the twelve stones, selected by the twelve chiefs of the tribes. These were planted on the upper terrace of the plain of the Jordan, and became the centre of the first sanctuary of the Holy Land, — the first place pronounced "Holy," the "sacred place" of the Jordan valley, where the tabernacle remained till it was fixed at Shiloh. Gilgal long retained reminiscences of its ancient sanctity. The twelve stones taken up from the bed of the Jordan continued at least till the time of the composition of the Book of Joshua, and seem to have been invested with a reverence which came at last to be regarded as idolatrous.⁶ The name was joined with that of the acacia groves of the farther side, in the title, as it would seem given in popular tradition or in ancient records, to this passage of the history: from Shittim to Gilgal" [!] *Lects. on Jewish Church*, i. 255 ff. — Tr.]

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

The ark which was borne by the priests and Levites in front of the people, takes henceforth, as was noticed above, the place of the pillar of cloud and fire which had led Israel through the wilderness (Ex. xiii. 21, 22). It may take this place because it not only serves for the preservation of the tables of the Law (Ex. xxv. 16), but is also a symbol of the presence of God among his chosen people. On the cover of the ark, the Kapporeth adorned with the Cherubim, God sits enthroned (Ex. xxv. 17-22; Num. vii. 89; Ps. xcix. 1), and from this place speaks with Moses (Ex. xxv. 22; Num. vii. 89). Hence, as follows indirectly from our passage, and directly from passages like Num. iv. 20; 1 Sam. vi. 19; 2 Sam. vi. 6 (compared with Lev. xvi. 13), the ark is unapproachable. But hence also, on the other hand, here is the true place of atonement for the people, where the blood of atonement was sprinkled on the cover of the ark (Lev. xvi. 15), once in the year only, on the great day of atonement, by the high-priest's hand. To this Paul refers, Rom. iii. 25, when he calls Christ the true mercy-seat, whom God has set forth before (προέθετο) all the world, as a manifestation of his righteousness, for those who through faith in the efficacy of Christ's reconciling death, approach this New Testament place of atonement. "The *λαοσθήριον* is brought out of the most holy place into the public view of the whole world for those who believe" (Lange on Rom. iii. 2). In Christ God dwells among his New Testament congregation (John i. 14), goes before them (John xiv. 6), and is reconciled to them (2 Cor. v. 19.)

2. The conception of the living God, the *אל חי* (ch. iii. 10), is of great importance for the present

1 Μακρὰν σφοδρὰ σφοδρὰς, LXX.

2 LXX.

3 Symmachus, as the LXX. in Ps. xxxiii. 7.

4 LXX.

5 [This is Professor Stanley's interpretation of the occurrence mentioned ch. xxii. 10, 11. — Tr.]

6 [The passages adduced in support of this only show that a superstitious sanctity was afterwards ascribed to the place Gilgal. — Tr.]

day also, since it appears to have vanished utterly from the consciousness of many of our contemporaries, especially that of the Materialists. These, after the example of Epicurus, substitute for this living author of all things, Chance, that is, an ultimate cause which they omit to define because it is utterly incapable of logical definition. Other thinkers, better schooled in philosophy, replace the living God with an Order of Nature determining everything by inevitable law, to which order, as such, they deny self-consciousness and maintain that it comes to self-consciousness only in the consciousness of rational beings—never in and of itself. This they do from fear of transferring human limitations to the Absolute, especially the conception of personality. Of personality it is maintained that it is predicable of the human individual, never of the Godhead; as if Goethe were unquestionably in the right when he says,—

"The professor is a person
But God is none."¹

But still we think humanly of God even then when we identify him with the Order of Nature, nay, it is absolutely impossible for us to think in any other way concerning God than consistently with our faculties, that is humanly. We certainly shall not, therefore, be found in the wrong course if we again turn more and more toward the sound Biblical realism which recognizes a living God who is at the same time "the Lord of the whole earth" (ch. iii. 11); therefore a God who is the conscious, independent and free Creator and Ruler of all things, of whom, in whom, and for whom we are, who also wakens life in us, so that we possess power, develop power, and bring forth new power. For life is fullness of power; where powerlessness enters—there is death.

Such a living God can perform even *miracles*. He can, since He is independent and free, establish exceptions to rule, which are and remain exceptions, but which, because planned by his wisdom, no more endanger the continuance of order than any exceptions to rule which a wise house-father may make will disturb the order of his house. Compare Rothe, *Doğmatik*, p. 80 ff.

Rationalistic explanations of miracles, such as have been attempted in reference to the passage of the Jordan by the people of Israel, are to be avoided. On the other hand, investigation of the Scripture, reverent and believing but not fettered by the spirit of prescription, cannot be avoided. Every report of any miraculous transaction is as much to be examined as the report of any other fact (Introd. p. 17). Such investigation will readily concede that reports, especially those reaching back to the most ancient times, may possibly have acquired a mythical coloring; the more readily, when it is demonstrated that poetical elements have been admitted into the text. As such mythical coloring we regard what is said in the passage before us (ch. iii. 16) about the water of the Jordan standing by Zaretan.²

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The regulations of Joshua touching the passage of the Jordan (ch. iii. 1-13).—Even without pillar of cloud and without ark of the covenant, the Lord still and forever goes before his people.—Sanctify yourselves! A word of preparation for the Lord's supper.—Whom the Lord makes great, he is truly great, as once Moses and Joshua.—Joshua's discourse to the people. It contains: (1) a demand to hear the word of the Lord; (2) a promise of the effectual help of the living God.—By what do we also recognize the presence of a living God among us? (1) By his word which He still causes to be perpetually published among us; (2) by his deeds which He is still perpetually performing.—The Living God! (ver. 10). How should we think of God? (1) Not as a rigid order of nature, but (2) as the living God and ruler over all the earth. The ruler over all the world: (1) The mightiest, (2) the best Ruler.

The wonderful passage of Israel through the Jordan (ch. iii. 13-4; 18) to be treated as a Bible Lesson, for which use all these longer sections are generally speaking, well adapted.—As Israel went dryshod through the Jordan so we go unharmed through many a danger.—The memory of God's mighty deeds. It is (1) to be faithfully preserved by the parents, (2) carefully to be impressed on the children.—The erection of the memorial at Gilgal.—After the pilgrimage comes the rest.—Increase of the knowledge and fear of God is the holy aim of all his works.

STARKE: He that will enter into the promised land on high must also be up early and waste no time, otherwise he will not reach it, Matt. vi. 33.—Whoever will be and be called a right spiritual priest must not only have Christ in his heart but also by an edifying example make him known to others and praise him, 1 Tim. iv. 12; Eph. v. 25-27.—God may indeed well allow us to erect memorials by which we may remember his wonderful works and his benefits, Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxi. 45; 1 Sam. vii. 12; Esth. ix. 27, but we must not worship such things, for that is an abomination to the Lord, Matt. iv. 10.—Teachers and preachers must be an example in faith and constancy, and let no danger terrify them.—A Christian on the journey towards the heavenly fatherland must not tarry, must not put off repentance, nor be lazy and slothful in God's ways, Phil. iii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 24.—It is not enough to begin to be pious, but one must persevere even to the end, Rev. ii. 10.—A Christian should never act without, but always according to, God's will and word, Matt. xxi. 6.—It is the duty of the magistracy also to care that the youth should be educated in the fear of the Lord, Luke vii. 5.—Parents should relate to their children and hold before them, not their own vile deeds but God's merciful deeds, Ex. x. 1, 2, Deut. vi. 20.—That is the right application of God's marvelous and beneficent acts when we learn from them truly to know, fear, and love him, John ii. 11.

CRAMER: When we go to church to hear God's

¹ [Against the arrogance and unreason of godless science some of the *Essays* of Rev. James Martineau (2 vols. Boston, 1866, 1868) are very effectively directed, e. g. that on *Nature and God*, i. 121 ff. See also a recent article by the same author: "Is there any Axiom of Causality?" in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1870.

² *The Materialism of the Present Day*, a critique of Dr. Bichner's system; translated from the French of Janet by Gustave Masson, London, 1866 (in Ballière's Library of Contemporaneous Philosophy), is a very able and convincing

reputation, in short compass, of the doctrines which would explain the universe without a God.—Tr.]

² [This statement, however, seems quite consistent with the rest. If we are to imagine the water cut off perpendicularly above the path of the Israelites, the fluid wall would continually be raised by the down-coming flood, and the distance to which the water would set back ("stand"), must depend on the time during which the interruption lasted. So that there is no need of suspecting myth particularly in this.—Tr.]

word and to receive the holy sacraments, we should carefully prepare ourselves, and approach God with a chaste, temperate heart, and hold up holy hands, 1 Tim. ii. 8. — Whom God will make great, him he first makes small through wearisome cross, and care, and toil, and danger, Ps. xviii. 36. — If often the faithful God before our eyes graciously helps others out of need and peril, while we, in our own thought, are left far behind, still our hour also shall yet come. Let us only await the right time, (ver. 17.) God has patience even with the weak, Rom. xiv. 4; Matt. viii. 25, xiv. 30. — So long as Christ, the true mercy-seat, is under us, and his ministers in this unquiet life preach the gospel, we need not fear; the great floods of sins and of the wrath of God must retire, because for them that are in Christ Jesus there is now no condemnation, Rom. viii. 1. Nor can the enemies of the Church proceed further than has been appointed to them. But if Christ and his word depart from us then must we be eternally overwhelmed and perish and experience the wrath of God. — Christ with many saints has passed over into his father's house through much water of affliction, which came in even unto his soul, Ps. lxxix. 1. But he has left a memorial behind him, namely, his twelve apostles and their writings. Happy they who understand this, and thank him therefor.

HEDINGER: If those who are to be merely spectators of the great works of God should first sanctify themselves, how much more have those need of sanctification whom God will employ as his servants for the performance of his work, 1 Cor. ix. 27.

BIBL. TUB.: Before thee also, O soul! there stand waters of affliction, through which thou must travel, before thou canst enter the heavenly Canaan. But only go in with good heart, and trust thyself to God's help; He will open a way for thee, so that the streams cannot drown thee, Ps. lxxv. 12; Is. xliii. 2.

OSIANDER: Dear Christian, remember here the twelve apostles, who have by the preaching of the gospel spread through the world the kindness of Christ in that He would lead us, through the power of his death unto everlasting life; remember them, and heartily thank God for them, — God can cause respect for the magistracy, and also take it from them again and cover them with contempt because of their ungodly life, Ps. cvii. 4.

[MATT. HENRY: Those that would bring great things to pass must rise early, "Love not sleep lest thou come to poverty." Joshua herein set a good example to the officers under him, and taught them to rise early, and to all that are in public station, especially to attend continually to the duty of their place. — They must follow the priests as far as they carried the ark, but no further; so we must follow our ministers only as they follow Christ. — Though the opposition given to the salvation of God's people have all imaginable advantages, yet God can and will conquer it. — God's works of wonder ought to be kept in everlasting remembrance, and means devised for preserving the remembrance of them. — God had said in his wrath, that they should wander forty years in the wilderness, but to make up that forty years we must take in the first year, which was then passed, and had been a year of triumph in their deliverance out of Egypt, and this last, which had been a year of triumph likewise on the other side of Jordan, so that all the forty were not years of sorrow; and at last he brought them into the land of Canaan five days before the forty years were ended, to show how little pleasure God takes in punishing, how swift He is to show mercy, and that, for the elect's sake, the days of trouble are shortened. — Those that will be wise when they are old must be inquisitive when they are young. Our Lord Jesus, though He had in himself the fullness of knowledge, has, by his example, taught children and young people to hear and ask questions. — In all the instructions and informations parents give their children, they should have chiefly in their eye to teach and engage them to *fear God for ever*.

SCOTT (on iii. 3): We cannot in general go wrong in keeping close to the ordinances of God, and thus, as it were, following the ark in all its removals. In so doing we need not fear rivers of trouble, mountains of difficulty, nor hosts of opposing foes; but confiding in the faithful promise, the Almighty power and covenant-love of our God, "the living God, the Lord of the whole earth," we may proceed with boldness and alacrity.

THE SAME (iv. 10): When with careful attention to the commands and providence of God, we have taken the place and engaged in the service assigned us, we ought patiently to abide in it, and not to attempt to remove till He evidently commands us thence. — Tr.]

4. The Dedication to the Holy War.

CHAPTER V.

a. The Effect of the Invasion on the Inhabitants of the Land.

CHAPTER V. 1.

1 And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites which *were* on the [other] side of [the] Jordan westward, and all the kings of the Canaanites which *were* by the sea, heard that the Lord [Jehovah] had dried up the waters of [the] Jordan before the children [sons] of Israel, until we were passed over, that their heart melted; neither was there spirit in them any more, because of the children [sons] of Israel.

b. The Circumcision of the People.

CHAPTER V. 2-9.

2 At that time the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua : Make thee sharp knives [knives
3 of stone], and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time. And Joshua
4 made him sharp knives [knives of stone], and circumcised the children of Israel at
4 the hill of the foreskins. And this *is* the cause why Joshua did circumcise : all the
5 people that came out of Egypt, *that were* males, *even* [omit : even] all the men of war
5 [had] died in the wilderness by the way, after [as] they came out of Egypt. Now
[For] all the people that came out were circumcised ; but all the people *that were*
6 born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, *them* they had
6 not circumcised. For the children [sons] of Israel walked forty years in the wilder-
ness, till all the people [nation] *that were* [omit : that were] men [the men] of war,
which came out of Egypt were consumed, because they obeyed not [hearkened not
to] the voice of the Lord [Jehovah] : unto whom the Lord [Jehovah] sware that he
would not show them the land which the Lord [Jehovah] sware unto their fathers
7 that he would give us, a land that floweth with milk and honey. And their children
[sons], *whom* he raised up in their stead, them Joshua circumcised : for they were
8 uncircumcised : because they had not circumcised them by the way.¹ And it came
to pass when they had done circumcising all the people, that they abode in their
9 places in the camp, till they were whole [healed]. And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto
Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore
[And] the name of the [that] place is called Gilgal unto this day.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

¹ [Ver. 7. — More accurately : And their sons he raised up in their stead : them Joshua circumcised ; for they were un-
circumcised ; for they had not circumcised them by the way. — TR.]

c. The Passover. The Corn of the Land.

CHAPTER V. 10-12.

10 And the children [sons] of Israel encamped in Gilgal, and kept the passover on
11 the fourteenth day of the month at even, in the plains of Jericho. And they did
eat of the old corn [the produce] of the land in the morrow after the passover, un-
12 leavened cakes and parched *corn* [roasted ears] in the self-same day. And the
manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn [produce] of
the land ; neither had the children of Israel manna any more ; but they did eat of
the fruit of the land of Canaan that year.

d. The Captain of the Lord's Host.

CHAPTER V. 13-15.

13 And it came to pass when Joshua was by Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and
looked, and behold there stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his
hand : and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, *Art* thou for us, or for our
14 adversaries ? And he said, Nay ; but *as* captain¹ of the host of the Lord [Jehovah] am I now come.² And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship,
15 and said unto him, What saith my Lord unto his servant ? And the captain of
the Lord's [Jehovah's] host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy foot,
for the place whereon thou standest *is* holy : and Joshua did so :

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

¹ [Ver. 14. — Scarcely any problem is more perplexing to the translator of the O. T. than to find appropriate designations for the officials and dignitaries, civil and military, among the Jews and related nations. The word שַׂר־צְבָא has already afforded an illustration. An identical revision of the entire O. T. with reference to this point would doubtless be requisite to remedy the difficulty, and could then, from the very nature of the case, attain only to partial success. The English Vers. is, however, unnecessarily vague. Thus, besides "captain," as here, שַׂר is rendered by at least a dozen

different terms, while "captain" answers to nearly or quite as many Hebrew words. The same is true of **שָׂרֵן**, prince, and in a great measure of many others. The result is indistinctness and confusion to the reader where the Hebrew to the Hebrews was probably clear and specific. Doing our best, we could not, perhaps, from our inadequate terminology

in this sphere, do with less than three different words for **שָׂרֵן**, in its civil, military, and occupational applications; as captain or general (used 1 Chr. xxvii. 31), governor, chief. And so *mutatis mutandis* with the rest. — Tr.]

[² Ver. 14. — If, as many suppose, the angelic communication was interrupted here by Joshua's startled sense of awe and reverence, the connection would be better indicated by a dash in place of the period, thus: Am I now come — And Joshua etc. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

STARKE has given to this chapter the somewhat clumsy yet substantially correct superscription: "The things which followed immediately upon the passage through the Jordan." Thus we have here brought before us in succession, related and displayed, (a.) the effect of the invasion of Canaan upon the heathen, ver. 1; (b.) the circumcision of the people, ver. 2-9; (c.) the enjoyment of the bread of the land and the Passover in connection with the cessation of the manna, ver. 10-19; and finally, (d.) the appearance of the war-prince of God (ver. 13-15). In a critical point of view, this chapter offers, when compared with chapters 3 and 4, no difficulties, so to speak; since the continuity of the narration is interrupted by nothing and no repetitions occur. Even Knobel has received the same impression of the present chapter, except ver. 10-12. He ascribes all the rest to one and the same author, namely, that of the "Law Book." Since for us this "Law Book" in Knobel's sense has no existence, we can agree with him only in so far as we believe that in ver. 1-9 and 13-15 we meet with the same hand.

As to vers. 10-12, they stand nearly related to ch. iv. 17, 19, through the exact designation of time which characterizes them. In ver. 10 also, as there in ver. 19, Gilgal is mentioned, so that all which is reported between may be omitted, and in ch. v. 10 the author takes up the thread which he had dropped in ver. iv. 19. On the other hand ch. v. 10 connects itself easily and naturally with ch. v. 9, so that there appears to be no absolute necessity to go back to iv. 19. When, however, we examine ver. 9 *b* more sharply, the whole turn of the sentence, and also the expression, here again repeated, "until this day," presents itself as designed to introduce vers. 10-12, which we must refer to the Elohistie document, on account of its character in other respects, and therefore regard as the proper continuation of ch. iv. 19.

a. Ver. 1. *The Effect of the Invasion upon the H-athen.* The verse stands in the most exact connection with ch. iv. 24. All the peoples of the earth were to learn how mighty is the hand of the Lord and fear Him. A first example of this effect is given by the Canaanites, whose heart melts, and whose courage flees. The terror which, according to the words of Rahab, had before seized them (ch. ii. 9-11), had been increased by the marvelous passage of the Jordan. A panic had fallen upon them.

— **הַיַּרְדֵּן** does not refer here, as in ch. i. 14-15, to the country east of the Jordan, but as is shown by the careful addition **יְמִינָהּ** to the west side of the river. — The more difficult Kethib **עַבְרַתְּךָ**, is to be retained like **לָנֶבֶט**, ver. 6. "In **עַבְרַתְּךָ** the author assumes the person of the people and speaks in their name, as in ver. 6, comp. Ps. lxxvi. 6." (Knobel).¹

¹ [Yet this form of expression has been not without reason long held, and still is by Keil and others, as a proof that the narrative was written by one who had shared in the transaction. — Tr.]

b. Ver. 2-9. *The Circumcision of the People.* This takes place upon an express command of Jehovah because, as vers. 4-6 state, it had been omitted in the wilderness. The covenant-people should, as such, bear the sign of the covenant which Abraham had formerly received as a seal (*σφραγίς*) of the righteousness of faith (Rom. iv. 11), and with it, as a sanctified people, holy to the Lord, enter into the promised land.

Knives of stone. Thus and not "sharp knives" must we translate **הַרְבֵּיבֵי אֲבָנִים**. Joshua follows the custom of antiquity which, as Ex. iv. 25 shows, performed circumcision with stone knives, because they had as yet no others. Afterwards this kind of knives, as being more venerable, were still employed in sacred transactions. [Among the additions of the LXX. at the end of this book, is the curious statement after ch. xxiv. 30: "there they placed with him in the tomb where they buried him, the knives of stone (*τὰς μαχαίρας τὰς περπίνας*) with which he circumcised the sons of Israel in Gilgal. — Tr.] "The *testa samia* with which the priests of Cybele castrated themselves (Plin. 35, 46), and the stone knives of the Egyptian embalmers (Herod. 2, 86), may serve as parallels" (Winer, *Bibl. Realw.*, s. v. "Messer") The Vulgate has rightly *fac tibi cultros lapideos*: the LXX. mingle together a right translation and wrong interpretation: *ποίησον σσεαυτῷ μαχαίρας περπίνας ἐκ πέτρας ἀρστούου*. Stone knives were found also at the discovery of the pile-dwellings, e. g. in the lake of Zurich near Meilen (1854), where I myself saw them. They are very finely ground, and cut, not indeed like a knife of steel, but better than one would believe. Always, however, the operation with these instruments was a very imperfect one, and in the case before us extremely painful.²

[Circumcise again . . . the second time.

שֵׁנִי does not indicate, of course, that the circumcision of the same people was to be repeated, but that, as the whole people which came out of Egypt had been circumcised, so now there should be a circumcision of the present people. Cf. Keil, *Bib. Com.* in loc. Masius understood **שֵׁנִי** to mark the reintroduction of the rite with reference to its first employment by Abraham. *Com. in Josuam*, p. 81. This is too far sought. — Tr.]

Hill of foreskins. Perhaps so named from this transaction. Lev. xix. 23, where circumcision of the trees is spoken of, appears not to belong here [against an intimation of Knobel's].

Ver. 4-7. Statement of the reason why Joshua performed this rite. Knobel expresses doubt whether what is here reported is historical fact. In support of this he appeals to the Elohist, who says nothing of such omission, ch. iv. 19 compared with v. 10. But even assuming that these passages are, as we concede, Elohistie, they do not suffice to

² [See Dr. Hackett's addition to art. "Knives," in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, Amer. ed. — Tr.]

impeach the historical character of the reason assigned, since they furnish at the most a very weak *argumentum e silentio*, while on the other side it is highly probable that although circumcision "had been sharply enjoined" on the Israelites at Sinai (Lev. xii. 3), they had, in their unsettled wanderings, neglected to follow the command of God. The same thing took place later in the case of the Passover, through hundreds of years, as we learn from 2 K. xxiii. 22.

Ver. 6. **All the nation, the men of war.** According to Num. xiv. 22-30 the adult generation, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb, were doomed to die in the wilderness, and a new generation must enter into Canaan. That the men of war specially are mentioned, agrees with Num. xiv. 29-32, according to which all who were mustered after their number (Comp. Num. i. 45 ff.), from twenty years old and upward, should die in the wilderness. Since, then, the former circumcised men of war were no more, their bodies having fallen in the wilderness, on account of disobedience, the present race of young men must, before they dare undertake the conquest of Canaan, first receive the sign of the Lord's covenant of which we just now spoke.

A land that floweth with milk and honey. Ex. iii. 8, 17; xiii. 5; xvi. 14; xxxiii. 3; Lev. xx. 24; Num. xiii. 27; xiv. 8; Deut. i. 3, and often. "Milk and honey are productions of a land rich in grass and flowers which make residence therein pleasant and beautiful. Both articles were abundantly produced in Canaan, even in a state of devastation, Is. vii. 15, 22. Milk, eaten partly sweet and partly thick or curdled, that of cows as well as of goats and sheep (Deut. xxxii. 14), was prominent in the diet of the ancient Hebrews, as in that of the Orientals of the present day. This is because Palestine was and is so well suited to the care of cattle, comp. Winer. *Realw.* ii. 768 ff. The land yielded great quantities of honey also, especially that from wild bees (Judg. xiv. 8; 1 Sam. xiv. 26; Matt. iii. 4), and still yields it in its wasted condition" (Keil). [See references Introd. § 6, p. 27.] That we are to understand here real honey and not syrup, appears from its connection with milk. Keil quotes similar descriptions from Euripides and Theocritus. Thus it is said in Eurip. *Bacchæ*, 142:

Ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον
Ῥεῖ δ' οἴνω, Ῥεῖ δὲ μελισσὼν
Νέκταρι.

No mention is made here of wine, although the vine thrives extraordinarily well, especially in the region of Hebron. Compare also Num. xiii. 21, 24, as well as the beautiful expression that each one dwelt, or should dwell, under his vine and fig-tree, 1 K. iv. 25; Job. iv. 4.

Ver. 7. **Them Joshua circumcised**, that is, as in ver. 3, Joshua ordered their circumcision. The operation itself was performed by the several fathers of families, as it is related of Abraham, Gen. xvii. 23 ff., for which Acts xvi. 3 also may

be compared. Thus we most easily escape the difficulty which otherwise arises, (a) in view of the great number to be circumcised, and (b) of the shortness of the time, since according to ver. 10 they celebrated the Passover on the fourteenth of the month Abib. We surely cannot think of help from the mothers and other women (Rosenmüller). We refrain from an exact determination of the number of those circumcised, such as Keil has attempted (pp. 74, 75).¹

Ver. 8. **Till they were healed.** "When the whole people were circumcised they remained in their place (Ex. x. 23; xvi. 29) in the camp, that is, did not leave the camp nor undertake anything until they were healed. This is *הִרְיָהוּ*, prop. to live, become lively (Gen. xiv. 27), revive (Job xiv. 14; Ezek. xxxvii. 3), then also to be healed (2 K. i. 2; viii. 8). On the third day the pain was at its height (Gen. xxxiv. 25)." (Knobel.)

Ver. 9. **The reproach of Egypt.** The reproach which has attached to the people all the way from Egypt, and which consists in the misery of the people who had there become a people of slaves. This reproach had not yet been removed while they were journeying through the wilderness, because God had been angry with his people for their disobedience, and they on their part had neglected circumcision.² Now a new day has dawned. The reproach is rolled away through the resumption of the sacred covenant-rite. Hence Isaiah also, at a later period, warns them (ch. xxx. 1-3) against alliances with Egypt, lest the strength of Pharaoh should become a shame (*בִּשְׁתָּר*) to them, and prophecies expressly that Egypt will be no help nor any profit at all, but a shame and a reproach. One day, however, a time will come, according to the testimony of the same prophet (xxv. 8), when the Lord will swallow up death forever, and wipe away the tears from every face, and take away the reproach of his people from off the earth. The reproach of former slavery is meant, the reproach of banishment, of widowhood, as it is called, Is. liv. 1. *הַרְפָּתָה* is synonymous with *בִּשְׁתָּר*, or *בְּיָזוּ*, *הַרְפָּתָה* (Is. xxx. 5; Ps. lxi. 20; cxix. 22; Prov. xviii. 3; Ezek. v. 15).

And the name of this place is called Gilgal unto this day; according to the view of the author, because God had in this place rolled away the reproach from off his people. Knobel, Fürst, and others, question this derivation because two cities besides of this name are mentioned, one between Dor and Thirza (Josh. xii. 23), and another, six Roman miles north of Antipatris (Deut. xi. 30), "which Ensebimus still knew by the name of Magdala, and accurately indicates." Accordingly other derivations have been sought. The name should signify, in reference to ch. iv. 19-24, the place of the stone-heap, or stone-heap monument, or = *גִּלְגָּל*, a wheel-shaped height, to which *גִּלְגָּלֵת* = Gogoltha might be cited as analogous. Fürst, and

¹ [Keil elaborately calculates that from 670,000 to 720,000 required to be circumcised, while there were besides from 250,000 to 330,000 circumcised in early life who might perform the labors of the Passover celebration. — Tr.]

² [Besides the common answer to the question, Why the rite of circumcision had been disused for thirty-eight years in the wilderness, namely, that the unsettled condition of the people would not allow it to be practiced conveniently or safely (?) Masius subjoined: "Quod filii non circumciderentur, pœnæ species fuisse videtur qua Deus non tam ipsos

plectebat filios quam impiorum parvum urbat animos, quem viderent liberos suos sacrosancti sæleris symbolo carere. Huc enim, mihi certe, videntur spectare illa in Numeris xiv. 33 Dei verba, cum dicit: Vestra ipsorum corpora, etc., q. d. quia abdicastis vos a mea familia per rebellionem, filii quoque vestri adoptionis nota carbent quamdiu vos in viuis eritis. Several modern critics (Keil, Hengstenberg) make this the principal reason for the long abeyance of circumcision. — Tr.]

Knobel (on ch. xv. 7) explain the word by circle, circuit, like the cognate קָלִיל (hence Galilee), as also we have קָלִילֹת, Josh. xviii. 7 for קָלִילֹת, xv. 7, and according to LXX. קָלִיל, Josh. xii. 23. Subsequently קָלִיל was pronounced קָלִיל (Γολγγοῦ, Golgol), cf. Phœn. קָלִילֹת (coast of the circle), pr. nom. of the city Igligili ('Iγλιγίλει, Ptol. 4, 2, litus Igligilitanum, in Amin. 29, 5, 5; now G'ir'gelli, near the river Ampsaga in Algiers); קָלִילֹת (Gulgog), pr. nom. of a Phœnician settlement in Cyprus." We adopt this last-named etymology, since manifestly these places previously bore the name Gilgal, and not, like Bethel or Bethlehem (Gen. xxxviii. 19; xxxv. 15, 19), a different one. But after a definite historical event had occurred here, which was recalled by the word, the name Gilgal was subsequently interpreted symbolically by the Israelites. Compare with this, out of the most recent history, the symbolical significance of the name Königgrätz = (dem) König g'rätz's [the king succeeds.]¹

c. Ver. 10-12. *The Passover, connected with the first Enjoyment of the Bread of the Land, and the Cessation of the Manna.* On the special relation of this short passage, which in every view suits very well with the entire narrative, we have already commented, on ch. iv. 15-17, 19. "The children of Israel encamped in Gilgal where they had already pitched, according to ch. iv. 19, and observed the passover on the fourteenth day of the month at evening. The designation of time recalls Ex. xii. 6, 18; Lev. xxiii. 5; Num. ix. 3; xxviii. 16, and is not met with elsewhere in the Pentateuch" (Knobel).

Ver. 11. *On the morrow after the passover;* not as Keil strangely supposes, on the sixteenth, but on the fifteenth, precisely according to the precept of the law, Lev. xxiii. 5, 6.²

In the self-same day, "on which they observed the Passover." For the evening of the fourteenth to the fifteenth day, see Ex. xii. 6; Gen. i. 5 (Knobel). [Or, the self-same day on which they ate the unleavened bread from the new grain.

Tr.] — הָעֵבֶר הָאֲרֶזֶת, of the produce of the land. According to Gesen. the etymology is uncertain. Fürst derives עֵבֶר from עָבַר = to make fruitful.

Both compare the Aram. עֵבֶרָא, *fatus, surculus.*

Targum and Peshito use עֵבֶרָא for עֵבֶרָא and

יבול. Instead of עֵבֶר הָאֲרֶזֶת, which occurs no-

where else in the O. T., תְּבוּאָתָא אֲרֶזֶת is used Lev. xxiii. 39, as well as here in the latter part of ver. 12. In the translation, the distinction between the words is attempted to be preserved by "produce" (not old corn) and "fruit" (yield). The word תְּבוּאָתָא means precisely "income" (from בוא).

1 [There is no evidence, however, that there had been any town or inhabited place here before to require a name at all. No trace of one has been discovered or is likely to be. It was merely a suitable camping-ground, as they found it, perhaps on the easternmost verge of fertile land — Josephus says it was about one and a quarter miles from Jericho, — and was named simply by and for themselves. And why not Gilgal (as suggested by "rolling") then as well as anything? It certainly is not against this that people of the same language gave the same name to many other places for related reasons. — Tr.]

2 [And yet, considering that the law forbade them (Lev. xxiii. 14) to eat roasted ears, etc., until the day on which

Roasted ears. Roasted harvest ears are meant; an article of food still much esteemed by the Arabs. [See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Ruth, Book of," p. 2756 b.]

Ver. 12. *And the manna ceased on the morrow after they ate, etc.* On the sixteenth therefore, the manna ceased, because the people had now arrived in Canaan, and no longer needed this bread of the wilderness (Ex. xvi. 15, 31 ff.; Num. xi. 6 ff.; Deut. viii. 3; Neh. ix. 20; Ps. lxxviii. 24; John vi. 31, 49, 58; Rev. ii. 17). At this place also the ark was substituted for the pillar of cloud and of fire, as the guide in the way.³ They stand in the most intimate relation to each other, since in the plan of God, the historical development of the people was gradually to take the place of his immediate guidance and support.

In respect to the manna itself, it is well known that reference has often been made to the tamarisk-manna of the Sinaitic peninsula, which results from the puncture of the leaves of the *Tamarix mannifera*, or *orientalis*, by an insect of the coccus family (*Coccus manniparus*), and in the form of a sweet, honey-like resin. So the whole body of rationalist interpreters explain. On the other side, von Raumer (*The March of the Israelites*, p. 21 ff.) maintains that, "that manna of the Israelites differed from the present tamarisk-manna *totò, cælo*; the honest student of Scripture cannot possibly regard that "corn of heaven," that "angel's food," as it is called (Ps. lxxviii. 25 ff.), with which God fed his people, as being the same as the loose-production (!) of the naturalist." Still supernaturalism! to which even Hengstenberg and Keil do not agree. These assume rather that in the feeding with manna, "the supernatural rises on the ground of the natural, as in the case of the miracles in Egypt, and in that of the quail-food." See Keil on this passage (p. 83 ff.).

As analogous to this we might cite the miraculous feeding in John vi. where also the natural basis of bread and fish was present (John vi. 9). The miracle consists in both cases in the *increase*, on the grandest scale, of the food which they already had. While now, even in the most rainy seasons, not more than fifty or sixty pounds is gathered, the Israelites gathered, according to von Raumer's calculation, at least on certain occasions, near 600,000 pounds. It lay after the dew like frost around the camp (Ex. xvi. 14). God rained it on the Israelites (Ps. lxxviii. 25). This last expression, which however is employed also concerning flesh, Josephus follows when he says (*Ant.* iii. 1, 6), that it still rains manna in the wilderness of Sinai. Keil disputes this statement of Josephus, because (a) it is supported by no trustworthy authority; (b) it is made by him evidently on the ground of uncertain accounts which had come to him by hearsay. Recent travellers know nothing at all of any manna rain.⁴ The great abundance of the

they brought an offering to their God, which offering (ver. 12) was to be made on the day in which they "waved the sheaf," which again (ver. 11) was the morrow after "the Sabbath" (commonly understood to mean here the day of "holy convocation," i. e. the fifteenth of the month), there is much reason for Keil's view. And so many commentators have always held. The chief doubt seems to rest on the reference of the word Sabbath in this passage. See the main points of the dispute indicated in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, Art. "Passover," (2) p. 2346, and Pentecost, note b, p. 2341 f. — Tr.]

3 [This is probable, yet the pillar of cloud and fire has for some time disappeared from the narrative. — Tr.]

4 [Comp. the phenomena of "Honey-dew" familiar to

manna, therefore, remains a miracle. In respect to the *substance* also a difference between the manna of the Bible, and that of the present day seems to hold good, since the latter cannot be pounded, ground, baked in cakes, as is reported (Num. xi. 7, 8) concerning the former. A further, "essential" difference we cannot assume, with Keil, at least not on the ground that "the present manna is used only as an accompaniment to other food and as a dainty, or even as a purgative medicine," since Num. xi. 6 proves how greatly the Israelites loathed the manna as the solitary staple of their diet. Their soul was dried away (אֲפִיחָהּ) upon it. They longed therefore for flesh, which the Lord also gave them (Num. xi. 31; Ps. lxxviii. 27; cv. 40), as conversely he had before (Ex. xvi. 13) given them their first quails and then manna. Keil concludes his explanation of our passage in these words: "The feeding of the Israelites with manna remains, therefore, a miracle of God which has indeed, in nature, a faint analogue, but can never be explained on natural principles." In this he means right, as his preceding exposition shows, but ought rather to have said that this miracle rises indeed on a foundation given in nature, but can by no means be identified with the phenomenon of the manna still commonly exhibited at the present day, nor be fully explained by it.¹

As to the etymology, the word מָן according to Ex. xvi. 15, 31, has its name from מָן, what?, but this is elsewhere only Chaldee. Gesenius derives it from the Arabic, and explains it as meaning part, present, gift, namely of heaven, as the Arabs actually call it. He thus follows Kimchi, and Ibn Esra, who also compare Heb. מָן. First resorts to an extra-Semitic etymology, because the manna was strange to the Hebrews, and they (Ex. xvi. 15, 31) had no name for it. We think this unnecessary, and would rather refer the word to the unused root מָנַן = מָנַן, to divide, to part, to measure, precisely as מָן, Ps. lxxviii. 24. Compare also מָן from מָנַן, מָן (in compounds like מָן־מָן, sounded also מָן) from מָן־מָן.

c. Ver. 13-15. *The War-Prince of God.* As the people receive the consecration to the holy war through circumcision and the Passover, so Joshua, their leader, receives his through the appearance of the prince over Jehovah's army, who commands him, as was done to Moses (Ex. iii. 5), to take off his shoes because the place whereon he stands is holy.

Ver. 13. *By Jericho* [lit.: in Jericho], (cf. ch. x. 1; xxiv. 26; Gen. xiii. 18). The man bears drawn (Luther: bare) sword in his hand. Such an one is borne also by the angel who meets Balaam in the way (Num. xxii. 23), and not less by the Cherub at the gate of Paradise (Gen. iii. 24). Joshua, thus proving that God has not in vain ad-

monished him (ch. i. 6, 7, 9) to be strong and firm, goes near the apparition and asks the man: **Art thou for us or for our adversaries?** "The question was appropriate for the military leader of the Israelites" (Knobel.)

Ver. 14. "The one addressed answers in the negative, and belongs, therefore, neither to one nor to the other, but is rather the captain of Jehovah's host, that is, prince of the angels. For these called also the *host of heaven* (1 K. xxii. 19), are to be understood as the "מַלְאָכֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, as Ps. ciii. 21; cxlviii. 2" (Knobel). Compare further, 2 Chron. xviii. 18, and Luke ii. 13. And Jehovah himself is "Jehovah of hosts," or more fully, "Jehovah God of hosts" (Jer. v. 14; xv. 16), as God is called by the prophets and frequently in the Psalms, Is. vi. 3; xxxvii. 16; li. 15; Jer. xxxiii. 11; Am. ix. 5; Ps. xxiv. 10; lxxx. 8, 20; lxxxiv. 2; in the N. T. Jas. v. 4. On the significance of this angel see below, Theological and Ethical.

Am I now come? For what, is not told, since Joshua interrupts the angel, and with the deepest reverence asks: **What speaks my Lord** (אֲדַבְרֵיךָ) as Gen. xix. 18, not אֲדַבְרֵיךָ; should be read [?] because Joshua recognizes the man as a higher being; (Knobel) to his servant.

Ver. 15. **Loose thy shoes from off thy feet, prop. throw off thy shoes from thy feet.** We point according to Ex. iii. 5, שַׁלְּמִנְיָךְ מֵעַל רַגְלֶיךָ, instead of שַׁלְּמִנְיָךְ מֵעַל רַגְלֶיךָ. [This change is of very doubtful warrant.] De Wette and Luther also adopt the plural in their translations. The shoes must be removed because to them cleaves defilement from the earth, which God has cursed (Gen. iii. 17.) Hence the priests also must wash their hands and feet, when they entered the sanctuary (Ex. xxx. 19; xl. 32), and went in probably barefooted. But a direct precept to go barefoot is nowhere found.

For the place . . . is holy. It is holy from the appearance here of the angel. Probably the latter communicated still further to Joshua what he was to do. Knobel supposes directions for the approaching war, as well as promises and encouragements; rightly.

[There is much in favor of the view advocated by Keil, and many before him, that the communication of the angel to Joshua is contained in ch. vi. 2-5. Chapter v. 13-vi. 5, would thus constitute one paragraph; ch. vi. 1 being a parenthetical statement of the historical circumstance which gave occasion for this divine intervention; and the division of chapters ought to be before or after the entire paragraph. That the Angel should be at last recognized by the narrator as Jehovah and so designated, ch. vi. 2, is in full accordance with Gen. xviii. 17, 20. This conception of the scene prevents the theophany from being so aimless and void of result as it otherwise appears.

Is it accidental merely that the former appear-

every naturalist. This sometimes occurs over wide districts of America and Europe in such abundance as to drop freely from the leaves and twigs of various species of trees, while yet several years may elapse without any at all, or at the most only a trifling quantity being seen. Apurians have much occasion to notice it. Whether it is uniformly the excretion of Aphides in any of their widely different kinds, or sometimes a direct exudation from the trees, and if the latter, from what cause, are still disputed questions. On the whole subject of the manna see the *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.; Ritter in Gage's Transl. ii pp. 271-292. — Tr.]

[1 Dr. Stowe in the *Bible Dict.* s. v. regards it as wholly miraculous.]

[2 The מָן־מָן, "now," in this phrase is probably designed to indicate that the speaker is present to make a communication of importance, cf. Dan. ix. 22; x. 11, 14. So Masius, referring to those passages: "Significant ista verba cum qui sic loquitur de re quam singulari adesse, suamque presentiam declarare." — Tr.]

ance also of the Jehovah-angel, to Abraham, is represented as having occurred immediately after the *circumcision* of his family, Gen. xvii. — Tr.]

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Circumcision and the Passover were the two covenant signs and seals (*σφραγίδες*) of the O. T.

The former was, as Christ himself testifies, older than Moses; it was of the fathers (John vii. 22), since God, as Stephen says, Acts vii. 8, had given the covenant of circumcision to Abraham. By it the nation was, through its fathers and youths, consecrated to Jehovah. That was to be indeed a holy people, which belonged to him as the people of his possession. To the true Israelites, therefore, who perceived in the circumcision of the flesh an index to the circumcision of the heart, which must be freed from all impurity even through pain, it was a token of exalted honor.¹ In later times, indeed, upon the entrance of heathen customs, many became ashamed of it, and artificially removed the traces of it. It was performed, as is well known, on the eighth day (Gen. xvii. 12; Luke ii. 21), and only he who was circumcised could partake of the Passover which was the other covenant sign of the O. T. (Gen. xii. 1 ff., and especially 43 ff.). This latter was of Mosiac origin, and was first of all a meal of thankful, joyous remembrance of the deliverance of

the people out of Egypt, of their exemption (*רפואה*) from the plague, of the rescue from the house of bondage. Both signs point beyond themselves to other and greater things, to baptism and the Lord's supper, which are of a more universal, spiritual nature, but just as exactly and intimately connected with each other as circumcision and the Passover.

2. The captain of the Lord's host is the angel of the presence or face (Ex. xxxiii. 20) in whom was God's name (ver. 21), of whom God says to Moses (xxxiii. 14), "My presence shall go, thereby will I lead thee." From the passages quoted he assumes an altogether peculiar position towards God, who raises him above all other angels, so that we may perhaps recognize in him the *λόγος* incarnandus. Comp. also Prov. viii. 30.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The terror of the Canaanites. — The heart melts, courage flees when one knows not the living God yet hears of his mighty deeds. — Where there is no confidence in God there is no courage. The consecration of the people for the occupancy of the Holy Land through, (1) the circumcision of the warriors born in the Wilderness. (2) The Passover kept by all Israel. — Circumcision and the Passover in their typical relation to baptism and the Lord's supper. The sacraments of the Old and those of the N. T. — As the enjoyment of the paschal lamb and the sweet bread was conditioned on the circumcision of the participant, so is that of the Holy Supper on baptism. — Of the true circumcision, which is performed not on the body but on the heart (Rom. ii. 29; Col. ii. 11). — Death the punishment of disobedience. — Through the wilderness to Canaan! — The heavenly Canaan much richer, more lovely and beautiful than the earthly, of which, however, it is said that it is a land flowing

with milk and honey. — To-day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you! This word is fulfilled, (1.) at Gilgal; (2.) much more gloriously at Golgotha. — The reproach of Egypt — sin and its misery.

The first Passover on the soil of Canaan: (1) A feast of thankful remembrance; (2) a feast of blessed hope. The bread of the land although not manna, yet also bread from heaven! — There is a manna which never fails. Comp. John vi., Rev. ii. — The true bread of life.

The consecration of the army-leader Joshua by the appearance of the captain of God's army. (1) Who stood opposite him? (2) How did Joshua behave? (3) What command did he receive? — The brave question of Joshua: Art thou for us or our adversaries? — The prince of the Lord's host in his relation to Christ the prince of life. — Joshua's humility the more beautiful because accompanied with steadfast courage. So should Christians also be as Joshua was, courageous and humble minded. They will be so if they themselves know the true source of courage and humility, the living God. — Loose thy shoes from off thy feet, for, etc. Comparison of the call of Moses (Ex. 3) and the consecration of Joshua. — Comparison of the consecration of the leader Joshua and of the prophet Isaiah (Is. 6). — "And Joshua did so." Let us also always do what God commands.

STARKE: God's words and works have not the same effect with the ungodly and the pious. — If the Israelites could not without the bodily circumcision enter the earthly Canaan, how should it be possible for any one without the spiritual circumcision of the heart to enter into the heavenly Canaan. — Who loves God, him God loves in return and reveals Himself to him (John. xiv. 21). — Even the exalted in this world should not be ashamed to bow the knee before God. 1 K. viii. 54; Ps. xcv. 6.

BIBL. WIRT: When God will punish a land or a people He gives them first a fearful and faint heart, Lev. xxvi. 36; Deut. xxviii. 65, xi. 25.

CRAMER: He who will have prosperity and a blessing, must begin his enterprise with God, with his word and the use of the holy sacraments, Prov. i. 7, Matt. vi. 33. God usually performs no miracles when one can have natural means to accomplish something, and then He points us to the ordinary way of subsistence and toil; He will bless that and will support us therein. Therefore, Christian, sing, pray, and go on in God's ways.

GERLACH: "The Lord cometh," when his people especially feel their need of his help, and become comfortably conscious of his presence and aid, Gen. xviii. 1.

[MATT. HENRY (on vers. 13-15): Observe, I. the time when he was favored with this vision; it was immediately after he had performed the great solemnities of circumcision and the Passover; then God made Himself known to him. Note, we may then expect the discoveries of the divine grace, when we are found in the way of our duty, and are diligent and sincere in our attendance on holy ordinances.

II. The place where he had this vision; it was by Jericho. . . . There he was (some think) meditating and praying; and to those who are so employed God often graciously manifests Himself. Or, perhaps, there he was to take a view of the city, to observe its fortifications and contrive how to attack it, and perhaps he was at a loss within himself how to make his approaches, when

¹ [On the significance of circumcision, see Ebrard's interesting views in his *Dogmatic*, § 523, briefly stated by the present writer in the *Baptist Quarterly* for July, 1860. — Tr.]

God came and directed him. Note, God will help those that help themselves: *Vigilantibus non dormientibus succurrit lex*—"The law succors those who watch, not those who sleep." Joshua was in his post as *General* when God came and made Himself known to him as *Generalissimo*.—Tr.]

SECTION SECOND.

THE CONTESTS OF ISRAEL WITH THE CANAANITES.

CHAPTERS VI.—XI.

A. CONTESTS AGAINST PARTICULAR CITIES.

CHAPTERS VI.—VIII.

1. *The Capture of Jericho.*

CHAPTER VI.

a. Preparation for the Capture.

CHAPTER VI. 1-14.

- 1 Now Jericho was straitly shut up [lit. had shut up (her gates) and was shut up],
 2 because of the children [sons] of Israel: none went out, and none came in. And
 the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand Jericho,
 and the king thereof, *and* [omit: and] the mighty men of valour [strong heroes].
 3 And ye shall compass the city, all *ye* men of war, *and* go round about the city
 4 once: thus shalt thou do six days. And seven priests shall bear before the ark
 seven trumpets of rams' horns [seven alarm-trumpets¹]: and the seventh day ye
 shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets.
 5 And it shall come to pass, that when they make a long *blast* with the ram's horn
 [alarm-horn], *and* [omit: and] when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the peo-
 ple shall shout with a great shout: and the wall of the city shall fall down flat, and
 the people shall ascend up every man straight before him.
 6 And Joshua the son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, Take up the
 ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns
 7 [alarm-trumpets] before the ark of the Lord [Jehovah]. And he [they²] said
 unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city, and let him that is armed³ pass
 on before the ark of the Lord [Jehovah].
 8 And it came to pass, when Joshua had spoken unto the people, that the seven
 priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns [alarm-trumpets] passed on before
 the Lord [Jehovah], and blew with the trumpets: and the ark of the covenant of
 9 the Lord [Jehovah] followed them. And the armed men went before the priests
 that blew with the trumpets, and the rere-ward came [went] after the ark, *the*
priests [omit: the priests] going on, and blowing with the trumpets.⁴
 10 And Joshua had [omit: had] commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout,
 nor make any noise with your voice [let your voice be heard], neither shall *any*
 word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I bid you shout, then shall ye shout.
 11 So [And] the ark of the Lord [Jehovah] compassed the city, going about *it* once:
 and they came into the camp, and lodged in the camp.
 12 And Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests took up the ark of the
 13 Lord [Jehovah]. And [the] seven priests bearing seven trumpets of rams' horns
 [alarm-trumpets] before the ark of the Lord [Jehovah] went on continually, and
 blew with the trumpets: and the armed men [as in ver. 9] went before them; but
 the rere-ward came [went] after the ark of the Lord [Jehovah], *the priests* [omit:

14 the priests] going on, and blowing with the trumpets [as in ver. 9]. And the second day they compassed the city once, and returned into the camp. So they did six days.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 4. — שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיּוֹבְלִים = הֶהָן הַיּוֹבְלִים (ver. 5). The specific character of the trumpets or horns here mentioned, as indicated by the very obscure word יוֹבֵל, is elaborately discussed in the Exegetical Notes, to which may well be added the information contained in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* articles "Cornet" and "Jubilee." See also Leyrer's remarks in Herzog's *Theol. Realencycl. s. v.* "Musik," vol. x. p. 131. With reference to the translation to be adopted, a word is ventured here. From a comparison of the passages cited below it is obvious that the יוֹבֵל (whether meaning *directly* a sound or an instrument of sound) indicated a loud sound, a sound of a very impressive, if not formidable character. It was a sound always serving as a signal, or alarm in the more general sense of this word. Hence, that it was produced literally by a "rams horn" employed as the instrument (making יוֹבֵל denote a ram), seems a physical impossibility, even if the etymological ground for such an interpretation were more than a chimera. But it is not; this meaning, therefore, may unhappily be set aside. In their uncertainty as to the real derivation of the word, many lexicographers and interpreters have then been content to pass it with the vague sense of Jubilee (Jubel) horn, because this particular instrument was employed to signalize through the land the return of the Sabbatical (Jubilee) year. But this is a Hysteron-proteron, for the word is used before the Sabbatical year had ever been mentioned (Ex. xix. 13), to indicate the signal or alarm by which the people should be warned of the appearance of God on Mount Sinai. It is, furthermore, significant that down to the last mention of the יוֹבֵל in Scripture, there had been no occurrence of the year of Jubilee to give a denomination to the trumpet or anything else connected with its observance. The Sabbatical year, therefore, received its name as the year of the יוֹבֵל, or as itself the יוֹבֵל, from the name of the instrument or of the sound by which it was to be ushered in and heralded to all the people. Instead of learning the character of the instrument from that of the sacred year, we must, *vice versa*, learn that of the year (so far as intimated by its name) from the peculiar mode of its announcement. Its intrinsic character to the experience of the people had yet to be ascertained by them, and could now be only obscurely foreseen.

We are left then to study the actual quality and use of the horn of יוֹבֵל, first from the passages outside of the circle of the jubilee year, and then from those relating to that year, to get practically at the meaning of the word.

Perhaps neither of the meanings "signal," "alarm," to which we are thus brought can be rigidly adhered to in all places. In the Pentateuch generally "signal" would perhaps be more appropriate; here in Joshua "alarm" is at least equally so. If we were at perfect liberty to make compound words, "loud-horn" might pretty well cover all the uses. Zunz's excellent version gives *schmetterndes Horn*, "rattling," "clattering horn." — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 7. — וַיִּצְעַק. "The plural is not to be altered here, but to be explained from the fact that Joshua made the announcement not in person but through the Schoterim (i. 10; iii. 2) by whom his orders were officially published." Keil. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 7. — חַיִּים אֶרְבָּי, ("expeditus, stripped . . . i. q. armed, ready, etc." Gesen. s. v.) here distinguished from הַיִּצְעָקִים "re-re-ward" ver. 9, as a part only of the "men of war," verse 3. They may have been a special branch of the forces (light-armed, *παραστραι*, which the etymology would slightly favor), or, more probably, the soldiery of the Transjordanic tribes who were to cross the river הַיַּרְדֵּן, iv. 13, comp. Keil in loc. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 9 — The Heb. leaves the subject of this indefinite; our knowledge otherwise gained suggests the priests. — Tr.]

b. Capture and Destruction of Jericho.

CHAPTER VI. 15-27.

15 And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they rose early about the dawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same [this] manner seven times: only on
16 that day they compassed the city seven times. And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout;
17 for the Lord [Jehovah] hath given you the city. And the city shall be accursed [devoted], *even* [omit: even] it, and all that *are* therein, to the Lord [Jehovah]: only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that *are* with her in the house, because
18 she hid the messengers that we sent. And ye, in any wise keep *yourselves* from the accursed thing [from that which is devoted], lest ye make *yourselves* accursed, when ye take of the accursed thing [that which is devoted], and make the camp of Israel a
19 curse [devoted thing], and trouble it.¹ But [And] all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, *are* consecrated unto the Lord [Jehovah]: they shall come
20 into the treasury of the Lord [Jehovah]. So the people shouted when *the priests* blew² with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they
21 took the city. And they utterly destroyed [devoted] all that *was* in the city,

both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword.

- 22 But Joshua had [omit: had] said unto the two men that had spied out the country, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that she
23 hath, as ye sware unto her. And the young men that were spies went in, and brought out Rahab, and her father, and her mother, and her brethren, and all that she had; and they brought out all her kindred [Heb. families, and so Bunsen], and
24 left them without the camp of Israel. And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein: only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they
25 put into the treasury of the house of the Lord [Jehovah]. And Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, and her father's household, and all that she had; and she dwelleth in [in the midst of] Israel *even* [omit: even] unto this day; because she hid the messengers which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.
- 26 And Joshua adjured *them* [caused them to swear] at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the Lord [Jehovah], that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest *son* shall he set
27 up the gates of it. So the Lord [Jehovah] was with Joshua; and his fame was *noised* [omit: noised] throughout all the country [in all the land.]

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 [Ver. 13. This verse would be more correctly given somewhat thus: "Only do ye keep yourselves from what is devoted, lest ye devote, and take of what is devoted, and make the camp of Israel a devoted thing, and trouble it." To devote (to Jehovah) and to take (for themselves) were two incompatible things: "*Utrumque consistere non poterat, pugnantia erant, . . . aut non erat res devotenda, aut cum devotum esset ab ea abstinendum erat.*" Lud. de Dieu ap. Kell in loc. — Tr.]

2 [Ver. 20. Lit.: And the people shouted, and they blew with the trumpets. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

With this sixth chapter begins the second section of the first part of our book, giving us in a continuous narrative the history of the conquest of the land. It offers critical difficulties in only a few passages (ch. viii. 12, 13 compared with viii. 3 and viii. 30-35), so that even Knobel describes it as "an exhibition, in the main regular and consistent, of the wars of Joshua," by the hand of the Jehovist. In so far it is advantageously distinguished from the report of the passage through the Jordan (chaps. iii. iv.) The style is excellent, and rises often (ch. vii. 8; x. 1-27) to a strikingly beautiful representation of deeds of war wrought by God through Joshua and the people of Israel; comp. *Introd.* § 1, p. 3. Poetical passages are twice (chaps. vi. 26 and x. 12-15) introduced. A certain delicate humor is betrayed in ch. ix. From ch. x. 28 to xi. 23, the traits just noticed are absent, and a sort of monotony in the chronological enumeration of conquests appears. Chapter xii. is a very valuable historical document, from ver. 9 onward in particular, to which Bunsen has rightly called attention.

So much in general concerning this extremely interesting section, chaps. vi. 1-xi. 23. We proceed now to the explanation of ch. vi., which relates the capture of Jericho.

[On the connection between this and the preceding chapter, see the translator's remarks on p. 66.]

a. Ver. 1-11. *Preparation for it.* Jericho had, at the approach of the Israelites, closed its doors so that no one went out and no one came in. Jehovah now commands Joshua to march around the city with the ark preceded by priests giving blasts on alarm trumpets, once each day for six days in succession, but on the seventh day seven times, and promises that then her walls shall fall down. This command Joshua imparts to the priests with the people, for immediate execution, (ver. 6, 7), which then also follows (vers. 8-11).

Ver. 2. *See, I have given* We find a similar expression in ch. xi. 6. Here, however, the Israelites themselves were to adopt no warlike measures for the taking of the city. Jericho must fall rather through the immediate help of God, that is, through a miracle.

Ver. 3-5. *Signal trumpets.* שֹׁפָרוֹת הַיְהוָה = יְהוָה יִקְרָא. That these two designations (ver. 4, 5) signify the same musical instrument is clear, and may be inferred directly from our passage. It may be also further assumed as probable that שֹׁפָר and יְהוָה יִקְרָא (Num. x.

2, 8) are not identical, but שֹׁפָר, rather a crooked instrument, and hence called קָרָן, and חָר, the straight trumpet frequently represented on Egyptian monuments (Keil, *Com. on J.*, p. 158). The interpretation of יְהוָה יִקְרָא on the other hand occasions difficulty. According to Fürst it has two significations: "(1) Ram, Arics, from the unusual, intrans. יבֵל, to be compressed, hard, strong, according to this 'יבֵל חַי, שׁוֹפָר חַי, קָרָן חַי or even יבֵל חַי alone, Ex. xix. 13, would mean ram's horns as a wind instrument. This signification appears already in the Targum (דִּיבְרָא) and the Jewish expositors, who follow indeed the tradition (*Rosh-ha-Shana* 3); and from the latter we learn that in old Arabic the word had the same sense; Phœnic. יבֵל the same (Mass. 7); (2) (from יבֵל II) Sound of Jubilee, sound of joy (related to the pr. nom. יִיבֵל) as a designation of the great feast of Jubilee on the tenth of the seventh month in each fiftieth year, which was proclaimed with trumpets through the whole land. Lev. xxv. 8." That the same

word should have these two radically different significations is, if not exactly impossible, yet in this case improbable, since the year of jubilee (שנה הובל) was announced, as Fürst himself says, by the שופר הויבל, and from this evidently had its name, as Winer (*Realw. s. v.* "Jubeljahr"). Oehler (*Realencyk. x. p.* 131) take for granted, after the example of older interpreters, especially Groddeck, *De verisim. voc.* יובל *signif.*, Danz. 1758. On this supposition the question arises, whence the derivation of יובל, and how it is to be explained. Either it is from a root יבל not in use, which, as Fürst assumes, should mean to be compressed, hard, strong, the same as the Phœn. יבל, from which then יבל or יובל = the strong, the ram (as also איל means properly strength): this is supported by reference to the inscription of Marseilles, l. 7. In this view, הַרְנוֹהֵיבֵל would be rams-horn, שׁוֹפְרֵי-הַיֹּבֵל rams-horn-trumpet, and שְׁנַת-הַיֹּבֵל the year at the beginning of which they blew the rams-horn, and which received its name from this. Or, as Gesenius (*Theol. ii.* 561) teaches, from an onomatop. יבל, to sound out, to shout, Lat. *jubilare*, as the related יבב, Judg. v. 28, signifies to call, to call aloud, and in Araim. is employed expressly of the call of jubilee. Thus שׁוֹפְרֵי-הַיֹּבֵל would be = תְּרוּעָה, and שׁוֹפְרֵי-הַיֹּבֵל = שׁוֹפְרֵי-תְרוּעָה (Lev. xxv. 8) = alarm-signal or jubilee-trumpet. The הַרְנוֹהֵיבֵל would mean the same, and שְׁנַת-הַיֹּבֵל would be the year at whose commencement the alarm-horn or trumpet of jubilee was sounded, and which hence derived its name. This etymology is decisively favored by the name, יבל, of the son of Lamech, Gen. iv. 21, who was the inventor of the harp and syrinx. We must therefore adopt this explanation. The double plural שׁוֹפְרוֹת-הַיֹּבֵל, as in Num. xiii. 32, אֲנִישֵׁי-מְדוּתָא, Deut. i. 28, אֲנִישֵׁי-מְדוּתָא. Ewald, § 270. [See Gesen. *Lex. s. v.* יובל.]

The number seven of the trumpets, priests, days, is significant, for which compare Gen. xxi. 30, and a multitude of Old and New Test. passages in Winer, art. "Zahlen." [Smith's *Dict. art.* "Seven."] The circuit marches were thirteen in all, six during the first six days, and seven on the last, which was probably, as the Rabbins have assumed, a Sabbath. It might be objected that, according to Ex. xx. 9-11, no work was to be done on the Sabbath; but this circuit was no work, but rather a religious transaction of the nature of worship, performed in obedience to a special command of God, to whose glory the walls of Jericho fell precisely on the Sabbath. The object of these encompassing marches, about which much has been said, has been well indicated by Knobel, who says: "Jericho was to fall as the first-fruits of the Canaanitish cities manifestly by Israel's God. The repeated compassing of the city directed attention with the sharpest intensity towards what was finally to come to pass, and when the event came, left no doubt that Jehovah was its cause, while the

courage of Israel is thereby raised also, and the despondency of the Canaanites increased."

In substantial agreement with this Keil remarks, that "The repetition during several days of this procession about the city could only be designed to exercise Israel in unconditional faith and patient trust in the power and assistance of God, and to impress deeply upon him that it was the omnipotence and fidelity of Jehovah alone which could give into his hand this fortified city, the bastion of the whole land."

Ver. 5. Every man straight before him. Over the prostrate walls should the Israelites enter Jericho; and "each one straight forward," so that their order should be preserved as far as possible. In Joel ii. 9, it is said likewise of the locusts: "like men of war they climb a wall, and every one marches on his way."

Vers. 6, 7. Joshua issues the needful commands. Vers. 8-11. The first circuit, in which the order of procession was, (1.) the armed men; (2.) the seven priests with their seven trumpets; (3.) the priests with the ark of the covenant; (4.) the remaining warriors as a rear-guard. אָנָּה = *agmen claudere*. This duty on the march through the wilderness devolved, according to Num. x. 25, on the tribe of Dan; whether on this occasion also cannot be determined.

Ver. 9. That blew with the trumpets. Not according to the Kethib הַקְּרָעִי, but the Keri הַקְּרָעִי which Knobel prefers as unquestionably the true reading. [Keil holds to the Kethib.]

Ver. 10. Ye shall not shout. That should be done first on the seventh day, at the express command of Joshua. Silently and without a voice, for six long days, under the prolonged clangor of the trumpets, the people marched around and around the City of Palms, whose inhabitants ventured no sortie. Perhaps they were imposed upon by the sublime silence which was maintained throughout this delay.

Ver. 11. At evening of the first day they came into the camp to spend the night.

Vers. 12-14. So they did for six days, without intermission.

b. Capture and Destruction of Jericho. Vers. 15-20. The seventh day. Now the Israelites begin their march very early, with the dawn, because they have to make the circuit seven times. If we suppose that Jericho had a compass of an hour's journey, then a formal procession like this, which moved slowly, would require at least one hour and a half to accomplish it. This would give for the seven circuits ten and a half hours. But to this we must add the absolutely necessary rests of at least a quarter of an hour each; and if we assume one after the first, second, and third circuits, and so on to the end, the six will amount to an hour and a half. This added to the ten and a half makes twelve hours. The fall of the wall, accordingly, must have taken place near evening. The Sabbath would then be about over and the work of destruction might begin.

Ver. 17. And the city shall be devoted. הִקְרָם (only once הִקְרָם, Zech. xii. 11) from קָרַם = to cut off, in the Hiph. to devote, to withdraw from common use and consecrate to God = *sacrare*, is, (a.) with active signification, the devotement of anything by Jehovah, his putting under the ban, the result of which is destruction, Mal. iii. 24; Zech. xiv. 11; 1 K. xx. 42; Is. xxxiv. 5; or (b.) with pass. signif. thing devoted, doomed, laid under the

ban, that is, devoted to Jehovah without the possibility of being redeemed (in distinction from other devoted objects), Lev. xxvii. 21, xxviii. 29. In the latter sense it stands here, vers. 17, 18, and in ch. vii. 1 ff., 1 Sam. xv. 3-9. Quite correctly therefore, Starke long ago remarked: "A devoted thing (Bann) (LXX. ἀνάθεμα, Num. xxi. 2, 3; Deut. vii. 2, xx. 17) was that which had been doomed to the Lord, which no man might employ for his own use, but which was either put away and destroyed utterly to the honor of God, as the men and beasts in this passage, a propitiation, as it were, to the divine justice, that this might be glorified; or it was consecrated to the special service of God, as here all precious and useful metals, Lev. xxvii. 21, 28; Deut. ii. 34, iii. 6, vii. 2, 26, xiii. 15-17, xx. 26 ff." See also the explanation to ch. ii. 11.

Rahab alone should be spared, because she had concealed the spies. The oath of the latter is mentioned only to them (ver. 22), but not before the people.

Ver. 18 contains a warning which Achan, to his own destruction and that of his family, neglected (ch. vii.).

Vers. 20, 21. *Capture of the City.* At Joshua's command, the people who have before marched in silence around the city raise a battle shout. The trumpets clang. The walls of Jericho fall flat

(prop. under themselves, $\text{פָּתְחוּ אֶת הַיְּדִיּוֹת}$), the people of Israel pass in and devote everything that is in the city, man and woman, boy and gray-haired sire, cattle, sheep, and asses, with the edge of the sword (Gen. xxxiv. 26, and very often in our book). [On יָדִיּוֹת instrumenti, see Ges. *Lex.*, p. 501 e. fin.] — The miracle here related has been explained by a sudden earthquake (J. D. Michaelis; Bartholin, *Jewish History*, ii. p. 22; Jahn, *Bibl. Archaeologie*, ii. p. 174 ff.) "But nothing of that stands written here" (Knobel). Nor is anything said of *undermining the walls*; manifestly a miracle was wrought, according to the entire view of the author, by the God of Israel "present upon the ark of the covenant." See Doctrinal and Ethical 2.

Vers. 22-25. *Rescue of Rahab.* This is effected in consistency with the promise, and oath of the spies.

Ver. 22. *Go into the harlot's house.* This house appears not to have fallen, although it was built on [or against] the wall.

Young men. The Heb. נְעָרִים has very often this signification, Gen. xxii. 3, xxxiv. 19, xxxvii. 2; Judg. viii. 20; Jer. vi. 6; 1 Sam. xxx. 13; LXX. $\delta\upsilon\omicron\ \nu\epsilon\alpha\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota$; Vulg. *juvenes*.

Ver. 23. *And left them without the camp.* After the analogy of Lev. xxiv. 14, Num. xxxi. 19. They were, as heathen, unclean, and must therefore remain for a specified time, probably, as in the case of other things unclean, seven days, without the camp.

Ver. 24 breaks the connection, and would perhaps stand better, as Knobel conjectures, before ver. 21. [That cattle and other property in Jericho were put under the ban, and the whole city reduced to ashes, was "because this was the first city of Canaan which Jehovah had given a prey to his people. It, therefore, should Israel offer as the first-fruits of the land to the Lord, and even consecrate to Him as devoted. for a sign that they received the whole land from his hand, as a loan and as what had fallen to Him, not what they would snatch for themselves." Keil. — Tr.]

Ver. 25 takes up again the thread of the narrative concerning Rahab's position.

She dwelt in Israel. See the Exegetical and Homiletical on chap. ii.

Ver. 26. *Curse upon Jericho.* Since a devoted city might not, according to Deut. xiii. 17, be rebuilt, Joshua pronounces an imprecation on the foundation and soil of Jericho. Such a curse, as Strabo says, xiii. p. 601, Agamemnon uttered upon Ilium, and Scipio, according to Appian (*Punica*, § 135 f.), upon Carthage (Knobel). In connection with this they used, as Hadrian did at Jerusalem, to plough around the site of the city (Starke). "The Jews also probably scattered salt over the place, Judg. ix. 45, as a curse and sign of barrenness, Deut. xxix. 22, 23; Ps. cvii. 33, 34; Jer. xvii. 6; Zech. ii. 9." Starke. Of ploughing and sowing salt there is no mention here, but so much the more impressive sounds the curse which Joshua poetically utters. That this curse was fulfilled is related in 1 K. xvi. 34, when Hiel of Bethel ventured in Ahab's time to rebuild Jericho. It is at variance with this late restoration of the city that its name reappears in our book ch. xviii. 21; Judg. iii. 13; 2 Sam. x. 5. The difficulty may be obviated (a) by assuming, with Winer, that in 1 K. xvi. 34 the language relates only to the fortifications of Jericho,

— which reference of the word $\text{בְּנֵי יְרִיכֹ$ is established by 1 K. xv. 17 and 2 Chr. xi. 5 — and that Joshua himself as military leader had respect only to the fortifications; or (b) by availing ourselves of the hypothesis of Knobel, that the Jericho spoken of during the time between Joshua and Ahab was in a different place from that which Hiel first rebuilt. In support of his view Knobel recalls that neither Troy nor Carthage was built up again on the old spot, because the ground of both places had been cursed. For the rest, Knobel conceives the execration in the special form which it had received, as wholly *cautiuum ex eventu*, and views the matter thus: (1) Joshua had expressed an imprecation, but a "general imprecation;" (2) This general imprecation was known, and had for its effect that when Jericho was rebuilt in the time between Joshua and David, it was not placed on the old site; (3) the rebuilding on the old site was effected under Ahab, by Hiel, who lost his oldest son at the time of laying the foundation of the wall, and his youngest at the setting up of the gate; (4) the author of our book knew of these occurrences, and assumed that Joshua had not only uttered a general malediction, but had extended this to so minute points as were afterwards brought to light. We confess that we here meet too many hypotheses, and therefore stand by the explanation of Winer, which is grammatically well established.

Ver. 27. Joshua's fame, שִׁמְעוֹ , Jos. ix. 9.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

In order to determine the notion of אֲדָמָה , we must here regard above all to the passage Lev. xxvii. 28, 29: "Only no devoted thing (אֲדָמָה) which a man shall devote (אֲדָמָה) to Jehovah of all that he hath, of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed ($\text{לֹא יִמָּכַר וְלֹא יִקָּדֵם$) every devoted thing is most holy to Jehovah. No devoted thing which is devoted by men shall be redeemed; it shall surely be put to death." Every-

thing else of man, of beast, of house, of field which one only consecrated to Jehovah (שְׁרֵפִיתִי) might be redeemed, but what any one had devoted, that is, given over to complete and unconditional sanctity, that could not be redeemed. It was, as Rüetschi says (*Keilengyk.* i. p. 677), "a doomed gift" (Baungeschenk), an object laid under the ban (בְּאִרְבָּע in its first, active sense), a thing most holy to Jehovah. If it was a living creature, it was, according to this precept of the law, put to death; if it was a piece of land it was (as we may rightly conclude from Lev. xxvii. 21, comp. also Num. xviii. 14; Ezek. xlv. 29) the possession of the priests; if it was any other valuable property it belonged, as our history teaches (ch. vi. 19, 24) and as is shown also by Num. xxxi. 54, to the treasury of Jehovah. If an entire city like Jericho was put under the ban, it was burnt up (Josh. vi. 24; x. 28, 35, 37, 40; xi. 11; Num. xxi. 1-3; Deut. xiii. 16); yet not always, Josh. xi. 13, as they also sometimes let the cattle live, and divided them as booty (Deut. ii. 34 f., iii. 6 ff., and Josh. viii. 26 ff.). Such a devotedness might be, as Rüetschi has explained with special clearness, directed inwardly, on the people of Israel themselves, comp. ch. vii., or outwardly against those of other nations. In both cases, however, as a long line of passages (Ex. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 16 ff., ii. 34, iii. 6; Josh. vi. 17 ff., etc., see above) will show, the destruction of every unholy, idolatrous creature was the design, since Israel must be a holy people. The latter case, the outward direction of it, is met with earlier in the history, but with special frequency in our book. "Dreadful, certainly," says Winier (i. 135, obs. 3), "was such devotedness of conquered cities, only there is no good reason for complaining of Hebrew antiquity so bitterly as Tindal, Morgan, and others have done. Humanity toward prisoners of war, especially toward the inhabitants of conquered cities, was unknown to the ancient nations generally. Every war was at first a war of annihilation, and that treatment of the Canaanitish towns was, on political, and (in the sense of that age) religious grounds, as truly demanded, as is very much besides which even civilized and Christian nations hold valid, as flowing from the right of conquest."

The destruction of these Canaanite cities followed upon an immediate, divine direction (Ex. xvii. 14; Deut. vii. 2; xx. 16; 1 Sam. xv. 3), at another time, the Israelites row the same (Num. xxi. 2). Again in other cases, the devotedness, in its inward direction and in its outward, takes place in consequence of appointments of the law (Lev. xx. 2; Deut. xiii. 16 ff.). By this a limit was set to all caprice, for, the holiness of Israel in rigid separation from everything of a heathen nature, and from every abomination of idolatry (Ex. xxiii. 32; Deut. xx. 18), was to be the only ground of the ban. Otherwise every murderer might with hypocritical men have appealed to such a devotedness of his neighbor. He who seized upon anything for himself that had been devoted paid the penalty with his life (Josh. vi. 18; Deut. xiii. 17; Josh. vii. 11 ff.)

By these views we must interpret the expression of the high-priest (John xi. 49, 50), and so also St. Paul's designation (Gal. iii. 10) of the crucified Redeemer, as *κατάρα*.

Finally we may mention that similar statutes were in force among the Gauls and ancient Germans; and to the Romans and Greeks they were not at all strange. Cæsar relates of the Gauls

(*Bell. Gall.* vi. 17): "*Huic (sc. Marti) quam prælio dimittere constituerunt, ea, quæ bello ceperint, plerumque devoteant. Quæ superaverint, animalia capta immolant; reliquas res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum extractos tumulos locis consecratis conspici licet; neque sepe accidit, ut, neglecta quispiam religione, aut capta apud se occultare, aut posita tollere audeat; gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatus constitutum est.*" The practice therefore was similar to what happened in the case of Achan, the penalty of death for theft of what had been devoted. Tacitus (*Annal.* xiii. 57) tells concerning the Hermunduri, that a war in which they had been engaged with the Catti had turned out fortunately for the former, for the latter ruinously (*exitiosius*); "*quia victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacrare, quo voto, equi, viri, cuncta victa occidendi dantur.*" Livy (iii. 55) recalls a law passed under the consuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius: "*Ut qui tribunis plebis, additis, iudicibus, decemviris novisset, ejus caput Jovi sacrum esset; familia ad eadem Cereris, Libert, Liberoque venum iret.*" We may remember further the *ex sacrum*, so beautifully described by Uhland in his familiar poem, and the burning up of a part of the spoils, to consecrate them to the gods, as was also done in Roman antiquity (Appian, *Pun. ch.* cxxxiii; *Mithr.* ch. xlv.). Similar is the *taboo* of the South Sea islanders, a ban the violation of which was punished with death. See the *Calver Missions-Geschichte* by Blumhardt, ii. pp. 238, 243. [Murray's *Encyc. of Geog.* iii. p. 156; Cook's *Voyages* (2 vols. Lond. 1842), vol. ii. pp. 112, 113, 255, and often.]

2. The fall of the walls of Jericho is just as much referred to the immediate causality of God, as the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Jordan. It is a soulless expedient, therefore, to think of an undermining of the walls. Much rather might we approve the resort to an earthquake, because in such a natural event the divine agency is directly involved. But there is nothing said of that in the text, and it is therefore best simply to recognize the fact. It was for the Canaanites a terror, to the Israelites a most cheering sign of the continued presence of God with his people. For us its symbolical significance is not to be lightly estimated, especially for those among us to whom the Bible is indeed precious but much of what is related in it difficult to receive,—really earnest Christians, whom we should not on this account (as is, alas, so commonly done) immediately characterize as infidels. This name, indeed, it would in general be far better to apply somewhat more sparingly, unless all investigation of Scripture is to be threatened with the ban.

["By this" (namely, its occurrence, through the direct efficiency of God), "the fall of Jericho became the image and type of the fall of every world-power before the Lord, when He comes to lead his people into Canaan and to establish his kingdom on earth. On the ground of this fact it is, that the blast of the trumpet becomes, in the writings of the prophets, the signal and symbolical prognostic of the revelations of the Lord in the great judgments by which He, through the destruction of one world-power after the other, maintains and extends his kingdom on earth, and carries it onward toward perfection. This it will reach when He descends from heaven in his glory at the time of the last trumpet, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and trump of God, to raise the dead and change the living, to hold the judgment

of the world and cast the devil, and death, and hell into the lake of fire, to create heaven and earth anew, and in the New Jerusalem to set up the tabernacle of God with men forever and ever." (1 Cor. xv. 51 ff.; 1 Thess. iv. 16 f.; Apoc. xx. and xxi.) Kéil.

"By ordering that the walls of Jericho should fall only after the circuit of the city during seven days, and on the seventh day seven times with the sound of the alarm-trumpets and the war-cry of the warriors of God's people, God would make this city, the key of Canaan, a type of the final destruction of the powers of this world which stand in hostile opposition to the kingdom of God. By this would He not only intimate to his people that not immediately, but after protracted and patient struggles, finally at the end of the world, will the hostile world-power be subdued, but also hint to the enemies of his kingdom, that their strength, although they may long resist, yet at last will perish in a moment." Kéil. — Tr.]

3. It is worthy of notice how the Redeemer has signalized Jericho. Here he entered into the house of Zacchæus (Luké xix. 5, 9); here he healed Bartimæus of his blindness (Mar. x. 46, 52; Luke xviii. 35); in the neighborhood of this city he repeated the announcement of his sufferings (Luke xviii. 31; Matt. xx. 28). He thinks of Jericho in the parable of the good Samaritan (Luké x. 30). Then Jericho was a prominent city by reason of Herod's magnificent buildings there; now it is a miserable village. [See the references on ch. ii. 1.]

4. As the blessing operates in its effects through centuries, so not less does the curse, when a moral justification accompanies it. The curse upon Jericho was the curse upon everything of an idolatrous nature, upon the Canaanite race with all its heathenish abominations; it was therefore a theocratic curse on sin itself. Such a curse Paul utters, on the principles of the N. T., against all teachers of error and corruptors of the congregation (1 Cor. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8), with the same propriety as did Joshua. The more the leaven of Christianity spreads and pervades all things, the less occasion shall we have for cursing; we shall have occasion rather for praising God and blessing the brethren. But he who sees everywhere only apostasy and error, who will not perceive that even now salvation is nearer to us than before, he will doubtless rather curse than bless, as in fact not only ultramontane Catholics, but also some professing Protestantism abundantly do. But they are no Joshuas, neither of them. Their glance reaches not even into the near future, to say nothing of distant ages. So their sentences of curse die away in silence, to our great comfort, because they have no moral justification.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The closed and barred Jericho an image (1) of a closed heart; (2) of a closed house; (3) of a closed congregation. — As the Lord gave Jericho into the hand of Joshua, so He still always gives every closed heart, and every closed house, and every closed congregation (or even city) into the hand of his servants. — The trump of the year of jubilee and the trump of Judgment. — Before the war-shout of the spiritual Israel fall all the walls which the world has reared for its own defense, especially the walls of self-righteousness behind which sin pursues its courses. — The procession around Jericho, (1) silent, (2) but with the accom-

paniment of trumpet blasts, a procession in the name of the Lord God of Israel. — The capture of Jericho, (1) well prepared for by Joshua, (2) gloriously accomplished by God's almighty power. The dawn of the seventh day a dawn of victory. The confidence of Joshua's faith. — Shout, for God has given you the city. — The holy curse. — The holy deliverance (ver. 17.) — Judgment and mercy shown by the devotion of Jericho on the one hand, and on the other by the deliverance of Rahab. — Keep yourselves from that which is devoted. — The treasure of the Lord, consisting (1) in Israel, in gold and silver, and brass (2) among us, in the holy gospel of the blessed God in Christ Jesus. — The walls fell down flat! O, how shall we rejoice when one day all the walls which proud worldliness has built fall down, even those which statutes have erected — the walls of cloisters and the walls of Rome! — The glorious victory of the people, a condemnation at the same time of Jericho. — The rescue of Rahab considered in reference (1) to her person (description of her character according to ch. ii, Heb. xi. 31; Ja. ii. 25); (2) to the conscientiousness of Joshua, who would have the word which had been given kept; (3) to the future of the kingdom of God (Rahab from among the heathen, the mother of a family, and what is connected with that: Rahab the heathen woman is received into Israel, that through Israel the heathen also might be saved). — The imprecation upon Jericho; (1) a well deserved sentence; hence (2) fulfilled as a prophetic word, when Hiel again built the city, 1 K. xvi. 34. — Rather bless than curse, because we are Christians. — Men not to be cursed, but only sin.

STARKE: That is the way of the sons of this world; seeing need and danger at the door they resort only to human plans and expedients for escape, when they ought to betake themselves to God and seek shelter with him, Jer. xviii. 11; Ps. l. 15. — To build fortresses and to fly thither in time of need is not indeed wrong in itself, but let not one trust too much in them, because without God no inclosure can help, Hos. viii. 14; Ps. cxxvii. 1. — Those who sit at the helm should not sleep at mid-day, but be up betimes, and attend to their duties, Rom. xii. 7. — A believing and fervent prayer is the true war-shout by which we may conquer our spiritual foes and destroy the devil's kingdom. Christian brother, avail thyself of that therefore with diligence (Eph. vi. 18).

HEDINGER: Every carnal heart is a closed Jericho; God sits down before it and shoots mercy and grace up against its walls. Well for those who do not harden themselves!

CRAMER: God's promises are as certain as if they had already been fulfilled and gone into effect, 2 Cor. i. 20; Ps. xxxiii. 4. — God thinks also of compassion when He is most angry, for in the midst of wrath He is gracious, Gen. vi. 8, 11, 12, 13 f. — What God curses no man must bless, and what God blesses let no man curse, Num. xxiii. 8; 1 K. xvi. 34.

GERLACH: Through the silence of the people it should be more clearly manifest that it was the Lord who fought for Israel. Exercised in faith, under the scorn of their foes should the strength granted them by God be kept till the moment of action.

[G. R. B.: In the progress of his spiritual kingdom also God has chosen to employ means for vanquishing the strongholds of unbelief and worldliness very different from what would suggest themselves to human contrivance. But God's

"foolishness" in this, as we might be sure beforehand, has proved itself wiser than all the wisdom of men, and alone efficacious in subduing the proud and bolted heart to repentance and the trustful acceptance of Christ's gracious rule, 1 Cor. i. 18-25. Therefore let Israel only persevere in sounding the gospel trumpet, patient under delays but constant in the wondrous, even though despised, proclamation, and in due time the stoutest walls of opposition shall fall flat. — Tr.]

2. *Achan's Theft.*

CHAPTER VII.

a. The Crime.

1 But the children [sons] of Israel committed a trespass in the accursed thing [in respect to what was devoted]: for [and] Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took of the accursed thing [of what was devoted]: and the anger of the Lord [Jehovah] was kindled against the children [sons] of Israel.

b. Its evil Effects in the unfortunate Expedition against Ai.

CHAPTER VII. 2-5.

2 And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which *is* beside Beth-aven, on the east side of Beth-el, and spake unto them, saying, Go up and view the country [spy out the land]. And the men went up, and viewed [spied out] Ai. And they returned to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but [omit: but] let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai: *and* [omit: and] make not all the people to labour thither; for they *are but* [omit: but] few. So [And] there went up thither of the people about three thousand men: and they fled before the men of Ai. And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six men: for [and] they chased them *from* before the gate *even* unto Shebarim, and smote them in the going down: wherefore [and] the hearts of the people melted, and became as [omit: as] water.

c. Joshua's humble Prayer and God's Answer thereto.

CHAPTER VII. 6-15.

6 And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord [Jehovah] until the even-tide, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads. And Joshua said, Alas! O Lord God [Jehovah], wherefore hast thou at all brought this people over [the] Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us? would to God [O that] we had been content, and dwelt on the other side [of the] Jordan. O Lord [Fay: Pray, Lord; Bunsen: Porgive, Lord; De Wette: Pray, my Lord], what shall I say, when Israel turneth 7 their backs [has turned the back] before their [his] enemies? For the Canaanites [Canaanite], and all the inhabitants of the land shall hear *of it*, and shall environ us round, and cut off our name from the earth: and what will thou do unto thy great name? 8 9 And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua: Get thee up; wherefore liest thou 10 thus upon thy face? Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them; for [and] they have even [also¹] taken of the accursed [devoted] thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have 11 put *it* even [also put it] among their own stuff. Therefore the children [sons] of Israel could not stand before their enemies, *but* turned *their* backs before their enemies, because they were accursed [have become a devoted thing]: neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed [devoted] thing from 12 among you. Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves against tomorrow: for thus saith the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel, *There is* an accursed [a devoted] thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye have put away the accursed [devoted] thing from among 13 you. In the morning therefore [And in the morning] ye shall be brought accord-

ing to your tribes: and it shall be, *that* the tribe which the Lord [Jehovah] taketh shall come according to the families *thereof*; and the family which the Lord [Jehovah] shall take [taketh] shall come by [the] households; and the household
 15 which the Lord [Jehovah] shall take [taketh] shall come man by man. And it shall be, *that* he that is taken with the accursed [devoted] thing shall be burnt with fire, he and all that he hath: because he hath transgressed the covenant of the Lord [Jehovah], and because he hath wrought folly in Israel.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 11. — 𐤁𐤁] repeated to the fifth time very emphatically distinguishes the several *momenta* of their crime: . . . sinned, and also taken . . . and also stolen, and also dissembled, and also put it, etc. See Exeg. Note. — Tr.]

d. Discovery and Punishment of Achan the Transgressor.

CHAPTER VII. 16-26.

16 So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel by their tribes; and
 17 the tribe of Judah was taken: And he brought the family [Fay: families ^a] of Judah; and he took the family of the Zarlites [of Zarhi]: and he brought the
 18 family of the Zarhites [of Zarhi] man by man; ^b and Zabdi was taken: And he brought his household man by man; and Achan the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, was taken.
 19 And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel, and make confession unto him [Ges.]; so De Wette and Bunsen; Fay: give him [the] praise; and tell me now what thou hast done,
 20 hide *it* not from me. And Achan answered Joshua, and said, Indeed I have sinned against the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done.
 21 When [And ¹] I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment [mantle of Shinar], and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge [tongue] of gold of fifty shekels weight, then [and] I coveted them, and took them, and behold they *are* hid in the
 22 earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it. So Joshua sent messengers, and they ran unto the tent, and behold, *it was* hid in his tent, and the silver under it.
 23 And they took them out of the midst of the tent, and brought them unto Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel, and laid them out before the Lord [Jehovah].
 24 And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the garment [mantle], and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters,
 25 and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had: and they brought them unto the valley of Achor. And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us? [or, What trouble hast thou brought upon us?] The Lord [Jehovah] shall trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him with stones, and they burned
 26 them with fire, after they had stoned [and pelted] them with stones. And they raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day. So [And] the Lord [Jehovah] turned from the fierceness of his anger: wherefore the name of that place was called, The valley of Achor, unto this day.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver 21. — וַיֵּרָא] The וַיֵּרָא is as nearly redundant here probably as it ever is (it is treated as if it were entirely so by De Wette, Zuntz, and Fay), and yet is not redundant. It betrays the confusion of thought in which Achan spoke: Thus and thus have I done: and I saw . . . and I coveted them, etc.

The manner in which our version, and perhaps all others, not unfrequently substitute a conditional sentence ("when I saw; then I coveted) for two coordinate, copulative sentences of narration ("and I saw — and I coveted") sometimes gives a welcome variety to the monotonous succession of copulative clauses with which the Hebrew is content; but by just so much it misrepresents the child-like artlessness of the Hebrew. It is scarcely ever exactly equivalent to the original expression of the thoughts. It is strictly allowable only when, if ever, the former of two facts may be assumed as known or obvious, and the latter is to be represented in its dependence upon that. — Tr.]

^a Different Codd., the LXX., the Vulg., instead of מִשְׁפָּחַת יְהוּדָה read מִשְׁפָּחַת יְהוּדָה, which pointing we follow with Keil and Bunsen. [But it seems sufficient and quite consistent with the principle of the following foot-note to understand מִשְׁפָּחַת to be "used laxly for *tribe*, יְהוּדָה." Gesen. — Tr.]

^b Different Codd., some old editions, the Syr., Vulg., have instead of לְגַבְרִים, the reading לְבָתִּים to make an agreement with ver 16. But since the former is the more difficult reading we hold fast to it with Keil and Bunsen. See Exegetical Notes.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

a. Ver. 1. *The Crime of Achan.* The very first words with which the account of Achan's theft begins show that the sin of the individual is regarded as compromising all; for it is said: *The children of Israel* committed a trespass in that which was devoted. מְעַל signifies properly to cover, from which מְעִיל a mantle; hence to act underhandedly, treacherously, Prov. xvi. 10; 2 Chron. xxvi. 18; xxix. 6, 19; Neh. i. 8; specially frequent in the combination which we find here מְעַל מְעַל = to sin through falsehood, treachery, namely, בְּיַהֲרֹה, 1 Chron. v. 25; x. 13; 2 Chron.

xii. 2, here בָּחָרָם therefore indirectly בַּיְהוּדָה ch. xxii. 20; 1 Chron. ii. 7.

Achan. In 1 Chron. ii. 7 the man is called עֶקֶר = the troubler, with which chaps. vi. 18; vii. 26, may be compared. "Josephus also calls him, therefore, Ἀχαιος, the LXX. in Cod. Vat. Ἀχαιος, while Cod. Alex. has Ἀχαιος" (Keil). Stier and Theile's polyglott reads with Vat. Ἀχαιος. Instead of Zabdi we read in 1 Ch. ii. 6 Zimri, arising perhaps, as Keil supposes, from confounding letters.

Then the anger of Jehovah was kindled against the children of Israel. Luther: "was fierce;" but "blazed," "was kindled to a blaze," is perhaps more adequately suggestive, since the anger itself is regarded as a flame which blazes up and turns its destructive force in this or that direction. It is said concerning men: Gen. iv. 5; 2 Sam. xii. 5; Ex. xxxii. 19, 22; 1 Sam. xviii. 8; xx. 7 and often; Acts xvii. 16; but by preference concerning God; Num. xi. 1, 10; xxii. 22; Job xix. 11; xlii. 7; Zech. x. 3; Hab. iii. 8. In the N. T. also concerning Christ, John xi. 33, 38; God himself is a consuming fire; Ex. xxiv. 17; Deut. iv. 24; ix. 3; Heb. xii. 29. Fire goes before him: Deut. ix. 3; Joel ii. 3; Ps. xviii. 9, 16. His anger is therefore a destructive anger when it is revealed from heaven against the unrighteousness of men, Rom. i. 18. Here it blazes not against Achan only, but against the whole people, because Achan, a member of the people, has through his crime brought the whole people into a partnership of suffering. The consequences of his deed show themselves immediately in the unfortunate expedition against Ai.

b. Vers. 2-5. *Its evil Effects in the unfortunate Expedition against Ai.* Joshua sends men from Jericho to Ai, to explore the land, pursuing the same course as before (ch. ii.). They bring back a favorable report, advise to let only two or three thousand men go forward, and persuade Joshua so to do. The ill success of the movement shows that they had underrated the strength of Ai.¹ Although the loss of thirty-six men is comparatively small, the people are disheartened. Their heart melts and becomes water.

Ver. 2. *Ai, Beth-aven*, ch. xviii. 23. — Bethel, xviii. 13.

Ver. 3. *They are few.* According to ch. viii. 25, Ai had 12,000 inhabitants. The scouts had not estimated rightly.

Ver. 5. *Shebarim.* שְׁבָרִים, probably "stone quarries" which lay in that vicinity but have not

yet been found by travellers, while there are such near Anathoth, according to Robinson (ii. 110), and Tobler (*Topography of Jerusalem*, ii. p. 395, in Knobel). Noticeable is the translation of the LXX. ἕως συνέτριψαν αὐτούς, which supposes instead of the Masoretic עֲרִיחַ לְשָׁבָרִים the reading עֲרִי

הַשְּׁבָרִים. According to that the defeat should have been total, and the discouragement of the people more intelligible than when only the thirty-six were lost.

Wherefore the heart of the people melted and became water. Ch. ii. 11; v. 1; Deut. i. 28. A very striking addition: "became water." Is it, perhaps, that they wept?

c. Ver. 6-16. *Joshua's humble Prayer and God's Answer thereto.* The section falls into two divisions: (a.) Ver. 6-9. Filled with deep distress, Joshua, with the elders of Israel, falls down before the ark of God, and continues with them in penitent prayer till evening. (b.) Ver. 10-15. God answers that there is one devoted among the Israelites, who must be destroyed, after he has been discovered by casting lots.

a. Ver. 6-9, *Joshua's Prayer.*

Ver. 6. *And Joshua rent his clothes.* A sign of mourning and distress. The clothes were torn in front over the breast, yet not for more than a hand-breadth (Othon. *Lex. Rab.* p. 360, apud Winer). The custom appears also among Greeks and Romans. Suet. *Cæs.* 33 (*teste a pectore discussa*). In the O. T. many passages remind us of it, yet in Winer precisely the passage before us is wanting. It is remarkable that in 2 Sam. iii. 31, the rending of the garments is commanded by the king, "but it is no more strange," as Winer well observes, "than if among us, on the death of the ruler of the land, the mode of personal mourning were prescribed by an edict." Tearing the clothes had gradually become among the Jews, as we cannot but think, the fashion in mourning, precisely as among us the wearing of black garments and crape badges for a specified time. [*See Bibl. Dict.* art. "Mourning."] Hence the prophet Joel admonishes the people: "Rend your hearts and not your garments" (ii. 13). But when the high-priest (Matt. xxvi. 65), or Paul and Barnabas tear their clothes (Acts xiv. 14), it was in the deepest displeasure, when the feelings were excited, since such a state is related to mourning.

Dust. Likewise a sign of mourning. 1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2; Lam. ii. 10, and often, *Iliad* xviii. 23 ff.; xxiv. 164.

Ver. 7. Joshua first asks God why He has brought his people over the Jordan, if He would now destroy them; for it would have been better if they had been content to stay in the land east of that river.

Would that we had been content and dwelt on the other side of the Jordan. Luther: O that we had remained on the other side of the Jordan as we had commenced, — the *ut capinus* of the Vulgate, by which הוֹאֲלֵנִי is translated. Unquestionably הוֹאֲלֵנִי means to commence, and is eleven times rendered by the LXX., according to Gesenius, ἀρχομαι; here, however, as Judg. xix. 6, xvii. 11, it means, to let one's self be pleased, and with the accessory notion, of "to be content." The translation of the Vulgate and of Luther is tame,

¹ [And yet the subsequent statement (viii. 25) that the entire population of the city amounted to only twelve thousand, would imply on general principles that a few thousand

chosen warriors would be sufficient to overcome its military force. Something must be allowed for the effect of the divine displeasure. — Ta.]

while the LXX. hits the correct sense: *Εἰ κατεμίναμεν καὶ κατωκλήθημεν παρὰ τῶν Ἰσραήλων.*

Ver. 8. Continuation of the complaint, with the additional element that Israel has fled before his enemies.

Ver. 9. Portrays the great danger if the Canaanites hear of this, and finally, ver. 10: "What wilt thou do for thy great name? God himself is, as it were, concerned.

β. Vers. 10-15. *God's Reply.* The entire tone of this answer attests that God's anger is indeed kindled against the children of Israel. Israel is himself to blame for the defeat (vers. 10, 11) because he has sinned, nor will he hereafter be able to stand before his enemies on this account; and God will not be among the children of Israel unless they destroy that which is devoted from among them (ver. 12). Joshua must therefore rise up, sanctify the people against the following day, and discover the guilty man by casting lots (vers. 13, 14). When he is discovered, he and all which he has must be burned up with fire (ver. 15). It is a mighty and deeply impressive word from God which is here imparted to Joshua.

Ver. 10. *Get thee up! Wherefore,* etc. Divine displeasure. "Joshua might well divine that they had merited Jehovah's ill-will. Hence God's somewhat impatient question, why he lay there on his face. He should rather be up and trying to detect and put away the sin" (Knobel).

Ver. 11. "The **עָשָׂה** is scarcely more than *and*," Knobel remarks, but we would call attention to the rhetorical climax—suited to express God's vehement displeasure—in the several designations of their sin as connected by **וְ**: transgressed—taken—stolen—dissembled—put among their own stuff. For here was the culmination of the crime, that they had appropriated to themselves what belonged to God. [Cf. ch. vi. 18.] Thus conceived, the language is more dramatic, laden with the most intense emotion.

Ver. 12. *They have become a devoted thing,* ch. vi. 18.

Ver. 13 begins with a repeated admonition to Joshua to arise. God gives him this admonition, as indeed the entire answer, directly, not as Clericus supposes, through the high-priest, of whom the context has not a word.—*Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow,* ch. iii. 5.

Ver. 14. *The tribe which Jehovah shall take.* That is through the lot (**בְּזָרָה**) which is here used, as in 1 Sam. xiv. 42 (Jonah i. 7), in a criminal investigation; elsewhere in divisions of land and people, of prisoners, in elections, warlike undertakings. "Commonly dice were thrown, as is probable ("to cast lots," xviii. 8, "to throw," xviii. 6, "the lot falls," *Jon.* i. 7; *Ezek.* xxiv. 6), or drawn out of a vessel ("the lot came forth") Num. xxxiii. 54, "came up" *Lev.* vi. 9." Winer. First the tribe, then the clan, then the household, ("father-house"), finally the particular man was to be discovered. The manner itself in which this was done is not known; it is natural to suppose that white and black stones were used, especially as

בְּזָרָה from **בָּרָה** = **בָּרַר** to be rough, signifies properly a small stone, *ψόφος*. Farther particulars may be found in Maurinus, *De Sortitione apud Hebræos*, Basil, 1692. [*Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Lot."] Like the Hebrews, the Romans also resorted to the lot in divisions (*sortes divisorie*), and elections ("sortes urbana" and "peregrina" in the choice of a prætor)

as also to explore the will of the divinity (staff-oracle, rhabdomancy). The Homeric heroes cast lots (*κληροῦν κλήρος*) whenever the accomplishment of any heroic deed was in question, as was done also *Judg.* xxii. 10. They too had rhabdomancy as well as the Romans (see *Pierer s. v.* "Loos").

Ver. 15. *Shall be burnt with fire.* "Not alive, but according to ver. 25 he was first stoned to death, and then his corpse burned as an aggravation of the death penalty" (Keil).

Folly, נְבִלָה. The **נבל** is not so much a fool in an intellectual respect as in a moral; hence **נְבִילָה** is more the moral than the intellectual folly = to iniquity, comp. *Gen.* xxxiv. 7; *Deut.* xxii. 21; *Judg.* xix. 23, 24; 2 *Sam.* xiii. 12. For the idea of **נבל**, *P's.* xiv. 1; liii. 2, are classical texts.

d. *The Discovery and Punishment of Achan the Evil-doer.* Ver. 16-20. Conformably to God's command, Joshua the next morning brings the tribes of Israel before Jehovah, when Achan is indicated by the lot as the transgressor (vers. 16-18). Being exhorted to confess his fault Achan owns all (vers. 19-21). The stolen property is found in his tent according to his statement (vers. 22-23); he himself with what belonged to him is stoned and burnt (vers. 24-26).

Vers. 16-18. The difficulty which the text offers, ver. 17, has been already intimated above. In **משפחה** it requires only a different punctuation to bring it into harmony with ver. 14. We therefore read the plural without hesitation instead of the singular of the Masoretes. It is different with

לבגרים. Here we have a different word before us, and a more difficult one, which we can the less make up our minds to change, since, as Keil, following Vatablus, has happily remarked, not the father-houses or family groups, but only the men representing the clan, the heads of the several father-houses, came forward to the lot. So also Bunsen: "Man, that is, house, ver. 14."

We may perhaps best represent the whole process thus:—

THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| First lot | Tribe of Judah. |
| Second lot | Clan of Zerah. |
| Third lot | House of Zabdi. ¹ |
| Fourth lot | Man Achan. |

Ver. 19-21. *My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and give him (the) praise [or, make confession to him]; and tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me,* ver. 19. The demand of Joshua upon Achan was certainly meant by him honestly and frankly, not craftily, as some of the Rabbins assume: Achan should confess his sin in order to receive inward forgiveness, although he has outwardly fallen under the irrevocable sentence of God. The form of the demand is the same as in *John* ix. 24. Reverence for the Omniscent God should move to the confession of the truth. The circumstances, indeed, are here essentially different from those in *John* ix. Honest and frank Joshua stands before Achan, crafty and treacherous the Pharisees seek, under an appeal for honor to God, to extort from the man born blind a confession injurious to our Lord.

Ver. 20. Achan humbly confesses his sin as a sin against Jehovah, God of Israel.

¹ ["Father-house," represented by Zabdi.—*Tr.*]

Ver. 21. **Babylonish garment**, prop. mantle of **Shinar** = Babylon (Gen. xi. 2, 8, 9; x. 10). What it was made of we know not, since particular statements are wanting. Starke suspects it was of gold and silken threads, and that it was wrought in many colors mixed, Jon. iii. 6; 2 K. ii. 13. "Concerning the elaborate and beautiful products of the Babylonian looms, see Heeren, *Asiat. Nations*, i. 2, p. 422 ff. [Bohn's Eng. ed.]. Movers' *Phœniciana*, ii. 3, p. 258 ff." (Knobel). [See further particulars in *Dict. of the Bibl.*, art. "Babylonish Garment."]

Two hundred shekels of silver = $200 \times 0.60 = 120$. For details concerning the calculation, vid. in Winckler, *Revue*. s. v. "Sckel," or in Herzog's *Realencyk.* vol. iv. p. 764. [Gesen. s. v. שקל, *Dict. of the Bibl.* art. "Money," "Shekel," and "Weights and Measures."]

A wedge (prop. tongue) of gold. Vulg. *regula aurea*, a golden bar. Rather, "a tongue-shaped article made of gold" (Knobel). The weight is given at fifty shekels, equal in value to *cir.* thirty dollars.

I coveted them, Gen. iii. 6; Jas. iv. 13-15. **לחטותיהם**, the article as Lev. xxvii. 33.

Under it. The mantle lay probably on the top, and the tongue of gold next below, and the silver lowest.

Vers. 22, 23 **Discovery of the stolen Goods in Achan's Tent**. The messengers **laid it down**, after they had found it, *before Jehovah*. **לפני** from **לפני**, to pour out, is equivalent to **לפני**, to set, to place, 2 Sam. xv. 24.

Before Jehovah = before the ark of Jehovah, where He was enthroned, vi. 8.

Ver. 24-26. **Achan, son of Zerah**; in a wide sense son of Zerah; strictly he was his great grandson. He is now, together with the articles appropriated by him, as well as his whole property, and also all his *sons and daughters*, given up to destruction. How does this sentence passed on Achan, under which his innocent sons and daughters also fell, agree with the decision of the law, Deut. xxiv. 16, according to which the fathers should not die for the children, nor the children for the fathers, but every one for his own sin! This difficulty has been met in various ways: (1) Some Rabbinists, Schulz, Hess, and others suppose that Achan's family were brought into the valley of Achor merely as spectators, to take a terrifying example, contrary to what is written, ver. 25. (2) C. a Lapide, Cler., Mich., Rosenmüller, think they had had a share in their father's crime. For this an analogous case might be cited in Acts v. 1 ff., but while there it is made conspicuous that Sapphira was privy to the sin of Ananias; here every intimation of that kind is wanting. Hence (3) Calvin, Masius, Seb. Schmidt, leave the matter undecided, appealing to the unfathomableness of God's counsels; while others again, like Knobel, and Starke also, at least by intimations, remark that we have here to do with a judgment executed by the immediate direction of God, and therefore a divine judgment, similar to the case, Num. xvi. 32, whereas the ordinance in Deut. xxiv. 16, holds good only for the usual every-day administration of justice. Before God, the searcher of hearts, the sons and daughters of Achan were guilty of participation in their father's sin, because in them the same "corrupted nature and disposition," which Keil rightly notices, was present, which in the father produced the evil deed [?]. God visits the sins of

the fathers on the children, Ex. xx. 5; Num. xiv. 33. *Accurately considered, the decision pertaining to private rights, in Deut. xxiv. 16, has no application to this higher public right of God.*

Ver. 24. **Valley of Achor**. Ch. xv. 7; Hos. ii. 15; Is. lxxv. 10. The origin of the name is given, ver. 25. It lay north of Jericho on the northern border of the tribe of Judah. In Jerome's time the name was still in use.

Ver. 25. **And all Israel stoned him**. Here **אבדו** is used, afterwards at the close of the verse, in an addition which the LXX omit, **אבדו**. Both words are used in the Bible of stoning, but **אבדו** has the more general signification, and is found only once, Lev. xxiv. 14, without **אבדו**. Achan is condemned to be stoned because he had by his robbery violated the honor of God, as did blasphemers, Sabbath breakers, idolaters, sorcerers, wizards, etc. The addition **כקלו אהרם באבנים** is superfluous, and may perhaps be intended, as Knobel conjectures, to obviate a misunderstanding of **אבדו** in the former half of the verse. Not only the LXX, but the Vulg. omits it. Luther has aimed to avoid the difficulty by attaching the words to the following verse, and translating: "And when they had stoned them they raised," etc. [Nearly so the Eng. vers.]

Ver. 26. Over Achan they raised a great heap of stones which served to commemorate his disgrace (ch. viii. 29; 2 Sam. xviii. 17); and that even to the writer's time. The casting of stones on certain graves was customary in other nations also, e. g. among the Arabs (Schulte's *Hist. Jactandiarum*, pp. 118, 144), and the Romans (Propert. 4, 5, 74 ff. Serv. ed. *Lion*, i. p. 1), but had not always that dishonorable import. It had not, e. g. among the Bedouins who often heap up stones over one buried (Burkhardt, *B. d. d. d. d.*, p. 81), Knobel.

And Jehovah turned from the fierceness of his anger, Ex. xxxii. 12.

THEOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. God's *awer* is not an ebullition of blind passion, but a holy displeasure against the unrighteousness of men. When this unrighteousness is removed God's anger ceases, as the close of our chapter, ver. 26, shows. All which has been injuriously said concerning the blood-thirsty and wrathful God of the O. T. rests on a failure to apprehend this holy displeasure of God against the unrighteousness of men. That brings upon them indeed judgment and penalty, but never goes so far as to shut up his compassion, although men may think so and with Asaph sigh: Hath God forgotten to be gracious, hath He in anger shut up his tender mercies? (Ps. lxxvii. 10.) Eternal justice which belongs as a constitutive element to the nature of God, without which we cannot conceive of any government at all of the world, is constantly limited by his love. But conversely his love towards men is not a blind love, but rather a truly paternal affection which leaves no fault, no transgression of his commands, unproved. Both justice and love coexist in God, and are mutually blended in him with an interpenetration of the most intimate, highest, absolute kind. Hence the jurists may say: *Fiat justitia percut mundus!* God never has and never can.

2. Properly Achan alone is the transgressor, but

since he is a *member* of the body politic his act compromises all the children of Israel, and hence draws after it injurious consequences upon all, so that the anger of God is kindled against all. In the eyes of God the whole community appears infected by the sin of the one, so that they stand before him, not as a pure and holy congregation, as they should be according to their high vocation, (Ex. xix. 6; Dent. vii. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 9). If we keep firmly to this point of view, we shall cease from complaining of God as being in any way unrighteous, as if He recklessly punished the innocent with the guilty. We shall rather, in this matter, agree with Keil when he says: "As member of a community established by God, the good or evil action of the individual involves the whole congregation in blessing or destruction." As Paul writes: "if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; and if one member be honored all the members rejoice with it" (1 Cor. xii. 26). So may we also say, that if one member becomes guilty, all the members share the guilt, and if one of the members does well, all the members share the blessing of this good deed. It is important in these matters to look not only at the individual but also at the community, that we may comprehend at least in *some measure* the procedure of the divine justice over against the guilt of mankind. We emphasize "in some measure," because we need yet to lay to heart the advice which Calvin here gives: "*Suspensas tenere nostras mentes, donec libri aperiantur, ubi clare patebit quæ nunc nostra caligine obtenebrantur Dei judicia.*"

[As clearly as the whole Scripture makes the individual an object of the divine mercy and justice, so clearly does it teach us also to regard the totality of a people as an organic unity, in which the individuals are only members of the body, and not capable of being separated, as so many atoms, from the whole. The state as a divine institution is built on the family, to promote the mutual love of the members, and the common love of all to the one invisible head of all. . . . But if the state is of divine appointment, not a mere civil establishment, not a human institution, conventionally agreed upon by men, the fact following as a necessary consequence from the moral unity of the organism, that the good or evil deed of the one member is reckoned to the whole body, loses the appearance of caprice and unrighteousness which it has while one, without perceiving their fundamental connection, has only a one sided regard to the infliction of the consequences of the sin. Keil — Tr.]

3. The deep humility of Joshua before the Lord reminds us of Moses, Ex. xxxii. 32, of Ezra (ix. 3), of his own and Caleb's course when the people murmured (Num. xiv. 6). How mighty appear these O. T. saints in their grief because of the sins of their people, how independently they stand up against God, in behalf of God's honor, and yet how humbly! Their sorrow is truly a *λύπη κατὰ θεόν* (2 Cor. vii. 10), from which proceeds the *μετάνοια ἀμεταμέλητος*. Hence God raises them up again, and gives them again fresh courage for his work, for He knows that their grief, in its deepest root, is a grief for him, for his name's glory and honor. Themselves pure and clean, they mourn over the misdeeds of the people, while an Ahab (1 K. xxi. 27) if he does this has to exercise penitence for his own sin. *Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem*. Compare still Ps. lxxxv; cii. 14-19; cxxx. 7, 8.

4. It is to be observed that God (ver. 14 ff.) reserves to himself the discovery of the crime. Je-

hovah will strike, take (*חָרַף*, properly, "select,") the tribe, the clan, the house, the particular man, by the *lot*, the disposing of which is ascribed (Prov. xvi. 33) to the Lord. Such an employment of the lot as is here presented, could only be brought in at the immediate direction of God, or with special appeal to him (1 Sam. xiv. 41), and belonged to the extraordinary measures which He prescribed for his people. The certainty with which the whole process goes forward, the quiet which accompanies it, makes a very solemn impression. The control of the divine justice is most directly brought to our thought when we read the narrative of the transaction, distinguished as it is by an unadorned simplicity; how much more powerful must have been the original impression which this judgment of God made on the assembled people at its actual occurrence! An analogous example is presented in the N. T., Acts v. 1 ff.

5. That all wickedness is fully (*כָּבֵלָה*), that every sinner is a fool (*כֵּל-כַּס*), not indeed so much in an intellectual but above all things in a moral respect, this cutting truth is proclaimed by the O. T. loudly and impressively. A very significant hint for hamartiology; the nature of sin is so difficult to explain because it is merely absolute irrationality, because it is foolishness!

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

How human iniquity provokes divine anger. — The sin of an individual in its destructive effects on an entire people shown in the case of Achan. — Of God's anger. (1) What are we to understand thereby? (2) How can we guard against it so that it may not be kindled against us? — The unfortunate expedition of Joshua against Ai. — Human sagacity alone helps not if God be not with us. — Despise no enemy; for you may in meeting him be greatly deceived concerning his strength. — How soon, alas, is the heart of man discouraged! — Against despondency of the heart helps God's grace alone, Heb. xiii. 9.

Joshua's humble prayer before God. — God withstands the proud but giveth grace unto the humble. Joshua's grief for his people compared with the lamentation of Moses and Ezra. — Joshua as an example of mourning before God. — Parallel between Joshua's penitence and that of Ahab. — Rending of the garments a significant symbol of the rending of the heart, Joel ii. 13. — How God hears prayer.

The discovery and punishment of Achan the transgressor, a case of the divine administration of Justice. — (1) How Achan was hit upon; (2) how he confessed his sin; (3) what punishment he received; or (1) the discovery of the criminal; (2) his confession; (3) his punishment. — Joshua and Achan; (1) How Joshua seeks to bring Achan to a confession of his guilt; (2) how the latter actually confesses it. — We give honor to God when we say the truth. — Achan's lowly confession of sin. — Every sinner a sinner against the Lord. — Covetousness, unlawful desire, a source of every sin. — The stoning of Achan. — The judgment in the valley of Achor. — The monument of the crime a warning to Israel. — The stoning of Achan, and that of Stephen — what a contrast!

STARKE: He who has done iniquity should own the truth to the honor of God. But woe to those who deny their misdeeds, Ps. xxxii. 1. *Si fecisti*

nega, is not a divine but a devilish rule. Ye advocates, put nothing of such into any man's head.

CRAMER: However shrewdly men begin a thing it does no good except in so far as God gives it success. For if God is not with us all is lost. — The heart of man can nowhere observe a just proportion. In prosperity it is too proud, in adversity too pusillanimous.

BIBL. TUR.: When God goes with us into the field the mightiest foe cannot hurt us, but where God is not we cannot resist the weakest enemy. — God lets us not sink away in our mourning, but when He has sufficiently humbled us and laid us in the dust, and sees in us a true repentance for our sin, He himself also raises us up again and exalts the miserable from the dust, Ps. cxiii. 7; 1 Cor. x. 13.

HEIDINGER: If, in the spiritual conflict also we are left to come off worsted, there is often nothing to blame but some, perhaps hidden, sin which yet lurks in us and of which we have not yet repented.

GERLACH, CALVIN: That they in this prayer turn straight to God, and recognize that He who has wounded can heal them, springs from their faith; but carried away by excess of grief they transgress all limits. Hence the boldness of their controversy with God; hence the perverse wish: O that we had remained in the wilderness! But it is nothing new that when men with holy zeal seek God, the light of their faith is dimmed by the intensity, the tempest of their emotions. . . . And yet when they thus strive with God and pour out before Him all which weighs them down, though this their simplicity needs forgiveness, it is still far more agreeable to God than the mock-humility of hypocrites, who take great care that no word of assurance may cross their lips, while they are inwardly filled with pride. — It is a fine trait in this narrative that the criminal, detected by the lot, should be condemned only on his own confession. Joshua does not promise him exemption from punishment, but by his confession God was honored before all the people, since the accuracy of the lot was confirmed. At the same time there lies in these words a hint of a divine judgment hereafter, before which guilt and penalty will be abated when one has given himself up to suffer the earthly penalty ordained by God, confessing that he has deserved it. There is manifested here a truly holy, paternal disposition in Joshua, as a judge who relaxes nothing of the rigor of the divine command, but, so far as is possible in consistency with that, deals merci-

fully with the transgressor. — By his robbery of the sanctuary Achan had entirely broken the covenant with God, and he and his had become the same as the Canaanites; as they had snatched for themselves what had been devoted to destruction, they must themselves now be destroyed. Similar in this respect was the punishment, which in ancient times was inflicted on the families of those guilty of high treason, and in some degree is still inflicted among us.

[SCOTT: Every failure in such undertakings as evidently accord to the will of God, and the duty of our place and station, should cause us to humble ourselves before him, to flee to his mercy sent, to pour out our hearts in prayer, and inquire "wherefore he contendeth with us;" and to plead his promises and the glory of his great name, as engaged to support that cause which we are endeavoring to promote whatever becomes of us and our worthless names. — Would we avoid the commission of gross iniquity, we must "make a covenant with our eyes" and all our senses; we must repress the first movements of conceit, and pray earnestly not to be led into temptation, we must habituate ourselves to meditate on the future consequences of sinful gratification; and to place ourselves, by an effort of the imagination, in those very circumstances in which we should be were the sin committed, and the infatuation vanished; and to consider what our judgment and feelings in that case would be. — Finally, though atrocious criminals, should be punished with unrelenting firmness, and all should unite in protesting against their crimes; yet their misery should not be insulted, nor their immortal souls forgotten; but calm expostulations, serious instructions, and compassionate exhortations, should be used to bring them to repentance, that they may obtain mercy from God in a future world.]

G. R. B.: Jehovah is a prayer-hearing God — blessed be His name! — but with what impatience He listens to the cries of those, however proper the matter of their petitions, who have need themselves to act in order that their wishes may be granted! "Up! sanctify thyself," we may hear Him saying to many an earnest suppliant; "put away thy sins, supply thy own deficiencies, and do thy part to remove the stumbling-blocks from among thy brethren; then expect my help towards what thou desirest further." Happy for us if we get even this answer to our mistaken prayer! — TR.]

3. Capture and Destruction of Ai.

CHAPTER VIII. 1-29.

a. Joshua's Stratagem against Ai.

CHAPTER VIII. 1-13.

- 1 And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua: Fear not, neither be thou dismayed, [i. 9]; take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai: see, I have
- 2 given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land: And thou shalt do unto Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king: only the spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves: lay thee an ambush for the city behind it.

- 3 So [And] Joshua arose, and all the people of war, to go up against Ai : and Joshua chose out thirty thousand mighty men of valour [strong heroes] and sent them away
4 by night. And he commanded them, saying, Behold, ye shall lie in wait against the city, *even* [omit : even] behind the city ; go not very far from the city, but be
5 ye all ready : And I, and all the people that *are* with me, will approach unto the city : and it shall come to pass when they come out against us, as at the first, that
6 we will flee before them, (for [and¹] they will come out after us,) till we have drawn them from the city ; for they will say, They flee before us as at the first : there-
7 fore [and] we will flee before them. Then ye shall rise up from the ambush and seize upon the city : for the Lord [Jehovah] your God will deliver it into your
8 hand. And it shall be when ye have taken the city, *that* ye shall set the city on fire ; according to the commandment [word] of the Lord [Jehovah] shall ye do. See, I have commanded you.
9 Joshua therefore [And Joshua] sent them forth ; and they went to lie in ambush, and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai : but Joshua lodged that
10 night among the people. And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and numbered [mustered] the people, and went up, he and the elders of Israel, before the people to Ai. And all the people, *even the people* [omit : even the people] of war that
11 *were* with him, went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and pitched on the north side of Ai : now *there was* a valley [and the valley was] between them
12 [him] and Ai. And he took about five thousand men, and set them to lie in ambush
13 [as an ambush], between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of the city. And when they had set the people, *even* all the host [camp] that *was* on the north of the city, and their liers in wait on the west of the city, Joshua went¹ that night into the midst of the valley.*

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[¹ Ver. 6. — יָשָׁע]. The train of thought will probably be better represented by beginning the sentence anew and dropping the parenthesis, so as to connect this clause with the following. So Fay and De Wette : And they will come out after us till, etc. Zunz, however, continues from the preceding : " that they may come out," etc. — Tr.]

b. Sham Flight of the Israelites. Their Victory. Capture and Destruction of the City.

CHAPTER VIII. 14-29.

- 14 And it came to pass when the king of Ai saw *it*, that they hasted and rose up early, and the men of the city went out against Israel to battle, he and all his people, at a [the] time appointed [or, to the appointed place¹], before the plain [Jordan-valley] : but he wist not that *there were* liers in ambush [was an ambush] against
15 him behind the city. And Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten before
16 them, and fled by the way of the wilderness. And all the people that *were* in Ai were called together to pursue after them ; and they pursued after Joshua, and
17 were drawn away² from the city. And there was not a man left in Ai, or Beth-el, that went not out after Israel : and they left the city open, and pursued after Israel.
18 And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua, Stretch out the spear that *is* in thine hand toward Ai ; for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched
19 out the spear that *he had* in his hand toward the city. And the ambush arose quickly out of their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand ;
20 and they entered into the city, and took it, and hasted, and set the city on fire. And when the men of Ai looked behind them, they saw, and behold, the smoke of the city ascended up to heaven, and they had no power to flee this way or [and] that
21 way : and the people that fled to [had fled towards] the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers. And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and
22 slew [smote]³ the men of Ai. And the other issued out of the city against them : so that they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that side :
23 and they smote them, so that they let none of them remain or escape. And the king of Ai they took alive, and brought him to Joshua.

* Some Codd. read יָשָׁע (lodged) instead of יָשָׁע.

24 And it came to pass when Israel had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai in the field, in the wilderness wherein they [had] chased them,⁴ and when they were all fallen on [by] the edge of the sword, until they were consumed, that all the Israelites [prop.: all Israel] returned unto Ai, and smote it with the edge
 25 of the sword. And so it was, that all that fell that day, both of men and women,
 26 were twelve thousand, even all the men of Ai. For Joshua drew not his hand back
 - wherewith he stretched out the spear [which he had stretched out with the spear],
 27 until he had utterly destroyed [devoted] all the inhabitants of Ai. Only the cattle
 and the spoil of that city Israel took for a prey unto themselves, according unto the
 28 word of the Lord [Jehovah] which he commanded Joshua. And Joshua burnt Ai,
 29 and made it a heap for ever, even a desolation unto this day. And the king of Ai he
 hanged on a [the] tree until even-tide: and as soon as the sun was down, Joshua
 commanded that they should take his carcass [corpse] down from the tree, and cast
 it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raise thereon a great heap [רֶם,
 mound] of stones, that remaineth [omit: that remaineth] unto this day.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 14. — So Fay, De Wette, Keil. Either way מוֹיָדֵךְ has the article. Perhaps "to the appointment," meaning in respect either to time or to place, would represent the Hebrew with sufficient definiteness. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 16. — נִקְרְעוּ here, "were torn away," "completely separated." See Exegetical Notes. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 21. — נִסַּף as in the next verse. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 24. — That is, "wherewith (or whither) the men of Ai had chased the Israelites." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

As soon as Achan's crime is expiated by his death God restores his favor to Joshua and the people, exhorts them to be cheerful and bold, and for the second time to undertake the expedition against Ai. This is done, and now with complete success (ch. viii. 1-29). To the rhetorical beauty of this section we have already referred in the introduction (§ 1); the critical difficulty (vers. 12, 13) will be discussed below.

a. Joshua's Stratagem against Ai, ch. viii. 1-13. Ver. 1. The same encouraging address as in ch. i. 9; now very much needed in reference to ch. vii. 5.

All the people of war. Not as in the first attempt 30,000 men only, ch. vii. 4.

Ver. 2. Only the spoil thereof . . . shall ye take for prey. At the capture of Jericho, the spoil also (the property) was devoted to Jehovah; but at this time it should belong to the people to whom ample gain had been promised (Deut. vi. 10 ff.)

An ambush. Concerning the question so extensively discussed by the old interpreters, Whether the employment of stratagems (wiles in war) was consistent with the dignity of God, Calvin observes briefly and convincingly: "*Quod hic querant nonnulli, dolere et per insidias liceat hostes opprimere, ex crassa imperitia nascitur. Certum est non feriendo solum geri bella, sed eos censerit optimos duces, qui arte et consilio pollent magis quam impetu. Ergo si legitimum sit bellum, extra controversiam est, consuetis vincendi artibus perfectum esse rixam: modo ne vel pacis inlucis, vel alio modo fidem datum fallamus.*"

Ver. 3 does not agree with vers. 13, 14. Here it is said that 30,000 men are placed in the ambush; according to ver. 12 they are only 5,000. Fur-

ther, the 30,000 men were, according to this verse, sent out already on the evening before; in ver. 13, on the contrary, the 5,000 betake themselves to their safe concealment first on the morning of the battle. These contradictory statements taken from different sources cannot be reconciled, as Keil indeed perceives, while yet he strangely attempts to harmonize them. He takes vers. 12 and 13 to be a "supplementary remark" to vers. 3, and says: Before the לַיְלָה וַיִּשְׁלַח, ver. 3, we must supply from the supplementary remark, that Joshua out of the 30,000 men separated again about 5,000 and sent them out by night into the ambush."¹ Against this Maurer correctly says, on vers. 12, 13: "*Hæc repugnant iis quæ vers. 3-8 et 9-11 exposita leguntur. Quam repugnantiam recte plerique repetunt ex amabilius diversis alio et alio ordine diversisque verbis scriptis, in quibus contrahendis is, qui hunc librum composuerit, non satis ad diversitatem attenderit. Confer similem locum, iv. 9. Alex. ver. 12 proscus non exhibet, tertii decimi, maximam partem omittit; habet enim hæc tantum: καὶ τὰ ἑσπέρα τῆς πόλεως ἄπο θαλάσσης (Itala; et insidias erant civitati a mari), nihil amplius."* Such is the judgment of Knobel also. The 30,000 might reach the neighborhood of Ai before daybreak, since the distance from Gilgal to Ai was not more than five to six hours. (Robinson, ii. 307-12.) Joshua still remained that night in Gilgal.

Vers. 4-8. Clear and exact instructions to the soldiers how they were to proceed. They must put themselves in ambush, not too far from the city, and be in readiness; he would make an attack in front and pretend to flee. Then they should break forth into the city abandoned by the enemy, and set it on fire. "Sec." he concludes his address,

¹ [Keil supposes that Joshua also, and the main army had gone from Gilgal to the neighborhood of Ai (ver. 3), and that from there he sent out the ambush (vers. 3-9), and there (near Ai) he spent that night in the midst of the people (ver. 9). In ver. 12, 13, then he finds only a repetition with some more particularity of the statement concerning the

ambush previously mentioned. The only difficulty in the way of regarding both accounts as relating to the same movement is the great difference of the numbers of the men. Here he thinks there has been simply an error of transcription, the letters representing the 5,000 having been by mistake replaced in ver. 3 by those denoting 30,000. — Tr.]

"I have commanded it to you," that is, "Take heed that you do well your part."

Ver. 9. **Between Beth-el and Ai.** "Ai lay forty-five minutes southeast of Beth-el (ch. xii. 9; Gen. xii. 8); between the two places rise two rocky heights, behind which the liers in wait appear to have taken their position (Van de Velde: *Narrative*, ii. p. 280)." (Knobel.)

Ver. 10. In the morning Joshua leads up the rest of the army, comes before the city and encamps to the north of it, so that a valley, probably "the present Wady Mutyah," lay between him and Ai.

Vers. 12, 13. See above on ver. 3. According to Keil, בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא means the same night as ver. 9. But on that night (ver. 9) Joshua was not yet certainly before Ai, for which he started only in the morning (ver. 10). The reading יָלַךְ instead of יָלַח, originated perhaps in the same effort to harmonize ver. 15 with ver. 9.

b. *Sham-flight of the Israelites. Their Victory, Capture and Destruction of the City* (vers. 14-29). The plan succeeds admirably. The king of Ai, seeing Joshua's army in front, leads out against him. The latter pretends to run away. The inhabitants of Ai now pursue the Israelites and leave the city standing open. Then Joshua gives the ambush a signal with his spear. They rush forth, seize the city, and set it on fire. Joshua himself with his army turns about at the same moment. The men of Ai find themselves suddenly attacked in front and rear at once, and are annihilated. The other inhabitants of Ai also, about 12,000¹ in men and women, are slain. The city is razed to the ground, its king hanged on a tree.

Ver. 14. **When the king of Ai saw it**, namely, Joshua and his army, — pointing back, therefore, to ver. 11, the continuation of which we have here. It cannot refer to ver. 13 because he *could* not see the ambush nor have any knowledge of it, as is shown by the close of ver. 11.

Vers. 16, 17. The men of Ai in their excessive ardor recklessly leave the city, without care about covering their line of return to Ai, and without protection to the city itself which they leave open. The expression יָנִיחֵם is striking: "they were torn away," Van Ess; "they were cut off."²

Ver. 18. A direct command of God renewed, under whose special order the whole affair proceeds.

Spear. Heb. בִּידוֹן, dart, javelin, a small spear which is hurled (Job xli. 20. Eng. 28), distinct from the בִּינִית there mentioned in connection with it. From our passage compared with ver. 26, some would conclude that the בִּינִית must have been furnished with a flag or standard. Possibly, though not necessarily, since the waving motion which Joshua made with his spear might be seen a long distance, especially if we suppose that there was a bright sunshine. As a weapon of the Babylonians and Persians, it is spoken of Jer. vi. 23; 1. 42. The rendering of the Vulg. by "clypeus" is erroneous.

Ver. 20. יָרִים had no power, Vulg. non poterunt. Others, e. g. Gesenius, explain יָרִים with reference to Deut. xxiii. 13; Num. ii. 17; 1s. xvii.

1 [But it was "all that fell that day" (ver. 25), not "the other inhabitants" that made up the 12,000. — Tr.]
2 [It is the same word which, iv. 18, denotes the with-

8, as meaning place, room; but whether the dual can mean this appears to us doubtful. We should rather approve the rendering "sides" (Keil). The first signification, however, is to be preferred, because then the thought is this, that being held fast by terror, they had no power to flee this way or that. The whole situation of the men of Ai, who saw before them the enemy, behind them the burning town, is admirably pictured in a few strokes.

Ver. 26. "Joshua drew not back the hand which he had stretched out with the spear, until all the inhabitants of Ai had been destroyed. The signal for attack on Ai was also a signal for the destruction of the inhabitants, and remained until its design was fulfilled" (Knobel).

Ver. 28. The city is made even with the ground — κατ' ἕδαφος.

Ver. 29. Heap of stones, as in ch. vii. 26.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. It should not be overlooked that the spoil to be taken in Ai is given over to the Israelites, which was not the case at Jericho. Jericho was the first of the cities of Canaan captured, and belonged on this account wholly to the Lord, as the first-born of man and beast (Ex. xiii. 2, 12, 15), and as the firstlings of the fruits of the field (Ex. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; Lev. ii. 12; xxiii. 10, 17, 20; Num. xv. 20, 21). This was no longer so at Ai.

2. If the justice of the war is conceded, it follows that a stratagem such as was here adopted by Joshua against Ai, is likewise morally allowable, since notoriously wars are not carried on exclusively through "hard blows" (*fieri*endo), as Calvin has well remarked. Yet stratagem, as Calvin also calls us to notice, has its limits. A treacherous termination of a truce, and the like, is morally reprehensible. Of such things there is no mention here, but simply an instance of strategy like what is witnessed in almost every great battle.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

God's renewed call to Joshua — the same word indeed as before, but now of quite a different import, since God by it not only assures him of his support, but also gives him to understand that He is again gracious to him. — The capture and destruction of the city of Ai. (1.) Preparation. (2.) Execution. — See, I have commanded it to you — a strict military admonition, which may apply also to the spiritual conflict. — How God gives his enemies into the hands of his servants, while he (1.) blinds and disheartens the former; (2.) enlightens and strengthens the latter.

STARKE: Although every victory comes from God, it is still in the order of our own fidelity and bravery. — From God alone comes the victory and He it is who can subdue and root out the peoples.

LANGE: In so far as a war is justifiable, so far is stratagem therein justifiable also, provided only that it conflict not with the special agreements existing, and lead not to inhuman measures; for as much as possible, the people must be spared.

BIB. TUB.: The fortune of war is changeable, but it turns as the Lord will have.

CRANMER: Just wars are not in themselves against God. But without necessity, recklessly, and from trifling causes to begin war, is iniquitous, 2 Chr. xxxv. 20; 1 K. xx. 3.

drawment of the priests feet from the mud of the river-bed to the dry land; "were lifted," more exactly "plucked, up" — Tr.]

4. *The Altar of Blessing and of Cursing on Ebal.*

CHAPTER VIII. 30-35.

30 Then Joshua built an altar unto the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel in Mount Ebal,
 31 as Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah had] commanded the children of Israel,
 as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, An altar of whole stones, over which
 no man hath lifted up *any* iron: and they offered thereon burnt-offerings unto the
 32 Lord [Jehovah], and sacrificed peace-offerings. And he wrote there upon the
 stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he wrote [had written] in the presence of
 33 the children [sons] of Israel. And all Israel, and their elders, and their officers [over-
 seers], and their judges, stood on this side the ark, and on that side, before the
 priests the Levites, which [who] bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord [Jehovah],
 as well the stranger, as he that was born among them; half of them over against
 mount Gerizim, and half of them over against mount Ebal; as Moses the servant
 of the Lord [Jehovah] had commanded before,¹ that they should bless the people of
 34 Israel. And afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings,
 35 according to all that is written in the book of the law. There was not a word of
 all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the congregation of
 Israel, with the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant
 [the stranger that walked] among them.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 33. — בְּרֵאשִׁיתָהּ qualifies rather the following clause, "to bless the people of Israel in the beginning," or, "at first:" probably with reference to the injunction in Deut. xxvii. 2, taken literally, and so far removing the improbability that what is recorded in this paragraph should have occurred before the completion of the conquest. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

This paragraph, which contains the fulfillment of the command given by Moses, Deut. xxvii. 1 ff., breaks the connection between chaps. viii. 29 and ix. 1, and would appear to be in place later, perhaps after ch. xi. 23, since it is not likely that before the complete conquest of the land, Joshua could have undertaken such a celebration: and besides, we find him still, chaps. ix. and x., in the south of Palestine. Keil, in his prejudiced opposition to all which is called criticism, naturally allows no weight to this, and hence seeks, among other things, to show that when (ch. ix. 6) the camp at Gilgal is spoken of, this is not Gilgal near Jericho but another place of that name in the region of Shechem. If this were correct the author would certainly in some way have given an intimation of the fact that in ch. ix. 6 we no longer are to understand the Gilgal near Jericho but a Gilgal near Shechem. As he omits this, the whole connection points to the former, and Joshua is in the southern part, not in central Palestine.

Ver. 30. **Ebal.** On the alleged fertility of Gerizim, and barrenness of Ebal, many fables have been told by travellers and interpreters. According to Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 96-103, and *Later Bibl. Res.* 131, 132 [*Phys. Geog. of H. L.* p. 36 f.]), both mountains are alike desolate, while the vale of Shechem lying between them is extremely pleasant and fertile. [*Comp. Dict. of the Bible*, articles, Ebal, Gerizim, Shechem.] According to Deut. xxvii. 6, the altar was to be erected on Ebal, which would thus have the advantage over Gerizim, which, however, is distinguished in its turn by the fact that from it the blessing was to be pronounced. Probably Ebal had been like Sinai, like Moriah (Gen. xxii.), an old place of sacrifice, and so rendered sacred. The name עֵבֶל, from עָבַל, to strip

off (leaves), signifies the naked (mountain): compare also עֵבֶל (Gen. x. 28), a region of Joktanite Arabia. Gerizim (גְּרִזִים) ver. 33 is = mount of the Gerizites. The גְּרִזִים (from גְּרִז in Arab. to hew, to exterminate, in Heb. only in *Niphal*, Ps. xxxi. 23; lxxxvi. 6) are the dwellers in a barren land. Assuming this, then the desolation perceived by travellers on the mountain would be as truly countenanced by the name in the case of mount Gerizim, as in that of Ebal.

Ver. 31. **Altar of unhewn stones over which no man had lifted up any iron.** So the law required in general (Ex. xx. 25); so it had been specially ordained for this case (Deut. xxvii. 5, 6).

Ver. 32. **Stones.** Not the stones of the altar (Jos. Syr.) but the great stones whitewashed with lime, spoken of in Deut. xxvii. 2-4, 8. For this reason the article also stands here, הָאֵלֶּה. The unhewn, rough stones of the altar moreover would have been poorly adapted to this use.

A copy of the Law of Moses (מִשְׁנַת מֹשֶׁה), properly, doubling of the law of Moses. So Gen. xliiii. 15 they say מִ' הַכֶּסֶף = doubling of the money. By this doubling of the law is naturally to be understood a copy of the law, in the same sense here as in Deut. xvii. 18, as we also speak of the duplicate of a document. What now was written on the stones? Different answers are given to this, ranged according to the interpretations of Deut. xxvii. 3. (a.) The whole law (several Rabbins, Mich., Baumg.) and, according to the Talmudists in *Tract. Sota*, ch. vii., in seventy languages, that all the peoples of the earth might read it; therefore the whole Thorah with all its narratives, genealogies, legal prescriptions, etc. Improbable.

(b.) Particular parts of the law; (a.) the Decalogue (Grotius, Kennicott, Hasse). (β.) Deuteronomy (Gerhardt, Osiander, Geddes, Vater, Hengstenberg). (γ.) The blessings and cursings (Masius, Maurer, Rosenmüller) — against the words of Deut. xxvii. 3. (c.) Everything in the books of Moses which is law, every בְּרָכָה (Deut. xxvii. 1), which is given in them, all the words of the law (Deut. xxvii. 3). So formerly Michaelis (*Laws of Moses* ii. § 60), rightly, and now Knobel on Deut. xxvii. 1: "The language reaches to the law in general (Mischna Sota 7, 5), to the Mosaic law (Josh. viii. 32). The author thinks, however, only of the commandments proper, six hundred and thirteen in number, according to the Jewish reckoning, not of all the narratives also and warnings, admonitions, discourses, reasons, and the like. So also ch. vi. 9." The inscription itself may probably have been effected not till after the ceremony was completed, being reported here by anticipation.

Vers. 33-35. *Proclamation of the Blessing and Curse.* We must imagine the position of the people to have been such that the priests with the ark of the covenant stood in the midst of the valley, between Ebal lying on the north and Gerizim lying on the south, but the people, one half over against Gerizim (therefore on Ebal), and the other half over against Ebal (therefore on Gerizim). After this had been arranged Joshua himself read (Luther; incorrectly: "caused to be read") all the words of the law, the blessing, and the cursing. A discrepancy which Knobel thinks he finds between this report and the directions Deut. xxvii. 9 ff. we cannot admit, because by the expression "all the words of the law" which is afterwards defined by the addition, "the blessing and the curse," nothing more is probably to be understood than in the formulas given Deut. xxvii. 14 ff. The curses are exactly twelve, according to the number of the tribes; the blessings, see Deut. xxviii. 1-14.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. It is consistent with the divine economy of salvation in the time of the old covenant, that on the entrance of the chosen people into the promised land, not merely blessing but also curse was held up before them. A people standing so low in morality as the Israelites then did needed stern discipline, and not only might be allured by promises but must be alarmed by threats. This was a very wholesome pedagogy, which is even yet quite in place in the education of particular individuals as well as of whole nationalities, under certain circumstances. Think, for instance, of the neglected children as they are delivered to our reformatory institutions, or of rough heathen nations among whom the Christian missionaries labor. Only we must consider one thing, namely this, that the day of salvation, in which we live, must never be lost sight of, that Moses may not

be again put in the place of Christ by whom grace and truth have been brought to us (John i. 17), nor the servile spirit in place of the filial (Rom. viii. 15). Unfortunately, a certain legal tendency has shown a great inclination that way, even in the evangelical church, to say nothing of Rome, whose curses, far removed from the royal power of those imprecations of the O. T. are a kind of invectives about which no one cares. The curse, to have any power, must be uttered in the name of God against unquestionable transgressions of the divine command, as conversely, the blessing only takes effect when it is bestowed upon acts well pleasing to God. According to this canonical law the curia has seldom proceeded, but often exactly in the opposite way.

2. More closely considered, the twelve curses are directed against idolatry (Deut. xxvii. 15), contempt of parents (ver. 16), removing a neighbor's land-mark (ver. 17), inhumanity toward the blind, strangers, orphans, widows (vers. 18, 19), incest and sodomy (vers. 20-23), murder (vers. 24, 25), and finally in general against the transgression of the law in any manner (ver. 26). Blessings are promised in the city and on the field (ch. xxviii. 3), on all births (xxviii. 4), on the basket and the kneading-trough (xxviii. 5; Ex. vii. 28, xi. 36), on going out and coming in (Deut. xxviii. 6); a blessing in particular on their arms in contest with their enemies (xxviii. 7), a blessing on the position of Israel among the nations (xxviii. 9-14). The N. T. recognizes still an entirely different blessing, the *εὐλογία πνευματικὴ* in heavenly goods (*ἐν τοῖς ἔπουρανίοις*) in Christ (Eph. i. 3), the imperishable, and undefiled, and unfading inheritance which is reserved in heaven (1 Pet. i. 3). This blessing makes rich, in the highest sense, without trouble added (Prov. x. 22).

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The solemn gathering of the people on Ebal, (1) Sacrifice, (2) inscription of the law, (3) blessing and curse. — The consecrated altar. — Not only on the stones but rather on the heart should the law of God be written, Jer. xxxi. 31-34. — On the import of blessing and cursing. — Rather bless than curse, yet bless not under all circumstances. — Curse may become blessing, blessing curse. — How is it with thee, Christian congregation? Standest thou under the blessing or deservest thou the curse of thy God? — Questions to be asked, perhaps, on days of penitence and prayer. — The whole congregation should hear the word.

STARKE: A Christian should not, after being delivered from need, forget gratitude also. — Not human nonsense but the holy word of God alone must be taught and preached. — My God, give us also readiness and desire to make known thy commandments, to all, friends and foes, old and young.

B. CONTESTS AGAINST THE ALLIED KINGS OF THE CANAANITES.

CHAPTERS IX.-XI.

1. *The first League of Canaanite Kings against Israel.*

CHAPTER IX. 1-2.

- 1 And it came to pass, when all the kings which *were* on this side [on the other side of the] Jordan, in the hills [on the mountain], and in the valleys [the low land], and in all the coasts [on all the coast] of the great sea over against Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, 2 heard *thereof*; That they gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

While Joshua had hitherto contended against separate cities, namely, Jericho and Ai, there now follows an account of the struggles with the allied kings of the Canaanites, of whose first league we are informed in ch. ix. 1-2, of their second in ch. xi. 1-3. They are defeated in two great battles, at Gibeon (ch. x. 1 ff.), and at the sea of Merom (ch. xi. 4-9). Following upon that first triumph, southern Palestine west of the Jordan is subjugated (ch. x. 28-43), and upon the second, the northern part (ch. xi. 10-23). Only the Gibeonites were shrewd enough, as is related in ix. 3-27, to save themselves by a stratagem from the edge of the sword.

Ver. 1. On the other side (Eng. vers. on this side), as in ch. v. 1, where the country west of the

Jordan is intended. "This land, Canaan proper, is, from its conspicuously diverse features, divided into the mountain, *הַרְרָה*, the plain or lowland, *הַשְּׁפֵלָה*, and the sea coast, *רֹאף הַיָּם*, toward Lebanon" (Keil). The mountain, *הַרְרָה*, is the Mount Ephraim and mount (or mountain of) Judah; the lowland is the region from Akko to Gaza lying west of the mountain; the sea coast is the coast of north Galilee and Phœnicia. — *רֹאף* elsewhere in poetical passages as Gen. xlix. 13; Judg. v. 17; Jer. xlvii. 7; Ezek. xxv. 16. — *קָרָה* *קָרָה* prop. with one mouth, unanimously. Ex. xxiv. 3; 1 K. xxii. 13.

2. *The Craft of the Gibeonites.*

CHAPTER IX. 3-27.

a. Coning of the Gibeonites to Joshua and his League with them.

CHAPTER IX. 3-15

- 3 And when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho 4 and to Ai, they [also] did work wilily, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors [went, and set out, or, went and¹ provided themselves with victuals], and took old [prop. decayed] sacks upon their asses, and wine-bottles [wine-skins], 5 old [decayed], and rent, and bound up: And old [decayed] shoes and clouted [patched] upon their feet, and old [decayed] garments upon them; and all the 6 bread of their provision was dry *and* mouldy. And they went to Joshua unto the camp at Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We be [are] come from 7 a far country: now therefore [and now] make ye a league [covenant] with us. And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us;² 8 and how shall we make a league [covenant] with you? And they said unto 9 Joshua, We *are* thy servants. And Joshua said unto them, Who *are* ye? and from whence come ye? And they said unto him, From a very far country thy servants are come, because of the name of the Lord [Jehovah] thy God: for we have heard 10 the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt, and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites, that *were* beyond the Jordan, to Sihon king of 11 Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which [who] *was* at Ashtaroth. Wherefore [And] our elders, and all the inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying, Take victuals with you for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, We *are* your servants: therefore [and] now make ye a league [covenant] with us. 12 This our bread we took hot *for* our provision out of our houses on the day we came

- 13 forth to go unto you ; but now, behold, it is dry, and it is [has become] mouldy : And these bottles of wine [wine-skins] which we filled *were* new, and behold they be [are] rent : and these our garments and our shoes are become old [are decayed] by
 14 reason of the very long journey. And the men took of their victuals, and asked not
 15 *counsel* at [omit : counsel at] the mouth of the Lord [Jehovah]. And Joshua made peace with them, and made a league [covenant] with them, to let them live : and the princes of the congregation sware unto them.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 4. — The verb יָצְאוּ from יָצָא, not elsewhere found in Hebrew, should from the signification of its derivatives, and from the analogy of the Arab., mean to go, to set out on a journey. "But since no other trace of this form or signification exists in Heb. or in Aramaean, it is better to read with six MSS. יָצְאוּ, they provided themselves with food for the journey, as in ver. 12; which is also expressed by the ancient versions," Gesen. With this agree Knobel and Fay. But De Wette, and Keil adhere to the root-meaning "set out on a journey," and there is a reasonable probability that the change suggested by a few MSS., and the anc. vers. was owing simply to the strangeness of the word which originally stood here. The meaning "to act as ambassadors" appears to have been derived from the analogy of יָצָא "a messenger," and is retained by Zunz: *Stellen sich als Boten.* — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 7. — The Hebrew uses the sug. "in the midst of me, and how shall I." — Tr.]

b. Discovery and Punishment of the Fraud.

CHAPTER IX. 16-27.

- 16 And it came to pass at the end of three days after they had made a league with them, that they heard that they *were* their neighbors, and *that* they dwelt among
 17 them. And the children of Israel journeyed [broke up], and came unto their city on the third day. Now [And] their cities *were* Gibeon, and Chephirah, and Beeroth,
 18 and Kirjathjearim. And the children of Israel smote them not, because the princes of the congregation had sworn unto them by the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel.
 19 And all the congregation murmured against the princes. But all the princes said unto all the congregation, We have sworn unto them by the Lord [Jehovah] God
 20 of Israel: now therefore we may not touch them. This we will do to them; we will even let them live,¹ lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we sware unto
 21 them. And the princes said unto them, Let them live; but let them be [and they became] hewers of wood [wood-choppers], and drawers of water unto all the con-
 22 gregation; as the princes had promised [spoken to] them.
 23 And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore have ye be-
 24 guiled us, saying, We *are* very far from you, when ye dwell among us? Now therefore ye *are* cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being [there shall not fail to be from among you] bond-men, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the
 25 house of my God. And they answered Joshua, and said, Because² it was certainly told thy servants how that the Lord [Jehovah] thy God commanded his servant Moses to
 26 give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, therefore we were sore afraid of our lives because of you, and have done this thing.
 27 And now, behold, we *are* in thy hand: as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do. And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the
 28 children of Israel, that they slew them not. And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the Lord [Jehovah], even unto this day, in the place which he should choose.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 20. — De Wette, Fay, and others translate this and the following verse accurately: This [sc. what we have sworn] will we do to them, and let them live, lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we have sworn to them. And the princes said to them, Let them live. And they became wood-choppers and water-carriers (or drawers of water) etc. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 24. — כִּי is better regarded as merely introducing the words quoted: It was told . . . and we were afraid, etc. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Gibeon would appear to have been a sort of independent republic, since we hear of elders there (ix. 11), but not of a king; and of their city it is said (x. 2) that it was a great city like a royal city. The inhabitants, having heard of the deeds of Joshua, hit upon a different plan of resistance

from that adopted by the kings before named, — the plan of negotiation, but with wiles. They pretend to have come from a very far country (ix. 9) to form an alliance with Joshua; and to confirm their declaration they point to their mouldy bread, their torn wine-skins, and their worn-out clothing (ix. 12, 13). Joshua suffers himself to be deceived, and makes a treaty with them which is ratified with an oath (ix. 15).

The deception, however, is discovered. After not more than three days the Israelites hear that the Gibeonites dwell in their very neighborhood (ix. 16). They break up, go thither themselves, and spare them because of the oath which the chiefs had sworn to them (ix. 18). When discontent arises in the camp on this account, Joshua consults with the chiefs, but they appeal to their oath, and decide in favor of letting them live. To this resolution they adhere, but the Gibeonites, as a penalty for their falsehood, are made wood-choppers and water-carriers for the congregation and the altar of Jehovah (ix. 21-27).

a. *Arrival of the Gibeonites and Joshua's league with them*, vers. 3-15. Gibeon, ch. xviii. 25. They also did work wilyly. They had heard what Joshua had done in the case of Jericho and Ai, and they also (ב) *did something*, and that with craft. וְיָצְאוּ, ver. 3, and וַיַּעֲשׂוּ, ver. 4, are relative to each other, so that the בַּיָּמִים refers not to what the Canaanite kings had done, but to Joshua's deeds. These would they emulate, only not by warlike exploits, but by a finely contrived trick. So also the LXX.: καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ γε αὐτοὶ μετὰ πανουργίας. Joshua's stratagem against Ai (ch. 8) is to be remembered. Maurer thinks also of Jericho; but that is less apposite.

Provided themselves with victuals. The Hebrew וַיִּזְכְּרוּ, "is nowhere else met with, and instead of it we should read with all the ancient translations and many MSS., וַיִּזְכְּרוּ, which also occurs in ver. 12" (Knobel). Keil adheres unqualifiedly to the *textus receptus*, and, connecting וַיִּזְכְּרוּ with וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת הַמְּנַחֵם, translates: "they went and journeyed as ambassadors," or "set out as ambassadors" [thus bringing out the sense of the English version]. But was it necessary to state this particularly? Is not that evident of itself, that if the Gibeonites went they went as ambassadors, since ver. 3 leaves us to suppose a previous consultation?

Ver. 6. Gilgal. In the Jordan Valley, as Ewald also assumes, and not, as Keil supposes, the Gilgal on the mountain near Bethel, "often mentioned in the Book of Judges and in First Samuel." But something would surely have been said of it if Joshua had moved the camp from Gilgal in the Jordan Valley to Gilgal near Bethel; and as this is not the case, we have no ground for thinking here of another Gilgal. Joshua had rather returned from his successful expedition against Ai to his well situated headquarters in the Jordan Valley, in order to undertake from thence fresh enterprises. Comp. the preliminary remarks to ch. viii. 30-35.

Ver. 7. יִתְחַבֵּר. This Kethib is to be retained after the analogy of Judg. viii. 22, xx. 36; 1 Sam. xiv. 22. The Israelites are not clear in this matter. The thing looks suspicious to them, hence the question: "Perhaps thou dwellest in the midst of us (me), how then can I make a covenant with thee?"

Ver. 8. To this entangling question the Gibeonites return no answer at all, but say, with true oriental adroitness, apparently submissive and humble: "We are thy servants." This was no sincere declaration of submission (Serar., C. A. Lap., Rosenm., Knobel), but simply a form of courtesy, as Gen. i. 18, xxxii. 4, which was, however, very well designed and cunningly addressed. Nevertheless, Joshua shows himself not satisfied with it, and asks again, more definitely than others had done before: **Who are ye and whence come**

ye? The imperfect וְיִתְחַבֵּר, is worthy of notice as indicating the still incomplete action, comp. Judg. xvii. 9, xix. 17; 2 Sam. i. 3; Jonah i. 8; Ewald, *Lehrgeb.* § 136, 1, a.

Ver. 9. So pressed, the Gibeonites are compelled to answer Joshua, and first repeat what they have said before (ver. 6), but add that they have come on account of the name of Jehovah, whose fame (שְׁמֵי) they have heard. In the more detailed specification which follows of what they had heard they say nothing of Jericho and Ai [to have heard of which might indicate that they lived not very far off], but cunningly confine themselves to what God has done to the Amorite kings beyond the Jordan, therefore at a distance, nay even in Egypt (ver. 10).

They then recall the commission given them by their elders (ver. 11), and refer in conclusion to their mouldy bread, etc., as a proof of the truth of their story. The Gibeonites must have played their part admirably; for all the scruples which had been expressed are now silent.

Ver. 14. And the men took of their victuals. "The men," as we learn from vers. 18, 21, are the princes, *i. e.*, heads of the tribes. The taking of their food is a sign of friendship, of inclination to make a league with the Gibeonites, Gen. xxxi. 46; Lev. ii. 13; 2 Chron. xiii. 5. Keil will not allow this, but adopts the explanation of Masius, approved also by J. H. Michaelis and Rosenmüller. He says: "Est enim relati oppositum quadam inter illa: sumere panem Gibeonturam in manus, suisque oculis satis fulere et os s. oraculum Domini interrogare." This opposition is not to be denied, but would it not be much stronger, if it related not merely to a testing of the bread whether it was so old, but to an eating of it with a symbolical import, which implied readiness to make a league with the Gibeonites?

And the mouth of the Lord they asked not. That was a transgression of the explicit command, Num. xxvii. 21, that the priest Eleazar should seek counsel for Joshua, and that בְּקִיְשָׁם הָאֱזָרִיִּים, *i. e.*, through the judgment or right of Urim (and Thummin).¹ The priest by that becomes the mouth of Jehovah, since he announces God's answer in His name, just the same as the prophet who (Is. xxx. 2; Jer. xv. 19; Ex. iv. 16) is so called.

Ver. 15. And Joshua made peace with them. He assured them of peace and so of preservation from the edge of the sword.

b. *Discovery and Punishment of the Deceit.* Vers. 16-27. **Ver. 16. At the end of three days**, as in ch. iii. 2.

Ver. 17. And came to their cities on the third day. It took them so long, namely, to come from Gilgal lying in the Jordan valley to Gibeon. They might have accomplished the journey in much less

¹ See the Art. "Urim and Thummin" in the *Dict. of the Bible.* — Tr.]

time, as appears from ch. x. 9, but here there was no forced march commanded as in that passage. They could therefore take their time. But it would have been an unreasonably slow march, if, as Keil supposes, Joshua's headquarters had now been at Gilgal near Bethel, and he had taken more than two days for a distance of seven or eight hours. **Chephirah**, ch. xviii. 26. **Beeroth**, xviii. 25. **Kirjath-jearim**, xv. 60.

Vers. 18, 19. The question whether the princes were really bound to keep the oath which they had sworn to the Gibeonites, after it appeared that the condition on which it had been given did not hold good, has been much discussed by the interpreters, and decided rightly by most of them in the negative. The contrary is maintained by Osiander, Ising (p. 208), Corn. a Lapide, and Clericus. The last named expresses that opinion the most decidedly: "*Non videntur Hebræorum proceres in tabulis fœderis hoc adscripsisse, se ea lege fœdus cum iis facere, si modo remotam oram habitarent, quod nisi esset, fœdus hoc foret irritum. Simpliciter jurarunt, se Gabaonitis vitam non erepturos idque invocato nomine Dei Israelis. Quam ob rem suum hoc jusjurandum revocare amplius non poterunt.*"

Upon this Keil, from whom we borrow this extract, justly remarks: "Although the Israelite princes did not verbally make the truth of the declaration of the Gibeonites a condition of the validity of their oath, and add it to the league, *expressis verbis*, still it lay at the bottom of their oath, as the Gibeonites very well knew; and hence they so carefully represented themselves as having come from a very far country. The Israelites had not, therefore, so wholly *simpliciter*, as Clericus assumes, sworn to preserve their lives, and were not bound to spare them after the discovery of their trick." That the princes nevertheless felt themselves bound in conscience is sufficiently explained, psychologically, by their reverence for the oath in itself, Lev. xix. 12. Although the congregation *murmur*, the princes abide by their conviction that the Gibeonites must be spared on account of the oath. This murmuring was directed once against Moses also, Ex. xv. 24; xvi. 2; xvii. 3; Num. xiv. 2; xvii. 36. Murmuring against God is mentioned, Judg. viii. 21. Lam. iii. 39, is a classic passage. In the N. T., γογγύσεις, γογγυσμός, Mark xiv. 5; Luke v. 30; John vi. 41, 51.

Ver. 20. They would therefore let the Gibeonites live. On גִּבְעוֹנִים, comp. Ewald, *Lehrg.* § 280, a. [Ges. § 131, 2.]. By the inf. abs., much the same as by the Lat. gerund in *-ndo*, or by our part. pres. act., is more definitely expressed what they would do; Lev. iii. 5; 1 Sam. iii. 12.

Ver. 21. "The princes repeat with emphasis that they shall live. Hence the Gibeonites then became wood-choppers and drawers of water for the congregation, as the princes had spoken to them. That is, the princes had made this proposition together, with their יְהוֹי [ver. 20]. The author had omitted it there because it is manifest from the historical statement in the second member of this verse. So ch. iii. 8" (Knobel).

Vers. 22, 23. Joshua communicates to the Gibeonites what has been decided upon. **There shall not fail from among you servants and wood-choppers and water-carriers, i. e.**, such slaves [γ explicative] as are wood-choppers and water-carriers, and are, therefore, reckoned among the lowest class of the people (Deut. xxix. 10, 11). Together with captives taken in war and devoted for like purposes to the sanctuary, they bore, at a later

period, the name גִּבְעוֹנִים [Dict. of Bible, art. Nethinim], *Deo dati, donati*, 1 Chron. ix. 2; Ez. ii. 43, 70; viii. 20; Neh. vii. 43, 46. Saul was disposed to exterminate them, as is implied in 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2, and David sought to propitiate them again by granting their blood-thirsty request (2 Sam. xxi. 6).

Vers. 24, 25. The Gibeonites plead as an apology the fear which they felt towards the Israelites, and leave their fate entirely in the hand of Joshua.

Vers. 26, 27. Joshua does as he had informed them, according to verse 23. **And delivered them out of the hand of the sons of Israel.** These would certainly, in their warlike zeal, as we may infer from their murmuring, have been glad to destroy the Gibeonites. Superior to the people stands the leader here, who proceeds in the spirit of humanity, and, in full harmony with the princes, gives no heed to the murmuring of the people.

Ver. 27. **For the congregation and for the altar.** The worshipping congregation is meant, the יְהוָה, as appears plain, partly from the word

עֲדָה (עֲדָתָא, Num. xxvii. 17), partly from the additional qualification, "and for the altar." For profane service the Gibeonites could not be employed. They were temple slaves.

In the place which He (Jehovah) should choose. Keil infers from these words that the author of our book wrote before the building of Solomon's temple, because in his time God could not yet have chosen a fixed and permanent place for his sanctuary. Knobel regards them as "an addition by the careless Deuteronomist," who alone in all the Pentateuch had used this expression (Deut. xii. 5). But in Ex. xx. 24, which passage, even according to Knobel, certainly does not belong to the Deuteronomist, we meet with a related expression so that we are not compelled to think of "an addition by the careless Deuteronomist." Just as little necessary is it to suppose that the whole arrangement by which the Gibeonites were obliged to serve as wood-choppers and drawers of water for the congregation was first made in later times by Solomon. Reasons: (1) The Gibeonites are not expressly mentioned, 1 K. ix. 20; (2) 1 K. ix.

21, has reference to tributary work (מַס לְבָד), and that, as the context shows, for architectural purposes, but not to servants for the purposes of worship. To such tributary services did Solomon appoint (וַיַּעַל) the rest of the population (עַם הַחֵזְקָה) of the Amorites, Hittites, Perrizites, Hivites, and Jebusites; but the Israelites he made soldiers (ver. 22). Our view is, accordingly, that Joshua did certainly appoint the Gibeonites at once to the lowest service at the sanctuary, "for congregation and altar," as the text says, especially as this service might already be performed about the tabernacle, as soon as this had an assigned place.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The question how far a promissory oath is binding on him who has given it, depends very much on our determination of the conditions under which one is at liberty to swear at all. On this Jer. iv. 2 is rightly regarded as a *locus classicus*. According to this passage an oath may be given:

(1) בְּאֱמֶתָה (2) בְּמִשְׁפָּט (3) בְּיַדְדָּקָה These three conditions, truth, right, and justice, are that which being presupposed an oath may be taken.

They are, as Jerome long ago called them, and as the canonical law recognizes them, the *comites juramenti*, namely, *veritas in mente, judicium in jurante, justitia in objecto*. If then, as in the case with the Gibeonites, the *justitia in objecto* is absent, the oath need not be observed; and so in all cases, when "the thorough knowledge of the subject" is wanting to the swearer without his fault. Completely so when this subject matter of the promissory oath is something directly unallowable, in clear opposition to the law of God, which, nevertheless, one has hastily, without rightly understanding it, sworn to do, as was true of Jephtha (Judg. x. 30, 31) and Herod (Matt. xiv. 9). Only, in that case, some expiation must be made, according to the principle laid down, Lev. v. 4-6, which, if a man, *e. g.* has taken an oath of office, and this office he cannot discharge, might consist in his resignation of the office, and in the case of a king, in his abdication. Christian ethics, especially that of the evangelical church, cannot be too earnest on this doctrine of the obligation of an oath, since mental reservations are so easily allowed which threaten truth, right, and justice. Very beautifully, on this point, Nitzsch says (*System of Christian Doctrine*, § 207): "Better, indeed, if the Christian state had done away with the word *oath*, *ᾠχος*, and the like, together with the whole train of heathenly-religious presuppositions which are connected with them. We might and should speak of God's witness, appeal to God, worship in court, duty to God, etc. The form of the oath of this kind would have far less difficulty. Much more would depend on performing the whole service in a truly religious way, according to place and time, and on limiting, in conformity with this, the requisition and permission, and on giving due heed to what Christian morals and policy might have to advise further."

On the conditions of a right, that is, Christianly-just offering and performance of an oath, Harless observes (*Christian Ethics*, § 39, b): "The first condition is, that the oath should be rendered only by virtue of a right demand for it. . . . The second condition is, that the swearer be in truth a confessor, *i. e.* that his oath be the expression of a believing hope truly dwelling in him. The third condition is, that the engagement into which he enters under his professing oath should be such that the God Himself whom the swearer acknowledges may acknowledge it. For the oath's sake to fulfill engagements displeasing to God is wickedly to carry to completion that which has been wickedly begun, to add a second sin to the first. Not to fulfill what has been sworn is in such cases, not the violation of an oath pleasing to God, but the penitent recall of a God-offending oath." Worthy of consideration further are the richly instructive articles in Herzog's *Realencyk.* (iii. 713 ff.) on "the Oath among the Hebrews" by Ruetschi, and on "the Oath" by C. F. Göschel.

2. The sanctity of the oath stood very high with the ancient Israelites, so that, as this narrative shows, they would rather, *in dubio*, hold fast to their oath even when they might justly have released themselves from it. As the name of God was to them thrice holy (Is. vi. 3; Ps. cxi. 9), so also was the solemn appeal to this name whether in a promise or an assertion. With this is connected the fact that the administration of oaths before the court was restricted to a few cases (Ex. xxii. 6 ff. 11; Lev. v. 23, 25; Num. v. 19 ff.). For that state of things ought modern legislation also to strive, and upon that ought Christian ethics to insist. Yet in North America, otherwise so puritan-

ically disposed, what sport is made with the oath, while in the territory of the Zwinglian church in Switzerland, the oath scarcely occurs any more before the courts.

3. Priests and prophets are called the mouth of Jehovah, and rightly, because he speaks through them when they have been enlightened by Him. This illumination, however, ought not to be thought of as in any way a mechanical process, but is rather to be regarded always as in the closest connection with the entire personal life, and official position of the individual bearer of the divine revelation. Even in the handling of the Urim and Thummim, this also must be taken into account.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

As once the Canaanites against Israel, so still and ever the foes of God gather themselves together to fight against Him and his church. — The trick of the Gibeonites (1) shrewdly thought out, (2) cunningly carried out, but (3) detected and punished. — There is no thread so finely spun, but comes at last before the sun. — Lying and deceit bring no blessing. — Humble words alone do not accomplish it, they must also be true. — The glory of God among the heathen. — Do nothing without asking God. — If we ask the Lord, He gives us also an answer; if we neglect it we have to bear the hurt ourselves. — How necessary it is for us to ascertain accurately the state of the case before we bind ourselves by an oath, lest we afterwards be troubled in conscience — shown in the case of the princes of Israel. — The firmness of the princes against the murmuring of the congregation. — The judgment upon the Gibeonites: (1) the hearing; (2) the sentence. — Man fears for nothing more than his life, and yet this life is only a temporal good. — Joshua's beautiful humanness. — Better to be wood-choppers and water-carriers for the altar of the Lord than to have no part therein, as the Gibeonites had well deserved by their treacherous scheme.

STARKE: It is no new thing for the mighty of the world to bind themselves together against God and his gospel, Ps. ii. 2. But rage ye peoples, and be confounded; and give ear all ye of far countries; arm yourselves and be confounded; take counsel together and it shall come to nought; speak a word and it shall not stand, for God is with us, Is. vii. 9, 10. — No man should lie; straightforward truth gives the best security, Eph. iv. 25. — God's wonders and works are not hidden even from the heathen; how then shall they excuse themselves in that day? Rom. i. 19, 20. — For the preservation of mortal life men may well give themselves a deal of trouble, but where lies the care for the soul's welfare? Matt. xvi. 25, 26. — He who always takes counsel of God in prayer will not easily be deceived. — It is a bad case when one, on account of lying and deceit, must blush and turn pale; let every man, therefore, strive after uprightness and honesty.

CRAMER: God must have wood-choppers also and water-carriers in his congregation, and He gives to every one gifts according to his portion, 1 Cor. xii. 27.

HEDINGER: It is thoughtless stupidity in a man, if he will not take warning but runs also into the judgment where he sees that others have gone to ruin. — Credulity brings us into trouble.

GERLACH: This history warns the congregation of God at all times of the craft and disguises of the world, which often, when it would be an advantage to it, seeks recognition and admission into the kingdom of God.

3. *The great Victory at Gibeon over the five allied Canaanite Kings.*

CHAPTER X. 1-27.

a. Investment of Gibeon by the five allied Kings.

CHAPTER X. 1-5.

- 1 Now [And] it came to pass, when Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem had [omit: had] heard how Joshua had taken Ai, and had utterly destroyed [devoted] it; as he had done to Jericho and her king, so had he done to Ai and her king; and how the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel, and were among them; that they feared greatly, because Gibeon *was* a great city, as one of the royal cities [prop. one of the cities of the kingdom], and because it *was* greater than Ai, and all the men thereof *were* mighty. Wherefore [And] Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem sent unto Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto Debir king of Eglon, saying, Come up unto me, and help me, that we may smite Gibeon: for it hath made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel. Therefore, [And] the [omit: the] five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, gathered themselves together and went up, they and all their hosts [camps], and encamped before Gibeon, and made war against it.

b. Slaughter at Gibeon.

CHAPTER X. 6-15.

- 6 And the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp to Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand [hands] from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the mountains are gathered together against us. So [And] Joshua ascended from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour [strong heroes]. And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua, Fear them not: for I have delivered [given] them into thine hand; there shall not a man of them stand before thee. Joshua therefore [And Joshua] came upon them suddenly, [:] *and* went [he went up] from Gilgal all night. And the Lord [Jehovah] discomfited [Bunsen: brought into confusion; Knobel: scattered; Fay, De Wette, Zunz: confused] them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter [De Wette: effected a great overthrow among them; Fay, literally: smote them with a great stroke] at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goeth up to [the way of the ascent of] Beth-horon,¹ and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah. And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, *and* were in the going down to [on the descent from] Beth-horon, that the Lord [Jehovah] cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: *they were* more which died with [the] hail-stones than *they* whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.
- 12 Then spake Joshua to the Lord [Jehovah] in the day when the Lord [Jehovah] delivered up the Amorites before the children [sons] of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel:

Sun, stand thou [omit: thou] still on Gibeon,
And thou [omit: thou], Moon, in the valley of Ajalon!

- 13 And the sun stood still,
And the moon stayed,

Until the people [nation] had avenged themselves upon their enemies.

- Is not this written in the book of Jasher [Fay: the upright (Rechtschaffenen); Luther: pious; De Wette: just [Redlichen]? So [And] the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or [and] after it, that the Lord [Jehovah] hearkened unto the voice of a man; for the Lord [Jehovah] fought for Israel. And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 11. — This sentence is properly parenthetical: As they fled before Israel (they were on the descent from Beth-horon) that Jehovah, etc. — Tr.]

c. Flight and Destruction of the five Kings.

CHAPTER X. 16-27.

- 16 But [And] these five kings fled and hid themselves in a [the] cave at Makke-
 17 dah. And it was told Joshua, saying: The five kings are found hid in a [the] cave
 18 at Makkedah. And Joshua said, Roll great stones upon the mouth of the cave,
 19 and set men by it for [omit: for] to keep them: And stay ye not, *but* [omit: but]
 pursue after your enemies, and smite the hindmost of them; suffer them not to
 enter into their cities; for the Lord [Jehovah] your God hath delivered [given]
 them into your hand.
- 20 And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had made an end
 of slaying [smiting] them with a very great slaughter [stroke], till they were con-
 21 sumed, that the rest *which* remained of them entered [Fay: but those that re-
 mained of them escaped and came] into [the] fenced [fortified] cities. [.] And [that¹]
 all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none moved
 22 [Fay, properly: pointed] his tongue against any of the children of Israel. Then
 said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring out those five kings unto me
 23 out of the cave. And they did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out
 of the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the
 24 king of Lachish, *and* [omit: and] the king of Eglon. And it came to pass, when
 they brought out those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Is-
 rael, and said unto the captains: [הַיְיָיִי, leaders] of the men of war which went
 with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they
 25 came near and put their feet upon the necks of them. And Joshua said to them,
 Fear not, nor be dismayed, be strong, and of good courage [firm, ch. i. 6], for thus
 26 shall the Lord [Jehovah] do to all your enemies against whom ye fight. And after-
 ward Joshua smote them, and slew them, and hanged them on five trees: and they
 27 were hanging upon the trees until the evening. And it came to pass at the time
 of the going down of the sun, *that* Joshua commanded, and they took them down
 off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had been hid, and laid great
 stones in the cave's mouth, *which remain* [omit: which remain] until this very
 day.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Verses 20 and 21 might well be translated and connected thus: And it came to pass when . . . till they were consumed, and those that had escaped of them had fled, and were come into the fortified cities, that all the people returned, etc. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The abandonment by Gibeon of the common cause leads Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, beyond doubt the most powerful of the Canaanite kings in Southern Palestine, to call upon the kings of Hebron, Lachish, Jarmuth, and Eglon, to chastise the apostate city. With this demand the princes named yielding compliance (ver. 1-5). But Joshua, being summoned by the Gibeonites to their assistance, hastens to aid his threatened allies, defeats the Canaanite kings in the famous battle at Gibeon, ever memorable on account of the much disputed standing still of the sun (vers. 6-15), and pursues and slays the confederates (vers. 16-27).

a. *Investment of Gibeon by the five allied Kings* (vers. 1-5), — ver. 1. אֲדֹנֵי־צֶדֶק = Lord of righteousness. Better known than this Adoni-zedek is מֶלֶךְ־צִדְקָה = King of righteousness (Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. cx. 4; Heb. v. 6-10; vi. 20; vii. 1, 10 and often), who was likewise king of Salem (Jerusalem).

אֲדֹנֵי־צֶדֶק also אֲדֹנֵי־צֶדֶק (the latter form here and there in Chronicles, e. g., 1 Chron. iii. 5, also on the coins of the Maccabæan age, while others have also the defective form, Gesen.) abbreviated, אֲדֹנֵי (Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 3), from which it is evident that the proper pointing is אֲדֹנֵי־צֶדֶק, as further, the Aram. אֲדֹנֵי־צֶדֶק, Ezra iv. 20, 24; v. 1, and אֲדֹנֵי־צֶדֶק Ezra v. 14; vi. 9, go to show. The Keri perpetuum —, which is a dual form, is explained (Fürst) as having arisen with reference to the double city (upper and lower), or, without respect to that, from the fact that the later Hebrews understood אֲדֹנֵי to be an old dual form (still appearing in אֲדֹנֵי, אֲדֹנֵי and the nom. prop. אֲדֹנֵי, אֲדֹנֵי), and had substituted for it the customary אֲדֹנֵי.

The etymology is doubtful. Gesenius maintains the interpretation, supported by the translation of Saadjas: dwelling of peace. On this view, ירה would be from ירה = dwelling or foundation, and שלם = שלום, which is favored by the Greek mode of writing Σόλυμα (Josephus, *Ant.* i. 10, 12; Paus. 8, 16, 3) and the Latin, Solyma (Mart. 10, 65, 5). Ewald holds the first part of the word to be an abbreviation of ירהש = possession, and explains, possession of Shalem." Hitzig (on Is. p. 1, ff.) goes back to ירהש = possession, district, "district or possession of Salem." More recently he holds, on Ps. lxxvi. 3, that ירושלים should properly have been written ירהשלים which he translates (*History of the People of Israel*, i. 140) by: "Fear ye God undividedly." Here it is to be further observed that according to Hitzig's views שלם, in the southern Arabic = a stone, was, with the Amomite לבים, the old Canaanite name of the city [Jebusalem], which David changed into Jerusalem, while Hitzig adds that the city was earlier called Salem (?).

Fürst decides for the old etymology, appealing also to Saadjas on Is. xliv. 28; li. 17; lx. 1; lxii. 1, 6, taking שלם, however, = שלום, as an epithet of the most high God, as in אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Thus ירושלים would be equal to ירהשלים, 2 Chr. xx. 16, meaning "foundation (or place, dwelling) of El," and that as the Peaceful. It is striking that Fürst interprets שלם, Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 3, where it stands alone, without ירה by "hilly place, summit," from a supposed stem שלם, to be high. But it would be more obvious to explain it, in accordance with the meaning given to שלם, ירושלים, as "place of the Peaceful," that is, of God.

"The later Arabic name of Jerusalem, el-Kuds or Beit el-Mukaddas, is only a circumlocution like עיר הקודש in the Hebrew (Neh. xi. 18)." Fürst. On the topography of Jerusalem and its neighborhood, comp. Dr. E. G. Schultz, *Jerusalem*; W. Krafft, *The Topography of Jerusalem*; Tobler, *Memoranda of Jerusalem*, and, *Topography of Jerusalem and its Vicinity*, as also Menck's *Bible Atlas*, map v., where on very carefully drawn side-maps the views of Tobler, Kiepert, Ferguson, Robinson, Krafft, and Sepp, concerning the plan of the city, are delineated.¹

Ver. 2. It is emphatically mentioned concerning Gibeon that it was a great city, "like one of the cities of the kingdom," that is, perhaps, like a city in which a king dwelt, like a "royal city."

Ver. 3. Hebron, chaps. x. 36; xv. 54, Jarmuth, ch. xv. 35, Lachish and Eglon, ch. xv. 39, lie in southern Canaan.

Ver. 4. The enterprise is not directly against Joshua, but against Gibeon, because Gibeon has made peace with Joshua and the children of Israel.

Ver. 5. The four kings hear the summons, and encamp around Gibeon. The names of the kings

are not given here a second time, but the names of the cities over which they ruled, and in the same order as in ver. 3. The former names, however, are significant throughout, for Hoham is probably "whom Jehovah drives," Piram "the wild ass" (similar designations among the aborigines of N. A.), Japhia "splendid," Debir "the writer," on which the Lexicons may be consulted.

b. *Battle of Gibeon*, vers. 6-15. — Ver. 6. The Gibeonites send to Joshua at Gilgal and implore help, and indeed, as the form of their expression indicates, immediate help. Observe the climax; slacken not thy hands (2 Sam. xxiv. 16) — come up to us quickly — and save us — and help us. A very similar tone is adopted by the persecuted Christian congregation, Acts iv. 24-30, especially vers. 27-29.

Kings of the Amorites — a common designation of the five princes.

Ver. 7. Joshua responds to the appeal and hastens marching all night long to reach them (ver. 9), and that with a select portion of the army — גְּבוּרֵי הַחַיִל, ch. i. 14. The י is to be taken as explicative, as Gen. iii. 16; comp. also Josh. xiv. 6.

Ver. 8. An encouraging address from Jehovah.

Ver. 9. A more particular statement of what has been told (ver. 7). — Suddenly comes he upon them because he has marched the whole night. In the morning he stands before them, when they believe him to be yet at his head-quarters on the Jordan. These rapid marches illustrate the true energy and efficiency of great military commanders. This is perceived also in modern and even the most recent history.²

Ver. 10. "Jehovah scattered (יָחַד) the enemy before Israel. The latter smote them in a great defeat at Gibeon and pursued them north-westward on the way to the ascent (מַצְעָה ב) of Beth-horon. So likewise he followed them in a southwesterly direction and smote them even unto Azekah and Makkedah." So Knobel. According to his view, therefore, the whole pursuit occurred *simultaneously*, towards the northwest and the southwest. But that is not the sense of vers. 10 and 11. Rather all Israel pursued the enemy in a northwesterly direction towards the pass of Beth-horon, and from thence through the pass down into the plain, where probably Azekah and Makkedah lay. By what means Jehovah discomfited the enemy, or "scattered" them, as Knobel translates, is not told; for the hail comes *later*. So Jehovah once discomfited the Egyptians, also, Ex. xiv. 24; and xxiii. 27 the promise is given that God will always do so with the foes of Israel. In 1 Sam. vii. 10 we are told of a tempest which Jehovah brought up when, at Samuel's prayer, he caused it to thunder against the Philistines, and then it is said: יָחַד — the same word which is used here. Probably also the storm came on during the battle. It thundered and lightened. Jehovah fought for his people out of the clouds. The enemy trembled and lost heart. They fled. During their flight the storm broke upon them in full fury; hailstones fell on them and of such size that more died from these than were slain by the sword (ver. 11).

¹ A particularly valuable article on Jerusalem will be found in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. On the topography the additions to the Am. ed. are indispensable. *The Recovery of Jerusalem* (see Intr. p. 37) is now reprinted in N. Y. — Tr.]

² [If Sadowa and the other events of the Austrian campaign were so commemorated by the author, what would he have said of the progress from Weissenburg to Sedan, and Paris, and — in 1870. — Tr.]

By a very similar mischance the Austrians were overtaken in 1859 at the battle of Solferino. — We have translated מַעֲלֶה in ver. 10 "ascent" and in ver. 11, "descent."¹ It means both alike, as in 1 Macc. iii. 16, 24, both stand together in reference to this place: ἀνάβασις καὶ κατὰβασις Βαιθ-ωρών. If "pass" were not so modern it would best express the meaning of this word. This Pass of Beth-horon is still very rocky and rough (Robinson, iii. 59-63), and leads from the mountain down into the western plain, whither Joshua pursued the enemy even to the places lying there, Azekah (ch. xv. 35) and Makkedah (ch. xv. 41).

Ver. 11. That by the *great stones*, not stones literally as rained down (Grotius, Calmet, Ilgen), but hail-stones are to be understood, appears from the second half of the verse, "A hail-storm is meant, in relation to which אֶבֶן פָּרָד occurs also Is. xxx. 30; comp. Ez. xiii. 11, 13. Jehovah in contending with his enemies employs the hail also (Job xxxviii. 23; Is. xxxii. 19) as he did *e. g.* in Egypt, Ex. ix. 19, 25" (Knobel).

The verses which now follow, 12-15, deserve a particularly careful examination, and that (1) in reference to the *criticism of the text*: (2) as regards *their contents*. As to the former it is obvious that the whole passage, ver. 12-15, might be removed from the context entirely, without in the least mutilating the narrative; rather, ver. 16 connects itself with ver. 11 as its proper continuation. It is further manifest that ver. 13 itself refers to another writing as its source, and that the same author cannot possibly have written ver. 15 and ver. 43. For, according to ver. 15 Joshua had returned immediately after the battle at Gibeon into the camp at Gilgal, while in ver. 43 this return takes place only after the completed conquest of southern Canaan.

We have therefore to consider here an inserted passage. Knobel calls it "a fragment from the first document of the Jehovist." This first document of the Jehovist is, as may have been already perceived from the *Introd.* (§ 2), according to Knobel's view, the כִּסֵּף הַיָּשָׁר here cited — the "Law book" as he calls it, — composed in the Northern kingdom. From this first document the whole episode here is taken, as he supposes, except the words, "is it not written in the *Sepher Jaschar!*" which he explains as an addition of the Jehovist, "who in a thing so unheard of and incredible thought himself bound to quote his authority expressly." As we have not been able to assent to this view, but are rather obliged, with the *whole body of critics*, to regard this כִּסֵּף הַיָּשָׁר, mentioned only here and 2 Sam. i. 18, as a poetical book, we cannot by any means refer the whole passage to the "Book of the Upright," but only a part as is afterwards shown. In this assumption that the whole passage, with the exception of the formula of quotations, is taken from the "Book of

the Upright," there agree with Knobel: Hengstenberg in the *Evang. Kirchen-Zeitung*, 1832, No. 88, *ibid.* 1868, No. 48; Hävernick, *Eint.* ii. 1, p. 50, Keil, *Comm.* p. 255 ff. [*Bibl. Comm.* ii. 1, 76 ff.]. The latter remarks, at the end of his exposition: "The only plausible consideration which can be brought against this view, and which has been adduced with great emphasis by two anonymous writers in the *Evang. Kirchen-Zeitung*, 1833, No. 17, p. 135 f., and No. 25 f. p. 197 f. and 211 f., consists in this, that the formula of citation, 'Is not this written in the Book of the Upright?' stands in the middle of the passage quoted, while elsewhere this and similar formulas stand either at the beginning of the quotation, as Dent. xxi. 14-27, or at the end of it, as generally in the books of Kings and Chronicles. But from both cases it does not follow that this is a rule without exceptions." Keil labors to prove this, quite fruitlessly, in our opinion; Hengstenberg also, in his second essay, seeks to obviate the striking fact that the citation occurs in the midst of the passage, by assuming that the author has communicated, out of the Book of the Upright, *two* lyrical fragments, which he separates from each other by the intervening phrase of quotation (*ubi sup.* p. 580). But, granting that ver. 13 b-15, together with the very prosaic conclusion, "and Joshua returned and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal," must be a lyrical fragment, would it not then have been more natural for the writer to repeat the formula somewhat in this manner: Is not this *also* written in the Book of the Upright? — Bleek has left the question unsettled, saying, "How far the quotation here extends, and where the historian resumes, is not quite clear" (*Introd. to the O. T.* p. 349). Kamphausen on the contrary (*Stud. und Kritiken*, 1863, p. 866), assumes that the author of ver. 12-15 was a historian who names expressly the source from which he draws, and *plainly* distinguishes, the *lines which he extracts* therefrom from his own prosaic narrative. To the same result must we also come, and for the following reasons: (1.) The fact that the formula of citation here occurs in the midst of the passage, constitutes for us an insuperable objection to referring *the whole* to the Book of the Upright, since everywhere else, such formula comes in either at the beginning or end of the words cited. (2.) The exclamation which is put in the mouth of Joshua, breathes in every aspect the spirit of Hebrew poetry. It is sublime in its import, rhythmical, and strictly observing the parallelism in its form, in its choice of words also poetical (notice הִינֵה, הִנֵּה²); while afterwards the discretion of the historian manifestly comes into play, since he mentions *only the sun*: lets it *stand in the midst of heaven*, then continues with the observation that it *hosted not to go down almost a whole day*; in ver. 14 expounds *verbally* the poetical language, and concludes, finally, with a wholly prosaic notice.

Verses 13 b-15, accordingly, do not belong to the Book of the Upright.⁴ But how with verse 12 a'

with all the facts. We think the poetic spirit resounds through the whole of vers. 13 and 14, to say nothing of the more satisfactory dogmatic bearing of Hengstenberg's view, to be noticed hereafter.

Stanley, in his very interesting presentation of the great battle of Gibeon (*Jewish Church*, 1st series, lect. xi.), gives this whole section poetically arranged, as follows. It will be seen that here again he blends the LXX. and the Hebrew text too much as if they were of like authority: —

"Then spake Joshua unto JEHOVAH,

In the day that God gave up the Amorites

¹ [The remark which follows is true and appropriate concerning מַעֲלֶה, which, however, is not repeated in ver. 11. מוֹרֵד is used there. — Tr.]

² [Might we not add also הִנֵּה ver. 13, which is unusual for הִנֵּה in reference to the Hebrews? — Tr.]

³ [The unhesitating confidence of our author in this conclusion seems hardly borne out by his reasons. The cautious judgment of Bleek, above quoted, seems more consistent

It is possible that these words may have formed the historical introduction in that Book of Heroes, to Joshua's exclamation, as Ex. xv. 1, "Then sang Moses," etc., but it is also possible that they belong to the same author as vers. 13 b-15, from whom other sections likewise wrought into the body of the history may have been derived. On this see the Introduction.

Having dealt with the criticism of the text, we proceed (2) to a consideration of the meaning of the passage, which especially needs to be exegetically settled. Ver. 12, **וַיִּשָׁתָּק**, pointedly "at that time," as Gen. xii. 6, Josh. xiv. 11, in contrast with **וַיִּתְקַח**; LXX. *τότε*, Vulg. *tunc*. This **וַיִּשָׁתָּק** is more closely defined by **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וְהוּא**, "in the day when Jehovah delivered up," etc. The battle at Gibeon is intended. The promise, Deut. i. 7, 8, is to be remembered. On this day, Joshua spake to Jehovah, . . . and he said in the sight of Israel. We should have expected rather, "in the ears of Israel." The same kind of expression is used in Num. xx. 8, in a passage which probably has the same author as ours, and in Deut.

xxxiii. 7. Quite correctly **לְעֵינַי** is used, Gen. xxiii. 11, 18; Ex. iv. 30. Here it is to be taken = *coram*, as the Vulgate translates, correctly as to the sense. Then follows what Joshua said. **וַיִּשָׁתָּק**, as also **וַיִּתְקַח**, is without the article, according to the usage of poetry, as Job xvi. 18, **וַיִּתְקַח** (O earth), while in prose the article in this case is more common to distinguish the noun in some manner (Ewald, *Lelrg.* § 327). **וַיִּתְקַח**, Imp. Kal

from **וַיִּתְקַח**, prop., to be dumb with astonishment, then to be silent, then to rest, to be quiet, to keep still, as one who is silent does. So Ps. iv. 5; 1 Sam. xiv. 9; Job xxxi. 34; Lam. ii. 18; Job xxx. 27. Knobel remarks also that **וַיִּתְקַח**, Gen. xxxiv. 5; Ex. xiv. 14, is used in the same way of rest, inactivity. "Sun, stand still on Gibeon," is accordingly, = keep thyself quiet and inactive, stand still. Keil indeed will not grant this,

but translates **וַיִּתְקַח** here and 1 Sam. xiv. 9, by "wait." But both here and there **וַיִּתְקַח** stands immediately parallel to **וַיִּתְקַח**, and **עמד** means unquestionably to stand, stand still, remain standing, for which 1 Sam. xx. 38 may be superfluously compared. Besides, how can the sun wait, without standing still. It is better, therefore, to translate poetically, with force and boldness, "stand still," than tamely "Sun, wait at Gibeon and moon in the Valley of Ajalon." So also the LXX., *Ἰστητω ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ Γαβεών, καὶ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ φάραγμα Αἰλῶν*; and the Vulgate: "*Sol contra Gabaon ne movearis et luna contra vallem Ajalon!*" Quite erroneous is the attempt of Dr. Barzilai in the brochure, *Un Errore di Trente Secoli* (Trieste, 1868), to translate the **וַיִּשָׁתָּק הַיָּרֵחַ** by "Sun, be silent, cease to shine!" by which an eclipse of the sun

would be made out of his standing still. Zöckler, in a treatise (*Beveis des Glaubens*, iv. p. 250), remarks on this: "The untenableness of this explanation appears not only from the fact that **וַיִּתְקַח**, 'to be silent' (as well as its synonym **וַיִּתְקַח**, in Gen. xxxiv. 5; Ex. xiv. 14), according to 1 Sam. xiv. 9, may very well signify in general, the holding in, or ceasing from any activity, and particularly resting from any movement, the holding still or standing of a moving body (comp. also Ps. iv. 5; Job xxxi. 34; Lam. ii. 18), while its application to the self-concealment of a luminous body, can be supported by no example, — but furthermore also from the connection with what follows. This, as definitely as is possible, presents the actual standing still of the sun, as the result of the mighty injunction of Joshua, the believing warrior."

The Valley of Ajalon lies to the west of Gibeon. Knobel says on this, at ch. xix. 42: "Ajalon, in whose vale Joshua bade the moon stand still (x. 12), allotted to the Levites (xxi. 24; 1 Chron. vi. 54), often mentioned in the wars with the Philistines (1 Sam. xiv. 31; 1 Chron. viii. 13), fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 10), taken from Ahaz by the Philistines (2 Chron. xxviii. 18), lying, according to the *Onom.*, s. v. "Ajalon," two miles east of Nicopolis; at the present day, a village Jalu, Jalo, in a fertile region on the north side of a mountain ridge, from which one overlooks the beautiful and wide basin Merdj Ibn Omeir stretching away to the north. Rob. iii. 63, 64; *Later Bibl. Res.* 145, Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, p. 188 f." To this position of Ajalon, westward from Gibeon, where Joshua joined battle with the Amorites, the place of the moon suits well. It stood in the west, near its setting, over Ajalon, and was still visible although the sun was shining. Let the two heavenly bodies stand where they stood and there would continue to be day; and if there continued to be day there would still be a possibility of completely destroying the foe. And that was precisely Joshua's wish, that they might stand where they stood in order that he might annihilate the enemy. Hengstenberg (*ubi sup.* p. 558) will not allow this, but explains that the "simultaneous appearance of the sun and moon" was "something entirely unusual, which ought not to be so readily taken for natural." This joint apparition, however, is not very unusual; on the contrary it may be witnessed in a clear sky at any time, during the moon's first quarter, in the afternoon, and during the last quarter, in the forenoon: and indeed, from what is kindly communicated to me by the astronomer Mädler, it may be seen, in the much clearer southern heavens, early in the afternoon, during the moon's first quarter, and until late in the forenoon during her third.

Knobel, for his part, supposes that "the separate mention of the sun and moon on Gibeon and Ajalon has, in the poetical parallelism, as *e. g.* in Hos. v. 8; Am. i. 5; Mich. iii. 12; Zech. ix. 10, 17, no significance." That, however, is questionable, in view of the fact that the assignment of the two heavenly bodies to their respective positions suits

Into the hand of Israel,' (LXX.)
When he discomfited them in Gibeon,
'And they were discomfited before the face of Israel,' (LXX.)"
And Joshua said: —
"Be thou still, O sun, upon Gibeon,
And thou moon upon the Valley of Ajalon.'
And the sun was still,
And the moon stood,

Until 'the nation' (or, LXX., until God) had avenged them upon their enemies.
And the sun stood in 'the very midst' of the heavens,
And hastened not to go down for a whole day,
And there was no day like that before it or after it,
That JEHOVAH heard the voice of a man,
For JEHOVAH fought for Israel.
And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp in Gilgal." — Tr.]

so perfectly to the place of Joshua, and the more so because it is to us very doubtful whether the names in Hos. v. 8, Am. i. 5, Zech. ix. 10, are connected merely for the sake of the parallelism, which we admit only as to Mic. iii. 12. But if the sun and moon simultaneously stood still in the heavens, and so that the sun rested over Gibeon east of the field of battle, and the moon over Ajalon in the west, the battle must have been going on in the morning, and Joshua have uttered his invocation at this time, perhaps toward midday. So it is understood also by Keil, Knobel, and Zöckler, who writes (*ubi sup.*): "The mention of the moon with the sun in ver. 13 is to be explained simply from the circumstance that it also was yet visible in the sky, and that the prayer, directed toward a *prolongation of the day*, could only be fully expressed, positively as well as negatively, if it at the same time called for the delay of the night, or, which is the same thing, a standing still of the planet which governed the night (Gen. i. 16)."

Gibeon and Ajalon are named as stations of the sun and moon, because Joshua when he engaged in the battle was probably west of Gibeon, in a place from which he saw the sun shining in the east over that city, and the moon in the far west over Ajalon.

As the probable hour of the conflict we may infer, partly from this situation and partly from the sun standing still "in the midst of the heaven" (ver. 13), that it was in the middle part of the day, and probably still in the forenoon, hardly the late afternoon as Corn. a Lapide, Clericus, J. D. Mich. *et al.* have supposed. Hitzig also decides in favor of the forenoon: "As Saul upon the king of Ammon, Joshua fell on the Amorites early in the morning. When, soon after, the battle took a favorable turn, the sun had already risen and stood over Gibeon behind the combatants, while in the far west, the moon had not yet gone down" (*ubi sup.* p. 102). Most recently of all A. Hengstenberg in Bochnum has also published a contribution (*Beweis des Glaubens*, vol. v. pp. 287, 288) toward the explanation of our passage, in which he agrees with Zöckler in regard to the question at what time of day the battle was fought and Joshua uttered his call to the sun. Ewald, on the contrary (*Gesch. d. v. Israel*, 2, p. 325, 326), thinks of the afternoon. In regard, further, to the relation between the hail-storm mentioned ver. 11 and Joshua's exclamation, we must remember that the author of the "Book of the Upright," knew nothing of this hail-storm,¹ but the writer who gave the Book of Joshua its present form, inserted not only the supposed citation (ver. 12 and 13 *a.*) but the whole passage (vers. 12-15) into the midst of the history of the pursuit, so that he appears certainly to have conceived of the hail-storm as a preceding event.

Ver. 13. **And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed until the nation had avenged themselves on their enemies.** Joshua's wish is fulfilled. The heavenly bodies pause in their course and stand still. When once we remember that the poet says this, the same poet who has previously put in Joshua's mouth this grand, poetical exclamation, reminding us of Agamemnon's wish (*Il.* 2, 413 ff.), we have found the key to ver. 13, the most striking parallel to which is Judg. vi. 20. When it is there said that the stars out of their courses (*ממסלותהם*) fought against Sisera, no one, so far as we know, has ever supposed that this poetical

trope was to be literally understood. Rather it is there, as here, the heavenly powers, nay Jehovah himself (ver. 14) who fights for Israel. It is not "an unheard of, astronomico-mechanical miracle" with which we here have to do, but "the most glorious typical occurrence, which illustrates how all nature, heaven and earth, is in league with the people of God, and helps them to victory in their battles of the kingdom" (Lange, *Com. on Gen.* pp. 86, 87).

The standing still of the sun and moon is no more to be understood literally than that fighting of the stars down out of their courses, or the melting down of the mountains (*Is.* xxxiv. 3; *Amos* ix. 13; *Mic.* i. 3), the rending of the heavens (*Psa.* xviii. 10), or the skipping of Lebanon (*Psa.* xxix. 6), the clapping of hands by the trees in the field (*Is.* lv. 12), the leaping of the mountains and hills (*Psa.* cxiv. 46), the bowing of the heavens (*Psa.* xviii. 10). It is the language of poetry which we have here to interpret, and poetry, too, of the most figurative, vehement kind, which honors and celebrates Joshua's confidence in God in the midst of the strife; that "unique assurance of victory on the part of Joshua" (Lange, *ubi sup.*) which the Lord would not suffer to be put to shame. In this the most positive interpreters (Keil, Kurtz, both Hengstenbergs), however they may differ as to the particulars, and to textual criticisms, are perfectly at one, against a literal apprehension of the passage. Nor can *Hab.* iii. 11, be adduced in favor of a literal interpretation of the passage. For if it is

said, *Hab.* iii. 11, "Sun, moon, **זָבַלָה נֶמֶר**," this is not to be translated as Hengstenberg (*ubi sup.*) and Keil, on the one side, and Hitzig (*Kl. Propheten*), on the other have shown, "The sun, and moon remain in their habitation," but rather: "The sun, the moon enter into a habitation," *i. e.* as we should say: "into the shade," namely, "behind the stratum of clouds" or, "they are darkened" "The friendly lights grow pale, while on the other hand, there shines for the enemies of God and his people, another, an ungenial light, which brings destruction, the lightning, God's spears and arrows" (Hengstenberg). This passage has therefore nothing at all to do with the one before us. And when Jesus Sirach in his enumeration of the exploits of Joshua, asks (*xlvi.* 4), *Ὁὐχὶ ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνεπέδισεν ὁ ἤλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἐγένεθη πρὸς δόξα*; he makes out of the standing still of the sun, a going back, something like *Is.* xxxviii. 8, and speaks at the same time of lengthening one day into two. He is not therefore correct in his representation of the occurrence. The same is true of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, 17), when he speaks only of an increase, *i. e.* lengthening in general of the day.

Is not this written in the Book of the Upright? *i. e.* "Lo, this stands written in that book and may there be read expressly. On **זָבַלָה** for

זָבַלָה comp. *Num.* xxii. 37; *Dent.* xi. 30. So very often in citations; 1 *K.* xi. 41; *xiv.* 29; *xv.* 7, 23, 31; *xvi.* 3, 20, 27 and often" (Knobel).

And the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down about a whole day.

זָבַלָה here used of place, in *Judg.* xvi. 3 of time; in the middle, a more precise designation of the sun's standing, which is omitted in the poetical part of this episode.

And hastened not to go down. The verb **זָבַלָה** is used once besides in our book (*ch.* xvii. 15),

¹ That is, strictly, gives no indication of such knowledge in this passage. — Ta.]

and in the sense "to be narrow," and again in Ex. v. 13, where the Egyptian task-masters are spoken of, in the sense of "to oppress." It is not employed in poetry *alone*, as Zöckler (*ubi sup.*) maintains, in order to support his view that these verses also, at least to the close of ver. 14, breathe "a poetically exalted" strain. Or should Ex. v. 13 also be regarded as a poetical passage? A certain elevation is, indeed, not to be denied to the narrative here, but that we find also in places, like ch. viii., which yet is unquestionably prose.

About a whole day. תָּמִים, elsewhere commonly of moral integrity, is used in the original sense, "complete," "entire," in Lev. iii. 9; xxv. 30, in the latter passage of time, namely, of the year יוֹם תָּמִים הַשָּׁנָה הַמִּצְחָה, as here of the day יוֹם תָּמִים. Plainly, the author of this verse understands the poetical citation from the Book of the Upright, *literally*, which does not hinder us from going back to the *original* sense, as we have done above. That he, like all the Scripture writers, thought of an "anti-Copernican" system, as Zöckler expresses it, or as we might more correctly say, that he spoke of what was immediately perceptible, is evident without discussion. We think with Zöckler (p. 250) "it is lost labor to put upon the expressions of holy Scripture concerning the magnitudes and movements of the heavenly bodies, a heliocentric sense, by allegorical artifices, since the childish simple view of the universe, which perceives in the earth the fixed centre, must necessarily have possessed the Biblical writers also as children of their time."

Ver. 14. And there was no day like that before it and after it (לִפְנֵי, וְאַחֲרָיו) that Jehovah hearkened (לְיְהוָה) unto the voice of a man; for Jehovah fought for Israel. The war was not merely a war of men, Jehovah himself rather was its leader, as was promised the Israelites, Ex. xiv. 14, by Moses. Comp. Deut. i. 29, 30; iii. 22, xx. 1, 3, 4, xxxi. 6. Hence Jehovah is called precisely מַלְחָמָה, "man of war" (Luther: *der rechte Kriegsmann*), Ex. xv. 3. He has heard the call of Joshua and held the sun still in his course (of the moon nothing more is said), and so, according to the view of the author of 13 b-15, has performed an *objective* astronomical miracle, of which the poet from whom the quotation is made, had no thought, and of which we, following him (the poet) have no thought.¹

Ver. 15 b. Hengstenberg would refer this prosaic statement still entirely to the poetry (which Zöckler does not do), and quotes in support of this (Ex. xv. 19) the close of Moses' song of triumph, which is also found Ex. xiv. 22. It is not found, however, in precisely the same words (in the latter passage בָּא, in the former the more graphic הִלָּלָה), nor with the same arrangement of the words, which in Ex. xv. 19 has the rhythmical cadence. We cannot, therefore, allow force to this example, but believe, rather, that to this, certainly if to any of the vers. (13 b-15) the "words of Maurer apply: *Quæ autem formulæ citandi l-guntur, sunt poësis; quæ post pura prosa.*"

1 [Without dwelling on the palpable difficulty, not to say impossibility, of reconciling such a judgment with any satisfactory conception of the inspiration of the writer of our book, is not that judgment inconsistent with the natural probabilities concerning the authorship? That is, would not the reviser or compiler of the Book of Joshua know, as well as we, that he was introducing in verses 12, 13, a

KEIL'S VIEW OF VERS. 12-15, ADDED BY THE TRANSLATOR.

[As representing a somewhat different theological position, the following comments of Keil on this passage, may, as well as from their character in other respects, be profitably cited here.

"This wonderful victory was celebrated by Israel in a war-song which was preserved in the Book of the Pious. Out of this book the author of the Book of Joshua inserted here the passage which commemorated the wonderful work of Jehovah toward Israel and toward his enemies, the Amorites, for the glorification of his own name. For, that we have in vers. 12-15 a poetical extract from the סֵפֶר הַיְשָׁר is universally acknowledged. This insertion and the reference to this writing is analogous to the quotation from the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Num. xxi. 14), and the lyrical strophes woven into the historical narrative. The object is not to confirm the historical report by reference to an older authority, but only to render more vivid to future generations the striking impression which those wonders of the Lord had made upon the congregation."

Keil's account of the Book of the Pious is the same as that of Fay and most others. He distinctly assumes, however, what doubtless should be understood by all, that this progressively accumulated anthology of pious hymns in praise of the covenant God was interspersed with explanatory historical notices. Thus there is no difficulty in supposing ver. 15 also to have been copied from this poetical book. Keil then proceeds: "The citation from it proves itself at once to have been taken from a song, by the poetical form of the language and by the parallelism of the members.

The quotation begins, however, not with יְהוָה, ver. 12 b, but with בְּיוֹם הַהַר, ver. 12 a, and to it belong also vers. 13 and 14, so that the reference to the source of the quotation is inserted in the middle of it. Such formulas are generally met with, indeed, elsewhere either at the beginning of the passage added, as Num. xxi. 14, 27; 2 Sam. i. 18, or at the close of it, as generally in the books of Kings and Chronicles. But it does not follow that such position was a rule without exceptions, especially since the reference to sources in the books of Kings has a quite different sense, the citations being not documentary proofs of the occurrences before reported, but references to writings in which more complete accounts might be found concerning fragmentarily communicated facts. In ver. 13 also the poetical form of the discourse leaves no doubt that vers. 13 and 14 still contain words of the ancient poet, not a prosaic comment of the historian on the poetic expressions which he had quoted. Only ver. 15 presents a pure historical statement which is repeated (ver. 43) at the end of the narrative of this victory and war. And this literal repetition of ver. 15 in ver. 43, and still more the fact that the statement that Joshua returned with all the people into the camp to Gilgal anticipates the historical order of events, and that in a very striking manner, renders it highly probably impassioned and hyperbolic passage of poetry? If so how could he, more than we, go on to interpret it as prosaic history? We think this indicates at once that the interpretation is not his, is nobody's cool interpretation, but only a continuation of the lyrical strain. Not all the grammatical objections of our author to this view combined can stand against this one consideration. — E.]

able, if not altogether certain, that ver. 15 also is taken from the Book of the Pious."

Keil's conception of the circumstances and progress of the battle, and of the position of the parties in reference to the standing still of the sun and moon, agrees in every important point with that of Fay.

"How then shall we make real to ourselves this wonderful occurrence? An actual standing still of the sun at some place in the heavens, about the zenith, is not clearly expressed. If one were disposed to insist on the *וַיִּצְבּוֹר*, "the sun stood (held his position) in the midst of the heavens," which is added as if in explanation of *וַיִּדְבֹּר* in such a way that it must express a miraculous obstruction of the course of the sun, this would hardly be consistent with the phrase *לָמָּה לָבוֹא*, "it hastened not to go down," for this strictly taken, means only, as several of the Rabbins long ago remarked, a more tardy progress of the sun. Plainly intimated in vers. 12 and 13 is so much only, that at Joshua's word the sun remained standing almost a day longer in the heavens. To this is added (ver. 14), "That there was no such day before and afterward, that Jehovah hearkened to the voice of a man; for Jehovah fought for Israel." This expression, again, should not be too hardly pressed, as the analogous utterances, "there was none like him," etc. 2 K. xviii. 5; xxiii. 25, show. They convey only the thought, a day like this which God so marvelously lengthened has not been before nor since. So much therefore lies unambiguously in the words, that the singer of the ancient song, and after him also the author of our Book of Joshua, who inserted these words into his narrative, was convinced¹ of a wonderful prolongation of that day. Here, however, it is carefully to be observed that it is not said, that God did at Joshua's request increase the length of that day by about a whole day, or cause the sun to stand still for nearly a whole day, but only that God hearkened to the voice of Joshua, *i. e.* did not let the sun go down until Israel had avenged themselves upon their enemies. The difference is not unimportant. For a marvelous prolongation of that day took place not only if, through the exertion of God's Almighty power, the course of the sun or his going down was delayed for many hours, or the day lengthened from say twelve to eighteen or twenty hours, but also on the supposition that the day appeared to Joshua and to Israel wonderfully lengthened, the work accomplished on that day being so great that it would without supernatural help have required two days.

To decide between these two views is not easy, nay, if we go to the bottom of the matter, is impossible. [And no more necessary, it might be added, viewing the account as poetry, than to try to discover the exact proportion between David's glorious hyperboles in Psalm xviii. and the actual events of the deliverance which he there celebrates. — Tr.] When we cannot measure the length of the day by the clock, we may, especially in the crowd of business or work, with extraordinary facility

¹ [Considering what is afterward truly said of the fervid poetical character of this whole passage, this statement appears quite unwarranted. Unless David and Deborah and Habakkuk were convinced of the actual reality of what they assert in the form of fact, there seems no reason at all for assuming that either the original composer of the song or he who inserted it in the Book of the Upright or he who copied it into the Book of Joshua, believed there had been an actual extension of that day. — Tr.]

² [Compare Matt. Henry's (from this point of view) more rational representation: —

be deceived in regard to its length. But the Israelites had neither sun-dials nor any clocks, and amid the tumult of the conflict hardly would Joshua, or any other one engaged in the strife, have repeatedly noticed the shadow of the sun, and inquired after its changes in reference to a tree, for example, or other such object, so as to perceive from its possibly remaining stationary and unaltered, for some hours, that the sun had actually stood still. Under these circumstances it was quite impossible for the Israelites to decide whether that day was really, or only in their conception, longer than other days.

Besides this we must take into account the poetical character of our passage. When David praises the wondrous deliverance which he had experienced at the hand of the Lord, in the words: "In my distress I called upon the Lord . . . and he heard my voice out of his heaven, . . . and he bowed the heaven and came down, . . . he stretched his hand out of the height, took me and drew me out of many waters" (Ps. xviii. 7-17), who imagines that these words are to be understood literally, of an actual descent of God out of heaven and stretching out of his hand to draw David out of the water? Or who will take the words of Deborah: "Out of heaven was the battle waged, the stars out of their courses fought against Sisera," in a literal sense? The truth of such expressions lies in the subjective field of the religious intuition, not in the rigorous interpretation of the words. In a similar way may the verses before us be understood without prejudice thereby to their real import, if that day had been merely subjectively prolonged to the religious apprehension of Israel.

But if the words had expressed even an objectively real and miraculous extension of that day, we should still have had no valid ground for doubting the truth of this statement of facts. All objections which have been raised against the fact or the possibility of such a miracle, appear, on a closer examination of the matter, nugatory. Thus, that the annals of the other peoples of the earth give no report at all of a miracle which must have extended over the whole earth, loses all importance when we perceive that no annals at all of other nations of that period are extant, and that it is extremely doubtful whether the miracle would have extended far beyond the bounds of Palestine [1] Again, the appeal to the unchangeableness of the movement of the heavenly bodies fixed by eternally unalterable laws, is not suited to show the impossibility of such a miracle. The eternal laws of nature are nothing more than modes of manifestation, or phenomena, of God's creative power, the proper nature of which no mortal has yet found out. May not then the Almighty Creator and Preserver of nature and all her powers, be able also so to direct and control the powers of nature according to his own will that they should contribute to the realization of his ends in salvation? Finally, the objection also that the sudden arrest of the revolution of the earth upon its axis, must have demolished all the work of human hands

"And he (Joshua) believed God's particular favor to Israel above all people under the sun; else he could not have expected, that, to favor them upon an emergency with a double day, he should (which must follow of course) amuse and terrify so great a part of the terrestrial globe with a double night at the same time; it is true he causeth the sun to shine upon the just and upon the unjust, but this once the unjust shall wait for it beyond the usual time, while, in favor to righteous Israel, it stands still." — Tr.]

upon its surface, and hurled from its orbit the earth itself and her attendant the moon, proves nothing, since it is forgotten in all this, that the almighty hand of God which not only created the stars but also lent to them and to all worlds the power to run their course with regularity, so long as this world stands, that that hand which bears, upholds, controls all things in heaven and on earth, is not too short, to guard against such ruinous consequences.

To this may still be added that even the most rigorous apprehension of the words does not compel us, with the fathers and older theologians, to suppose a miraculous obstruction of the sun in his course, but only an optical pause of the sun, *i. e.* a miraculous arrest of the revolution of the earth on its axis, which would have appeared to the observer as a standing still of the sun. Knobel is entirely wrong when he pronounces this view of the fact contrary to the text. For the Scriptures speak of things of the visible world according to their appearance, as we also still speak of the rising and setting of the sun, although we have no doubt of the revolution of the earth about the sun. Such an optical stand-still of the sun, however, or rather merely a longer standing and visibility of the sun in the horizon, might be effected through God's omnipotence in an astronomical phenomenon unknown to us and wholly incomprehensible by natural philosophy, without interfering with the general laws of the rotation of the heavenly bodies. Only we must not, surely, reduce this exertion of the divine power to a mere unusual refraction of the light, or a storm of lightning lasting through the whole night, as has been variously attempted." *Bibl. Com.* ii. 1, p. 76-81.]

Having thus treated of this difficult passage in reference to the criticism of the text, and also to the purport of it, it remains for us still to glance at the history of its interpretation.

Although Jesus Sirach and Josephus had, even in their day, betrayed a disposition in the passages above cited, to change the phraseology of our verse, in the sense of a not entirely literal conception of it, still the overwhelming majority of ancient Jewish and Christian interpreters understand here an objective, astronomical miracle, an actual standing still of the sun. So Justin Martyr in *Dial. cum Tryph.*; Ephraem Syr.; Tertullian, *De Jejunio*, i. 10; Jerome *c. Jovin.* i. 11; Chrysost. *Hom.* 27 in *Epist. ad Hebr.*; Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, xvi. 8; Theodoret, the Rabbins, Serarius, Masius, C. a Lapidé, Calvin, O-sander, *et mult. al.* Exceptions are (the *Ev. Kirchen-Zeitung*, *ubi sup.* p. 555), Maimonides and Rabbi Levi ben Gerson, who advocate the non-literal view. "The wish of Joshua," explains the latter, "aims only at this, that that one day and night might be long enough for the overthrow of the so numerous forces of the enemy. It was the same as if he had said: Grant, Almighty Father, that before sun and moon go down, thy people may take vengeance on this multitude of thy foes. The miracle of that day was, that at the prayer of a man God effected so great a defeat in so short a time." How tenaciously the Roman curia, on the contrary, in their Jesuitically inspired proceedings against Galileo (1633), held fast to the opposite view, is well known.

1 [The note of the learned Whiston, translator of Josephus, is curiously accommodating: "Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon, were physical and real, by the miraculous stoppage of the diurnal motion of the earth for about half a revolution, or whether only apparent, by aerial phosphori imitating the sun and moon as stationary so long, while clouds and the night

As however the Copernican system nevertheless found adherents, and indeed, even among orthodox Protestant theologians out of opposition to Rome, these thought to help themselves by the assumption of an optical pause of the sun (*statio optica*), that is, they assumed that the earth was hindered by God in its revolution on its axis, by which a lengthening of the day was produced. So Lilienthal, *Gute Suche*, v. p. 167 ff.; Mosheim *apud Calmet*, p. 45 ff.; Bastholm, *Judische Geschichte*, ii. p. 31 ff.; Zimmermann, *Scriptura Copernicans*, i. 1, p. 228. In recent times this view is maintained by Baumgarten (Herzog's *Realencycl.* vii. 40) According to this writer, Joshua, in the full confidence of being the dispenser of divine vengeance against the corrupt Canaanites, called, as night-threatened to overtake them, to the heavenly luminaries, and the day was by nearly its full length, "prolonged through the apparent pause of the heavenly bodies which govern day and night, but through the actual pause of the globe in its diurnal revolution." Such an exorbitant miracle came to pass because "the destination of Israel was something infinitely transcending, in its dignity and significance, the entire natural order of things." This relation between Israel and the "system of the universe" Joshua apprehended in a "moment of daring faith," "assumed the immediate realization of the same," and Jehovah "sealed this venture of faith by his work and word;" and it is for us "simply to believe, that this was done."

The editor of the *Encyclopædie* has made on this representation the very opposite remark, "That, however, theologians of a strictly positive tendency are of a different view in this respect is well known."

Grotius and Clericus are to be regarded as precursors of the rationalizing interpretation. They imagined extraordinary refractions of the light of the sun already set; for, as Grotius supposes, it was not impossible for God *solis cursum morari, aut etiam post solis occasum ejus speciem in nube supra horizontem extanti per repercussum ostendere*. Spinoza, also (*Tract. Theol. Polit.* ii. pp. 22 and 6, p. 78 ed. Hamb. 1670), adopted substantially this opinion. J. D. Michaelis and Schultz resort to the supposition of lightning that lasted through the whole night; Hess combined lightning with the light of the sun and moon, so that there was no night, so to speak, between this and the following day (F. F. Hess, *Geschichte Josua*, i. p. 140 f.). Others otherwise; but truly laughable is the attempt of Ritter (in Henke's *Magazin*, vi. 1), to make the expression "sun" and "moon" represent the signals or standards which Joshua had ordered to remain there where they chanced to stand in Gibcon and Ajalon. This insipidity reminds one, as Zöckler has rightly observed, of the famous Tavern for the Whale, and similar absurdities of a spiritless, jejune exegesis.¹

In recent times the more advanced study of textual criticism has led to the partial understanding of the passage—in our view the only correct one, which is favored not only in general by Maurer, Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. p. 326), Hitzig and von Lengerke, but also as has been shown above by theologians of quite positive principles, the two Hengstenbergs, Keil, Kurtz, and others. Not less decidedly have

held the real ones, and this parhellen, or mock sun, affording sufficient light for Joshua's pursuit and complete victory (which aerial phosphori in other shapes have been unusually common of late years), cannot now be determined; philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to this latter hypothesis," etc. *Ad. Ant.* v. 1, 16.]

Lange and Zöckler adopted this view. How far we differ from one and another of these, specially in regard to the criticism of the text, will appear from the foregoing explanation. But that men like Knak, Frantz, and Straube have again brought prominently forward as a "matter of faith," the assumption of an actual standing still of the sun, which, under the universal prevalence of the Ptolemaic astronomy was a quite natural view, although by no means required by the text in vers. 12 and 13; that they believe themselves called to defend this against the "pseudodoxy of the natural sciences," we regret as indicating a lamentable confusion of ideas, resting on a total want of scientific sense, and under the injurious influence of which the true "matter of faith" is likely to suffer much.

As a curiosity we may refer in conclusion to the notion of Jean d'Espagne, a French theologian, mentioned by Starke, who makes out that this miracle took place in the year 2555 from the creation of the world. But that is the year 7×365 . "Now a year has 365 days, and the number seven has in God's Word much mystery. Thus the number of the year 2555 makes 365 week-years, [Wochenjahre, years each of which contains a week of years]. So also year-weeks [Jahrwochen, weeks whose days are years] are to be understood (D.M. ix. 24). Thus the sun after completing 365 year-weeks in his course here kept miraculously a day of rest. This time of 365 days when it has passed 365 times gives us a year of years" etc.

c. *Flücht und Destruction of the Five Kings.* (Vers. 16-27). Vers. 16 ff. contain the continuation of vers. 1-11. The hail-storm had inflicted terrible injury on the Amorites. Many died from the hail, more than were slain by the sword of the Israelites. But the five kings sought to secure their own persons, and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. When Joshua heard of this, he caused a stone to be rolled before the mouth of the cave and set a guard over it, but he himself drives forward to effect a complete discomfiture of the enemy, and in this succeeds. Not until this is done does he have the five kings brought forward, and, after a ceremony expressive of their total subjection, hung on trees, and their corpses thrown into the cave.

Ver. 16. *Hide themselves in the cave at Makkedah.* Many such caves were found in the lime and chalk rocks of Palestine. In David's history the cave of Adullam is often mentioned (1 Sam. xxii. 1 ff.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13; 1 Chron. xi. 15). In the history of the crusades also (W. Tyrinus, *De Bello Sacro*, 15, 6; 18, 19; 11, *et seqq.*), caves are mentioned. Judg. xx. 47, the cave at Rimmon is spoken of, which could contain 600 men in its spacious recess. These caves are large and dry, and branch out also into chambers (Robinson ii. 175, 352 ff., 395-398. Von Schubert, iii. 30). They were thus admirably fitted for places of refuge, in times of danger, as in the case before us. [See *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Caves].

Ver. 17. *נָחַתוּ בְּאֵימָם* for *נָחַתוּ בְּאֵימָם* from a sing. *נָחַת* after the manner of verbs *לָחַץ*. Gesen. § 75, Rem. 21, (a) (Knobel).

Ver. 19. *Smite the hindmost of them* (their rear). *וַיִּזְבֹּתוּם* from *זָבַח* (Kal *זָבַח*), prop. "to hurt the tail," figuratively, to disturb the rear-guard of the enemy (Deut. xxv. 18). In Greek also *ὀπίσθ, ὀπίσθια* is = rear-guard.

Vers. 20, 21. Most of the enemy were left on the field; only a few escaped into the fortified

towns, where they were concealed only for a short time, as we learn from vers. 27-43. Those that remained *הַשְּׂרִידִים*, elsewhere *פְּלִיטִים* ch. viii. 22; Gen. xiv. 13; Jer. xlv. 28; Ezek. vi. 8. The apodosis begins not with *וְהַשְּׂרִידִים*, but with *וַיִּקְבְּרוּ* ver. 21, as Maurer correctly shows. How Keil could imagine that it begins not until ver. 23, it is difficult to perceive. For the rest cf. ch. iii. 15 and 16, where the construction is altogether the same, and ch. ii. 5 where it is similar. — *בְּשָׁלוֹם*, LXX. *ὁγαίεις*, Vulg.: *Sani et integro numero*, in good condition.

None pointed against the children of Israel, against one of them his tongue. The whole proverbial expression we read Ex. xi. 7: "against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move (point) his tongue, against man or beast," where dog is given as the subject. Here the subject is wanting unless we suppose with Maurer that the *ל* in *לְאִישׁ* is an error in copying, from the preceding *יִשְׂרָאֵל*, and to be rejected, which would then leave *אִישׁ* as the subject. We think it more simple to supply the subject in an indefinite, euphemistic sense, and take *לְאִישׁ* as a more precise limitation of *לְבָנֵי*, which is favored by the specification in Ex. xi. 7, *בְּהֵמָה*. Wholly false is the LXX. *καὶ οὐκ ἔργυξε τῶν υἱῶν Ι.* (!) *οὐδέεις τῇ γλώσσῃ αὐτῶν*, while the Vulg. rightly hits the sense: *nullusque contra filius Israel mutire ausus est*. The meaning is, no one ventured to do any harm to any of the children of Israel, comp. Judith xi. 13.

Vers. 22, 23. At Joshua's command the cave is now opened, and the kings brought before him.

Ver. 24. *Come near, put your feet on the necks of these kings.* This demand for a contemptuous humiliation of the conquered leaders of the enemy is addressed by Joshua to the leaders of *the men of war*, to his field officers, who also respond thereto. The ceremony indicates "entire subjugation," and was practiced, according to Knobel, by the Greek emperors also. Constant. Porphyrog. *De Ceremoniis Antic Byzant.* 2, 19; Bynæus, *De Calceis Hebr.* p. 318). We may compare Ps. lx. 10. *הִתְקַבְּלוּ* for *הִתְקַבְּלוּ*, comp. Is. xxviii. 12 on the form of the verb; Ges. § 109; Ewald, § 331 b. on the use of the art. for pron. rel.

Ver. 25. Here Joshua says the same to his warriors which the Lord had said to him (ch. i. 7, 9).

Ver. 26. *Joshua kills the kings*, doubtless with the sword, and then hangs up their bodies in contempt on five trees, cf. Deut. xxi. 22; Num. xxv. 4; 2 Sam. iv. 12. The one suspended, was as is known, considered accursed, and might not remain hanging over night, Deut. xxi. 23; Gal. iii. 13; John xix. 31. In like manner Joshua had done to the king of Ai, ch. viii. 29. "The hanging of a living man is a Persian punishment (Ezr. vi. 11). Under the Herods this mode of execution occurs among the Jews also, Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 11, 6 (unless strangling is here intended), as well as in Egypt during the Roman age, Philo ii. 529. See Wiener, ii. 11 s. v. *Lebensstrafen*.

DOGMATICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The Biblical view of the universe is like that

of all antiquity, the geocentric; the earth stands still, the sun moves. So it appears according to natural, unaided observation, and we have only come to a different apprehension as the result of modern scientific researches. This result we cheerfully accept without forfeiture of our faith, for the only dogmatical question is whether *God made the world* or not (Heb. xi. 3), but not at all whether the earth revolves about the sun or the sun about the earth. In that question, whether God made the world, and in particular, whether He created it out of nothing, a *religious* interest is involved, that the origin of the cosmos should not be referred to blind chance but to an intelligent Creator of heaven and earth (Gen. i. 1). But *how*, on the supposition that God has created all things, the universe is constituted, whether so that the earth moves about the sun or the sun about the earth, this question is of no religious moment to us, but is relegated rather to the science of astronomy, which has finally answered it in the sense of Copernicus and Galileo. Comp. on this the instructive article of Dr. F. Pfaff on the Copernican system and its opponents, *Beveis d. Glaube*, vol. v. pp. 278-287. [Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, book v. ch. 3, sect. 4: *The Copernican System opposed on Theological grounds.* — Tr.]

2. With this foundation principle clear in mind, it is self-evident that those render poor service to the "cause of faith" who feel themselves obliged to uphold as a matter of faith what has nothing to do with faith, but is a matter of science. Conversely, however, it needs to be said also that the Bible as a *book of religion*, cannot reasonably be thought less of because it favors the geocentric scheme. So does Homer also, *e. g.* whom, nevertheless, in his *poetic* worth no one has ever thought of disparaging on that account, while it has always belonged to the tactics of those who opposed the Bible to assail it first on the side of the natural sciences, that they might next impugn its *religious* authority.

3. On the very recent strife in the Berlin Church, in the course of which our passage ch. x. 12-15 has been much ventilated, it belongs not to our design to speak.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Joshua's fidelity to his covenant with the oppressed Gibeonites crowned with a glorious victory: (1) Picture of the oppression of Gibeon by the five Canaanite kings. (2) How Joshua goes up at the call of the Gibeonites and smites the enemy. (3) How he pursues them and holds judgment upon them. — Gibeon's need, Joshua's faithfulness, God's help. — If men come to us for help in time of need God gives the courage to render aid. — True courage comes alone from God. — As God once fought for Israel so He still fights for his

own. "Sun, stand still on Gibeon, and moon in the valley of Ajalon!" A believing word of Joshua, God's contending hero: (1) Spoken under what circumstances? (2) How intended? (3) How answered? — The Lord hears when we call upon Him in faith. — The great day at Gibeon. — It was great, (1) through the mighty strife of the combatants; (2) through the courageous faith of the general; (3) through the victory which God gave. — How the memory of Joshua lived still in song, and through song was glorified. — The cowardice of the Canaanite kings contrasted with the boldness of Joshua. — He that has no good conscience hides himself. — The judgment of Joshua upon the five kings (1) destructive to them; (2) encouraging to Israel.

STARKE: Whoever, in spiritual conflicts, will have the true Joshua for a helper, must not trust to his own powers but to the power of Christ, and freely come before him, Phil. iv. 13. — He who would do his neighbor a favor, should not delay it long, but act quickly, for the speediness of a gift doubles its value [*bis dat qui cito dat*], while a benefit delayed loses its thanks and becomes useless, 2 Cor. ix. 7. — On the successful progress of a cause, one ought not to give glory to himself but to God, for He is the workman, we only the tools. — From God's power no man can either climb too high or creep too low; He knows easily how to find us, Amos ix. 2, Ps. cxxxix. 7. — Pious Christian, God will one day for thee also lay thy enemies at thy feet; therefore, up, contend, conquer! Rev. ii. 26, 27; iii. 9, 12; Rom. xvi. 20.

CRAMER: It is strange to the world that we will not keep with them: therefore those who turn to God must be attacked and suffer persecution. 1 Pet. iv. 4; Matt. x. 36; 2 Tim. iii. 12. — God has various artillery with which He contends for his people against their enemies, Judg. v. 20. Let no one faint, therefore, with God's help. . . . The tyrants who were so wild, fierce, and unrestrainable, God can presently tame.

HEDINGER: The iniquity of the ungodly of itself hastens to its punishment, and there is no rod so good for a wicked man as his own. — It is well to be concerned lest one make God angry, but when one has made Him angry it is useless care to try to escape his judgment. Even if we should run out of the world we should only find his wrath so much the greater.

LANGÉ: If a man has once gained a real victory over his spiritual foes he must boldly follow it up without indolent delay, and faithfully reap the fruits of the success given him.

GERLACH: Holy Scripture speaks, in regard to things of the visible world, and which concern not the affairs of God's kingdom, according to natural appearances, precisely as we speak of the sun rising and setting, although we have no doubt of the revolution of the earth.

4. The Conquest of Southern Palestine.

CHAPTER X. 28-43.

28 And that day Joshua took Makkedah, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof he utterly destroyed [devoted], them and all the souls that

- were* therein; he let none remain [left none remaining, as in vers. 33, 37, 39, ch. xi. 8, etc.]; and he did to the king of Makkedah as he did [had done] unto the king of Jericho.
- 29 Then [And] Joshua passed from Makkedah, and all Israel with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah: and the Lord [Jehovah] delivered it also, and the king thereof, into the hand of Israel; and he smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that *were* therein; he let [left] none remain [remaining] in it; but [and, comp. ver. 28] did unto the king thereof as he did [had done] unto the king of Jericho.
- 31 And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought against it: And the Lord [Jehovah] delivered Lachish into the hand of Israel, which [who] took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that *were* therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.
- 33 Then [At that time] Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish; and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had [omit: had] left him none remaining.
- 34 And from Lachish Joshua passed unto Eglon, and all Israel with him: and they encamped against it, and fought against it. And they took it on that day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that *were* therein he utterly destroyed [devoted] that day, according to all that he had done to Lachish.
- 36 And Joshua went up from Eglon, and all Israel with him, unto Hebron: and they fought against it: And they took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the souls that *were* therein; he left none remaining, according to all that he had done to Eglon, but [and] destroyed it utterly [devoted it], and all the souls that *were* therein.
- 38 And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it: And he took it and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed [devoted] all the souls that *were* therein: he left none remaining: as he had done to Hebron so he did to Debir, and to the king thereof, [and] as he had done also [omit: also] to Libnah, and to her king.
- 40 So [And] Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs,¹ and all their kings: he left none remaining, but [and] utterly destroyed [devoted] all that breathed, as the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel commanded. And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time: because the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel fought for Israel. And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

¹ [Ver. 40. — The geographical definiteness of this statement might be indicated thus: And Joshua smote all the land: the mountain, and the south-country (the *Negeb*), and the low-land (the *Shephe ah*), and the foot-hills, etc. See Exegetical note. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

After the brilliant victory at Gibeon, Joshua, without special difficulty, conquered the whole of southern Palestine west of the Jordan. Particularly named are the cities Makkedah (ver. 28), Libnah (ver. 29), Lachish (ver. 31), Eglon (ver. 34), Hebron (ver. 36), and Debir (vers. 38, 39). With ver. 40 the special enumeration of conquered cities ceases. We are then summarily informed that Joshua smote the whole land, the mountains, the south-land, the lowlands, and the foot-hills, from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza, and the whole land of Goshen unto Gibeon (vers. 40, 41). This success attended him because God fought for Israel (ver. 42). After completing the campaign Joshua returned to the camp at Gilgal on the Jordan (ver. 43). At this point, perhaps, we may most conveniently remark that when Hitzig (*ubi sup.* p.

103) holds all Joshua's professed activity, after Gibeon, to be mere romance and no history, we, for reasons developed in the *Introd.* § 3, must decidedly differ with him.

Ver. 28. Capture of Makkedah (vers. 10, 16, 21; ch. xv. 41). Instead of מַכְּדֵה , according to many Codd. and various editions, as well as the analogy of ver. 37, מַכְּדָן should be read.

He smote them with the edge of the sword, as previously Ai (ch. viii. 24), as afterwards the other cities. This phrase occurs in the present section four times (vers. 28, 30, 32, 35).

He left none remaining, likewise used four times (vers. 28, 30, 33, 40). A complete destruction was effected, for Joshua devoted all that had breath (ver. 40).

Vers. 29-32. Joshua turned from Makkedah,

(which is possibly to be sought for in the region of the present Terkumia (Tricomias)), westward toward Libnah, and then from there southeastward toward Lachish, both which places are found, though with the mark of interrogation, on Kiepert's map, but not on that of Van de Velde. [On Menke's Map (111.) Lachish is placed slightly N. of W. from Libna. — Tr.]

Ver. 33. According to the previous agreement (ch. ix. 2) the king of Gezer, later Γαζαρα (2 Macc. x. 32, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, 1,) and Γάδαρα (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, 22; xii. 7, 4) and Γαζαρίς (Strabo, 16, p. 759), now goes up to help Lachish. The city has not yet been discovered. Kiepert suspects that it lay northwest of Beth-horon, and so likewise Knobel on ch. xvi. 3; Van de Velde has no statement. This king too is destroyed.

Ver. 34. Joshua now marches westward [eastward?] from Lachish to Eglon (Αγλαα), now Adjlan, on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza; invests, takes, and destroys Eglon with all its inhabitants, like Lachish, Libnah, and Makkedah.

Ver. 35. Eglon [Lachish?] was the westernmost point of which the bold leader of Israel obtained possession. In a tolerably direct line he marched next upon Hebron, the seat of the patriarchs, familiar in the history of Abraham, and which still lies in a charming region. This city also he captures like the rest. The fate of Hebron is the same as that of the other Canaanite cities.

Ver. 38. וישב Joshua now turned, as Ex. v. 22; Num. xviii. 9. He turns towards Debir (ch. xv. 15, 49). This Debir, earlier called Kirjath-sepher (ch. xv. 15; Judg. i. 11) or Kirjath-saano (ch. xv. 49), is either, as Rosen supposes (*Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* xi. p. 50 ff.), followed by von Ranmer (p. 184), the same as Idwirban, or Dewirban, three fourths of an hour west of Hebron, or, according to the view of Knobel (p. 435), Thaharjeh, or Dhoherjeh, as Kiepert and Van de Velde write it, an important place, inhabited down even to the present time, the first on the mountain of Judah as one goes toward Hebron from the south, and distant from the latter about five hours, — or, according to Van de Velde (*Mem.* p. 307), with whom Keil agrees = Dilbeh, on the top of a hill north of the Wady Dilbeh, about two hours southwest of Hebron. It is in favor of one of the two last conjectures that all the cities mentioned ch. xv. 48, 49, among which Debir also stands, lie entirely in the south, while Idwirban or Dewirban is west of Hebron and quite too far north for that group of cities to which it belongs. If we follow Rosen's opinion as Bunsen has done, וישב must be translated "returned," as it is by Bunsen. On the position of Thaharjeh, particularly, cf. Rob. i. 311, 12 (edh Dhoherjeh), Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi. [Gage's Trans. iii. 193, 288, 289, 202, and ch. xv. 15.] To this we shall recur in connection with the conquests which are referred to Caleb, ch. xiv. 6 ff.; xv. 14 ff. According to Judg. i. 10 ff. the city of Hebron and even Debir was captured not until a later period.

Ver. 40-43. No further statement of special conquests is made; there follows rather a comprehensive survey of Joshua's successes at that time. Joshua smote the whole land. This is then more definitely

specialized: (1) הַר הַיְהוּדָה, the mountain, i. e. the mountain of Judah, which extends southward from Jerusalem. It consists of calcareous limestone, and forms the watershed between the Mediterranean and Dead Seas, rising to the height of three thousand

feet; in general an uneven and rocky district, especially in the southern portion, yet not without fruitful and inviting spots. (2.) הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדָה, the land of the

south, prop., from נָבֵב, which in the Syr., Chald., and Sam. signifies to be dry, the dry, parched land, where the mountain brooks fail in the summer, so that in Ps. cxxvi. 4, God is invoked to let them return again (*vide* Hitzig on this passage). It is the steppe which forms the southern portion of Judæa, a land "intermediate between wilderness and cultivated land," precisely as the steppes of southern Russia, or the heath-land of North Germany. Because this steppe, this parched and sun-burnt land, lay in the south of Palestine (cf. ch. xv. 2-4, 21), הַרְבֵּי comes

to mean generally, south, and הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדָה southward, Num. xxxv. 5; Ex. xl. 24; Josh. xvii. 9, 10. (3.)

The low lands הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדָה (xi. 16; xv. 33) from

שָׁפֵל to be low, the strip of land in southern Palestine accurately indicated on Kiepert's map as stretching along the sea from Joppa to Gaza (Jer. xxxii. 44; xxxiii. 13). Much more populous, fertile, and beautiful than the Negeb. (4.) The declivities הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדָה, out of which the LXX. and Vulg. make a proper name: 'Ασηδόθη, Asedoth. Luther translates, "on the brooks," [Eng. vers. "the springs"], in accordance with Num. xxi. 15,

where he renders הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדָה "source of the brooks." The explanation is this: הַרְבֵּי like הַרְבֵּי is to be derived from יָשַׁד, according to the Syriac, to pour, to rush down, = (1.) outpouring; (2.) place upon which something pours

out, e. g. הַרְבֵּי הַפְּסִגָּה (Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49), the place whither the brooks of Mount Pisgah issue, the declivities of Pisgah.¹ In our passage the declivities or "foot-hills" are those of the mountain of Judah, which slopes off gradually to the low-land: — the land of Goshen (ver. 41). This is to be carefully distinguished from Goshen in the land of Egypt (Gen. xlv. 10; xlv. 28 and often). Again ch. xi. 16; xv. 51, a city of the same name is mentioned, perhaps the chief city of this region. Knobel derives the name from the Arabic, making it = *pectus, lorica*. Calmet maintains that the land of Goshen here mentioned is the same as the Egyptian. This needs no refutation.

Ver. 41. From Kadesh-barnea unto Gaza, i. e. from the wilderness in which Kadesh-barnea lay (Num. xiii. 3, 26, xx. 1, xxvii. 14, and often) to Gaza in the Shephelah, which is only about one hour from the Mediterranean Sea, — and the whole land of Goshen unto Gibeon, i. e. all the country between Gaza and Gibeon which lay on a line directly northeast from Gaza. Thus Joshua had become master of all southern Palestine between the Jordan valley and the Mediterranean Sea in one direction, and between the heights of Gibeon and the wilderness in the other. Jericho, Ai, Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, had one after the other fallen and been destroyed, and whole districts, like Goshen, had submitted themselves. With the ruins of broken cities, and the bodies of their inhabitants, the land was covered

1 [We have proposed in the amended translation of this verse to render הַרְבֵּי הַיְהוּדָה, by "foot-hills" which, although not suggested by the etymology of the Hebrew word, seems to convey nearly the intended signification. — Tr.]

on the mountains, as well as on the slopes, in the lowland, in the desert, on the border of the wilderness as well as on the banks of the Jordan. A divine judgment had fallen on the Canaanites. Jehovah, God of Israel, had Himself fought for his chosen people (vers. 42, 14). And Joshua marches back, to find rest after such mighty exploits, in the camp at Gilgal (ver. 43).

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

Of the extermination of the Canaanites, as well as of the idea of the devotement (בְּהִלָּה), we have

already treated, and do not, therefore, here enter again on the subject. Cf. the Exegetical and Critical on ch. ii. 11, and vi. 17; also the Doctrinal and Ethical on ch. vi. 15-27 [Introd. § 5, p. 21].

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The section before us being no more than several of the following (chaps. xii., xiii., xv., etc.), suited for texts of sermons, while for Bible-classes the exegetical notes will furnish the necessary explanations, we remark here once for all, that on this description of passages in our Book, the Homiletical and Practical comments will be omitted.

5. *The Victory over the Northern Canaanites. Capture of their Land. General Retrospect of the Conquest of the Country West of the Jordan.*

CHAPTER XI.

a. The Second League of Canaanite Kings.

CHAPTER XI. 1-6.

1 And it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor had [omit: had] heard *those things*, that he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and
2 to the king of Achshaph. And to the kings that *were* on [in] the north of [on] the mountains, and of the plains [and in the Jordan valley] south of Cinneroth, and
3 in the valley [the low-land], and in the borders [heights] of Dor on the west, *And to the Canaanite on the east and on the west, and to the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountains, and to the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh.* And they went out, they and all their hosts [camps] with them, much people, even [omit: even] as the sand that *is* upon the sea-shore in multitude,
4 with [and] horses and chariots very many. And when all these kings were met together, they came and pitched [encamped] together at the waters of Merom, to
5 fight against Israel. And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Joshua, Be not afraid because of them: for to-morrow about this time will I deliver them all up [give them all] slain before Israel: thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire.

b. The great Victory at the Waters of Merom.

CHAPTER XI. 7-9.

7 So [And] Joshua came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the
8 waters of Merom suddenly, and they fell upon them. And the Lord [Jehovah] delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward;
9 and they smote them, until they left them none remaining. And Joshua did unto them as the Lord [Jehovah] bade [had said unto] him: he houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.

c. The Capture of the remaining Portions of Northern Palestine.

CHAPTER XI. 10-25.

10 And Joshua at that time turned back, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms.
11 And they smote all the souls that *were* therein with the edge of the sword, utterly destroying [devoting] *them*: there was not any left to breathe: and he burnt

- 12 Hazor with fire. And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and smote them with the edge of the sword, *and* [omit: and] he utterly destroyed [devoted] them, as Moses the servant of the Lord commanded.
- 13 But *as for*¹ the cities that stood still in their strength [on their hill], Israel burned
- 14 none of them, save Hazor only; *that* did Joshua burn. And all the spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves: but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them,
- 15 neither left they any to breathe. As the Lord [Jehovah] commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua, and so did Joshua: he left nothing undone of all that the Lord [Jehovah] commanded Moses.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 13. Literally: "Only all the cities which stood on their hill (הַרְיָם) Israel did not burn them." In English phrase: "Only [or, yet] Israel burned none of the cities which stood on their hill; except that Hazor alone Joshua burned." הַרְיָם seems quite as truly to stand for "except that" here as in the *one* instance mentioned by Gesenius s. v., in 1 K. iii. 18. — Tr.]

d. General Retrospect of the Conquest of West Palestine.

CHAPTER XI. 16-23.

- 16 So [And] Joshua took all that land, the hills [mountain], and all the south country, and all the land of Goshen, and the valley [the low-land], and the plain [the Arabah or Jordan-valley], and the mountain of Israel, and the valley [low-land] of the same; *Even* from the mount Halak [the bald mountain], that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad, in the valley of Lebanon, under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote them, and slew them. Joshua made war a long time [Fay, exactly: many days] with all those kings. There was not a city which made peace with [Fay, De Wette: peacefully submitted to] the children [sons] of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon: all *other* [omit: other] they took in battle. For it was of the Lord [Jehovah] to harden [prop. strengthen, LXX.: *κατιχύσαι*] their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle [LXX.: *συναγᾶν εἰς πόλεμον*], that he might destroy them utterly [devote them], *and* that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them, as the Lord [Jehovah] commanded Moses.
- 21 And at that time came Joshua and cut off the Anakims from the mountains, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the mountains of Judah, and from all the mountains of Israel: Joshua destroyed them utterly [devoted them] with *their* cities. There was none of the Anakims left in the land of the children [sons] of Israel: only in Gaza, and in Gath, and in Ashdod, there remained.
- 23 So [And] Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Moses, and Joshua gave it for an inheritance [possession] unto Israel, according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

With this chapter we enter upon a new theatre of the conquests of Joshua, the northern part of West Palestine. Just as before Adoni-Zedek, the king of Jerusalem (ch. x. 1 ff.), had summoned the five kings of the south to resist Joshua, so now Jabin, the king of Hazor, who occupied a prominent position, since his city is designated as the chief city of all the northern kingdoms (ch. xi. 10), collects the military forces of this portion of the country against the conqueror at Gibeon. But the Lord encourages his servant, and now again, as before, exhorts him not to fear them, although they had encamped by the water of Merom, like the sand of the sea for multitude (vers. 1-6). Joshua falls upon them suddenly, before they had fully got together, smites them utterly, pursues them to the seacoast, in the region of Sidon, lames their horses, and burns their chariots with fire. The account which we have in vers. 7-9 is brief but all

the more vividly impressive. Next follows a history of the capture of the remaining parts of western Palestine, in the style of the chronicler, as in ch. x. 28-43. To all this is appended, finally, a general review of the conquest of all Palestine, with a special notice of the extirpation of the Anakim.

a. *The Second League of Canaanite Kings*, vers. 1-6. — **Jabin king of Hazor.** Hazor (ch. xii. 19; xix. 36) was an important royal seat of the Canaanites, which Joshua destroyed, according to the statement in this chapter (ver. 13), but which was afterwards rebuilt, and became again a kingly capital (Judg. iv. 2, 17; 1 Sam. xii. 9). Here dwelt, in the time of the Judges, another Jabin whose general was Siserá. Solomon fortified the place (1 K. ix. 15), the population of which was carried away by the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* v. 5, 1), *ὑπέκειται τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης*, Hazor lay on the range of hills which stretches itself on the west

of the sea of Merom, now the Jebel Safed. Porter (i. 304) found here a place Hafur; Robinson, on the same ridge an hour south of Kedesh, with which Hazor is mentioned both in our Book ch. xix. 36, and in 2 K. xv. 29, found a hill Tel-Khuribeh, which he would identify with Hazor. Knobel seeks for it on a hill north of Ramah, southwest of Safed, where a collection of ruins, Huzzur or Hazirah, occurs. This suits his view of the "water of Merom;" see below. But as we cannot share in this, for reasons to be given, we accept the statement of Josephus, which seems to us sufficiently supported by the researches of Porter and Robinson. Such a point was well adapted to the residence of a prominent monarch.

Madon, ch. xii. 19. A city not yet discovered, perhaps to be sought in southern Galilee, more probably, however, like the other cities west of the sea of Merom (Knob.).

Shimron is called, ch. xii. 20, Shimron-Meron, th. ref. Shimron in the vicinity of Meron = Maron, southwest of Kedesh.

Achshaph (ch. xii. 20) a border city of Asher (ch. xix. 25). According to Robinson (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 55), perhaps the present Kesaf, about midway between Tyre and Banias; almost certainly not Akko, as Knobel on ch. xix. 25 conjectures.

Ver. 2. **On the mountain.** The mountain of Naphthali (ch. xix. 32) is meant.

In the plain, south of Cinneroth, i. e., the Ghôr of the Jordan, south of the sea of Gemesaret.

In the lowland; here probably the strip bordering the sea between Akko and Sidon, to which the following, **Naphoth-Dor on the sea**, directs us (ch. xii. 23). This Dor (ch. xvii. 11, Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, 22) belonged later to Manasseh (ch. xvii. 11), by which tribe its Canaanite inhabitants were not driven out (Judg. i. 27). From 1 Chron. viii. 29, we learn that children of Joseph dwelt in it. The population was accordingly a mixed one. Under Solomon it was the chief place of a revenue district (1 K. iv. 14); now called Tortura, also Tantura, with forty or fifty dwellings, five hundred Mohammedan inhabitants, and ruins of a Frank castle (von Raumer). נפת דור or נפת דור

(ch. xii. 23; 1 K. iv. 14) = heights of Dor. The place was so called because it lay on an elevation, where Van de Velde found the ruins (*Mem.* p. 307), nine miles north of Caesarea towards Tyre.

Ver. 3. Jabin sent, accordingly, to the Canaanites in the east and west, and to the other tribes, e. g. to the Hivites dwelling in the land of Mizpeh. This region lay, according to the present passage, under Hermon, and was, from ver. 8, a plain, perhaps the level strip south of Hasbeiya, and to the west of Tel el-Kadi. There, on a hill, from which one has a glorious view of the great basin of Hule, lies the place Mutteleh or Metelleh (Robinson, iii. 347, and *Later Bibl. Res.* 372 f., Van de Velde, *Narrative*, ii. p. 428). The name signifies "outlook,"

and corresponds to the Heb. מַצְפֵּה (Knobel). The name Mizpeh occurs in two other places, in Judah (von Raumer, p. 213), and probably twice also in Gilad (von Raumer, p. 265), as a designation of localities; very naturally, since the country abounded in positions affording beautiful and extensive prospects. Compare the similar names to be met with in our mountain regions: Lookout, Fairview, etc.

Ver. 4. The Canaanite princes and their tribes obey and march out, **much people even as the sand that is on the sea-shore in multitude,**

with horses and chariots very many. The comparison with the sand by the sea is very often met with in the Book of Genesis, xxxii. 13, 31; xli. 49, as an emblem of multitude; as an emblem of weight again, Job vi. 3; Prov. xxvii. 3. The horses were particularly formidable to the Israelites, who had none. The chariots likewise, of which it is said, ch. xvii. 18, that they were iron chariots, i. e. had wheels with iron tires. Comp. Bertheau (& Cassell) on Judg. i. 19: "The scythe-chariots were first introduced by Cyrus," (*Xen. Cyrop.* iv. 1, 27, 30), Keil.

Ver. 5. **And when all these kings were met together they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel.** This

water of Merom, מַי בְּרוֹם = highest, upper, water is, according to the traditional explanation, the λίμνη Σεμεχωνίτις of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 5, 1; *Bibl. Jud.* iii. 9, 7; iv. 1, 1); now called by the Arabs Bahr el-Huleh, or el-Khait. "The sea is two and a half hours long, one hour wide [about three miles in each direction, Grove, *Dict. of Bibl.* p. 1898], muddy, abounding in fish, its surface forty feet [Van de Velde: 140] above the level of the sea; in summer mostly dried up, full of reeds, in which wild birds and serpents dwell, only its eastern shore is inhabited" (von Raumer). It is mentioned nowhere else in the Bible. The allied kings, judging from ver. 7, had, probably, pitched their camp in a strong position, covered by Hazor and other cities as, e. g. Kedesh, on the Jebel Safed. From thence they might launch forth with their horses and chariots against Joshua, who would be likely to come up through the Jordan valley. But if this were their plan it was frustrated by the truly strategic promptness of the Hebrew commander. Knobel, followed lately by Keil (*Bibl. Com.* ii. 1, in h. l.) seeks this water of Merom in a little brook flowing in the valley below Safed, and which has its source in the mountain lying two hours northwest of Safed. There lies a place called Meirum or Merum (Rob. iii. 333 f.). A glance at the map shows that this valley was ill suited to be the camp of the multitudinous Canaanites. And when Knobel, to support his peculiar opinion, brings up the circumstance, that "there is no proof that the Bahr el-Huleh was ever called by the ancients the "water of Merom," we reply, that the Bahr el-Huleh is mentioned at all only in this single passage, so that the only question is, How did the ancients understand this passage? What did they think of the מַי בְּרוֹם? Answer: According to Josephus they thought it to be the Sea Semechonitis, or Samoehonitis, the present Bahr el-Huleh, near which the battle was fought. To this traditional view, Hitzig also holds. He briefly remarks (*Hist. of People of Isr.* i. p. 103): "He (Joshua) conquered, it is said, at the water of Merom (i. e. El Huleh) King Jabin."

Ver. 6. Encouraging appeal of God to Joshua, as ch. x. 8 and often. We have to conceive of Joshua as already on the march, when this word was addressed to him, since the distance from Gilgal to the sea of Merom was too great for him to reach the latter between one day and the next ("tomorrow about this time").

Thou shalt hough their horses and burn their chariots with fire. So David does with the horses of Haddad-ezer, king of Zoba (2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 Chron. xviii. 4. קָרַע = νευροκομειν). The tendons of the hind legs were severed (they were hamstringed), and thus they were rendered completely useless. —

The burning of the chariots is mentioned also, Ps. xlv. 10; they were therefore certainly of wood.

b. *The great Victory, at the Sea of Merom*, vers. 7-9. — Ver. 7. Suddenly, פְּתָאֵם from פָּתַעַת with the adverbial ending ם, as in שָׁלֵשׁ, and metathesis of נ and ע. They said also בְּפָתָאֵם, 2 Chr. xxix. 36, or בְּפָתַעַת פְּתָאֵם, Num. vi. 9, or לְפָתַעַת פְּתָאֵם, Is. xxix. 5, or לְפָתַעַת פְּתָאֵם, Is. xxx. 13. Joshua proves himself by his rapidity a true general, as ch. x. 9.

Ver. 8. Pursued them unto great Zidon and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward. Joshua followed the enemy partly in a northwestern direction (toward Sidon), and westward (Misrephoth-m.), partly towards the northeast (valley of Mizpeh). Sidon is here as ch. xix. 28, the great (רַבָּה), i. e. the populous (בְּרַבָּה not בְּרַבָּה), and thus is designated as the capital of the land of the Sidonians (Phoenicians). It was older than Tyre, and allotted to the tribe of Asher (ch. xix. 28), but not conquered by it (Judg. i. 31). Sidon is repeatedly mentioned by Homer (*Il.* vi. 289; xxiii. 743; *Od.* xv. 425). The city, once so powerful, has now not more than 5,000 inhabitants (*Rob.* iii. 417 ff.). In his prophecy against Tyrus, Isaiah remembers Sidon also (*Is.* xxiii. 2, 4, 12). Jeremiah comprehends Sidon with Tyre (*Jer.* xlvii. 4, compared with ch. xxvii. 3), which is very often done in the N. T. (*Matt.* xi. 21, 22; *Mark* vii. 24-31; *Matt.* xv. 21; *Luke* x. 13; *Mark* iii. 8). A charming description of Sidon is given by Furrer, *Wanderungen d. Palest.* p. 351. —

Misrephoth-maim. Luther: "warm water"; Gesen.: "perhaps lime-kilns or smelting-furnaces (from מִצְרָה) situated near water;" Knobel, from the Arab.: "water-heights," among which should be understood the promontories Ras en-Nakura and Ras el-Aibab (Scala Tyriorum). Not both promontories, however, but only one, and not the sea but a spring, is meant, we believe, namely, the southern Ras en-Nakura, which, from a spring lying at the southern foot of the mountain, and a place called Muschairifch (plainly, as even Knobel admits, the same name as Misrephoth), is called also Ras el-Muschairifch (*Ritter*, xvi. 807). Here once stood perhaps furnaces (glass furnaces?) in the vicinity of the spring, and from these it received its name. This view suits excellently with ch. xiii. 6, where Misrephoth-maim is mentioned as a known boundary point. Joshua, therefore, east the Canaanites over the mountain, here precipitously steep, down into the plain by the sea, by which, certainly, thousands were destroyed. But while two divisions of the army thus followed the enemy toward the southwest [N. W. ?] and west, another moves at the same time toward the northeast, and chases them into the valley of Mizpeh, called above in ver. 3, Mizpah.

Ver. 9. Finally, Joshua does as Jehovah had bidden, houghs the horses, and burns the chariots.

c. *The Capture of what remained of Northern Palestine* (vers. 10-15). Vers. 10, 11. First, Hazor, the chief city of these petty northern kingdoms, is taken, and, because of its prominence, more hardly dealt with than the rest. For Joshua burned Hazor with fire (vers. 11, 13). — On the inf.

בְּיַדְךָ, comp. Deut. iii. 6, and בְּיַדְךָ ch. iii. 17.

Vers. 12, 13. Fate of the other cities. The

sense of the two verses is that the cities in the plain were totally burned and devoted, while those, on the contrary, which stood on their hill, i. e. the fortified mountain cities, with the sole exception of Hazor, were not burned. The Israelites were content to sack them (ver. 12).

Ver. 14. The spoils were not devoted but divided, as at Ai, ch. viii. 2, 27. The men, all that had breath (comp. ver. 11), were destroyed.

Ver. 15. This command of God to Moses is found before in Ex. xxxiv. 11-16; and again Num. xxxiii. 51-56, strengthened by threatenings; finally, also, Deut. xx. 16, where it is said, "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breathes," as Joshua here actually does. For the transfer of this command to Joshua, compare in general the often-cited passage, Num. xxvii. 18-23, and particularly Deut. iii. 21. The author states emphatically, to show the conscientiousness of Joshua: he left nothing undone of all that Jehovah had commanded Moses, comp. ver. 12, as well as ch. i. 7, 8.

d. *General Retrospect of the Conquest of Western Palestine* (ver. 16-23). — "Joshua captured the whole land of Canaan, namely, in the south, the portions mentioned ch. x. 40 ff., together with the Arabah (ver. 2), the mountain of Israel, i. e. Ephraim (ch. xvii. 15), and its lowland on the west (ch. xvi. 1), and so the land from the Bald Mountain in the south to Baal-gad in the north; the kings he took captive, smote and slew" (Knobel).

Ver. 17. From the Mount Halak (smooth, or bald mountain), that goes up to Seir (ch. xii. 7). This smooth mountain can hardly be Mount Madurah, as Knobel thinks (he writes Madara), and hence translates חָלָק by "smooth mountain" (mentioned by Robinson, ii. 589); because this mountain does not go up to Mount Seir, but rather lies on the west side of the Wady el-Fikreh. It is more probably identical with the "ascent of Akrabbim," mentioned ch. xv. 3, and Num. xxxiv. 4, which Robinson believes he has discovered in the remarkable line of cliffs that run across the entire Ghor, a few miles south of the Dead Sea (ii. 489, 490). This divides the great valley into two parts, both physically and in respect to its names down even to the present day, the northern portion from hence to the sea of Tiberias being called el-Ghor [formerly, the Arabah], the southern, even to Akabah, being called el-Araba (*Rob. l. c.*) This ridge, consisting of whitish cliffs (*Rob. l. c.*) goes up in fact to Seir, i. e. towards the mountains of Edom which constitute the eastern boundary of the Arabah, now Jebel (Gebalene), and lies exactly opposite to Baal-gad which is named as the northern limit. So Keil *in l.* accepts it. On the map accompanying the last edition of von Raumer's *Palaestina*, from Stieler's *Hand Atlas* (No. 42 b), the points in question are very clearly marked.

Even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon. Not Baalbec (Knobel), which lies much too far north, but the later Casarea-Philippi, earlier Pnias, now Baneas, comp. ch. xii. 7, xiii. 5; *Judg.* iii. 3; von Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 245, Gesen. *Lexicon*. The city was called Baal-gad, because Baal, according to *Is.* lxx. 11, was worshipped as Baal-gad (בַּגַּד; fortune) = the God of fortune. In *Judg.* iii. 3 it is called Baal-hermon. According to Jerome (*Onom.* s. v. Aermion), a temple of Baal must have stood on Mount Hermon.

Ver. 18. Joshua made war with those kings a long time. From ch. xiv. 7, 10, at least five years. For Caleb was forty years old when Moses

sent him out of Kadesh-barnet as a spy; eighty-five years old was he when, immediately after the conquest of the land, he received his possession from Joshua. Since the former date, accordingly, forty-five years have past, as Caleb also himself says, forty of which belong to the pilgrimage in the Arabah, leaving five for the subjugation of the land; not too long certainly, and yet long enough to be called a long time. Heb.: "many days." So also Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, 19. *Comp. Introd.* § 4.

Ver. 19. Gibeon's peaceful surrender is mentioned again, ch. ix. 7, 15; x. 1, 6. The others had all to be taken in battle.

Ver. 20. For it was of Jehovah to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might devote them, and that they might have no favor, but that he might destroy them, as Jehovah had commanded Moses. God dealt with them as He had done with Pharaoh. Ex. iv. 21; vii. 3; xiv. 4; Rom. ix. 17; Calvin: *In hunc finem illos Deus obdurat, ut a se misericordiam averteat; unde et durities ista vocatur ejus opus, quia effectum consilii ejus stabilit.*" See Doctrinal and Ethical below.

Verses 21-23 contain in part a supplementary notice of the extirpation of the Anakim, in the cities of Hebron and Debir, the destruction of which has already (ch. x. 36 ff.) been reported, and in part a general conclusion substantially as given before in ver. 16. We may observe, however, that here, (1) the division of the land is expressly mentioned, and (2) it is added that the land had rest from war.

Ver. 21. **Cut off the Anakim.** See the *Introd.* p. 30. Hebron and Debir were mentioned in ch. x. 36 ff. but not Anab which, and also Eshtemo, is joined with Debir in ch. xv. 50. Robinson found both as neighboring places south of Hebron (ii. 194, 195). Anab wears its ancient name even to the present day; Eshtemo is now called Semma.

Ver. 22. **Gaza**, ch. x. 41; xiii. 3; xv. 47, the well-known city of the Philistines, first mentioned Gen. x. 19, familiar from the history of Samson, Judg. xvi., the utterances of the prophets (Jer. xxv. 20; xvii. 5; Amos i. 6, 7; Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 5), the cunuch from Ethiopia (Acts vii. 26). It stands in a fertile region, and is even now an important town with fifteen thousand inhabitants. These derive great profit from the caravans.

Gath, now lost without a trace discoverable, another city of the Philistines, the home of Goliath and other giants (1 Sam. xvii. 4; 1 Chr. xxi. 5-8; 2 Sam. xxi. 19-22) who were not exterminated here; familiar from the history of David (1 Sam. xxi. 10; xxvii. 2-4; Ps. lvi.; 2 Sam. i. 20, and often). Already in the time of the prophet Amos, the greatness of Gath had shrunk (Amos vi. 2). Robinson (ii. 420 ff.) sought in vain for its site.

Ashdod, now Esdud, between two and three hours from Ashkelon, with 100 or 150 miserable hovels, mentioned in our book ch. xiii. 3; xv. 46, 47; the city of Dagon, 1 Sam. v. 1-7, against which, as against Gaza, the prophets often direct their denunciations (Jer. xxv. 20; Amos i. 8; iii. 9; Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 6). To this place was Philip the Evangelist snatched away, Acts viii. 40. The city is said to have been very strong (Herod. ii. 157).

Ver. 23. **According to their divisions**, **בְּחֵיבָתָם**, elsewhere used principally of the divisions of the priests and Levites into twenty-four classes (*ἀφ' ἡμερῶν, κληροί*) 1 Chr. xxvii. 1 ff.; 2 Chr. viii. 14; xxxi. 2; xxxv. 4; here, as in ch.

xii. 7; xviii. 10, of the division of the people into tribes.

And the land had rest from war, *i. e.* "there were no more warlike disturbances in it (ch. xiv. 15; Judg. iii. 11, 30; v. 31; viii. 28)," Knobel.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Conscientiousness in carrying out the divine commands and in fulfilling God's will, is a prominent characteristic of the holy men in both the old and the new Testaments. Thus Moses is praised because he in all his house was faithful to him that made him (Heb. iii. 2, 5). Faithfulness, however, exists only where conscientiousness exists, for the faithless man is always void of conscience also. And so Joshua was faithful, as is intimated in ver. 15 of the chapter before us, since he left nothing undone of all which God had commanded Moses. The highest conscientiousness, which is at the same time perfect fidelity, is found in Jesus Christ, whose meat and drink it is to do the will of Him that sent him, and to finish his work (John iv. 34); who seeks to do not his own will but the Father's will (John v. 30); who therefore loses nothing of all which the father has given him (John vi. 38, 39); and who could, on the cross, exclaim with satisfaction, "It is finished" (John xix. 30).

2. When the hostility of the Canaanites is ascribed to the hardening of their hearts by God (ver. 20), here, as everywhere in Scripture, when such hardening is spoken of, it is carefully to be borne in mind, that this is always inflicted as a judgment on those who have *previously*, somehow, acted *contrary* to his will. This is true of Pharaoh (Ex. iv. 21; vii. 13; x. 20; xi. 10; xiv. 4; Rom. ix. 17), of the people of Israel (Is. vi. 10; Matt. xiii. 12-14), and here of the Canaanites. They have all transgressed grievously in some way against God: Pharaoh through the oppression of Israel; Israel through impiety; the Canaanites through idolatry; and are therefore now hardened by God, *i. e.* their understanding is infatuated, their will audacious, so that they blindly run into destruction. That this ruin on their part, again, serves to glorify God's power (Rom. ix. 17), is self-evident; only the matter should not be so understood as it is by Calvin, who, while not denying indeed the guilt of the Canaanites, still leaves in the background the *judicial* providence of God revealing itself in their hardness of heart, and speaks only of God's having made a way for his *derec* by hardening the ungodly (*ubi reprobus obduravit*). The absolute divine decree stands here also, with Calvin, high above all else. He does not indeed, here or ever, deny the guilt of men, but this guilt itself is not a free act of men, but is rather jointly included in the decree of God, as follows from the close of his explanation of vers. 19, 20: "*Nunc si rem adeo dilucidam suis nebulis obscurare conentur, qui Deum e caelo speculandi fingunt, quid hominibus libat, nec hominum corda arcano ejus instinctu fenari sustinent: quid aliud quam suam impudentiam prodent? Deo tantum concedunt ut permittat: hoc autem modo suspendunt ejus consilium ab hominum placito. Quid autem Spiritus? a Deo esse oblationem ut precipitet quos vult perdere.*" The final words in particular are intelligible enough, and remind of the verses of an anonymous Greek Tragic Poet, quoted in a scholium on Sophocles' "Antigone" ver. 6, 20: —

Ὁραὸν δ' ὁ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακῇ

τὸν νοῦν ἐβλάψε πρῶτον, ᾧ βουλευεται;

or of the Latin maxim, probably originating in what has just been quoted, *Quos Deus perdere vult demeritat prius* (comp. Büchmann, p. 117, *Geflügelte Worte*).

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Although the Lord's enemies may be like sand by the sea, yet we need not be disheartened, for He gives us confidence, courage, and victory, as He did once to Joshua. As Joshua always followed up his victory, so must we follow up every success on the field of our inner life, to its full results, that we be not cheated of the fruits. — The extirpation of the Canaanites, (1) due to their idolatry and immorality; (2) executed through a divine command; (3) set as a warning example for all times. — They left nothing remaining which had breath! So when a whole people have sinned, the less guilty and the guilty fall together. — Joshua's conscientiousness. — Moses and Joshua, God's faithful servants. — Men of God act not according to their own pleasure, but to the command of God. — A glance at Canaan. — A long time fought Joshua with the kings of the Canaanites, ever must we fight with sin, the flesh, the world. — The obduracy of the Canaanites regarded as a divine judgment upon them. — All obduracy is God's judgment on men, who are sunk in sin and have forfeited their freedom. — Ah, if grace no more "prevented" men, how terrible! — The land ceased from war (sermon on the celebration of peace).

STARKE: When it goes against the children of God, the ungodly blow the horn, join forces, and use all their might, Ps. ii. 2; iii. 1. — Whom God deserts with his grace that man runs into his own misfortune and destruction, Rom. ii. 5; Ex. xiv. 27; Is. vi. 11.

CRAMER: The perverseness of the ungodly! when they hear of God's wonderful deeds, and should justly be led to repentance thereby, they take the course of evils, and become only the more obdurate and wicked, until they bring upon themselves utter ruin, Ps. lxxviii. 31, 32. — If not today, it may be better to-morrow, only wait the little while (ver. 6). — When enemies study and contrive how they may destroy the people of God, then God studies and contrives how they may be restrained and even entirely rooted out. — God's

word and promise cannot delay, and they remain unbound. — God's hand has a twofold operation, by one He strikes his foes, and by the other He gives his people victory, power, and strength; and this hand is not yet shortened, Is. lix. 1. — When men become hardened through the instigation of the devil, God draws back his hand and smites them with the most serious penalty of obduracy, appoints this as a punishment of sin and a warning to his elect, and yet becomes not a cause of sin, Ps. v. 5. — Against God no giant even has any strength; Ps. xxxiii. 16; Is. xlix. 25.

BIBL. TUB.: In war all depends not on the strength and multitude of the people, but on God, who gives the victory, Ps. xlv. 10.

OSIANDER: Those who continue ever in their ungodly life, and think not at all with earnestness of true heart-conversion, those become finally so blinded by God, and are so entirely given up to a perverse heart that, like madmen, they run to meet their own destruction, until they are plunged at length into everlasting hell-fire. — God gives sometimes even to his Church on earth temporal peace, but they must not abuse this to temporal security.

GERLACH: Obduracy of the heart happens here also as a punishment, after grace has been previously offered, Ex. iv. 21. This offer of grace lay in the Lord's great miracles in Egypt, which these people had heard of with astonishment before the coming of the Israelites.

[MATT. HENRY: Several nations joined in this confederacy . . . of different constitutions, and divided interests among themselves, and yet they here unite against Israel as against a common enemy. Thus are the children of this world more unanimous, and therein wiser than the children of light. The oneness of the Church's enemies should shame the Church's friends out of their discords and divisions, and engage them to be one. — Never let the sons of Anak be a terror to the Israel of God, for even their day will come, to fall. — NOTE: God sometimes reserves the sharpest trials of his people by affliction and temptation for the latter end of their days. Therefore let not him that girds on the harness boast as he that puts it off. Death, that tremendous son of Anak, is the last enemy that is to be encountered, but it is to be destroyed, 1 Cor. xv. 28. Thanks be to God who will give us the victory. — TR.]

SECTION THIRD.

CATALOGUE OF ALL THE KINGS CONQUERED UNDER THE COMMAND OF MOSES AND JOSHUA IN EAST AND WEST PALESTINE.

CHAPTER XII.

1. Catalogue of the Kings Conquered in East Palestine.

CHAPTER XII. 1-6.

1 Now¹ these are the kings of the land, which the children of Israel smote, and possessed their land on the other side [of the] Jordan toward the rising of the sun, from
2 the river² Arnon, unto Mount Hermon, and all the plain on the east: Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled from Aroer, which is upon the

- bank of the river Arnon and from the middle of the river, and from half Gilead,
 3 even unto the river Jabbok *which is* the border of the children of Ammon, and from
 the plain to the Sea of Cinneroth on the east, and unto the sea of the plain, *even* the
 Salt Sea on the east, the way to Beth-jeshimoth [LXX: ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ Ἀσειμῶθ; Vulg.:
per viam quæ ducit Bethsimoth]; and from the south, under Ashdoth-pisgah.
 4 And the coast [border] of Og, king of Bashan, *which* [who] *was* of the remnant of
 5 the giants, that dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, And reigned in Mount Hermon,
 and in Saleah, and in all Bashan, unto the border of the Geshurites, and the Maacha-
 thites, and half Gilead, [where] the border [was] of Sihon king of Heshbon.
 6 Them did [omit: them did] Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah], and the
 children [sons] of Israel smite [smote them]: and Moses the servant of the Lord
 [Jehovah] gave it *for* a possession unto the Reubenites, and [to] the Gadites, and
 [to] the half tribe of Manasseh.

2. *Catalogue of the Kings Conquered in West Palestine.*

CHAPTER XII. 7-24.

- 7 And these *are* the kings of the country [land] which [whom] Joshua and the
 children of Israel smote on this [the other] side of [the] Jordan on the west, from
 Baal-Gad in the valley of Lebanon, even unto the Mount Halak [Bald-mountain]
 that goeth up to Seir; which Joshua gave [Fay, correctly: and Joshua gave it]
 8 unto the tribes of Israel *for* a possession according to their divisions: In the moun-
 tains [on the mountain], and in the valleys, and in the plains [the lowland], and in
 the springs [on the foot-hills], and in the wilderness, and in the south-country;
 the Hittites, the Amorites, and the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the
 Jebusites:
 9 The king of Jericho, one;
 The king of Ai, which *is* beside Beth-el, one;
 10 The king of Jerusalem, one;
 The king of Hebron, one;
 11 The king of Jarmuth, one;
 The king of Lachish, one;
 12 The king of Eglon, one;
 The king of Gezer, one;
 13 The king of Debir, one;
 The king of Geder, one;
 14 The king of Hormah, one;
 The king of Arad, one;
 15 The king of Libnah, one;
 The king of Adullam, one;
 16 The king of Makkedah, one;
 The king of Beth-el, one;
 17 The king of Tappuah, one;
 The king of Hepher, one;
 18 The king of Aphck, one;
 The king of Lasharon, one;
 19 The king of Madon, one;
 The king of Hazor, one;
 20 The king of Shimron-meron, one;
 The king of Achshaph, one;
 21 The king of Taanach, one;
 The king of Megiddo, one;
 22 The king of Kedesh, one;
 The king of Jokneam of Carmel, one;
 23 The king of Dor in the coasts of [Naphoth] Dor, one;
 The king of the nations of Gilgal, one;
 24 The king of Tirzah, one;
 All the kings thirty and one.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 [1 Ver. 1. — Instead of interpolating the numerous corrections required in the common version in the first three verses here, we recast separately, in much the same way as De Wette and Fay : And these are the kings of the land, whom the sons of Israel smote, and possessed their land, on the other side of the Jordan, toward the rising of the sun, from the water-course of Arnon unto Mount Hermon, and all the Arabah on the east: Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwell in Heshbon, ruling from Aroer which is on the bank of the water-course of Arnon and in the middle of the water-course, and [over] half of Gilead even to Jabbok the water-course [which is] the border of the sons of Ammon, and [over] the Arabah unto the sea of Cinneroth, on the east, and unto the sea of the Arabah, the Salt-Sea, on the east, the way to Beth-jeshimoth ; and in the south under the foot-hills of Pisgah.

[2 Ver. 1. A word that should denote indifferently our conception of a rapid brook and of the bed in which it flows, with the whole inclusive valley, and of the latter equally when the water is absent, is wanting in English to represent adequately the Heb. נַחַל. Stanley's account of this word well presents the case (*Sin. and Pal. App.* p. 496): "Nachal,

נַחַל, a 'torrent-bed,' or water-course; from חָלַל, to perforate [so Fürst, cf. Gesen.]. The word corresponds with the Arabic Wady, the Greek χεμάρονος, the Indian Nullah, the Italian 'fumara' [in some of its applications approaching the Spanish-American cañon] and signifies the hollow, or valley, of a mountain torrent, which, while in rainy seasons it may fill the whole width of the depression, in summer is reduced to a mere brook, or thread of water, and is often entirely dry. [In the greater number, perhaps, of the Wadies, the running water is quite an exceptional phenomenon.] Such streams are graphically described in Job xi. 16, 17. Nachal, therefore, is sometimes used for the valley (Num. xxi. 12; Judg. xvi. 4 [and in the second instance in ver. 2 of our passage]), and sometimes for the torrent which flows through the valley. The double application of the word is well seen in 1 K. xvii. 3, where Elijah is commanded to hide himself 'in' not 'by' the 'Wady Cherith,' and to 'drink of the brook' — Nachal being used in both cases. No English word is exactly equivalent, but perhaps 'torrent-bed' most nearly expresses it." — This last opinion is probably correct, in reference to many readers, but for the purposes of a translation we have ventured to adopt the other term proposed by him, "water-course." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

This twelfth chapter forms a separate section, the third of the first part of our book, and contains a list of all the kings conquered by Moses and Joshua in East and West Palestine. It falls into two subdivisions: (1) a catalogue of the kings conquered east of the Jordan (vers. 1-6); (2) a catalogue of the kings conquered in Palestine proper (vers. 7-24).

1. *Catalogue of those Conquered East of the Jordan* (vers. 1-6). From the water-course of Arnon unto Mount Hermon, and all the plain [Arabah or Jordan valley] on the East. The Arnon (אֲרֹנִי for אֲרֹנִי the rushing), Num. ii. 13; Deut. iii. 8, 12, 16; iv. 48; ix. xvi. 2; Jer. xlviii. 20, now the Wady Madscheh, formed the southern boundary of the territory governed by Sihon the king of the Amorites, afterwards the southern boundary of Reuben, as of all Eastern Palestine, against Moab. It flows, in part, through a deep rocky bed, into the Dead Sea. Its source, at least that of the main branch of the Arnon, the Wady el-Safijeh, lies near Kutraneh (Katrane) on the route of the pilgrims from Mecca to Damascus.

To Mount Hermon. According to the Arab. הַרְמֹן means a prominent mountain ridge, "perhaps prop. nose" (Gesén.). According to Deut. iii. 9, it was called by the Amorites הַרְמֹן, by the Sidonians, שְׂרִיִן (but comp. 1 Chron. v. 23), and according to Deut. iv. 48, it was also the same as שְׂרִיִן. Plur. הַרְמֹנִים. Ps. xlii. 7, because it consists of several mountains. In the Psalm referred to, we have a vivid description of the mountain landscape on Hermon; but "the land of splendor, of heaven-towering mountains, and of glorious streams, offers no compensation to the heart of the Psalmist, for the humbler hills of Zion where his God abides (Hitzig, Ps. lxxviii. 17). At the present time the mountain is called Jebel es-Scheikh. Its height reaches over 9,000 feet. The summit is

covered with eternal snow (von Raumer p. 33; Robinson, iii. 344, 357),¹ carefully to be distinguished from this Hermon proper, is the "little Hermon," so called, which is not mentioned in the Bible. The name originated with Jerome, who misunderstood the plural הַרְמֹנִים, in Ps. xlii. 7. He gave that name to the Jebel ed-Duhy (Robinson u. s. 171, 172).

All the plain (הָעֲרָבָה) on the East. By the Arabah (Deut. i. 1; ii. 8; 2 Sam. iv. 7; 2 K. xxv. 4,) where it has the article, as in these passages, is meant not, in general, a dry steppe, a wilderness, as in Is. xxxiii. 9; Jer. i. 12; li. 43, but, as Robinson (ii. 599, 600) has shown, the whole of the great valley from the sea of Galilee to the Ælantic Gulf. It is now (see above on ch. xi. 17) called the Ghor, northward from the "bald mountain," and el-Arabah only from that mountain to its southern extremity. This great valley has again different parts which are designated as עֲרָבוֹת, e. g. in our book, ch. v. 10 the עֲרָבוֹת of Jericho; 2 K. xxv. 5, the עֲרָבוֹת of Moab. Here also we have to do with a portion of the Arabah, the portion namely "on the east," that is on the eastern bank of the Jordan. In general, this valley is a "solitary desert" (Rob. ii. 265), particularly horrid, south of the Dead Sea. The only exceptions are the small places in the northern part, "over which the Jordan and occasional springs spread an extraordinary fertility" (Rob. ii. 265, 266).

Ver. 2. Sihon, king of the Amorites, stands first on the list of Canaanite princes subjugated by Moses and Joshua (see above ch. ii. 10). He dwelt at Heshbon, ch. xiii. 26; xxi. 39; Num. xxi. 26 ff., which name properly signifies prudence (Eccl. xii. 25, 27; ix. 10); now Hesban or Hüsban. The ruins of the old city lie on a hill having a magnificent prospect, towards the Dead Sea, and over toward Bethlehem;² toward the south and east with no limit but the horizon. Heshbon belonged originally to the Moabites (Num. xxi. 26), then to

1 [Tristram's account of Hermon, its scenery, its natural history, and the magnificent view which it offers of all Palestine, is particularly interesting, p. 607 ff. — Tr.]

2 [Tristram visited the spot. See his description, p. 543. — Tr.]

the Amorites, as is evident from our book, and other places, and was allotted to the trans-Jordanic tribes (see below on ch. xiii. 17; xxi. 39 comp. w. 1 Chr. vii. 81). In the days of Isaiah and Jeremiah, Heshbon belonged again to the Moabites (Is. xv. 4; xvi. 9; Jer. xlviii. 2, 45-49). At a later period, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 15, 4), the Jews once more possessed it. Heshbon appears to have had a very strong position, to which the expressions Jer. xlviii. 45-49 refer. The ruins have a compass, according to von Raumer's authority, of more than a mile.

Ver. 2. The territory of Sihon is now described in full accordance with Num. xxi. 24, as extending from the Arnon to the Jabbok. Here again Aroer is particularly mentioned, which [lies] upon the bank of the brook Arnon, and in the middle of the brook, עֲרוֹרַי and עֲרוֹרַי,

from עָרַר (to be bare, naked), lies on the north side of the Arnon, and like Heshbon is indicated by Jeremiah (xlviii. 19) as a Moabite city. It was allotted to Reuben, ch. xiii. 9, 16. The city lay, as our passage shows, partly on and partly in the Arnon, i. e. on an island, now Araayr. Carefully to be distinguished from another city Aroer, ch. xiii. 25, and from a third city Aroer (1 Sam. xxx. 26, 28), in the tribe of Judah (Rob. ii. 618), to which David sent presents after the recovery of the booty taken at Ziklag.

Half Gilead. גִּלְעָד according to Gen. xxxi.

48 = גִּלְעָד, hill of testimony, perhaps rather an appellative for hard, rough region, as Gesenius thinks, which however does not suit with Num. xxxii. 1; Jer. viii. 22; xlv. 11; 1. 19; Cant. iv. 1; vi. 4. Properly the word denotes a mountain on the south bank of the Jabbok (Gen. xxxi. 21-48; Cant. iv. 1), with a city of the same name, now Jebel Dschelaad, then the immediate vicinity of this mountain (Num. xxxii. 1; Deut. ii. 37), and finally, the whole mountain region between the Arnon and the Jabbok, now called Belka. It was bounded on the north by Bashan, on the south by Moab. The designation "land of Gilead" is used inexactly, Deut. xxxiv. 1, where it includes also Bashan, likewise in 2 K. x. 33; 1 K. iv. 19, and often. In such cases, by Gilead is meant the whole land east of the Jordan, so far as it was possessed by the Israelites, ch. xxii. 9, 13, 15; Judg. v. 17 (von Raumer, p. 229 ff.). See *Introd.* p. 25.

Even unto the brook Jabbok, now Wady Lerka, then יַבְבֵּק, from יָבַק, to pour out, gush forth, = gushing-brook. The word is, according to Simonis, to whom Gesenius assents, the Chald. form for יַבְבֵּק. In Gen. xxxii. 2 there is a play upon the word יַבְבֵּק, to wrestle. The Jabbok is here to be viewed as a twofold boundary, (1) in its lower course, a boundary toward the north, (2) in its upper course (Nahr Ammon) as a boundary toward the east against the children of Ammon. A glance at the map will at once show the actual relations.

Ver. 3. Over the plain (the Arabah) to the sea of Cinneroth on the east, i. e. over the eastern part of the Jordan valley, as far as the sea of Cinneroth. Here כִּנְרֹת, elsewhere also כִּנְרֹת, or כִּנְרֹת (perhaps equivalent to כְּנֹר, cithera), so called after the city of this name (ch. xi. 2; xix. 35); in the N.T., the sea of Galilee (Matt. iv. 18; xv. 29; Mark i. 16; vii. 31), sea of Gennesareth (Luce. v. 1, derived from Kinnereth or Kinnaroth); in John, sea of Tiberias (vi. 1, xxi. 1), from the city of

Tiberias; now Bahr Taberieh. The sea is "about thirteen geographical miles long and six broad." The climate is tropical, since the level is from six hundred and twenty-five to seven hundred [Robinson, seven hundred] feet below that of the Mediterranean (Rusegger, iii. 213; Robinson, iii. 264, 313 ff). Its beauty is well known (Setzen, p. 348), and has been described by Renan, in his "Life of Jesus," in the most glowing colors. Robinson expresses himself more moderately (iii. 255): "The lake presents, indeed, a beautiful sheet of limpid water, in a deep, depressed basin. . . . The hills are rounded and tame, with little of the picturesque in their form. . . . Whoever looks here for the magnificence of the Swiss lakes, or the softer beauty of those of England and the United States, will be disappointed." In the O. T. it is mentioned, besides this passage, only Num. xxxiv. 11; Deut. iii. 17. [Add Smith's *Bible Diet.*, art. "Gennesaret, Lake of."]

And unto the sea of the plain (Arabah), the salt sea on the east, the way to Beth-jeshimoth. While this eastern part of the Jordan valley is bounded on the north by the lake of Gennesaret, it is in like manner bounded on the south by the Salt Sea, i. e. the Dead Sea, near which (Num. xxxiii. 48) Beth-jeshimoth lay. To that point the Israelite camp reached from Shittim. It belonged to Reuben (ch. xiii. 20), later to Moab again, Ezek. xxv. 9.

And in the south under the foot-hills of Pisgah. On מִן־הַרְבֵּי עַל־פִּיגַח comp. ch. x. 40. Mount Pisgah, "a part of the mountain of Abarim," lies, to one looking from Jericho, beyond Beth-jeshimoth, in a southeasterly direction, at the northern end of the Dead Sea. Its highest point is Nebo, which is sometimes called "Mount Abarim" (Deut. xxxii. 49), as though its summit, and again, "the top of Pisgah" (Deut. iii. 27, 34), comp. Knobel on Num. xxi. 11. The relation between Abarim, Pisgah, and Nebo is, with Knobel, to be conceived of as if Abarim were the whole mountain range lying east of the Dead Sea, Pisgah a part of it, namely, the northeastern, and Nebo the highest point of Pisgah. This seems to me more simple than with von Raumer (p. 72), to separate Abarim and Pisgah, and then assume that Nebo belonged to Abarim as its (north) western portion, and to Mount Pisgah as its eastern highest extremity.¹ The region which sloped along the foot of Mount Pisgah formed the southern boundary of the kingdom of Sihon.

Ver. 4-6, follow the borders of the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan. אַשְׁתָּרוֹת, and Ashtaroth-karnaim (הַרְבֵּי), Gen. xiv. 5, where were giants; according to ch. ix. 10, the residence of Og; now Tel Ashtareh. The hill (Tel) rises, according to von Raumer (p. 243), to a height of from fifty to a hundred feet above the plain, in which ruins lie scattered. At the foot of the hill are ancient wall-foundations and copious springs.

Edrei. Here Og was slain, Num. xxi. 33-35; Deut. iii. 1-3. By the Greeks it was called Adraa; by the Crusaders, Adratun, also Civitas Bernardi de Stampis; by Abulfeda, Adrsnat; now Draa, a desert basalt city without inhabitants, on a height (von Raumer, p. 247).

Ver. 5. Salcah, conquered by the Israelites, Deut. iii. 10. Now Szalchat, with eight hundred

¹ [Tristram's glowing account of the magnificent, almost boundless view from one of the heights of Abarim, which may have been the ancient Nebo, is excellent, p. 549 ff.]

houses and a castle on basalt rocks, on the southern border of Hauran; uninhabited, like Edrei. Porter saw from the castle of Salcha fourteen ["upwards of thirty," *Giant Cit. of Bash.* p. 76] villages, in part appearing to be newly built, but entirely deserted (ii. 183, *ap.* von Raumer).

Over all Bashan unto the border of the Geshurites and the Maachathites. The Maachathites dwelt on the southwest slope of Hermon, at the sources of the Jordan. "*Maachati urbs Amorrhæorum super Jordanem (περι τῶν Ἰορδάνην, Euseb.) juxta montem Hermon.*" The Geshurites also are to be sought on Mount Hermon, near the present Jedur, on the eastern fall of the mountain. See von Raumer, p. 227, and Menke's *Bibelatlas*, plate 3. Here was the north boundary of Bashan. The east border is denoted (see above) by Saleah, the south by the half Gilead, where the border (was) of Sihon king of Heshbon, *i. e.* by the Jabbok (ver. 2). Toward the west it extended to the sea of Tiberias; see von Raumer, p. 226 ff. Bashan and Batanæa are by no means identical, as von Raumer has shown (*ubi sup.*). Bashan was famous for its oak forests (Is. ii. 13; Ezek. xxvii. 6), and fat cattle; hence the bullocks, the rams of Bashan (Deut. xxxii. 14; Am. iv. 1; Ps. xxii. 13). The waters descending from the Hauran fertilize the level land in its northeastern part, which was afterwards inhabited by the tribe of Manasseh.

Ver. 6. Comp. Num. xxxii.

2. *Catalogue of the Kings vanquished in the Country West of the Jordan* (vers. 7-24). Verses 7 and 8, coinciding with ch. xi. 16 and x. 40-42, introduce the narrative. **The Plain** (עֲרָבָה) is the western part of the Ghor (Gen. xiii. 10); the **wilderness** (בְּרָדָר) lies in the province of Judah, and Benjamin (ch. xv. 61; xviii. 11; Matt. iii. 3; iv. 1; xi. 7; Mark i. 3; Lu. iii. 4.)

Ver. 9. The kings are enumerated generally in the order in which they were conquered. First, accordingly, the kings of Jericho, Ai, Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, Eglon, and Gezer, in regard to which ch. vi. 2 ff.; viii. 29; x. 1-5, 33 may be compared. Then follows ver. 13, the king of Debir, ch. x. 39, after him still in the same

verse the king of Geder. גִּדְרָה is called also גִּדְרָה, and belonged to the lowland of Judah. Not hitherto recognized.

Ver. 14. **Hormah**, earlier Zephath (Judg. i. 17). Robinson (ii. 616, N.) seeks the city near the pass es-Sufeh, W. S. W. of the Dead Sea, where the Israelites were defeated by the Canaanites (Num. xiv. 44, 45; Deut. i. 44), and subsequently the Canaanites by the Israelites (Num. xxi. 1-3; Judg. i. 17). Perhaps it stood, as von Raumer suspects, on the adjacent Mount Madurah, of which the saying goes, that a city stood upon it at which God became angry so that He destroyed it. To this it suits that the city of Zephath was later called **Hormah** (חֲרָמָה), *i. e.* devoted to destruction, cognate with חָרַם.

Arad, named also Num. xxi. 1-3, and Judg. i. 16, 17, near the wilderness of Kadesh, twenty Roman miles south of Hebron. Robinson (ii. 473) saw from a distance the hill Arad. He also rightly refers ch. x. 41 to the subjugation of Arad, whose inhabitants had previously (Num. xxi. 1-3), like those of Hormah, driven back the Israelites.

Ver. 15. **Libnah**, ch. x. 29, 30; xv. 42. **Adullam**,

ch. xv. 35, fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 7); famous for its cave, David's refuge (1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13; 1 Chr. xii. 15). In A. D. 1138, the inhabitants of Tekoah took refuge there from the Saracens, Will. Tyr. xv. 6 (von Raumer, p. 169).

Ver. 16. **Makkedah**, ch. x. 10, 16, 17, 21. **Bethel**, earlier Luz (בֵּיתֵל), sufficiently known; to the right of the road from Jerusalem to Shechem; the place where Jacob saw in his dream the ladder from earth to heaven (Gen. xxviii. 11-19; xxxi. 13; Hos. xii. 5); rendered infamous subsequently by the worship of the calves (1 K. xii. 28, 33; xiii. 1), hence called Beth-aven (different from Beth-aven in ch. vii. 2; xviii. 12), by the prophets (Am. v. 5; Hos. iv. 15, and often). The missionary Nicolson discovered Bethel, 1836. According to Robinson (ii. 127) it is now called Beitin, three and three-quarter hours from Jerusalem. See more in Robinson *ubi sup.*, von Raumer, pp. 178, 179 [Tristram, Stanley].

Ver. 17. **Tappuah**, comp. ch. xv. 34, 53; xvii. 7. **Hepher**, in the plain of Jezreel in Issachar, xix. 19 (Knobel).

Ver. 18. **Aphek**, ch. xiii. 4. **Lassaron**, mentioned only in this place. The site has not been discovered.

Ver. 19. **Madon**, ch. xi. 1. **Hazor**, ch. xi. 1-10; xix. 37.

Ver. 20. **Shimron-meron**, ch. xi. 1; xix. 37. **Achshaph**, ch. xi. 1; xix. 25.

Ver. 21. **Taanach** in Samaria, within the circuit of Issachar, but belonging to Manasseh (ch. xvii. 11), although not conquered by him (Judg. i. 27). A city of the Levites, ch. xxi. 25. Here Barak conquered (Judg. v. 19). Robinson (ii. 156, 157), and Schubert (iii. 164), saw Taanach (now Ta'annûk) from the neighborhood of Jennin (Ginnâa), von Raumer, p. 165.

Megiddo, likewise in Samaria, belonging to Manasseh but beyond his border (ch. xvii. 11), and likewise unconquered by that tribe (Judg. i. 27). Here Ahaziah died in his flight from Jehu (2 K. ix. 27), and here Josiah was fatally wounded in the battle against Necho king of Egypt (2 Chron. xxxv. 20, 25; xxiii. 29, 30).

Ver. 22. **Kedesh** on the mountain of Naphtali (Jebel el-Safed), ch. xix. 37, in Galilee. A city of refuge, ch. xx. 7, of the Levites, ch. xxi. 32. Birth-place of Barak (Judg. iv. 6), discovered by Smith on a hill, in a well-watered region (*Notes on Bibl. Geog. in Biblioth. Sac.*, May, 1849, p. 374, *ap.* von Raumer, p. 132); by Robinson on his second journey, not "visited" indeed, as von Raumer states, but yet seen from a short distance and described (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 366 ff.).

Jokneam on Carmel. Belonging to Zebulun, ch. xix. 11. A city of the Levites, ch. xxi. 34. Perhaps, Tel Kaimôn (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 115). The place is called, in 1 K. iv. 12,

הַקַּיְמֹן, out of which Kaimôn appears to have sprung (comp. Robinson, *ubi sup.*). Carmel appears elsewhere in our book only ch. xix. 26, to mark the south border of the tribe of Asher. Rightly does the mountain bear its name "orchard" (comp. Is. x. 8; xvi. 10 and often), being covered below with laurels and olive-trees, above with pines and oaks (hence the comparison Cant. vii. 6), and full of the most beautiful flowers. These are the glory of Carmel which shall be given to the wilderness (Is. xxxv. 2). The view over the sea as well as of the coast is magnificent. Compare the different descriptions of travellers, von Raumer, p.

43 ff.¹ Since 1180 there has stood on Carmel, although only at a height of 578 feet, and therefore far below the summit, a cloister to commemorate Elijah (1 K. xviii. 17-39; 42-45) and bearing his name; rebuilt in 1833. The mountain reaches an altitude of 1700 feet.

Vers. 23. *Naphoth-dor*, ch. xi. 2; xvii 11. The king of the nations of Gilgal, as Gen. xiv. 1, Tidal king of the nations. Similarly, Gen. x. 5, לִלְיָן לִלְיָן. Gilgal, not on the Jordan, but, according to Robinson iii. 47, in the plain along the Mediterranean sea, now Jiljuleh, corresponding to the old

¹ [In particular also, Stanley, *S. & P. p.* 344 ff., *Tristram*, p. 99 ff.]

Galgala, which Eusebius and Jerome place six Roman miles north of Antipatris. Probably the Gilgal of Neh. xii. 29 and 1 Macc. ix. 2 was, as he supposes, the same. With this falls in the proximity of Naphoth-dor.

Ver. 24. *Tirzah* in Samaria, three miles from the city of Samaria, on the east. Here at a later period the kings of Israel dwelt; Jeroboam I., Baasha, Elah, and Shimi, and here the last-named burned himself in his palace, 1 K. xiv. 17; xv. 33; xvi. 8-18. Robinson (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 302, ff.) takes Tulluzah for Tirzah, being beautifully situated like the ancient city (Cant. vi. 4). The name signifies delight, from תִּרְצָה.

PART SECOND.

The Division of the Land of Canaan.

CHAPTERS XIII.-XXIV.

SECTION FIRST.

GOD'S COMMAND TO JOSHUA TO DISTRIBUTE THE LAND IN WEST PALESTINE. RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE AT THE TERRITORY ALREADY ASSIGNED TO THE TWO AND A HALF TRIBES EAST OF THE JORDAN. BEGINNING OF THE DIVISION. CALEB'S PORTION.

CHAPTERS XIII., XIV.

1. *God's Command to Joshua to distribute the Land.*

CHAPTER XIII. 1-7.

- 1 Now [And] Joshua was old *and* stricken in years [far gone in years; Fay: come into the days; De Wette: come into the years]; and the Lord [Jehovah] said unto him, Thou art old *and* stricken [far-gone] in years, and there remaineth
 2 yet very much land to be possessed. This *is* the land that yet remaineth: all the
 3 borders [circles] of the Philistines, and all Geshuri, From Sihor, which *is* before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron, northward, *which is* [shall it be] counted to the Canaanite: five lords of the Philistines, the Gazathites,¹ and the Ashdolithes, the Eshkalonites, the Gittites [Gathite], and the Ekronites; [,] also [and] the Avites;
 4 [,] From [in] the south [:] all the land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that *is* beside [which belongs to] the Sidonians, unto Aphek, to the borders [border] of the Amorites; And the land of the Glibites, and all Lebanon, toward the sunrising, from
 6 Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath. All the inhabitants of the hill *country* [the mountain] from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, *and* all the Sidonians, them will I drive out from before the children [sons] of Israel: only divide thou it by lot unto the Israelites for an inheritance [for a possession], as I have
 7 commanded thee. Now therefore [And now] divide this land for an inheritance [a possession] unto the nine tribes, and the half-tribe of Manasseh.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 8. This and the following Gentile nouns in the verse are all singular in the Hebrew and might better be so understood for the English. — Ta.]

2. *The Territory of the Two and a Half Tribes East of the Jordan, as already granted to them by Moses.*

CHAPTER XIII. 8-33.

a. Its Boundaries. The Tribe of Levi.

CHAPTER XIII. 8-14.

- 8 With whom [him] the Reubenites and the Gadites have received their inheritance [possession], which Moses gave them, beyond [the] Jordan eastward, *even*
 9 as Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah] gave them; From Aroer that is upon the bank of the river [water-course] Arnon, and the city that *is* in the midst of the river
 10 [water-course], and all the plain [table-land] of Medeba unto Dibon; And all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, which [who] reigned in Heshbon, unto the
 11 border of the children of Ammon; and Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites
 12 and Maachathites, and all mount Hermon, and all Bashan unto Salcah; All¹ the kingdom of Og in Bashan, which [who] reigned in Ashtaroth and Edrei, which remained of the remnant of the giants. For these did Moses smite and cast them
 13 out. Nevertheless the children [sons] of Israel expelled not the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites; but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites until this day.
 14 Only unto the tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance [no possession]; the sacrifices of the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel made by fire [Fay and De Wette: offering of Jehovah; Bunsen, after the *Berleburg Bibel*: fire-offerings] *are* their inheritance, as he said unto them.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

- [1 In vers. 12, 13, read: All the kingdom of Og in Bashan, who ruled in Ashtaroth, and in Edrei: he was left of the remnant of the giants, and Moses smote them, and drove them out. And the sons of Israel drove not out the Geshurite, and the Maachathite; and Geshur and Maachath dwell in the midst of Israel to this day.]

b. The Possession of the Tribe of Reuben.

CHAPTER XIII. 15-23.

- 15 And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children [sons] of Reuben *inheritance*
 16 [omit: inheritance] according to their families. And their coast [border] was from Aroer that is on the bank of the river [water-course of] Arnon, and the city that *is* in the midst of the river [water-course] and all the plain [table-land] by Medeba;
 17 [:] Heshbon, and all her cities that *are* in the plain [table-land], Dibon, and Bamoth,
 18 19 baal, and Beth-baal-meon, And Jahaza, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath, And
 20 Kirjathaim, and Sibmah, and Zareth-shahar in the mount of the valley, And Beth-
 21 peor, and Ashdoth-pisgah [the foot-hills of Pisgah], and Beth-jeshimoth, And all the cities of the plain [table-land], and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites which [who] reigned in Heshbon, whom Moses smote with the princes of Midian, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, *which were* dukes [Fay: the anointed]
 22 of Sihon, dwelling in the country. Balaam also [and Balaam] the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children [sons] of Israel slay with the sword, among them that
 23 were slain by them [in addition to their slain]. And the border of the children [sons] of Reuben was [the] Jordan, and the border *thereof* [De Wette, Fay: and that which bordered it; Bunsen: that is, its margin]. This *was* the inheritance [possession] of the children [sons] of Reuben, after their families, the cities and the villages¹ thereof.

¹ Some Codd. read here as in ver. 20, וְיָבִיטוּ, doubtless to make ver. 23 conformable with ver. 28. We abide by the reading וְיָבִיטוּ.

c. The Possession of the Tribe of Gad.

CHAPTER XIII. 24-28.

- 24 And Moses gave *inheritance* [omit: inheritance] unto the tribe of Gad, *even*
 25 [omit: even] unto the children [sons] of Gad according to their families. And
 their coast [border] was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the
 26 children of Ammon, unto Aroer that *is* before Rabbah; and from Heshbon unto
 Ramath-Mizpeh, and Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the border of Debir;
 27 And in the valley, Beth-aram, and Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest
 of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, [the] Jordan and *his* [its] border, *even*
 unto the edge of the sea of Cinnereth, on the other side [of the] Jordan eastward.
 28 This is the inheritance [possession] of the children [sons] of Gad after their fami-
 lies, the cities, and their villages.

d. The Possession of the Half Tribe of Manasseh. A Word concerning the Tribe of Levi.

CHAPTER XIII. 29-33.

- 29 And Moses gave *inheritance* [omit: inheritance] unto the half-tribe of Manasseh:
 and *this was the possession* of the half-tribe [properly: and it was for the half-
 30 tribe] of the children [sons] of Manasseh by their families. And their coast
 [border] was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan,
 31 and all the towns [villages] of Jair, which *are* in Bashan, threescore cities. And
 half Gilead, and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, cities [De Wette, Fay: the cities] of the
 kingdom of Og in Bashan, *were pertaining* unto the children of Machir the son of
 32 Manasseh, *even* to the one half of the children of Machir by their families. These
are the countries which [are what] Moses did distribute for inheritance [possession]
 in the plains of Moab, on the other side [of the] Jordan by Jericho eastward.
 33 But unto the tribe of Levi Moses gave not *any* inheritance [possession]: the
 Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel *was* [is] their inheritance, as he said unto them.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

With the thirteenth chapter begins Part Second of the book. This describes the division of the land, and rests no doubt on definite records which lay before the author. Such records must have been prepared on taking possession of the land, and such are in fact referred to, ch. xviii. 8, 9. "Without them a single Hebrew writer would hardly have had so accurate a knowledge of the land as this author displays, especially in regard to the boundaries" (Knobel). When these registers were established, whether already in Joshua's time,¹ or, as Knobel, from certain circumstances feels obliged to infer, "at a somewhat later period," cannot be made out with certainty. We have, at all events, to deal here, for the most part, with very ancient writings, reminding us of Ex. xx., Num. xxxiii.

1. *Jehovah's Command to Joshua to divide the Land*, ch. xiii. 1-7. Joshua has become old, much land is yet to be conquered, and no prospect of his completing the conquest of it; therefore God gives him the command to wait no longer, but to undertake the division. What yet remains is accurately mentioned, vers. 2-6, and in ver. 7 it is said, that it shall be given to the nine and a half tribes.

Ver. 1. *Well-stricken [far gone] in years*, as ch. xxiii. 1, 2; Gen. xxiv. 1; xviii. 11.

Ver. 2-6. The land that remains to be occupied.

1 [The clear and positive statements made in ch. xviii. 4-9 would seem to leave little room for doubt on this point,

It lies part in the south (ver. 3, 4), and part in the north (ver. 5, 6).

Ver. 2. *All the circles of the Philistines, and all Geshuri*. קַלְגַּלִּיטוֹת, LXX. rightly: *δρια*, Vulg.: Galilæa, and hence Luther: Galilee of the Philistines. Geshuri is not to be confounded with the country of the Geshurites on Lebanon, mentioned ch. xii. 5; xiii. 13, but is to be looked for in the south of Palestine near Philistia.

Ver. 3. *From Sihor*. שִׁיחֹר from שִׁיחַר, to be black, properly, black stream; but not here, as in Is. xxiii. 3; Jer. ii. 18, the Nile, which De Wette judges it to be, but, according to the convincing analogy of 1 Chron. xiii. 5, the *בְּתַל־מִצְרַיִם*, the brook of Egypt, Rhinokolura, or Rhinokorura, which actually flows *before*, i. e. eastwardly (more accurately northeastwardly) from Egypt, while the Nile takes its course through the middle of that country. Von Raumer well remarks in his excursus on this passage (p. 53): "That under the name Shihor the Nile was by no means alone intended, is evident from the single fact that Josh. xix. 26 refers to a border stream of Asher of the same name. If the Nile was called Shihor, niger, *quia nigrum lutum devehit*, why should not other streams receive the same name for the same reason. Have we not in Germany and

to one who admits the historical credibility of the book. — Tr.]

America streams which are called Schwartzbach, Black Creek, Black River, Green River, etc.?" It may be added that many names of streams and streamlets may be met with bearing the same or closely related names, from the repetition of the same features in different places.

Even unto the border of Ekron. Ekron, 'Ακρόρων, 'Ακράρων in the LXX., between Ashdod and Jammia, one of the five cities of the Philistines, mentioned elsewhere in the Book of Joshua several times, ch. xv. 11, 45, 46; xix. 43; according to Judg. i. 18 conquered by Judah, afterward lost again, then again conquered, under Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 14). It was the city of the fly-Baal, Baal-zebub, whose *protégés* are still to be found there in great numbers. At least Van de Velde complains (ii. 173 *apud* von Raumer, p. 185) very bitterly of them. Jeremiah (xxv. 20); Amos (i. 8); Zephaniah (ii. 4); Zecharia (ix. 5, 7) prophesied against Ekron. Robinson (iii. 23-25) thinks he discovered it in Ahir, pronounced Aghrum, according to Furrer, p. 135, a small village built of unburnt bricks or clay. "The radical letters of the Arabic name are the same as those of the Hebrew, and the position too corresponds with all we know of Ekron," that is, with the statement of Eusebius and Jerome, that it should be between Ashdod and Jammia; for "such is the actual position of Akir relative to Esdud and Gebna at the present day."

Shall it be counted to the Canaanites. This land shall be regarded as Canaanitish, and so subject to conquest, although the Philistines were not Canaanites, but according to Gen. x. 13 sprang from Mizraim. So also Knobel: "The country from the brook of Egypt, northward, is reckoned to the Canaanite, *i. e.* to Canaan, and was therefore to be taken into account also, since Israel was to receive the whole of Canaan."

Five lords of the Philistines: the Gazathite (Gazite), the Ashdodite, the Ashkelonite, the Gittite (Gathite) and the Ekronite. The lords or chiefs are named instead of the cities. The *Gazite*, ruler of Gaza, גַּזִּית, Γάζα, first mentioned, Gen. x. 19, as a border town of the Canaanite peoples; in our book, x. 41; xi. 22; xv. 47, conquered by Judah, Judg. i. 18, afterward lost again, Judg. iii. 3. Samson carried the gates of Gaza to a hill (Judg. xvi. 21-30) which is now shown one half hour from the city. As against Ekron, the prophets prophesied also against Gaza, Jeremiah (xxv. 20; xlvii. 5), Amos (i. 6, 7) Zephaniah (ii. 4), Zechariah (ix. 5). On the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, Philip baptized the eunuch (Acts viii. 30). It lies in a fruitful region, rich in palms and olive-trees, on a small hill about an hour from the sea; is at present larger than Jerusalem (Robinson, ii. 372), a chief emporium between Egypt and Syria, lying on the great caravan route, and distinguished by good springs. The population may be about fifteen or sixteen thousand. Robinson (*ubi sup.*) gives a very instructive sketch of the history of the city, which has suffered much in the military campaigns of thousands of years. A very pleasant description is found in Furrer (p. 119-122). The *Ashdodite*,

Ashdod, אֲשְׁדֹד, Ἀσδος, ch. xi. 22; xv. 46, 47. Here Dagon fell before the ark of God (1 Sam. v. 1-7; vi. 17); and this city also shared in the maledictions of the prophets mentioned above, in the same passages which were there quoted. It likewise is named in the account of the eunuch from Ethiopia (Acts viii. 40). It is now called Esdud,

a village of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miserable hovels, lying on a "low round eminence," and surrounded by an extensive grove of olive trees (Furrer, p. 133, Robinson, ii. 368). Of antiquities Furrer found in the village, not a single one. "Of the ancient city of the Philistines which once stood here," he says, "that Ashdod about which the Assyrian (Is. xx. 1) and Egyptian armies often encamped, everything but the name has utterly vanished." The *Ashkelonite*. Ashkelon (and Askelon), אֲשְׁקֶלֶן, mentioned nowhere else in our book, conquered by Judah (Judg. i. 18), but not named among the cities of Judah (Josh. xv. 45-47),—a circumstance which favors the opinion that the list was composed in the time of Joshua, and not later—was, next to Gaza, probably the most important city of the Philistines, at whose gates David would not have the tidings of the death of Saul and Jonathan proclaimed (2 Sam. i. 20), lest the daughters of the Philistines should rejoice. Like the other Philistine cities, Ashkelon was threatened by the prophets with divine punishment. Samson slew here thirty Philistines. Jonathan the Maccabean conquered the city twice (1 Mac. x. 86; xi. 60). Herod the Great was born here, according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 6), was called Ascalonita, and adorned the place with baths and fountains. It was distinguished originally for hatred against the Jews, later for enmity toward the Christians. During the Crusades many conflicts took place here. Its destruction by Saladin (1191) terminated its splendor forever; and Lady Hester Stanhope, as Ritter relates at large, (xvi. 70 ff. [Gage's Transl. iii. 213 ff.]), caused its ruins to be explored without finding silver or gold. The ruins are of vast proportions. The village of New Ashkelon lying near the sea is surrounded with green. "Thus Ashkelon, with the adjacent village, formed an extremely fertile oasis in the midst of a perfectly desert region; although, through the numerous gaps and rents in the gigantic stone wall, the wind has at certain points swept the sand of the desert into the very site of the city" (Furrer, p. 128). The *Gittite* (Gathite),

Gath, mentioned already, ch. xi. 22; גַּת, *Girra*, (Joseph.), Γεθ (LXX.), was the home of Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 4); connected with Ashkelon in David's lamentation (2 Sam. i. 20), conquered by David (1 Chron. xix. 1). Micha (i. 10) and Amos (vi. 2) make mention of this city, whose ruins Robinson (ii. 220) sought for in vain. On Menke's atlas, map iii., its name is brought in without the sign of a town, on the border of the second group of low land cities belonging to the tribe of Judah. Knobel (p. 433), after the example of Hitzig (*Urgeschichte der Philister*, p. 154), conjectures that Βαρρυάββα in Ptolem. 5, 16, 6, Betogabri in *Tab. Peut.* ix. 6, Eleutheropolis of the Fathers, the present Beit Jibrin, is the same as Gath.—The *Ekronite*, see above ver. 3.—The *Avites*, "south of Gaza," Deut. ii. 23.

Ver. 4. In the South. The Masoretic division of the verse we must here give up, as Hävernick, Keil, and Knobel have done, since the specification — מְרִימֹן, standing unquestionably in contrast with צְפֹנָה (ver. 3), suits very well with the preceding, but not at all with what follows. Rather the author turns here, ver. 4, to an enumeration of the portions of the country lying in the north which require yet to be fully subjugated.

All the land of the Canaanites. Phœnicia is

intended, and in particular, the low-land there as well as the "mountain country from Mearah even to the border of the Amorites" (Knobel).

Mearah. Since מֵעָרָה properly signified a cave, the conjecture proposed by Rosenmüller (*Bibl. Geog.* ii. 1, pp. 39, 40), although Robinson (iii. 412) regards it "as of very questionable value," may safely be approved, with Ritter (xvii. 99) and Knobel, namely, that we here have a reference to the *cavea de Tyro* mentioned by Will. Tyr. (xix. 11), which he describes as a *spelunca inezpugnabilis*, an old burial-place of the Sidonians; at present, Mughr Jezzín, i. e. Cave of Jezzín, on Lebanon, east of Sidon. Ritter, *ubi sup.*

Aphék, now Afka (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 603 ff.), northeast of Beirut; not to be confounded with the better known Aphék, in the tribe of Issachar, where the camp of the Philistines was pitched before their victory over Saul (1 Sam. xxix. 1-31), and where Benhadad was subsequently captured (1 K. xx. 26-30). The Aphék before us, called by the Greeks Ἀφακα, noted for the temple of Venus, destroyed by Constantine the Great, belonged, as we see from ch. xix. 30, to Asher. A third Aphék (von Raun, p. 242), now Feik, a village of 200 families, lies on the east side of the sea of Tiberias, on the road from Hauran to the Jordan. This place is indicated in the *Onom.* as a *castellum grande*. There was also a fourth place of the name (ch. xv. 53) on the mountain of Judah.

To the borders of the Amorites, i. e. to the land once inhabited by the Amorites, which belonged to Og, king of Bashan (Mich., Dereser, Rosenmüller, Keil).

Ver. 5. The land of the Gíblites. The land of Gíbli, i. e. of the race of Gebal (1 K. v. 32 (18); Ez. xxvii. 9), a district north of Berytus, on the sea, still called Johail, by the Arabs, but in the classics "Byblus" (Knobel). Byblus itself lay on the sea (Ez. xxvii. 9), was a seat of the Adonis-worship (Winer, i. 206), "home of the Phœnician artisans called by Solomon to the building of the temple (1 K. v. 32 (18)). The country belonging to it probably lay east of the city" (von Raun, p. 26, 28).

All Lebanon towards the sun-rising, i. e. the Anti-Lebanon.

Baal-Gad, not Baalbec, as Knobel here again maintains, but, as was shown on ch. xi. 17, Cæsariæ Philippi. So also Menke on Map iii., who strangely writes Baal-Gath instead of Baal-Gad — perhaps a mere oversight.

Hamath. A northern boundary point of Palestine, mentioned Num. xxxiv. 8, in our book here and in ch. xix. 33, and many times throughout the O. T., particularly during the period of greatest renown of the Jewish dominion under David and Solomon. Then the kingdom actually extended to that point (see the side-map to Map iii. in Menke's *Atlas*), 2 Sam. viii. 3-12; 1 Chron. xviii. 3-11; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; 1 K. viii. 65; 2 Chron. vii. 8; 2 K. xiv. 25-28. So far had the spies originally penetrated (Num. xiii. 21). According to the *Onom.* Hamath = Epiphania on the Orontes, at the present time, Hamah, seat of a Greek bishop (Robinson, iii. 456 [see also *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 568]). Yet Jacobites also dwell there subject to the Jacobite patriarch who resides in Mesopotamia (Robinson, iii. 461). The city is very large, and numbers 100,000 inhabitants (Winer, i. 458).

Ver. 6. There remain besides, and are to be conquered, all the inhabitants of the mountains from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, all the

Sidonians, i. e. all the heathen tribes dwelling south of the Lebanon as far as to the present promontory Ras en-Nakura (see on ch. xi. 8). Knobel here explains Misrephoth-maim simply as "promontory of Nakura," while, according to the comments on ch. xi. 8, his opinion, there controverted by us, appears to include under the name the other promontory also, Ras el-Abiad.

Only divide thou it by lot unto Israel for a possession. These words connect themselves with ver. 1, and particularly the conclusion of that verse, as Keil has well observed. **As I have commanded thee,** comp. ch. i. 6.

Ver. 7. More definite statement as to whom the land should be divided among. According to ch. xiv. 1, Joshua did not perform this service alone, but in connection with the high-priest Eleazer, and the elders of the people.

2. The Territory of the Two and a Half Tribes East of the Jordan, as Moses had already bestowed it upon them, vers. 8-33. — **a. Its Borders,** vers. 8-13. To that is added a notice of the failure of the tribe of Levi to receive a possession, vers. 14.

Ver. 8. With him, i. e. Manasseh, but the other half of Manasseh.

Vers. 9-12. These statements are, with slight variation, the same as ch. xii. 1-6. Thus instead of the half Gilead in xii. 2, we have here **All the table-land of Medeba unto Dibon.** Of Medeba we shall speak on ver. 16, of Dibon, on ver. 17.

In ver. 13 it is significantly stated that the Geshurites and Maachathites were not driven out. Similar remarks occur ch. xv. 63; xvi. 10; xvii. 12 ff.

Ver. 14 is repeated in ver. 33, yet not in precisely the same expression. Thus, while it is said

here that "וְהָיָה לְיְהוָה, i. e. the offerings of Jehovah, should be the portion of the tribe of Levi, Jehovah Himself is there called their possession. It is the same in sense; without earthly inheritance Jehovah and his worship should be the only possession of the tribe of Levi. The directions of the law Num. xviii., may be compared with this, from which it appears in what manner, through the divine worship itself, the bodily subsistence of the priests and their attendants was provided for.

b. The Possession of the Tribe of Reuben, vers. 15-23. There follow, now evidently on the ground of old registers, the several boundaries of the tribes east of the Jordan; of which Reuben comes first. They are found in shorter compass, Num. xxxii. 34-42.

Ver. 16. Medeba, now Medaba, mentioned in a song of triumph, Num. xxi. 30; according to ver. 9, and this passage, belonging to Reuben; later to Moab, Is. xv. 2. The ruins, on a hill, have a compass of half an hour, about two hours from Heshbon.

The plain (הַבְּרָצָה) by Medeba. The plateau east of Abarim or mount Pisgah is meant (comp. ch. xii. 3), comp. also Knobel on Num. xxi. 10, 11.

Ver. 17. Heshbon, also, lies, like Medeba, on this table-land, comp. xii. 2. — Dibon, mentioned Num. xxi. 30, like Medeba; now Diban [the site of the recently discovered monumental stone (Moabite stone) containing a valuable inscription of great antiquity. — Tr.], an hour north of the Arnon. There were not two Dibons, as the *Onom.* assumes, but the one Dibon is ascribed, Num. xxxii. 3, 34, to Gad, here to Reuben, comp. also, ver. 9.

1 [Among recent travellers, the account given by Tristram in his *Land of Israel*, will be found graphic and instructive. — Tr.]

Bamoth-Baal, Num. xxiv. 20, a stopping-place of the Israelites.

Beth-baal-meon, called also, briefly **Baal-meon** (Num. xxxii. 38), now **Macin**, at the foot of the **Attarus**, which raises itself "to the east of the northern end of the Dead Sea" (von Raum. p. 71, 72).

Ver. 18. **Jahaza**. Here **Sihon** was slain, Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20. According to ch. xxi. 36, a Levitical city, cf. also 1 Chron. vii. 28. It was later retaken by Moab, Is. xv. 4, Jer. xlviii. 21. Not given on Menke's map, on von Raumer's accompanied with an interrogation point.

Kedemoth, another city of the Levites, ch. xxi. 37; 1 Chron. vi. 79.

Mephaath, also a Levite city, ch. xxi. 37; 1 Chron. vi. 79, later of the Moabites. In Jerome's time here was a Roman garrison for a protection against the dwellers in the wilderness (von Raum. p. 265).

Ver. 19. **Kirjathaim**. It is related, Gen. xiv. 5, that **Chedorlaomer** here smote the **Emin**. From the present passage, and Num. xxxii. 37, it belonged to **Reuben**; later to **Moab**, Jer. xlviii. 1, 23; Ez. xxv. 9. In the time of **Jerome** very many Christians lived here (von Raumer, p. 263).

Sibmah, very near **Heshbon**.

Zareth-shahar on the mount of the valley. The name signifies "splendor of the dawn,"

(זֶרֶת־שָׁהַר according to Gesenius perhaps = זֶרֶת־שָׁהַר, 1 Chron. i. 7). Von Raumer makes no mention of it. **Winer** and **Keil** conjecture that **Zareth-shahar**, which is nowhere else named (*nomen loci forsari in aprico colle siti, cujus nusquam alias fit mentio*, Rosenm. on this place), may have lain near **Nebo** or **Pisgah**, "not far from **Heshbon** on the west," (**Keil**). **Menke** has introduced the name *west* of **Mount Pisgah**, toward the **Dead Sea**, and somewhat south of **Zerka-maim**, perhaps because **Zereth-shahar** is indicated as situated on a mountain of the valley.

Ver. 20. **Beth-peor**, probably not far from the mountain of **Peor**; opposite **Jericho**, according to the *Onom.*

The foot-hills of **Pisgah**, and **Beth-jeshimoth**, ch. xii. 3.

Ver. 21. All the cities of the table-land and all the kingdom of **Sihon king**, etc. Meaning: "all the other cities of the level (the plain) and the whole kingdom of **Sihon**, as far as it extended on the plain." So **Keil**, rightly taking into account the statement of ver. 27. The victory of **Moses** over **Sihon** is here related more fully than in ver. 12. There are beside himself five **Midianite** princes named, **Evi**, **Rekem**, **Zur**, **Hur**, and **Reba**, and in the same order as Num. xxxi. 8, where, however, they are called מְלִכֵי מִדְיָן, while here they are styled נְשֵׂי מִדְיָן, just as in Gen. xvii. 20 the princes of the **Ishmaelites**, and in Num. iv. 34 as well as ch. ix. 18 of our book, the princes of the congregation of **Israel**, נְשֵׂי הָעֵדָוָה, the princes of their tribes are mentioned (Num. vii. 11 ff.; xxxiv. 18, and often). They are at the same time designated as the anointed of **Sihon** (נְסִיכֵי סִיחֹן), i. e. his vassals. In this sense of anointed, prince = נְשֵׂי, "the word stands only in the plural, and always, as would seem, of native, although dependent and, as in Josh. xiii. 21, subjugated, princes, and not of installed, ordinary officials" (Gesen.). **Keil** would, with **Hengstenberg**

(on Ps. ii. 6), translate נְסִיכֵי by "poured out" [founded or cast], because he thinks נָסַךְ cannot be proved to have been used in the sense of "to anoint." **Hitzig** likewise contends that נָסַךְ cannot mean "anoint," for which rather מָלַךְ stands, Ps. ii. 6, but will hear nothing of "poured out." He reaches back after an Arabic root which should signify purify, refine, consecrate to God, so that in the passage above נְסִיכֵי would be about the same as מְלִכֵי. In this view נְסִיכֵי would properly mean "consecrated" (to God); comp. **Hitzig**, *Psalms* i. p. 9.

Ver. 22. **Balaam**, Num. xxii. 5 ff., is here characterized as מְלִיץ, soothsayer, like the prophets of the **Philistines**, 1 Sam. vi. 2, and the necromancers 1 Sam. xxviii. 8, different from the מְלִיץ, the true prophet, who is also called מְלִיץ (1 Sam. ix. 9), or מְלִיץ (1 Chron. xxi. 9; xxv. 5; xxix. 29). The מְלִיץ divines properly through inscribed lots (*βελαμαντρία*).

Ver. 23. And the border . . . was the Jordan and the border. **Houbigant** and **Clericus**, because the passage is obscure, would mend the text here and Num. xxxiv. 6; Deut. iii. 16, also Josh. xiii. 27; xv. 12, 47. **Gesenius** (*Thes.* i. 394 ff.) takes מְ = simul, etiam, thus: *Jordanes qui simul terminus erat*. **Knobel** (on Num. xxxiv. 6) and **Keil** (at this place) explain: "The sea (Num. xxxiv. 6), the **Jordan**, with its territory, with its banks, shall be the boundary." This sense is indicated by **De Wette** also in his translation, which we have adopted [*der Jordan und das Angrenzende, the Jordan and what borders it*]. **Bunsen** appears to take מְ as epexegetical, translating: "that is, its margin," coming close therefore to **Gesenius**.

Their villages, comp. ver. 28, xv. 32, 36, 41, 47, 48, and often, מְלִיץ, a farm, village, *επαυλις* (LXX κώμη), which was not inclosed, like a city, with walls" (**Keil**). By the **Caucasians** such a village is called an **Aul**, reminding us of *επαυλις* [and *αὐλή*].

c. Ver. 24-28. The Possession of the Tribe of **Gad**.

Ver. 25. **Jazer**, snatched from the **Amorites**, Num. xxi. 32, belonging to **Gad**, Num. xxxii. 35, as here, a **Levite** city, ch. xxi. 39; 1 Chron. vii. 81. Later, like many other of the cities already mentioned, it belonged again to the **Moabites** (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32); conquered by **Judas Maccabæus**, 1 Mac. v. 8. **Burekhardt** (p. 609) held the present **Ain Hazir** to be **Jazer** (apud von Raumer, p. 262), and with this von Raumer agrees. **Seetzen** conjectured that **Szry** or **Seir** was to be regarded as this place, with whom, beside **Keil**, **Van de Velde**, and **Menke** (*Map* iii. compared with *Map* viii.) coincide.

All the cities of **Gilead**, i. e. of the southern part of **Gilead**, to the **Jabbok**, for the other half which belonged not to the kingdom of **Sihon**, but to that of **Og king** of **Bashan**, fell, as we learn from ver. 31, to the half tribe of **Manasseh**. For the rest comp. on ch. xii. 2.

The half of the land of the sons of **Ammon** unto **Aroer** that is before **Rabbah**. This **Aroer** is not to be confounded with **Aroer** of **Reuben** on the northern bank of the **Arnon**, ch. xii. 2; xiii. 9, 16. It is **Aroer** of **Gad**, which is before **Rabba**,

that is Rabba or Rabbath of the Ammonites (Deut. iii. 11), which, again, is different from Rabba of the Moabites (von Raumer, p. 271). Aroer of Gad, from Num. xxxii. 34, was built by the Gadites. From hence to Abel-keranim, Jephtha smote the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 33) in that victory so portentous to the life of his daughter. There Joab encamped on the occasion of that census of the people so portentous to David (2 Sam. xxiv. 5). "Probably Ayra, southwest of es-Salt" (von Raumer, p. 259). "For 'before,' cannot here," as von Raumer correctly says, "possibly signify 'to the east of' Rabbah, since Aroer, as a city of the tribe of Gad, must have lain west of Rabbah. 'Before' signifies, probably, that if one goes from the Jordan toward Rabbah, Aroer lies before Rabbah." So likewise Burckhardt (p. 609):

Ver. 26. From Heshbon to Ramothmizpeh and Betonim. Thus the extension northward of the territory of the tribe is expressed. From Heshbon. We need not suppose with Keil that Heshbon, belonging to Reuben (ver. 17), lay exactly on the border between Reuben and Gad, but "from Heshbon" = "from the region of Heshbon." To Ramath-mizpeh and Betonim. Again, also, 'into the region of' these cities. Ramath-mizpeh, i. e. Height of the Watch, as von Raumer translates. We have already, ch. xi. 8, met with a valley of Mizpeh, concerning which see the explanation there. This Ramath-mizpeh is called also רְמוֹת מִצְפֶּה

בְּגִלְגָּד, ch. xx. 8; a city of the Levites, ch. xxi. 38; 1 Chron. vi. 80; a city of refuge, according to ch. xx. 8, and Deut. iv. 43; in Solomon's time the residence of one of his prefects (1 K. iv. 13 (see the side map of Menkes' Map iii.)). Here Ahab was mortally wounded, as Micha had prophesied to him (1 K. xxii. 1-37; 2 Chron. xviii.), his son Joram slain by Hazael king of the Syrians, (2 K. viii. 28), and Jehu anointed (2 K. ix. 1-6). Probably it was the present Salt on the road from Jericho to Damascus. The road from Nablus (Shechem) also here joins the former, as Van de Velde's map distinctly shows. Without doubt this has been so for thousands of years, and hence the repeated collision of Israeliitish and Syrian armies at this point was very natural. — Betonim. It still existed in Jerome's time (*Onom.* s. v. "Bothnia"), yet he can say nothing of its site.

From Mahanaim unto the border of Debir. In this language the extension of the country of Gad from east to west is indicated. *Mahanaim*, i. e. double camp, or double army (of the angels), most familiar both from the narrative of Jacob's return homeward (Gen. xxxii. 2), and from the history of David who fled thither from Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 24, 27; 1 K. ii. 8). Here also Ishob-sheh was summoned by Abner to be king. A Levitical city, ch. xxi. 39; 1 Chron. vii. 80; the residence of a prefect in Solomon's time (1 K. iv. 16). The site cannot be accurately given. Von Raumer looks for it in the Jordan meadow (p. 253), because it lay north of the Jabbok, and yet belonged to Gad. But north of the Jabbok Gad's border (p. 221) only took in the Jordan meadow, as he thinks. To this assumption Keil rightly replies: "But, since Mahanaim, according to ver. 30, lay on the border of Manasseh, and already belonged to Bashan, it may also have lain on the plateau north of the Jabbok, perhaps near a ford of that stream (Gen. xxxii. 22), since nowhere in the O. T. is the Jabbok spoken of as the northern border of the territory of Gad." This view is adopted also by Menke in his Atlas.

Unto the border of Debir (לְדִבְרִי). Since לְ as a sign of the Stat. constr. occurs nowhere else in our book, J. D. Michaelis, appealing to 2 Sam. ix. 4 and xvii. 27, proposed to read לְבֵן דִּבְרִי, which is favored by the circumstance that in 2 Sam. xvii. 27, לְבֵן דִּבְרִי occurs in connection with Mahanaim. Hitzig (*Bepr. d. Krit.* p. 137, *apud* Keil, p. 341) conjectures that the לְ was only an error in copying, from the repetition of the לְ in גְּבֹולֵי. Keil thinks

it possible that the לְ may have belonged to the name, which would then be sounded Lidbhir. Since the LXX. read Δεβίρ, we decide for the view of Hitzig, rejecting the suppositions of Michaelis and Keil. Where this Debir lay (the third, for there were two in Judæa, von Raumer, p. 184) is not made out. Even Eusebius could say nothing of it except that it was *πάλαι τῶν Ἀμορραίων*. Perhaps, on the heights which border the Jordan, and hence named as their western boundary point!

Ver. 27. In the valley. The Jordan valley is meant, as in ch. xvii. 16, elsewhere called הַיַּרְדֵּן.

Betharam, already Num. xxxii. 36 belonging to Gad, at the foot of Mount Peor, afterward called Julius or Livia, but not to be identified with the Gaulanitic Judias (von Raumer, p. 260). Beth-nimra, also Num. xxxii. 36, referred to Gad; now the ruins of Remrim.

Succoth and Zaphon, likewise in the Jordan valley. In regard to Succoth, cf. especially Robinson (*Later Bibl. Res.*, pp. 311, 312) and von Raumer (p. 256, Remark 347). Even unto the end of the sea of Cinnereth, cf. ch. xii. 3.

Ver. 28. Thus the country of the sons of Reuben and Gad together covers the kingdom of Sihon. Cf. ch. xii. 2, 3.

d. *The Possession of the Half Tribe of Manasseh*, ver. 29-32. This embraces the kingdom of Og, ch. xii. 4, 5. From Mahanaim. To be understood as was "from Heshbon," ver. 26.

Villages of Jair. הַיָּרֵחַ = הַיָּרֵחַ life, the name of the first woman as the mother of all living, Gen. iii. 20; iv. 1; here as Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14 = camp, tent-village. "The name יָרֵחַ occurs only of the villages of Jair, and probably denotes a particular kind of towns; but it is yet obscure" (Knobel). Keil translates the name *Jair-life* [Jairleben], thinking probably of names of towns among us, like Eisleben, Aschersleben. Knobel says further, on Num. xxxii. 41, concerning these villages of Jair: "The division of Jair conquered the cities of the Amorites and named them after themselves. These Jair-towns, sometimes given as 23, sometimes 30, and again as 60 in number, as the Manassite occupation of the country changed in the course of time, were given up, together with Kenath and "her daughters," to the Aramæans and Geshurites (1 Chron. ii. 23). They lay in Bashan (Josh. xiii. 30) or in Argob, reaching as far as the border of Mancha and Geshur (Deut. iii. 14); hence in the plain of Janlan and Hauran, but are also placed in the land of Gilead (Judg. x. 4; 1 Chron. ii. 22), and are mentioned with Argob in Bashan (1 K. iv. 13). This may be explained in this way. The southern part of Hauran lies east of northern Gilead, then follows, from about Remtha, the district ez-Zueit on as far as the Zerka (Jabok, which goes up to the east of Gilead), and is for the most part, a flat country

with many uninhabited places (Burek, *Syria*, pp. 395, 397, 453 ff., Seetzen, i. p. 383). It belonged jointly to Manassch. According to Arabian authorities there must lie in each of the three districts Zueit, Jaulan, and Ledja, 366 ruined towns and villages (Buckingham, *Syria*, ii. pp. 118, 142, 434); and Dhaberi speaks of it as a common opinion that in Hauran there are more than a thousand places (Rosenmüller, *Analecta Arabica*, iii. 22)."

Ver. 31, comp. ch. xii. 4. "This northern Gilead belonged to half of the children of Machir (1 Chr. v. 24). The others received their portion west of the Jordan, ch. xvii. 2 ff.

Ver. 32. A repetition of the statement that Moses had already ordered this division of the trans-Jordanic country.

Ver. 33, comp. v. 14. — On von Raumer's hypothesis concerning the Jair-towns, see the explanation of ch. xix. 34, [comp. also, Stanley, *Sin. & Pal. App.* § 86; Grove, in *Dict. of the Bibl.*, art. "Jair." — Tr.]

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[MATT. HENRY: Note, it is good for those

who are *old and stricken in years*, to be put in remembrance of their being so. Some have *gray hairs here and there upon them and perceive it not*. Hos. vii. 9; they do not care to think of it, and therefore need to be told of it, that they may be quickened to do the work of life, and make preparation for death which is coming on them apace. — All people, but especially old people, should set themselves to do quickly that which must be done before they die, lest death prevent them.

THE SAME, on Deut. xviii. 2: Care is taken that the priests entangle not themselves with the affairs of this life, nor enrich themselves with the wealth of this world; they have better things to mind, — Note, those that have God for their inheritance, according to the new covenant, should not be greedy of great things in the world, neither gripe what they have, nor grasp at more, but look upon all things present with the indifference which becomes those that believe God to be all-sufficient. — Care is likewise taken that they want not any of the comforts and conveniences of this life. Though God, who is a Spirit, is their inheritance, it does not therefore follow that they must live on the air. — Tr.]

3. *Beginning of the Distribution.*

CHAPTER XIV. 1-5.

1 And these *are the countries* which the children of Israel inherited in the land of Canaan,¹ which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children [sons] of Israel distributed for inheritance [a possession] to them. [,] By lot *was* their inheritance [by the lot of their possession], as the Lord [Jehovah] commanded by the hand of Moses, for the nine tribes, 3 and *for* the half-tribe. For Moses had given the inheritance [possession] of [the] two tribes and an half-tribe on the other side [of the] Jordan: but unto the Levites 4 he gave none [no] inheritance among them. For the children [sons] of Joseph were two tribes, Manassch and Ephraim: therefore [and] they gave no part unto the Levites in the land, save cities to dwell *in*, with [and] their suburbs [pasture- 5 grounds] for their cattle, and for their substance. As the Lord [Jehovah] commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did, and they divided the land.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. — And these are what the sons of Israel received as a possession in the land of Canaan, what Eleazar the priest, etc. — Tr.]

4. *The Possession of Caleb.*

CHAPTER XIV. 6-15.

6 Then [And] the children [sons] of Judah came unto Joshua in Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenazite, said unto him, Thou knowest the thing [word] that the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Moses the man of God concerning me 7 and thee in Kadesh-barnea. Forty years old *was* I when Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah] sent me from Kadesh-barnea to espay out the land; and I brought 8 him word again as *it was* in my heart. Nevertheless [And] my brethren that went up with me made the heart of the people melt; but I wholly followed the Lord

- 9 [Jehovah] my God. And Moses sware on that day, saying: Surely the land whereon thy feet have [thy foot hath] trodden shall be thine inheritance [thy possession], and thy children's for ever; because thou hast wholly followed the Lord
- 10 [Jehovah] my God. And now, behold, the Lord [Jehovah] hath kept me alive, as he said, these forty and five years, even [omit: even] since the Lord [Jehovah] spake this word unto Moses, while the children of [omit: the children of] Israel wandered [walked] in the wilderness; and now, lo [behold], I am this day fourscore
- 11 and five years old. As yet I am as strong this day, as I was in the day that Moses sent me; as my strength was then, even [omit: even] so is my strength now, for
- 12 war, both [and] to go out, and to come in. Now therefore [and now] give me this mountain, whereof the Lord [Jehovah] spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how the Anakims were there, and that the cities were great and fenced [and great and fortified cities]: if so be [perhaps] the Lord [Jehovah] will be with me, then I shall be able to drive them out, as the Lord [Jehovah] said.
- 13 And Joshua blessed him, and gave unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh, Hebron
- 14 for an inheritance [a possession]. Hebron therefore became the inheritance [possession] of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite unto this day; because that
- 15 he wholly followed the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel. And the name of Hebron before was Kirjath-arba: which Arba was a great man among the Anakims. And the land had rest from war.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The chapter contains, partly, vers. 1-5, the introduction to the division of the country west of the Jordan among the nine and a half remaining tribes, and partly an episode breaking the connection between ch. xiv. 1-5 and xv. 1 ff., concerning the possession of Caleb. With this, ch. xv. 13-19 and Judg. i. 10-15, which agree with each other, are to be compared.

a. (3) Ver. 1-5. *Introduction to the Division of the Land West of the Jordan.* Ver. 1. As distributors Eleazar and Joshua are named here, as in Num. xxxiv. 17, while in ch. xiii. 6, 7; xviii. 6, 8, 10, Joshua alone casts the lot or grants the land as in vers. 13; xvii. 15, 18. Eleazar, **אֵלֶּעָזָר** (whom God helps, *Gothalf*); "was Aaron's third son and successor in the high-priesthood, Ex. vi. 23, 25; Num. iii. 2. After the death of his father he followed him in the dignity of the high-priesthood; Num. xx. 25 ff.; Dent. x. 6, and was associated thus for a time with Moses, then with Joshua, ch. xiv. 1; xvii. 4 ff. His death is related ch. xxiv. 33" (Winer, i. 314).

Ver. 2. Eleazar and Joshua distributed the land through the lot of their possession; i. e. through the lot by which the part of the land was to be determined according to Num. xxvi. 55, whether in the north or in the south, whether in the east or in the west, whereas the magnitude of the portion was to be fixed (Num. xxvi. 56) according to the population of the tribe, by Moses or his successor. "Whether also the provinces of the several families of the tribes were assigned by lot, or whether this was left to the heads of the tribes, respectively, is not to be discovered" (Knobel).

The distribution by lot of conquered countries appears also in other histories. Thus it was "a standing custom with the Athenians, to divide the land of conquered enemies to colonists by lot, (Diod. xv. 23, 29). They proceeded in this manner in Eubœa (Herod. v. 77; 6, 100), and in Lesbos (Thuc. iii. 50). Among the Romans, also we read of *sorte agros legionibus assignare* (Cic. *Epp. add. Div.*, xi. 20, comp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, v. 74)" (Knobel).

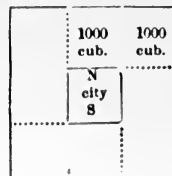
How the lot was taken we are not informed. Most probably, as the Rabbins have conjectured,

there were two urns. In one had been placed little tablets (Keil: tickets) with the names of the tribe, and in the other similar tablets with the names of the districts; and one of each was drawn at the same time. If we reject the supposition of two urns, we may think of one containing the tablets designating the portions of country, which the heads of the several tribes may have drawn, as Jehovah had commanded by Moses, Num. xxvi. 52 ff.

Ver. 4. The appointment concerning the Levitical cities is found Num. xxxv. 1 ff. where it is stated also how large their pasture-grounds should be. **קָרְשׁ מִן־קָרְשׁ** from **קָרְשׁ** to drive, drive forth signifies a place whither cattle are driven (Germ. *Trieb*, *Trift*, [comp. Eng.: drove, "a road for driving cattle," Webster]), and denotes here the space around the city which should serve for the driving of herds" (Knobel on Num. xxxv. 2). A diagram by which the dimensions in Num. xxxv. 5 may be clearly apprehended is given in Keil on this passage.¹ These pasture-grounds (Bunsen: Commons); in Switzerland called *Allmendlen*, are repeatedly mentioned ch. xx. Luther [the Eng. version also] translates, incorrectly: suburbs, led evidently by the Vulg., which renders **בָּרְשָׁא** *suburbana*.

b. (4) Vers. 6-15. *Caleb's Possession.* Caleb, the patriarch of the sons of Judah (Num. xxxiv. 19), accompanied by the men of his tribe (ver. 6), approaches Joshua, and desires, with an appeal to the promise of Moses (ver. 9), and with a declaration of his still unbroken capacity for war (ver. 11), that the mountain of Hebron may be given to him, out of which he purposes to extirpate the

1 [This is Keil's figure: — T.]



Anakites (ver. 12). Joshua promptly and gladly grants the request of the respected, proved, and brave old man, who had once with himself spied out the land from Kadesh-barnea (Num. xiii. 7, 9; xiv. 6). The place of the transaction is Gilgal, and that, as has before been shown, in the Jordan-valley. Later, eh. xviii. 1, we find the camp moved to Shiloh.

Ver. 6. Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite. Caleb, קָלֵב (perhaps, *seizing vehemently*, from קָלַב, Gesen.¹), son of one Jephunneh, of the tribe of Judah (Num. xiii. 6), one of the spies (Num. xiii. 7), had in vain encouraged the Israelites to venture an attack and take possession of the promised land (Num. xiii. 31). Pained at the cowardice of the people, he and Joshua rent their garments and still urged the people to a bold and resolute deed, which so enraged the latter that they were ready to stone them both (Num. xiv. 10). On account of their fidelity, Caleb and Joshua alone were deemed worthy to enter into the land of Canaan (xiv. 24, 30, 38; xxvi. 65; 1 Macc. ii. 56; Sirach xli. 11, 12). He is here, as in ver. 14 and also in Num. xxxii. 12, called קָנִיזִי, *i. e.* a descendant of Kenaz, which name occurs yet again, as Judg. i. 12, in the family of Caleb. We agree with Winer (i. 654) in thinking it quite unlikely that there is here any connection with the Kenizzites mentioned Gen. xv. 19, with Bertheau and Ewald suppose. [But see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, articles "Caleb" and "Kenezites".]

We next have the speech of Caleb, whose main thought has been already given above. He first calls to mind the word which Jehovah in Kadesh-barnea spoke to Moses, the man of God, concerning him and Joshua. It is found in Num. xiv. 24, 30, but purports only, as Keil aptly remarks, that the Lord will bring Caleb into the land whither he had gone, and give it to his seed for a possession. Kadesh-barnea we have already found mentioned in ch. x. 41, and shall find it again ch. xv. 3, 23. The name sounds either as here, or merely קָדֵשׁ (Gen. xiv. 23; xvi. 14; Num. xx. 16), or קָדֵשׁ (ch. xv. 23). It lay at the foot of the mountain of the Amorites (Deut. i. 19-21), was reached by the Israelites in eleven days from Horeb, and was the principal scene of their stubbornness and insubordination (Num. xiv.; xx. 1-13), and where they decided their fate for the long period of forty years. Robinson, whom Ilitzig (*Gesch. d. v. Israels*, i. 89) unhesitatingly follows, regards as Kadesh, Ain el-Weibeh, which lies northwest of Petra, and almost south of the Dead Sea. Von Raumer fixes upon the more northerly Ain Hasb (p. 209, as with special particularity, p. 483 ff.), *lying, as well as the former place, in the Arabah*. Menke has followed on his map the opinion of Rowland, controverted by both Robinson and Raumer, according to which Kadesh must be sought far west of the Arabah. Thither Menke transfers Mount Seir, also, and the wilderness of Zin. But how then should Num. xxi. 4 be understood in comparison with Deut. ii. 12?²

Ver. 7. At the time when he was sent forth from Kadesh-barnea Caleb was forty years old. He brought back a report, and as he expresses it, so

as it was in [lit. with] my heart. Hebr. פִּי־לִבִּי עַבְד־לִבִּי. Luther translates לבב here as in Job xxvii. 6, by "conscience." We are not to think of conscience, however, but rather of the bold confident spirit of Caleb, which he spoke out just as he felt it. He was a *spirited* man and not discouraged like the rest. On the variant reading of the LXX. (*avroû*) which presupposes לִבְבוֹ, as one codex of Kennicott has it, see Keil, in loc.

Ver. 8. Not so were his brethren who went up with him; they rather *discouraged* (הִמְסִיר הַמֵּחָרָה, Ewald, *Lehrg.* §142, a; Gesen. §75. Rem. 17) *the heart* of the people; prop. they made the heart of the people to melt, as in Eng. vers. Comp. ch. ii. 11; v. 1, but especially vii. 5. By that Caleb was not troubled, but *wholly followed* (comp. Num. xiv. 24) Jehovah, *i. e.* completely fulfilled (מְלֵאֲתָי) what Jehovah required, — rendered him unconditional, cheerful obedience.

Ver. 9. In consequence of this Moses *swore* to give him the land on which his foot had trod. We find no difficulty in meeting with this oath in Deut. i. 34 ff. where ver. 36 agrees, in part literally, with the verse before us. And although it is there said that God swore, here that Moses did, we see, *ceteris paribus*, no irreconcilable discrepancy. Moses, the man of God (ver. 6), swears in the name and at the command of God. Knobel's observation: "moreover we read, in what the Jehovist has given of the report of the author, of an oath of Jehovah, Num. xiv. 21, 24," needs correction, since the oath in question, which is identical with that in Deut. i. 34, is the one mentioned Num. xiv. 21, 24.

[Jehovah my God. It is less easy to reconcile this expression with any form of the oath as taken by Jehovah. May we not assume that Caleb quotes some expression of Moses not elsewhere preserved to us, but familiar then to Joshua? — Tr.]

Ver. 10. God has fulfilled his promise and kept him alive, as he spoke, and that for these forty and five years . . . while Israel walked in the wilderness. הִשְׁמֵר has here the signification "in which" (time), "while," Ewald, *Lehrg.* §321, c. Concerning the forty-five years see the *Introd.* §4.

Ver. 11. The might of the hero is still unbroken although he is now eighty-five years old. A similar statement is made of Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 7.

Ver. 12. On the ground of all these facts Caleb now asks for mount Hebron, although he had, according to Num. xiii. 21, gone much further into the country, even into the north of Palestine, while certainly, according to Num. xiii. 22, 23, he had spied out the land only into the region of Hebron. As there vers. 22, 23 are inserted into the context so is it here with this whole passage, vers. 6-15, which probably comes from the same hand. It is remarkable also, that Caleb here says to Joshua: thou *heardest* in that day, how the Anakim were there, since Joshua (Num. xiii. 8) also was one of the spies; cf. besides Knobel on this passage, also Bleek, *Introduction*, i. p. 316. As Anakim are mentioned, Num. xiii. 22; Judg. i. 10, and in this book, ch. xv. 14, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmi.

1 [Gesenius: "perhaps, dog, for קָלַב" from קָלַב "to bark, to yelp." But Fürst and Dietrich (in his edition of

Gesenius) give the above explanation. See Smith's *Dict.* art. "Caleb," Am. Edition. — Tr.]

2 [The site of Kadesh is fully discussed in the *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v.]

Perhaps Jehovah will be with me that I may drive them out, as Jehovah said. According to ch. xi. 21, Joshua had already driven them out, (וַיִּכְרֹם). — אָרְבָּה for אֶרְבֵּי Gesen. § 103, 1, Rem. Ewald, *Lehrg.* § 264, a.

Ver. 13. Joshua cheerfully granted the request of Caleb. He *blessed* him, i. e. "joined with his gratitude for the courageous declaration, an expression of his good wishes and prayer for the success of his undertaking; comp. Gen. xiv. 19; xxvii. 23; Ex. xxxix. 43; 2 Sam. xiv. 22" (Knobel). Joshua himself, as in ch. xvii. 14 ff., bestows on him the land.

Ver. 14. Thus Hebron passes over into the hands of Caleb. According to ch. xxi. 11, he must have yielded the city to the Levites, while he held the land for himself.

Ver. 15. A notice that in earlier times (לְפָנַי) Hebron had been called "city of Arba," who was a great man among the Anakim. The same remark is repeated ch. xv. 13; xxi. 11, and had already occurred Gen. xxiii. 2. Another piece of information see Num. xiii. 22.

And the land had rest from war; repeated here from ch. xi. 23.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

1. The manner of employing the lot here is different from its use in ch. vii. 14, inasmuch as we here have to deal, not with a criminal process, but only with the fairest possible performance of an administrative transaction, namely, with the division of the land. In this case also God himself should give the decision, and therefore resort is had to the lot. So again after the return from the exile the resettlement of the capital was effected by casting lots (Neh. xi. 1), comp. Winer, ii. 31.

2. That the Levites received no province as a tribe, but rather cities for their habitation, and pastures for their herds, just so much, therefore, as, joined to the portion of the offerings mentioned Num. xviii., was necessary for their subsistence, this was altogether suited to keep them in lively remembrance that Jehovah was their inheritance. Christ expresses the same principle in regard to his disciples, Matt. x. 9, 10; Mark vi. 8, 9; Luke ix. 3; x. 4, 7. Paul appeals directly to the O. T. arrangement, 1 Cor. ix. 13, although for himself he makes no claim to this right, 1 Cor. ix. 18. Now also these principles ought to give the standard to congregations and church authorities in fixing the salaries of spiritual offices. Fat benefices with large landed possessions or extravagant revenues of money are wrong; but equally wrong is it when care for subsistence daily oppresses the preacher and robs him of the joy of his calling. In this matter there is still much room for im-

provement. Rightly, therefore, does Starke say: "The Levites were by this wise arrangement so much the more assured of their earthly support, and could so much the more diligently and without embarrassment perform their duty. They are a pattern for all Christians, who ought to regard all which they have as a gift of God."

3. The youthful freshness with which Caleb comes forward, has in it something uncommonly cheering, and shows how a pious walk joined with an efficient accomplishment of the business of life, keeps a man even physically sound and vigorous up to advanced age. It was so also with Moses, and even in our time there were and are men who have shared the same beautiful lot. Of one at least let us here make mention, the recently departed Nitzsch. Compare also in Schleiermacher's *Monologen* the discourse concerning "Youth and Age."

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Caleb's demand. (1) On his part well grounded, therefore: (2) gladly granted by Joshua. — What is right and just one may well demand. — How God sustains those who are his even to old age, and until they are gray (Is. xlvi. 4), shown in the case of Caleb. — The blessing of a faithful fulfillment of the commands of God. — The land had ceased from war (Peace Sermon).

STARKE: Only he who is a child of God and belongs to the peculiar people of God, can partake of the heavenly inheritance, Gal. iv. 7; iii. 29; Rom. viii. 17. — In the reception of earthly good we must refer everything to the divine blessing. — O, how profitable is godliness! It is profitable unto all things and has the promise of the life which now is and of that which is to come, 1 Tim. iv. 8; Matt. vi. 33. Although God does good to his children and blesses them, yet with the sweet He always shows them the rod also, Mal. iii. 16-18. — In the world is war and strife, but in heaven, peace, rest, and blessedness, Job vii. 1.

CRAMER: Dividing an inheritance and all business transactions and dealings are matters of conscience, 1 Thes. iv. 6. — No one can of himself take for himself anything of the kingdom of heaven, and of eternal life, except it be given to him from above, John iii. 27. — That to which a man has a right he may even demand of the magistrate, for to this end are judges appointed, Deut. xvii. 18. — Our glory and boast should be the testimony of a good conscience, 2 Cor. i. 12, Acts xxiv. 16. — Godliness is rewarded also with long life and health, Ps. xci. 16; Prov. iii. 2.

OSIANDER: Although we certainly cannot attain blessedness through our own works and merits, still God of his great goodness is wont to reward what we do from the spirit of submissive obedience with temporal and spiritual benefits.

SECTION SECOND.

DIVISION OF WEST PALESTINE AMONG THE NINE AND A HALF TRIBES REMAINING. APPOINTMENT OF THE CITIES OF REFUGE, AND THE CITIES OF THE LEVITES.

CHAPTER XV.—XXI.

1. Territory of the Tribe of Judah.

CHAPTER XV.

a. Its Boundaries.

CHAPTER XV. 1-12.

- 1 THIS then was the lot of the tribe of the children of Judah by their families; *even* to the border of Edom, the wilderness of Zin southward *was* the uttermost
 2 part of the south coast. And their south border was from the shore [end] of the
 3 salt sea, from the bay [Heb. tongue] that looketh southward: And it went out to the south side to [of] Maaleh [the ascent of] Acrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the south side unto [of] Kadesh-barnea, and passed along to
 4 Hezron, and went up to Adar, and fetched a compass to Karkaa: *From thence* it [and] passed toward Azmon, and went out unto the river [water-course] of Egypt; and the goings out of that [the] coast [border] were *at* the sea; this shall be your south coast [border].
- 5 And the east border was the salt sea, *even* unto the end of the Jordan: and *their* [the] border in the north quarter was from the bay [tongue] of the sea, at the uttermost part [the end] of the Jordan: And the border went up to Beth-hogla, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah; and the border went up to the stone of
 7 Bohan the son of Reuben: And the border went up toward Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward looking [and turned northward] toward Gilgal, that *is* before the going up to Adummim, which *is* on the south side of the river [water-course]: and the border passed toward the waters of En-shemesh [Sun-spring], and
 8 the goings out thereof were at En-rogel [Fullers-spring]: And the border went up by [into] the valley of the son of Hinnom, unto the south side of the Jebusite; the same *is* Jerusalem: and the border went up to the top of the mountain that *lieth* before the valley of Hinnom westward, which *is* at the end of the valley of the
 9 giants [Rephaim] northward: And the border was drawn ² from the top of the hill [mountain] unto the fountain of the water of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was drawn to Baalah, which *is* Kirjath-jearim:
 10 And the border compassed [took a compass] from Baalah westward unto mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim (which *is* Chesalon) on the north side [Fay, more exactly: to the side northward of Har-jearim, that is Chesalon], and went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed on to Timnah: And the border went out unto the side of Ekron northward: and the border was drawn to Shieron, and passed along to mount Baalah, and went out unto Jabneel; and the goings out of the border were at the sea.
- 12 And the west [prop. sea] border was to [or at] the great sea, and the coast *thereof*. This is the coast [border] of the children of Judah round about, according to their families.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1.—This verse would read more exactly as follows: And there was the lot for the tribe of the sons of Judah, according to their families: toward the border of Edom, the wilderness of Zin southward, in the extreme south. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 9.—Gesenius inclines to the meaning "stretched" "extended," for רָחַב in the Kal and Piel; and so De Wette, Fay, and others translate; but as Fürst and Winer (Simonis) approve in these conjugations the definition "mark off," *definire*, which all admit to be the sense of the Piel, there seems to be no necessity for changing the English version. — Tr.]

α The Kethib רָחַב , although we cannot allowably express it as a sing. in the translation, is to be retained in the text rather than the needless Keri רָחַבִּים . Comp. ch. xi. 2. Ewald's *Lehrg.* § 306, a.

b. Caleb's Possession. His Daughter Achsah. Conclusion to vers. 1-12.

CHAPTER XV. 13-20. Comp. ch. xiv. 6-15; Judg. i. 10-15.

13 And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a part among the children of Judah, according to the commandment of the Lord [Jehovah] to Joshua, *even* the city
 14 of Arba [Kirjath-arba, ch. xiv. 15] the father of Anak, which *city is* Hebron. And Caleb drove thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmi, the
 15 children [sons] of Anak. And he went up thence to the inhabitants of Debir: and
 16 the name of Debir before *was* Kirjath-sepher [Book-city, comp. ver. 49]. And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kirjath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah
 17 my daughter to wife. And Othniel, the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took
 18 it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. And it came to pass, as she came
 19 off *her* [the] ass: and Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou? Who answered
 [And she said]. Give me a blessing; for thou hast given me ¹ a south land [prop. a
 land of the south-country]; give me also springs of water: and he gave her the up-
 20 per springs, and the nether springs. This is the inheritance [possession] of the
 tribe of the children [sons] of Judah according to their families.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 19.—**בְּרֵגֶל**. Since the *sup.* ¹ cannot well be taken as a *dat.* but only as an *acc.*, many have understood ¹ **בְּרֵגֶל** adverbially, "into a land," etc. So Fay, following Knobel: *Nach dem Mittagslande hast du mich gegeben.* So also the LXX.: *ὄρις εἰς γῆν Νάγεβ δεδωκός με;* but the Vulgate more simply regards this as a case where the verb of giving governs two accusatives; *terram australem et torrentem dedisti mihi.* Gesen. Lex. s. v. **בְּרֵגֶל** p. 703, 1. With this agree De Wette, Maurer, Keil, Zunz — Tr.]

c. Catalogue of the Cities of the Tribe of Judah.

CHAPTER XV. 21-63.

a. Cities in the South.

CHAPTER XV. 21-32.

21 And the uttermost cities¹ of the tribe of the children [sons] of Judah toward
 22 the coast [border] of Edom southward were Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur, And
 23 24 Kinah, and Dimonah, and Adadah, And Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan, Ziph,
 25 and Telem, and Bealoth, And Hazor, Hadattah [Hazor-hadattah], and Kerioth,
 26 27 and Hezron [Kerioth-hezron] which *is* Hazor, Amam, and Shema, and Moladah,
 28 And Hazar-gaddah, and Heshmon, and Beth-palet, And Hazar-shual, and Beer-
 29 30 sheba, and Bizjoth-jah, Baalah, and Iim, and Azem, And Eltolad, and Chesil,
 31 32 and Hormah, And Ziklag, and Madmannah, and Sansannah, And Lebaoth, and
 Shilhim, and Ain, and Rimmon: all the cities *are* twenty and nine, with [and]
 their villages.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver 21.—And the cities were, in [or from] the extremity of the tribe of the sons of Judah, toward the border of Edom, in the south-country: Kabzeel, etc. — Tr.]

β. Cities in the Lowland.

CHAPTER XV. 33-47.

33 34 And in the valley [lowland], Eshtaol, and Zoreah, and Ashnah, And Zanoah,
 35 and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam, Jarmuth, and Adullam, Socoh, and Aze-
 36 kah, And Sharaim, Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim; fourteen cities
 with [and] their villages:
 37 38 Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdalgad, And Dilean, and Mizpeh, and Jok-
 39 40 theel, Lachish, and Bozkath, and Eglon, And Cabbon, and Lahmam,^a and Kith-

^a Numerous Codd. and Editions read **לַחְמָם** (Lahmas) instead of **לַחְמָם**.

- 41 lish, And Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah, and Makedah; sixteen cities
with [and] their villages :
- 42 43 44 Libnah, and Ethar, and Ashan, And Jiptah, and Ashnah, and Nezib, And
Keilah, and Achzib, and Mareshah; nine cities with [and] their villages :
- 45 46 Ekron, with [and] her towns [Heb. daughters], and her villages : From
Ekron even unto the sea [or, and westward], all that *lay* near [by the side of]
- 47 Ashdod, with [and] their villages : Ashdod with [omit : with] her towns and
her villages ; Gaza, with her towns [daughters] and her villages, unto the river
[water-course] of Egypt, and the great sea ^a and the border *thereof*.

γ. *Cities on the Mountain.*

CHAPTER XV. 48-60.

- 48 ^aAnd in the mountains [prop. on the mountain], Shamir, and Jattir, and Socoh,
49 50 And Dannah, and Kirjath-sannah, which *is* Debir, And Anab, and Eshtemoh,
51 and Anim, And Goshen, and Holon, and Giloh; eleven cities with [and] their
villages :
- 52 53 Arab, and Dumah, and Eshean, And Janum,^b and Beth-tappuah, and Aphe-
54 kah, And Humtah, and Kirjath-arba (which *is* Hebron) and Zior; nine cities
with [and] their villages :
- 55 56 Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Juttah, And Jezreel, and Jokdeam, and Zanoah,
57 Cain, Gibeah, and Timnah; ten cities with [and] their villages.
- 58 59 Hallul, Beth-zur, and Gedor, And Maarath, and Beth-anoth, and Eltekon ;
six cities with [and] their villages : ^c
- 60 Kirjath-baal (which *is* Kirjath-jearim) and Rabbah; two cities with [and]
their villages.

δ. *Cities in the Wilderness.*

CHAPTER XV. 61-63.

- 61 62 In the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah, And Nibshan, and the
city of Salt, and En-gedi; six cities with [and] their villages.
- 63 As for the Jebusites the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children [sons] of Ju-
dah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children [sons]
of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The beginning of the account concerning the division of Palestine having been given in vers. 1-6 of the preceding chapter, we find the continuation of it in ch. xv. 1 and onward. The enumeration of names which now follows, embracing five chapters in all, with only three interruptions (chaps. xv. 3-19; xvii. 3-18; xviii. 1-10) and those instructive, is extremely valuable for the geography of Palestine. It suggests a comparison with Homer's catalogue of ships, *Il.* ii. 484 ff. For the cartographic presentation of the places named the maps of Kiepert, Van de Velde, and Menke may be consulted. [Osborne's Wall-map, also, and the maps accompanying Robinson's *Researches*]. In ch. xv. we have given us the province of the

tribe of Judah, (a) its bounds (vers. 1-12); (b) Caleb's possession (vers. 13-19); (c) a list of the cities (vers. 20-63).

a. Ver. 1-12. *Its Boundaries*, ver. 1. And there was the lot of the tribe of the sons of Judah, according to their families: toward (לְמַזְרָח not לְמַזְרָח) the border of Edom, (toward) the wilderness of Zin, southward, in (מִצְרַיִם as Gen. ii. 8; xi. 2) the extreme south; i. e. the territory of the tribe of Judah embraced the most southern part of the land, so that, as Keil rightly supposes, it touched Edom in the east and in the south had the wilderness of Zin as its border. The position of this wilderness is determined, from Num. xx. 1; xxvii. 14; xxxiii. 36, by that of Kadesh-barnea concerning which we have already spoken, on ch. xiv. 6.

^a So according to the Keri יהַגְּדוֹל, while the Kethib would have it written יהַגְּבֹרֶל. On the reading of the Kethib, comp. ver. 12.

^b So the Keri יַנְיָן; the Kethib reads יַנְיָן, hence Bunsen: Janim. We stand by the reading of the Masoretes with the LXX. (Ἰανούμ), Vulg. (Janum), Luther, and De Wette.

^c Between verses 59 and 60 the LXX. have the addition: Θεκὸ καὶ Ἐβρατα (αὕτη ἐστὶ Βεθλεέμ) καὶ φαγῶρ, καὶ Ἀιγάμ (Αἰγάμ in Cod. Vat.) καὶ Κουλὸν καὶ Τατάμι (Τατάμ in cod. Vat.) καὶ Σωρῆς (Θωβῆς in Cod. Vat.) καὶ Καρέμ καὶ Γαλλίμ καὶ Βαιθήρ (Θεθήρ in Cod. Vat.) καὶ Μανοχώ· πόλεις ἑνδεκα καὶ αἰ κώμαι αὐτῶν.) See further on this in the Exegetical notes.

According to this view, the wilderness of Zin also must be sought in the Arabah, and according to Num. xiii. 26 should have formed the northern part of the wilderness of Paran. Cf. the Articles Zin and Paran in Winer, ii. 135 and 192 [and in the *Dict. of the Bible*]. — The general account of the position of the land of Judah is followed (vers. 2–12) by the more particular description of the boundaries; and first, the south border is drawn (vers. 2–4) so as to coincide in general with Num. xxxiv. 3–5.

Ver. 2. Its starting-point is the end of the Salt sea, more exactly still, the tongue which turns southward. "This tongue is the south (more accurately southernmost) part of the Dead Sea, below the promontory which stretches far into the sea west of Kerah (Robinson, ii. 231–234), and extending quite to the southern point at the so-called Salt-mountain, and salt-marsh from which the border of Judah began" (Keil). The Salt-mountain (Kaschim Ugdum), and salt-swamp are accurately given on Kiepert's Map.

From this point the border runs in a tolerably direct course toward the south, as we learn from ver. 3 which says: **It went out toward the south side of the ascent of Acrabbim.** On Acrabbim comp. ch. xi. 17. If the mountain Acrabbim is the same as the Bald mountain, mentioned ch. xi. 17; xii. 7, as a south boundary, this height (Knobel: ascent) of Acrabbim would be a pass in this Bald mountain. Knobel who rejects the identity of the Bald and Acrabbim mountains, believes that the latter was the steep pass es-Sufah, S. W. of the Dead Sea, which view is indicated by Menke on his map, while Kiepert's sketch supports our opinion. From this south-side of the hill of Acrabbim, the border goes over toward Zin, i. e. perhaps a definite place (Keil) or mountain (Knobel) in the wilderness of Zin and deriving its name therefrom. Thence it went up to the side of Kadesh-barnea, and passed along to Hezron, and went out at the water-course of Egypt, and the goings out of the border were at the sea.

In other words: The border went constantly southward to Kadesh-barnea (Num. xxxiv. 3). South of Kadesh it turned toward the west, since it came out finally at the torrent of Egypt (comp. ch. xiii. 3) and at the sea. Hezron (ver. 25 with the addition "that is Hazor") Adar, Karkaa, Azmon, are to us unknown places. The torrent of Egypt was spoken of ch. xiii. 3. The sea is evidently the Mediterranean sea. Ruins of considerable cities are still met with in these regions then allotted to the tribe of Judah (Robinson, i. 290, 318; ii. 591 f.).

Ver. 4. **This shall be your south border.** The jussive is to be explained, as Masius and Keil observe, by reference to Num. xxxii. 2.

Next, in ver. 5 a, the east border is given: the salt sea in all its extent from south to north, to the end of the Jordan, i. e. to its embouchure at the Dead Sea.

Ver. 5 b–11. **North Border.** This went forth from the northern tongue of the sea at the mouth of the Jordan, and is given a second time, ch. xviii. 15–19, as the south line of Benjamin.

Ver. 6. It went up toward Beth-hogla, a boundary point between Judah and Benjamin, belonging to the latter, perhaps the same as the threshing floor of Atad and Abel-mizraim (mourning of the Egyptians) Gen. i. 10, between Jericho and the Jordan, discovered again by Robinson, ii. 268 in Ain Hadschia, (cf. von Raumer, p. 177). From Beth-Hogla it passed on northwardly to Beth-Arabah, which is ascribed now to Judah (ver. 61), now to Benjamin (ch. xviii. 22), and lay

(ver. 61) in the wilderness at the north end of the Dead Sea; and went up to the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben. This stone of Bohan "must from the עֵלֶה וְיָרַד, ch. xviii. 17, have lain nearer the mountain, that is, more to the west or southwest" (Knobel). Keil seeks it on the same grounds "nearer the mountain," and declines any more exact determination. Further conjectures see in Knobel, p. 415.

Ver. 7. From the stone of Bohan it went up toward Debir which lay in the vicinity of Gilgal, to be distinguished evidently from the Canaanitish royal city conquered by Joshua near Hebron (ch. x. 29, 38; xii. 13; xv. 15, 49; xxi. 5; 1 Chron. vii. 58), — from the valley of Achor, ch. vii. 26. Now it turned northward toward Gilgal, that is before the going up to Adummim, which is on the south side of the water-course. Keil supposes this Gilgal not to be the place of encampment mentioned ch. iv. 19, because here "its position is determined with reference to another place than Jericho." This reason would have force only if "the other place," the ascent of Adummim, could not be shown to have been in the same region. But so long ago as the time of Jerome, he observes that the ascent of Adummim (now Gahat el Demm) (Ritter, xv. 493 [Gage's transl. iii. 10], Tobler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 698), lay on the road from Jerusalem: "*est autem confinium tribus Jude et Benjamin, descenditibus ab Ælia ubi et castellum militum situm est, ob auxilia viatorum.*" He has in mind, as we may suppose, since from the context Lake x. 30 flits before him, the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. But Gilgal lay near Jericho, according to ch. iv. 19 being itself not a city but a larger circuit, whence, ch. xviii. 17, we read of גִּלְגָּלַיִם. The watercourse is the Wady Kelt, south of Riha. Further particulars see in Knobel, pp. 416, 417. With this view von Raumer also agrees, comp. pp. 198 with 169.

The border now goes to the Sun-spring as in ch. xviii. 17. "That is the present Ain el-Hodh, or Apostles' Spring, three-quarters of an hour north-east of Jerusalem, the only spring on the road to Jericho. Seetzen, ii. p. 273, Tobler, *Topographie*, etc., ii. p. 398 ff." (Knobel). From the Sun-spring it went (see the side map to Map iii. in Menke) in a southwest direction (conversely ch. xviii. 7) to the Fullers' Spring (עֵינַי רַבֵּל), Spies' Spring would be עֵינַי מַרְגָּל, cf. Gen. xlii. 9 ff.; Josh. vi. 22).

This spring is mentioned again, 2 Sam. xvii. 17; 1 K. i. 9. It is the present deep and copious Well of Job (von Raumer, p. 307), or of Nchemiah, on the south side of Jerusalem, where the valleys of Kidron and Hinnom unite (Robinson, i. 354–491; Tobler, ii. p. 50 ff.) (Knobel). Furrer (p. 57) says concerning it: "Somewhat south of the gardens (p. 56) which spread themselves in the moderately broad valley formed by the junction of the ravines of Hinnom and Kidron together with the Tyropeon, we come to an old well, called En Rogel in the O. T., at the present time, Job's Well. Although it is more than one hundred feet deep [Robinson, one hundred and fifty feet], it overflows, upon a long continuance of rainy weather, which is regarded in Jerusalem as a joyful occurrence, indicating a good year. The overflow meanwhile lasts but a short time. I struck the water at a depth of twenty-eight feet. . . . The scenery about the fountain is very attractive. The hills rise high on the east and west. To the

north one sees the spurs of Zion and Moriah, but little of the city walls. Southward the eye follows the course of the valley to its turn toward the southeast. There a declivity of the mountain with its olive trees and beautiful green fields formed a very pleasing back-ground."¹

Ver. 8. From Eu-rogel the border went up into the valley of the son of Hinnom, on the south side of the Jebusite, that is Jerusalem. The direction accordingly runs southwest on the south side of Jerusalem, where the valley mentioned lies. It is noted also, ch. xviii. 16; Neh. xi. 30, as a border between Judah and Benjamin. It was the place where, after Ahaz, the horrible sacrifice of children was offered (2 K. xxiii. 10; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3; xxxiii. 6; Jer. vii. 31; xix. 2, 6; xxxii. 35). The man from whom it derived its name is as little known as Bohan the son of Reuben (ver. 6). On account of the offerings to Moloch, the valley became "a symbol of Hell, the name of which, גְּעֵנָא (Chald. גְּעֵנָא, in which גְּעֵנָא is perceptibly audible) is thence derived, cf. Matt. v. 22, εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός. Hitzig and Böttcher (*apud* Winer, i. 492) dispute the common view that the valley was named after a person,

Hinnom, and take הַלְלִים as an appellative = moaning, wailing; certainly a very appropriate designation of the scene of the sacrifice of so many innocent victims. This hypothesis falls in well with Kethib, 2 K. xxiii. 10, גִּי בְנֵי הַ — יְבֹרְכֵי; "for the complete expression עֵיר הַיְבֹרְכֵי, Judg. xix. 11. Jerusalem is in the same connection, called also יְבֹרֵךְ, Judg. xix. 11; 1 Chron. xi. 4" (Knobel). All in the time before David. So Bethel was earlier called Luz (Gen. xxviii. 19). Bethlehem Ephrath, Gen. xxxv. 16; Mich. v. 1. Out of the valley of Hinnom the border now ascended to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of giants northward. The mountain on which the border went up lies according to this statement west of the vale of Hinnom and at the north end of the vale of Rephaim. This vale of Rephaim is one which extends in a southwest direction from Jerusalem to Mar Elias, one hour long, a half hour wide, fertile (Is. xvii. 5), and still well cultivated, a valley-plain (עֲרֵבָה)

not properly a vale (עֲרֵבָה, עֲרֵבָה) "spacious enough to serve as a camp for an army (2 Sam. v. 18, 22; xxxiii. 13; 1 Chron. xi. 5)," named after the old gigantic race of Canaanites, the Rephaim, from whom sprang Og king of Bashan (ch. xii. 4). "It is bounded on the north by a slight rock-ridge, which constitutes the border of the valley of Hinnom, Winer, ii. 332; Robinson, i. 324; Tobler, ii. 401 ff.) That is the mountain which is here meant.

Ver. 9. From the summit of this mountain, the line was drawn (תָּרַח, related to תָּרַח, to go around, from which תָּרַח, outline, form, shape of the body, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14) to the fountain of the water of Nephtoth. This fountain of the water of Nephtoth, i. e. Liftah, one hour northwest of Jerusalem, irrigates a strip of smiling gardens, and its excellent water is carried also to Jerusalem

(Dieterici, *Reisebilder*, ii. p. 221 f.; Tobler, ii. 258 ff. *apud* Knobel) Valentiner, p. 95, observes: "Liftah numbers its fighting men by hundreds, and provides Jerusalem, among other things, with water from its copious fountain. From its position it is doubtless to be regarded as the fountain of Nephtoth, from which the dividing line between Judah and Benjamin ran on to the cities of Mount Ephron. This latter must not be confounded with Ephraim, which lay further north, Josh. xv. 9; xviii. 15." From this fountain it ran as Valentiner, with reference to our passage, correctly states, up to the cities of Mount Ephron, and was drawn to Baalah, which is Kirjath-jearim. This mount Ephron is not elsewhere mentioned. It was certainly between Liftah and Kureyet el-Enab, therefore probably the prominent ridge, on which stand the places Soba, Kartal, Kuloniëff, etc., and near which the road from Jerusalem to Joppa runs, Robinson, ii. 328 ff." (Knobel). *Baala*, that is, *Kirjath-jearim*, one of the cities marked in ch. ix. 17; xviii. 25, 26; Ezr. ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29, as belonging to Gibeon, "now Kureyet el-Enab, three hours northwest of Jerusalem, see ver. 60," (Knobel). The border still followed constantly a northwest course.

Ver. 10. Now, however, it took a compass (bent around, עָקַב) from Baala westward unto mount Seir. This mount Seir must not be mistaken for the Edomite mountain (Gen. xxxii. 3; Num. xxiv. 18; Deut. ii. 4, 5, 29; Josh. xxiv. 4); rather the mountain range is intended which runs in a southwest direction as far as the Wady Surar. The name has perhaps been preserved in Sairah, Robinson, ii. 363" (Winer, ii. 443). Cf. also Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.*, p. 155, who gives the height of the ridge as one thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea.

Passed along to the side of mount Jearim (which is Chesalon) towards the north. Chesalon, probably, now Kesla (Robinson, ii. 363, more definitely, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 154), was called also Har-jearim = mountain of forests, or forest-town. The region appears therefore to have been earlier thickly covered with woods. Thence the border went down to Beth-shemesh, and passed on to Timnah. Beth-shemesh = house of the sun, here under this name as a border town of Judah; ch. xix. 41, called Ir-shemesh and counted as a border town of Dan; according to ch. xxi. 9, 16; 1 Chron. vii. 59, a city of the priests, known especially from the narrative concerning the ark of the covenant, 1 Sam. vi. 9-20. Robinson (iii. 17-20) found, "to the west of the village Ain Schems, on the plateau of a low swell or mound, between the Surar on the north and a smaller Wady on the south, the manifest traces of an ancient site. Here are the vestiges of a former extensive city consisting of many foundations, and the remains of ancient walls of hewn stone. . . . Both the name and the position of this spot seem to indicate the site of the ancient Beth-shemesh of the Old Testament," comp. *Later Bibl. Res.*, p. 153; also, Furrer, p. 187-211, especially 198-201. Timnah, or Timnatha (ch. xix. 43) belonging to Dan, now Tibneh, west of Beth-shemesh (Furrer, p. 200), the home of Samson (Judg. xiv. 1-4). In the vineyards of Timnah, without anything in his hand he killed the lion (Judg. xiv. 5-6).

Ver. 11. Now the boundary, following a north-west course, went out unto the side of Ekron northward, i. e. to a point lying in the vicinity of

1 [A full account of this spring (called there "Well of the Messengers") is given in Gage's *Ritter*, iv. 145-148. — Ta.]

Ekron north of this Philistine city. Then it was drawn to Shicron (Soceir, Sugheir; Knobel, p. 419), and passed along to mount Baala. This mount Baala is probably, as Keil and Knobel also suppose, "the short line of hills running almost parallel with the coast, which Robinson observed west of Ekron (Akir), iii. 22, 23. From this mount Baala the border went out unto Jabneel, and then to the sea, where its goings out were.

Jabneel or Jabneh (2 Chron. xxvi. 6, יַבְנֵי־עַל), destroyed by Uzziah, the Jamnia so often mentioned in the books of Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 15; v. 58; x. 69; xv. 40; 2 Macc. xii. 9). After the destruction of Jerusalem, there was here a high school of the Jews and a Sanhedrim (Reland, p. 823, after the Talmud; *apud* von Raumer, p. 204). It is now Jbna, "a large village on an insignificant hill west of Akir (Knobel, after Tobler, *Dritte Wandrerang*, p. 20 f.; Wittmann's *Weisen*, ii. p. 7). Another Jabneel, which is mentioned ch. xix. 33, lay on Lebanon.

Ver. 12. *Gives the West Border. The great sea, i. e., the Mediterranean. The borders thereof* (הַגְּבֻלָּה), is to be explained as in ch. xiii. 23, 27, cf. also Num. xxxiv. 6.

b. Vers. 13-20 (comp. ch. xiv. 6-15; Judg. i. 10-15). *Caleb's Possession. His daughter Achsah. Conclusion to a.* Nothing is said here as in the episode, ch. xiv. 6-15, of any demand of Caleb, but simply ver. 13 that Joshua gave Hebron to Caleb, according to the command of God. On the other hand we have here, in almost literal agreement with the account in Judg. i. 10-15, the story of Achsah, whom Caleb gave as a reward for the conquest of Debir, which is not alluded to in ch. xiv.

Ver. 13. It is stated that Joshua, according to the command of Jehovah (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ here and ch. xvii. 3, with which Gesenius compares Ps. v. 1; lxxx. 1, $\text{אֱלֹהֵי־הַבְּרָיִלֹה}$, and also 1 Sam. xxvi. 4, אֱלֹהֵי־כָבוֹן), gave Caleb his portion (חֶלְקוֹ) among the children of Judah. This command must have been communicated to Joshua then, as they were dividing the land (Knobel). A complete account of the facts is wanting, for ch. xiv. 9, which Keil would apply here, speaks not of a command of God to Joshua but of an oath of Moses to Caleb, cf. further the explanation of ch. xiv. 9. Hebron is here called Kirjath-arba as in ver. 54; xx. 7; xxi. 11; Gen. xxiii. 2; xxxv. 27 (Knobel).

Ver. 14-19. The history of Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, is introduced with the remark that Caleb drove out of Hebron the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, Ahimai, and Talmai, descendants (בְּנֵי־לֵוִי) of Anak.

Ver. 15. Thence he proceeded against the inhabitants of Debir. According to ch. xi. 21, Joshua had conquered and devoted Debir. On the position of this city see on ch. xi. 21. Debir before was Kirjath-sepher. Ver. 49, the same city is called קִרְיַת־סֵפֶר . On this diversity of names cf. Keil on ch. x. 38. The there quoted explanation of Bochart (*Can.* ii. 17) on בְּקָה : "*Id Pharniceibus idem fuit quod Arabibus Sunna, lex, doctrina, jus canonicum,*" suits better to קִרְיַת־סֵפֶר than if, as

Gesenius supposes, $\text{בְּקָה} = \text{בְּקָהָה}$, *ramus palmæ*, and קִרְיַת־סֵפֶר therefore = palm city.

Ver. 16. Caleb, like Saul, 1 Sam. xvii. 25, promises his daughter Achsah as a wife to whomsoever would conquer the city, which was found difficult to take. $\text{עָבַדְתָּ עִבְדִּי}$ signifies properly foot-chains, cf. Is. iii. 18.

Ver. 17. And Othniel, son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it. So we translate,¹ according to the view of the Masoretes, with Keil, Bunsen, and Winer (il. 185) who appeal to Judg. i. 13; iii. 9. Omitting the comma after Kenaz, and making "the brother" in apposition with Kenaz (Kenaz the brother) is grammatically allowable, but is not the most obvious, cf. Judg. i. 13 (Bunsen). *Vulg. frater*; LXX. ἀδελφῶν. Othniel (אֹתְנִיֵאל = lion of God) was, according to Judg. iii. 9, the first Judge of Israel, who delivered his people from the tyranny of the Mesopotamian King Chus-han-rishathaim. On the allowableness of his marriage, see Michaelis, *Eheg.-setze Moses*, § 82, *Laws of Moses*, § 117.

Ver. 18. Achsah had not gone with the rest into the war, but had remained with her father probably in Hebron. As now she came to Debir to become Othniel's wife, She moved him (וַתְּהַיְבֵהוּ)

from כִּוְרָה or כִּוְרָת not used in Kal, perhaps "to be excited," then in Hiphil, "to incite;" so here and Judg. i. 14; 2 Chron. xviii. 2; in particular, "to tempt to something wrong," Deut. xiii. 7; Is. xxxvi. 8; Jer. xxxviii. 22, and often) to ask of her father a field (Judg. i. 14 more definitely the field which belonged to Debir), and lighted off

(וַתִּשְׂפֹךְ) from the rare שָׂפָךְ cognate with שָׂפַע , Judg. i. 14; iv. 21 = to sink down, to go under; LXX. *καὶ ἐβόησεν ἐκ τοῦ ὕπου*; *Vulg.*: "*supplicavit ut sedebat in assina.*" This translation of the LXX. followed by the *Vulg.*, raises the conjecture that the LXX., instead of the unusual וַתִּשְׂפֹךְ , read (וַתִּשְׂפֹךְ) from the ass. "Whether Othniel followed her is not said. She herself proceeded further, and on approaching her father she sprang from the ass and humbled herself before him" (Knobel). So did Rebecca also at her first meeting with Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 64). Caleb perceived that she had something unusual to present to him, and asked: What is to thee? What wouldst thou? or what dost thou wish?

Ver. 19. And she said: Give me a blessing,

בְּרָכָה , i. e., as in Gen. xxxiii. 11, a gift, a present, as Gen. xxxiii. 10, מִנְחָה is used instead of it. This gift should consist in springs of water, since Caleb had given her toward the south country (בְּצֵד , comp. x. 40). It is to be noted, first, that here Debir is reckoned as belonging to the Negeb, while the city in ver. 49 is comited to the mountain; probably, as Knobel suggests, because the region was like the Negeb. Besides, the Negeb begins, at least, in that section. Secondly, גְּלוֹת

occurs only here and Judg. i. 15, and is explained either "water springs" (Bunsen: *Wasserstrudel*, whirlpool or eddy), as Gesenius and Keil

in apposition with Othniel, thus making the latter Caleb's brother. — Ta.]

1 [Punctuation in English can but imperfectly serve the purpose here of the nominative ending as distinct from that of the genitive, in German, to indicate that brother is

prefer, or, according to Bertheau and Knobel, who quote Zach. iv. 2, 3; Ecc. xii. 6; 1 K. vii. 41, "water-holders," inclosed fountains, which בְּלַ, Cant. iv. 12, should also mean. We venture not to decide, but certainly hold the translation "water springs" in a poetically colored passage, to be finer than the transfer of "water-holders." Neither can we exactly approve Bunsen's "Wasserstrudel." Thirdly, we notice that Achsah names the springs instead of the fields which were watered by them, in order doubtless "to express the direct antithesis to the בְּלַ:" perhaps also from feminine shrewdness and cunning, that she might not directly bring out her proper wish. That gardens and fields in Palestine are even to the present day watered from springs and cisterns is well known, of what was said above on ver. 7, also Cant. ii. 6; Robinson, i. 541; ii. 285; iii. 95.

And he gave her the upper springs and the lower springs. Calob responds to the wish of his daughter, and gives her higher and lower springs, that is, higher and lower fields watered by springs. How large this possession was cannot be determined. Finally let us remark, in passing, that Handel, in his Oratorio of Joshua, brings forward Othniel and Achsah as chief personages.

Ver. 20 Belongs as a conclusion to vers. 1-12. Its position shows that vers. 13-19 were inserted. So also Keil: "the 20th verse contains the subscription or conclusion to the first division of our chapter, with which the description of the bounds of the inheritance of Judah closes."

c. List of the Cities of the Tribe of Judah. From ver. 21 on follow the names of the cities of the tribe of Judah, and a. the cities in the south country (vers. 21-32); b. the cities in the lowland (vers. 33-47); c. the cities on the mountain (vers. 48-60); d. the cities in the wilderness (vers. 61, 62). The whole is concluded with a notice (ver. 63) concerning the Jebusites.

a. Vers. 21-32. Cities in the South Country. Ver. 21, אֲרָד, at the extremity or end; בָּיָן, as in ver. 1.

In the south-country, מִנְּבֶה, cf. ch. x. 40. The enumeration begins within the Negeb at the east, as ver. 2 ff. in giving the boundaries. First we have nine cities named and connected by the copula, which Luther in his translation omits, while the LXX. and Vulg. have it. Kabzeel or Jekabzeel (יְקַבְּזֵאל, Neh. xi. 25 = which God gathers) was the birth-place of Benaiah one of David's heroes, 2 Sam. xxiii. 30. Eder, Jagur, not to be made out.

Ver. 22. Kinah, "Perhaps the place of the Kenites who settled in the territory of Arad, Num. x. 32" (Knobel).

Dimona = Dibon, Neh. xi. 25. "Probably the ruins ed-Dheib, northeast of Arad (Van de Velde, Mem. 252)," Knobel.

Adah = Sudeid (Rob. ii. 474). The country here is hilly and cut up by small ravines, but without steep declivities, and sparsely covered with a thin and now dried up growth of grass. (Rob. l. c.)

Ver. 23. Kedesh, Hazor, Kadesh-barnea and Hebron (ver. 3), Ithnan — unknown.

Ver. 24. A second group of five cities follows, a pentapolis. Ziph, perhaps = Kuscifeh (Rob. ii. 191, 195), southwest of Arad. Another Ziph lies on the mountain, ver. 55. — Telem we, after the example of Kimechi, with von Raumer (p. 222) and Knobel, regard = תֵּלֵם, where Saul mustered

his army before he moved against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 4). The position, in the Negeb, suits this view. When Keil (Com. on Josh. in h. l.) objects to this assumption that the words אֲרָד (oppression) and אֲלָלִים (young lambs), came from two quite different roots; it is a sufficient answer to say, with Gesenius, that one of the names may be altered (perhaps by corrupt pronunciation), which is easily possible with names of places. Supposing this, it is more probable that אֲרָד is derived from the longer אֲרָדִים than the reverse.

Bealoth = Bealoth-beer, Ramath-negeb, Ramoth-negeb (ix. 8), on the road toward Hebron, marked on Menke's map.

Ver. 25. Hazor-hadata, הַחֲדָתָה הַחֲדָתָה = New Hazor, since חֲדָתָה = חֲדָשָׁה. Perhaps Hudhairah (Rob. App. p. 114).

Kerioth-hezron, which is Hazor. Against the Masoretes, but with the LXX. and Syr., we join הַחֲדָתָה and הַחֲדָתָה in one name, as Reland, Maurer, Keil, and Knobel have done. In favor of this the analogy of Kirjath-arba (ver. 13) and Kirjath-jearim (ver. 9) adduced by Maurer, is of decisive weight. "Possibly the place Kuryatein north of Arad (Rob. ii. 472)." (Knobel).

Ver. 26. Third group, consisting again, like the first, of nine cities, — Amam, unknown.

Shema, a place of the Simeonites; ch. xix. 2 associated with Beer-shaba and Moladah; שֵׁמָע, probably the same name, as שֵׁ and שֵׁ are often interchanged.

Moladah, according to ch. xix. 2 likewise a place belonging to Simeon, now Milh (Rob. ii. pp. 619, 621). "Moladah was at a later period inhabited by the sons of Judah who returned from the exile (Neh. xi. 25, 26). Probably identical with Malatha, an Idumean fortress (Joseph. Ant. xviii. 6, 2); often named in the Onom." (von Raumer, p. 214). It lies on the road to Hebron, northwest of Baalath-beer. Robinson found here two wells about forty feet in depth, and walled around with good mason-work, one of them seven and a half feet, and the other five feet in diameter. The water appeared to be not good, but the Arabs of the Tiyahah watered their animals here as did the Kudeirat at Beer-sheba (Rob. l. c. note). On the plain lying near the wells to the south, the stones of a ruined town, or large village, are scattered over a space of nearly half a mile square, all unhewn. These wells and ruins in all probability mark the site of Moladah of the O. T., the Malatha of the Greeks and Romans (Rob. ubi sup.). On the etymological difficulty in deriving Milh from Moladah or Malatha, cf. the foot-note, p. 621.

Ver. 27. Hazor-gadah, Heshmon, Beth-palat, unknown.

Ver. 28. Hazor-shual (חֲזֵר שְׂוָעַל) = Fox-yard; [Ges. village of Jackals], cf. the Lex. under חֲזֵר for other like compounds), a place of the Simeonites, ch. xix. 3; 1 Chr. iv. 28, inhabited, like Moladah and Shema, after the exile, by men of Judah, Neh. xi. 27. Possibly Th'aly (Rob. iii. App. 114).

Beer-sheba, בְּיַרְשֵׁב, i. e. "well of seven, meaning the seven lambs which Abraham sacrificed when he made a covenant with Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 28-32)." So von Raumer, p. 176. Others, e. g. Ges., explain, with reference to Gen.

xxvi. 30, by *puteus jurisjurandi*, well of the oath, making שֶׁבַע = שְׁבַע־קֵדָה. Hitzig again (*ubi sup.* p. 26) in another way; "if the wilderness between Pelusium and Gaza extends for the distance of seven days' journey, Beershaba (properly, Bir sib) signifies "well of the seven day camel" (which has borne the seven days' thirst) — in the Arabic; and Arabs carry (Gen. xxxvii. 25) into Egypt, on the backs of camels, the costly productions of Gilead." Lange (*Com. on Gen. xxi. 28 ff.*) would not press the antithesis between "seven-well" and "oath-well." "The form designates it as the seven wells, but the seven designates it as in fact the well of the oath." In this view שֶׁבַע is taken as = seven, but at the same time it commemorates

that שֶׁבַע, to swear, means primarily to "seven one's self" "to confirm by seven." Cf. Herod. iii. 8, according to whom seven things were chosen among the Arabians for the confirmation of an oath. Beer-sheba is very often mentioned in the history of the patriarchs (Gen. xxi. 14, 28-33; xxii. 19; xxvi. 23; xxviii. 10; xli. 1). According to the passage before us it belonged to Judah; from ch. xix. 2, 1 Chr. iv. 28, it was ascribed also to Simeon. It is often named in the formula "from Dan to Beer-sheba" (Judg. xx. 1; 2 Sam. xvii. 11; 2 Chr. xxx. 5). At present it is called Bir es-sheba, on the north side of the Wady es-Seba, close on its banks, where two wells now bear this name (Robinson, i. 300-303). These two wells lie at some distance from each other, are round and walled up in a very firm and permanent manner, and furnish clear and excellent water in great abundance. The ruins on some low hills north of the well probably indicate the existence there formerly of a small and straggling city (Robinson, *ubi sup.*). Euseb.: *κώμη μεγίστη*. Hieron.: *vicus grandis*.

Bizjothah — undeterminable.

Ver. 29. The names of 13 places are added, which lay to the west and southwest. Baala = Deir el-Belah (Robinson, iii. App. p. 118), some hours southwest of Gaza on the north border of the Negeb with a great forest of palm trees, and remnants of marble pillars (Ritter, xvi. 41, 42 [Gage's Trans. i. 30, 31]). The considerable plantation of date-palms at this place is remarkable from the fact that here alone in Palestine the dates still ripen; here, therefore, we pass the north limit of date culture (Ritter l. c.).

Ijim, "or יִיִם", as we may judge from *Aveim* in the LXX. Cod. Alex., is passed over in the enumeration of Simeonite cities ch. xix. 1 ff. and may have been not of much importance" (Knobel). The site cannot now be determined.

Ezem also belonging, like Baala, to the Simeonites (ch. xix. 3) = Abdeh, a place of very considerable ruins on a ridge of rocks, and once strong, עִזִּים = firmness, strength (Knobel).

Ver. 30. Eitolad, later given likewise to Simeon, ch. xix. 4. In 1 Chr. iv. 29 it is called merely Tholad (Keil). This also remains undiscovered.

Chesil, כְּסִיל. According to Job ix. 9; xxxviii. 31; Amos v. 8, כְּסִיל is a constellation in the heavens, probably Orion. Since the place is named ch. xix. 4; 1 Chr. iv. 30; כְּתוֹלַד and כְּתוֹלָל, since further 1 Sam. xxx. 27, "the same place is manifestly" called בְּיַרְחָל, it must have been the seat of a sanctuary as Knobel rightly con-

jectures. May not, as the name indicates, that very constellation of Orion (Chesil) have been worshipped here, especially as Jerome reports (*Vit. Hilar.*, ep. 25, ap. Robinson, i. p. 298) that the inhabitants had worshipped Venus and the *Morning Star*? True, the morning star is mentioned and not Orion, but Jerome hardly had so exact information. At all events, worship of the stars then existed, and that is the main thing. Probably Chesil is = Elusa, where in pre-Islamite times a sanctuary of Arabic tribes existed (comp. Tuch, *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenl. Ges.*, iii. p. 194 f. ap. Knobel). Elusa lies five and a half hours south of Beer-sheba (comp. Robinson, i. pp. 296-298). Horma "or Zephat, now Sepata, two and a half hours southwest of Chalaza; see Num. xiv. 45" (Knobel).

Ver. 31. Ziklag, later belonging to Simeon, ch. xix. 5; 1 Chr. v. 30. Familiar from the history of David (1 Sam. xxvii. 6; xxx. 1; 2 Sam. i. 1; iv. 10; 1 Chr. xiii. 1). Perhaps Tel el-Hasy, northeast of Gaza (von Raumer, p. 225), from which one has an extensive view, westward to the sea, in the east toward the mountains of Hebron, northward to mount Ephraim, and southward to the plains of Egypt (Ritter, xvi. 133 [Gage, iii. 246, 247]). Knobel seeks Ziklag to the southwest of Milh, where a place, Gasludh, lies on the road to Abdeh (Robinson, ii. 621), some hours east of Sepata. The etymology of Ziklag (זִיקְלָג, זִיקְלָג) is doubtful; perhaps, as Gesen. supposes, from זִיקְלָג, wilderness of destruction.

Madmanna = Minyav or Minnich, south of Gaza (Robinson, iii. 287 f.), on the route of the pilgrims during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Sansanna — unknown. The name signifies "palm-branch." Instead of Madmanna and Sansanna, elsewhere Beth-markaboth ("Wagon-house," Knobel, Keil) and Hazar-suzar or Susim ("Horse-yard," Knobel; "Horse-village," Keil) are mentioned (ix. 3) as cities of the Simeonites. Are they possibly stations of wagons and horses, as Knobel conjectures?

Ver. 32. Lebaoth or Beth-lebaoth, belonging to the Simeonites, ch. xix. 6; in 1 Chr. iv. 31, the name of the place is Beth Birci. Perhaps Lebhem, eight hours south of Gaza.

Shilhim, called, ch. xix. 6, Sarhen (שְׂרָהֵן), a place of the Simeonites, 1 Chron. iv. 31 = el-Scheriat, about midway between Gaza and Beer-sheba; a scene of ruins (Van de Velde, *Narrative*, ii. p. 144, and *Mem.* p. 113, *apud* Knobel).

Ain, Rimmon, in ch. xix. 7; 1 Chron. iv. 32; Neh. xi. 29, treated as one place. Rimmon is discovered in the ruins Um er-Rumamim, about three hours north of Beer-sheba. Only about thirty minutes south of it is the well el-Khulweilifeh, with remains of buildings (Robinson, iii. 8), on the road from Hebron to Gaza. Compare, further, Knobel on this verse.

All the cities twenty-nine and their villages. There are not twenty-nine but thirty-six, namely, (1) group first, 9; (2) group second, 5; (3) group third, 9; (4) group fourth, 13 = 36. So indeed the Syriac reads. Since, however, all the other ancient versions have twenty-nine, the Syriac probably gives a "critical correction." The matter is capable of the simple explanation that the original ancient list had only twenty-nine cities, but later, as even Keil concedes, "a supplementary hand added still others without altering the sum total to correspond."

B. Ver. 33-47. *Cities in the Lowland.* Ver. 33. **In the lowland.** See ch. x. 40. It only needs to be remarked here that the foot-hills (שְׁפֵלָה) mentioned ch. x. 40; xi. 16 are here reckoned in with the lowland. They are designated also as the land of Goshen, as was explained, ch. x. 40, (xi. 16), and form the east border of the Shephelah of Judah. The places mentioned by the author are arranged in three groups. The first of these (ver. 33-36) lies in the northeast part of the lowland.

Eshtaol and Zorea mentioned in reverse order, ch. xix. 41; Judg. xiii. 25; xvi. 31. Here ascribed to Judah, there to Dan. Eshtaol is the present Um-Eschteiyeh (Robinson, ii. 342). Zorea was Samson's home (Judg. xiii. 2), visited in modern times by Robinson (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 153), Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, p. 150) and Furrer (p. 200). The prospect from the summit of Zorea is, according to Robinson's statement, beautiful and very extensive, especially toward Beth-shemesh. The well, the fields, the mountains, the women who bore water, all transported the travellers back into the earliest times, when in all probability the mother of Samson in the same manner came to the well, and laboriously carried her water-jar home. Between Zoreah and Eshtaol Samson was buried in his father Manoah's tomb (Judg. xvi. 31.)

Ashna, unknown. Knobel would read אֲשָׁנָה after *Assa* of the LXX. Cod. Vat.

Ver. 34. **Sanoah**, now Sanna, not far from Zorea (Robinson, ii. 343) to the southeast. "The other, Zanoah, on the mountain, ver. 56, has not yet been discovered by modern explorers" (Keil).

En-gannim, Tappuah, unknown. **Enam**, mentioned Gen. xxxviii, 14, 21; perhaps Beth-anan, Tobler, p. 137 (Knobel).

Ver. 35. **Jarmuth**, a Canaanitish capital (ch. xii. 11, comp. x. 3-27). Since יַרְמוּת, as Knobel observes = יַרְמֹת, יַרְמֹה, ch. xix. 21, and therefore, judging from the meaning of these words, lay upon a height, the modern Jarimuk (Robinson, ii. 344), which stands on a hill, and exhibits cisterns and remains of buildings of high antiquity, may be regarded as ancient Jarmuth.

Adullam. Probably Deir Dubban, two hours north of Beit Jibrin, where are great and remarkable caves, fully described by Robinson (ii. 353 f.). He does not decide whether they are natural or artificial. The circumstance that they are very regularly hewn out leads us to conclude that they are of artificial origin, which, however, may well have been in part natural, since the mountain of Judah is cavernous. [Robinson seems to indicate no doubt at all of the purely artificial character of the caves, only questioning whether the "pits" through which they are entered "are natural or artificial." Their object also was to him quite a puzzle. — Tr.]

Socho, and Azeka, lay near Ephes-dammim (Damun), 1 Sam. xvii. 1. Azeka has been already mentioned (ch. x. 10 f.) Goliath's battle with David took place between Azeka and Socho (1 Sam. xvii. 1 ff.). Socho, now Shuweikeh, but not to be confounded with Socho on the mountain (ver. 48), which is also called Shuweikeh, lies about seventeen miles southwest of Jerusalem on the Wady Sumt, whose beautiful vale Robinson (ii. 349 f.) regards as the terebinth-vale ("valley of Elah"), celebrated for the combat between David and the giant (von Raumer, p. 222).

Ver. 36. **Sharaim**, "according to 1 Sam. xvii. 52, westward of Socho and Azeka = Tel Sakarich and Kefr Sakarich" (Knobel). The dual form of the name indicates two villages out of which the ancient Sharaim may have already grown, and properly signifies "two doors." **Adithaim**, unknown; a dual form again.

Gedera, גִּדְרָה with the article, properly, "the wall." In ch. xii. 13 the king of גִּדְרָה (walled place) is mentioned. Probably the same place. Whether Gederth also (ver. 41) is the same, as Knobel would have it, is to me doubtful. Different towns might naturally be called simply walled places. We may compare frequent elements of modern names, Burg, Ville, House, etc.

Another related name is גִּדְרָה, ver. 58.

Gederothaim is omitted by the LXX. If we follow them, as Winer (ii. 471) and Knobel do, we make out only fourteen cities according to the sum total given, otherwise fifteen, as above thirty-six instead of twenty-nine.

Ver. 37-41. *Second Group.* It includes sixteen cities, lying "south" and "west" of the first, ver. 37. **Zenan**, probably identical with Zaanan (Mich. i. 11); perhaps Chirbet es-Senat.

Hadashah. "The smallest place in Judah, with only fifty dwellings (Mishcn. *Erubin*, pp. 5, 6"), Knobel. Not identical with Adasa, north of Jerusalem. Von Raumer has entirely omitted the little place.

Migdal-gad = Tel Iedeideh, after which the Wady Iedeideh is named (Tobler, p. 124 f.)

Ver. 38. **Dilean**, perhaps Beit Dula (Tobler, p. 150). **Mizpeh**. We have already found a land of Mizpeh on Hermon, ch. xi. 3-8, where the name was explained and its frequent occurrence noticed. The most celebrated place of the name is yet to be mentioned, ch. xviii. 26. The one before us is possibly the present Tel es-Safieh (Robinson, ii. 363) on a low hill, "but lying sufficiently above the surrounding country to be seen at the distance of some hours in every direction;" called in the Middle Ages *Alba specula* or *Alba custodia* [*Blanchegarde*], a castle, in the vicinity of which some romantic adventures of Richard Cœur de Lion are reported to have taken place. These are enumerated by Robinson (*ubi sup.* p. 366).

Joktheel, perhaps *Keitulaneh* (Robinson, iii. App. 126), where are ruins.

Ver. 39. **Lachish**, according to x. 3 ff.; xii. 11, a Canaanitish capital, later, like many of these cities, fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 9). Here Amaziah died (2 K. xiv. 19). Sennacherib besieged Lachish, and moved from hence to Libnah (Is. xxxvi. 2; xxxvii. 8). Nebuchadnezzar also contended against the royal city of chariots (Mich. i. 13), which had become a beginning of sin to the daughter of Zion, doubtless through temptation to idolatry (Jer. xxxiv. 7). The position is questionable. Robinson (ii. p. 388) decided against Um Lakis, which suits as far as the name is concerned, partly because the trifling remains give no indication of a once fortified and strong city, and partly because the position does not agree with what is known of the ancient city. He is followed by Knobel, who thinks he has recognized Lachish in Zukkarijeh, two and a half hours southwest of Beit Jibrin. On the other hand von Raumer, Keil, and Van de Velde on his map, unite upon Um Lakis as the ancient city, mainly on the ground that Eglon, mentioned here in the same verse, and confidently recognized by Robinson (ii. 392) in Ajalan, was again, according

to his own statement (*ubi sup.* 389) only three quarters of an hour distant from Um Lakis. We likewise adopt this latter view. **Eglon** has been already named ch. x. 1 ff. 36; xii. 32. — **Bozkath**, perhaps **Tabukah** (Robinson, ii. pp. 388, 648), spelled **Tubaka** by Van de Velde and Knobel.

Ver. 40. **Cabbon** = Kubeibeh, two and a-half hours east of Ajlon (Eglon), upon a stony barren height. So Knobel supposes, and the name certainly sounds like; but Robin-on observes very moderately that "there seemed to be nothing to mark it particularly as an ancient site" (p. 394).

Lachmas, LXX.: **Λαμάς**; Vulg.: **Leheman**; hence Luther: **Lehman**. The LXX. support the reading **לַחְמָס**, the Vulg. goes back to the other reading,

לַחְמָה. The correctness of the latter is favored by the circumstance that Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, p. 129) has actually found south of Beit Jibrin, a place of ruins, el-Lahem.

Kithlish, undetermined. To compare Tell Kilkis or Chillelis, not far from Kubeibeh, as Knobel does, would be somewhat rash, since in this case (1) a transposition of the **ל**. (2) a change of **ח** into **כ** must be assumed, which is not so easy to suppose as the more frequent interchange of **ל** and **ב**.

Ver. 41. **Gederoth**, comp. ver. 36. — **Beth-dagon** and **Naamah** and **Makkedah**, — a tripolis. Beth-dagon to be distinguished from the border-town of Asher mentioned ch. xix. 27, now Beth-Dejan between Joppa (Jaffa) and Lydda (Lod, Ludd), on a knoll to the left of the road (Furrer, p. 10), but according to Tobler (*Nazareth nebst Anhang der vierten Wanderung*, p. 306), on the right. The name indicates the Philistine worship of Dagon. Naamah cannot be made out. Makkedah, already spoken of more than once (ch. x. 10, 16 ff.) in the account of the battle of Gibeon, also ch. xii. 16, was a royal city of the Canaanites, according to the *Onom.*, three hours east of Eleutheropolis (assuming that this statement of the *Onom.* does not rest, as Keil, on ch. x. 10, supposes, on an error, and mean west instead of east). This would be, and so Knobel takes it, about the region of Terkumieh, or, if east be understood as = south-east, of Morak. Both places lie at the foot of the mountain of Judah. — **Sixteen cities and their villages**. In this instance there are actually sixteen.

Vers. 42-44. **Third Group**, "further south, embracing nine places." **Libnah**, conquered by Joshua (x. 29, 30), a Canaanite capital (ch. xii. 15), later a city of the Levites (xxi. 13; 1 Chr. vi. 57), according to the *Onom.*, **Libna** in regione *Eleutheropolitana*. Robinson (ii. p. 389) could find no trace of it. Knobel conjectures that it may be the ruin-Hora-Hawara (Robinson, iii. App. 115), discovered by Sexton (iii. 31), because the Arab. *hawara*, like **לִבְנָה**, signifies "white," and therefore this is the Arab. trans-ation of the Hebrew name (comp. similar examples, vers. 28-36). But we cannot accept this acute hypothesis. For, although in the Negeb, where Tel-Hora stands on Van de Velde's Map, on the road leading north from Beer-sheba, "the Arabic designation of the cities may have been introduced early" (p. 425), so that the names were formally translated, still we have not yet, at least among the cities of Judah, found a single example of this kind. Nay, what specially concerns the case before us, the Arabic geographers in the Middle Ages, as Knobel himself informs us, are still acquainted with a **Libna** [spelled **Lobna**] in Palestine, e. g. *Marasid*, iii. p. 5, *Jakut*, *Moscht*, p. 379,

Ether and **Ashan**; afterwards belonging to Simeon, xix. 7; 1 Chr. iv. 32. Probably to be sought in the town, toward the Negeb.

Ver. 43. **Jiphta** and **Ashnah** and **Nezib**, undeterminable.

Ver. 44. **Kegila**, according to the *Onom.*, eight miles from Eleutheropolis toward Hebron; rescued by David from the hand of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxiii. 5), but ungratefully treacherous toward him (1 Sam. xxiii. 12). On Kiepert's Map, Jedna [Rob., iii. App. 117] or Idhna, about southwest of Terkumieh, in accordance with the statement of the *Onom.* Knobel maintains, on the contrary, that **Κεελά**, Ceila, or **Ἐχελά** of the *Onom.* now **Kila** (Tobler, p. 151), belongs here, and finds **Kegila** rather in the ruins called **Khugalah** ([**Jughaleh**?] Robinson, iii. App. 115) in the south of the Jebel el-Chalil (Robinson writes el-Khulil). The similarity of the name speaks for this position in the plain, which suits also with **דָּב**, 1 Sam. xxiii. 4.

Achzib, or **אַחְזִיב**, is also mentioned Mic. i. 14; Gen. xxxviii. 5 in the plain. Perhaps Kesaba, Kussabeh (Robinson, ii. 391), a place with springs, and with rains in the vicinity.

Maresha, likewise fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 8). The scene of Asa's victory (2 Chr. xiv. 9-13), home of an otherwise unknown prophet Eizezer (2 Chr. xx. 37), afterward Marissa (**πόλις Μαρισσῆς**, Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 5, 3; 13, 9), mentioned in the contests of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 65-68), restored by Gabinius, destroyed by the Parthians. Robinson supposes (ii. 4) that Eleutheropolis (Betogabris, Beit Jibrin), arose after this destruction of Maresha, and was built out of its materials. Its foundation walls he thinks he found one and a half hours south of Beit Jibrin. With this Tobler agrees (pp. 129, 142 f.), who mentions a place of ruins, Marasch, twenty-four minutes from Beit Jibrin, marked also on Van de Velde's Map as the ancient Maresha. Knobel seeks it four hours south of Beit Jibrin, where lies a place Mirsim (Robinson, iii. App. p. 117). Improbable. Maresha is, at all events, distinct from Moreseth-gath, the home of the prophet Micah (comp. von Raumer, p. 215, Rob. ii. 4). — **Nine cities and their villages**. The number is correct again, as at ver. 41.

Vers. 45-47. **Fourth Group**. This includes the Philistine cities, Ekron, which ch. xix. 40 is ascribed to Dan, Ashdod and Gaza, and their daughters, and their villages. But according to ver. 11 the border of Judah runs north of Ekron, toward the sea, and so includes the Philistine cities. Of "daughters" i. e. subject cities, no mention has been made in the preceding lists, while here the statement of number at the close of the several groups is wanting. The section is, accordingly, a manifest addition from some other source, as Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. p. 258), Bertheau (*Komm. Zum Buche d. Richt.* p. 28), Knobel (p. 419), with perfect right maintain. Zealously to deny this, as Keil does (*Com. on Josh.* in loc.) we regard as perfectly unnecessary, especially as Keil himself (ver. 32) cannot help assuming a "supplementary hand." If a supplement is anywhere possible, then certainly also "a later addition," since both come substantially to the same result. Besides, it is also "very striking," as Keil himself says (*l. c.*), that Gath and Ashkelon are here wanting, whereas in ch. xiii. 3, they are mentioned, and that too, as cities which had their own princes, and so cannot be reckoned among the "daughters" of the rest. Verses 45-47, therefore, make the impression not only of an addition, but

still more definitely that of a fragmentary addition. For the rest we refer to the explanation already given ch. xiii. 3 of the position of the several places, which, after wars renewed through centuries, were first conquered by the Israelites in the age of the Maccabees. Comp. Knobel's excursus [?] on this passage.

γ. vers. 48-60. *Cities on the Mountain*, vers. 48-51. *First Group*, wholly in the south, embracing eleven cities. — **On the mountain.** See ch. x. 40. — **Shamir**, perhaps Um Schaumerch (Robinson, iii. App. p. 115). — **Jattir**, a priests' city (ch. xxi. 14; 1 Chr. vi. 57), probably Attir (Rob. ii. 194, 625). — **Socho**, different from Socho in the lowland (ver. 35), but like that now called Suweik (Robinson, ii. 195), about ten miles S. S. W. from Hebron (von Raumer, p. 222).

Dannah, passed over by von Raumer. Perhaps, in Knobel's judgment, we are to read $\text{דָּנָה} = \text{דָּנָה} = \text{Zanthe}$, the last inhabited place on the southwest part of the mountain, five hours south of Hebron (Robinson [Zanuta], ii. 626, iii. App. 116). — **Kirjath-Sannah**, that is Debir. Concerning this, see on ch. x. 38, and also ver. 15 here.

Ver. 50. **Anab**, "a home of Anakim (xi. 21), still existing under the old name east of Thabariéh, (Seetzen, iii. 6, Robinson, ii. 195)" (Knobel). It has, according to Robinson, a small tower.

Eshtemoh, situated very high, according to Schubert, 2225 feet above the sea. A city of the priests, ch. xxi. 14; now Semua, a considerable village, which Robinson saw (ii. 196) from Thabariéh. Around it (ii. 626) are broad valleys, "not susceptible of much tillage, but full of flocks and herds all in fine order." The travellers halted among the olive trees in the moist southern valley. At several places in the village they saw remains of walls built of large stones, beveled around the edges, but left rough between, some of which were more than ten feet long. Eshtemoh, or Eshtemoa (עִשְׁתְּמוֹה), appears from the extent of these walls to have been, as Robinson judges, a spacious town. It once received from David a part (1 Sam. xxx. 28) of the booty from the Amalekites.

Anim, probably the present Ghuwein (von Raumer, p. 171, Knobel), south of Semua. So Wilson (i. 354 *ap.* von Ramm. *against* Robinson, who regards Ghuwein as Ain, ver. 32).

Ver. 51. **Goshen**, not determined. — **Holon**, a priests' city (ch. xxi. 15; 1 Chr. vi. 58 [Hilen]), not yet discovered. — **Giloh**, birthplace of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv. 12), where the traitor against David hanged himself (2 Sam. xvii. 23). — **Eleven cities.** The number is correct.

Ver. 52-54. *Second Group*, north of the first, west of the third group. See Menke's Map.

Ver. 52. **Arab**, omitted by von Raumer; perhaps, as Knobel thinks, Husn el Ghurab near Semua (Robinson, i. 312). This is very questionable, since Robinson only heard from the Arabs of a ruin el-Ghurab, but did not see it.

Dumah, דִּמְיָה , LXX.: $\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}$, stated in the *Onom.* to have been seventeen miles from Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin), now Daumch, a ruined village, not far from Hebron in the Wady Dilbeh (Robinson, i. 314). In Is. xxi. 11 Dumah is the proper name of an Ishmaelite tribe in Arabia, with which comp. Gen. xxv. 14.

Eshean (עִשְׂיָן), elsewhere not mentioned. Since the Cod. Vat. of the LXX. has $\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}$, we

might read with Knobel, after 1 Chr. ii. 43 f., עִשְׂיָן , and compare the place of ruins Simir (Robinson, iii. App. p. 114), south of Daumch. Von Raumer has passed over this place also, as being unrecognizable. Keil likewise.

Ver. 53. **Janum**. On the reading comp. the foot-note on the text. Not discovered.

Beth-tappua not to be confounded (a) with Tappuah in the lowland (ver. 34), (b) with the En Tappuah mentioned ch. xvii. 7, which was assigned to Manassch. The name of both towns refers to

fruit culture, since בֵּית תַּפְּוּא (from תַּפְּוּ , to emit odors) signifies apple (Cant. vii. 9; Prov. xxv. 11), or apple-tree¹ (Cant. ii. 3; xviii. 5). Robinson found apples and pears in the neighborhood of Gophna, now Jifna [Jufna], (Robinson, iii. 77-80), four and one half hours north of Jerusalem. Comp. also von Raumer, p. 100. Beth tappuah would thus be = apple-house. The name has been preserved in Taffuh, a place about two hours west of Hebron. It still lies (Robinson, ii. 428) "in the midst of olive-groves and vineyards with marks of industry on every side." This circumstance favors our interpretation of the name, since where olive trees and vines flourish apple trees can and could be produced. Knobel, on the contrary, explains

בֵּית תַּפְּוּא , from תַּפְּוּ and בֵּית , by "extent," "breadth," "surface," and adduces, in support of this interpretation of the name, the fact that both our Beth-tappuah and En-tappuah (ch. xvii. 7) lay in a plain. To sustain our view, which von Raumer also gives (p. 181), we may adduce the analogy of Bethphage בֵּית פִּינָה , Chald. for the Heb. בֵּית פִּיג (Cant. ii. 13), = Fig-house.

Apheka not the same as Aphék (xii. 18; xiii. 4), which lay in the plain not far from Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 1; 1 K. xx. 26, 30), where Saul was slain by the Philistines, Benhadad the Syrian by the Israelites; but on Mount Judah, near Hebron, "probably between Hebron and Tuffah" (Keil). Against the opinion of von Raumer (p. 172) that the battle of 1 Sam. iv. 1 may have taken place here, comp. Thienus on that passage. Aphék on the mountain of Judah has not yet been discovered.

The frequent occurrence of the name בֵּית פִּיג or בֵּית פִּיג (Judg. i. 31), or בֵּית פִּיג here, is explained, as in the case of בֵּית פִּיג , בֵּית פִּיג , בֵּית פִּיג , from the meaning of the word which signifies *strength*, and then Fort, Burg (see Gesen.). It is derived from פִּיג , to be strong.

Ver. 54. **Humtah**, not yet found. The name (חֻמְטָה) appears to be related to חֻמְטָה , Lev. xi. 30, LXX. $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, Vulg. *lacerta*, probably a species of lizard (Gesen.). Lizards are mentioned by Seetzen (pp. 446-448) *ap.* von Raumer (p. 105). There are such still in Palestine [Tristram, pp. 495, 536], and a place might be named after this creature just as well as after the fox or jackal (Hazor-shual, ver. 28).

Kirjath Arba, that is, Hebron. See ver. 13. Comp. besides, the more particular account of this city on ch. x. 36.

Zior. The name is perhaps retained, as Knobel suggests, in that of the ridge Tughra near Hebron (see Rosenm. *Zeitschr. der D. M. G.* xi. p. 56). There are nine of the cities as stated.

¹ [Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 609 f.) strenuously maintains that the Aprioc is the apple of Scripture. — Tr.]

Ver. 55-57. *Third Group.* East and northeast of the first, (Knobel: northward; but see Menke's Map) and southeast (Knobel: east) of the second.

Maon, now Main, "without doubt the Maon of Nabal (Robinson, ii. 194; 1 Sam. xxv. 2). It stood on the summit of a conical rock (Robinson, p. 193), which is crowned with ruins of no great extent. David kept himself in the wilderness of Maon (1 Sam. xxiii. 24 ff.; xxv. 2).

Carmel, a name familiar in the history of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 12), of David (1 Sam. xxv. 2, 5, 7, 40; xxvii. 3), of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 10); in Roman times a castle (Robinson, p. 198) with a garrison. It appears in the history of King Amalrich in the Middle Ages, A. D. 1172 (Robinson, p. 199). Now called Kurmul, with vast ruins from antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Ziph. When its inhabitants proved treacherous toward David (1 Sam. xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1; 1's. liv. 2), he removed (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 15, 19 ff.) from the wilderness of this name to the wilderness of Maon. Rehoboam fortified the city, whose ruins, according to Robinson (ii. 191), "lie on a low hill or ridge between two small Wadies which commence here and run toward the Dead Sea." Now called Zif, about one and three fourth hours southeast of Hebron (von Raumer, p. 222). Not to be confounded with Ziph, ver. 24.

Jutta (יִטָּה), according to xxi. 16, a priest-city, now Jutta (Robinson, l. c.), "having the appearance of a large, modern Mohammedan town" (p. 628). It was, probably, according to the conjecture first proposed by Ireland (*Paläst.* p. 870), adopted by Bachiene, Rosenmüller (and also by Robinson), the abode of the priest Zachariah, the $\pi\delta\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\eta\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ (Luke i. 39). Ireland supposes (Robinson, ii. 628, note) that $\pi\tau\iota\sigma\theta\eta$ has been changed by error of the text, or softer pronunciation (comp. von Raumer, p. 208, *Ann.* p. 222).

Ver. 56. **Jezebel** (יִזְבֶּבֶל), "whom or what, God plants"), different from the Jezebel in the plain of Esdraelon (xvii. 16), and mentioned elsewhere only as the home of Ahinoam, the second wife of David (not reckoning Michal whom Saul, 1 Sam. xxv. 44, gave to Shalti). Not to be identified. **Jokdeam** and **Zanoah**, likewise undiscovered, and not elsewhere named.

Ver. 57. **Cain** (קַיִן) with the art. prop. "the lance"), perhaps Jukin (Robinson, ii. 190), as Knobel proposes (p. 437), "a Mohammedan Makāni (station, grave), where they say Lot stopped after his flight from Sodom" (Robinson, l. c.).

Gibeah (גִּבְעָה = hill), a very common name of place (ch. xviii. 28, Gibeah in the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeah of Saul, 1 Sam. xi. 4; xiii. 2; xv. 2, and often, besides Gibeah in the tribe of Ephraim, ch. xxiv. 33). It shares with the topographical names גִּבְעָה (xviii. 24; xxi. 17), and גִּבְעָה (x. 2; xi. 19), and also that of the "judgment hall," Γαββαθα, John xix. 13, the derivation from the same root גִּבְעָה (to be high, to be arched) and signification. Robinson (ii. 14) believes that in the village of Jeba (Jebah) in the Wady el-Msurr, southwest of Bethlehem, he had "with little doubt" discovered again Gibeah of Benjamin. This Gibeah is also, in his view, probably the Gabatha of Eusebius and Jerome, twelve Roman miles from Eleutheropolis. Von Raumer agrees with him, while Keil and Knobel differ, on the grounds that this place lies without the district of

this division of cities, and that the similarity of name proves nothing, since this, as just now shown, very often recurs elsewhere. Indeed, Robinson himself (iii. 151), as Keil points out, found another village, Jebak, north of Shechem! For these reasons we also side with the two latter interpreters. Perhaps our Gibeah is (although we cannot assert this, with the certainty which Knobel expresses), one of the viculi called Gabaa and Gabatha, *contra orientalem plagam Darome*, in the *Onom. s. v. Gabathon*.

Timnah, to be carefully distinguished from Timnah between Beth-shemesh and Ekron (xv. 10; xix. 43; Judg. xiv.; xv. 1-6), but certainly identical (so von Raumer, p. 224, and Knobel, p. 437, against Keil, in loc.) with Timnah (Gen. xxxviii. 12-14), to which Judah went up to his sheep-sheepers. Not yet discovered. On Mount Ephraim lay (תְּמַנָּה הַבְּנֵינָה), ch. xix. 50; xxiv. 30. The name (from בְּנָה) signifies "portion assigned," Gesen. There are ten cities as stated.

Ver. 53, 59. *Fourth Group.* This lies north of the second and third. **Halhal**, still called Halhal or Hulhal, in a well cultivated region, and chief city of a district. Beautiful fields and vineyards are seen there (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.*, p. 281), and also many cows and goats. Noticeable is Robinson's remark: "The identity of no ancient site is more undisputed, though it seems not to have been recognized before our former journey" (*l. c.* comp. *Bibl. Res.* i. 319). The place lies north of Hebron on the way to Jerusalem (comp. also Valentiner, *Das heilige Land*, p. 38).

Beth-zur, now Beit-Sur (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 276 f.), whose principal relic is a ruined tower, of which only one side is left. The place appears to have been small but very strong, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5, 6), the strongest fortress in all Judaea. It is frequently mentioned in the First Book of Maccabees (ch. iv. 29, 61; vi. 7, 26, 31 f., 49 f.; ix. 52, etc.), seldom in the O. T. (2 Chr. xi. 7; Neh. iii. 16). Here, according to an old tradition found in the *Onom.*, Philip (Acts viii. 26-40) baptized the Eunuch (von Raumer, p. 182.)

Gedor, referred to, 1 Chron. xii. 7, as the home of Joelah and Zebadiah, two followers of David; now Jedur, "on the brow of a high mountain ridge" (Robinson, ii. 338), about northwest of the road between Hebron and Jerusalem; a small ruin marked by one tree (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 276 f.).

Verse 59. **Maarath**, unknown. **Beth-anoth** (בֵּית־אֲנוֹת, house of answers, of Echo, Gesen.), distinct from בֵּית־עֲנָה in the tribe of Naphtali, ch. xix. 38; Judg. i. 33, now Bêt Ainun, with ruins which Wolcott visited in 1842. Robinson (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 280 f.) saw it from Er Rameh. Eltheikon not discovered.

Fifth Group. According to the addition of the LXX, which Jerome also has, on Mic. v. 2. "Certainly," says Knobel rightly, "this is no invention of the LXX, but a translation of the original text, which therefore lay more complete before them. Otherwise a large piece of the mountain of Judah with numerous places would be passed over, which, considering the completeness of the author elsewhere, has not the slightest probability. The gap in the Masoretic text originated with a transcriber who having read the וְהַצִּירָהּ, ver. 59, supposed

he had read the *וּרְצֵרֶיךָ* at the end of this divi- sion." To this view Keil also assents, while he refers to the naive opinion of Jerome, that the words had probably been rejected by the Jews from malice (*malitia*), "*ne Christus de tribu Juda ortus videretur*," against which Clericus, "quite rightly" objected, "*Non video cur a Judeis propterea erasa essent, cum sit alias in V. T. sat frequens mentio Bethlehemi Davidis patrie.*" Menke also follows this view on his map, while Maurer on the other hand, and Bunsen, declare against the addition. The former — since the LXX. in this book have allowed themselves many additions as well as omissions and arbitrary changes — thinks most probably "*eos totum hoc commu ex loco quocunque alio, proprio Marte huc transtulisse.*" The possibility of such a proceeding need not be denied; but here, as Keil and Knobel rightly urge, our Masoretic text presents a manifest hiatus which is excellently filled up by the addition of the LXX. Bunsen says: "The forms of many of these names are decidedly not Hebrew; besides, except Tecoah and Bethlehem, not one of the cities is elsewhere mentioned in the O. T. We have, therefore, here an old Aramaic gloss, which some MSS. afterwards received into the text." Reply: The first reason proposed by Bunsen is an assertion without proof; and the second has no weight, because very many of the cities mentioned in this chapter are named nowhere else in the O. T., e. g. ver. 56, Jokdeam and Zanoah; ver. 54, Hurntah; ver. 53, Jamun; ver. 43, Neziib, etc. We, therefore, regard the addition of the LXX. as a highly valuable complement to the Masoretic text, serving to fill up the catalogue of the cities. In an English translation it would read: *Tekoa and Ephrata (that is Bethlehem), and Phagor and Aitam (Aitam), and Kulon and Tatami (Tatam), and Soresh (Thobesh), and Karem and Gallim, and Baither (The- ter), and Manocho; eleven cities and their villages.*

Teoah (תֵּקוֹא), two hours south of Bethlehem, the home of the prophet Amos (i. 1), who is said to have been buried here; fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 6), and elsewhere mentioned in the O. T., e. g. 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Jer. vi. 1; Neh. iii. 5, 27; now Tekuah (Robinson, ii. 182-184 [Tristram, p. 406]), on a hill covered with ruins; which agrees with Jer. vi. 1. Concerning the neighboring Frankenberg (Frank Mountain), which the Franks are reported to have held for forty years after the loss of Jerusalem, comp. von Raumer's "Excursus," p. 223.

Ephratah (i. e. *Bethlehem*). Both names are applied, Ruth iv. 11; Mic. v. 1, unquestionably to the city now before us, Bethlehem-Judah (Judg. xvii. 7, 9; xix. 1, 2; 1 Sam. xvii. 12; Ruth i. 1, 2). It was different from the Bethlehem in the tribe of Zebulun (xix. 15); but whether this Beth- lehem-Ephratah can be meant Gen. xxxv. 16, 19, is doubtful, comp. Lange's *Com. on Gen.* p. 569. The name *בֵּית-לֶחֶם* = house of bread, bread- house (Winer, i. 172) is clear; *אֶפְרַתָּה* also, or *אֶפְרַתָּה*, is without difficulty derived from *אֶפְרַת*, with which the related *אֶפְרַיִם* may be compared.

In this view *אֶפְרַתָּה* would be = "the fruitful," "a name," as Lange remarks (*ubi sup.*), "which cor- responds with the added name Bethlehem." Be- sides the place is, as may be seen from Ruth, ch. ii. and from the descriptions of modern travellers, really fruitful. Thus Furrer relates: "The nearer we approached Bethlehem, the better cultivated we

found the fields. . . . But surprisingly lovely was to us the sight of the Wady Charubeh, the valley above which, high in the south, lies the lit- tle town of Bethlehem, two thousand seven hun- dred and four feet above the sea. There olive and fig trees were growing in rich abundance. Vineyards spread themselves out on the north- western slope, whose watch-towers gently reminded us of long past times." Bethlehem is now called Beit-Lahm, that is, house of flesh, and is inhabited, since 1834, almost exclusively by Christians, of whom Tobler thinks, there may be three thousand. The remaining three hundred inhabitants are Mo- hammedans. There are no Jews there. The his- torical importance of Bethlehem as David's city (Ruth iv. 11; 1 Sam. xvi. 4; xvii. 12, 15; xx. 6, 28; Mic. v. 1), and as the birthplace of Christ (Matt. ii. 1 ff.; Luke ii. 4, 15) is well known. Further particulars concerning the place see in Seetzen, ii. 37 ff.; Robinson, ii. 157-163; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. 464; and *Bethlehem in Palästina*, p. 2 ff.; Furrer, *Wanderung en durch Palästina*, p. 167 ff.; Valentiner, *Das heil. Land*, p. 28 ff.; von Raumer, p. 313 ff.; Ritter, *Erd- kunde*, xvi. p. 284 ff. [Gage's *transl.* iii. 339-50].

Phagor, now Faghur between Hebron and Beth- lehem, west of the road (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 275, Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, p. 91 ff.).

Aitam (אֵיטָם) mentioned 2 Chron. xi. 6, among the cities fortified by Rehoboam, immediately after Bethlehem. The name is still preserved in the Wady and Ain Attar between Bethlehem and Faghur, in Tobler, *ubi sup.* p. 88 ff. (Knobel). Once, in Solomon's time, a pleasant place with gardens, and perhaps also with a pleasure palace of the king (Furrer, p. 177, *Ann.* 1).

Kulon, now Kulonieh or Kalonieh, lying high above the pilgrim road to Jerusalem (Furrer, p. 141). The moderately extensive ruins of ancient Kulon which Hitzig, Sepp, Van Osterzee (Lange's *Comm. on Luke*, ch. xxiv. 13), Furrer, and appar- ently also Tobler (*Nazareth in Paläst. u. s. v.* pp. 316, 319), understand to be the Emmaus of the N. T. "lie near the bottom of the valley whose loveliness is very beautifully described by Furrer. "A copious spring," he says, "concealed under an overarching rock, by a double outlet irrigated gar- dens, in which numerous almond trees with pink blossoms gleamed through the dark green foliage of the orange-trees. Up the surrounding slopes, vineyards and rows of olive trees rose by a suc- cession of terraces. The prospect extends not far in any direction; but its seclusion heightens the charm of the happy, pleasant vale" (p. 142). The distance from Jerusalem is about one and a half hours.

Tatami, or *Tutam*, is not identified, nor *Gallim*; for the Gallim named, Is. x. 30; 1 Sam. xxv. 44, lay north of Jerusalem in Benjamin (Knobel).

Sores, now Saris, "on a proud hill" (Furrer, p. 139), up which terraces of olive-trees ascend, four hours west of Jerusalem (comp. also Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 154 ff.).

Karem, now Ain Karem, three quarters of an hour west of Jerusalem (Furrer, p. 210), with a splendid cloister, whose garden walls are overhung by tall cypress-trees, in the midst of a landscape which surprises the traveller by its loveliness and beauty (Robinson, ii. 141-157, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 271 f., Tobler, *Topog.* ii. 344 ff.).

Baither, now Better, southwest of Jerusalem (Furrer, p. 191), situated high up on a mountain side above fine green terraces, surrounded with

olive and fig trees; mentioned, Cant. ii. 17, where the **בְּהַר הַרְבֵּי** are best explained as mountains of Bethel. **בְּהַר** signifies part, piece, Gen. xv. 10; Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19. Cognate is **בְּהַרְוֹן**, prob. mountain defile, 2 Sam. ii. 29. **בְּהַרְוֹן** is what we technically call *terrain coupé* (a country cut up, broken country). Of this character is the country about Bethel (Furrer, p. 192).

Mancho, according to Knobel's highly probable conjecture **מַנְחָה**, 1 Chr. viii. 6, to which place Benjamites were carried from Geba.

Ver. 60. *Sixth Group*, northwest of the fifth, embracing only two cities. **Kirjath-jearim**, ver. 9. As was there remarked, this place was = to Kureyet el-Enab, three hours northwest of Jerusalem. "The old 'city of the woods' has become in modern times the 'city of wine,'" as Robinson (ii. 335) interprets the ancient and the present name. People from Kirjath-jearim once brought up the ark from Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. vi. 21; vii. 1, 2). Of the vineyards some still exist, according to Valentiner, p. 19, on the east side of the place. **Rabba**, not to be identified.

8. Ver. 61, 62. *Cities in the Wilderness*. The wilderness of Judah bordered in the east on the Dead Sea, in the south on the Negeb, on the territory of the third, fourth, and fifth groups of cities (westward) on Mount Judah (see Menke's map, iii.), in the north on the border line of the tribe of Judah as given vers. 6, 7. This whole region is with good reason designated as a wilderness (**מְדִבְרָה**), since, with the exception of En-gedi and certain spots where springs occur, it is a wild, barren, "frightful" (Furrer, p. 149) solitude. Thus the neighborhood of the Cloister of Mar Saba, *e. g.* wears the appearance of terrible desolation and loneliness. "In vain the eye searches far and near for some green thing to cover the weather-worn chalk rock of the gullied mountain. In summer the intolerable heat blazes upon the naked rocks, and the winter rains rush down from the heights to no profit" (Furrer, p. 161). The roads through this wilderness, on which the starry heavens look down at night with wondrous beauty (Furrer, *u. s.*), lead frequently to steep precipices; sometimes so abruptly down the rocks that it needs all the

sagacity and practice of the animals not to fall (Furrer, p. 149). In this solitude David once spent his time (1 Sam. xxiii. 24; Ps. lxxiii. 1; liv. 2), here John the Baptist preached (Matt. iii. 1), here Christ was tempted (Matt. iv. 1; Mark ii. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1). Comp. further, Knobel, p. 440; Robinson, ii. 187, 202 ff., 474 ff.; von Schubert, iii. pp. 94, 96, 102 ff.; Seetzen, ii. p. 220 ff.; von Raumer, p. 47.

Vers. 61, 62. **Beth-arabab**, ver. 6. Probably **Kafir Hajla** (Knobel). **Middin. Secacah, Nibshan**, not mentioned elsewhere, unknown.

The city of Salt (Ir-hamelah, **עִיר־הַמֶּלַח**), LXX.: *ἡ πόλις τῶν ἁλῶν*. Vulg.: *civitas salis*. Luther: *Salzstadt* [Salt city]. Probably near the valley of Salt where the Edomites suffered several defeats (Knobel), and so, tolerably far south, comp. 2 Sam. viii. 13; Ps. lx. 2; 2 K. xiv. 7; 1 Chr. xviii. 12; 2 Chr. xxv. 11; and so Robinson, ii. 483.

En-gedi (**עֵינֵי־גֵדִי**, Goat-fountain), now Ain Jidy, on the west side of the Dead Sea, with a rich, warm (81° F., Robinson, ii. 216), sweet spring of water (Furrer, p. 159), which once refreshed palms and balsam-shrubs. "The Canticles sing (i. 14) of a 'cluster of the Henna'" from the vineyards of En-gedi. Here flourishes the giant *Asclepias*, which bears the fruit so famous under the name of Apples of Sodom" (Furrer, p. 159). The vegetation is tropical. By the fountain are the remains of various edifices apparently ancient, although the spot where the old city stood appears to have been further down (Robinson, ii. 216). Here David tarried, 1 Sam. xxiv. 2. Whether Hazezon-Tamar (Gen. xiv. 7; comp. 2 Chr. xx. 2) was the same place as En-gedi, is doubtful; von Raumer (p. 188) and Keil are in favor of the supposition, Knobel (on this verse) is against it.

Ver. 63. A passing statement that the children of Judah were not able to drive out the Jebusites. The same verse is repeated, Judg. i. 21, with the difference only that, instead of the children of Judah, the children of Benjamin are named, to whom, according to ch. xviii. 28, the place was allotted. See more on xviii. 28. On the importance of this verse for determining the date of the composition of our book, see the *Introd.* § 2.

1 [*Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Camphire."—Tr.]

2. The Territory of the Tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

CHAPTERS XVI., XVII.

a. Its Boundaries.

CHAPTER XVI. 1-4.

- 1 And the lot of [for] the children [sons] of Joseph fell [came out] from [the] Jordan by Jericho, unto [at] the water of Jericho, on the east, to the wilderness which
- 2 goeth up from Jericho throughout [on] Mount Beth-el, And goeth [and it went] out from Beth-el to Luz, and passeth [passed] along unto the border of Archi [the
- 3 Archite] to Ataroth, And goeth [went] down westward to the coast [border] of Japhleti [the Japhletite], unto the coast [border] of Beth-horon the nether, and to
- 4 Gezer: and the goings out thereof are [were] at the sea. So [And] the children [sons] of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, took their inheritance [possession].

b. Portion of the Tribe of Ephraim.

CHAPTER XVI. 5-10.

- 5 And the border of the children [sons] of Ephraim [was] according to their families was *thus* [omit: was thus]: even [and] the border of their inheritance [possession] on the east side was Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper; And the border went out toward the sea to Michmethah on the north side [so De Wette; Keil, and Fay: from Michmethah, northward]; and the border went about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east [eastward] to Janohah
- 7 And it went down from Janohah to Ataroth, and to Naarath, and came to [struck or touched] Jericho, and went out at [the] Jordan. The border went out [went] from Tappuah westward unto the river [water-course of] Kanah; and the goings out thereof were at the sea. This *is* the inheritance [possession] of the tribe
- 9 of the children [sons] of Ephraim by their families. And¹ the separate cities for the children [sons] of Ephraim *were* among the inheritance of the children
- 10 [sons] of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages. And they drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer: but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute [and they became tributary servants; LXX.: και ἐγένοντο ὑπόφοροι δοῦλοι].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[¹ Perhaps the connection of this verse, and its own meaning may best be represented thus: Ver. 8. This is the possession. . . . Ver. 9. And [also] the cities which were separated for the sons of Ephraim in the midst of the possession of the sons of Manasseh, etc. — Tr.]

c. Portion of the Tribe of Manasseh.

CHAPTER XVII. 1-13.

- 1 There was also a lot [And there was the lot] for the tribe of Manasseh; for he *was* the first-born of Joseph; *to wit*, for Machir the first-born of Manasseh, the father of Gilead: [,] because he was a man of war, [,] therefore [and] he had
- 2 Gilead and Bashan. There was also [And there was] *a lot* for the rest of the children [sons] of Manasseh by their families; for the children [sons] of Abiezer, and for the children [sons] of Helek, and for the children [sons] of Asriel, and for the children [sons] of Shechem, and for the children [sons] of Hopher, and for the children [sons] of Shemida: these *were* the male children of Manasseh the son
- 3 of Joseph by their families. But [And] Zelophehad, the son of Hopher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had no sons, but daughters: and these *are* the names of his daughters, Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah.
- 4 And they came near before Eleazar the priest, and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes, saying, The Lord [Jehovah] commanded Moses to give us an inheritance [a possession] among our brethren: therefore [and] according to the commandment of the Lord [Jehovah] he gave them an inheritance [a possession]
- 5 among the brethren of their father. And there fell ten portions to Manasseh, besides the land of Gilead and Bashan, which *were* on the other side [of the] Jordan; Because the daughters of Manasseh had an inheritance [possession] among his sons: and the rest of Manasseh's sons had the land of Gilead.
- 7 And the coast [border] of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, that *lieth* before Shechem; and the border went along on the right hand [De Wette: towards the south] unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah. *Now* [omit: now] Manasseh had the land of Tappuah: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh *belonged* to the children of Ephraim: And the border descended unto the river [water-course of] Kanah [reeds; hence = Reed-brook], southward of the river [water-course]. These cities¹ of Ephraim *are* among the cities of Manasseh: the coast [border] of Manasseh also *was* on the north side of the river [water-course], and the out-goings
- 10 of it were at the sea: Southward *it* [the land] *was* Ephraim's, and northward *it* *was* Manasseh's, and the sea is [was] his border; and they met together in [touched, or struck upon] Asher on the north, and in [upon] Issachar on the east.

- 11 And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher, Beth-shean and her towns [daughters], and Ibleam and her towns [daughters], and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns [daughters], and the inhabitants of En-Dor and her towns [daughters], and the inhabitants of Taanach and her towns [daughters], and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns [daughters], *even* three countries [Gesën., Fay: the three heights, *i. e.* the three cities situated on heights. See the exegetical explanations. LXX.: καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Νοφθ. Vulg.: *tertia pars*. Luther: the third part of Napheth. De Wette: three portions of country (*drei Landschaften*); Bunsen: *die Dreilandschaft*]. Yet [And] the children of Manasseh could not drive out *the inhabitants of* [could not conquer] 12 those cities; but [and] the Canaanites would dwell in that land. Yet [And] it came to pass, when the children of Israel were waxen [became] strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute [made the Canaanites tributary servants]; but did not utterly drive them out, [De Wette, Fay: *aber vertreiben thaten sie sie nicht*; nearly the same as "but drive them out they did not do;"] to express: [וְהוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 9. These cities had Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh. And the border of Manasseh was on the north side of the water-course. — Ta.]

d. Complaint of the Sons of Joseph on Account of an insufficient Possession.

CHAPTER XVII. 14-18.

- 14 And the children [sons] of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me *but* one lot and one portion to inherit [as a possession], seeing I am a great people, forasmuch as [in so far as, יְדֵי־יְהוָה] the Lord [Jehovah] hath blessed me 15 hitherto? And Joshua answered [said to] them. If thou *be* a great people, *then* [omit: then] get thee up to the wood-country [forest], and cut down for thyself there in the land of the Perizzites and of the giants [Rephaim], if mount Ephraim 16 be too narrow for thee. And the children [sons] of Joseph said, The hill [mountain] is not enough for us: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, *both they who are of* [in] Beth-shean and her towns 17 [daughters], and *they who are of* [in] the valley of Jezreel. And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, *even* to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying, Thou *art* a 18 great people and hast great power, thou shalt not have one lot *only*: But the [a] mountain shall be thine; for it is a wood [forest], and thou shalt cut it down: and the out-goings of it [its outrunners, spurs] shall be thine: for thou shalt [wilt] drive out the Canaanites, though [for] they have iron chariots, *and* though they *be* [for they are] strong.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The two chapters, sixteen and seventeen, belong together, since they contain the statements concerning the territory of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph (Gen. xli. 50-52; xlvii. 20; xlviii. 5 ff.). The united inheritance of the two tribes includes a fruitful, for the most part, and pleasant country lying in the midst of western Palestine. It extends from the Jordan, and the eastern declivities of mount Ephraim (which are much less rough than the land of Judah), across to the seashore which borders the beautiful plain of Sharon. Of this entire district Ephraim received the southern portion, Manasseh (strictly speaking only the half-tribe of Manasseh, comp. ch. xiii. 29 ff.) the northern. Ephraim only, and he for a narrow space, touched the Jordan. See the often mentioned and very clear Map iii. of Menke's *Bibel*

Atlas, and also Kiepert's Wall Map. On the quality of the land comp. Robinson, iii., lect. xiv.; Ritter, xvi. 566 ff. [Gage's *transl.* iv. 293-332]; von Raumer, pp. 42-45; Furrer, pp. 211-246; Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* pp. 34-42 [Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* ch. v.].

a. Ch. xvi. 1-4. *Boundaries of the Entire Province.* Ver. 1. The lot came out, namely, from the urn. Bunsen rightly observes: "From the ambiguity of the word 'lot,' the passage might perhaps be paraphrased thus: 'The lot was drawn for the children of Joseph and to them fell,'" etc.

From the Jordan by Jericho,¹ at the water of Jericho on the east. The water of Jericho is the fountain of Elisha (2 K. ii. 19-22), now Ain es-Sultan, whose waters are diffused over the plain (Robinson, ii. 283 ff.). It gurgles forth beautifully from under the rocks, and forms, at the foot of the hill from which it comes, a beautiful basin

¹ [Mr. Grove, in the *Dict. of the Bible* (c. g. i. 752 b, note e) repeatedly says that יְרִיחוֹ יְרִיחוֹ should be rendered simply "Jordan-Jericho," and that "by" or near, has no business there. This is strange, since the natural sense of the words in such connection is much rather "Jericho-

Jordan," the "Jordan of Jericho," *i. e.* that part of the Jordan which touches upon the territory of Jericho" (Knobel on Num. xxii. 1). Comp. Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.* p. 292, n. 6). This is most conveniently expressed as in the English Version. — Ta.]

of water densely surrounded by oleanders and reeds (Furrer, p. 150. [Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 300, *et ibid.* Van de Velde, in a note]). Somewhat to the north of this, the still larger fountain of Dūk is met with, the waters of which, led along in canals, formerly turned several mills in the vicinity (Robinson, Furrer, [Stanley]). The border began at the lower Jordan, and went thence to the fountain of Elisha. This, accordingly, the region of the Jordan opposite Jericho, is its eastern starting point or, more correctly, place. Hence it passed into the wilderness which goes up from Jericho on the mountain of Beth-el. The region intended here is what in ch. xviii. 12 is called the wilderness of Beth-aven, which city appears from ch. vii. 2 to have lain east of Beth-el. On the mountain of Beth-el. "בֵּית־אֵל which the Masor-

etes separate from בֵּית־אֵל is yet, and notwithstanding the LXX., Chald., and Arab. versions repeat this view, undoubtedly to be connected with בֵּית־אֵל, according to 1 Sam. xiii. 2, and to be pointed בֵּית־אֵל. So the Vulg.: *ad montem Bethel*, and Syriac" (Keil). The mountain about Bethel is meant.

Ver. 2. And it went out (the border) from Beth-el to Luz. Hebr. וַיֵּצֵא מִבֵּית־אֵל לְלוּזָה. The words must either be translated, as we have done, with the LXX., Luther, De Wette, [Eng. vers.] Keil, Bunsen, in which case Beth-el stands, as Bunsen also supposes, for mountain of Beth-el; or, as Knobel among others prefers: "and it went out from Bethel-luzah." In this translation Knobel (1) follows in ver. 1, the Masoretic pointing בֵּית־אֵל, (2) assumes in ver. 2 a union of the old and new names, "quite contrary to the usage of our author, who, when a city had two names places one after the other connected by וְאֵל, as he does *e. g.* (ch. xviii. 13) in the case even of Beth-el and Luz" (Keil). Other examples are ch. xv. 14, 49, 54 (ver. 59, LXX.), 60. See more concerning Beth-el and Luz on ch. xviii. 12, 13. From Luz, *i. e.* Beth-el (ch. xviii. 13), it went, and on the south side of this city (ch. xviii. 13), unto the border of the Archite to Ataroth. Hushai was an Archite (2 Sam. xv. 32; xvi 16; 1 Chron. xxvii. 33). Where his possession lay is to be determined from Ataroth, concerning which see on xviii. 13.

Ver. 3. Thence it went down westward to the border of the Japhletite, unto the border of Beth-horon, the nether, and to Gezer; and the goings out thereof were at (or, toward) the sea. The border followed from Bethel toward Ataroth a northerly, then a south-western, and finally a decidedly western course (see the map). The Japhletite (יַפְלֵטִי), only here as a patronymic; and the prop. name יַפְלֵט (whom He, *i. e.* God saves, Gesen.), 1 Chron. vii. 32, 33. On Beth-horon comp. partly ch. x. 10, partly ch. xviii. 13. Gezer (גֶּזֶר), as the seat of a Canaanite king mentioned already ch. x. 33; xii. 12; according to ch. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. vi. 52, a city of the priests; not yet discovered by modern travellers. Knobel seeks the city northwest of Beth-horon, where Menke has introduced the name. Comp. also von Raumer, p. 191, and his map, where he also has placed it northwest of Beth-horon.

Ver. 4. "North of the line indicated Ephraim

and Manasse took their possession." It is therefore only the south line of both tribes, which is at the same time the north line of Benjamin, and as such is given in inverse order as before mentioned, in ch. xviii. 12, 13.

b. Ch. xvi. 5-10. *The Province of the Tribe of Ephraim.* Ver. 5. The south border is first given. Ataroth-addr appears as the starting-point, identical, according to xviii. 13, with our Ataroth, ver. 2. Assuming this, "the author notices only the western half of the south border, and omits the eastern half," for Beth-horon, whether the upper as here, to the lower as mentioned in ver. 2, lies west, or more accurately still, southwest of Ataroth-addr. We might, it is true, and Knobel proposes this as an alternative, read עֲמֹרֹת, and understand the Ataroth mentioned ver. 7, which would then make the eastern part of the south border to be drawn. But in that case, יְרֵאֵר or יְעֵבֵר would, it seems to us, be inserted between the two names. The first supposition therefore appears preferable, according to which we are to understand that the south border of Ephraim in its western half is specified from Ataroth-addr to Beth-horon. But even thus we have not, if we compare ver. 3, this western half of the line at all complete; for from ver. 3, the border proceeds still to Gezer, nay even to the sea. And the LXX. have here after Beth-horon καὶ Γάζαρα. Perhaps this, as well as what is mentioned besides, ver. 3, has here fallen out. At all events we have, as ver. 6 will show, to deal with a corrupt text, in which the first words of ver. 6 to and including הַיַּמֶּה might easily have formed the conclusion of ver 5, to which they would admirably suit. [Verse 5 would thus end — Beth-horon, the upper; and the border went out to the sea]. Then the south border at least of Ephraim, from Ataroth-addr to the sea, would be completely given.

Ver. 6. Keil says, in reference to this verse: "With ver. 6 I know as little as my predecessors how to begin. It would appear that vers. 6-8 should give the northern boundary of the land of Ephraim, and that from a central point, in ver. 6 and 7 toward the east, then in ver. 8 toward the west," as analogous to which, Knobel, who shares this view, adduces the south boundary of Zebulun, ch. xix. 10-12, and the division of the places of Benjamin, ch. xviii. 21-28, as also the west border of Naphtali, ch. xix. 33 ff. "In this view, however," as Keil further remarks, "the first clause of ver. 6 is perfectly inexplicable, and must be corrupt." Perhaps there originally stood "on the north the border went out from Michmethah, for according to ch. xvii. 7, the border of Manasseh went 'from Asher to Michmethah.'" It seems to us still better to assume that it originally stood:

וַיֵּצֵא הַגְּבֹל הַיַּמֶּה
מִמִּצְמֵרָה מִצְפּוֹן.

If that were so it is obvious that the twice recurring הַגְּבֹל הַיַּמֶּה (namely, at the end of ver. 5, and at the beginning of ver. 6), must have fallen away once. Let us now by this extension of Keil's very appropriate correction restore the text, and we gain a reading at least in some degree acceptable, by which (1) ver. 5 receives a good ending, and (2) ver. 6 an intelligible beginning, and the whole would mean thus: And the border went out seaward, *i. e.* toward the west,

from Michmethah on the north side, i. e. north of Michmethah. Michmethah (LXX. : Μαχθῶθ) lay according to ch. xvii. 7, east from Shechem. See further on xvii. 7. Thus we should have given the starting-point of the eastern half of the northern boundary of Ephraim, as lying north of Michmethah in the west of the land. But then, it proceeds, the border went about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah. Taanath-shiloh, now Tana, Ain Tana, a place of ruins, southeast of Nablus (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 295¹). Janohah, "according to the *Onom.* s. v. *Ἰανώ*, Janon, twelve miles, i. e. near three hours east of Neapolis, now a ruin, Janan, somewhat over two hours southeast of Nablus, Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 297" (Knobel). The border, accordingly, went from Michmethah to Janohah in a southeast direction, as Menke has indicated.

Ver. 7. From Janohah it went down to Ataroth, and to Naarath, and came to (struck) Jericho, and went out at the Jordan. Keil holds this Ataroth to be the same as Ataroth, ver. 2, Ataroth-addar (ver. 5 and xviii. 13), thus making it the Atara discovered by Robinson (iii. 80, not that mentioned ii. 315), one and a half hours southwest of Jiljilieh, as Robinson himself also believes. Knobel explains that our Ataroth here in ver. 7 cannot be identified, but must certainly, from ירד have lain nearer the Jordan, possibly one of the two Ataroths which the *Onom.*, s. h. v., refers to in the district of Jerusalem. We shall come upon the question again, ch. xviii. 13. Naarath = Naaran, 1 Chr. vii. 28, in the east of Ephraim. *Onom.*: "Naorath villa, in quinto milliario Jerichus," i. e. two hours from Jericho (Keil, Knobel, von Raumer, p. 215). Struck Jericho, i. e. the territory of Jericho which city, according to xviii. 21, belonged to the tribe of Benjamin. The border of Ephraim thus touched the northern side of this territory, comp. xviii. 12.

Ver. 8. Now follows the western half of the north border of Ephraim, described as follows:

From Tappuah the border goes (לָהַךְ) westward to the water-course of Kanah, and the goings out thereof were at [to] the sea. Tappuah, distinct from the Tappuah (xv. 34) and Beth-tappuah (xv. 53), in Judah, concerning the etymology of which we have already spoken; the residence of a Canaanite king (xii. 24). Its site is doubtful. Knobel: "Probably Kefr Kud with its important well, by which the great road from Beisan and Zerin passes toward Ramleh (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 121 ff.) as in the Roman times a military road passed from Caesarea to Seythopolis past Capercota (*Tab. Peut.* ix. f, in Menke, Map vi. where an extract from the *Tab. Peut.* is found"). The fact that the place is called (xvii. 7) קִיָּן, while Kefr Kud has a valuable well, would seem to favor the identity of the two places; but it may be maintained on the other hand, (1) that Kefr Kud lies too far north on the border of Manasseh toward Issachar, while it should lie on the border of Manasseh toward Ephraim (see Menke's Map viii. compared with Map iii); (2) that the old name does not at all appear in the present name Kefr Kud. This is true rather of the present Belad (land) Tafua northeast of Shechem, toward which von Raumer, though not without hesitation, inclines. We hear of a land of Tappuah in ch. xvii. 8 as the district belonging to

En-tappuah. Van de Velde (*Mem.* p. 357) holds it to be Atuf, four hours E. N. E. of Shechem. Very improbable. Hence we decide for Belad Tafua, against which Keil brings the objection, that this opinion does not agree with the אֵילֵי הַיַּמִּין (ch. xvii. 7), and therefore he concludes that here also the text is corrupt. See further on ch. xvii. 7, where we must at all events return again to this passage. Water-course of Kana (Reed-brook), see ch. xvii. 9.

Ver. 9. To this province belong also the cities separated in the land of Manasseh for the children of Ephraim, of which, however, only Tappuah is mentioned ch. xvii. 8. Instead of the elsewhere "unheard of" מִבְּדָלוֹת, Knobel proposes to read נִבְדָלוֹת: Gesen. מִבְּדָלוֹת. Maurer and Keil regard it as a substantive formed after the analogy of מִרְדָּה, מִכְסָּחִית, and other words. Maurer translates *loca selecta*. To me the change of Chireq into Kibbuts, as proposed by Gesen., appears the most simple, and thus we have a part. Hophal.

Ver. 10. An addition similar to ch. xv. 63.

They became tributary servants (וַהֲיִלְמֻם עֲבָדִים). In Gen. xlix. 15 the same expression is used concerning Issachar. According to 1 K. ix. 16, Pharaoh, in the beginning of the reign of Solomon, took Gezer, burned the city and drove out of it the Canaanites. Hence the LXX. add to our verse: "Ἐως ἀνέβη Φαραὼ βασιλεὺς Ἀιγύπτου καὶ ἔλαβεν ἄντην (AEX. τὴν πόλιν) καὶ ἐνέργησεν αὐτὴν ἐν πυρὶ καὶ τοὺς φερέζαιους, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Γάζερ ἐξεκέντησαν (AEX. ἐξεκέντησεν) καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐν φεργῇ τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ. Manifestly transferred ad libitum from 1 K. ix. 16. Knobel, Gen. xlix.

15, translates מִסֵּי עֲבָד, *er ward zu Frohn des Arbeiters*, i. e. he fell under tributary labor, as he himself further on explains. Lange, more poetically and more clearly: "He is become subject to tributary service." We render the phrase here in prose, with De Wette "subject to tributary service." The common rendering: "subject to tribute" which Bunsen still retains, gives the erroneous idea that the Canaanites had to pay a tribute in money, like the tributary states in the Turkish empire. The expression is used elsewhere, with the exception of Gen. xlix. 15, "of the Canaanites who became subject to the Hebrews (as ch. xvii. 13; 1 K. ix. 21; Judg. i. 28, 33), and of prisoners taken in war whom the Hebrews made slaves (Deut. xx. 11; Is. xxxi. 8)" (Knobel). Comp. also Keil on Kings, pp. 44 and 67 [Germ.].

e. Ch. xvii. 1-13. *Portion of the Tribe of Manasseh.* The description of this province by its boundaries, beginning ver. 7, is preceded by some genealogical notices concerning the families of the tribe. Of these that of Maehir had already received its territory beyond the Jordan.

Ver. 1. And there was the lot for the tribe of Manasseh. After it had fallen to Ephraim, Manasseh's turn came. These introductory words refer only to the country allotted to this tribe west of the Jordan (vers. 7-13). This lay north of the possession of Ephraim in a fertile and beautiful region.

For he was the first-born of Joseph, Gen. xli. 51; xlviii. 14. Keil: "the יָדָא is not to be pressed, and the whole remark is made only with reference to the following genealogical statements." Better Knobel: "Wherefore (because he was Joseph's first-born) he received yet a posses-

¹ [Robinson expressly denies the probability that Ain Tana is the ancient Taanath-shiloh].

sion in Canaan also, the land of the fathers, God's land." לְמַכְבִּיר is placed first and is afterwards taken up by לוֹ after מַכְבִּיר, thus: "To Machir . . . (and) to him fell Gilead and Bashan." Why is stated in the parenthetical clause, "because he was a man of war," Num. xxxii. 29 ff. This portion of the tribe, the author would have us understand, had nothing to receive west of the Jordan. They had their part already on the east side.

Ver. 2. The other sons of Manasseh follow, to whom the lot fell in west Palestine. They are mentioned in Num. xxvi. 30-32, where instead of אֲשֶׁר עָשֵׂר stands אֲשֶׁר עָשֵׂר. By an error of transcription, as Keil conjectures, the ב appears to have fallen out. Instead of זְכָרִים to read בְּזָרִים, as Knobel proposes, is not justifiable; rather, since in genealogies בְּנֵי may indicate all (male and female) posterity, while here, in what follows, female descendants also are mentioned, the זְכָרִים is added for perspicuity" (Keil).

Ver. 3. It had been stated also in Num. xxvi. 33 that Zelophehad, the son of Hopher, had no sons but only daughters. Zelophehad himself, according to Num. xxvii. 3, had died in the wilderness, but the daughters declare it an injustice (Num. xxvii. 4) that their father's name should perish, and that too when he had not been of those that rose up against the Lord in the company of Korah. Moses agrees with them, and at their request grants their wish, an inheritance among their brothers. By this the name of Zelophehad was preserved, which could not have been the case without the possession of an estate to which the name of the original proprietor attached. The law which governed the case is found in Num. xxvii. 8-11 (compared with Num. xxxvi. 6-10), occasioned by this occurrence. They were accordingly *heir daughters*, comp. Knobel on Num. xxvii. 1 ff.

Ver. 4. Now, since the land was divided, they claim their right, appealing to the command of God through Moses. Eleazar and Joshua without objection immediately promise what they desire.

Vers. 5, 6. "According to this the inheritance coming to the Manassites had to be divided into ten parts, since the male posterity fell into five families, and so received five parts, while the sixth family, that of Hopher, was divided again into five families, through his grand-daughters, the five daughters of Zelophehad, who married men of the other families of their paternal tribe (Num. xxxvi. 1-10), and received each her special share of the land" (Keil). Because, therefore, the daughters, as heirs, obtained their possession among the male descendants of Manasseh, the inheritance in western Palestine must need be divided into ten parts, while the land of Gilead went to the remaining Manassites. The genealogy is for the rest by no means clear. Comp. Knobel on Num. xxvi. 29-34; Keil on ver. 1 of this chapter.

Vers. 7-13. *Portion of the Western Branch of the Tribe of Manasseh.* The author gives the boundary again from east to west, as in the case of Judah (ch. xv. 2 ff.), the sons of Joseph (xvi. 1 ff.) and Benjamin (ch. xviii. 12 ff.). So the author of the Apocalypse also names the gates of the New Jerusalem, beginning from the east (Rev. xxi. 13),

1 זְלֹפְחָד, hence properly to be written in Eng. Zelophehad, not Zelophehad.

and Ezekiel designates the several tribe divisions in like manner from east to west (ch. xlvi. 1 ff.).

And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, that lieth before Shechem; and the border went along on [toward] the right hand unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah. What border is meant, the north or south? Knobel thinks the former, Keil and Bunsen the south border. The starting-point lies unquestionably in the east. Asher (אָשֶׁר), fifteen Roman miles from Shechem toward Bethshean (Scythopolis), perhaps Teyasir (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 306 f.), or Jafr (Van de Velde, ii. 295, *apud.* von Raumer, p. 148). This however is not certain, but only so far sure that Asher is to be sought, according to the statement of the *Onom.*, on the road from Shechem to Bethshean, hence in the eastern part of the territory of Manasseh.

Thence the border goes to Michmethah which we have already met with at ch. xvi. 5. This Michmethah (מִכְמֶתָחַ, perhaps "hiding-place," from מְכַמֵּת, Gesen.) lay, as our passage would indicate, before, i. e. according to the customary use of עַל-פְּנֵי, east or northeast of Shechem, unless, as Knobel assumes, עַל-פְּנֵי is to be taken here in reference to a more remote distance = מוֹל, Deut. xi. 30. In this case, Kubarjeh (on Menke's Map viii. written Kabatjeh) or Kabaat (Buckingham, *Syria*, i. p. 453), Kabate in Seetzen (ii. p. 166), lying exactly north of Shechem, on the road from Shechem to Jenin would in his view offer itself for comparison. The etymological relationship of the two words is thus established by Knobel: "ב doubtless is to be regarded, with the LXX. as the plural of a sing.

מִכְמֶתָחַ, for which they may probably have used also מְכַמֵּת (see on ch. xii. 18). Then, since *m* and *b* are frequently interchanged (see on ch. iii. 16), the present name of the place agrees, etc." Against this we would oppose the following considerations: (1) It appears to us that the operation by which the relationship between the names Michmethah and Kubarjeh, or Kabaat, or Kabate, is attempted to be proved, is an exceedingly violent one. (2) In Deut. xi. 30 מוֹל does indeed stand for a north-west direction, but it is precisely מוֹל that stands there, meaning, in a quite general way, *over against*, and not the more definite עַל-פְּנֵי concerning which Knobel himself admits that in geographical statements it is "certainly for the most part to the east,"—precisely in the same way, Knobel might

have added, as is the case with לְפָנַי (Gen. xxiii. 17; xxv. 18; Deut. xxxii. 49). (3) If Michmethah is to be sought so far north, then ch. xvi. 6, where it is brought in to determine the north border of Ephraim which lies south of Manasseh, is inexplicable. Rather may it be said, that (a) the statement of this passage: אֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי שֹׁכֵם and (b) the proximity indicated, ch. xvi. 6, of Taanath-shiloh, which is now recognized in Ain Tana [?], go to show that Michmethah is to be looked for east or northeast of Shechem, perhaps, also, on the road to Bethshean, where Kiepert, indeed (on the large map, 3d and most recent edition, 1866), although with a mark of interrogation, and Menke (Map iii.) have inserted the name. But if

this is correct we have here not the north border of Manasseh, but the south, the same which is given, ch. xvi. 5 ff., as the north boundary of Ephraim; and there lies before us precisely the same case of the double registry of the same line as between our two tribes and Benjamin (ch. xvi. 1-4 compared with ch. xviii. 12, 13) on one side, and between Judah and Benjamin (ch. xv. 5 ff.; xviii. 15 ff.) on the other. But as regards the north border of Manasseh, it as well as the east border is given in common for both tribes in the second half of ver. 10.

Shechem, שֶׁכֶּם, now Nablus or Nabulus, having, like Jerusalem, Gilbeon, and Jericho, had several names between the times of the patriarchs and of Christ (Gen. xii. 6; John iv. 5), lies on the watershed (שֶׁכֶּם = back) between the Mediterranean and the Jordan Valley (Furrer, pp. 237, 238), in a lovely, richly favored valley between Ebal and Gerizim, surrounded by gardens in which nature has prodigally scattered her richness (Furrer, p. 234). See the fresh and beautiful description in Furrer, p. 230 ff.; comp. further, von Raumer, p. 161 ff.; Rob. iii. p. 95 ff. [Tristram, 141 ff.; Stanley, S. & P., 229 ff.]. Shechem has at present about eight thousand inhabitants. From Michmethah the border went to the right

(יָמֵי הַיְמִינִי) unto the inhabitants of en-Tappuah. According to this, en-Tappuah or Tappuah (ch. xvi. 8) lay south of Michmethah, and hence also south or southwest of Shechem. But Balad Tappuah (comp. on ch. xvi. 8) lies rather northeast of Shechem. How then should the border go thence toward the right, *i. e.*, southwardly? May not, perhaps, an escape be found from the obscurity (undeniably very great!) of this passage in the fact that it reads, not *unto en-Tappuah*, but *only unto the inhabitants of Tappuah*? Although then Tappuah itself had lain northeast of Shechem, we might still imagine that the territory of this royal city of the Canaanites (ch. xii. 17) had stretched toward the south or southwest. With Knobel, who everywhere here supposes that he has the north boundary line before him, it all goes beautifully. For him the line runs from Asher to Kubatjeh, from Kubatjeh to Jamun (יָמוֹן), in spite of the article, is taken as a proper name = Yamun, Rob. iii. pp. 161, 167), and from Jamun to Kefr Kud. But we repeat, that we are not now concerned with the north limit of Manasseh, but its southern, toward Ephraim. [So Mr. Grove, also, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Manasseh," p. 1770 c, although he thinks it doubtful whether the portions of Ephraim and Manasseh were intended to be effectually separated, and that, if they were, no clear line of division can now be made out. — Tr.]

Ver. 8. Another notice of Tappuah, purporting that the land of Tappuah went to Manasseh, the city to Ephraim. The latter possessed, according to ch. xvi. 9, still other places in Manasseh. Kiepert has inserted Tappuah on the map northwest of Shechem and Michmethah, but with a mark of interrogation. Menke assigns it the same position, perhaps with reference to the brook of reeds mentioned (ch. xvi. 8), which we here find again in ver. 9.

Ver. 9. And the border descended unto the watercourse Kanah, southward of the watercourse. In ch. xvi. 8, it reads: *From Tappuah the border goes westward toward the Reed-brook, and its*

out-goings were at the sea. Keil supposes this brook to be the Abu Zabura, which Knobel also mentions at first, although he immediately afterward refers to the Nahr el-Kassab. Von Raumer decides for the latter (p. 51) with greater positiveness, because the old name Reed-brook has been preserved in Nahr el-Kassab. But Nahr el-Kassab is the same stream which on Kiepert's wall-map appears as Nahr el-Falik (Van de Velde: Falaiik), which Kiepert with von Raumer holds to be the Reed-brook (brook of Cana). The border extended south of the brook to the sea, *i. e.*, the Mediterranean sea (חֲרֵף הַיָּם), ch. xvi. 8), which Jerome strangely regards as being the *mare salsissimum*!

These cities belonged to Ephraim among the cities of Manasseh. Thus ch. xvi. 9 is more exactly defined, "These cities." Which cities? It is indeed said further: "and the border of Manasseh was north of the brook," but the definition is made no clearer thereby. The sense can hardly be other than what Masius long ago expressed: "*Funiculus, qui discernabat fratrum istorum possessiones, ambiebat ille quidem torrentem Cuanosium (נהל קנה) a meridie atque eum attribuebat Manassensibus; verumtamen urbes, que illi torrenti ab austro adiacebant, etsi essent reipsa intra Manassensium positae terminos, nihilominus jure fuerunt Ephraimitarum; que vero a septentrione torrentis exstabant, eas obtinebat Manassensium.*" For in ver. 10 we read still more plainly: "Southward (from the brook it, the land, was) Ephraim's, and northward (of the same) it was Manasseh's; and the sea was his border (toward the west). Knobel would, according to ch. xvi. 9, read יְמֵי for יָמֵי; but this is not strictly necessary.

Ver. 10. South of the Reed-brook the land is here said to have belonged to Ephraim, north of it to Manasseh, a boundary line as simple as could be. Knobel here comes into perplexity, out of which he would escape by supposing that the north border of Manasseh cuts through the Reed-brook, while the north border of Ephraim comes to it, so that the territory of Manasseh there formed a point! — **And the sea was his border.** Both divisions had the sea on the west, one (Ephraim) south of the Reed-brook, the other (Manasseh) north of it. The account of the north boundary for both in common follows (comp. ch. xvi. 1 ff.).

They struck upon (יָפְעוּ אֶשֶׁר) Asher on the north, *i. e.*, on the north side (ch. xix. 26). The description of the province concludes with the eastern limit; on Issachar on the east (ch. xix. 17). The two tribes were bounded, therefore, (1) on the east by Issachar; (2) on the north by Asher; (3) on the west by the sea; (4) on the south by Benjamin and Dan. Between them they had a division line which is twice referred to, (a) ch. xvi. 6 ff., (b) in our chapter, ver. 7-10; but unfortunately in neither place with such clearness as marks the description *e. g.* of the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (ch. xv. 8 ff.). A separate border of Manasseh on the north, such as Knobel assumes, we cannot find given in the text.

Vers. 11-13. Six cities are enumerated which Manasseh received beyond his own country, in Issachar and Asher, without, however, being able to expel the Canaanites from them. At a later period having become stronger, they were content to make them tributary servants (ver. 13). The same report is found again (Judg. i. 27 ff.), where, however, Endor is omitted.

1 [Cf. Grove in *Dict. of Bible*, art. "Michmethah."]

The word **בְּנוֹת** reminds us of ch. xv. 47. Knobel finds here the second document of the Jehovist.

Ver. 11. **Beth-shean** (**בֵּית־שֵׁעָן**; *i. e.*, house of rest, now Beisan, — “in an expansion of the Jordan Valley, which is bounded on the west by the low ridge of Mount Gilboa. At the present day ruins of an ancient Roman theatre are found here, but only about seventy or eighty miserable huts for the two hundred actual inhabitants. It stands about four hours from Tiberias, on the road from Jerusalem to Damascus” (von Raumer, p. 150; Rob. iii. 174 ff.). The Philistines hung on its walls the dead body of Saul (1 Sam. xxxi. 10). It was afterward called Scythopolis (see Herod. i. 104-106, in regard to the origin of the name). From the summit of Gilboa, two thousand two hundred feet high, Furrer (p. 260) saw a green plain lying at his feet on the east, out of which rose the black tents of the Bedouin camps, like dark patches, on the green. The plain extends downward to the Jordan, and he was able to follow its picturesque windings to a considerable distance. “There, not far from the river,” Furrer proceeds, “Beisan must lie, although I could not discern it — the ancient Bethshean on whose walls the Philistines once hung the dead body of Saul.” [Comp. Tristram’s account of Beisan, p. 504 ff.]

Ibleam, where Ahaziah was mortally wounded (2 K. ix. 27), a Levitical city (ch. xxi. 25), perhaps, as Knobel supposes, Jelameh, Jelamah between Zerim and Jenin (Rob. iii. 161). The accusative (**וְאֶת־יִשְׁבֵי דֹר**) which follows is remarkable, since the sentence had begun with **וַיְהִי לִי**. It is most simply explained by a change of construction, perhaps occasioned by the fact that **וְהַרְוִישׁ**, which governs the accusative, is used in verse 12; to which may be added that in Judg. i. 27, the whole statement begins with **וְלֹא־הָרִישׁ**. Nor should it be overlooked, that instead of the cities the *inhabitants* whom Manasseh could not drive out are mentioned.

Dor, ch. xi. 2; xii. 23.

En-dor (**עֵין דֹר**), four Roman miles south of Tabor, according to the *Onom.* (von Raumer, p. 125), near the northern slope of the Jebel Daehi (Duhy, little Hermon), which rises in “yellow nakedness” over against Tabor (Furrer, p. 308; Rob. p. 171 f.). Endor was the abode of the “woman with a familiar spirit,” whom Saul consulted (1 Sam. xxviii. 9), but is also celebrated (1s. lxxxiii. 11) as the scene of the victory in which the Midianites were destroyed. In the parallel passage (Judg. i. 27 ff.) Endor is not mentioned. Taanach, ch. xii. 21. **Megiddo**, ch. xii. 21.

The three heights (**שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַקְּפָרִים**; LXX., *τὰ τριῶν τῆς Νόφου*; Vulg., *tertia pars urbis Naphet*). What is intended is the three cities lying on hills: Endor, Taanach, and Megiddo, a Tripolis of mountain cities in distinction from the places on the plain: Bethshean, Ibleam, and Dor. The author might have called the latter also a **שְׁלֹשֶׁת**, a **שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַשָּׂדֵה**, using **שְׁלֹשֶׁת** in the general sense of “plain,” and not in the definite geographical signification which in this book it everywhere bears, as *e. g.*, in ch. xv. 33.

Ver. 12. “The Manassites, however, were not

1 [Knobel’s supposition is better, namely, that **וַיְהִי לִי** is here felt to be equivalent to receive, possess, have. — Tr.]

in a condition to expel the population from the cities named, so that the Canaanites, according to their *will and pleasure*, dwell in this district” (Knobel). The will and pleasure is right vividly expressed by the plastic **וַיִּיָּאֵל** (ch. vii. 7; Ex. ii. 21).

Ver. 13. But when the Israelites became strong (**וְהָיוּ חֲזָקִים**) they made the Canaanites tributary servants (**וַיַּעַבְדוּ**, ch. x. 10), but drive them out they did not. We allow ourselves this translation, after the example of De Wette, to indicate in English something of the effect of the emphatic **וְהָרִישׁ לֹא הָרִישׁוּ**.

d. Ver. 14-18. *Complaint of the Children of Joseph that their Possession is insufficient.* “An old, original fragment, and a beautiful, historical trait in the character of Joshua. The unselfish Joshua was himself of Ephraim, Num. xiii. 8, 16” (Bunsen). As the history of Achsah (ch. xv. 13-19), occurring in the midst of the boundary descriptions of Judah, and catalogues of its cities, makes a very refreshing impression on the laborious explorer of these records, so this narrative awakens similar emotions. The children of Joseph, *i. e.*, probably the patriarchs of the tribe, came complaining before their fellow-tribesman Joshua, to whom they had trusted for a better guardianship of their interests. “Why,” they ask, “hast thou given me but one lot and one portion, as a possession, when I am a great people, in so far as Jehovah hath blessed me hitherto.” Joshua, by no means disposed to grant special favors to his own tribe, demands of them to use their strength, to go up into the forest, to clear it out, and establish for themselves new abodes there among the Perizzites and the Rephaim. When they (ver. 16) show little inclination to this course, and at the same time intimate that they cannot spread themselves further in the plain because of the formidableness of the Canaanites who dwell there, Joshua (ver. 17) still remains firm. In both his replies (vers. 15, 17) he betrays a touch of irony, as if he would say: Yes, it is true, thou art a numerous people, and hast great strength, and oughtest therefore to have more than one share. But seek to procure this second portion *thyself!* Rely on thy own power! Cut down the forest! Behold thou wilt drive out the Canaanites; it is precisely thy task to conquer those that have iron chariots and are mighty; no other tribe can do it.” Of the manner in which Ewald (ii. 315-317, 2d [Germ.] ed.) treats this narrative, we shall have occasion to speak further on.

Ver. 14. As here, so also ch. xvi. 1 ff.; xvii. 10, the *children of Joseph* are taken together. They are regarded as one tribe, so to speak, the tribe of Joseph, as Rev. vii. 8. Comp. also passages like Am. vi. 6; Ps. lxxvii. 16; lxxviii. 67; lxxx. 2; lxxxii. 6; Ez. xxxvii. 16, 19.

One lot and one portion. “**חֶבֶל וְגֹרֶל** and **חֶבֶל חֶבֶל** are synonymous and combined for greater emphasis. **גֹרֶל** is the lot which is cast; **חֶבֶל** the measuring line, then the measured inheritance” (Keil). Comp. also ver. 5.

So far as **עַד־בְּיָמָיו**; not as Gesenius would have it, **וְלִבְיָמָיו**; *de gradu*, Maurer) **Jehovah hath blessed me hitherto** (**עַד־לְכַה**, *de tempore*, Maurer). A quite peculiar blessing had been promised to Joseph (Gen. xlix. 25, 26; Deut. xxxiii. 13-17).

Ver. 15. Joshua’s answer. **Get thee up into**

the forest. The forest of the mountain of Ephraim and of its out-goings (ver. 18) is meant. That Mount Ephraim (mountain of Israel, ch. xi. 16-21) was then covered with woods, is clear from 1 Sam. xiv. 25; 2 Sam. xviii. 6. Even the forest at Bethel, 2 K. ii. 23, 24, probably belonged (Winer, ii. 675) to the forest of Ephraim. And even at the present day, according to the uniform testimony of travellers, the heights of Mount Ephraim, forming the northern portion of the mountainous country between the plain of Jezreel and the wilderness of the south (von Raumer, p. 42), are more rich in vegetation than that part of the same mountain which belonged to Judah. Especially is this the case with its spurs toward the north-west and northeast. On the northwest a forest-covered hill joins itself to Mount Ephraim connecting the latter with Carmel, that most beautiful, and greenest of all the mountains of Canaan. On the northeast Mount Gilboa, where Saul and Jonathan fell in the contest with the Philistines (1 Sam. xxviii. 4; xxxi. 1-8; 2 Sam. i. 6-20), constitutes its off-shoot toward the Jordan. On the road from the hamlet of Jelbon, in which word the old name is preserved, Furrer (p. 260) ascended the mountain by a lofty slope which was in places clothed with a dense oak thick-set. A small forest of low oak trees is mentioned by the same traveller as standing on the right of the road from Nazareth to Carmel (p. 280). Without doubt it is the same woods which Schultz describes (*Reise in das gelobte Land*, pp. 249, 250), since he also notices the "crisp eastern oaks." Robinson (iii. p. 184 f.) speaks of "a wide strip of low woody heights" by which Carmel is joined on the southwest with the mountains of Samaria. We find woods therefore partly on Mount Ephraim itself, partly on its off-shoots.

At the very foot of this forest, however, on the northwest spur of Mount Ephraim, the children of Joseph had had cities in the plain assigned to them, namely, Taanach, and Megiddo (Dor lay further west on the sea) in the plain of Jezreel (ver. 11). Ibleam and Bethshean also (ver. 11) lay west and east of Mount Gilboa, being spoken of again in ver. 16. Knobel (p. 450) says: "Whether the author thinks also of the Little Hermon lying further north, and so refers to Endor, is doubtful," and we not only share his doubt but go a step further and consider it quite improbable, since Robinson (iii. p. 171) speaks of that mountain as "a desert, shapeless mass," and Furrer (p. 308) notices the "yellow nakedness" of the Jebel Duhy, or Dachi.

But we return for thyself there in the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephaim, if Mount Ephraim is too narrow (עָס here in a different sense from ch. x. 13). Cornel. a Lapide (in Keil, p. 411 f.) long ago hit upon the thought that here and in ver. 18, by the forest the Perizzites and the Rephaim were to be understood, thus assuming that there was a metaphor. He says: "*Est metaphora, terram enim a Chanaanitis occupatam vocat sylvam, eo quod sicut sylva excrescendi debet, ut locus arari possit: sic excrescendi erant Perizzitae, ut eorum terram occuparent Josephitae.*"

Him Ewald follows, as Keil has pointed out, when he represents the import of ver. 15 in the following manner: "not at a loss for the answer, he (Joshua) replied: 'if they were so numerous (and Mount Ephraim as hitherto occupied by them too small) then they need only move into the forest (i. e. into the thickly settled and cultivated plain) and laboriously cut down for themselves

there the tall, profitable trees.' In other words they should enter the plain surrounding the mountain on which they dwell, where, however, the 'Perizzites and Rephaim' (that is, the enemy) still lay in dense masses, whom the tribe (instead of envying other tribes their inheritance), ought themselves long ago to have destroyed and so to have doubled their possession." A purely arbitrary explanation, which may be pardoned to old Cornelius a Lapide, but so much the less readily to Ewald, as he arrogates too much to himself, when, with well-known dogmatism, he says (p. 315, note 2): "Already the LXX. failed to understand this ancient passage, hard to be comprehended by reason of its 'biting scorn' (sic!), and still less have the moderns understood it." Wherein the fault of the LXX. consists in this respect, we are unable, after repeated comparison of the original with their version, to discover, unless in the fact that the LXX. venture to render עָס (quite properly in our humble opinion) by ἀβάσθη, while Ewald prefers to make of it *march into the plain*. Of the "biting scorn" of Joshua we will presently speak again.

Ver. 16. The sons of Joseph answer, that the mountain really will not suffice for them, while the Canaanites in the valley-land (עֲבָדֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ) have iron chariots. They appear as if they had not heard a syllable of going up into the forest.

Is not enough. Here עָס is used as in Zech. x. 10; Num. xi. 22 (Knobel and Keil). LXX.: οὐχ ἀρκέσει, according to the correct text, instead of ἀπάρξει. Comp. also LXX., Num. xi. 22. The iron chariots of the Canaanites were greatly feared by the Israelites, and were "the main reason why the Hebrews could not establish themselves in the plains (ch. xi. 4; Judg. i. 19; iv. 3; 1 Sam. xiii. 5). Israel adopted this species of weapons not until the time of David and Solomon (2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 K. v. 6; ix. 19; x. 26)" (Knobel). That the Canaanites had these iron chariots did not hinder the children of Joseph from "occupying the forest region" (Keil), but the plain, as Knobel rightly perceived, since the "chariot-cavalry" (Winer, ii. 671), very dangerous in the plains, could not well get on in the mountain, as the passage of Vegetius (*Mil.* iii. 24), cited by Winer, shows: "*Quadrigae fulcrato at primo moximum intulere terrorem, ita postmodum juve decessit. Nam difficile curras fulcrato planum semper invenit campum et levi impedimento detinetur, unoque afflicto aut cuberato equo decipitur.*"

Ver. 17. Joshua does not allow them to slip out, but holds fast to his declaration already made, the sense of which has been exhibited above.

Ver. 18. *Continuation.* A mountain shall be thine, for it is a forest. The mountain of Ephraim is meant. This mountain should fall to the lot of the strong and able house of Joseph, because it was adapted to them as being woodland to be cleared up by them. As the result of this clearing the one lot should become two, as it were, to which Joshua plainly points, ver. 17.

Thou shalt cut it down, and the out-goings (עֲבָדֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ) of it shall be thine. We cannot with Knobel understand the sense of these words so that according to ver. 15, the one of these out-goings or spurs, the northwestern one, toward Carmel, and according to this verse the other, north-eastern, Gilboa, were to be granted in addition to what they had received; for in this case Joshua

would have made a concession to his fellow tribesmen, and so broken the point of the whole transaction. Rather, the sons of Joseph have indeed Mount Ephraim proper, as they themselves say (ver. 16), already in possession, and, in the vicinity of those two spurs to the northwest and northeast, the cities mentioned in ver. 11 had been allotted. If now they have not room enough, they should, partly on Mount Ephraim, and partly on the heights which rose above those cities, in the territory of the Perizzites and Rephaim, cut down the woods and so make themselves new abodes, as, modest in his claims, Joshua himself did (ch. xix. 50). To convince and encourage them Joshua adds:—

For thou wilt drive out the Canaanites, for they have iron chariots, for they are strong.

Male Dathius, alii, quamvis currus ferreos habeant et potentes sint. יִּיִּיִּיִּי signifies *nam. Sensus: hanc ipsam ob causam, quod currus ferreos habent et potentes sunt, vos, Ephraimites et Manassites, eos aggre-diamini, quippe qui estis populus numerosus et potens* (ver. 17). So Maurer, and De Wette, Keil, Knobel likewise. When the LXX. render

the last words: הַיָּהוָה הַזֶּה יִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי by σὺ γὰρ ἰσπερι-χύεις αὐτοῦ, they either read: הַיָּהוָה הַזֶּה יִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי or, which is to me more likely, allow themselves a variation. The Vulg. translates very freely: “*Et poteris ultra procedere, cum subverteris Chananeum, quem dicis ferreos habere currus et esse fortissimum.*”

At this place we may appropriately return to Ewald's account of the transaction. He comments on vers. 16–18, thus: “but when to this sharp answer” (he means the decision of Joshua given in ver. 15), “they go on to reply that, that did not suit, that the mountain was enough for them, since the Canaanites living in the plain had the dangerous iron chariots.” Joshua carries still further the figure of forest and mountain, even to the uttermost, and, in order to finish the matter with one blow, turns off the importunate petitioners who desire much and yet, out of vain fear, will not exert themselves to obtain their wish, by the still more pointed insult (sic!) that they should by all means, since they were a very numerous and strong tribe, have not merely one lot! Rather should they, besides the mountain which they already possessed, and yet did not truly possess, have also another, namely, that forest, which they would have first with bitter toil to clear off and make useful, i. e. the Canaanites, whom to subdue in spite of, and indeed precisely on account of, their mighty armor, and to render serviceable was their second portion yet to be acquired; and in this, fear and trembling would be of no avail! A biting sarcasm, worthy of a Samson! And so the most ancient legend, as it appears in this narrative, conceived of Joshua also as the hero who contended by his humiliating wit against the presumption of the men of his tribe, — a true man of the people, in the best sense of the word.”

Against this, aside from what we have already said in opposition to the figurative interpretation of the forest and mountain, two remarks are appropriate: (1) ver. 16 is treated quite arbitrarily when Ewald, in his note, p. 316, writes: “In ver. 16, הַיָּהוָה is, against the Masora, to be separated as ‘no!’ and הַיָּהוָה to be written.” Thus he would bring out exactly the opposite sense, namely, that the mountain was enough for them,

although the sons of Joseph, in ver. 14, complain of that very thing, that their district was too small for so numerous a people; (2) the more “pointed insult,” which Ewald, resting on ver. 17 and 18 puts into the mouth of Joshua, presupposes that his answer in ver. 15 also was pointed, and moreover a pointed insult, as indeed he finds in the whole passage nothing but biting mockery (p. 315, note 2). Fine irony, a noble humor, we also recognize in the replies of Joshua as well in ver. 15 as in vers. 17, 18, but between this and “biting mockery” there is a great difference. Irony is morally allowable, mockery and insult not. He who employs the latter is a bad man, and will never be regarded as “a true man of the people in the best sense of the word,” which the most ancient myth is here said to have made Joshua. Joshua was certainly a true people's man; certainly our author will, in this old, precious narrative, so represent him, but as a people's man who has gained his popularity not through sharp and sharper sarcasms, but through his unselfishness and noble pre-eminence. For, that any one should have become a favorite by insulting mockery, would no more occur in Joshua's time than in ours. We must, therefore, deny the biting scorn which Ewald here scents out. Malicious teasing lay far enough remote from so noble a hero as Joshua. He knew nothing of it.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The narrative, ch. xvii. 14–18, can, on the one hand, be employed to show Joshua as a pattern of an unselfish, noble, and prudent popular leader and statesman; and, on the other, to set home his decision toward the house of Joseph, as an impressive lesson to all at the present day who desire everything from the state, but would themselves put forth the least possible exertion. So in reference to the age in general; but the passage admits of an individual application also to all idle men who will not labor, for instance, in new founded colonies, where a sermon on this text would, under certain circumstances, be very much in place.

STARKE: That is the way with the covetous man, that the more he has the more he desires to have, and cannot but grudge his neighbor what belongs to him. One should be content with that which God gives. Those who are appointed to the duty of distributing goods and lands, however faithfully they may perform the service, yet commonly get no great thanks therefor.

An original remark occurs in the *Bibl. Tub.* on ver. 15: It is a duty of the magistrate, among others, this, namely, for the benefit of the inhabitants when there are many of them, to prepare the yet uncultivated land for cultivation, that the people may derive from it so much the more revenue and support.

LANGÉ: So it goes also with many an insincere combatant in the kingdom of God, that they would fain have many spiritual gifts but without a strife.

KRAMER: Prayer, labor, and trust in God must go together, Ps. cxxvii. 2.

[MATT. HENRY: Many wish for larger possessions, who do not cultivate and make the best of what they have, think they should have more talents given them, who do not trade with those with which they are intrusted. Most people's poverty is the effect of their idleness; would they dig they need not beg. — Tr.]

3. *The Territories of the Seven remaining Tribes: Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, Dan; and the Possession of Joshua.*

CHAPTERS XVIII., XIX.

a. Setting up of the Tabernacle at Shiloh. Description of the Land yet to be divided.

CHAPTER XVIII. 1-10.

1 And the whole congregation of the children [sons] of Israel assembled together at Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle of the congregation there: and the land was
 2 subdued before them. And there remained among the children of Israel seven
 3 tribes, which had not yet [omit: yet] received their inheritance. And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long *are* ye slack to go to possess the land which
 4 the Lord [Jehovah] God of your fathers hath given you? Give out from among [for] you three men for *each* tribe: and I will send them, and they shall rise, and go [about] through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them [their possession]: and they shall come *again* [omit: again] to me. And they shall divide it into seven parts: Judah shall abide in their coast [stand on his border] on the south, and the house of Joseph shall abide in their coasts [stand on their border] in
 6 the north. Ye shall therefore [And ye shall] describe the land into seven parts, and bring *the description* [so Bunsen, but properly: them or it] hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the Lord [Jehovah] our God. But [For] the Levites have no part among you; for the priesthood of the Lord [Jehovah] is their inheritance [possession]: and Gad, and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh, have received their inheritance [possession] beyond [the] Jordan on the east, which
 8 Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah] gave them. And the men arose, and went away: and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go, and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, that I may here cast
 9 lots for you before the Lord [Jehovah] in Shiloh. And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by [the] cities into seven parts in a book, and came
 10 *again* [omit: again] to Joshua to the host [camp] at Shiloh. And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before the Lord [Jehovah]: and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel according to their divisions.

b. The Territory of the Tribe of Benjamin.

CHAPTER XVIII. 11-28.

a. *Its boundaries.*

CHAPTER XVIII. 11-20.

11 And the lot of the tribe of the children [sons] of Benjamin came up according to their families: and the coast [border] of their lot came forth between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph. And their border on the north side was [De Wette: began; but properly: There was for them the border, etc.] from [the] Jordan, [Fay: at the Jordan]; and the border went up to the side of Jericho on the north side [omit: side], and went up through [on] the mountains westward; and the goings out thereof were at the wilderness of Beth-aven. And the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz (which *is* Beth-el) southward; and the border descended to Ataroth-adar, near [on] the hill [mountain]
 14 that *lieth* on the south side of the nether Beth-horon. And the border was drawn *thence*, and compassed the corner of the sea [and bent around toward the west side] southward, from the hill [mountain] that *lieth* before Beth-horon southward; and the goings out thereof were at Kirjath-baal (which *is* Kirjath-jearim), a city of the children [sons] of Judah. This *was* the west quarter [side].
 15 And the south quarter [side] *was* from the end of Kirjath-jearim, and the border went out on [toward] the west, and went out to the well [fountain] of the waters of Nephtoah. And the border came [went] down to the end of the mountain that *lieth* before the valley [ravine] of the son of Hinnom, *and* [omit: and]

- which is in the valley of the giants [Rephaim] on the north, and descended to the valley [ravine] of Hinnom, to the side [prop.: shoulder] of Jebusi on the south [De Wette: on the south side of the Jebusite; Fay: on the side of the Jebusite] toward the south], and descended to En-rogel, and was drawn from [on] the north, and went forth to En-shemesh, and went forth toward Gelimoth, which *is* over against the going up of Adummim, and descended to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben, and passed along toward the side [shoulder] over against [מורל] [the] Arabah [Jordan-valley] northward, and went down unto [the] Arabah: And the border passed along to the side [shoulder] of Beth-hoglah northward: and the out-goings of the border [it, the border] were at the north bay [tongue] of the salt sea, at the south end of [the] Jordan. This *was* the south coast [border].
- 20 And [the] Jordan was the border of it [bordered it], on the east side. This *was* the inheritance of the children [sons] of Benjamin, by the coasts [borders] thereof round about, according to their families.

B. Cities of the Tribe of Benjamin.

CHAPTER XVIII. 21-28.

- 21 Now [And] the cities of the tribe of the children [sons] of Benjamin, according to their families, were Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and the valley of [Emek] 22 23 Keziz, And Beth-arabah, and Zemaraim, and Beth-el, And Avim, and Parah, and 24 Ophrah. And Chephar-haammonai, and Ophni, and Gaba; twelve cities with 25 26 [and] their villages: Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth, And Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Mozah, And Rekem, and Irpeel, and Taralah, And Zelah, Eleph, and 27 28 Jebusi (which *is* Jerusalem), Gibeath, and Kirjath; fourteen cities with [and] their villages. This *is* the inheritance of the children of Benjamin according to their families.

c. The Territory of the Tribe of Simeon.

CHAPTER XIX. 1-9.

- 1 And the second lot came forth to [for] Simeon, *even* [omit: even] for the tribe of the children [sons] of Simeon according to their families: and their inheritance [possession] was within the inheritance [possession] of the children of Judah. 2 And they had in their inheritance [possession], Beer-sheba, and Sheba, and 3 4 Moladah, And Hazar-shual, and Balah, and Azem, and Eltolad, And Bethul, and 5 6 Hormah, And Ziklag, and Beth-marcaboth, and Hazar-susah, And Beth-lebaoth, 7 and Sharuhem; thirteen cities and their villages: Ain, Remmon, and Ether, 8 and Ashan; four cities and their villages: And all the villages that *were* round about these cities to Baalath-beer, Ramath of the south. This *is* the inheritance [possession] of the tribe of the children [sons] of Simeon, according to their families. 9 Out of the portion of the children of Judah *was* the inheritance [possession] of the children [sons] of Simeon: for the part of the children [sons] of Judah was too large for them; therefore [and] the children [sons] of Simeon had their inheritance [possession] within the inheritance [possession] of them.

d. The Territory of the Tribe of Zebulun.

CHAPTER XIX. 10-16.

- 10 And the third lot came up for the children [sons] of Zebulun according to their 11 families: and the border of their inheritance was unto Sarid: And their border went up toward the sea [westward], and Maralah, and reached to Dabbasheth, and 12 reached to the river [water-course] that *is* before Jokneam: And turned from Sarid eastward, toward the sun-rising, unto the border of Chisloth-tabor, and then goeth 13 [and went] out to Daberath, and goeth [went] up to Japhia, And from thence passeth [it passed] on along on the east [toward the east, toward the rising of the sun] to Gittah-hepher, to Ittah-kazin, and goeth [went] out to Remmon-methoar 14 [Remmon which stretches] to Neah; And the border compasseth [bent around] it on the north side [northward] to Hannathon: and the out-goings thereof are [were] 15 in the valley of Jiphthah-el: And Kattath, and Nahallal, and Shimron, and Ida-

16 lah, and Beth-lehem; twelve cities with [and] their villages. This is the inheritance [possession] of the children [sons] of Zebulun according to their families, these cities with [and] their villages.

e. The Territory of the Tribe of Issachar.

CHAPTER XIX. 17-23.

17 And [omit: and] the fourth lot came out to [for] Issachar, for the children
18 [sons] of Issachar according to their families. And their border was toward Jezreel,
19 20 and Chesulloth, and Shunem, And Hapharaim, and Shihon, and Anaharath, And
21 Rabbith, and Kishion, and Abez, And Remeth, and En-gannim, and En-haddah,
22 and Beth-pazzez; And the coast [border] reacheth to [struck] Tabor, and Sha-
hazimah, and Beth-shemesh; and the out-goings of their border were at [the]
23 Jordan; sixteen cities with [and] their villages. This is the inheritance [pos-
session] of the tribe of the children [sons] of Issachar, according to their fam-
ilies, the cities and their villages.

f. The Territory of the Tribe of Asher.

CHAPTER XIX. 24-31.

24 And the fifth lot came out for the tribe of the children [sons] of Asher accord-
25 ing to their families. And their border was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and
26 Achshaph, And Alammelech, and Amad, and Misheal; and reacheth to [it struck]
27 Carmel westward, and to [omit: to] Shihor-libnath; And turneth [turned] toward
the sun-rising to Beth dagon, and reacheth to [struck] Zebulun, and to [omit: to]
the valley [ravine] of Jiphthah-el, toward [on] the north side of Beth-emek, and
28 Neiel, and goeth [went] out to Cabul on the left hand, And Hebron, and Rehob,
29 and Hammon, and Kanah, even unto great Zidon; And then [omit: then] the
coast [border] turneth [turned] to Ramah, and to the strong [fortified] city Tyre;
and the coast [border] turneth [turned] to Hosah; and the out-goings thereof are
30 at the sea from the coast to Achzib [in the district of Achzib]: Ummah also
[and Ummah], and Aphck, and Rehob: twenty and two cities with [and] their vil-
31 lages. This is the inheritance [possession] of the tribe of the children [sons] of
Asher according to their families, these cities with [and] their villages.

g. The Territory of the Tribe of Naphtali.

CHAPTER XIX. 32-39.

32 The sixth lot came out to [for] the children [sons] of Naphtali, even [omit
33 even] for the children [sons] of Naphtali according to their families. And their
coast [border] was from Heleph, from Allon to Zaanannim, [the oak of Zaanan-
nim], and Adami, Nekeb [or Adami-nekeb], and Jabneel, unto Lakum; and the
34 out-goings thereof were at [the] Jordan: And then [omit: then] the coast [border]
turneth [turned] westward to Aznoth-tabor, and goeth [went] out from thence to
Hukkuk, and reacheth to [struck] Zebulun on the south side, and reacheth to
[struck] Asher on the west side, and to [omit: to] Judah upon [the] Jordan to-
35 ward the sun-rising. And the fenced [fortified] cities are Ziddim, Zer, and Ham-
36 37 math, Rakkath, and Cinneroth, And Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor, And
38 Kedesh, and Edrei, and Eu-hazor, And Iron, and Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-
39 anath, and Beth-shemesh; nineteen cities with [and] their villages. This is the in-
heritance [possession] of the tribe of the children [sons] of Naphtali, the cities
and their villages.

h. The Territory of the Tribe of Dan.

CHAPTER XIX. 40-48.

40 And [omit: and] the seventh lot came out for the tribe of the children [sons]
41 of Dan, according to their families. And the coast [border] of their inheritance

42 [possession] was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Ir-shemesh, And Shaalabbim, and Aja-
 43 44 lon, and Jethlah, And Elon, and Thimnathah, and Ekron, And Eltekeh,
 45 and Gibbethon, and Baalath, And Jehud, and Bene-berak, and Gath-rimmon,
 46 And Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the border before [over against] Japho.
 47 And the coast [border] of the children [sons] of Dan went out *too little* for them
 [Fay: went out from them (*i. e.*, the children of Dan extended their border fur-
 ther); De Wette: and the border of the sons of Dan went out (afterwards)
 further from them; Bunsen: and the border of the children of Dan went yet
 further than this; Zunz: went beyond these]; therefore [and] the children [sons]
 of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge
 of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after
 48 the name of Dan their father. This is the inheritance [possession] of the tribe of
 the children [sons] of Dan according to their families, these cities with [and] their
 villages.

i. Joshua's Possession.

CHAPTER XIX. 49, 50.

49 [And] when they had made an end of dividing the land for inheritance by their
 coasts [according to its borders], the children [sons] of Israel gave an inheritance
 50 [possession] to Joshua the son of Nun among them: According to the command
 [mouth] of the Lord [Jehovah] they gave him the city which he asked, *even* Tim-
 nath-serah, in mount Ephraim; and he built the city, and dwelt therein.

j. Conclusion.

CHAPTER XIX. 51.

51 These *are* the inheritances [possessions], which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua
 the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel,
 divided for an inheritance [possession] by lot in Shiloh before the Lord [Jehovah],
 at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. So [And] they made an end of
 dividing the country [land].

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

As chapters xvi. and xvii. belonged together, so do these two chapters xviii. and xix., which contain the account of the allotments of the remaining seven tribes, Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan. At the end follows a notice of the possession given to Joshua (ch. xix. 49, 50), with the conclusion of the whole section (ver. 51). There are seven tribes only left to be noticed, because the tribe of Levi was to receive no inheritance, as had been already before said (ch. xiii. 14, 33) and repeated (ch. xviii. 7). This distribution was effected at Shiloh (ch. xviii. 1), while Judah and the house of Joseph — Ephraim and Manasseh — had received their possessions, as may be confidently inferred from ch. xiv. 6, in the camp at Gilgal (see on xiv. 6). But before proceeding to divide the land, twenty-one men were sent out to survey and describe it (ch. xviii. 3, 10).

a. Chap. xviii. 1-10. Erection of the Tabernacle at Shiloh. Description of the Land yet to be divided. The whole congregation comes together at Shiloh, where they set up the tent of the congregation (tabernacle). The land is completely subdued, but seven tribes still remain, which have not yet received any possession, since the most powerful tribe of Judah, Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh (to say nothing of the tribes east of the Jordan, previously spoken of), had first obtained their portion (vers. 1, 2). Joshua reproaches them for their listlessness, and, in order to discharge the remaining duty as impartially as possible, perhaps

also bearing in mind the complaint of the sons of Joseph (ch. xvii. 14-18), he provides that twenty-one men, three from each of the seven tribes, shall first "describe" the land (vers. 3-7). This is done (vers. 8, 9), and now Joshua casts lots and distributes the still remaining territory (ver. 10). Eleazar is not mentioned here, while in ch. xiv. 1, 2 [also xix. 51] he and the patriarchs of the tribes are introduced with Joshua.

Ver. 1. And the whole congregation of the sons of Israel assembled together at Shiloh. "The congregation of the sons of Israel," here as Ex. xvi. 1, 2, 9; more briefly, "congregation of Israel," Ex. xii. 3, or merely "the congregation," Lev. iv. 15. The same is the "congregation of Jehovah" (עדה) from יעד, for יעדָהּ by aphæresis, Gesen.). It is called also קהל ישראל (קהל, convocation, from קהל, to call together, in Kal not used while Hiphil is found Num. viii. 9; x. 7; xx. 8; and Niphal, Num. xvi. 3, and in this passage, Gesen.), Dent. xxxi. 30; קהל יהוה, Num. xvi. 3; xx. 4, or simply הקהל, Lev. iv. 13, precisely like העדה. Shiloh (שילה) or שילהו, 1 K. ii. 27, or שילו, Judg. xxi. 21, שילו, Judg. xxi. 19, shortened from שילון, from שָׁלַח, to rest, "a place of rest"), in Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, 20, 21. Σιλοῦν (hence pointing back to the form שילון).

from which שִׁלֹה, 1 K. xi. 29; xii. 15; Neh. xi. 5, with which Gesen. very aptly compares הַגֵּרָה and גֵּרָה, ch. xv. 51; 2 Sam. xv. 12), now Seilan, first correctly made out in modern times by Robinson (iii. 84 ff.) from its position, which is accurately given Judg. xxi. 19. Eusebius and Jerome already give the distances from Neapolis (*Onom.* art. "Selo") incorrectly; "the knights of the cross, also, found Silo at Neby Samwil, where the monks and pilgrims continued, with little variation, to seek the place until the middle of the sixteenth century." About this time there appears in Bonifacius (*De Peregrini Cultu*) a more correct view concerning the sites of the holy places, but it was soon lost (Rob. iii. 89). Among the ruins, to which one ascends by a gentle slope, whose fertile soil, when Furrer visited Shiloh, was covered with wheat fields (p. 225), there are still found (Rob. *l. c.*) many large stones, and some fragments of columns which indicate the site of an ancient town. The tabernacle stood here from Joshua to Samuel (Jos. xviii. 1; 1 Sam. iv. 3). Afterward Shiloh was rejected by God (Ps. lxxviii. 60-68; 1 Sam. iii. 4; Jer. vii. 12, 14; xxvi. 6), and at a very early period utterly destroyed; for Jerome says: "Silo tabernaculum et arca Domini fuit, *vix altaris fundamenta monstrantur*" (von Rümmer, p. 221; Rob. *l. c.*). Josephus (*Ant. v. 1, 19*) assumes that Joshua brought the tabernacle (τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν) to Shiloh, because the place by its beauty seemed to him appropriate, until an opportunity should be offered them to build a temple (Ἰησοῦς ἰστά τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν κατὰ Σιλοῦν πάλιν, ἐπιτίθειον γὰρ ἰδοῦκε τὸ χῶριον διὰ τὸ κάλλος, ἕως ἂν οἰκοδομῆεν ναὸν αὐτοῖς; τὰ πρῶτα παρῆσχη). The site in the midst of the land was very suitable and also very beautiful, so that Josephus may at bottom have very nearly hit the truth. How Gen. xlix. 10 is to be explained does not concern us here. See Lauze, *Com. on Gen., in l.*, on the various interpretations of this difficult passage. Finally, let it be noticed that Shiloh lies eight and a half hours north of Jerusalem, and nearly five hours south of Shechem (Furrer, p. 413).

And set up the tabernacle of the congregation there; and the land was subdued before them. As regards the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, Luther's translation *Stiftshütte*, i. e. tent of the covenant, is, as Gesen. remarks, the Greek σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, Lat. *tabernaculum testimonii*, according to a derivation from עֵד, *testari*; cf. מִשְׁכַּן הַקְּדוֹת, tent of the law, Num. ix. 15. It is more probable that, with Gesen. and after him most of the moderns, מוֹעֵד is to be derived not from עֵד but from מוֹעֵד (Niph. מוֹעֵד), and accordingly we translate *tent of the congregation*, place where the קְדוֹת meets.¹ If the national sanctuary is called אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (Num. ix. 15), or אֹהֶל

¹ [Professor Plumtree (*Dict. of the Bible*, p. 3152) leads us rather to "the Tabernacle of meeting" (meeting-tent?) as the proper equivalent to the Hebrew designation, but with a deeper sense than would commonly be attached to the phrase. He well says: "The primary force of מוֹעֵד is "to meet by appointment," and the phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד has therefore the meaning of "a place of or for a fixed meeting." "The real meaning of the word is to be found in what may be called the *locus classicus*, as the interpretation of all words connected with the tabernacle, Ex. xxix.

הַקְּדוֹת (Num. ix. 15; xvii. 23; xviii. 2), the two names agree well with each other, in so far as the tent where the congregation met was, at the same time, the tent in whose most holy recess the

law was preserved within the אֹהֶל הַקְּדוֹת (Ex. xxv. 22). Concerning the construction and interior arrangement of the tabernacle, comp. Winer (ii. 529 ff.) as well as Riggenbach. *The land was subdued* (נִכְבְּשָׁה) from נָכַשׁ, prop. to tread under the feet; in the same sense as here, Gen. i. 28; Jer. xxxiv. 16, and with the addition לַעֲבָדֶיהָ, 2 Chr. xxviii. 10; Jer. xxxiv. 11; Neh. v. 6; the Niph. Num. xxxii. 22-29, Gesen.) before them. Because the land was subdued it might be divided.

Ver. 3-10. The mission of the twenty-one men for the description of the land is now related. Knobel refers this section to the Jehovist, and to the second of his documents; on which compare the Introduction. But when Knobel (p. 451) further supposes it improbable that such an occupation of the land would take place under Joshua, and maintains that the taking up the land and people must have been effected at a later period, say in the time of Judges i. 19-34 f., or Judges iv. 2 ff., we may urge, against this totally unsupported suggestion, that the time of Joshua, when the Canaanites were filled with terror and distress through the strange conqueror (ch. ii. 9-11), and had lost all confidence in themselves, was much better suited for the perilous accomplishment of such a result than the following age, in which the Israelites did indeed gain victories but were then immediately enslaved again (Judg. ii. 14-23; iii. 8, 13, 14; vi. 1, etc.). Besides, a man of the circumference of Joshua would, surely if any leader of the people, conceive the idea of occupying the land before he went forward hap-hazard to the division of it. For, although he acted under the divine command, he assuredly did not act without human consideration which was not at all excluded thereby. That Joshua, as Josephus (*Ant. v. 1, 21*) of his own invention relates, sent with these men some skilled in the art of mensuration (Ἰησοῦς . . . ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκμετρησομένους τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξέπεμψε, παρὰ αὐτοῖς τινὰς γεωμετρίας ἐπιστήμονας), our text is altogether ignorant. Josephus may, indeed, as Keil also (*in loc.*) observes, have rightly judged when he makes the men attentive to the quality of the soil of Palestine, and assumes that the several inheritances were rather *estimated* than *measured* (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, — on account of the diverse quality of the soil — τιμητοῦς μᾶλλον ἢ μετρητοῦς τοὺς κλήρους δεῖν ὑπέλαβε, πολλάκις ἐνὸς πλεῖρου κᾶν χιλίων ἀνταξίου γενομένου) (*Ant. v. 1, 21*).

Ver. 3. A reproof to the remaining seven tribes who doubtless could not yet effectually resolve to give up their settled nomadic life, and accustom themselves to settled abodes, especially when these would in great part have yet to be conquered.

42-46. The same central thought occurs in Ex. xxv. 22, "there I will meet with thee" (comp. also Ex. xxx. 6, 36; Num. xvii. 4). It is clear therefore that "congregation" is inadequate. Not the gathering of the worshippers only, but the meeting of God with his people, to commune with them, to make himself known to them, was what the name embodied. Ewald has accordingly suggested *Offenbarungszelt* = Tent of Revelation, as the best equivalent (Altherthümer, p. 130). This made the tent a *sanctuary*. Thus it was that the tent was the dwelling, the house of God (Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. 81). — Tr.]

Ver. 4. Joshua will not longer tolerate this lethargy, and therefore demands of each tribe to choose three men whom he will send out, and these shall rise (וַיִּקְרְאוּ) and go through the land and describe it according to their possession. There were accordingly $7 \times 3 = 21$ men, and not merely ten as Josephus reports, reckoning one to each tribe (*Ant.* v. 1, 20), but in all ten (v. 1-21), because three surveyors were included in the total number. In the description was included particularly, according to ver. 9, an accurate designation of the cities, while at the same time situation and soil might be more particularly taken into account. לְפִי נִתְּלָהֶם, *i. e.* "with reference to its being taken in possession by the seven tribes" (Knobel).

Ver. 5. More minute statement of the errand of the men sent out, ver. 4. They should divide the remaining land into seven parts, yet Judah should remain on his border in the south, and the house of Joseph in the north on his border, that is to say, no change should be made in the possessions of these tribes. With them it should remain as it was.

Ver. 6. When they had described the land thus into seven parts, they should bring the same, *i. e.* the list as Bunsen for distinctness translates, to Joshua at Shiloh (ver. 4), and then would he cast the lots before Jehovah their God. This last should be done at a consecrated place before God's face, that it might stand fast inviolably.

Ver. 7. Reason why there should be only seven parts. First, the Levites have no part among you; for the priesthood of Jehovah is their possession. Essentially the same reason for the lack of a possession as is given, ch. xiii. 14, 33; yet here instead of "the sacrifices of Jehovah, xiii. 14, or simply 'Jehovah God of Israel,' xiii. 33, we have 'the priesthood of Jehovah,' "as Num. xvi. 10; Ex. xxix. 9; xl. 15; Num. iii. 10; xviii. 1-7; xxv. 13" (Knobel). Second, Gad, and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasse, have received their possession beyond the Jordan on the east, etc.

Ver. 8. At the departure of the men Joshua repeats his command.

Ver. 9. They go and describe the land according to the cities into seven parts in a book, *i. e.* they describe it and divide it with special reference to the cities found therein, into seven parts.

Rosenmüller, incorrectly: "לְעָרִים, *per urbes, i. e. additis etiam et adscriptis urbibus, que in quaque regione erant:*" the cities rather give the proper ground of division. How long a time the messengers spent in this service we are not informed. Josephus makes up a story of seven months (*Ant.* v. 1, 21: Οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ πεμφθέντες . . . περιουεῦσαντες τε καὶ τιμησάμενοι τὴν γῆν, ἐν ἑβδόμῃ μηνὶ παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Σιλοὺν πόλιν, ἔνθα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐστάκεισαν). The Jewish historian appears to have been led to the seven months by the seven parts into which the land was divided. The statement is "of no value" (Bunsen), and is "of no more consequence than the assertion of the Rabbins that the division at Shiloh was made seven years after that at Gilgal" (Keil).

Ver. 10. After they have returned Joshua casts lots and effects the division. On פְּמַדְהָלָהֶם, comp. ch. xi. 23; xii. 7.

b. Ch. xviii. 11-28. *The Territory of the Tribe of Benjamin.* First are given a. its boundaries, ch. xviii. 11-20, then b. its cities, ch. xviii. 21-28. It

was in general mountainous, in part very desert, but in part also, as in the neighborhood of Jericho and Jerusalem (*Joseph. Ant.* v. 1, 21; *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 3), a well cultivated, fruitful land. The land of Benjamin now makes the impression of solitude and desolation, as if the breath of death rested upon it (*Furrer*, p. 218-327 [*Stanley, S. & P.* has an instructive chapter on the Heights and Passes of Benjamin]).

a. Ch. xviii. 11-20. *Its Boundaries*, ver. 11. The territory of Benjamin lay, according to this verse, between the sons of Judah on the south, and the sons of Joseph on the north.

Ver. 12. The border which is here drawn is the north border, on the north side. It went out from the Jordan, and ascended, north of Jericho, on to the mountains westward, *i. e.* ascended north of Jericho, on the mountain lying west (and northwest) of this city, and already familiar (ch. xvi. 1). Its goings out were at the wilderness of Beth-aven. In ch. vii. 2, Beth-aven is clearly distinguished, as lying east of Beth-el, from this latter city which itself is often called by the prophets בֵּית־אֵלָן (Idol-house, Am. iv. 5; Hos. iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5, 8). Since Michmash again, according to 1 Sam. xiii. 5, lay east of Beth-aven, this place must have been situated between Beth-el and Michmash. Kiepert has introduced Beth-aven on his map somewhat to the northeast of Michmash, whose immediate surroundings, contrasted with the bare and rocky heights to the east and north, might be called green and fertile (*Furrer*, p. 217). "The bare and rocky heights" to the east and north of Michmash are no other than those of Beth-aven.

Ver. 13. And the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz (which is Beth-el) southward. Here the difficulty which we met in ch. xvi. 2 from the distinction between Beth-el and Luz falls away, since it is said that the border between Benjamin and Ephraim went over out of the wilderness of Beth-aven toward Luz, that is Beth-el, and more particularly on the south side of Luz, thus excluding Beth-el from the cities of Benjamin, while yet, in ver. 22, it belongs to them. In this way contradiction would arise which Knobel seeks to obviate, thus: "The author does not say that the border went merely to the south side of Beth-el; it went to the south side of the ridge (בְּרֵהַף) of Beth-el, *i. e.* toward Beth-el." Beth-el (בֵּית־אֵלָן), Gen. xxviii. 11-19;

xxxi. 13, earlier לֵוִי = almond-tree), familiar through all the history of Israel, from the patriarchs to the Maccabees (1 Macc. ix. 50), and even later (*Joseph. Bell. Jud.* iv. 9, 9), now a seat of the worship of God, again a place of idolatry, lies on the right of the road from Jerusalem toward Shechem (von Raumer, p. 178), is now called Beitin (Robinson, p. 225 ff.), and was first recognized by the Missionary Nicolayson in 1836 (von Raumer, p. 174). Ruins cover three or four acres, and there are interesting remains of a great reservoir which Furrer saw (p. 221). Beitin lies 1,767 feet high, three and three-quarters or four hours from Jerusalem (von Raumer, p. 179; Furrer, p. 413). From this position of Beth-el we may under-

stand how the border went down (יָרַד) from thence toward Ataroth-addar, which is identical with the place of the same name, ch. xvi. 2, but different from the Ataroth, ch. xvi. 7. "Robinson found an Atara about six miles south, and a

second one about four miles north of Gophna. The southern one appears to be the same as Ataroth-addar, past which ran the north border of Benjamin from Beth-el toward lower Beth-horon, Jos. xvi. 2, 3, 5; xviii. 13, 14." So von Raumer, (p. 175), with whom Knobel agrees, while Robinson himself, according to the passage cited by Knobel (ii. 315), holds that this southern Atara cannot be Ataroth-addar, because it lies too far within the territory of Benjamin. He has been followed by Kiepert, Van de Velde, and Menke on their maps. Von Raumer, also has only marked this northern Ataroth, and entirely omitted the southern one which, according to his view and that of Knobel, should be = Ataroth-addar. We, like Keil (on ch. xvi. 2), adopt the view of Robinson.

From Beth-el the border went thus north-westwardly toward Ataroth-addar, and thence on toward the southwest, upon (De Wette: on; Bunsen: over) the mountain that lieth on the south side of the nether Beth-horon. This is the north border of Benjamin, which, as far as lower Beth-horon, coincides with the south border of Ephraim.

Beth-horon (בֵּית-הַחֲרוֹן = house of the hollow) mentioned, ch. x. 11, in the history of the battle of Gibeon, and in ch. xvi. 3-5, as here, as a border city between Benjamin and Ephraim, a city of Levites, ch. xxi. 22, fortified by Solomon, 1 K. ix. 17; 2 Chron. viii. 5, spoken of in the Maccabean wars (1 Macc. iii. 15-24; vii. 39 ff.; ix. 50), and in the history of the wars of the Jews (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19, 18). There was, as appears from ch. xvi. 3, 5; 1 K. ix. 17; 1 Chron. vii. 24; 2 Chr. viii. 5, as well as from the passage before us, an upper and a lower Beth-horon. Both places are still recognized. The upper is now called Beit ur el-Forka, the lower Beit ur et-Tahta. The latter place stands on the top of a low ridge (Robinson, iii. 58 f.) and is separated from the upper Beth-horon by a wady. Robinson and his companion passed through this, and then began to ascend the long and steep pass. "The ascent is very rocky and rough; but the rock has been cut away in many places and the path formed into steps; showing that this is an ancient road. . . . The pass between the two places was called both the ascent (מַעְלָה) and descent (מַדְבָּר) of Beth-horon, Josh. x. 10, 11 (Gr.: ἀνάβασις καὶ κατὰβασις Βαιθωρῶν, 1 Macc. iii. 15-24)." (Robinson, 58-60). Remains of ancient walls are found in both places as well as in the pass between them (iii. 58). Furrer (p. 14) found the hill on which stands the village of lower Beth-horon, partly covered with olive trees. "The barley fields in the low ground were mingled with patches full of dark green beans. He also describes the pass as "rocky, steep, and extremely laborious." Seldom does a trader drive his camels through it (contrast Israel's hope, Is. lx. 5, 6, 9). The land on almost all sides is burnt up like a desert, through which no one passes (Furrer, p. 15).

Ver. 14. At this point, namely, at the mountain south of Lower Beth-horon, the boundary line of Benjamin bends southwardly toward Kirjath-baal, or Kirjath-jearim, separating this territory from that of Dan on the west; while the border of Ephraim runs out in a northwest direction past Gezer to the sea. Of this west border of Benjamin, of which we now read for the first time, it is said: and the border was drawn (וְהָיָה) as ch. xv. 11, and often) and bent around toward the west side southward

from the mountain that lieth before Beth-horon southward; and the goings out thereof were at Kirjath-baal (which is Kirjath-jearim), a city of the children of Judah. This was the west side. וְהָיָה = sea-side [side toward the sea].

וְהָיָה is properly "mouth" = to הָיָה, from הָיָה (cogn. with הָיָה, הָיָה) to blow; then, like Lat. *ora* (from *os*), "side," which is turned to any quarter of the heavens. As here וְהָיָה, so ver. 15 we have הָיָה, and Ex. xxvi. 20, הָיָה [comp. ver. 12 of this chap.]. *Kirjath-baal*: see ch. xv. 60.

Ver. 15-19. *South Border*. This coincides entirely with the north border of Judah, ch. xv. 5-9.

וְהָיָה merely indicates that the south border started from the west and ran toward the east." That Kirjath-baal (Kirjath-jearim) belonged to the cities of Judah and not to those of Benjamin, is plainly apparent from ch. xv. 60. The border, therefore, on Kiepert's Map requires correction; Menke has drawn it right.

Ver. 20. The east border consists of the Jordan.

B. Ch. xviii. 21-28. *Cities of the Tribe of Benjamin*. They fall into two groups of twelve and fourteen cities, the former lying in the east, the latter in the west. *Jericho*, ch. ii. 1, and often. *Beth-hoglah*, ch. xv. 6. *Emek* (vale of) *keziz*. There is a Wady el-Kaziz east of Jerusalem (Van de Velde, Mem. p. 328, *apud* Knobel).

Ver. 22. *Beth-arabah*, ch. xv. 6, now Kaffr Hajla. *Zemaraim*, probably a place of ruins. *Sunrah*, northeast of the Wady el-Kaziz, near the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, opposite the Khan Had-chur. See Van de Velde's Map. *Bethel*, ver. 13.

Ver. 23. *Avim*. Since Avim (אָוִיִּם) here follows directly after Beth-el, while Ai (אֵי) which stood near Beth-el (ch. vii. 2; xii. 9), and to the east of it, is not mentioned, it is natural with Knobel to regard Avim as identical with Ai, which is called also Aiah (Neh. xiii. 11) and Aiath (Is. x. 23). The signification of all these names is essentially the same: ruins, heaps, stone-heaps, Mich. i. 6 (see Gesen.). Where Ai lay is not accurately made out. Van de Velde, following Finn, supposes, as may be seen from his map, that it was the same as Tel el-Hadshar (Stone-hill), thirty-five minutes east of Beth-el (ii. 251-255, and *Mem.* p. 282, *apud* von Raumer, p. 169). Robinson (ii. 119, 312 f.) sought it twice, but after all his investigation only reached the conclusion that the most probable site of Ai is the place of ruins exactly south of Deir Dirvan, one hour distant from Beth-el. The direction would be south-east. Knobel on the passage before us has not kept the two views sufficiently distinct. Furrer also visited the region, but undertook no further researches. He too speaks of "many stones" existing there (p. 219). [Tristram, 168 f. confidently agrees with Robinson's view.] The tent of Abraham once stood here between Beth-el and Ai (Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3). The history of the conquest of Ai has been treated above, ch. viii. Hitzig (*Abi sup.* pp. 99, 100) disputes the existence of a city of Ai altogether, and proposes the view that Ai signifies in Turkish "moon," and can therefore have been the Scythian, perhaps Amoritic name for Jericho as Dibon was the Hebraized Dirvan

Council (?). After the Exile, Benjamites dwelt there again (Neh. xi. 31; vii. 32; Ezra ii. 28), so that the city had been rebuilt.

Parah, a place of ruins, Fara, west of Jericho on Van de Velde's Map. **Ophrah**, in Saul's time attacked by the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 17), perhaps, as Robinson (ii. 124) conjectures, the modern Taiyibeh. Von Raumer (p. 216, n., 235 c) suggests that Ophrah may be the same as Ephraim or Ephron (John xi. 54).

Ver. 24. **Chephar-haamonai**, **Ophni**, mentioned only here, and hitherto undiscovered.

Gaba (גָּבָה) = גְּבֵהָ "height," "hill." This Gaba is according to ver. 28 distinct from Gibeath or Gibeah, with which further 1 Sam. xiii. 2, 3; Is. x. 29 are to be compared. Now since between Anathoth and Michmash (see Kiepert's Map) there is a place called Jeba, the question has arisen whether this Jeba was Gaba or Gibeah. Robinson (ii. 114, 316) was at first inclined to regard Jeba as = Gibeah, the Gibeah of Saul, but afterward became satisfied (comp. *Bibl. Sac.*, Aug. 1844, p. 598) that Gibeah of Saul was rather, as Gross suspected, to be looked for on the hill Tulcil el-Fuleh ("hill of beans," Rob. p. 317), where von Raumer also, and Van de Velde, and Kiepert place it, while our Gaba, as the similarity of the name renders probable, has been preserved in the Jeba just spoken of. Knobel on the contrary identifies Gaba and Gibeah of Saul in accordance with Robinson's earlier view, and proposes a variety of conjectures in regard to Gibeath of ver. 28. For the distinctness of Gaba and Gibeah of Saul, Is. x. 29 is, we may remark in conclusion, decisive, a passage whose vividness of description Furrer (who likewise regards the two places as clearly different, pp. 212, 213, compared with 215, 246), was constrained on the spot to admire (pp. 216, 217). To this eastern division belong also the two cities of priests, **Anathoth** and **Almon**, ch. xxi. 18, of which more hereafter.

Ver. 25-28. "The fourteen west Benjamite cities."

Ver. 25. **Gibeon**, גִּבְעוֹן, properly the same name again as גִּבְעָה, גְּבֵהָ, quite familiar to us from the narrative, in this book, of the wives of its inhabitants (ch. ix.) and from the battle at Gibeon (ch. x. 1-15); later (ch. xxi. 17) a Levite city as well as Geba. It is the modern el-Jib lying on an oblong hill or ridge of limestone rock, which rises above a very fertile and well cultivated plain (Robinson, ii. 135 ff.). Of the fertile plain Furrer also (p. 16) makes mention. He found the hill on which el-Jib is situated well cultivated in terraces. Vines, figs, and olives flourish on the eastern slope, while on the north the Tel falls off somewhat abruptly (Furrer, pp. 16, 17). Historical associations with days subsequent to Joshua attach to this place where stood the Tabernacle under David and Solomon (1 K. iii. 5 ff.; 1 Chr. xvi. 39; xxi. 29; 2 Chr. i. 3; 2 Sam. xx. 9). To Gibeon belonged **Chephirah** (ver. 26), **Beeroth** (ver. 25), Kirjath-jearim (ch. xv. 9-60; xviii. 14).

Ramah (רָמָה) = height, a frequently occurring name of places, on which compare Gesen.), not to be confounded with the Ramah of Samuel or Ramathaim (von Raumer, p. 217, No. 148); near Gibeah (Judg. xix. 13; Hos. v. 8), noted in the contests with Syria (1 K. xv. 17; 2 Chr. xvi. 1) and Assyria (Is. x. 29); the place where Jeremiah was set free (Jer. xl. 1), compared with xxxi. 15);

inhabited again after the exile (Ezra ii. 26; Neh. vii. 30; xi. 33); now er-Rum (Robinson, ii. 315); a wretched village north of Gibeah, on a hill (Furrer, p. 214). Furrer discovered here remains of Roman milestones, and supposes that a Roman road ran from Gibeah, Rama, Geba down toward the narrow pass of Michmash (p. 215).

Beeroth mentioned, ch. ix. 17, as belonging to Gibeon, or allied with Gibeon; home of the murderers of Ish-bosheth (2 Sam. iv. 2), and of Joab's Armor-bearer (2 Sam. xxiii. 37), likewise rebuilt after the exile (Neh. vii. 29). Robinson (ii. 132) regards the present Birch as Beeroth, a village with old foundations, remains of a Gothic church, and about seven hundred Mohammedan inhabitants. With him agree Keil and Knobel, while von Raumer disputes the view of Robinson as contradicting the statements of Jerome (p. 197, n. 187). But compare, for a defense of Robinson, Keil on ch. ix. 17.

Ver. 26. **Mizpeh**, not the same as the Mizpeh in the lowland, ch. xv. 38; already in the time of the Judges a place of assembling for Israel (Judg. xx. 1; xxi. 14); but specially celebrated on account of Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 5-15; x. 17); after the fall of Judah, the seat of the Chaldean governor Gedaliah (2 K. xxv. 23, 25; Jer. xl. 6 ff.; xli. 1 ff.); now the *Nebi Samwil*, i. e. prophet Samuel, five hundred feet above the level of the plain, 2,484 feet above the sea (von Raumer, after Symonds, p. 213), with a very rich and extensive prospect (Robinson, ii. 143, 144). Here they would have it that Samuel was buried under the half-decayed mosque on the mountain. Thus *Nebi Samwil* would be = the Rama of Samuel. Robinson has, however, among others, shown that this is not so, but that Mizpeh is probably to be sought here. He is followed by Keil, Knobel, Tobler, Van de Velde, Kiepert, Furrer (p. 212). The last named writer from the Scopus near Jerusalem perceived *Nebi Samwil* in the northwest, "the high watch-tower of the land of Benjamin."

Chephirah, like Beeroth belonging to Gibeon (ch. ix. 17; Ezr. ii. 25); the present place of ruins Kefir on the mountain east of Ajalon (Jalo). See Robinson (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 146). The name is related to מִצְפָּר, village, instead of which מִצְפֵּר occurs, Neh. vi. 2. **Mozah**, mentioned only here and unrecognized.

Ver. 27. **Rekem**, **Irpeel**, and **Tarah**, also unrecognized, and like Mozah mentioned only in this place, — a proof again of the integrity of the LXX. in ch. xv. 59.

Zelah (צֵלָח, rib, side), burial-place of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. xxi. 14); unknown; and so with **Eleph**. — **Jebusi**, i. e. Jerusalem. See ch. xv. 8.

Gibeath (גְּבֵהָ). This is the Gibeah of Saul (גְּבֵהָ שָׁאֵל), 1 Sam. x. 26; xi. 4; xv. 34, and often); as was already shown above on ver. 24, to be sought on the hill Tulcil el-Ful. Here occurred before Saul's time the outrage reported in Judg. xix. which resulted in the destruction of the city, and the extirpation of the Benjamites except six hundred (Judg. xx). Comp. also Hos. ix. 9; x. 9. After Saul's death its inhabitants hung seven of his descendants, on the mountain of Gibeah (2 Sam. xxi. 6-9), but Mephibosheth was spared. Furrer accomplished the way from Jerusalem to Tel el-Ful, on foot, in one hour and twenty-five minutes (p. 412). He found the summit com-

pletely strown with ruins. There the traveller was rewarded with a wide and glorious prospect scarcely inferior to that of Mizpeh. "The land of Benjamin with its many famous old cities lay spread out around me. Over the heights of Hizmech, Anathoth, and Isawjeh, the eye swept downward to the Jordan valley, which here appeared more beautiful than on the mount of Olives. In the southeast the dark blue of the Dead Sea enlivened wonderfully the stiff yellow mountain rocks of its neighborhood. On the far distant horizon the mountain chains of Moab were traced in soft and hazy lines. *Northward lay Ramath and the hill of Geba.* Further west and around toward the south followed Gibeon, 'the glorious height,' Mizpeh, the queen among the mountains of Benjamin, and then in the south, the most beautiful of all, the Holy City" (pp. 212, 213). Excellently descriptive!

Kirjath, not to be confounded with Kirjath-jearim, ver. 14, ch. xv. 60, which belonged to Judah. Perhaps, as Knobel conjectures, *Kertch*, west of Jerusalem (Scholtz, *Reise*, p. 161).

c. Ch. xix. 1-9. *The Territory of the Tribe of Simeon.* The second lot came out for the tribe of Simeon, who, since the portion assigned to the tribe of Judah was too large for them (ver. 9), received their possession out of that of Judah; concerning which comp. Gen. xlix. 7. Two groups of cities are enumerated, one of thirteen or fourteen (comp. on this difference, ch. xv. 32), all lying in the land of the south, the other of four cities. Of these latter, Ashan and Ether lay, according to ch. xv. 42, in the Shephelah. When now Ain and Rimmon, which in ch. xv. 32 are ascribed to the Negeb, are here placed with Ashan and Ether, the author seems, as Knobel remarks, to refer them here to the Shephelah also. "The dividing line between the Negeb and Shephelah was not so accurately determined." The province of Simeon, although only the cities and villages are mentioned, appears to have been a continuous one, namely the Negeb, with a small part of the Shephelah, while the Levites, as we learn from ch. xxi. acquired particular cities with their appurtenant pasture-ground throughout the whole land. The list of the abodes of Simeon is found again, 1 Chr. iv. 28-32, with slight deviations (see Keil, p. 420). The explanations concerning the places see on ch. xv. 24-32, 42.

d. Ch. xix. 10-16. *The Territory of the Tribe of Zebulun.* The third lot fell to Zebulun (Gen. xlix. 13; Dent. xxxiii. 19), the bounds of which, from the data given, can be but imperfectly determined. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, 22) assigns the sea of Gennesaret as the eastern border, Carmel and the sea as the western. He says: *Ζαβουλανίται δὲ τὴν μέτρησιν μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος, καθήκουσαν δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν ἑλαχον.* In general this statement agrees with our book, only Zebulun appears not to have reached to the sea. His province was, especially in the interior where it embraced the beautiful valley el-Buttauf (Robinson, iii. 189), fertile, toward the sea of Gennesaret mountainous but pleasant and well cultivated, higher than the plain of Jezreel and lower than the mountains of Naphtali: "a land of mountain terraces" (Knobel [cf. Robinson, iii. 190]).

Ver. 10 *South Border*, given as at ch. xvi. 6; xix. 33, from a central point toward west and east. It went to **Sarid**. Where this Sarid (שָׂרִיד) lay cannot be made out. Von Raumer is entirely silent concerning it; Masius and Rosemüller seek

the place south of Carmel, near the Mediterranean Sea, which however does not answer well on account of ver. 11; Keil and Knobel, just on account of this verse, place it more in the interior,—north or east of Legio (Lejjim) in the plain of Esdraclon (Keil), or one hour southeast of Nazareth (Knobel). The latter, however, supposes no place to be intended but, since Sarid may signify brook, incision (according to שָׂרַד, *perforavit*, and שָׂרַט, *incidit*), "the southern mouth of the deep and narrow wady descending from the basin of Nazareth." It is possible that Sarid lay here, and was named after the mouth of this wady. But that this itself was intended appears to me contrary to all analogy in the other determinations of boundary.

Ver. 11. From hence the boundary went up toward the sea (westward), and (more particularly) toward Maralah, and struck Dabbasheth and struck the water-course that is before Jokneam. *Maralah* is unfortunately altogether unknown; perhaps on account of מַרְפָּץ, to which Keil calls attention, to be sought somewhere on Carmel. *Dibbashaeth* (דִּבְבָשֶׁת), camel's hump, Is. xxx. 6, therefore a name like שָׂרַט) perhaps situated on the height of Carmel (Keil). Knobel refers to Jebata (Robinson, iii. 201) between Mujedil and Kaimon, near the edge of the mountains which border the plain of Jezreel, or to Tel Tureh somewhat further toward the southwest (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 115). These are pure conjectures without any firm foundation. *The water-course that is before Jokneam* (see ch. xii. 22) is, without doubt, the Kishon (קִישׁוֹן), i. e. which curves, winds about, from קִישׁ, now Nahr el-Mukattaa (Mukattua) with clear, green water (von Raumer, p. 50). "It flows through the slender valley which separates Carmel from the hills lying along to the north of it. Dense oleander thickets skirt the bed of the brook, and follow its pleasantly winding course (Furrer, p. 280). The Kishon is historically celebrated for the events recorded, Judg. iv. 7, 13; v. 21 (comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 10), and 1 K. xix. 40. With reference to Judg. v. 9, Furrer observes, "The water flowed in a swift stream of about a foot in depth, strong enough to carry away corpses." Differing from all other commentators, Knobel will see nothing of the Kishon here, but thinks of the Wady el-Milh on whose eastern bank Kuimeia (Jokneam) should lie. The grounds of his view are given in his Commentary, p. 458.

Ver. 12. As the border turned from Sarid westward, so also it turned from the same point toward the east: **Eastward, toward the sun-rising, unto the border of Chisloth-tabor, and went out to Daberath, and went up to Japhia.** *Chisloth-tabor* (חִשְׁלוֹת-תַּבֹּר), like פְּקָלוֹן, ch. xv. 10, from פָּקַל, to be strong), probably = פְּקָלוֹת, ver. 18, in the tribe of Issachar; now Iksal, Ksal, Zal, on a rocky height west of Tabor, with many tombs in the rock (Rob. iii. 182). The rocky height on which it stands lies more in the plain (Rob. l. c.). *Daberath*, a Levitical city, ch. xxi. 28; 1 Chron. vi. 72, pertaining to Issachar; now Deburijeh, a small and unimportant village "lying on the side of a ledge of rocks directly at the foot of Tabor" (Rob. iii. 210). Furrer describes its situation thus: "A little valley running north and south divides

Tabor from the low hills in the west. Near the mouth of this wady, in the northeast arm of the valley of Jezreel, lies the village of Deburijeh" (p. 306). *Japhia* (יָפְיָה) "glancing," Gesen.). Jafa, somewhat over half an hour southwest of Nazareth in another valley. It contains thirty houses with the remains of a church and a couple of solitary palm trees. . . . The Japha fortified by Josephus was probably the same, a large and strong village in Galilee, afterward conquered by Trajan and Titus under the orders of Vespasian (Rob. iii. 200). When it is said of the border that it ascended (עָלָה) toward Japhia, this is correct, for "Monro ascended the Galilean mountains from the plain of Jezreel, 'in a ravine' toward Jaffa" (Monro, i. 276 *ap.* von Raumer, p. 128).

With this comp. Knobel's remark: "עָלָה stands correctly, since according to von Schubert, iii. 169, the valley of Nazareth lies about four hundred feet higher than the plain at the western foot of Tabor."

Ver. 13. From Japhia the border ran still in an easterly direction: **Eastward, toward the rising (of the sun), to Gittah-hepther, to Ittah-kazin, and went out to Remmon, which stretches to Neah.** *Gath-hepther* (גַּת־חֶפְתֵּר, with ה local), the birth-place of the prophet Jonah (2 K. xiv. 25), whose grave is shown in a mosque = el Meshad, one hour northeast of Nazareth (Rob. iii. 209). Robinson says concerning it (note, p. 209): "At el-Meshhad is one of the many tombs of Neby Yunas, the prophet Jonah; and hence modern monastic tradition has adopted this village as the Gath-hepther where the prophet was born (2 K. xiv. 25; Quaresimus, ii. 855)." *Ittah-kazin* (עֵתַח־קִזְיִן, with ה local), unknown. The name signifies, "time of the judge."

Remmon, a city of Levites, ch. xxi. 35; 1 Chron. vi. 62, perhaps the present Rummaneh, north of Nazareth (Rob. iii. 194, 195; von Raumer, p. 138). *Which extends to Neah*. Thus, according to the very simple and therefore obvious conjecture of Knobel: רַבְנָה מְרַחֵר. The LXX. made a

proper name out of *הַמְרַחֵר*, *Ἀμυθαρίμ*, Vulg. Anthar. Fürst renders the participle by "marked off, staked out." With him agree Knobel and Bunsen. Gesenius, Rosenmüller, De Wette, on the other hand, translate it, "which stretches toward." Since *מְרַחֵר* everywhere else is employed of the boundary, we side with Knobel. *Neah* (נֶעַח, perhaps "inclination," slope, declivity, r. נֶעַץ, Gesen.), unknown; "perhaps the same as נֶעִיאל, ver. 27, which lay south of Jiphthia-el, as they said also יַבְנָה for יַבְנָאל, ch. xv. 11" (Knobel).

Ver. 14. And the border bent around it (Neah) northward to Hannathon: and the out-goings thereof were in the valley of Jiphthah-el (God opens). Compassed Neah, not Rimmon (Keil), and went in a northerly direction toward Hannathon (חַנְתָּוֶן, pleasant), in which Knobel and Keil (*Bibl. Com.* ii. 1, *in loc.*) suspect the New Testament Cana (John ii. 1, 11; iv. 46; xxi. 2);

[The author translates precisely with Gesenius, indeed there seems to be little difference in conception between these critics. — Tr.]

the present Kana el-Jelil between Jefat and Rummaneh. *Jiphthah-el* (יִפְתָּה־עֵל) is perhaps the Japata defended by Josephus, now Jefat, midway between the sea of Tiberias and the Bay of Aecho (von Raumer, p. 129; Knobel and Keil). The valley would be, according to this view, the great Wady Abille, which commences above in the hills near Jefat (Rob. *Later Bib. Res.* p. 103 f.). It empties into the Nahr Amar (Belus), as Van de Velde's map clearly shows. Comp. ver. 27. Keil remarks very correctly, "that this verse *should* describe the northern boundary," but, as is to be inferred also from the other expressions of Keil, does this very imperfectly.

Ver. 15. This verse beginning with י is evidently a fragment. There must something before have fallen out, in favor of which is the circumstance also, that at the close of the verse *twelve* cities and their villages are summed up, while only five are named. We must conclude, as Keil also assumes, that there is here a chasm in the text where we are left in the lurch even by the LXX., who at ch. xv. 59 offered so helpful a supplement. Probably there has dropped out (a) the statement of the west border, which Knobel also feels to be wanting; (b) the enumeration of seven cities among which it is likely that Nazareth would not have failed to be. In respect to this last city, it cannot help striking one without needing to agree with Jerome on ch. xv. 59, that here Nazareth is wanting as there Bethlehem. As regards the missing west border, it is indicated ver. 27, in connection with Asher, but "in a very general and vague manner." The five cities are: *Kattath*, perhaps = קַטְתָּח (ch. xxi. 34), Kireh, a place of ruins one and a half hour's south of Kaimon (Knobel, on the authority of Rob. *Later Bib. Res.* p. 116). *Nahallal* or Nabalol, a Levitical city, ch. xxi. 35; Judg. i. 30; unknown. *Shimron* (ch. xi. 1), likewise. *Idalah*, the same. *Beth-lehem*, now Beitlahm, west-northwest of Nazareth (Rob. *Later Bib. Res.* p. 113); von Raumer, p. 122.

e. Ch. xix. 17–23. *The Territory of the Tribe of Issachar*. The borders of the tribe of Issachar are not particularly noted by the author, having been given by him in connection with the other tribes, except the eastern part of the north border and the east border, ver. 22. Issachar touched in the north on Zebulun and Naphtali; in the west on Asher and Manasseh; in the south likewise on Manasseh in part, and in part also (see the maps) on Ephraim; in the east on the Jordan. Its most important and most beautiful section of country was the fertile plain of Jezreel (von Raumer, *Palest.* p. 39 ff.; Ritter, xvi. 689 ff.; Furrer, p. 258 ff.). Josephus observes concerning the boundaries, merely: *Καὶ μετὰ τούτοις Ἰσαάρις, Κάμηλου τε ὕρος καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ μήκου ποιισαμένη τέρμονα, τὸ δ' Ἰταβύριον (Tabor) ὕρος τοῦ πλατύου* (*Ant.* v. 1, 22).

Ver. 18. *Jezreel* (יִזְרְעֵאל) "i. e., God's planting. Esdraela, among the Greeks, from which Stradela; at the time of the crusades, Little Gerinum (Parvum Gerinum); now Zerim" (von Raumer, p. 157). It stands on the brow of a very steep rocky slope of one hundred feet or more toward the northeast, commanding a wide and noble view of the country around in all directions (Rob. iii. 161 ff.). The present village is small and poor. The inhabitants live in constant strife with the Bedouins of the plain of Jezreel, who, with vio-

lence or craft, practice incessant provocations and robberies on the wretched people (Furrer, pp. 262-264). The splendid site induced Ahab and his house to reside here, perhaps more especially in the summer (Keil), to keep court, 1 K. xviii. 45, 46; xxi. 1 ff.; 2 K. viii. 29; ix. 15-37; x. 1-11. Hosea refers to the blood-guiltiness of Jezreel (ch. i. 4, 11; ii. 22). **Chesulloth** = Chisloth-tabor, ver. 12.

Shunem, שֻׁנָם (prop., according to Gesenius, "two resting-places," for שְׁנַיִם, for which, as Eusebius informs us, שְׁנַיִם also was employed), now Solam or Sulem (Rob. iii. 169), on the declivity at the western end of Mount Duhy (little Hermon), over against Zerim, but higher. Furrer required one and a half hours between Zerim and Shunem. The ground in the broad valley rose and fell in gentle undulations. The village itself lies behind tall cactus hedges and trees (Furrer, p. 264, 265). Here the Philistines encamped before Saul's last battle (1 Sam. xxviii. 4). Shunem was the home of Abishag (1 K. i. 3). In the house of a Shunamite woman Elisha often lodged, and her son he raised from death (2 K. iv. 8-37; viii. 1-6). Shunem (Shulem) was probably also the birth-place of the Shulamite (Cant. vi. 12).

Ver. 19. **Chepharaim**, perhaps = Chepher, the residence of a Canaanitish king mentioned ch. xii. 17; according to the *Onom.*, Aftarea, according to Knobel, Afuleh, west of Shulem, and more than two hours northeast of Lejun. **Shihon**, not found.

Anaharath. According to Knobel either Na'urah, on the east side of Little Hermon (Rob. *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 339) on an elevation, or—since Cod. A of the LXX. gives instead of this name, *'Peváθ* and *'Aḡḡavéθ*, therefore אֲרַחֲתַי — Arraneh, north of Jenin, in the plain (in Seetzen, ii. 156; Rob. iii. 157, 160).

Ver. 20. **Rabbith**, "conjecturably Arabloneh, somewhat further toward the northeast on Gilboa, in Rob. iii. 158" (Knobel).

Kishion, a Levitical city, ch. xxi. 28, is erroneously called קִישִׁיִן, 1 Chr. vi. 57 (Knobel, Keil). The site is unknown.

Abez, not identified.

Ver. 21. **Remeth**, "or Ramoth, or Jarmuth, belonging to the Levites (ch. xxi. 29, 1 Chron. vi. 58); the name signifies height" (Knobel). Concerning Knobel's further conjectures, see Keil, *Bibl. Com. on the O. T.* ii. 145, rem. Unknown.

En-Gannim, עֵן גַּנִּים, i. e., Garden-spring, a Levitical city, ch. xxi. 29, "without doubt," as Knobel rightly says, "the present Jenin." For, according to Robinson (iii. 155), this town lies in the midst of gardens of fruit-trees, which are surrounded by hedges of the prickly pear; but having for its most remarkable feature a beautiful, flowing, public fountain, rising in the hills back of the town, and brought down so that it issues in a noble stream in the midst of the place. Furrer describes it as an important place on the border of the Samaitan mountain, and mentions not only the copiousness of the water, but the fruitfulness of the gardens there (p. 257). In Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6, 1; *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 4), En-gannim is called *Gwaia*, from which Jenin has come, as Robinson rightly conjectured (iii. 156, note 1).

En-Haddah and **Beth-pazzaz**, not yet identified. En-haddah may have been the same as Judeich or Beit Kad, Kadd on Gilboa (Rob. iii. 157), Knobel.

Ver. 22. **And the border struck Tabor and Shahazimah, and Beth-shemesh; and the outgoings of their border were at the Jordan.** In this the eastern part of the north border is given. The western point of beginning was Tabor; here probably not the mountain of this name, but a city lying on this mountain (Knobel and Keil), which was given to the Levites (1 Chr. vi. 62). Remains of walls have been found there by Seetzen, Robinson (iii. 213 ff.), Buckingham, Russeger, and most recently Furrer (p. 307 ff.). The largest and best preserved mass of ruins is found, according to Furrer's representation, on the southeast corner of the plateau of the mountain, where the large closely-jointed blocks of cut stone lie firmly one upon the other, from fifteen to twenty feet high. *Shahazimah* (the Kethib reads שְׁחַזִּימָה) = heights, therefore a city lying on a height, perhaps Hazetheth, on the hills east of Tabor toward the Jordan (Knobel). *Beth-shemesh*, not to be confounded with Beth-shemesh in the tribe of Judah (ch. xv. 10, mentioned besides in Judg. i. 33), perhaps = Bessum (Rob. iii. 237), a conjecture of Knobel's with which Keil agrees. "The eastern portion of the north border of Issachar toward Naphtali may have run from Tabor northeastward through the plain to Kefr Sabat, and thence along the Wady Bessum to the Jordan. But how far the territory of Issachar extended down into the Jordan Valley is not stated" (Keil).

Sixteen cities. The number is correct if Tabor is taken as a city. This city would then be ascribed here to Issachar, while in 1 Chron. vi. 62 it is reckoned to Zebulun; not a remarkable thing in the case of a border town.

f. Ch. xix. 24-31. *The Territory of the Tribe of Asher.* The fifth lot fell to the tribe of Asher, which received its territory on the slope of the Galilean mountains toward the Mediterranean; in general, likewise, a very beautiful and fertile region, whose olive trees (Deut. xxxiii. 24) were formerly famous for their rich product. Even yet there are in that region "ancient olive trees, large gardens with all kinds of southern fruit trees, and green corn-fields" (Furrer, p. 291). From the Franciscan cloister at Aecho "the eye sweeps eastward over the wide, fertile, grassy plains up to the mountains of Galilee" (*ibid.* p. 294). Here Asher had his beautiful possession. This was the *κοιλιά* of which Josephus speaks: *τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καρυήλου, κοιλιάδα προσαγορευομένην διὰ τὸ καὶ τοιαύτους εἶλαι, Ἀσρηίται φέρονται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος τετραμύνην* (*Ant.* v. 1, 22). The description begins in the vicinity of Aecho (ver. 25), goes first toward the south (vers. 26, 27), then northward (vers. 28-30).

Ver. 25. **Helkath**, a city of the Levites, ch. xxi. 31 = Jelka or Jerka, northeast of Aecho (Robinson iii. App. p. 133), on the slope of the mountains by a little wady.

Hali, passed over by von Raumer, possibly Julis or Gulis, in the same region, somewhat to the southwest of Helkath and more toward the sea.

Beten (בֵּתֵן, Belly, = Valley, *κοιλιά*, Gesen. with which the designation used by Josephus for the whole region is suggestively accordant), not yet identified; according to the *Onom.* called *Beth-beten* or *Βεθετὴν*, eight Roman miles east of Ptolemais. Von Raumer (p. 121, Rem 18, E.) inquires whether it is identical with Ekbatana not far from Ptolemais (Plin. v. 17, 5; Reland, p. 617).

Achshaph, ch. xi. 1; xii. 20.

Ver. 26. **Alammelech.** The name is preserved

in the Wady el-Malek which empties into the Kishon from the northeast.

Amad. Knobel supposes this to be the modern Haifa, about three hours south of Aecho, on the sea, called by the ancients Sycaminon, *i. e.* Sycamore-town, since the Hebrew name **עֲמָד** must, according to the Arab., be interpreted by *Sycomorus*. Knobel further thinks that since *d* passes into *r*, for which Ex. ii. 15 is cited, the old name Amad may be preserved in Ammara as the country people call Haifa.

Misheal, a Levitical city (ch. xxi. 30; 1 Chr. vi. 59), according to the *Onom.* s. v. Masan, situated on the sea, *juxta Carmelum*. This suits with the following statement of the direction of the boundary; and struck Carmel westward and Shihor-libnath. — *Shihor-libnath*. The brook of Egypt was called simply **שִׁהוֹר**, ch. xiii. 8. Here by **שִׁהוֹר לְבָנָת** is intended not the Belus (Nahr Raaman), which empties into the Mediterranean north of Carmel, but, from the direction which the description takes, and with respect to ch. xvii. 10, a stream south of Carmel, and quite probably the Nahr Zerka or Crocodile Brook. Its name Zerka, "blue," bluish stream, as Knobel and Keil suppose, might answer both to the **שִׁהוֹר**, "black," and to the **לְבָנָה**, "white."

Ver. 27. From that point the border returned toward the sunrise, to Beth-dagon. This Beth-dagon, different from the Beth-dagon in the Shephelah which was assigned to Judah, ch. xv. 41, has not been discovered. Proceeding in a northeasterly direction the border struck Zebulun and the ravine of Jiphtha-el, that is, according to the explanations on ver. 14, the Wady Abilin, to the north of Beth-emek and Neiel. — *Beth-emek* is not identified. *Neiel* is perhaps the same as Neah, ver. 13. — From hence the border went out to Cabul on the left hand, *i. e.* "on the north side of it. Cabul, northeast of the Wady Abilin, four hours southeast of Aecho still bears the same name; in the LXX. *Καβύλα*; in Josephus *κόμη Καβωλά* (*Vit.* § 43). Comp. Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 88.

Vers. 28–30. The main province proper of the tribe of Asher having been marked out in the preceding verses, the northern district is now more particularly defined (Knobel).

Ver. 28. **Hebron**, probably a mistake of the copyist for Abdon, which is named ch. xxi. 30; 1 Chr. vi. 59, among the Levitical cities (**עֲבֵרָה** = **עֲבֵרָה**). Not yet recognized; neither is Rehob, Hammon, or Kanah. See Conjectures in Knobel, pp. 464, 465; and Keil, *Bibl. Com.* ii. 2, in l. [*also Dict. of the Bible*]. The limitation even unto **Great Sidon** indicates that these places are to be sought for in that direction. Concerning Sidon, see on ch. xi. 8.

Ver. 29. From Sidon the border returned southward toward Ramah and to the fortified city of Tyre (Zor). *Ramah* is, according to Robinson (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 63), Rameh, southeast of Tyre, on a solitary hill (hence the name) in the midst of a basin of green fields and surrounded by greater heights. **בְּצֵר־צֹר** "Fortress of Zor," *i. e.* Tyre, is not the island of Tyre, but the city of Tyre standing on the main land, now Sur" (Keil). At present the once mighty Tyre is a "small and wretched" town, in respect to which the predictions of the prophets have been

fulfilled (Is. xxiii. 7, 8; Ezek. xxvi. 12, 27). For the future also "she seems destined to remain necessarily a miserable market spot" (Furrer, p. 385).

The site is a noble one. The name **צֹר** signifies "rock" = **צֹרֶה**. Notice the alliteration-**צֹרֶה צֹרֶה צֹרֶה**. Comp. further, Ritter, *Erdk.* xvii. p. 320 ff. and Movers, *Phönizier*, ii. 1, 118 ff. (in Keil). Now the border turned toward Hosah, which is unknown, and finally ran out to the sea in the region of Achzib. "Achziph. *Hæc est Ecdippa in nono milliario Ptolemæidis pergentibus Tyrum*" (*Onom.*), Now Zib, three hours north of Aecho; the *Ἀρχή* or *Ἀκτινός* of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, 22). Another Achzib belonged to Judah, ch. xv. 44. The name is probably = to **צֹרֶה**, "Winter-brook," Gesen. In fact, "Pococke saw (*ap. Ritter*, xvi. 811) a brook pass along on the south side, over which, a beautiful bridge having an arch crossed." By a wide circuit the author has arrived again at the vicinity of Aecho.

Ver. 30. Finally he names still three cities by themselves, Ummah and Aphek, and Rehob, of which only the Aphek on Lebanon, ch. xiii. 14, can with certainty be made out, as was there stated. Possibly, nay probably, Ummah and Rehob also lay in that mountain region. It is to be noted that the name Rehob (**רְחֹב**, from **רָחַב**, "to be wide, spacious") occurs twice in the territory of Asher, namely, here and in ver. 28 above. (It is a name precisely analogous to **מְעֵפָה** and **מָפָה**). The total twenty-two does not agree with the enumeration, as is often the case.

g. Ch. xix. 32–39. *The Territory of the Tribe of Naphtali.* The sixth lot came to the tribe of Naphtali, which is designated in Gen. xlix. 21 as the "hind let loose" (**אֲנִילָה שְׁלִיחוֹתָהּ**). Their province was bounded east by the sea of Genesaret and the Jordan, west by Asher, south by Zebulun and Issachar. In the north it reached far up into Cœle-syria, and so to the very extremity of west Palestine. The possession of the tribe, through which runs the mountain of Naphtali rising to the height of 3,000 feet—the modern Jebel Safed,—sinks down on the west into the plain on the sea, while in the east it falls off to the Jordan valley and the sea of Merom. The soil is, generally speaking, fruitful, the natural scenery of great beauty. Comp. besides the former travellers, Furrer, pp. 306–331, for the vicinity of the sea of Merom, p. 361 ff.

Ver. 33. Knobel assumes that here, as in ver. 10 and ch. xvi. 6, the author, proceeding from a central point, describes the west border first toward the north, then toward the south. To us it appears more simple, since Heleph is not repeated like Sarid (vers. 10, 12), to understand with Keil that in ver. 33 the west border toward Asher, with the north and east border is described, in ver. 34 the south border.

Heleph is unknown. On the other hand we know from Judg. iv. 11, where Allon, the Oak, *i. e.*, according to Gen. xii. 6, the oak forest (**אֵלוֹן**) taken collect. near Zaannanum lay, namely, by Kadesh northwest of the sea of Merom. Here Sisera was slain (*Judg.* iv. 21) by Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, who had pitched his tent there (*Judg.* iv. 11). The name **עֵינָנִים** is derived from **עָנָן**, "to wander," a place, therefore, where the tents of the wanderers, the nomads, stand

Such a nomadic herdsman was Heber. Even to the present day the Bedouins more or less friendly disposed wander about in the north of Palestine, in the plain of Jezreel, on Gilboa, and on Tabor. Comp. Furrer, p. 311, and often. Robinson notices the oaks growing in this region (iii. p. 370; *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 365 [Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 142, 355 n.]). Furrer clearly perceived from Tibni, looking eastward, near the elevated Biraschit, the mighty Messiah-tree, "a solitary, majestic oak" (indicated on Van de Velde's Map). *Forests*, however, *nouhere* met the view, however eagerly he sought to discern them. He is led accordingly to the remark: "Other travellers have praised the abundance of trees in northern Galilee. They could not, I think, have followed my road. An atmosphere of death seemed to me to lie on the holy land here as in Benjamin" (Furrer, p. 337).

Adami-nekeb (אָדאַמי־נעקב), i. e. Adami of the depth, hollow, "of the pass" (Knobel and Keil). The name אָדאַמי (reddish) recalls אָדָם, ch. iii. 16.

Jabneel, Lakum, like the preceding, unrecognized, although Knobel thinks he has found Adami-nekeb in Deir-el-ahmar, i. e. red cloister, three hours northwest of Baalbec. See particulars, Knobel, p. 466; a different view, Keil, ii. 1, p. 149.

And the outgoings thereof were at the Jordan (ver. 22). The upper Jordan is meant, the Nahr Hasbany, as a source of the Jordan, comp. Num. xxxiv. 10-12.

Ver. 34. And the border returned westward, i. e. from the Jordan, the border, namely, the south border of Naphtali turned back, probably following the Wady Bessum westward to Aznath-tabor. אָזנַת־טַבֹּר, as in ver. 12. Aznath-tabor is, according to the *Onom.* a "vicus ad regionem Diocæsareæ pertinetus in campis tribus." Not discovered. From this notice it stood near Diocæsarea = Sepphoris = Sefurih, perhaps, as Knobel and Keil suppose, southeast of this city, toward Mount Tabor. Thence it ran on to Hukkok, which cannot be identified.

And struck Zebulun on the south, and struck Asher on the west, and Judah; the Jordan (was) toward the sun-rising. The south and west boundary is to be understood, which grazed Zebulun in the south, and Asher and Judah in the west, while the Jordan is noticed as the east border. Great difficulties are raised by the enigmatical בְּיַהֲרֹךְ.

The LXX. do not have it, but read: Καὶ συνάδει τῶ Ζαβουλὼν ἀπὸ νότου. καὶ τῶ Ἀσὴρ συνάδει κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου. Either the word was wanting in their text, or, which is more likely, they left it out because they knew not what to do with it. The Vulgate translates, disregarding the punctuation of the Masorettes: "Et in Juda ad Jordanem." This Luther [and the Eng. Ver.] followed; but von Raumer (p. 233 ff.) has labored to show that this Judah on the Jordan consisted in the sixty Jair villages on the east side of the Jordan. His reason is that Jair, who is brought in, ch. xiii. 40; Num. xxxii. 41, *contra morem* (i. e. contrary to the rule proposed Num. xxxvi. 7, as a descendant of Manasseh, from Machir the Manassite) was actually, according to 1 Chr. ii. 5, 21 f., descended through Hezron, on his father's side, from Judah; and therefore to be designated properly and regularly a descendant of Judah. Keil also has adopted this view, which, however, after all the care with which von Raumer has labored to develop it, appears not sufficiently

established by that solitary passage in Chronicles combined with Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 2, 3. Rather "it is hard to believe that the possession of Jair, which belonged, from ch. xiii. 30, to Manasseh, could have borne the name of Judah" (Bunsen). Not more satisfactory are the attempts of older writers; of Masius, who supposes that a narrow strip of the land of Naphtali stretched along down the west shore of the Sea of Galilee to Judah; of Bachiene, who places a city Judah on the Jordan; of Reland, who says that sometimes all Palestine, the whole land of the twelve tribes, was called Judaea, therefore the land east of the Jordan might be so called. Hence alterations of the text have been resorted to.

From the omission of יַהֲרֹךְ by the best Codices of the LXX. (Vat., Alex., and Ald.), Clericus had proposed to treat it simply as not belonging to the text. Maurer, followed by Bunsen, referring

to ch. xvii. 10; xix. 22, would read גְּבוּלָם, and translates accordingly: "et terminus eorum erat Jordanus ab oriente." Concerning the LXX. he says briefly and well: "Sept. יַהֲרֹךְ suo Marte omiserunt, cfr. ad vers. 15, 30, 38 al." Knobel thinks "it would be more suitable to read

בְּיַשְׁשָׁר, since Naphtali bordered on Issachar on the west and south." He says further, "If we retain יַהֲרֹךְ, we must assume that the part of Issachar bordering on Naphtali was called Judah, of which, however there is no evidence." But what if not an adjacent portion of Issachar, but a place in Asher, which was mentioned immediately before

יַהֲרֹךְ, was so called? And this appears in fact to have been the case, for on Van de Velde's Map there is a place north of Tibni marked el-Jehudijeh, in whose name the old name has been preserved, since Jehudijeh might come from יַהֲרֹךְ

as well as from יַהֲרֹךְ, ch. xix. 45 (see below).

Furrer reached this Jehudijeh from Tibni in an hour (p. 339 l. 41, compared with l. 4 from bottom). After first descending the steep path, which winds down along the west slope from Tibni, he went up then out of the ravine (the Wady Imah is meant) toward the west, and came to the little village Jehudijeh, "Jews village," surrounded by many trees. Of ruins, Furrer found there a finely chiseled block of stone which he regards as the slight trace of a synagogue. In this manner we may solve the riddle, simply and easily, as it seems to us, without any change of the text and holding fast the Masoretic punctuation. If, however, we were to change the text, Maurer's conjecture would deserve the preference over that of Knobel, because

יַהֲרֹךְ, from the similarity of the letters, might very easily have arisen from גְּבוּלָם, which is not the case with בְּיַשְׁשָׁר.

Ver. 35-39. *Fortified Cities of Galilee*, ver. 35. Ziddim, unknown. Zer, likewise unknown Hammath, to be kept distinct from the often mentioned Hamath, the northern boundary-town of Palestine; a Levitical city, ch. xxi. 32, called also Hammoth-dor or Hammon (1 Chr. vi. 61). The name indicates warm springs, such as existed at Ammus south of Tiberias (Ἀμμαῶν in Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 3; *Bell. Jud.* iv. 1, 3; see Menke's Map v., side map of Galilee), and still exist.

Rakkath, situated, as the Jews have thought, on the site of the later Tiberias.

Cinneroth (קִנְרֹת or קִנְרֹת, ch. xi. 2; Targ. :

קִנְרֹת, קִנְרֹת, קִנְרֹת, Γεννησάρα, Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 10, 7, 8), the city already mentioned, ch. xiv. 2, which gave name to the beautiful and fertile plain, pictured by Josephus (*l. c.*) in the most splendid colors, and to the sea (ch. xii. 3; xiii. 27; Num. xxxiv. 11), but which has itself disappeared. Knobel supposes the Khan Minijeh to be the place where it stood. The plain, which is about an hour long and twenty minutes broad, extends from near Mejdél to Khan Minijeh. Comp. further Furrer, p. 319 ff.; Robinson, iii. 290). קִנְרֹת signifies probably "low ground," a hollow, κοιλιάς, from קָנַע (Knobel).

Verse 36. **Adamah**, unknown. **Ramah**, the present Ramch, southwest of Safed, on a plain, a large, beautiful village surrounded with plantations of olive trees. **Hazor**, see on ch. xi. 1.

Ver. 37. **Kadesh**, see on ch. xii. 22. **Edrei**, not to be confounded with Edrei in Bashan, ch. xii. 4, unknown. **En-hazor**, doubtless Ain Hazur south of Rameh.

Ver. 38. **Iron**, now Jaron, Jarun, on a height northwest of el-Jisch (Giscala) in a fertile and cultivated region with ruins near by. Setzen, ii. p. 123 f.; Van de Velde, *Narr.* i. 174 ff., *apud* Knobel.

Migdal-el (מִגְדַּל-אֵל, Matt. s. tower). The name speaks for Magdala (Matt. xv. 39), now el-Mejdél, which it is supposed to be by Gesen. and Robinson (iii. 278), only it is remarkable that Migdal-el was not before (ver. 35) included in the cities lying on the Sea of Genesaret, rather than here among such as lie further west. On this account Knobel, contrary to the Masoretic pointing מִגְדַּל-אֵל, joins it with the following מִגְדַּל-רָמָה, and then finds the place in Mejdél Kernu, west of Rama, three hours east of Aecho (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 86). Too far west.

Horem, unless one accepts Knobel's combination, not yet found. So with **Beth-anath** (Judg. i. 33), and **Beth-shemesh**, which is different from Beth-shemesh in Judah (ch. xv. 10), and Beth-shemesh in Issachar (ver. 22). **Nineteen cities**. The number detailed is sixteen.

g. Ch. xix. 40-48. *The Territory of the Tribe of Dan*. This tribe received the seventh lot, which fell to them in "pleasant places" (Ps. xvi. 6), west of Benjamin, north of Judah, south of Ephraim. Their country lay mostly in the Shephelah, but hindered by the Amorites (Judg. i. 34) from taking possession of their province, the warlike tribe conquered, besides, a small tract far up in the mountains of the north (Judg. xviii. 1 ff.). Josephus does not mention this (*Ant.* v. 1, 27), but our author does (ver. 47).

Ver. 41. **Zorah**, **Eshtaol**, and **Ir-shemesh**, three cities of Judah which were yielded to the Danites, but of which they did not occupy Ir-shemesh, a city assigned to the Levites (ch. xxi. 16).

Ver. 42. **Shaalabbin** (שְׁעָלָבִין or שְׁעָלָבִין, Gesenius: place of jackals, comp. חֲזִיר-שְׁעָלָבִין, ch. xv. 28), 2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Chr. xi. 33; 1 K. iv. 9; now Salbit (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 144, n. 3 [Selbit]). **Ajalon**, ch. x. 12.

Jethlah. According to Knobel contained in the Wady Atallah west of Jalo (Ajalon) (Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* pp. 144, 145).

Ver. 43. **Elon**, perhaps Ellin (Robinson, iii. Ap. p. 120). **Thimnathah**, ch. xv. 10. **Echron**, ch. xv. 11.

Ver. 44. **Eltekeh**, a city of the Levites, ch. xxi. 23, otherwise unknown.

Gibbethon, ch. xxi. 23, a Levitical city also. Mentioned 1 K. xv. 27; xvi. 15, 17, in the contests with the Philistines; not yet discovered in modern times.

Baalath, fortified by Solomon, 1 K. ix. 18; unknown. Whether identical with Baala, ch. xv. 11? (Knobel).

Ver. 45. **Jehud**, very probably el-Yehudijeh, two hours north of Ludd (Robinson, iii. 45), in a beautiful, well-cultivated plain.

Bene-berak, now Ibn Abrak, one hour to the west of Yehudijeh.

Gath-rimmon, a Levitical city, ch. xxi. 24; 1 Chr. vi. 54, to be sought according to the *Onom.* in the vicinity of Thimnah, but not yet discovered (Keil).

Ver. 46. **Me-jarkon** (*aqua flavedinis*, yellow water), unknown.

Rakkon (רַקֹּן) from רָקַן = רֶקֶן, "cheek," Gesen.) unknown.

With the border before **Japho**. These words indicate that Me-jarkon and Rakkon are to be sought in the region of Japho.

Japho (יָפוֹ), beauty) is mentioned elsewhere in the O. T. only 1 K. v. 9; 2 Chr. ii. 16; Ez. iii. 7; Jon. i. 3. Under the Greek name of Ἰοππη, Lat. Joppe, it occurs often in the books of Maccabees (1 Macc. x. 74, 76; xii. 34; xiv. 15, 34; xv. 28, 35; 2 Macc. xii. 3-7), and in the Acts of the Apostles (ch. ix. 36-43; x. 5, 8, 23, 32; xi. 5). The place is now called Jaffa, in which the old name Japho is preserved, and it has, since the times of the Crusaders to the present day been the landing-place of pilgrims who go thence to Jerusalem. The population amounts to not far from five thousand souls, including about three thousand Mohammedans, six hundred Christians, and only about one hundred and twenty Jews (von Raumb. p. 205). The city is very old, built, as the ancients thought, before the Flood: "*Est Joppe ante diluuium, ut ferunt condita*" (Pomp. Mela, i. 11); "*Joppe Phœnicum antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt*" (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 13) (*apud* von Raumber, p. 204). On the east the town is surrounded by a wide circle of gardens and groves of noble trees. Oranges, almonds, figs, apricots, peaches, pomegranates, apples and plums, sugar-cane and cotton, all flourish admirably here (Furrer, pp. 6, 7). Even to these gardens extended, according to the passage before us, the territory of Dan. Concerning Joppe, comp. further, Ritter, *uv.* 574 ff. [Gage's transl. iv. 253-259], Winer in the *Realwörterbuch*, Robinson,¹ Tobler, *Wanderung, und Nazareth, nebst Anhang u. s. w.*, p. 302. This author found civilization so far advanced there in 1865 that houses were numbered, and "in genuine Arabic numerals," and their "gates named, e. g. Tarif el-Baher, Sea-gate."

And the border of the children of Dan went out from them, *i. e.* the children of Dan extended their territory as is related in Judg. xviii; not, however, in the immediate vicinity, but rather, after having through five scouts become satisfied of the feasibility of their undertaking (Judg. xviii. 7-10), at the foot of Anti-Lebanon in Laish (לַיִשׁ, Judg. xviii. 7, 27), or לַיִשׁ, as the place is called

¹ [Robinson gives no original information concerning Joppa; see iii. 31, note. — Ta.]

in the latter half of our verse. The reason for this migration lay in the pressure of the Amorites who did not allow the Danites to spread themselves in the plain (Judg. i. 34). With the peaceful and quiet Sidonians they were able more easily to deal and then conquer them also. For the children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem Dan, after the name of Dan their father. This Leshem or Lais which was called Dan by the Danites, and *per prolepsin*, is called so also in Gen. xiv. 14, is preserved in the present name of the place, Tel el-Kadi (hill of the judge), hill of Dan, for דן means judge, as Wilson, ii. 172, *apud* von Raumer, p. 125, Rem. 24 a, has pointed out, and with this Gen. xlix. 16 may be compared. It is a pleasant green hill of not more than twenty or thirty feet in height on the north side, while toward the south it falls off to a considerably greater depth (Furrer, p. 365, 366). Furrer saw no trace of an ancient city except some heaps of stones near the southwest edge. The same traveller describes very vividly the capture of Leshem by the Danites, p. 367. Comp. Robinson, iii. 351, 358; *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 392; Ritter, xv. p. 207 [Gage's transl. ii. 204-207], von Raumer, p. 125. The name was most familiar from the expression "from Dan to Beer-

sheba," Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20; xxx. 30; 2 Sam. xvii. 11. Jeroboam established here the worship of the calves, the "Neo-Israelitish worship," 1 K. xii. 28, 29. Jehu was still devoted to it, 2 K. x. 29; Am. viii. 13, 14. May not the old name Leshem have been retained in that of the middle source of the Jordan, el-Leddán (Keil, i. 2, p. 53)?

i. Ch. xix. 49, 50. *Joshua's Possession.* According to his desire, the moderation of which has already been alluded to, ch. xvii. 14 ff., Joshua received, after the land had been divided, **Timnath-serah** (remaining portion, Gesen.), or Timnath-heres (portion of the sun), as a possession, on Mount Ephraim. There on the mountain Gaash was he buried, ch. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 8, 9. It is now Tibnech between Gopnah and el-Mejdel, first discovered by Smith in 1843 on an affluent of the Wady Belat. The ruins are of considerable importance; the tombs there are similar to the royal tombs at Jerusalem (*Bib. Sacra*, 1843, p. 484 ff. in von Raumer, p. 166). Robinson, *Later Bibl. Res.* p. 141. Ritter, xvi. p. 562 ff. [Gage's transl. iv. 246 f.]. The place is not to be confounded with Timnath (ver. 43) ch. xv. 10.

k. Ch. xix. 51. *Conclusion.* This general remark in closing the narrative, directly refers, by the statement that the division was made in Shiloh, only to ch. xviii. 1, because there the majority of the tribes had received their portions.

4. Appointment of the Cities of Refuge.

CHAPTER XX.

a. The Command of God to Joshua.

CHAPTER XX. 1-6.

1 The Lord also [And Jehovah] spake unto Joshua, saying, Speak to the children
2 [sons] of Israel, saying, Appoint out [Appoint] for you [the] cities of refuge,
3 whereof I spake unto you by the hand of Moses: that the slayer that killeth
4 [smiteth] any person unawares [by mistake] and unwittingly, may flee thither:
5 and they shall be your refuge from the avenger of blood. And when he that doth
6 flee unto one of those cities shall stand at the entering of the gate of the city, and
7 shall declare his cause [speak his words] in the ears of the elders of that city, they
8 shall take him into the city unto them, and give him a place, that he may dwell
9 among them. And if the avenger of blood pursue after him, then they shall not deliver
10 the slayer up into his hand; because he smote his neighbor unwittingly, and
11 hated him not beforetime. And he shall dwell in that city, until he stand before
12 the congregation for judgment, and until the death of the high priest that shall be
13 in those days: then shall the slayer return, and come unto his own city, and unto
14 his own house, unto the city from whence he fled.

b. Fulfillment of this Command.

CHAPTER XX. 7-9.

7 And they appointed [consecrated] Kedesh in Galilee in mount Naphtali, and
8 Shechem in mount Ephraim, and Kirjath-arba, (which is Hebron) in the mountain
9 of Judah. And on the other side [of the] Jordan by Jericho eastward, they assigned
10 [appointed ver. 2] Bezer in the wilderness upon the plain [the table land] out of
11 the tribe of Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and Golan in

9 Bashan out of the tribe of Manasse. These were the cities appointed [prop. of appointment] for all the children of Israel, and for the stranger [sojourner] that sojourneth among them, that whosoever killeth [smiteth] any person at unawares [by mistake] might flee thither, and not die by the hand of the avenger of blood, until he stood before the congregation.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

Ch. xx. contains the designation of the free cities for homicides as Moses had already (Num. xxxv. 9-34; Deut. xix. 1-13) ordained. There were to be six of them (Num. xxxv. 6, 13; Deut. xix. 3-9) and they were taken from the number of the Levitical cities (Num. xxxv. 6). The way to them must be prepared (Deut. xix. 3), that the fugitive might as quickly as possible reach his asylum.

a. Ch. xx. 1-6. *God's Command to Joshua*, vers. 1, 2. Recollection of the ordinance established by God through Moses (Num. xxxv. 9 ff.; Deut. xix. 5 ff., with which Gen. ix. 5 ff., and Ex. xxi. 12-14 may be further compared). The cities are called

עִיר הַפְּקֻדָּה. The root פקד signifies (1.) to draw together, to contract ones self, (2.) to draw in, hence to receive (a fugitive), as in the Chal. (Ges.) [The meaning of the noun comes near to asylum].

Ver. 3. In these cities the man-slayer (רֹצֵחַ), from פָּקַד, prop. "to break or crush in pieces") might flee, yet only the one who smote (רָצַח) a soul by mistake (רָצַח בְּטִיְלָה, from טָגַה, to go astray, to err," for which in Num. xxxv. 22, טָגַה, [in a twinkling] stands). Knobel remarks on פָּקֻדָּה, on Lev. iv. 2: "This expression, as well as טָגַה and שָׁגָה, occurs in reference to transgressions of the divine law which are committed without consciousness of their being unlawful, and which are only afterwards recognized as sins (vers. 13, 22, 27, v. 18; xxii. 14), e. g., of sins of the congregation without their knowledge (Num. xv. 24 ff.), or even of unlawful conduct which has resulted from some weakness, carelessness (ch. v. 15), or which was occasioned by some unfortunate accident (Num. xxxv. 11, 15, 22 f.; Josh. xx. 3, 9). Hence it stands in general for unpremeditated sins in opposition to

פְּקֻדָּה, i. e., violent intentional sins, which must be punished with death (Num. xv. 27-31), and could not be expiated with sacrifices." Thus it is added here also, unwittingly (בְּבִלְיִתָּהּ, without his knowing it). Now for those who had slain any person by mistake, without intending it, these cities should be for a refuge from the avenger of blood. He is נָשֵׂא אֲשֶׁר לָמוֹת, LXX. ὁ ἀρχιστεύων τὸ αἷμα (ἀρχιστεύς, whence ἀρχιστεύω, is the nearest of kin, according to Ammonius the one entitled to the heirship, different from συγγενεὺς, who have no such right, and from οἰκεῖος, related by marriage, Herod. x. 80. The word ἀρχιστεύων occurs frequently in the LXX. still also in Isæus, *Orat. Att.* ii. 11, and in Eurip. *Truch.* 243). Vulg.: *ultor sanguinis*. נָשֵׂא signifies properly to demand back, reclaim what belongs to one, hence, in connection with דָּבַר, to require, revenge the blood which has been stolen by the murderer. As such a reclamation in reference to real estate belonged to the family (Lev. xxv. 35; Ruth iv. 4-6), so

that they alone had a right to repurchase it; so also the reclamation for the blood of a member of a family was a duty of the family, and they alone had a right in regard to it. Precisely so was it with the duty of marrying a brother's widow (Deut. xxv. 5; Matt. xxii. 23 ff.; Mark xii. 19; Luke xx. 28) which is expressed Ruth iii. 13 by נָשָׂא. On the custom itself of vengeance for blood [the vendetta], see the Theological and Ethical.

Ver. 4. More particular directions, not given in the passages of the Pentateuch, how the man-slayer should proceed on his arrival at the free city. He must remain standing at the entering of the gate of the city, i. e. ante portam (Vulg.), and state his case before the ears of the elders of that city. Then they shall gather him (שָׁבוּ אֵלָיו) into the city, and shall give him a place, that he may dwell among them, i. e. assign to him a habitation.

Vers. 5, 6. He might not be delivered to the avenger of blood, but might, according to ver. 6, to the congregation, that is, as appears from Num. xxxv. 24 ff., to the congregation of his own city, who should hold judgment upon him, and either, if they found him guilty, give him up to the avenger of blood, or, if they esteemed him innocent, send him back to the city of refuge, where he must remain until the death of the anointed high-priest (Num. xxxv. 25), that is, of the ruling high-priest. After the death of the latter there follows, somewhat as upon the death of an anointed prince, an amnesty, and the man-slayer is at liberty to return to his home. If, however, he presumptuously leaves his asylum sooner, he is exposed to the anger of the avenger (Num. xxxv. 26, 28).

b. Ch. xx. 7-9. *Fulfillment of this Command*, ver. 7. They consecrated to this use six cities.

שֵׁשׁ הָעָרִים, as Keil rightly notices, is not merely to set apart, but to set apart something to a holy destination from the remaining mass of things. "The free cities" as Ranke says (*Untersuch. über den Pentateuch*, ii. 316, apud Keil, pp. 363), "are intended to keep the people and land of Jehovah pure from blood guiltiness. They exist as a monument of Jehovah's love for his chosen." Hence not cities at random but Levitical cities were chosen (Num. xxxv. 6).

Kedesh in Galilee. Ch. xii. 22; xix. 37. לְהִלָּךְ, from הִלָּךְ, signifies a ring, Esth. i. 6; Cant. v. 14, then circle, section of land, like חֶבְלֵי. In particular it is a circuit of twenty cities (1 K. ix. 11) in the tribe of Naphtali, לְהִלָּךְ, within whose borders many heathen still dwelt, and hence called, Is. viii. 13, הַחֲבִילִים ג' (comp. Matt. iv. 15, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἑθνῶν). From it the name Galilee, which occurs in the translation here and in ch. xxi. 32, has been formed. Shechem, ch. xvii. 7. Kirjath-arba, ch. xv. 13. The three cities of refuge west of the Jordan thus lay so distributed that one (Kedesh) was found in the north, one (Shechem) in the centre, and one (Kirjath-arba = Hebron) in the southern part of the land.

Ver. 8. East of the Jordan there are likewise three which Moses had already (Deut. iv. 41-43) established.

Bezer, perhaps identical with Bozra (Jer. xlviii. 24), but not to be identified more particularly, although we may, as Knobel remarks on Num. xxxii. 38, compare the place of ruins Burazin, some way east of Heshbon in the plain (Robinson, *App.* p. 170), or Berza (Robinson, *ibid.*).

Ramoth in Gilead, the same city which is called, ch. xiii. 26, Ramath-Mizpeh,¹ now, as was shown at the place cited (comp. also Knobel on Num. xxxii. 42, p. 183), es-Salt, and therefore not to be placed so far northward as on Menke's Map iii.; comp. Gen. xxxi. 49.

Golan in the country of Gaulanitis (Jaulan) not yet discovered by modern travellers, but in the time of Eusebius and Jerome called a *κώμη μεγίστη* and *villa grandis*. Since Ramoth in Gilead lay in the middle of the land, Bezer probably in the south, and Golan in the north, there seems to have been a similarly fit distribution of the cities to that which we have noticed in West Palestine. But while they were enumerated there from north to south, these are mentioned, as in Deut. iv. 43, in the opposite order.

Ver. 9. These were the cities appointed, — עָרֵי הַמִּינוּקָה, the Vulgate, rightly: *civitates constitutæ*, cities of appointment (from מִנֶּקֶד, to appoint, *i. e.*, which were appointed in order that every one . . . might flee thither; Kimchi, inaccurately; *urbes congregationis* (with reference to the signification of מִנֶּקֶד, in Niph.); Gesen., not precisely: *urbes asyli*, for in that view they are called, ver. 3, עָרֵי הַמִּטְוֵלָה. Luther [and Eng. Vers.] translated quite rightly: these were the cities appointed for all the children of Israel, etc.

DOCTRINAL AND ETHICAL.

So long as no organized commonwealth exists among a people, a common consciousness of right develops itself first in that sphere of society which is immediately given by the divine order of nature — the family. It will therefore interpose when the right of one of the members is violated, whether in the loss of material goods through robbery, or by injury to body and life. So we find vengeance for blood, not only among the Hebrews, Arabs, Persians, but also among the Greeks, with the Germanic and Slavic peoples, in the infancy of their development, as now among savage nations. *The theocratic legislation found the custom existing, and sought, without attempting to abolish, to restrain it.* This purpose was served by the free cities, as

1 [Osborn's large map makes them distinct places. — Tr.]

also by the other restricting appointments in the passages of the law quoted above, as well as in this passage. It deserves to be carefully considered also, that according to the view of the O. T., in a case of manslaughter, not merely the family to which the slain man belonged was injured, but God himself in whose image man was created (Gen. ix. 6). On this account the real avenger of blood, as is said just before, is God himself (Gen. ix. 5; Ps. ix. 13; 2 Chron. xxiv. 22). He avenges the murdered man even on brutes (Gen. ix. 5; Ex. xxi. 28, 29). Since God is wronged in intentional murder, even the altar itself affords no protection to the slayer (Ex. xxi. 14), ransom is not allowed (Num. xxxv. 31), the land even is defiled and cannot be purified from the blood which has been shed in it, without the blood of him who has spilled it (Num. xxxv. 33). The legislation of the O. T. is, therefore, on this side, much stricter than the Greek, Roman, or German idea of right. These allowed ransom, and regarded consecrated places as places of asylum even for the intentional murderer (comp. Winer, *Realw.*, art. "Freistatt"). On the other hand, it appears much more humane and equitable in regarding God himself as the proper avenger (see Gen. ix. 5 ff., and comp. Lange on the passage), in distinguishing between premeditated and unintentional homicide, and in requiring punishment of the perpetrator only, not at all of his relations. Comp. on this subject the art. "Bluträcher" by Oehler in Herzog's *Realencyk.* ii. 260 ff., also Winer, art. "Bluträcher," Keil, *Com. on Josh.* in loc., [and Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, arts. "Blood, Avenger of," and "Cities of Refuge." — Tr.]

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The chapter is suitable to be treated as a Bible lesson, to show, with reference to the passages Gen. ix. 5 ff.; Ex. xxi. 12-14; Num. xxxv. 9 ff.; Deut. xix. 1 ff., how solemnly and strictly, and at the same time how justly and mildly, the O. T. legislation spoke concerning violence to human life; how it in part clung still to the patriarchal institutions, but in part prepared for a better order; in particular, how this arrangement for free cities put a check on family revenge, and endless, bloody quarrels. For the practical application, the following comments of Starke give hints: The name of the Lord is a strong tower and safe refuge; the righteous flee thereto and are protected, Prov. xviii. 19; Ps. xviii. 2, 3. — The blood of a man is highly esteemed before God; he who sheds it has God's wrath upon him, Gen. iv. 10; ix. 6; Gal. v. 21; Rev. xxii. 15. — God has no pleasure in sin, Ps. v. 5, nor delight in the death of the sinner, Ezek. xviii. 23, 24.

5. *Appointment of the Cities for the Priests and Levites.*

CHAPTER XXI.

a. Demand of the Levites that Cities should be given them.

CHAPTER XXI. 1-3.

1 Then [And] came near the heads of the fathers of the Levites unto Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of the fathers of the 2 tribes of the children [sons] of Israel; And they [omit: they] spake unto them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, The Lord [Jehovah] commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in, with the suburbs [and their pasture-grounds; De Wette: their circuits; Bunsen: common-pastures; Knobel: driving- 3 grounds] for our cattle. And the children [sons] of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance [possession], at the commandment of the Lord [Jehovah], these cities and their suburbs [pasture-grounds].

b. General Account of the Levitical Cities.

CHAPTER XXI. 4-8.

4 And the lot came out for the families of the Kohathites: and the children [sons] of Aaron¹ the priest, *which were* of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of Simeon [the Simeonites], and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities. And the rest of the children [sons] of Kohath *had* by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the 6 half-tribe of Manasseh, ten cities. And the children [sons] of Gershon *had* by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen 7 cities. The children [sons] of Merari by their families *had* out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities. 8 And the children [sons] of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with [and] their suburbs [pasture-grounds], as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 4. אֲהֲרֹן לְבִיִּים], strictly: and there were for the sons of Aaron . . . by the lot thirteen cities. And so through the following verses to the 7th inclusive. — Tr.]

c. Cities of the Children of Aaron (Cities of the Priests).

CHAPTER XXI. 9-19.

9 And they gave out of the tribe of the children [sons] of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children [sons] of Simeon, these cities which are *here* mentioned by name [which were called by name], Which the children [sons] of Aaron,¹ *being* of the families of the Kohathites, *who were* of the children of Levi, had: for theirs 11 was the first lot. And they gave them the city of Arba the father of Anak (which *city is* Hebron) in the hill-country [on the mountain] of Judah, with the suburbs 12 thereof [and its pasture-grounds] round about it. But [And] the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for [in] his pos- 13 session. Thus [And] they gave to the children of Aaron the priest, Hebron with her suburbs, *to be* a city [the city] of refuge² for the slayer; and Libnah with 14 her suburbs, And Jattir with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs, 15 16 And Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs, And Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs, and Beth-shemesh with her suburbs; nine 17 cities out of those two tribes. And out of the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeon with her 18 suburbs, Geba with her suburbs, Anathoth with her suburbs, and Almon with her 19 suburbs; four cities. All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, *were* thirteen cities with their suburbs.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 10. ^אוְיָדְוּ לְבָנָי, as in verse 4, properly: And there was for the sons of Aaron [sc. the lot, see exeg. note], or, there were [the cities]. The subject in any case has to be supplied, on account of the parenthesis at the end of the verse. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 13. Hebron the city of refuge for the slayer, and its pasture-grounds. It may be remarked, once for all, that "suburbs" in the version, should uniformly throughout the chapter be understood in the sense which we have hitherto indicated by substituting "pasture-grounds." The "with" which precedes it should as uniformly be "and." — Tr.]

d. Cities of the remaining Kohathites.

CHAPTER XXI. 20-26.

20 And the families of the children of Kohath, the Levites which [who] remained
 21 of the children of Kohath, even [omit: even] they had the cities of their lot out
 22 of the tribe of Ephraim. For [And] they gave them Shechem with her suburbs
 23 in mount Ephraim, *to be a city* [the city] of refuge¹ for the slayer; and Gezer
 24 with her suburbs, And Kibzaiim with her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her sub-
 25 23 urbs; four cities. And out of the tribe of Dan, Eltekeh with her suburbs, Gib-
 26 24 bethon with her suburbs, Aijalon with her suburbs, Gath-rimmon with her sub-
 25 25 urbs; four cities. And out of the half-tribe of Manasseh, Tanach with her
 26 26 suburbs, and Gath-rimmon, with her suburbs; two cities. All the cities *were* ten
 with their suburbs, for the families of the children of Kohath that remained.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 21. Heb. nearly as in ver. 13. And they gave them the city of refuge for the slayer, Shechem and its pasture-grounds, on Mount Ephraim. — Tr.]

e. The Cities of the Gershonites (comp. ver. 6).

CHAPTER XXI. 27-33.

27 And unto the children [sons] of Gershon, of the families of the Levites, out
 of the *other* [omit: other] half-tribe of Manasseh *they gave* Golan in Bashan with
 her suburbs, *to be a city of refuge for the slayer*,¹ and Beesh-terah with her sub-
 28 28 urbs; two cities. And out of the tribe of Issachar, Kishon with her suburbs,
 29 29 Dabareh with her suburbs, Jarmuth with her suburbs, En-gannim with her sub-
 30 30 urbs; four cities. And out of the tribe of Asher, Mishal with her suburbs, Abdon
 31 31 with her suburbs, Helkath with her suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs; four
 32 32 cities. And out of the tribe of Naphtali, Kedesh in Galilee with her suburbs,
to be a city of refuge for the slayer; ² and Hammoth-dor with her suburbs, and
 33 33 Kartan with her suburbs; three cities. All the cities of the Gershonites, accord-
 ing to their families, *were* thirteen cities with their suburbs.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 27. As in ver. 21: The city of refuge for the slayer, Golan, in Bashan, etc. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 32. As in ver. 27. — Tr.]

f. The Cities of the Merarites (comp. ver. 7).

CHAPTER XXI. 34-42.

34 And unto the families of the children [sons] of Merari, the rest of the Levites,
 out of the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam with her suburbs, and Kartah with her sub-
 35 35 urbs, Dimnah with her suburbs, Nahalal with her suburbs; four cities. And out
 of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her suburbs, and Jahazah with her suburbs,
 37 37 38 Kedemoth with her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs; four cities. And
 out of the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead with her suburbs, *to be a city of refuge*
 39 39 for the slayer;¹ and Mahanaim with her suburbs, Heshbon with her suburbs,
 40 40 Jazer with her suburbs; four cities in all. So all the cities [All the cities] for
 the children [sons] of Merari by their families, which were remaining of the fami-
 41 41 lies of the Levites, were *by* their lot twelve cities.² All the cities of the Levites

within the possession of the children of Israel *were* forty and eight cities with 42 their suburbs. These cities were every one with their suburbs round about them. Thus *were* [So to] all these cities.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL

[1 Ver. 33. As in vers. 27, 32. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 40. Heb. with broken construction: and their lot was twelve cities. — Tr.]

g. Conclusion.

CHAPTER XXI. 43-46.

43 And the Lord [Jehovah] gave unto Israel all the land which he sware [had
44 sworn] to give unto their fathers: and they possessed it, and dwelt therein. And
the Lord [Jehovah] gave them rest round about, according to all that he sware
[had sworn] unto their fathers: and there stood not a man of all their enemies
before them; the Lord [Jehovah] delivered all their enemies into their hand.
45 There failed not aught of any good thing which the Lord [Jehovah] had spoken
unto the house of Israel; all came to pass.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The chapter contains the catalogue of the Levitical cities, which were appointed according to the regulations already given by Moses, Num. xxxv. 1 ff. There were forty-eight of them in all, of which six were at the same time (ch. xx.) cities of refuge. On Kiepert's *Wall Map* they are distinguished by a colored line drawn under each [on Clark's *Bible Atlas of Maps and Plans*, by being printed in small capitals, and on Menke's by a distinguishing mark].

The list of the Levitical cities is given also in 1 Chron. vi. 39-66, with several in part easily removable deviations, due probably, as Keil supposes (ii. 1, p. 156, note), to another documentary source. The chronicler names only forty-two cities, although he also relates ver. 45 ff. that the children of Aaron had received thirteen, the other Kohathites ten, the Gershonites thirteen, the Merarites twelve cities, in all therefore forty-eight. Omitted are (1) Jutta in Judah, (2) Gibeon in Benjamin, (3) Eltekeh in Dan, (4) Gibbethon in Dan, (5) Jokneam in Zebulun, (6) Nabalal in Zebulun. Knobel seeks the reason in mere negligence on the part either of the chronicler himself or of a transcriber. Judging somewhat more leniently, we may find the explanation in an oversight, well deserving excuse amid so many names. If, further, the author of Chronicles gives to some extent different names, many of them exhibit faulty readings, as לְעִיר for לְעִירָה (ver. 25), הַרְשֵׁי for הַרְשֵׁי (ver. 29), etc., but others, on the contrary, the true reading; as עֵיִן for עֵשֶׂן (ver. 16), בְּלָעִם for בְּלָעִים (ver. 25), and רְפוּלוֹ for רְפוּלוֹ (ver. 25), and

(ver. 35). In other places he shows only different forms of the same name, as the examples cited by Keil, מִשְׁאֵל for מִשְׁאֵל , עֵלְמוֹן for עֵלְמוֹן , חַפְתֵּי דָאֵר for חַפְתֵּי דָאֵר , and many others (Keil, *ub. sup.*). Some, finally, are probably different designations of the same city, as יְהוּדָיִים for יְהוּדָיִים , and יְרֵמֹת for יְרֵמֹת , and עֵצִים for עֵצִים (1 Chron. vi. 53, 58 [Eng. 68, 73] compared with Josh. xxi. 22, 29).

a. Vers. 1-3. *Demand of the Levites that Cities should be given to them.* The account which we have here of the application of the heads of the tribe (Ex. vi. 14, 25) reminds us of ch. xiii. 6, where it is similarly told concerning Caleb, that he, accompanied by members of his tribe, brings to mind the promise that had been given him by Moses. Calvin regards it as probable that the Levites had been forgotten, adducing in support of this: "*Sic enim accidere solet, dum quisque ad sua curanda attentus est, ut fratrum obliviscatur.*" Considering the great respect in which their fellow tribesman of that day, Eleazar, was held, and that he himself shared in the distribution of the land, we may much rather assume with Masius (in Keil, p. 155), "*illos, cum res ad eam opportunitatem perductæ fuissent, accessisse ad divites communi suorum tribulium nomine ut designatas ab illis urbes sortirentur.*" They had not deemed it opportune to urge their claim before.

b. Vers. 4-8. *Account of the Levitical cities in general.* According to Ex. vi. 16-20, and Num. iii. 17-19, compared with 1 Chron. v. 27-vi. 34 [Eng. vi. 1-49], we have the following family-tree for the Levites, to keep which before the eyes may help to understand the following allotment:—

LEVI.

1. Gershon.

2. Kohath.

3. Merari (Ex. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17).

1. Amram.

2. Izhar.

3. Hebron.

4. Uzziel (Ex. vi. 18; Num. iii. 19).

1. Aaron.

2. Moses (Ex. vi. 20).

Aaron's posterity received the priesthood, Num. xviii. 1, 2, 7 (1 Chron. vi. 49). All the other Levites, hence the descendants of Moses also, were appointed, Num. xviii. 3-6 (1 Chron. vi. 33 [48]), to the inferior service of the sanctuary. The children of Israel, according to Num. xxxv. 6 ff., de-

terminated what cities the families of the Levites should receive, but the lot decided which of these cities each particular family should have.

Ver. 4. The first lot came out for the families of the Kohathites, and, among these, for the sons of Aaron the priest, of the Levites. They, namely, the proper priests, received thirteen cities in the territory of the tribe of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin. Upon which Calvin remarks: "*Quod non contigit fortuito evenit: quia Deus pro admirabili suo consilio in ea sede eos locavit, ubi statuerat templum sibi eligere.*"

Ver. 5. The other Kohathites, that is, the posterity of Izhar, Hebron, Uzziel, and, in the line of Amram, those of Moses, shared ten cities in the land of Ephraim, Dan, and Manasseh west of the Jordan.

Ver. 6. The Gershonites received eighteen cities of Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Manasseh east of the Jordan.

Ver. 7. To the Merarites were allotted twelve cities out of Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun.

c. Vers. 9-19. *The Cities of the Sons of Aaron* (cities of the priests). In vers. 9-16 are mentioned the cities which the Aaronides received in the country of Simeon and Judah, then in vers. 17-19 the four cities of Benjamin. That they had so many was reasonable in view of the future increase of the posterity of Aaron.

[Keil, *Bibl. Comm.* ii. 1, pp. 155, 156, says on this topic: "This number for the cities allotted to the Levites will not appear too large if we consider, that (1) most of the cities of Canaan, to judge from the great number in so small a country, could not have been very large; (2) the Levites were not the sole occupants of these cities, but had only the necessary abodes in them for themselves, and pasture for their cattle in the vicinity, while the remaining space was for the other tribes; (3) that the twenty-three thousand male persons which the Levites numbered in the second census in the steppes of Moab, when distributed among thirty-five cities, would give to each six hundred and fifty-seven males, or about thirteen hundred male and female Levites. On the other hand, the allowance of thirteen cities to the priests has raised objections tending to the supposition that, since Aaron, in Joshua's time, could scarcely have had so numerous a posterity from his two remaining sons as to fill two, not to speak of thirteen cities, therefore the catalogue betrays a document of a much later date (Maurer and others). But in this, not only is there ascribed to those who effected the division, the monstrous short-sightedness of assigning to the priests their abodes with reference merely to their necessity at that time, and without regard to their future increase, but also of having taken the size of the cities as much too important, and the number of the Levites as much too small. But it was not at all designed that the cities should be filled with the families of the priests. And although the poll-list of the priests then living is nowhere given, still, if we remember that Aaron died in the fortieth year of the exodus, at the age of one hundred and twenty-three years (Num. xxxiii. 38), and so was already eighty-three years old when they left Egypt, it will appear that there might be now, seven years after his death, descendants of the fourth generation. But his two sons had twenty-four male offspring who founded the twenty-four classes of priests instituted by David (1 Chron. xxiv.). If, then, we allow only six males respectively to each of the following generations, the third generation would already have

numbered one hundred and forty-four persons, who, ranging from twenty-five to thirty-five years of age at the distribution of the land, might now have had eight hundred and sixty-four male children. Thus the total number of male persons of the priestly class might at that time have amounted to over one thousand, or to at least two hundred families." — Tr.]

Ver. 9. The cities were called by name, that is, they indicated them by their names, "specified them by name" (Knobel).

Ver. 10. The subject of the principal sentence is **וְיָרֵךְ**, which must be supplied from the parenthetical explanatory sentence ("for theirs was the first lot"). The awkwardness of the construction reminds us of ch. xvii. 1.

Vers. 11, 12. The first city named is **Hebron**, here also as in ch. xv. 13, and often, called the city of Arba. When this Arba is here called the father of Anok, **עֲנוֹךְ**, but elsewhere always the father of

Anak (**עֲנָק**, 'Evdak), the **עֲנוֹךְ** is undoubtedly a mere variety of pronunciation of the same name. The A sound easily passes over, in the German dialects also into the O sound. At Hebron the Levites received, besides the city, only **בְּקִרְשֵׁים** (from **שָׂרַף**, to drive), the "drives," the pasture-grounds, but not the tillable land which, with the villages thereon, belonged to Caleb (ch. xiv. 12). Compare also in reference to the **בְּקִרְשֵׁים**, ver. 3, as well as Num. xxxv. 2.

Ver. 13 repeats the sense of ver. 11 on account of the parenthetical remark in ver. 12. **Libnah** (ch. xv. 42; x. 29); **Jattir** (ch. xv. 48); **Eshtemoa** (ch. xv. 50); **Holon** (ch. xv. 51); **Debir** (ch. xv. 15, 49; x. 38); **Ain** (ch. xv. 32); **Jutta** (ch. xv. 55); **Bethshemesh** (ch. xv. 10). Of the cities so far enumerated six, Hebron, Jattir, Eshtemoa, Holon, Debir, Jutta, lay on the mountain of Judah; two, Libnah and Beth-shemesh, in the lowland, to which is added one city of Simeon, Ashan in the lowland (**אֲשָׁן**, ch. xv. 42; xix. 7, as should be read, 1 Chron. vi. 44 (59), instead of **אֲשָׁן**).

Ver. 17 ff. The four Levitical cities in Benjamin, **Gibeon** (ch. ix. 3 ff.; x. 1 ff.; xviii. 25), **Geba** (ch. xviii. 24), **Anathoth**, and **Almon**. The two latter are wanting in the list of the cities of Benjamin, and are therefore still to be spoken of here. **Anathoth** (**עֲנָתוֹת**), Jeremiah's birth-place (Jer. i. 1; xxix. 27), whose inhabitants, however, hated him (Jer. xi. 21), and were therefore threatened by the indignant prophet (Jer. xi. 22, 23), lies one hour and a quarter (Furrer one hour and seventeen minutes) northeast of Jerusalem, and is now called Anata, built "on a height rising a little above the table-land." As traces of its antiquity, Furrer, who made a trip thither from Jerusalem (pp. 75-80), found in a house stones with jointed edges, three feet long and one and a half feet wide (p. 77). Robinson (who first recognized in Anata the ancient Anathoth, while ecclesiastical tradition had chosen for it another site, near the village of Kuryet el-Enab, about three hours from Jerusalem on the road to Raudch, and had called it Jeremie) also notices ancient remains of walls, and, like Furrer, praises the prospect from this place (Rob. ii. 109, 110; Furrer, p. 77). The statements of Joseph. (*Ant.* x. 7, 3), of the *Onom.*, and of Jerome in the *Comm. in Jer.* 1, on the distance of Ana-

cloth from Jerusalem have been proved correct (see von Raumer, p. 171). *Almon* (עֲלֹמוֹן), 1 Chron. vi. 45 (60) עֲלֹמָה, now *Almit* (Rob. *Later Bild. Res.* 287) or *el-Mid*, as Tobler writes it (*Denkbl.* p. 631, note 1), situated a little to the northeast of Anathoth. A place of ruins.

Ver. 19. Thirteen cities in all.

d. Vers. 20–26. *The Cities of the remaining Kothathites*. Of these there were ten, namely, four in Ephraim (ver. 22), four in Dan (ver. 24), two in west Manasseh (ver. 25).

Vers. 20–22. a. *Four Cities in Ephraim, Shechem* (ch. xvii. 7), *Gezer* (ch. x. 33; xvi. 3), *Kibzaim* (instead of which 1 Chron. vi. 53 (68) has יְהִקְצָאִים, not discovered. That *Kibzaim* and *Jokmeam* may be, as Knobel and Keil suppose, different names of the same place, is confirmed perhaps by the fact referred to by Gesenius in his *Lex.*, that

גָּתְמֵאִים, “gathered by the people,” from r. גָּתְמָה and נִקְצָאִים from קָצַב, to collect, cognate with קָצַבְתִּי, Ezek. xxii. 20, “have a quite similar etymology.” The fourth city is *Beth-horon*. “Whether the upper or lower city, is not said” (Keil).

Vers. 23, 24. β. *Four Cities in Dan, Elitekeh, Gibbethon* (ch. xix. 44), *Aijalon* (ch. x. 12; xix. 42), *Gath-rimmon* (ch. xix. 45).

Ver. 25. γ. *Two Cities in West Manasseh; Tanaach* (ch. xii. 21; xvii. 11). *Gath-rimmon*, an old mistake in copying for בִּלְעָם (1 Chron. vi. 55 [70]), that is *Ibleam* (ch. xvii. 11).

Ver. 26. In all, ten cities.

e. Vers. 27–33. *The Cities of the Gershonites*. Thirteen, again, as with the sons of Aaron (vers. 4, 19), namely, two in East Manasseh (ver. 2), four in Issachar (ver. 28), four in Asher (ver. 30), three in Naphtali (ver. 32).

Ver. 27. a. *Two Cities in East Manasseh. Golan* (ch. xx. 8; Deut. iv. 43). *Beesh-tera* (בֵּישַׁתֶּרָה), cont. from בַּיַּת אֶשְׁתֵּרָה, that is, House of Astarte;

called 1 Chron. vi. 56 (71) עִשְׁתֵּרָה. It was plainly a city with a temple of Astarte, perhaps the Ashteroth-Karnaim mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5 as the residence of Og, king of Bashan, the site of which cannot now be determined. In any case, we must not, as Keil and Knobel observe, think of the present *Busra* in the east of Hauran (as Reland does, pp. 621, 662), for this was called even from ancient times Βόστρα, Βοστρού (1 Macc.

v. 26; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, 3), hence as now בֵּישַׁתֶּרָה, which the Greeks and Romans corrupted into Βόστρα (Knobel). But we must not either refer, as Knobel would, to a *Bostra* or *Bustra* on Mount Hermon, north of Banias, since the territory of the tribes did not extend so far north. Knobel, indeed, assumes this when he discovers *Baal-gad* in Heliopolis; which view we have attempted to disprove in ch. xi. 17. The site of this *Beeshterah*, therefore, must be regarded as not yet ascertained. That the name *Beeshterah* should occur more than once, and therefore on Mount Hermon, is owing to the wide spread of the worship of Astarte through that region. So much the more difficult will it be to make out the situation of our city.

Vers. 28, 29. β. *Four Cities in Issachar: Kishon* (ch. xix. 20), *Dabareh* (ch. xix. 12), *Jarmuth*, *En-gannim* (ch. xix. 21).

Vers. 30, 31. γ. *Four Cities in Asher: Mishal* (ch. xix. 26), *Abdon* (ch. xix. 28), *Helkath* (ch. xix. 25), *Rehob* (ch. xix. 28).

Ver. 32. δ. *Three Cities in Naphtali: Kedesh* (ch. xix. 37), *Hammoth-dor*, called *Hammath* in ch. xix. 35, and *Haummon* in 1 Chron. vi. 61 (76),

Kartan (כָּרְתָן), according to Keil contracted from

כָּרְתָנִים = כָּרְתָנִים, 1 Chron. vi. 61 (76), like *Dothan*, 2 K. vi. 13, from *Dothain*, Gen. xxxvii. 17, not named among the cities of Naphtali. Knobel says: “Perhaps *Katanah*, with ruins, northeast from *Safed*,” in *Van de Velde, Mem.* p. 147.

Ver. 33. Thirteen cities in all.

f. Vers. 34–42. *The Cities of the Merarites*. They acquired twelve cities (ver. 40), namely, four in the tribe of Zebulun (ver. 34), four in the tribe of Reuben (ver. 36), and four in the tribe of Gad; mostly therefore in eastern Palestine.

Vers. 34, 35. a. *Four Cities in Zebulun: Jokneam* (ch. xii. 32; xix. 11), *Kartah* (ch. xix. 15), *Dimnah*, perhaps = רַמְנוֹן or רַמְנוֹןָה (ch. xix. 13; 1 Chron. vi. 62). So Knobel and others. Keil questions the identity, because in the passage quoted from the *Chronicles* the text is undoubtedly corrupt, since it presents not four but only two cities, *Rimmono* and *Tabor*. *Nahalal* (ch. xix. 15). Instead of this *Tabor*, 1 Chron. vi. 62.

Vers. 36, 37. β. *Four Cities in Reuben: Bezer* (ch. xx. 8; Deut. iv. 43), *Jahazah*, *Kedemoth*, and *Mephaath* (ch. xiii. 18). Both vers. are supported by the majority of Codd., are not wanting in the early translations, and correspond to the statements of vers. 7, 40, 41. When *Rabbi Jacob ben Chasim* omitted them in his great *Rabbinic Bible* of the year 1525, on the authority of the *Masora*, he proceeded altogether without right, cf. Knobel, p. 474; Keil, *Bibl. Com.*, p. 155, *Ann.* 2; and *Com. on Josh.*, p. 457, note; also *De Rossi, Varie Lectiones*, ad h. l., and *J. H. Michaelis*, note to his *Heb. Bibl.*, ed. Halle (ap. Keil, l. c.).

Vers. 38, 39. γ. *Four Cities in the Tribe of Gad: Ramoth in Gilead* (ch. xx. 8; xiii. 26), *Mahanaim* (ch. xiii. 26), *Heshbon* (ch. xiii. 17), *Jazer* (ch. xiii. 25).

Ver. 40. Twelve cities in all.

Vers. 41, 42. End of the list of Levitical cities. There were forty-eight of them, as had been commanded, Num. xxxv. 6, and as is here again mentioned. Each one had its pasture-ground; יָיִר, city city, i. e., each city according to the manner of distributive numerals, Gesenius, *Gram.* § 118. 5.

g. Vers. 42–45. *Conclusion*. He refers to what God had said to Joshua, ch. i. 2–6, when he directed him to take possession of the land.

Ver. 43. *Jehovah* gave Israel the land which he had sworn to their fathers (Gen. xii. 7; xv. 18; Num. xi. 12; xxxii. 11; Deut. xxxi. 21). And they possessed it, and dwelt therein. The same expression is used ch. xix. 47.

Ver. 44. And he gave them rest round about, as he likewise had sworn to their fathers (Ex. xxxiii. 14; Deut. iii. 20; xxv. 19). Their enemies could not stand against them, and although these were not yet entirely subjugated, as appears from *Judg. i.*, they dared no enterprise against the Israelites while Joshua lived (*Judg. ii. 6 ff.*). As *Rahab* said to the spies (ii. 9), a terror had fallen on the Canaanites.

Ver. 45. The good words not one of which

failed (לִפְּנֵי, fell), i. e., remained unfulfilled (ch. xxiii. 14), are God's promises. Comp. on this in the New Testament, 2 Cor. i. 20, "God is in his promises truthful, and keeps them, only that we through unbelief and indifference ourselves stand in the way," Osiander.

SECTION THIRD.

THE RELEASE OF THE TWO AND A HALF TRANSJORDANIC TRIBES. JOSHUA'S FAREWELL DISCOURSE. HIS DEATH AND THAT OF ELEAZAR.

CHAPTERS XXII.—XXIV.

1. *The Release of the Two and a Half Transjordanic Tribes.*

CHAPTER XXII.

a. Joshua's Parting Address.

CHAPTER XXII. 1-8.

1 THEN Joshua called the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, And said unto them, Ye have kept all that Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah] commanded you, and have obeyed [hearkened to] my voice in all that I
3 commanded you: Ye have not left your brethren these many days unto this day, but [and] have kept the charge of [omit: of] the commandment of the Lord [Jehovah] your God. And now the Lord [Jehovah] your God hath given rest
4 unto your brethren, as he promised [spoke to] them: therefore [and] now return ye, and get you unto your tents, and [omit: and] unto [into] the land of your possession, which Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah] gave you on the other
5 side [of the] Jordan. But [Only] take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law, which Moses the servant of the Lord [Jehovah] charged [commanded] you, to love the Lord [Jehovah] your God, and to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and to cleave unto him, and to serve him with all your heart, and
6 with all your soul. So [And] Joshua blessed them, and sent them away; and they
7 went unto their tents. Now [And] to the *one* half of the tribe of Manasseh, Moses had given *possession* in Bashan: but [and] unto the *other* half thereof gave Joshua among their brethren on this [the other]¹ side [of the] Jordan westward. And [and also] when Joshua sent them away also [omit: also] unto their tents, then he
8 blessed them, And he [omit: he] spake unto them, saying, Return with much riches unto your tents, and with very much cattle, with silver, and with gold, and with brass, and with iron, and with very much raiment: divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 7. — לַצֵּדִיּוֹן as לַצֵּדִיּוֹן, ch. v. 1, except that the latter is defined by לַצֵּדִיּוֹן; here it is "on (lit. out of) the other side" with reference to Bashan east of the Jordan, which has just been mentioned. — Tr.]

b. Return Homeward of the Two and a Half Tribes. Erection of an Altar on the Jordan.

CHAPTER XXII. 9, 10.

9 And the children [sons] of Reuben, and the children [sons] of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children [sons] of Israel out of Shiloh, which *is* in the land of Canaan, to go unto the country [into the land] of Gilead, to the land of their possession, whereof they were possessed [in which they had possessions], according to the word of the Lord [Jehovah] by the

1¹) hand of Moses. And when they came unto the borders of [into the circles ¹ of the] Jordan, that *are* in the land of Canaan, the children [sons] of Reuben, and the children [sons] of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh built there an altar with [the] Jordan, a great altar to see to [an altar great to behold].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 10. — גְּלִילוֹת הַיָּם, "circles, circuit, region;" see the exeg. note. That this district is said to have been in the "land of Canaan," which is in general strongly distinguished from the table-land east of the Jordan, certainly favors the supposition that the altar in question was erected on the west side of the river. Still everything else is against it, and we cannot but think that the recent commentators, against many of the older and against Josephus, have too readily assumed that it was so. It is in itself highly improbable that the Gileadites should have built an altar with their design on ground not belonging to them, where they could have no control over its safety, and where it is impossible to see how it could bear witness for them. And the expressions in ver. 11, אֶל־מִמַּל אֶרְצָךְ ב', "over against the

land of Canaan," and אֶל־עֵבֶר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, both naturally point to the other side, and can only with a degree of violence be understood of a locality in the fullest sense within and of the land of Canaan. Consider further that there was no mention by the Israelites of simply destroying the altar, which would on this supposition be easy, and in their state of mind very natural (as indeed they would not have allowed it to be built without explanation on their territory), but that the ambassadors must pass over into Gilead to treat of the matter, and that there to all appearance the naming of the altar took place, and there will appear to be more reasons for the view of those who place the altar on the east bank of the Jordan than against it. May not the solution of the difficulty lie in the extension of the "land of Canaan," in ver. 10, so as to include the whole of the Ghor (ancient Arabah), overlooking the river, for the moment, as a boundary, and making the boundary between Canaan, the "low country," and Gilead to be the wall of eastern mountains which fences in the Jordan Valley? This being conceded, the phrase "over against," quasi "fronting," in ver. 11, and אֶל־עֵבֶר בְּ יִשְׂרָאֵל (English version, "at the passage of," etc.), "to the other side with reference to the sons of Israel," might both be understood in their most usual sense. Certainly some notice ought to be taken of the probabilities for this opinion. — Tr.]

c. Embassy from Israel to the Two and a Half Tribes on account of the Altar.

CHAPTER XXII. 11-20.

- 11 And the children [sons] of Israel heard say, Behold, the children [sons] of Reuben, and the children [sons] of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, have built an [the] altar over against the land of Canaan,¹ in the borders [circles] of [the] Jordan, at the passage of [opposite to] the children [sons] of Israel. And when the children [sons] of Israel heard *of it*, the whole congregation of the children [sons] of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up to war against them. And the children [sons] of Israel sent unto the children [sons] of Reuben, and to the children [sons] of Gad, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh into the land of Gilead, Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, And with him ten princes, of each chief house² a prince throughout [for] all the tribes of Israel; and each one *was* an [a] head of the house of their fathers [the head of their chief houses]² among the thousands of Israel.
- 15 And they came unto the children [sons] of Reuben, and to the children [sons] of Gad, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh, unto the land of Gilead, and they spake with them, saying, Thus saith the whole [all the] congregation of the Lord [Jehovah], What trespass *is* this that ye have committed against the God of Israel, to turn away [return] this day from following the Lord [Jehovah], in that ye have builded you an altar, that ye might rebel this day against the Lord [Jehovah]? *Is* the iniquity³ of Peor too little for us, from which we are not cleansed until this day, although there was a plague [and the plague was] in the congregation of the Lord [Jehovah]. But that ye must turn away this day from following the Lord [Jehovah]? and it will be, *seeing* ye rebel to-day against the Lord [Jehovah], that to-morrow he will be wroth with the whole congregation of Israel.
- 19 Notwithstanding [And truly], if the land of your possession *be* [is] unclean, *then* [omit: then] pass ye over unto the land of the possession of the Lord [Jehovah] wherein the Lord's [Jehovah's] tabernacle dwelleth, and take possession among us: but rebel not against the Lord [Jehovah], nor rebel against us, in building you an altar beside the altar of the Lord [Jehovah] our God. Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit a trespass in the accursed thing [in what was devoted], and wrath fell on all the congregation of Israel? and that man perished not alone in his iniquity.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 11. — בָּיָמָי , "in a place to which one has come;" comp. בָּ , letter B, also Greek $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota$ for $\epsilon\nu$. In all this, however, the idea of motion is not wholly lost, namely, "a motion that preceded" (Gesen. *Lex.* p. 52 B). — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 14. — בֵּית אָבִי , "house of a father," and בֵּית אֲבוֹתַי , "house of the fathers," = father-house, father-houses. On the use of the genitive plural instead of the plural of the noun limited, see Gesen. *Lex.* s. v. בֵּית (11), p. 129. — Ta.]

[3 Ver. 17. — אֵת-עֲוֹנוֹןֵינוּ , prop. an adverbial acc., "in respect to" the iniquity, etc. The sense of the question is, "Had we not enough of the iniquity?" etc. Zunz's version appears to take the last member of the verse singularly, as giving a vivid designation of the time of the transgression: *als die Sünde war*, etc. "And" (1) need not be understood here as = "although," but more naturally in its proper sense: "and the plague [for which] was upon the congregation (not the particular sinners) of Jehovah." The next verse (18) then proceeds: And (nearly = and yet) ye are turning away this day from after Jehovah. Or, if we suppose a somewhat more free combination of clauses, than is often met with in this style of Hebrew writing, we may consider the two verses as making up a compound sentence, in which one question runs through to the end of the first member of ver. 18. We should then translate thus: Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us, from which we are not cleansed until this day, and [for which] the plague was on the congregation of Jehovah, — and are ye turning away this day from after Jehovah? And it will be (*q. d.*, the result is) ye will rebel to-day against Jehovah, and to-morrow upon the whole congregation of Israel he will break forth." — Ta.]

d. Apology of the Two and a Half Tribes for Building the Altar.

CHAPTER XXII. 21-31.

- 21 Then [And] the children [sons] of Reuben, and the children [sons] of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh answered, and said [spake] unto the heads of the thousands of Israel, The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods [God, God Jehovah, or, the God of gods, Jehovah, etc.], he knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if *it be [was]* in rebellion, or [and] if in transgression [trespass] against the Lord [Jehovah], (save us not this day.) That we have built us an altar to turn [return] from following the Lord [Jehovah], or [and] if to offer thereon burnt-offering, or [and] meat-offering, or [and] if to offer [make] peace-offerings
- 22 thereon, let the Lord [Jehovah] require *it*; And if we have not *rather* [omit: rather] done it for fear of *this* thing [done this from concern, for a reason], saying, In time to come your children [sons] might [will] speak unto our children [sons], saying,
- 23 What have ye to do with the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel? For [And] the Lord [Jehovah] hath made [the] Jordan a border between us and you, ye children [sons] of Reuben and children [sons] of Gad; ye have no part in the Lord [Jehovah]: So [And] shall your children [sons] make our children [sons] cease from fearing the Lord [Jehovah]. Therefore [And] we said, Let us now prepare to build us an altar [let us now do for ourselves to build the altar], not for burnt-offering,
- 24 nor for sacrifice: But *that it may be* a witness between us and you, and between our generations after us, that we might do the service of the Lord [Jehovah] before him with our burnt-offerings, and with our sacrifices, and with our peace-offerings; that your children [sons] may not say to our children [sons] in time to come, Ye
- 25 have no part in the Lord [Jehovah]. Therefore [And] said we, that it shall be, when they should [shall] *so* say to us or [and] to our generations in time to come, that we may [will] say *again* [omit: again], Behold [See] the pattern of the altar of the Lord [Jehovah], which our fathers made, not for burnt-offerings, nor for sacrifices; but *it is* a witness between us and you. God forbid [Far be it from us] that we should rebel against the Lord [Jehovah], and turn this day from following the Lord [Jehovah], to build an altar for burnt offerings, and for meat-offerings, or [and] for sacrifices, beside the altar of the Lord [Jehovah] our God, that is before his tabernacle [dwelling].
- 26 And when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the congregation, and heads of the thousands of Israel which *were* with him, heard the words that the children [sons] of Reuben, and the children [sons] of Gad, and the children [sons] of Manasseh spake, it pleased them [was good in their eyes]. And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest said unto the children [sons] of Reuben, and to the children [sons] of Gad, and to the children [sons] of Manasseh, This day we perceive that the Lord [Jehovah] *is* among us, because ye have not committed this trespass

against the Lord [Jehovah]: now ye have delivered [then did ye deliver] the children [sons] of Israel out of the hand of the Lord [Jehovah].

e. Return of the Embassy. Naming of the Altar.

CHAPTER XXII. 32-34.

- 32 And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the children [sons] of Reuben, and from the children [sons] of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children [sons] of Israel, and brought
 33 them word again. And the thing pleased [was good in the eyes of] the children [sons] of Israel: and the children [sons] of Israel blessed God, and did not intend to go up [Heb. nearly: did not say they would go up] against them in battle, to destroy the land wherein the children [sons] of Reuben and [the sons of] Gad
 34 dwelt. And the children [sons] of Reuben and the children [sons] of Gad called the altar *Ed* [Witness; or, more probably, omit: *Ed*]: for it *shall be* a witness [it is a witness] between us that the Lord [Jehovah] is God.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

The author of chaps. xiii.-xxi. having given the report, distinguished by his valuable and accurate statements, of the division of the land, the appointment of the cities of refuge and the Levitical cities, relates to us in the three following chapters, which close the book, the release of the two and a half transjordanic tribes, transcribes Joshua's last discourses to the people, and finally gives account of his death and that of Eleazar.

Chap. xxii. itself falls naturally into the following smaller sections: (a.) Joshua's farewell discourse to the two and a half tribes, vers. 1-8; (b.) Return of these tribes to their home. Erection of an altar on the Jordan, vers. 9, 10; (c.) Embassy from Israel on account of this altar, vers. 11-20; (d.) The apology of the eastern tribes, vers. 21-31; (e.) Return of the embassy, vers. 32-34.

a. Vers. 1-8. *Joshua's Farewell Discourse to the Two and a Half Tribes from across the Jordan.* Joshua acknowledges their obedience to Moses and to his own commands (ver. 2), and further, that they had faithfully stood by their brethren and kept the commandment of God (ver. 3). As now Jehovah had given rest to the others, they might return to their tents in the land of their possession already given to them by Moses beyond the Jordan (ver. 4). To this he adds the admonition that they should continue to observe the commandment, to serve God in unchanging love, with their whole heart and their whole soul. Still further are they called upon to share their rich booty with their brethren (ver. 8). That he sent them away with his blessing is twice related (vers. 6 and 7 b). A geographical notice is inserted (ver. 7).

Ver. 1. אֵלֶּיךָ , almost certainly not immediately at the end of the war, but, from the connection in which this narrative occurs, and according to ver. 4, not until after the division of the land was completed.

Ver. 2. They have kept their obligations to Moses (Num. xxxii. 20 ff.) and to Joshua himself (ch. i. 16 ff.).

Ver. 3. Still further, they had kept what was to be kept, the commandment of Jehovah. On $\text{וְיָצִיחַ מִיָּדְךָ מִיְּהוָה מִיְּהוָה}$, vid. Gen. xxvi. 5; Lev. viii. 35.

Ver. 4. Comp. ch. i. 15, $\text{וְיָצִיחַ מִיָּדְךָ מִיְּהוָה}$, vers. 9,

10; Gen. xxxvi. 43; Lev. xiv. 34; xxv. 24, and often.

Ver. 5 recalls Deut. iv. 2, 29; vi. 5; viii. 6. On the infin. form. וַיִּבְרַח , cf. Gesen. § 133; Ewald, § 238 a; Knobel on Deut. i. 27.

Ver. 6 properly closes in its first half the account of the sending away of the two and a half tribes, while ver. 7 adds a notice which was given in a similar way ch. xiv. 3, xviii. 7, and was therefore not necessary. Keil, in his earlier commentary on Joshua, noticed it quite sharply. He says (p. 462), "in ver. 7 we find again a notice, characteristic of our author, as Maurer rightly observes, in which he, from a mere desire to be perfectly explicit, sometimes falls into redundancy and superfluous repetitions." He now (*Bibl. Com.* in loc.) says more mildly, "in ver. 7 the author, for the sake of perspicuity, inserts the repeated observation, that only half of Manasseh had received their inheritance at the hand of Moses in Bashan, while the other half, on the contrary, had received theirs through Joshua west of the Jordan, as in ch. xiv. 3 and xviii. 7. To us this repetition appears redundant; it agrees, however, with the fullness, abundant in repetitions, of the ancient Hebrew style of narrative." The second half of the verse now repeats what is known already from ver. 6.

Since it begins with the words $\text{וְיָצִיחַ מִיָּדְךָ}$, it would almost seem that something immediately preceding had fallen out or "been omitted."

Ver. 8 presents a continuation of the foregoing in the demand not previously made, that they should share the rich booty with their brethren. This booty consisted in cattle, silver, gold, brass, iron, and clothing, and these all in very large quantities (Ex. iii. 22; xi. 2; xii. 36). By the brethren are meant the members of their tribes who had remained at home, to whom, according to Num. iii. 27, one half belonged. Although we cannot, with Knobel, recognize three original elements of the section, namely, vers. 1-4 and 6 from the War-book, ver. 5 from the Deuteronomist, vers. 7, 8 from the Law-book, we may not suppress the remark that ver. 7 b. and 8 appear to have sprung from a different source, the statements of which are not fully communicated. Whoever put the finishing hand to the whole work, has added that portion of its contents which offered a new thought, as a valuable complement.

b. Vers. 9, 10. *Return of the Two and a Half Tribes to their Home. Erection of an Altar on the Jordan.* The children of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh returned from Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, into the land of Gilead, into the land of their possession, wherein they had taken possessions (מִנְחָלָם, as in Gen. xxxiv. 10; xlvii. 27; Num. xxxii. 30; prop. "wherein they had been held fast," or established themselves), according to the command of Jehovah by Moses. That they departed from Shiloh, favors the view that this return took place not till after the division of the land. From ver. 9 we see that only the country west of the Jordan is regarded as the land of Canaan; that on the east of that river is called here simply Gilead, although it embraced Gilead and Bashan, the kingdoms of Sihon and Og. *The command of Jehovah by Moses,* see Num. xxxii. 20 ff.

Ver. 10. On their way home they reared an altar on the Jordan. For they came into the regions on the Jordan [the circles of the Jordan], the Hebrew גְּלִילֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן. As in ch. xiii. 2 and Joel iv. 4, the circles of the Philistines (גְּלִילֵי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים) or the circles of the Ghor (גְּלִילֵי הַגְּחֹר) are mentioned, so here the גְּלִילֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן, which, Gen. xiii. 10, 11; 1 K. vii. 47, are designated as קְצֵר הַיַּרְדֵּן (Matt. iii. 5, ἡ περιχώρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου), the 1, Gen. xiii. 12; xix. 17, simply, as הַקְּצֵר; now the Ghor. The west side of the Ghor is intended, as appears from the addition, which is in the land of Canaan, — on the west bank of the Jordan. Here they built an altar on the Jordan, an altar great to behold. Hebrew, אֲלֹתָא לְמַרְבָּחָא, i. e., an altar so high and broad that it could be seen from a great distance [or, great in appearance, great as compared with other altars, quasi "great-looking"]. Since Moses had once raised such an altar to commemorate his victory over Amalek (Ex. xvii. 15), they believed they were acting in good faith, as also they afterwards with a good conscience testify (ver. 24 ff.).

c. Vers. 11–20. *Embassy from Israel to the Two and a Half Tribes on Account of this Altar.* Ver. 11. The children of Israel heard that an altar had been built, over against the land of Canaan (עַל-מִבְּלַעַת מַדְבָּר, i. e., on its eastern side, Knobel), in the circles of the Jordan (גְּלִילֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן, i. e., in the Ghor), at the side of the sons of Israel (אֶל-עֲבָדָיו), as in Ex. xxv. 37; xxxii. 15). It is the east side [Zunz: at the side (of the river) turned toward the children of Israel. But comp. Textual Note].

Ver. 12 repeats that the children of Israel had heard of this, but adds that the whole congregation of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to overrun the two and a half tribes with war. Knobel regards this verse as an interpolation, and out of the War-book. It is noticeable, indeed, that the beginning of ver. 11 is repeated here, and that ver. 13 might perfectly well follow ver. 11. But, on the other hand, the verse contains nothing at all which could disturb the connection or would be improbable in itself, since in view of Lev. xvii. 8, 9 (comp. Ex. xx. 24) such an excitement appears so much the more intelligible, as the tabernacle had been a short time before (ch. xviii. 1) erected for the first time in

Shiloh. "This zeal was," as Keil says, with reference to Calvin's remark on this passage, "entirely justifiable and praiseworthy, since the altar, although not built for a place of sacrifice, yet might easily be perverted to that use, and lead the whole people into the sin. At all events, the two and a half tribes ought not to have undertaken the building of this altar without the consent of Joshua, or of the high-priest."

Vers. 13, 14. The congregation now send Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, and ten princes to their fellow tribes beyond the Jordan, to demand an explanation of this matter. Phinehas (פִּינְחָס, according to Gesen. = brazen mouth, פִּנְחָס = הַפְּתִיחַ), son of Eleazar and one of the daughters of Putiel (Ex. vi. 25), is named (Num. xxv. 6 ff.) as zealous for discipline and morality in Israel, as a victorious leader of the people (Num. xxxi. 6 ff.) in the strife with the Midianites, and was therefore very well suited, on account of the high respect which he undoubtedly enjoyed, to be the head and spokesman of the embassy. Afterwards, he was, as related Judg. xx. 28, himself high priest. The ten princes who were sent with him represented the nine and a half tribes west of the Jordan, and in ver. 30 are called בְּנֵי-אֵלֵי הָעָדָה. Each of them was head of a chief (father) house among the thousands of Israel. On the relation of the chief houses, or, as De Wette translates family houses (Stammhäuser), to the whole tribe, cf. ch. vii. 14, 16–18. The אֲלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל are the families of Israel, as appears from 1 Sam. x. 19, 21, where אֲלֵי is exchanged with אֲשֵׁרֵי. The expression is often met with, e. g., Judg. vi. 15; Num. i. 16; x. 4; in our ch., ver. 30, and above all in the famous passage Mic. v. 1.

Vers. 15–20. The messengers come to the children of Reuben, and the rest, in the land of Gilead, and make to them earnest representations. As their speaker we have to imagine to ourselves Phinehas, the man of the brazen-mouth, whose words sound vehemently and as instinct with feeling. He assumes from the first that the altar was built mala fide by the two and a half tribes, that the question is one of rebellion against Jehovah (vers. 16, 22), and then asks whether the iniquity of Peor was not enough, of which the people were not yet purified, that they should call forth against them the wrath of Jehovah anew (vers. 17, 18). Rather, he admonishes them in the second part of his discourse, if the land of their possession seemed to them unclean, should the brother tribes cross over into the land of Jehovah's possession, where his dwelling was, and there take possession, but not rebel against Jehovah and apostatize by building them an altar besides the altar of Jehovah (ver. 19). With an impressive reference to the crime of Achan who perished not as an individual man, but likewise brought God's anger on the entire congregation, the noble zealot concludes his discourse (ver. 20).

Vers. 15, 16. *What trespass is this — to turn away — that ye might rebel against Jehovah.* The expressions here chosen are to be particularly noted: (1) מַעַל, used ch. vii. 1 and ver. 20 with אֵל, of the thing, to commit a trespass in respect to something; but here with אֵל, of the person, and he the most exalted person, Jehovah; "to deal

treacherously, with concealment, underhandedly," in consistency with the probable ground signification; "to cover," whence **מָעֵל**, mantle. For

strengthening, the substantive **מָעֵל** is added to the verb, as [ch. vii. 1] 1 Chron. v. 25; x. 13; 2 Chron. xii. 2. (2) **שׁוּב מִתְּוֹרָי יי**, as vers. 23, 29 (cf. ch. xxiii. 12), to turn away from Jehovah. In that consists the treacherousness in general, that they turn away from Jehovah. But since they have so far forgotten themselves as even to build an altar, so (3) the strongest expression is chosen, namely, **מָרְדָּב**, to be disobedient, refractory, to rebel (Gen. xiv. 4; 2 K. xviii. 7, 20; xxiv. 1), first, against human rulers, as the passages quoted show, but here, as in Ezek. ii. 3; Dan. ix. 9, against Jehovah.

Ver. 17. Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us? That is, the iniquity which we committed (Num. xxv. 3; xxxi. 16) in the worship of Baal Peor, consisting in the offering of young maidens (Winer, *Realw.*, art. Baal [Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*]). At that time twenty-four thousand of the people died as a punishment. To the zeal of Phinehas the people owed the cessation of the plague (Num. xxv. 9-12). Of him God said to Moses, "he has turned away my anger from the children of Israel" (Num. xxv. 11). So much the more remarkable must it appear that Phinehas himself here still designates the iniquity as one from which we are not cleansed until this day. He is thinking, perhaps, that, as in his opinion the case of the two and a half tribes shows, the inclination to idolatry still exists among the Jews. So explained already, after the example of R. Levi ben Gerson, C. a Lapide, and Clericus: "A quo nondum satis abhorremus: multi enim violentur fuisse, qui nondum delicti magnitudinem intelligebant." Vid. Prov. xx. 9. "Non devertit etiam, qui clam Cananorum et Chaldeorum deos colerent, ut liquet ex oratione Josue, cap. xxiv. 14, 23" (ap. Keil, *Com. on Josh.* in loc.). With this agree Keil and Knobel.

Ver. 18. And ye turn away this day from following Jehovah. The sense is: so little do you think of that plague which once came upon the congregation, that you are to-day ready again to turn away from Jehovah [comp. Textual and Gram. Note].

And it will be, since ye rebel . . . will be wrath. The construction is the same as in Gen. xxxiii. 13, **אִתָּם תִּמְרָדוּ**, אִתָּם ה' אֱלֹהֵי אִתָּם. Meaning: "Consider well, for if you rebel to-day against Jehovah, to-morrow he will be angry with the whole congregation of Israel." The judgment of God comes quickly, and it comes not alone on the two and a half tribes, but upon the whole people. In the latter circumstance lies, for Phinehas, at the same time, a sort of warrant for his speaking so earnestly to his transjordanic countrymen.

Ver. 19. Proceeding in a milder tone, Phinehas proposes to them, that if their land seemed unclean to them they should go over to the others in the land where Jehovah has his dwelling, only they should build no separate altar. Knobel: "And, indeed (**אִי**, as Gen. xxvi. 9; xxix. 14; xlv. 28), if the land which they have taken were unclean, they could cross over into the land of Jehovah's possession, where the dwelling of Jehovah had its seat (**יָסֵב**, as ch. xviii. 1), and there settle; only they should not, through such building of a special altar besides the true altar of Jehovah, rebel against

the Lord, and bring their brethren into hostility, i. e., draw down mischief on the whole people from God."

If the land . . . be unclean, etc., i. e., because Jehovah had not his abode there, and because many heathen dwelt among them.

Land of your possession . . . land of the possession of Jehovah. The antithesis is worthy of careful notice. **מָרְדָּב**, with the accus. as Job xxiv. 13, **מָרְדָּב אֹרֶר**.

Ver. 20. Finally, Phinehas reminds them of the crime of Achan (ch. vii. 1 ff.), which was yet fresh in memory, and which, as once the iniquity of Peor, had involved in its consequences, not only the particular man, but also his children (ch. vii. 24), and, through the unfortunate attack on Ai (ch. vii. 1-5), the entire people. Keil: "Phinehas argues a *minore ad majus*. Yet the antithesis of *minus* and *maius* is not, with Calvin, to be sought in the *clandestinum unius hominis maleficium* and the *manifesta idolatria*, but to be understood with Masius, thus: 'Si Achan cum fecisset sacrilegium, non solus est extinctus, sed indignatus est Deus universæ ecclesie, quid futurum existimatis, si vos, tantus hominum numerus, tam graviter peccaveritis in Deum'" (p. 381).

d. Vers. 21-31. *Defence of the Two and a Half Tribes against the Reproach on Account of this Altar.* With a solemn appeal to God, and that as the God Jehovah, whom Israel worshipped, these tribes declare that they have built the altar, not in treachery, to turn away from Jehovah and establish a new worship (vers. 21-23), but rather from solicitude lest the posterity of those who dwelt in Canaan proper should say to their posterity: You have no part in Jehovah! and should so restrain their children from worshipping Him. This had led them to think of building an altar, not as an altar of sacrifice, but as a witness to their common worship of Jehovah, even to future generations, that, if ever the case before supposed should occur, they might point to this altar fashioned after the pattern of the altar of Jehovah (vers. 26-28). In conclusion, they again repeat that rebellion or apostasy was furthest from their thoughts (ver. 29). With this frank reply, evidently springing from a good conscience, Phinehas and the princes declare themselves satisfied; for to-day have they learned that Jehovah is among them, from whose hand the children of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh have saved Israel (vers. 30, 31).

Vers. 21-23. The answer of the Eastern tribes begins with much solemnity: God (**אֱלֹהִים**), God Jehovah (**אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**), God (**אֱלֹהִים**), God Jehovah (**אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**), he knoweth it (**יָדָע**), and let Israel also know. "The combination of the three names of God, **אֱלֹהִים**, the strong, **אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**, the Supreme Being worthy to be feared, and **יִשְׂרָאֵל**, He who truly is, the covenant God (ver. 22) serves, as in Ps. l. 1, to strengthen the appeal, which is intensified by the repetition of the three names" (Keil).

If it be in rebellion, etc. The apodosis to this follows at the close of ver. 23, let Jehovah require it. Interpolated into the asseveration is the imprecation, proceeding from an excited feeling, and addressed immediately to God, save us not this day! This day, **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** = to-day: He should to-day not help them, to-day not stand by

them, to-day forsake them if they have reared the altar in rebellion or in trespass. Knobel: "In case of our unfaithfulness, help thou us not in our present trouble, but leave us to destruction! A parenthetic clause, in which the excited feeling passionately invoking evil upon itself passes into the appeal to God." On the different kinds of sacrifice, in vers. 23 and 27, see Winer, *Realw.*, art. "Opfer"; Herzog, *Realenc.* x. 614 ff. [Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Sacrifice"].

Vers. 24, 25. And if not rather from anxiety, for a reason, we have done this thing, saying,

etc. From anxiety, מִדְּאֲנִיָּהּ, from אָנַח, to fear, to be concerned, 1 Sam. ix. 5; x. 2; Ps. xxxviii. 19. The substantive occurs Ezek. iv. 16; xii. 18, 19; Jer. xlix. 23; Prov. xii. 25. — For a reason, מִדְּבָר, comp. ch. v. 4, as also מִלְּבָבֵךְ Gen. xii. 17; xx. 11. — *Saying*, i. e., saying to themselves, and so = thinking.

Ver. 25. מִיָּדָאֵךְ "This infin. form, instead of the shortened, מִיָּדָאֵךְ, 1 Sam. xviii. 29, has analogies in מִיָּדָאֵךְ, Ezek. xxiv. 3, and מִיָּדָאֵךְ, Cant. v. 11, whereas in the Pentateuch only מִיָּדָאֵךְ is used" (Keil). The anxiety was not unfounded, in so far as in the promises only Canaan was spoken of, therefore only the land west of the Jordan according to the clear signification of ver. 10. Comp. Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 15; xv. 18; xvii. 8, and in particular, Num. xxxiv. 1-12.

Vers. 26-28. Let us now do for ourselves to build the altar, not . . . but that it may be a witness, etc., נִבְנֶה אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לְפָנֶיךָ. Either to be taken, according to the examples cited by Knobel, Gen. ii. 3; xxx. 30, as we have aimed to express it in our translation, or as Keil prefers: "We will make us to build an altar (an expression out of the language of common life for: We will build us an altar)." Both explanations afford a good and apposite sense, which Luther renders with pregnant brevity: "Lasset uns einen altar bilden" (let us build an altar), doubtless following the Vulg.: "Exstruamus nobis altare." The LXX. refer the מִזְבֵּחַ, not to the building in itself, but to the design of the altar to be built: καὶ ἐποίησαν ποιῆσαι, οὕτω τοῦ οἰκοδομησάου τὸν βωμὸν τούτου, οὐκ ἔνεκεν κερπυμάτων . . . ἀλλ' ἵνα ᾖ μαρτύριον τούτου, etc.

Ver. 27. The altar, therefore, should serve not for sacrifices, but to be a witness (cf. Ex. xvii. 15) between the generations on both sides, in the present and future times, that we might do [or that we do] the service of Jehovah before Him (לְפָנֶיךָ לַעֲבֹד אֶת־יְהוָה) with our burnt-offerings, etc. The offerings were not to be made upon this altar, but before Him, before Jehovah, in Canaan. There would they perform the service of Jehovah.

Ver. 28. Simply for that should the altar be built after the pattern of the altar in the Tabernacle, that it might be a witness to which posterity also might point. מִתְּבִנְיָתוֹ from תְּבִינָה, is the model, Ex. xxv. 9, 40; 2 K. xvi. 10, after which anything is built; but then also here, as Deut. iv. 16-18; Ezek. viii. 10, copy, image of anything. This sense is expressed by the LXX. quite correctly by ὁμοίωμα, by Luther by "likeness." The Vulgate does not translate מִתְּבִנְיָתוֹ; De Wette's *Bau* (structure) is too indefinite.

Ver. 29. Another asseveration of their innocence. "The speakers conclude with the expression of their horror at the idea of forsaking Jehovah, לֹא־יִלְכֶה לָנוּ מִיְהוָה, far be it to us from Him, i. e., from God (מִיְהוָה = מִיְהוָה, 1 Sam. xxiv. 7; xxvi. 11; 1 K. xxi. 3), that we should rebel against Jehovah," etc. [The sense is: 'profane or accursed be it from Jehovah,' *God forbid*, LXX., μὴ γένοιτο; or, the primary signification being neglected; 'woe to me' [or us] 'from Jehovah,' etc., Gesen. in v., לֹא־יִלְכֶה].

Ver. 30. It was good in their eyes, namely, in the eyes of the ambassadors, who had heard these words of the two and a half tribes. The sense of מִבְּעֵינֵיהֶם is very correctly given by the LXX. by καὶ ἤρπεν αὐτοῖς.

Ver. 31. In his explanation Phineas gives the glory to God alone, when he says: This day we perceive that Jehovah is among us, because (וַיִּשָּׂא) in this sense, as Gen. xxx. 18; xxxi. 49; xxxiv. 13, 27; Eccl. iv. 9; viii. 11, more completely (וַיִּשָּׂא) ye have not committed this trespass against Jehovah. God himself, as Phineas rightly assumes, hindered that. Now (וַיִּשָּׂא) before conclusions = then or now, Job ix. 31; Prov. ii. 5; Ps. cxix. 92) have ye rescued Israel from the hand of Jehovah. "On תִּשָּׂא מִיָּדָאֵךְ, comp. Gen. xxxvii. 21; Ex. ii. 19" (Knobel). This was realized in so far as otherwise a punishment like that in Num. xxv. 8 would have again fallen on the whole people.

e. Vers. 32-34. Return of the Embassy. Naming of the Altar. Phineas and the princes return from the land of Gilead to Canaan, and bring back word which is universally acceptable, so that the people thank God, and all thought of going to war against the eastern tribes is dropped (vers. 32, 33). The chapter concludes with the mention that the children of Reuben and Gad had named the altar: It is a witness between us that Jehovah is God (ver. 34). In ver. 32 the children of Reuben and Gad alone are named, and so in ver. 34, merely for brevity's sake.

Ver. 34. By the giving of this name the two and a half tribes distinctly professed themselves worshippers of Jehovah as the true God. The first יָהּ stands like the Greek ἦτα, as sign of the quotation of direct discourse (cf. Gen. iv. 23; xxix. 33; Ruth i. 10; 1 Sam. x. 19), and is therefore not to be translated.

THEOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. As Israel was to honor only one God, Jehovah, who truly was (Ex. iii. 14; xx. 2), so should there be in Israel only one place of sacrifice (Lev. xvii. 1-9); for to the שְׁמֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל (Lev. xvii. 7), propitiators, then, probably, shepherd deities, whose worship the apostate Jeroboam, according to 2 Chron. xi. 15, brought in again with that of the calves, to these they should not sacrifice. Considering the strong inclination of the people to turn aside to heathenish idolatry, which had shown itself repeatedly (Ex. xxxii; Num. xxv.) on their march through the wilderness, the leaders of Israel must

1 [Perhaps, rather, simply: "then (i. e., when ye adopted the plous course)." — Tr.]

have felt, now that the people had received their dwelling-place, and the tabernacle been reared at Shiloh, and the land divided, the supreme necessity of establishing the unity of the worship. This could be truly instituted with a people that needed to be educated through the law (Gal. iv. 23, 24), only by absolutely prohibiting the offering of sacrifices on any other altar than the altar in the tabernacle. *One* God, *one* house of God among the *one* people chosen by him: *one* altar of sacrifice before the door of this *one* habitation, — all this belonged together in the Old Testament, precisely as in the New, *one* Lord, *one* faith, *one* baptism, *one* God and Father of all (Eph. iv. 5, 6).

2. The zeal which animated a Phinehas already once before (Num. xxv.), and now again, was a holy zeal for the honor of God, manifestly springing from a deep moral aversion to the shameful Peor-worship which threatened to bring Israel into destruction. Altogether in the same spirit as Phinehas, Elijah acted at a later period (1 K. xviii.). If this involved the shedding of blood, we must consider that, according to Lev. xvii. 4, idolatry was regarded exactly as if a murder had been committed, and was therefore to be punished with death. The spirit of Jewish zealotry, as it was developed at the time of the destruction of the city by Titus, was a caricature of that which Phinehas and Elijah cherished. How Christ stood related to it appears from the account of the purification of the Temple (John ii. 13 ff.; Matt. xxi. 12 ff.; Mark xi. 15 ff.), which reaches us how in Him holy zeal was blended with temperate self-restraint (John ii. 15, 16), as an impressive admonition to *blind* zeal in all ages. True, holy zeal is in all respects different from the wild excited passion of fanaticism. That resembles the flame which purifies the noble metal from the dross, this is the torch which, wherever it is hurled, sets all in flames, destroys everything, not in *majorem Dei gloriam*, but in *majorem insanie gloriam*. If our times in ecclesiastical matters show again a very strong tendency to that false zealotry, this sign of the times is to be esteemed one of the worst, a sign in which no one will conquer, but many certainly perish.

3. How a good conscience might appeal to God, the two and a half tribes show in their reply to the ambassadors of Israel. On the ground and foundation of Christianity also, the same appeal is still allowable, as the asseverations by Christ and his Apostles prove, comp. *e. g.*, John iii. 5; v. 24, 25; vi. 53; xiii. 16, 21; Luke xxiii. 43; Rom. i. 9; ix. 1, 3; Phil. i. 8. *Such* affirmations are not thoughtlessly ejaculated assertions, but they spring immediately from the temper of the soul filled with the spirit of God, which temper they evince.

4. To have no part in the Lord is the worst thing which can befall a people, a congregation, an individual. How deeply Peter once felt this we learn from John xiii. 8, 9.

5. In all that men do or leave undone constantly to recognize the hand of the Lord, therefore the control of his providence (ver. 31), is an altogether peculiar result of earnest religious meditation. The eye of the ancient Israelites for this, as the passage before us shows, and 1 Sam. iii. 8 very impressively, was sharpened in an unusual degree. The more clearly this ultimate causality of God is discerned, so much the more intelligible appears to

us all human history, and that as the hypothesis of divine control and human conduct, or of divine appointment and human freedom.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The release of the brother tribes from Gilead, by Joshua. (1) How he acknowledges the fraternal help which had been afforded; (2) admonishes to faithful compliance with the commands of God; (3) dismisses them, with his blessing, to their tents (vers. 1-8). — The return of the tribes to the country east of the Jordan, and the erection of the altar on the border of Canaan (vers. 9, 10). — Israel's embassy to their brethren beyond the Jordan, (1) occasion (vers. 11-14); (2) the message of Phinehas and the princes (vers. 15-20); (3) the answer to this (vers. 21-31); (4) the return of the messengers (vers. 31-33). — Phinehas the holy zealot for the honor of God (vers. 15-20, with appropriate and skillful use of Num. xxv. 1 ff. — So let the *whole* congregation of the Lord say to you — a powerful, solemn word (ver. 16)! — How people with a good conscience speak. (1) They may appeal to God as their witness; (2) they may, however, also state clearly and frankly what they have done, without being obliged to conceal anything (vers. 21-31). — Monuments of historical events are dumb and yet eloquent witnesses (ver. 28 compared with vers. 9, 10, and 34). — How brethren can understand each other (vers. 30, 31). — To-day we perceive that the Lord is among us! Can we not also frequently say so, when God keeps us that we commit no trespass against Him (vers. 31). — A joyful return home (vers. 32, 33). — What joyful tidings may spread abroad (ver. 33). — In all things be the honor God's (ver. 33, comp. Ps. cxv. 1).

STARKE: It is not enough to begin well, but we must also continue in that way and persevere even to the end, Heb. iii. 12, 14; Matt. x. 22; xxiv. 13. — When God releases us from our service we may go but not before, Ps. xxxi. 16; xxxix. 5; Luke ii. 29. — A Christian zeal for religion is not wrong. — It is certainly allowable in important cases, with moderation to answer, and with adjuration by the name of God to manifest truth and innocence. — Altars and images are not in themselves wrong and forbidden: only we must not practice superstition with them, 2 K. xviii. 4.

OSIANDER: By this it is manifest and known that we love God if we keep his commandments, John xiv. 23; xv. 14. — Whenever we hear concerning Christian believers that they stand fast in the faith, we ought to thank God for such a benefit [1 Thess. i. 1-3; ii. 6-9]. — We should, as far as possible, guard beforehand that none be offended (ver. 34).

HEDINGER: Precipitate blood-thirstiness is not consistent with true religion; for how can he who himself would not break the bruised reed, allow us either to bruise that which is whole, or break that which is bruised, or burn up the broken? Is. xliii. 3. — In cases which are ambiguous and uncertain, it is better to let the judgment stand suspended than to act contrary to love, 1 Cor. xiii. 7. — As good householders plant trees of which only their children and children's children will eat the fruit, and sit under the shadow, so should Christian parents strive still more earnestly that true godliness may be propagated to their children.

2. *Joshua's Parting with the People. His Death and that of Eleazar.*

CHAPTERS XXIII., XXIV.

a. The First Parting Address.

CHAPTER XXIII.

a. *Promise that Jehovah will still fight for his people, and help them to the complete possession of the land.*

CHAPTER XXIII. 1-11.

1 And it came to pass, a long time [many days]¹ after that the Lord [Jehovah] had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about, that Joshua waxed
2 old and stricken in age. And² Joshua called for³ [omit: for] all Israel, and [omit: and] for their elders, and for their heads, and for their officers [overseers], and said unto them, I am old and [omit: and] stricken in age [far gone in years]:
3 And ye have seen all that the Lord [Jehovah] your God hath done unto all these nations because of you; for the Lord [Jehovah] your God is he that hath fought
4 for you. Behold [See], I have divided unto you by lot these nations that remain, to be an inheritance [as a possession] for your tribes; from [the] Jordan, with [and] all the nations that I have cut off, even unto [and] the great sea westward
5 [toward the going down of the sun]. And the Lord [Jehovah] your God, he shall expel them from before you,⁴ and drive them from out of your sight; and ye shall possess their land, as the Lord [Jehovah] your God hath promised [spoken] unto
6 you. Be ye therefore very courageous [And be ye, or, ye shall be, very strong] to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, that ye turn
7 not aside therefrom to the right hand or [and] to the left; That ye come not among these nations, these that remain among [with] you; neither make mention of the name⁵ of their gods, nor cause to swear by them [it], neither serve them, nor bow
8 yourselves unto them: But cleave unto the Lord [Jehovah] your God, as ye have done unto this day. For [And] the Lord [Jehovah] hath driven out from before
9 you great nations and strong; but as for [and] you, no man hath been able to stand [hath stood] before you unto this day. One man of you shall chase [chaseth] a thousand: for the Lord [Jehovah] your God, he *it is* that fighteth for
10 you, as he hath promised [spoken] unto you. Take [And take] good heed therefore [omit: therefore] unto yourselves [your souls], that ye love the Lord [Jehovah] your God.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. מִיָּמֵינוּ, prop. after, or following, many days. This is taken by our version rather as modifying the following clause, "at the end of many days after," etc., than as parallel to it (De Wette, Fay), and meaning the same thing: "after many days, after Jehovah had given," etc. The latter is preferable. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 2. וַיִּקְרָא] should introduce the apodosis to ver. 1, and the translation be (ver. 1), "and it came to pass . . . after that Jehovah . . . and Joshua was old, far gone in years (ver. 2), that Joshua called all Israel," etc. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 2. Lit. "called to," but the "to" is superfluous in consistency with the usage generally; so that "for" should be omitted throughout this verse. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 5. Our version rightly, although perhaps too strongly marks the variety in מִיָּמֵינוּ and מִיָּמֵינוּ, which De Wette and Fay neglect. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 7. אֱלֹהֵיהֶם. To indicate exactly the construction of the prep. בְּ with both verbs, is scarcely possible in English. We have to adopt some such substitute as, "and not make mention of, and not cause to swear by the name of their gods." — Tr.]

β. *Warning against Apostasy from God.*

CHAPTER XXIII. 12-16.

12 Else [For] if ye do in any wise go back [return], and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even [omit: even] these that remain among [with] you, and shall

- make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to you [and come among
 13 them, and they among you]:¹ Know for a certainty that the Lord [Jehovah] your
 God will no more drive out *any of* [omit: any of] these nations from before you:
 but [and] they shall be snares [a snare] and traps [a trap] unto you, and scourges
 [a scourge] in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good
 land [ground הָאָרֶץ] which the Lord [Jehovah] your God hath given you.
- 14 And behold, this day I *am* going the way of all the earth; and ye know in all
 your hearts and in all your souls, that not one thing [word] hath failed of all the
 good things [words] which the Lord [Jehovah] your God spake concerning you;
 all are come to pass unto you, *and* [omit: and] not one thing [word] hath failed
 15 thereof. Therefore [And] it shall come to pass, *that* as all good things are [every
 good word is] come upon you, which the Lord [Jehovah] your God promised [spoke
 to] you; so shall the Lord [Jehovah] bring upon you all evil things [every evil
 word], until he have destroyed you from off this good land [ground] which the Lord
 16 [Jehovah] your God hath given you. When ye have transgressed [transgress] the
 covenant of the Lord [Jehovah] your God, which he commanded you, and have
 gone and served [go and serve] other gods, and bowed [bow] yourselves to them;
 then shall the anger of the Lord [Jehovah] be kindled against you, and ye shall
 perish quickly from off the good land which he hath given unto you.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 12. The idea is that of general intercourse. The verb "come" is used for brevity's sake, instead of saying fully: "and you go among them and they come among you."—TR.]

b. The Second Parting Address. Renewal of the Covenant. Conclusion.

CHAPTER XXIV.

a. The Second Parting Address.

CHAPTER XXIV. 1-15.

- 1 And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, and called for [omit:
 for¹] the elders of Israel, and for their heads and for their judges, and for their
 2 officers [overseers]; and they presented themselves before God. And Joshua said
 unto all the people, Thus saith the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel, Your fathers
 dwelt on the other side of the flood [river] in old time, *even* [omit: even] Terah, the
 3 father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor; and they served other gods. And
 I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood [river], and led him
 throughout all the land of Canaan, and multiplied his seed, and gave him Isaac.
 4 And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau: and I gave unto Esau mount Seir, to pos-
 5 sess it; but [and] Jacob and his children [sons] went down into Egypt. I sent [And
 I sent] Moses also [omit: also] and Aaron, and I plagued Egypt, according to that
 6 which I did among them: and afterward I brought you out. And I brought your
 fathers out of Egypt: and ye came unto the sea; and the Egyptians pursued after
 7 your fathers with chariots and horsemen unto the Red Sea. And when they cried
 unto the Lord [Jehovah], he put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and
 brought the sea upon them, and covered them; and your eyes have seen [saw] what
 I have done [did] in Egypt: and ye dwelt in the wilderness a long season [many
 8 days]. And I brought you into the land of the Amorites [Amorite], which [who]
 dwelt on the other side [of the] Jordan; and they fought with you; and I gave them
 into your hand, that ye might possess [or, and ye possessed] their land; and I de-
 9 stroyed them from before you. Then [And] Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab,
 arose and warred [fought²] against Israel, and sent and called Balaam the son of
 10 Beor to curse you: But I would not hearken unto Balaam; therefore [and] he
 11 blessed you still:³ so [and] I delivered you out of his hand. And ye went over
 [the] Jordan, and came unto Jericho: and the men of Jericho fought against you,
 the Amorites,⁴ and the Perizzites, and the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the
 Gergashites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, and I delivered [gave] them into your

- 12 hand. And I sent the hornet before you, which [and it] drove them out from before you, *even* the [omit: even the] two kings of the Amorites: *but* [omit: but] not with thy sword, nor with thy bow. And I have given you a land for [or, in] which ye did not labor, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell in them; of the 14 [omit: the] vineyards and olive-yards [trees] which ye planted not do ye eat. Now therefore [And now] fear the Lord [Jehovah], and serve him in sincerity and in truth; and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood 15 [river], and in Egypt; and serve ye the Lord [Jehovah]. And if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord [Jehovah], choose you this day whom ye will serve, whether the gods which your fathers served that *were* on the other side of the flood [river] or the gods of the Amorites [Amorite] in whose land ye dwell: but as for me [and I] and my house, we [omit: we] will serve the Lord [Jehovah].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. Omit "for" throughout this verse as ch. xxiii. 2. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 9. מִלְחָמָה, although capable of meaning "to war," "wage war," is, with one exception, translated throughout our book, "to fight." — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 10. The emphatic force of the infin. abs. here might be variously expressed: "he kept blessing you;" "he must fain bless you;" "he did nothing but bless you." Equivalent is the intent of "he blessed you still."

[4 Ver. 11. These names are all singular in the Hebrew throughout the verse, and are best so read in English.

β. The Renewal of the Covenant.

CHAPTER XXIV. 16-28.

- 16 And the people answered and said, God forbid [Far be it from us] that we 17 should forsake the Lord [Jehovah], to serve other gods; For the Lord [Jehovah] our God, he *it is* that brought us up, and our fathers, out of the land of Egypt, from [out of] the house of bondage [lit. of bondmen], and which [who] did those great signs in our sight, and preserved us in all the way wherein we went, and among all 18 the people [peoples] through whom we passed: And the Lord [Jehovah] drove out from before us all the people [peoples], even [and] the Amorites [Amorite] which [who] dwelt in the land: *therefore* [omit: therefore] will we also [we also will] serve the Lord [Jehovah]; for he *is* our God.
- 19 And Joshua said unto the people, Ye cannot serve the Lord [Jehovah]; for he *is* an holy God: he *is* a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgressions, nor 20 [and] your sins. If [when] ye forsake the Lord [Jehovah], and serve strange gods, then he will turn and do you hurt, and consume you, after that he hath done you good.
- 21 And the people said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will serve the Lord [Jehovah]. 22 And Joshua said unto the people, Ye *are* witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen you the Lord [Jehovah], to serve him. And they said, *We are* witnesses.
- 23 Now therefore [And now], *said he*, put away the strange gods which *are* among you, 24 and incline your heart unto the Lord [Jehovah] God of Israel. And the people said unto Joshua, The Lord [Jehovah] our God will we serve, and [to] his voice will we obey [hearken].
- 25 So [And so] Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a 26 statute and an ordinance in Shechem. And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone, and set it up there under an [the] oak 27 that *was* by [in] the sanctuary of the Lord [Jehovah]. And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness [for witness לְעֵדוּת] unto [against ver. 22] us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord [Jehovah] which he spake [hath spoken] unto [with] us: it shall be therefore [, and shall be] a witness unto 28 [against] you, lest ye deny your God. So [And] Joshua let the people depart, every man [one] unto his inheritance [possession].

γ. *Death of Joshua and Eleazar. The Bones of Joseph.*

CHAPTER XXIV. 29-33.

- 29 And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua the son of Nun the servant
 30 of the Lord [Jehovah] died, *being* an hundred and ten years old. And they buried
 him in the border of his inheritance [possession] in Timnath-serah, which *is* in
 31 mount Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of [of mount] Gaash. And Israel
 served the Lord [Jehovah] all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that
 over-lived [lit. prolonged days after] Joshua, and which [who] had known [knew]
 all the works of the Lord [Jehovah] that he had done for Israel.
- 32 And the bones of Joseph, which the children [sons] of Israel brought up out
 of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in a parcel of ground [portion of the field]
 which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for an hundred
 pieces of silver [kesita]; and it became the inheritance of [they were for a pos-
 session to] the children [sons] of Joseph.
- 33 And Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in a hill *that pertained*
 to [in Gibeah of] Phinehas his son, which was given him in mount Ephraim.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL.

These two closing chapters of the book are intimately related, containing the two farewell addresses of Joshua to the people, an account of the renewal of the covenant in connection with the latter of those addresses, and the report of the death of Joshua and Eleazar. They give information also concerning the last transactions of Joshua, and the closing circumstances of his life so full of activity, and so significant with reference to the establishment of the religious character of the people of Israel.

Particularly to be considered here, from the first, is the relation between the two farewell addresses in respect to differences and agreement of their subject-matter; and manifestly, *the first presents to the Israelites what Jehovah will do for them to bring them into full possession of the land, while the second in powerful words calls to mind in detail what Jehovah, since the time of the patriarchs, has already done for them.* Admonitions to fidelity towards Jehovah, warnings against backsliding from him, are found in both addresses (ch. xxiii. 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16; xxiv. 14, 15), and are repeated, at the renewal of the covenant, in a lively dialogue between Joshua and the people (ch. xxiv. 19, 20, 27).

a. Ch. xxiii. *The First Farewell Discourse.* This, after the introduction, vers. 1, 2, falls into two sections, vers. 3-11 and 12-16. a. In the first section Joshua announces that Jehovah will continue to fight for his people, and help them to the entire possession of their land; β. in the second he warns them vehemently against apostasy from him, lest, instead of help, the judgment of God, consisting in their expulsion from Canaan, shall come upon them.

Vers. 1, 2. Introduction, recalling ch. xiii. 1, as well as ch. xxi. 42. Where Joshua held this discourse, is not said; perhaps at his residence in Timnath-serah (ch. xix. 50), perhaps, and this is more probable, at Shiloh. He first begins by reminding them that he is become old, but that they have seen all that Jehovah has done to all these nations before them, for he has fought for them. Of his own merits toward Israel the modest hero boasts not a word. He only remarks (ver. 4) that he has divided by lot for them the remaining nations also, from the Jordan, and all

the nations which I have cut off, and the great sea toward the going down of the sun. The sense is, In the country lying between the Jordan on the east and the great sea on the west, have I distributed to you by lot as well the still remaining peoples, therefore to be driven out (comp. ch. xvii. 15), as those already destroyed (comp. ch. xi. 12), that you may possess their land.

Ver. 5. These nations, viz., the גוֹיִם הַנְּשִׂאֲרָיִם, will Jehovah himself expel, thrust out (הִדְרִיבָה), comp. Deut. vi. 19; ix. 14, likewise used of the expulsion of the Canaanites) before them, and drive them off (הִדְרִישׁ), and they (the Israelites) shall possess the land (ch. i. 15) as Jehovah has spoken (ch. xiii. 6; Ex. xxiii. 23 ff.). That will Jehovah do, as is afterward repeated in ver. 10. But they must, as Joshua admonishes, ver. 8, be very strong to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, etc., comp. ch. i. 7.

Vers. 7, 8. Especially they are warned against all intercourse with those nations, and above all, against participation in their idolatry. "On הַזֵּבֵחַ, to mention any one by his name, *i. e.*, to make him the object of a call and proclamation, comp. Is. xlvi. 1; Ps. xx. 8; זָבַח בַּיָּדָיִם, Is. xii. 4; xli. 25" (Knobel). Keil appositely remarks further, that, "to mention the names of the gods (Ex. xxiii. 13), to swear by them, to serve them (by offerings), and to bow down to them (call upon them in prayer), are the four expressions of divine worship," see Deut. vi. 13; x. 20.

Ver. 9. A fresh reminiscence of God's help, who has driven out before them great and strong nations, cf. ver. 3. **And you — no man hath stood before you unto this day.** Meaning: and you were so powerful through his assistance that you conquered everything before you, comp. ch. xxi. 44.

Ver. 10. To be understood neither with the LXX., who render הַיְהוָה יְהוָה by ἑδωκεν χιλους, of the past, nor with the Vulg., which translates *persequetur*, of the future, but rather of the present; **one man of you chaseth a thousand, for Jehovah your God, he it is who fighteth for you as**

he hath spoken to you. So De Wette rightly translates, for it must be the actual present state of the people, and their actual present relation to Jehovah, in which the sure guarantee of their future complete extirpation of the Canaanites will consist. Deut. xxxii. 30; Num. xxvi. 8, should be compared.

Ver. 11. A repeated admonition to love Jehovah their God. There follows β , in vers. 12-16, the warning against apostasy from God, which is closely connected by $\text{וְ$ with the last words of the admonition.

Vers. 12, 13. For if ye do in any wise turn back (וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם) and cleave (וְרִבַּבְתֶּם) to the remnant of these nations, these that remain with you, and make marriages with them (contrary to the prohibition, Ex. xxxiv. 16; יְהוָה הִנְחִינָתָם) from (וְהִנְחִינֶנּוּ, prop. to cut off, then = וְהִנְחִינֶנּוּ, to determine, make fast; to betroth, as in old Lat.

festa for bridegroom [וְהִנְחִינֶנּוּ] or the father of the bride [וְהִנְחִינֶנּוּ], Ex. xviii. 1 ff.; Judg. xix. 4 ff. Hithpael: to intermarry, to contract affinities by marriage, and that either by taking another's daughter, or giving him one's own, with $\text{וְ$ as here (Deut. vii. 3; 1 Sam. xviii. 22, 23, 26, 27; Ezra ix. 14. Gesen.), and ye come among them and they among you, know for a certainty (וְדָעוּ) that Jehovah your God will no more drive out these nations from before you, and they will be for you a trap (לִפְתָּן) in the same tragic sense as in Ps. lxxix. 23 and Is. viii. 15, where also פֶּתֶן

is connected with בִּזְיוֹן , as likewise in the N. T., Luke xxi. 35, *παγίς*), and a snare and a scourge (וְשִׁבְרָה, commonly שִׁבְרָה, e. g., Prov. xxvi. 3: 1 K. xii. 11) in your sides, and thorns (וְקַלְבַּשִׁים, Num. xxxiii. 55, from קָלַבַּשׁ in the signif. to be interwoven, entangled) in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good ground (וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם) which Jehovah your God hath given you. The declaration of Joshua is much more severe than that of Moses, Num. xxxiii. 55, which speaks only of

שִׁבְרָה (thorns), parallel to קַלְבַּשִׁים . But here Joshua threatens that the Canaanites shall be to them a trap and snare for their feet; a scourge — in their sides; thorns — in their eyes, so that they shall be endangered by them and plagued on every side of the body, as it were. Keil: Joshua multiplies the figures to picture the inconvenience and distress which will arise from their intercourse with the Canaanites, because, knowing the fickleness of the people, and the pride of the human heart, he foresaw that the falling away from God, which Moses had in his day predicted, will only too soon take place; as indeed it did, according to Judg. ii. 3 ff., in the next generation. The words וְהִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם וְרִבַּבְתֶּם, repeat the threat of Moses, Deut. xi. 17; comp. ch. xxviii. 21 ff."

Ver. 14. Joshua, as in ver. 3, calls to mind his approaching end: I am going the way of all the earth, i. e., on the way to death, which a man goes and returns not, into the land of darkness and the shadow of death (Job x. 21; 1 K. ii. 2). This way all the earth, the whole world must take.

The lesson which he connects with these words teaches them to perceive that, as was said ch. xxi. 45, God has fulfilled to them all his promises, in which Joshua thinks particularly of the conquest of Canaan.

Vers. 15, 16. Reiterated warning against backsliding (comp. ver. 13). As God has fulfilled the good words concerning them, so will Jehovah bring (וְהִנְחִינֶנּוּ) upon them also every evil word (Lev. xxvi. 14-33; Deut. xxviii. 15-68; xxix. 14-28; xxx. 1, 15; comp. Josh. viii. 34, 35), until he destroys them (וְעָרַשְׁתֶּם מִיָּדוֹ, as Deut. vii. 34; xxviii. 48, Keil). Nay, if they transgress the covenant of Jehovah, to serve other gods and worship them, then his anger will burn against them, and they will quickly (וְהִחַרְתֶּם) perish out of the good land, which he has given them. The second part of ver. 16 occurs word for word in Deut. xi. 17, the first in part.

b. Ch. xxiv. *The Second Farewell. Renewal of the Covenant. Conclusion.* a. Vers. 1-15. The discourse, the general character of which has been described, falls, after the exordium, into two divisions; vers. 2-13 a recapitulation of what God, since the time of the patriarchs, has done for his people; vers. 14-16, a demand to abstain entirely from idolatry, and to cleave to Jehovah, whom Joshua, at all events, and his family, will serve.

Ver. 1. The assembly gathered not in Shiloh but in Shechem, where the solemn transaction related ch. viii. 30-35, had taken place. On this account particularly, to recall that transaction, were the people summoned thither. A second reason is found by Hengstenberg (*Beiträge*, iii. p. 14 ff.) and Keil, in the fact that Jacob had dwelt here after his return from Mesopotamia, here purified his house of strange gods and buried their images under the oak at Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 19; xxxv. 2, 4). An opinion intrinsically probable, but neither in the context of our chapter nor elsewhere in the book is it mentioned. The שִׁבְרָה , as ch. i. 10; iii. 2; viii. 33; xxiii. 2.

And they presented themselves before God (וְהִנְחִינֶנּוּ לְפָנֵי יְהוָה), as in Job i. 6; ii. 1, *הִנְחִינֶנּוּ* [עָלָה]. Joshua had, ch. viii. 31, raised an altar on Mount Ebal, on which at that time, before the building of the tabernacle, sacrifices were offered. Of offerings there is no mention here.

Ver. 2. God of Israel; significant, so ver. 23. In this verse, as in vers. 3, 4, Joshua, in the name of Jehovah, holds up to the people what He has done for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the first proof of his divine grace. The fathers dwelt of old (וְהִנְחִינֶנּוּ) beyond the stream, i. e., the Euphrates, namely, in Ur in Chaldea, and then in Haran (Gen. xi. 28, 31).

Terah (תְּרָח), LXX.: *Θάρρα*, from תְּרָח in Chald. to delay, comp. also Num. xxxiii. 27) the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor, and served other gods. And I took your father Abraham . . . Isaac. The gods which Terah revered were, as appears from Gen. xxxi. 19, 34, Teraphim, Penates (see Winer, *Realw.* s. v. Theraphim, [Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, art. "Teraphim."]) It is worthy of notice that it is not said distinctly of Abraham that he served other gods, on which account we agree with Knobel, who says: "Whether, according to our author, Abraham also was originally an idolater, is rather to be denied than affirmed, comp. Gen. xxxi. 53." Dangerous

even for him certainly were the idolatrous surroundings, wherefore God took him (יִרְדָּה) and caused him to wander through Canaan. According to a tradition preserved in the Targum Jonathan (Keil, *Com. üb. Jos.* 169, Anm. 1), and which recurs in the latter Rabbins, Abraham had to suffer persecution on account of his aversion to idolatry, and to forsake his native country; while an Arabic story (Hoftinger, *Hist. or. 50 ap.*; Winer, *Realw.* s. v. Abraham) makes him wander as far as Mecca, and there lay the first foundation of the Caaba. According to this, therefore, it must be assumed that he was a Sabæan.

Of Abraham's life nothing further is mentioned, ver. 3, than that Jehovah caused him to wander through all the land of Canaan, and multiplied his seed and gave him Isaac.

Ver. 4. To Isaac gave Jehovah Jacob, and Esau, who received Mount Seir (Gen. xxvi. 6 ff.) for a possession. Jacob alone was to have Canaan for himself and his posterity, of which, however, nothing further is here said. Rather, there is added only the remark, which leads to ver. 5, that Jacob and his sons went down into Egypt, as is told Gen. xvi. 1 ff.

Vers. 5-7. The second proof of the Divine favor: *Israel's deliverance out of Egypt*, the chief incidents of which are succinctly enumerated, namely, (1) the sending of Moses and Aaron and the infliction of the plagues upon Egypt (Ex. iii-xii.); (2) the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (Ex. xiv.).

Vers. 5, 6. The words in ver. 5, according to that which I did in the midst of them (בְּתוֹכָם יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה אֵת אֲשֶׁר בְּרָאָה לְךָ בְּיַד יְהוָה), occasion some difficulty. The

LXX., without doubt, read בְּתוֹכָם, for they translate the whole verse, "freely it is true:" καὶ ἐπάταξα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν σημείοις, οἷς ἐποίησα ἐν ἀδούτοις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήγαγον. The Vulgate also, following them, offers no sure standing ground when it renders: "Et percussit Ægyptum multis signis atque portentis educique eos." Knobel, appealing to the translation of the LXX., would read בְּתוֹכָם instead of בְּתוֹכָם; but even בְּתוֹכָם, gives not a bad sense, if we paraphrase the very curtly spoken sentence thus: "As you, according to all that which I did in the midst of them, sc. the Egyptians, perfectly well know." Bunsen: "So as you know that I did among them." We retain בְּתוֹכָם, therefore, because it is the more difficult reading.

Red sea, see on ch. ii. 10.

Ver. 7. A poetical, noble description. The Israelites cried to Jehovah. Then he placed darkness (לְחֹשֶׁךְ, LXX.: νεφέλην καὶ γνόφον, from ἔλατ, to go down [of the sun], to become dark, ἄπ. λεγ. In Jer. ii. 21, we meet again with the compound לְחֹשֶׁךְ וְעָנָן, as a designation of the wilderness), i. e., the pillar of cloud (Ex. xiii. 21 ff.; xiv. 19 ff.) between them and the Egyptians, brought the sea upon the latter and covered them. But the eyes of the Israelites saw what Jehovah did to the Egyptians. The change between the third and the first person is to be noticed. While we find the first person in vers. 5, 6, Jehovah is spoken of at the beginning of ver. 7 in the third person, and then proceeds in the first. Ye dwelt in the wilderness many days. Transition to ver. 8, comp. ver. 5 b.

Vers. 8-10. The third proof of God's favor: *Victory over the Amorites* (Num. xxi. 23), and *turning away of Balaam's purposed curse from Israel* (Num. xxii. 22-24).

Ver. 8. They fought with you, namely, under the command of their kings, Sihon, who was slain at Jahaz (Num. xxi. 23), and Og, who was slain at Edrei (Num. xxi. 33).

Ver. 9. When it is said of Balak that he, the king of the Moabites, warred against Israel, we learn from the following words, and sent and called Balaam the son of Beor to come and curse you, how this is meant by the author. Balak contended not with arms against the Israelites, but would have them cursed by the false

prophet Balaam, the בַּלְעָם (ch. xiii. 22), in which the terrified king at least staked his gold (Num. xxii. 7), although it did not win. He lacked the courage for warfare with arms.

Ver. 11. The fourth proof of God's favor: *The passage of the Jordan, capture of Jericho, victory over the Canaanites*. The בְּעֵינֵי יִרְדּוֹ are not, as Knobel supposes, appealing to ch. vi. 2, the king and his heroes, since the author in this case would have chosen the same expression; but, according to the example of 2 Sam. xxi. 12; 1 Sam. xxiii. 11; Judg. ix. 6, the citizens of Jericho.

Vers. 12, 13. Summary conclusion of the first division of Joshua's speech, in which he again emphasizes the fact, that it was God who inspired the Canaanites, particularly Sihon and Og, with terror, and who has given the Israelites a rich and well cultivated land.

Ver. 12. And I sent the hornet (וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה אֶת הַחֲרָבִית בְּעַדְכֶם) before you. (So had it been promised by God, Ex. xxiii. 28; Deut. vii. 20, and now also fulfilled, comp. Wisd. xii. 8). הַחֲרָבִית is not to be understood literally, nor of plagues generally, but with Knobel and Keil, and most of the recent authorities, in such figurative sense as to be compared with Deut. ii. 25; Josh. ii. 11, where it is stated that Jehovah began, on the day of the victory over Sihon, to spread among all peoples, fear and terror, trembling and quaking and anguish, on account of Israel. The swarm of hornets is a terror and consternation to those against whom it turns, to fall upon them; before it they cannot stand but hurry away in distress. Like this is the consternation which, after their first great battle, preceded the Hebrews, and, like a heaven-sent spiritual plague, fell upon the peoples so that they fainted before Israel. Elsewhere the bees appear as an image of terrible foes (Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12; Knobel, on Ex. xxiii. 28). It ought also to be considered that in Ex. xxiii. 27, the next preceding verse, terror is spoken of (אֶת-הַיְמִינִי אֶשְׂלַח אֶת-הַחֲרָבִית לְפָנָי). The same conclusion follows if we compare Deut. vii. 20 with ver. 19, ver. 21 (end), vers. 23, 24.

Not by thy sword and not by thy bow. The same thought as in Ps. xlv. 4.

Ver. 13. Thus Israel has, through God's goodness, without merit on his part, received a glorious land, a land which he has not worked with the sweat of his brow (לֹא-יָבִיטָהּ בְּהָטָהּ, i. e., made productive, cities which he has not built, vineyards and olive-trees which he has not planted, but of which he shall eat. The LXX. render יְהִיִּים by ἐλαιῶνας, the Vulgate, by *oliveta* = olive plan-

tations, olive-yards, as Luther and De Wette translate; rightly, no doubt, for the sense. If the Hebrew language had a special word for this, as it had in כֶּרֶם for vineyard, it would certainly have made use of it here. This all happened as Jehovah had promised, Deut. vi. 10.

Vers. 14-16. A demand to forsake idolatry entirely, and cleave to Jehovah alone, whom Joshua at least with his house will serve.

Ver. 14. **And now fear Jehovah** (cf. Ps. ii. 11; v. 8; especially Prov. i. 7; Job xxviii. 28) **and serve him** (כִּבְדוּהוּ, LXX.; λατρεύσατε, comp. Rom. i. 25) **in sincerity and in truth** (בְּיָדָיִם וּבְיָדָיִם, cf. Judg. ix. 16, 19, and on בְּיָדָיִם, in the N. T. εὐκρίνεια, 1 Cor. v. 8; 2 Cor. i. 12; ii. 17), **and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the river and in Egypt** (comp. Lev. xvii. 7; Amos v. 26; as well as Ezek. xx. 7 ff.; xxiii. 3, 8), **and serve Jehovah.**

Ver. 15. Finally, Joshua challenges the people to decide with the utmost freedom: "if it seem evil in your eyes, if it please you not (LXX.: εἰ μὴ ἄρεσκει), he calls to them, to serve Jehovah, then choose you (for yourselves, בְּיָדְהֶם לָבֹחַ) this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the river, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell." He gives them the choice, therefore, between the old worship of the Penates practiced by their fathers and the Baal-worship of the inhabitants of the land, if they will not serve Jehovah. The latter will he for his part and his family do, in any case, for he adds: **but I and my house will serve Jehovah.**

β. Ch. xxiv. 16-28. *The Renewal of the Covenant.* Struck by the words of Joshua the whole people with one consent reply, that they will not forsake Jehovah: "We also will serve Jehovah, for he is our God" (vers. 16-18). Being reminded further by Joshua how hard this is, since Jehovah is a holy and a jealous God (vers. 19, 20), the people persist in their former declaration (ver. 21) whereupon the choice of Jehovah is, solemnly made (vers. 22-24), and the covenant renewed (ver. 25). All these things Joshua writes in the law-book of God (ver. 26), raises a monument of stone as a witness of what has taken place (ver. 27), and then dismisses the people (ver. 28) each to his possession.

Vers. 16-18. *The People's Reply to Joshua's Speech.* Ver. 16. The idea of forsaking Jehovah and serving other gods, is rejected with expressions of the deepest aversion (חָזַק יְהוָה לָנוּ וְנִשְׁבַּח) to idolatry, comp. ch. xxii. 29.

Ver. 17. The reason: Jehovah was their God, he who had brought them up (מִצְרָיִם, for which, in Ex. xx. 2, we have (הוֹצֵאתֵנוּ) out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage (בְּרֵית) עֲבָדֵי, as Ex. xx. 2), and had done these great signs, i. e., the wonders mentioned by Joshua (vers. 8-12) before their eyes, and had kept them in all the way wherein they went, etc.

Ver. 18. Among the deeds of Jehovah they recall especially the expulsion of the original inhabitants of the land, and then add, in allusion to Joshua's last word, "we also will serve Jehovah, for he is our God."

Vers. 19, 20. Joshua still calls the people to notice how difficult it was to serve Jehovah, by showing that he was a holy God (יְהוָה קָדוֹשׁ), as 1 Sam. xvii. 26; יְהוָה קָדוֹשׁ, where also the adjunct. is in the plural; in respect to the sense, comp. Ex. xix. 6; Lev. xxi. 6, 7, 8; 1 Pet. ii. 9, as well as the numerous passages in Isaiah, where God is designated as יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל, e. g., ch. v. 19, 24; xii. 6; xxx. 11, 12; xli. 14, 43, etc.), a jealous God (אֱלֹהֵי קִנְיָן; Ex. xx. 5, אֱלֹהֵי קִנְיָן; Nah. i. 2, אֱלֹהֵי קִנְיָן, as here), who will not forgive transgressions (אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ) and sins. "אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ, spoken of the forgiveness of sins, is commonly construed with acc. rei; less frequently with לְ rei, besides this passage in Ex. xxiii. 21; Ps. xxv. 18, with slight modification of meaning — to award forgiveness to sin" (Keil).

Ver. 20. This jealousy of the holy God will show itself in this, that if they should forsake him and serve strange gods (אֱלֹהֵי נָכַר), as Gen. xxxv. 4, while in ver. 16, as in ch. xxiii. 16, we found יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ he will turn (וְנִשְׁבַּח) and do them harm and consume (בְּקִלְיָם, finish, abolish) them, after that he has done them good, i. e., without any regard to the fact that he had done them good.

Ver. 21. The people adhere to their resolution to serve Jehovah. On לָנוּ, minime, comp. ch. v. 14.

Ver. 22. Joshua calls them now to witness against themselves, that they have chosen Jehovah as their God, to serve him, i. e., they will, if they ever fall away, be obliged to admit that they once chose Jehovah, and that he now has a right also to punish them for their unfaithfulness. To this, too, they assent, replying, as with one mouth: **witnesses** (are we).

Ver. 23. Still another exhortation of Joshua, resting on that assent, to put away the strange gods (as ver. 20, אֱלֹהֵי נָכַר) which were in the midst of them, and incline their heart to Jehovah, the God of Israel (as ver. 2). Keil, following the example of R. Levi ben Gerson, Augustine, and Calvin, takes אֱלֹהֵי נָכַר, figuratively = in your hearts, because the people, with all their willingness to renounce idolatry, yet deliver to Joshua no images to be destroyed, as was done in the similar cases, Gen. xxxv. 4; 1 Sam. vii. 4. He thinks, further, that although the people, as Amos represents to his generation (Am. v. 26, comp. Acts vii. 43), carried about with them idols in the wilderness, yet with the dying out of the generation condemned at Kadesh, gross idolatry would have disappeared from Israel. We may grant that so long as Joshua lived, Israel publicly served the true God, but hold it very probable that, as he might full well know, many a one in secret worshipped the idols which he now demanded that they should put away, using the same word (הַכִּיר) which Jacob had used before, and Samuel used after him. As regards the actual removal of the images, this may have followed, although we are not so informed. Finally, אֱלֹהֵי נָכַר here certainly is used precisely as much in the proper sense as in Gen. xxxv. 2, בְּתַבְרֵי, and 1 Sam. vii. 8, בְּתַבְרֵי.

Ver. 24. For the third time (vers. 16, 21) the people aver that they will serve Jehovah and hearken to his voice.

Ver. 25. Upon this, Joshua made a covenant with them that day, *i. e.*, he renewed the covenant concluded on Sinai by God with Israel (Ex. xix. 20), in like manner as Moses had done (Deut. xxviii. 69) in the field of Moab. When it is said further concerning Joshua, that he set them a statute and an ordinance (or judgment) in Israel, these words are in allusion to Ex. xv. 25, where, in connection with the change (not by this, Keil) of the bitter water into sweet, God himself established for Israel a statute and right. Here, it was precisely through the renewal of the covenant that statute and right for the people were established and determined. — "what in matters of religion should be with Israel law and right" (Knobel).

Vers. 26-28. After this had been done, Joshua wrote these things, (prop. words, יָצַח־וְיָרָם), *i. e.*, all which had happened there at Shechem, the whole transaction between him and the people, in the book of the law of God. He wrote a document — a protocol, so to speak — concerning the matter, and introduced it into the book of the law. At the same time he took a great stone and set it up there under the oak which was in the sanctuary of Jehovah (יְהוָה־בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ). The sanctuary is not the tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 8; Lev. xii. 4; xix. 30; xx. 3; xxi. 12; Num. iii. 38; xix. 20 ap. Knobel), since this, according to ch. xviii. 1, stood in Shiloh, but a consecrated space, a sacred spot; and this place, indeed, within whose limits stood the oak, where the great stone was set up by Joshua (cf. Gen. xxviii. 18; Josh. iv. 20-22; 1 Sam. vii. 12), had been hallowed by the altar which Abraham and Jacob had formerly built there (Gen. xii. 7; xxxiii. 20). We may add with Knobel, that according to ch. viii. 30, Joshua himself had built an altar on Mount Ebal, therefore in close proximity to Shechem, which, like Gilgal (ch. iv. 20 ff.; xv. 7), became a holy place.

Ver. 27. Joshua finally explains the significance of the stone, which is to be a witness against the people in case they deny God, since it has heard all the words of Jehovah (ver. 2). In a vivid imagination the stone is regarded as a person, so to speak, which has seen and heard every thing, comp. ch. xxii. 34.

Ver. 28 relates the dismissal of the people. Every one returns to his possession.

γ. Ch. xxiv. 29-33. *Death of Joshua and of Eleazar.* Vers. 29, 30. It is probable that immediately thereafter Joshua died, one hundred and ten years old, at the same age precisely as that which Joseph reached, Gen. l. 26. He was buried at Timnath-serah (ch. xix. 50). The mountain of Gaash, mentioned here as well as in Judg. ii. 9; 2 Sam. xxiii. 30; 1 Chr. xi. 32, cannot be identified. Its name, גֹּאֲשׁ from גָּשַׁן, to push, thrust, signifies, according to Gesenius, perhaps the same as fore-thrust, foreshining.

Ver. 31. So long as Joshua and the elders, who with him had led the people, lived, and those who had known (יָדָעוּ), *i. e.* experienced, all the works (יְהוָה־בְּלִמְעֵינֵינוּ) of Jehovah, which he had done for Israel, Israel served Jehovah, as is likewise related Judg. ii. 11 ff.

Ver. 32 contains an additional statement concerning the bones of Joseph, which suited the con-

clusion here, especially as the discourse in vers. 1-28 had been concerning Shechem, where they were buried, in the piece of ground which Jacob had once bought for one hundred kesita (Gen. xxxiii. 19) of the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem. We learn from Ex. xiii. 19, that the Israelites had, in conformity with a last wish of Joseph, recorded Gen. l. 25, brought these bones out of Egypt, and this circumstance is mentioned by our author in the beginning of this verse.

Ver. 33. After Joshua, died Eleazar also, the son of Aaron. How long afterward we cannot determine. They buried him at Gibeah-phinehas, the city of his son, which had been given to the latter on Mount Ephraim. Since it is expressly said that this Gibeah-phinehas lay on mount Ephraim, we agree with Robinson, von Raumer (p. 155), and Knobel, who regarded it as being the present Geeb in Maundrell, p. 87, or Jibia in Rob. iii. 80, 81, or Chirbet Jibia in Ritter, *Ersk.* xvi. p. 559 f., the *kām*, *villa Geba* of Euseb. and Jerome. It stood five miles, *i. e.*, two hours, north of Guphna, toward Neapolis or Shechem. Keil, however, thinks of the Levitical city Geba (ch. xviii. 24), to which view the position "on Mount Ephraim" need not, in his opinion, be an objection, because this mountain, according to Judg. iv. 5 and other passages, reached far into the territory of Benjamin (!).

The Hebrew original of our book closes with this notice of the death of Eleazar. The LXX. have added a supplement, combining Judg. ii. 6, 11 ff., and iii. 7, 12 ff., which, however, is nowhere found in the MSS. and editions of Joshua. We give it according to the Polyglott Bible of Stier and Theile: Ἐν ἐκείῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ λάβοντες οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ περιεφόροσαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ Φινεὴς ἱεράτευσεν ἀπὸν Ἐλεάζαρ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἕως ἀπέθανε, καὶ κατωρύγη ἐν Γαβαὰθ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπήλθσαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν. Καὶ ἐξέβοντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν Ἀστάρτην καὶ Ἀσταρὸθ καὶ τοὺς θεοῦς τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλων αὐτῶν. Καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς κύριος εἰς χεῖρας Ἑγγλῶν βασιλέως Μωαβιτῶν, καὶ κατεκρίβησεν αὐτῶν ἑτὴ δέκα ὀκτώ.

THEOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL.

1. Joshua's noble character, his deep insight into God's leadings of his people, his accurate knowledge of the inconstancy of the human heart, his beautiful treatment of religious occasions, all appear in his last two addresses at parting with the people. As far as possible he keeps his own personal merit in the background. It is God who has fought for Israel (ch. xxiii. 3) and will still further fight for him (ch. xxiii. 10), the God of Israel (ch. xxiv. 2, 23), who from ancient times (ch. xvii. 2) to the present day has wonderfully manifested himself to his people, shown them much favor, and finally given them a beautiful dwelling-place (ch. xxiv. 13). Of himself he says repeatedly that he is old and must go the way of all the earth (ch. xxiii. 2, 14), therefore a mortal man subject to the lot of all earthly existence, a man who, having fulfilled his task and distributed the land to the people (ch. xxiii. 4), must now retire from the theatre of his activity, but who, as long as he lives, will with his family serve Jehovah (ch. xxiv. 15). How nobly, on the other hand, he sketches in large features, particularly in the second discourse, the works of God; Abraham's call (ch. xxiv. 2 ff.), the mission of Moses and Israel's deliverance out

of Egypt (ch. xxiv. 5 ff.), the conquest of the Amorites beyond the Jordan, the turning away of the curse of Balaam, the capture of Jericho, the conquest of the land (ch. xxiv. 8 ff.). Since he knew, however, the human heart in its fickleness, and in particular understood accurately the want of steadfastness on the part of Israel, he repeatedly admonishes them to fidelity towards God (ch. xxiii. 6, 7, 11; xxiv. 14, 15), warns them likewise, and in part with words of sharp severity, against all apostasy (ch. xxiii. 12-16; xxiv. 14, 20), and puts them a third time to the test whether they will really serve Jehovah (ch. xxiv. 15, 19, 20, 22). In this, however, appears at the same time Joshua's excellent understanding of the treatment of religious concerns, for he will employ no constraint, but leaves entirely to their own choice the decision whether Israel will serve Jehovah or the strange gods of whom they had knowledge (ch. xxiv. 15, 19, 20). But then, after the people have decided for Jehovah, although Joshua has very emphatically pointed out that He is a holy and a jealous God (ch. xxiv. 19), who will not forgive transgressions and sins, he demands of them also so much the more pointedly that they shall put away all strange gods.

2. In respect to this putting away of strange gods, we take the liberty of adding Gerlach's remark on ch. xxiv. 23, which still more definitely supports our explanation of the passage. "It is remarkable," he says, "that, after Achan's trespass in the matter of things devoted, and after the Israelites had not long before been ready to avenge so signally the supposed crime of their transjordanic brethren in erecting a rival altar, idolatry could still have been secretly practiced among them. In this, however, we must fairly consider how hard it was for the thought of the one, almighty, omnipresent God to find lodgment in the mind of the heathen-spirited people, how, with this faith they stood alone among the nations of the whole contemporary world, how they, therefore, were continually overcome anew and taken captive by the spirit of the world and of the age, and incessantly turned away to other helpers from the divinely appointed means of grace which seemed not to satisfy their carnal desires; how, in particular, they still afterwards worshipped partly the true God under images, partly the divining household gods (teraphim) in secret; and how the judgment of God might indeed seize upon and hold up one example (Achan, ch. vii.), without, therefore, at a later period, in like manner, extirpating the sin. That in the wilderness the people in secret worshipped idols Amos declares (ch. v. 25; comp. Acts vii. 43), that there were household gods even in David's house, is shown by 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16. No apostasy from the true God followed from that, but a partial and ever renewed corruption of his service through superstition." Analogous examples are found in Grimm's *Mythology*, from the history of our German people.

3. Similar representations of the benefits of God to his people may be read in many passages of the Psalms, partly abridged, partly in more full accounts. Thus Ps. xlv. 1-4; lxxviii. 8 ff.; lxxviii. 1xxx. 9 ff.; lxxxii. 11; xcix. 6, 7; cv.; cxxxv. 8 ff.; cxxxvi. 10, 11, 19. Touching the deliverance from Egypt the tenderly winning representation of Hosea (ch. xi. 1 ff. [and of Jeremiah, ch. ii. 1 ff.]) may be compared.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Joshua's first farewell discourse considered in the two sections above given, for comfort and admonition (ch. xxiii. 1-15).—As the Lord once brought Israel into rest, so will He also bring us to rest, for "there remaineth a rest for the people of God" (ch. xxiii. 1).—Joshua, in his humility and modesty, set before us as a pattern, that we should in all things give God alone the honor, while we know and feel ourselves to be weak and dying men.—The Lord has fought also for you. (1) The Lord has fought; (2) the Lord has fought for you (ch. xxiii. 3; sermon for victory).—Depart neither to the right hand nor to the left from the commands of God; a text suitable for confirmation addresses.—God gives victory only when the combatants most diligently keep their souls and love him.—Bad men will be, as the heathen were for the Israelites, a trap and a snare and a scourge in the sides, and thorns in the eyes for those who live in intercourse with them.—Ver. 14, a very beautiful text for a farewell sermon for a preacher who is obliged to lay down his office from advanced age, also for a funeral discourse when a father, for instance, to whose family God has shown much kindness, is deceased.—Vers. 15, 16. Suitable for a sermon on a day of fasting and prayer. (1) Think to-day of all the good which you have received, according to what God has spoken to you; but (2) be warned against the transgression of his covenant, lest his judgment come upon you.

Joshua's last congress at Shechem. (1) His discourse (ch. xxiv. 1-15); (2) the answer of the people (vers. 16-18); (3) the final decision and renewal of the covenant (vers. 19-25).—Joshua's second farewell discourse treated by itself, and that as a review of the history of Israel from the days of the patriarchs to his own, in its most important incidents as above stated (ch. xxiv. 1-15).—Of the terror of God upon nations doomed to destruction (ver. 12).—Not by thy sword nor by thy bow!—God's surpassing benefits proved by what He bestowed upon Israel.—Earnest exhortation to give up all the idolatry still remaining among them.—In matters of religious conviction the decision must be altogether free; all constraint is to be condemned. That Joshua teaches once for all.—I and my house will serve the Lord!—A text of inexhaustible richness for weddings; yet rightly employed only when the individual dispositions correspond,—a thing which in occasional services should never be wanting. That Frederick William IV., king of Prussia, at the opening of the United Diet in 1847, declared this word of Joshua to be his own maxim, is well known.—Such deep horror of all idolatry becomes us also, as it once became Israel. Only our aversion must be more permanent than it was with that people.—We also will serve Jehovah, for He is our God.—God a holy, and a jealous God.—How the thought that God is holy, pure from all evil, and jealous, zealously intent on his proper glory, should restrain us from all evil, and especially from all idolatry.—When does God not spare (forgive)? (1) When transgression and sin is wilfully committed, and when (2) forgiveness would, as He foresees, lead to no amendment.—When we forsake the Lord He forsakes us also, and turns away from us although He may have done us ever so much good.—Ver. 22 also may be employed as a text for discourses

at confirmation [and at all receptions into the church], in which it is to be impressed upon the candidates that their "yes" will testify against them if they prove unfaithful to the Lord.—In what must the true and sincere conversion (repentance) of an entire people consist? (1) In their putting away their strange, often very secretly worshipped gods; (2) in the inclination of their hearts to the Lord God of Israel.—The God of Israel (vers. 2, 23).—The repeated profession of the people that they will serve the Lord, regarded (1) in reference to its import, (2) to the responsibility which the people thus took upon them.—It is easily said: I will serve the Lord and obey his voice; but actually to keep the promise when the world allures to its altars, is quite another thing.—Israel's resolution to serve the Lord was wholly voluntary. So should it be also with us. There should be no compulsion.—Men may well hearken to God's voice, for (1) it always warns against the evil, (2) always admonishes to the good.—O! how peaceful is it in the heart when we really serve the Lord our God in sincerity, and hear nothing in preference to his friendly voice, that we may joyfully obey it.—The renewal of the covenant at Shechem; to be treated in such a way that (1) Joshua, (2) the people, (3) the matter of the covenant (law and rights of God), (4) the place where it was accomplished—keeping in view the historical recollections so richly associated with Shechem, (5) the memorial of the covenant, shall all receive due attention.—Joshua's death, the end of a faithful servant of the Lord who had proved himself such (1) already in Moses' time (Num. xiii.; xxvii. 15–23); (2) in the conquest and partition of the land, in which (a) his trust in God, (b) his bravery, (c) his unselfishness (ch. xvii. 14–18; xix. 49, 50) are to be signalized; (3) even to the end (comp. ch. xxiii. 1–11; xxiv. 1–15).—Vers. 29, 30. How beneficially the good example of a pious and true leader may influence a whole people, illustrated by the case of Joshua, Eleazar, Phinehas, and the other elders of Israel.—The burial of Joseph's bones, an act of grateful respect, and the conscientious fulfilment of a dying wish.—Eleazar's death the end of a priest after God's heart (Ex. vi. 23, 25; xxviii. 1; Lev. viii. 24; Num. iii. 32; xx. 26; xxvii. 18 ff.; xxxiv. 17; Josh. xiv. 1).

STARKE: Peace and rest is also a favor from God, therefore we may well pray: Graciously grant us peace, etc., and, From war and bloodshed preserve us, merciful Lord God, etc.—Although God alone, in all things which happen, deserves the honor, and He it is also who is and remains the one who effects all good, yet we must not leave anything wanting in our own fidelity.—A Christian must not walk in his own way, but order all his conduct by God's word.—Soul lost, all lost! Therefore watch, make haste and save thy soul!—God demands not merely an outward but an in-

ward obedience to his law.—By our might nothing is done, by God's might everything.—To serve the true God is the highest propriety and our duty; O that all might recognize it as such and serve God from the heart!—The service which one renders to God must be unconstrained.

CRAMER: Faith is an assured confidence and excludes doubt (Heb. xi. 1; Jas. i. 6) even where one cannot see (John xx. 29).—The promises of the law are conditioned on obedience (Deut. xxviii. 1).—There is, however, none other who could fight for us, etc., Ps. llii. 6; lxxix. 10 (ch. xxiii. 10).—With the froward God is froward.—Death knows no difference in person, age, sex, condition, or country.—By repeating and meditating on the great deeds of God we should strengthen ourselves in faith, and press on towards obedience to his commands (Ps. xlv. 2; lxxxv. 2; ev. 5; evi. 6).

OSTANDER: Whoever desires to live in accordance with the prescribed word of God, so as to add nothing thereto and take nothing therefrom, he is on the right road and walks most safely.—It is not enough to have made a good beginning, but he who perseveres to the end shall be saved, Matt. xxiv. 13.—To God must we ascribe the victory, and not to our own might and strength.—The church of God is never without hypocrites and apostates.—God can put up with no mixed religion; with him it is "all mine or let it alone altogether," Matt. iv. 10.

BIBL. TUB.: The precious covenant which we have made with God we should have constantly before our eyes.

[MATT. HENRY; on ch. xxiii. 1, 2: When we see death hastening toward us, that should quicken us to do the work of life with all our might.—On ch. xxiv. 1: We must never think our work for God done, till our life is done; and if He lengthen out our days beyond what we thought, we must conclude it is because He has some further service for us to do.—*Ibid.* ver. 15: When we cannot bring as many as we would to the service of God, we must bring as many as we can, and extend our endeavors to the utmost sphere of our activity; if we cannot reform the land, let us put away iniquity far from our own tabernacle.—Those that lead and rule in other things, should be first in the service of God, and go before in the best things.—Those that resolve to serve God, must not mind being singular in it, nor be drawn by the crowd to forsake his service.—Those that are bound for heaven, must be willing to swim against the stream, and must not do as the most do, but as the best do.—*Ibid.* vers. 29–33: This book which began with triumphs here ends with funerals, by which all the glory of man is stained.—How well is it for the Gospel church that Christ our Joshua is still with it, by his Spirit, and will be always, even unto the end of the world!]

THE
BOOK OF JUDGES.

BY
PAULUS CASSEL, D. D.,
PROFESSOR IN BERLIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, WITH ADDITIONS,

BY
P. H. STEENSTRA,
PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE IN THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL
AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

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THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Contents and Plan.*

1. THE Book of Judges is in a special sense the first historical book of Israel. It does not, like the Book of Joshua, relate the deeds of one man, nor does it, like the last four books of Moses, revolve around the commanding figure and lofty wisdom of a prophet. To a certain extent, this book also is a Genesis. The first book of the Pentateuch describes the opening period of the primitive patriarchal family; the Book of Judges relates the earliest history of the people of Israel in Canaan. "The children of Israel asked the Lord," is its opening sentence. It rehearses the fortunes, deeds, and sufferings of the people, as they occurred after the death of Joshua. For this personage was only the testamentary executor of the prophet who remained behind on the other side of the Jordan (cf. on ch. i. 1). When he also died, Israel, the heir, deprived both of the authoritative direction of Moses and the executive guidance of Joshua, entered upon the independent management of its acquired possession. The Book of Joshua is the history of a conqueror; the Book of Judges that of a people for the first time in possession. Hitherto, Israel had always been in a condition of unrest and movement, first enslaved, then wandering in the desert, finally undergoing the hardships of the camp and conquest; the Book of Judges exhibits the nation in the first period of its life as a settled, possessing, and peaceable people. Hitherto, the nation, like a minor, had been authoritatively directed by its guardian and friend; the Book of Judges opens at the moment in which the people itself is to assume the administration of its affairs in accordance with the sacerdotal and civil constitution which has been framed for it. This is indicated, from various points of view, by the name which our Book bears in the Canon: *Shophetim*, Judges. The same title is borne by the Synagogue pericope which begins, at Dent. xvi. 18, with the command, "Thou shalt make thee Judges (*Shophetim*) in all thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Since Moses no longer exercised his legislative, nor Joshua his executive functions, these *Shophetim* constituted the highest civil authority (cf. on ch. ii. 16), who in conjunction with the priesthood, were to watch over the observance of the law. The Book of Judges, accordingly, recounts the history of the times, after the death of Joshua, in which the governing authority in Israel was to be exercised by the *Shophetim*.

2. The Biblical books are throughout books of instruction. For this purpose, and this alone, were they written. Their design is to show the relations, first of God, and through God of Israel, to history. In their view, all history, and that of Israel especially, is a continuous fulfillment of the truth and purposes of God. The achievements and the fortunes of all nations are the consequences of their moral relations to God. But the preëminence of Israel consists in this, that the God of nature and of time was first revealed to it, and that in the Law which it received from Him, it has a clear and definite rule by which it can order its relations to God and know the moral grounds of whatever befalls it. Upon the observance of this law, as the evidence and expression of faith in the living God, the freedom, well-being, and peace of Israel repose. This had been made known to the people, before under Joshua's direction they left the desert and addressed themselves to the conquest of Canaan. If after victory, they shall observe the law, and be mindful of their calling to be a holy People of God, prosperity will follow them; if not, they shall fall into bondage, poverty, and discord (Deut. vii. 1 ff.). The Book of Judges is a text-book of fulfillment to this prediction. The twenty-one sections of which it consists are organically put together for this purpose. It may, indeed, be said that there are three principal divisions recognizable: first, chaps. i. and

ii.; secondly, chaps. iii.-xvi.; thirdly, chaps. xvii.-xxi. But the lessons which these three divisions respectively contain, evince precisely the organic connection in which the whole narrative stands with all its parts, as the necessary fulfillment of what was promised in the law. The first two chapters are a pragmatic introduction to the history of the book as a whole. They explain the possibility of the events about to be related. Not in the history of Joshua could the germs of the subsequent conflicts lie; for Joshua stood in the spirit of the law, and moved in the steps of Moses. It was only in what the tribes did after his death, that their foundation was laid. Accordingly, when ch. i. relates the prosecution of the conquest by Israel, its main object in so doing is not to tell what was conquered and how, but rather to show that in violation of the Mosaic command the tribes failed to expel the Canaanites. In consequence of this failure, the forewarnings of the law (Deut. vii.) went into fulfillment. Peace endured only so long as the elders yet lived who remembered all the great works that were done for Israel at their entrance into Canaan (Josh. xxiv. 31). The younger generation soon fell into the snares of temptation, and consequently into spiritual and political servitude. In distress, indeed, they sought after God, and then heroes rose up among them, who were truly their Judges, and who, acting in the spirit of God, regained their liberty. Their deeds are reported in chaps. iii.-xvi. But the root of the evil was not thereby removed. Heathenism continued to exist in the bosom of Israel. The occasion of apostasy afforded by the idolatry of the Canaanites was permanent, but the institution of the judgeship was transient. The service of Baal perpetuated itself from generation to generation; but the strength and energy of the Judge expired with the person in whom they dwelt. So also all those judges whom according to the law Israel was to elect for the administration of its local affairs (Deut. xvi. 18 f.), were invested with merely personal, not hereditary, dignity. The permanent evil was not confronted with any equally permanent institution. To this fact ch. ii. already alludes; for it says, ver. 19, that "when the Judge was dead, they turned back."

3. In consequence of this, the Book of Judges is the book of fulfillment from yet another point of view. It teaches that by reason of the fact just alluded to, the hereditary kingly office had to be set up. In Deuteronomy (xvi. 18 f.), the institution of Judges in all the gates of Israel is immediately followed by this provision (ch. xvii. 14 ff.): "When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me, then shalt thou set him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose." The Book of Judges shows that this result was unavoidable. The government of the Judges, it points out already in ch. ii., has no traditional strength. The authority of the greatest among them ceases when he dies. Each one of the great heroes who are portrayed from ch. iii. onward, affords proof of the want of the hereditary kingly office, albeit in different ways. When Othniel died, no second hero of Judah was forthcoming to restrain Israel from sin. Ehud was a deliverer (ch. iii.), but he is not even called a Judge. After him, the work of delivering and judging devolved on a woman, and Barak was willing to fight only if she went with him (chaps. iv., v.). Gideon became inspired with courage only through great wonders on the part of God (ch. vi.); and however pious and great, he himself occasioned confusion in Israel (ch. viii. 27). Jephthah had no legal descent of any kind. Samson was an incomparable hero; but he fought single-handed, without a people to support him.

The Judges were indeed deliverers; but their authority was not recognized throughout all Israel. The call of Deborah was answered by only two tribes. Gideon's leadership was at first opposed by Ephraim. Jephthah fell into sanguinary discord with the same tribe. Samson was bound to be delivered up to the Philistines by the terror-stricken tribe of Judah itself.

The judgeship did not even maintain itself within the same tribe. Of the six principal heroes, three belonged to the south, — Othniel, Ehud, Samson, — and three to the north, — Barak, Gideon, Jephthah; none to Ephraim, the tribe of Joshua, and two to Manasseh.

The title of the hero was *Shophet*, Judge. But judges there were always. In every tribe, the judge was the local magistrate. The hero who rose up to conquer bore no new title. And his authority was merely the authority of the common *Shophet* territorially extended by virtue of his mighty deeds. But whatever unity he might have formed during his activity, dissolved itself at his death. The tribes then stood again under their separate *Shophetim*. Permanent organic connection could be secured only through a king. Without this common

and permanent centre, the interests of the several tribes diverged, and each section became indifferent to whatever occurred in the others. National interest decayed, and with it, of course, national strength. The narratives of chaps. xvii.—xxi. form, it is true, a division by themselves, but a division that stands in organic connection with the whole Book. The events there related do not follow after the last judge of whom ch. xvi. speaks. They belong to much earlier times, and yet the position assigned them is well considered and instructive. They demonstrate by new and striking illustrations the necessity of the kingly office to strengthen Israel, within and without, over against the existing idolatry, which could maintain itself only by reason of the divisions and want of unity between the tribes of Israel. The events of these last five chapters do not seem to have occurred under the tyranny of any hostile king. So much the more strikingly do they set forth the weakness of the form of government which Israel had at that time, — a weakness which, to be sure, had its ultimate ground in the weakness of the people itself. They show the decay both of religion among the people and of the priesthood. The first two of these chapters (xvii. and xviii.) teach us what sins in spiritual matters and what deeds of civil violence were possible in Israel, without causing the whole nation to rise in remonstrance. The last two show the reverse of this, namely, the fanaticism of self-righteousness with which the whole people proceeded against one of the brotherhood of tribes, reducing it even to the verge of extinction. Both kinds of sins were possible only because the hereditary, general, and authoritative kingly office was wanting, which everywhere interposes with the same comprehensiveness of view, because it everywhere governs with the same strength. For that reason the narrator several times adds the remark (ch. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1): "There was no king in Israel." It is the last sentence he writes: "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes." But the whole Book points to this conclusion. It is the essence of its special teaching. It is that which makes its title doubly significant. The civil authority of the Shophetim would have sufficed, if Israel had been obedient, and had not retained the Canaanites in its borders. As it was not obedient, it needed extraordinary Shophetim to effect its deliverance. But their sporadic activity could not prevail against a permanent evil. This the concentrated strength of the kingly office alone could overcome; just as, according to the gospel, every evil to which the children of men were subject, has been dissolved by the true kingship of the Son of God.

§ 2. *Time of Composition.*

The doctrinal tendency which we thus perceive in the Book is of great importance; for it undoubtedly furnishes a clew to the time in which it was edited. The idea of explaining the possibility of such events as are related in chaps. xvii.—xxi. by the remark, "There was no king in Israel," could be entertained only at a time when perfect political unity and order were still expected to result from the kingly office. No such explanation could have been appended to the account of Micah in ch. xvii., if the division of Israel, and the institution of Jeroboam's political idolatry, had already taken place. After the reigns of various sinful kings of Judah and Israel had become matters of history, and after the rebellion against David and the sanguinary conflicts between Judah and Israel had taken place, the want of a king could not have been offered in explanation of the civil war between Israel and Benjamin. This could only be done while people yet looked with confidence to the kingly office for certain victory without, and divine peace and order within. On the other hand, the prominence with which the lack of hereditaryness in the judgeship, and the want of any guaranty against apostasy are set forth, is explainable only if done at a time when the judicial office had ceased to inspire confidence. There is but one period in the history of Israel in which both these conditions meet, namely, when the people desired a king from Samuel, and he consecrated Saul, and the victories of the latter afforded peace within and without. The Book might be called a text-book for the people, collected and written to instruct and establish them in the new kingly government.

The desire for a king appears as early as Gideon's time. After that hero's victory, the people come and wish to have him for a king. But Gideon declines, and our author manifestly approves his course. Abimelech's disgraceful kingship is minutely related; but the parable of Jotham sets in a convincing light the wrongfulness of the manner in which the trees, *i. e.* the people, seek to make a king. A king so made can be of no service to Israel. It is written (Deut. xvii. 15): "Thou shalt make *him* king whom the Lord shall choose."

In Samuel's time, also, the people wish a king, but they do not undertake to choose one themselves. They pray Samuel to select one for them; and it is only at God's command that Samuel complies.

Samuel, as chronologically he stands between King Saul and the Judges, so as Prophet and Priest he mediates the transition from the judicial to the kingly office. His *prophetic* exercise of the judicial office first teaches the people how rightly to desire and ask for a king. It is on that account that the Book of Judges closes with the heroic deeds and death of Samson. The age of heroes is past. The age of kings can begin only when a *prophet* enjoys respect as a judge throughout all Israel, which had never been the case before Samuel. Hence, this prophet's history forms the introduction to the history of the kingship, since without his consecration no king could exist. This is why the Septuagint and the Vulgate call the Books of Samuel the First and Second of Kings.

The extreme points of time between which the composition of our Book must have taken place, may easily be indicated. It must have been later than the great victory of Samuel over the Philistines, the reformation of Israel, and the return of the ark of the covenant from exile (cf. on ch. xviii. 30). One consequence of the reformation was that, notwithstanding Samuel's protest at first, the people desired a king; for in this promised office they sought security both against their enemies and against themselves and their own unbelief. Another consequence, probably, was the composition of this manual of penitence and instruction.

On the other hand, our Book must have been written before the reign of David. Jerusalem was still called Jebus, and the Jebusites had not yet been expelled (ch. i. 21, xix. 10). But if 2 Sam. v. 6 ff. is to have any meaning at all, it must refer to the utter destruction of the Jebusites' power by David, a conclusion which the whole history confirms. Moreover, if our Book had not been written before the time of David, references to his reign could not be wanting. From Othniel's time, the tribe of Judah, David's tribe, falls into the background. The mention of it in the history of Samson, is far from honorable. The relatively copious treatment of affairs in which *Benjamin* figures, points to the time of King Saul. While the history of Othniel is quite summarily related, that of Ehud is drawn out to the minutest detail. Similarly rich is the flow of tradition in the narrative concerning Gibeah (ch. xix. *seq.*). Saul says of himself that he is "of the smallest of the tribes" (1 Sam. ix. 21). This history of Gibeah explains the cause of Benjamin's smallness, and traces it to the savage war made on him by Israel.

§ 3. *The Sources.*

1. The author did not command materials in equal abundance from all the tribes. A full supply flowed in upon him out of the traditions of the tribes bordering on Ephraim, namely, Benjamin, Manasseh, and Dan. The story of Deborah describes the heroic exploit of Naphthali and Zebulun; but Deborah herself resided between Ramah and Bethel, on Mount Ephraim, near the confines of Benjamin. Of the tribes at the extremities of the land, of Reuben (Gad is included in Gilead), of Simeon (only the incident in ch. i.), of Asher, the author's sources afforded scarcely any information. Concerning Judah's preëminence, only ch. i. (cf. ch. xx. 18) communicates anything. Toward Ephraim (for ch. i. 22 ff. refers to the *whole* house of Joseph), the sources nourish an unfavorable disposition. No hero, properly speaking, came out of Ephraim; for of Abdon nothing but his name and wealth is mentioned (ch. xii. 13). Ephraim originates the sinful opposition to Gideon and Jephthah. In Ephraim Abimelech plays his rôle as royal usurper. There Micah sets up his false religion. Thence also sprang that Levite who was the cause of the civil war. It must not be overlooked that for the author and his times all this was of great significance. When the king demanded of Samuel is appointed, he is not chosen out of Ephraim, but out of Benjamin. The author, who favors the institution of the kingship, brings the moral incapacity which Ephraim as leading tribe has hitherto shown, into prominence. The priesthood, it is true, had their seat at Shiloh. But the whole history of the Judges shows the powerlessness of the priesthood in times of danger. The facts related in the last five chapters of our book, by way of supplement to the deeds of the heroes, are sufficiently indicative of the fall of the priestly tribe. Such things, also, as are told of Levites, occurred only "because there was no king." Ephraim, it is true, gave Samuel to the nation, the restorer of Israel's spiritual strength, and the reformer of the priesthood; but even he could give no guaranty for his children, who when in old age he transfers his office to them, do not walk in his steps.

2. As to the authorship of the Book of Judges, the traditions which ascribe it to Samuel are ancient; but if in such obscure matters one were to risk a conjecture, he would hardly attach himself to these traditions. The Book apparently presupposes the reign of Saul, just as in the Books of Samuel the reign of David is presupposed. To record the deeds and instructions of God, as brought to view in the history of the nation, was certainly a well-considered, and, as the extant sacred writings show, a fearlessly and honestly executed office. If this was the office held by the *mazkir* at the courts of David, Solomon, and the kings in general (cf. 2 Sam. viii. 16, 1 Kings iv. 3, etc.), it would be natural to ascribe our Book to a Benjamite of the court of Saul. This man had before him narratives, extending over a period of 400 years, which must have been written by contemporaries of the events related. Local and material details such as the histories of Ehud, Gideon, Abimelech, Jephthah, Samson, as also those of Micah and the priest at Gibeah, exhibit, can only proceed from narrators who stood personally near the events. Nevertheless, as has already been remarked, an organic recasting of the materials extends through the whole Book, by means of which the doctrine it is designed to teach is brought prominently to view, and the arrangement of the individual narratives determined. To this it is owing that the record of the great deeds achieved by the Judges closes with Samson, although it is not certain that the death of that hero is the latest event of the Book, and also that the narratives concerning Micah and Gibeah stand at the end, although, as the author himself does not conceal, the events occurred much earlier (cf. ch. xviii. 12, xiii. 25; also, xx. 28). The lesson conveyed in the introduction of the Book, especially in ch. ii., that sin and apostasy are the cause of servitude, and that apostasy in turn is the consequence of the people's disobedience in not expelling the Canaanites, is brought out in similar turns of thought and expression throughout the work (cf. ch. ii. 11, iv. 1, vi. 1, x. 6, xiii. 1; ch. ii. 14, iii. 8, x. 7; ch. ii. 17, viii. 33, x. 13 ff.). The objection that chaps. xvii.-xxi. do not contain such expressions, testifies only to the clearness and order which everywhere pervade the simple narrative. Until the story reaches the age of Samson, these expressions occur because they indicate the moral links in the historical connection. But chaps. xvii.-xxi. are placed outside of this connection. They present occurrences out of times in which the formula, "the sons of Israel continued to do evil" (cf. ch. iv. 1, etc.), or, "they did evil" (cf. ch. ii. 11, etc.), were not properly applicable, since they were times of "rest" to the land, in consequence of the victories of one great Judge or another (cf. ch. iii. 11, etc.). Accordingly, these chapters find the ground of the evils they set forth not in the want of a Shophet but of a king. Their unity with the Book as a whole, appears clearly on a comparison of them, as to style and diction, with the introduction, chaps. i.-iii.; as again similar philological characteristics testify to the unity of chaps. i.-iii. with iv.-xvi. (cf. Keil, *Lehrb. der hist. krit. Einleit.*, § 47, notes 4 and 5).

3. Notwithstanding this, it is plain that the different narratives of the Book exhibit a difference of coloring among themselves. This could not be otherwise. From the earliest times down to the Middle Ages, it has ever been the manner of the chronicler to tell his story, for the most part, in the very words of his sources. Precisely the Christian historiography of pious men in mediæval times abounds with proofs and instructive illustrations of this fact. To this practice the numerous *hapax legomena* of our Book, found nowhere else, are due (cf. ch. i. 15, iii. 22, iv. 4-19, v. 10, 28, vii. 3, xiv. 9-18, xv. 8, xviii. 7, etc.); while in many places traces of abridgment by the author might be pointed out (cf. ch. iv. 15, xvi. 13 ff., xx.). The communication of invaluable contemporary documents like the Song of Deborah and the Parable of Jotham not only confirms this explanation, but also makes it probable that in other parts of his work too the author made use of popular and heroic songs, although the fact that his prose account of the victory of Deborah and Barak is manifestly independent of the Song of Deborah shows that this conjecture is to be applied with great caution.

The author was acquainted with the contents of the Book of Joshua and of the entire Pentateuch. His first chapter becomes intelligible only when viewed in connection with the Book of Joshua. In the 13th chapter of that Book, the Lord says to Joshua that while he is old much land remains still to be possessed. The territories yet to be conquered are indicated, and orders are given for the division of the whole land among the tribes. With this account ch. i. of our Book connects itself. It shows what conquests remained to be made, from what necessary exertions the people still shrank, and where contracts of toleration were still made with the heathen inhabitants. The enumeration of places, especially in ch. i. 27-36, presupposes familiarity with chaps. xiii.-xix. of Joshua so necessarily, that without it it would

be altogether unintelligible. Only those places are named which were not fully subdued; consequently, the knowledge of what formed the entire territory allotted to each tribe is presupposed. But this knowledge could only be obtained from the above-mentioned chapters in Joshua, since the territorial possessions of the respective tribes had nowhere else been defined.

In fact, the Book of Judges as a whole sets forth the fulfillment of what was contained in the Pentateuch and Joshua: its author must therefore have been acquainted with the contents of both. Chapter ii. is largely made up of sentences found in the last four books of Moses [cf. Hengst. *Pentateuch*, Ryland's ed., ii. 24 f.]. The history of the exodus is evidently known to the author in the very words of the Biblical narrative (cf. ch. ii. 12, vi. 13). The song of Deborah speaks in like manner of the journey through the desert and of Sinai. The narrative of the discord in Shechem (ch. ix. 28), reminds one of the story of Dinah (Gen. xxxiv.); and the deed in Gibeah is related in phraseology similar to that used in the history of Lot (Gen. xix.). We must here glance at a misunderstanding emphatically maintained by Bertheau in several passages of his Commentary. The Book of Judges, he asserts, contains references to matters that occurred under Solomon, and therefore its author must have lived after this king. In support of this, he refers to 1 Kgs. iv. 7-19 compared with Judg. i. 27, 28; but the reference proves nothing. The passage in Kings relates, to be sure, that Solomon appointed twelve officers over all the realm, whose duty it was to provide for the royal household. Of course, the districts mentioned Judg. i. 27 fell under the charge of some one of these officers. But in Judg. i. 28, it is stated that Manasseh did not drive out the Canaanites of these districts, but let them remain on condition of paying tribute, and in that we are to find a reference to Solomon!! As if Solomon had not appointed these officers over the whole kingdom! or as if their appointment had any reference to the Canaanites or to "tribute," neither of which are so much as named in connection with it! A measure necessary in every regal government for the existence of the state, we are to identify, forsooth, with a measure of subjugation against enemies in a district! The very passage in 1 Kgs. ix. 15-22, which Bertheau connects with 1 Kgs. iv. 7-19, should have shown him the true nature of the appointment of these officers. For these verses, while they state that Solomon made serfs of the still remaining heathen, expressly add that he did not make servants of any Israelites. But this action of Solomon toward heathen is not the subject of discourse at 1 Kgs. iv. 7-19, where officers are appointed over all Israel; and as little in Judges i. 28, which speaks of the time when Israel grew strong (which it certainly had been long before Solomon's day), and imposed tribute¹ upon the Canaanites. This is the very thing for which Manasseh is blamed, that when it grew strong, instead of expelling the heathen inhabitants, it made them tributary, thus sowing the seeds of future sin. The whole passage, if it referred to Solomon, would be senseless. And why, if the author thought of Solomon, did he not name him?

Yet more singular is another conjecture put forth by Studer and Bertheau. Judg. i. 29 states that Ephraim did not drive the Canaanites out of Gezer, but that they continued to dwell there. Now, we read in 1 Kgs. ix. 16 ff., that an Egyptian Pharaoh conquered Gezer, and slew the Canaanites, after which Solomon rebuilt the city. To this conquest, now, we are to suppose the author of Judges alludes in ch. i. 29! But the author manifestly knows only this, that the Canaanite still dwelt in Gezer! Had he alluded to the conquest of Gezer and its rebuilding, he must have told of the destruction of the Canaanite; for at the time of Solomon's rebuilding, the Canaanite was no longer there! Of such grounds as these for bringing down the date at which our book was written, Bertheau has four more (p. xxix.): 1. His interpretation of ch. xviii. 30, which he thinks may refer either to the Assyrian or Babylonian conquest, on which see the commentary below. 2. The expression "until this day" (ch. i. 21, 26, vi. 24, x. 4, etc.), implies a long lapse of time between the occurrence and the author. But even fifty years would suffice, and the author had a period of four centuries under review. 3. The author was acquainted with regal government in Israel (ch. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, etc.). Undoubtedly, because he lived under Saul, and therefore also, 4. Shiloh had ceased to be the seat of the priesthood. But how all this can be made to prove the composition of the Book of Judges in the Assyrian period, it is hard to say. Bertheau (after others) speaks of a cycle of twelve judges; but to justify this, either Barak or Abimelech must be omitted. The Jews counted fourteen. The number seven can only be got by force; for the Book contains eight extended biographical sketches, to which Othniel is to be added.

1 מָס, the difference between which and מָס לָבָד, 1 Kgs. ix. 21, is also to be noted.

All such play on numbers, which if the author had intended or found, he would have unquestionably set forth clearly and boldly, can at best neither prove nor disprove anything.

4. But it is precisely the traces by which the author's use of earlier narratives is indicated, that testify to his freedom and originality. They show a natural and living appropriation of sacred history and its teaching, not a slavish and mechanical borrowing. The language of our Book, too, contains expressions not found in the Pentateuch and in Joshua (cf. on ch. ii. 14 and 18, xx. 26, and Keil, *l. c.*). The manner in which earlier history records occurrences analogous to those which our author has to relate, is recalled with freedom, without servile imitation. Compare, *e. g.* the account of the appearance of the angel to Gideon and the kindling of his present, with that of the visit of the angels to Abraham (Gen. xviii.) and the kindling of his sacrifice (Gen. xv. 17); the story of Jephthah's vow with Abraham's offering up of Isaac (Gen. xxii.).

Very significant is the clearly discriminating use of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim, the former of which constantly designates the absolute God who has revealed himself to Israel, while the latter expresses the general conception of Deity, as recognized also by heathenism. The nations of Canaan were not without Elohim on whom to call. But Baal and Ashtaroth were false Elohim. Israel had the true Deity, the only Elohim (הֵאֱלֹהִים): the living Jehovah. This God of Israel the heathen, and with them the apostate Israelites themselves, did indeed consider and speak of as an Elohim; but he was no nature-deity, but the God of Israel's history, Jehovah, the Deliverer from Egypt, the mighty wonder-worker, the Creator of all men. The use of the names Jehovah and Elohim is indicative of the difference between Israel and the nations in their relations to the true God and in their views of the universe. It implies not different documents but different spiritual conditions; and the profound subtlety of the narrative is shown nowhere more strikingly than in the alternation of these names. When the heathen Adonibezek speaks, in ch. i., he uses Elohim. Ehud, when he addresses King Eglon, says Elohim; but when he speaks to Israel, Jehovah (cf. ch. iii. 20, 28). Micah's private chapel is merely called a house of Elohim (ch. xvii. 5), although he himself pretends to serve Jehovah. To sinning Ephraim Gideon speaks only of Elohim, just as this name only occurs in the history of Abimelech. The name used corresponds with the spirit of those by whom or in whose ears it is spoken. In Micah's idolatrous temple, in the Shechem of Abimelech's time, and in Ephraim's pride, the fear of the true God of Israel does not manifest itself.

Occasionally, Jehovah and ha-Elohim (הָאֱלֹהִים, *the God, sc. of Israel*), are used interchangeably; but yet not altogether as equivalents. Even the heathen Midianites may speak of the God of Israel as ha-Elohim (ch. vii. 14), but not as Jehovah. The latter is only put into the mouths of such as worship the Holy One in full faith. Very instructive in this respect is the alternation of the divine names in the accounts of the angelophanies to Gideon and the parents of Samson. The angels appear in human form, but their exalted nature shines through the lowlier appearance. On this account, an angel (ch. xiii. 6), as also a prophet, may be called an *Ish ha-Elohim*, a godlike man; but no one is ever called *Ish Jehovah*, a Jehovah-like man. That description can be applied to neither angel nor man. The divine appearance in the human form under which the angel comes, can only be described by the term Elohim, or, in so far as its source in the God of Israel is to be specially indicated, by ha-Elohim.¹ True, the expression "Angel of Jehovah" may be used as well as "Angel of ha-Elohim;" but still, in ch. vi. 20, 21, these expressions seem to be distinguished from each other in such a way, that the latter designates the angel simply in his appearance (ver. 20), the former as the possessor of supernatural powers (ver. 21). When Gideon once more hesitates, and desires to assure himself whether he be really the chosen deliverer, and therefore longs to have the reality of the angelic appearance already enjoyed confirmed, he addresses himself to ha-Elohim (vers. 36, 39). It may indeed appear strange that in connection with the answer in ver. 40 simply Elohim is used; but the explanation is that the meaning being plain, the article is omitted as unnecessary.

[¹ The author seems to take the genitive *אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים*, as a gen. of quality, as in *אִישׁ דְּקָרִים*, "an eloquent man." But this is certainly incorrect. The expression "man of God," does not indicate subjective character or nature, but objective official relations. First applied to Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 1), it was commonly used to designate a prophet. It denotes a man whom God has taken into relations of peculiar intimacy with himself in order through him to instruct and lead his people. The genitive may be defined as the gen. of the principal, from whom the "man" derives his knowledge and power, and for whom he acts. — Tr.]

5. These discriminations between the divine names are not to be ascribed to our author in any such sense as if the earlier times which he describes, and the sources which came down to him out of them, had not yet possessed any clear perception of them. All tradition in whatever form he used it, narrative and song, was pervaded with the same consciousness as that which lives in Biblical books and doctrines, from which indeed it had derived them. The Song of Deborah, the documentary character and genuineness of which are undoubted, celebrates with prophetic power the Jehovah of the generations of Israel. The document which Jephthah sends to the king of Ammon shows a living knowledge of the contents and language of the Books of Moses, although it treats both with great freedom. If Gideon did not live in the consciousness of the authoritative God, who revealed himself in the law, and led Israel through the desert into Canaan, he could not say, while refusing an offered crown, "Jehovah shall rule over you" (ch. viii. 23). When Jephthah makes a vow, he makes it not after the model of any heathen usage, but in the language, form, and spirit of the Israelitish vow, as regulated by Moses. The story of Samson becomes intelligible only by the light of the Nazaritic institute of the Pentateuch (Num. vi.). The priestly body comes to view in the service with Urim (ch. i. 2, xx. 18). Respect for the priesthood shows itself plainly, albeit in a perversion of it, in the conduct of Micah (ch. xvii. 13). The officiating Levite is known by his priestly dress, furnished with the prescribed bells (ch. xviii. 3). It is undoubtedly true that the circumstances of the Levites, as they come to view here and there, as also the story in ch. xix., indicate a wretched condition of the order; but decay implies vigor, just as caricature implies truth. The false ephod points to the true; the idol altar of Gideon's father, to that which his son erects in the place of it. The Book of Judges treats of great international conflicts. But these wars are waged by the nations of Canaan not only against the strange people, but against that people's God. No conflict had ever arisen, but for Israel's *Jehovah*, from whom his people derived their national existence and character, — and, indeed, it was only the *living* Jehovah, who would not suffer himself to be represented by dead images, that could produce this deep and lasting antagonism. Without him, Israel could not have maintained itself in a struggle of four hundred years, to be finally victorious, and to find itself in possession of solid foundations for future civil and religious life.

Of course, the Book of Judges does not aim at giving a history of the general culture of the age, after the manner of modern times. That it says so little of the priestly institutions and the law, proves only that it presupposes them as known. It is certain, at least, that the discourses of the prophetic messengers (chaps. ii. and x.), like the whole Book, explain the several apostasies of the nation out of the decay of their religious and spiritual life.

To infer from the abnormalities that come to view, as the idolatry in Ophrah, the sin of Abimelech, the discord between the tribes under Jephthah, the abomination in Gibeah, and the wretched condition of the Levites, that the law, in all the fullness of its instructions, was not yet known or published, would be a singular procedure. As if during the times succeeding Clovis there had been no churches, no bishops, no Christian people, in Gaul, notwithstanding the horrible deeds of the kings and their helpers! Or as if in our own day and land, in which the Christian Church and Christian doctrine are unquestionably prevalent, the presence and existence of these might nevertheless be denied, because of the abominations of apostasy which come to light, as to morals, in police-reports, and as to doctrine in the myriad books of modern idolatry! It is the nature of Biblical historiography to disclose the truth, without regard to men and without flattery. It does not, in modern fashion, glorify in breathless declamations the dutiful deeds of the "faithful"; it mentions them in few words. But it brings the disgrace and punishment of sin into the foreground, in order to warn against transgression and induce repentance. That it has become common, especially since the rationalistic period, to represent the age of the Judges as wild and barbarous, only shows that men are prone to overlook the vices and bloodshed peculiar to their own day. Our Book covers a space of four hundred years. Now, as the periods of servitude are characterized as times of apostasy, while those of independence are represented as times of order, it is not unimportant to observe that apostasy prevailed during but one third of the time described.

§ 4. *Chronology.*

1. The Book of Judges contains also chronological data in connection with the occurrences which it records. It is a suggestive fact, with reference to the peculiarities of his sources, and the manner in which he used them, that the first numerical statement of time given by the author refers to the duration of the oppression of Israel by Chushan Rishathaim, king of Aram. Concerning the occurrences between the death of Joshua and the time of Chushan, related in the introductory chapters, no dates are given, and their duration can only be approximately ascertained. The table of chronological data is conveniently divided into two parts: from Chushan to the domination of Ammon, and from that to the death of Samson.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|---------|
| Israel served Chushan | 8 years. | |
| Had rest under Othniel | 40 " | |
| Served Moab | 18 " | |
| Had rest under Ehud | 80 " | (40 ?) |
| Served Jabin | 20 " | |
| Had rest under Barak | 40 " | |
| Served Midian | 7 " | |
| Had rest under Gideon | 40 " | |
| Was ruled by Abimelech | 3 " | |
| Had Tola for Judge | 23 " | |
| Jair, Judge | 22 " | |
| Total | 301 years. | (261 ?) |

Among these numbers, only the statement that after Ehud's victory there followed eighty years of rest, excites special attention. The number forty is by no means an unhistorical, round number. Nevertheless, it seems manifestly to express the duration of a period, particularly that of a generation. In forty years the generation of the desert died out (cf. Num. xiv. 33). The statements that after the achievements of Othniel, Deborah, and Gideon, respectively, a period of forty years passed in rest, bring to light the internal ground of renewed apostasy, already indicated in the introduction (ch. ii. 10), namely, that after the death of the generation which had witnessed the deeds of the heroes, another rose up which had no living remembrance of them. So much stress may properly be laid on this internal ground, as to make the number eighty after Ehud's exploit very remarkable in its singularity; so remarkable, in fact, as to incline one to suppose that the original reading was forty. Apart from every other consideration, this supposition would have much in its favor, if it were certain — which, however, despite the statement in ch. iv. 1, it is not — that the number in question was also intended to give the length of Ehud's subsequent life. It would also give a clearness unusual in chronological matters to the statement of Jephthah that three hundred years had passed since Israel gained a firm footing in Heshbon, beyond the Jordan (ch. xi. 26). For from the year in which Jephthah says this, backward to the first year of Chushan, would on this reckoning be $261 + 18 = 279$ years. Twenty years would very satisfactorily fill up the gap between the last of Joshua's conquests and the commencement of the Aramæan domination. For although the kings of Sihon and Og were defeated by Moses seven years earlier, the two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes came into possession, properly speaking, only after the conquest of Canaan (Josh. xxii.). If the number eighty be left untouched, we get a period of three hundred and nineteen years from Jephthah back to Chushan's domination, to which the interval of twenty (or twenty-seven) years must be added, for this length of time must in any case have elapsed between the entrance into Canaan and the invasion of Chushan (cf. ch. ii. 10, iii. 7). But it is natural to suppose that Jephthah in his letter to the king of Ammon would use the larger, not the smaller, number of which the case admitted, in order to prove the right of Israel to its land. The change of eighty into forty is also of importance with reference to other chronological combinations, as will appear farther on.

2. In ch. x. 7 the historian states that God, by reason of Israel's renewed apostasy, delivered them into the hands of the Philistines and Ammonites. The statement gives the impression that this domination of these nations over Israel was contemporaneous, but exerted over different parts of the land. The narrative then proceeds to speak first of the tyranny of Ammon, which lasted eighteen years, and then of that of the Philistines, which continued forty years. From the first of these oppressors, Jephthah delivered the eastern tribes; against the other, Samson began the war of liberation.

It certainly seems as if the author of our Book wished to convey the lesson that, as time went on, the condition of kingless Israel became continually worse. At first, hostile attacks had come from one side only; a great victory was then won, and "the land rested." After Gideon, this expression no longer occurs. Moreover, it is never said of subsequent heroes that "they judged;" and the duration of their official activity no longer reaches to forty years. These facts are not to be neglected in our chronological survey.

The combination of the chronological data of the Book of Judges with those found elsewhere, and especially with the well-known statement in 1 Kgs. vi. 1, according to which four hundred and eighty years intervened between the exodus from Egypt and the building of the temple, is still attended with difficulty. Doubtless, the difficulty is itself a most striking proof of the antiquity, originality, and independence of our Book. Had it been composed at a late period, by the same hand that wrote the Books of Kings, would not its author have attempted to get rid of these remarkable difficulties? But the fidelity of the Old Testament tradition never shows itself more clearly than in cases in which, according to modern notions, it had been so easy for an editor to remove all occasion for resorting to hypotheses. For without these, it is at this day impossible to produce agreement. We know that agreement must exist, — for, surely, ancient authors were not incapable of arithmetical addition! — but coercive, scientific proof of it, we do not possess. The opinions of even the oldest Jewish chronologists were divergent. In support of our hypothesis we adduce the passage 1 Sam. xii. 11, where it is said that "Jehovah sent Jerubbaal, and Bedan, and Jephthah, and Samuel," and delivered Israel from their enemies round about. Now, Bedan is, without doubt, to be understood of Samson, the hero out of Dan. The passage, therefore, presents the peculiarity that it places Samson before Jephthah. Keil insists that the Ammonitish and Philistine oppressions occurred, not successively, but simultaneously. It is undoubtedly correct to say, that we are not first to sum up the numbers relating to the occurrences set forth in chaps. xi. and xii. thus: —

| | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Ammon | 18 years. |
| Jephthah | 6 " |
| Ibzan | 7 " |
| Elon | 10 " |
| Abdon | 8 " |
| Total | 49 years. |

and then add the years of the Philistine domination and those of Samson. Just as in 1 Sam. xii. 11, Samson stands before Jephthah, so in Judg. x. 7 the Philistines are named before the Ammonites: "Jehovah gave Israel into the hands of the Philistines and of the sons of Ammon." That notwithstanding this Jephthah's deeds are first related, has its ground in the fact that in this way the achievements against the Philistines connect themselves with the principal wars of Israel in the days of Samuel and Saul. According to ch. xiii. 1, the Philistine domination lasted forty years. After Samson's great victory at Lehi, it is remarked, ch. xv. 20, and afterwards repeated, that "he judged Israel twenty years." These twenty years cannot be included in the forty. It is against the spirit of the Book, after such a victory to speak of Samson's "judging," and yet to suppose that at the same time Israel continues to be given "into the hands of the Philistines." Therefore, when the prediction concerning Samson (ch. xiii. 5) only says that "he shall begin to deliver Israel," the meaning is that he will not thoroughly subdue them, as was done in the days of Samuel and David, for after the death of Samson their power again became dominant. Now, if this be undoubtedly correct, the supposition that the Ammonitish and Philistine servitudes commenced exactly at the same time, would compel us, notwithstanding 1 Sam. xii. 11, to place Jephthah long before Samson; for the Ammonitish domination lasted only eighteen years, and Jephthah ruled only six. The following conjecture is therefore to be preferred: With Gideon's death the land ceased "to have rest." Judges of forty years' service appear no more; but a servitude of forty years begins. The Philistine attack occurred perhaps soon after Abimelech, induced probably by reports of the discord that prevailed in Israel. While in the North and East Tola and Jair judged forty-five years, the Philistine servitude began in the southwest; and while Ammon oppressed Gilead in the East, Samson smote the Philistines in the southwest. The Gileadites make Jephthah their chieftain "because he had begun to smite the enemy" (cf. on ch. xi. 1, 2); for Samson also had become Judge when he had commenced to put down the Philistines (cf. on ch. xv. 20).

The combination of the chronological data of our Book with those of Samuel and especially the important one in 1 Kgs. vi. 1, is further facilitated by the fact that in 1 Sam. xii. 11, Eli is not named between Jephthah and Samuel. The inference from this omission is, that the forty years during which he ruled, are not to be separately taken into account. He was high-priest during the occurrence of the events in the North and South. The following additional conjectures may therefore be regarded as probable: The war spoken of in 1 Sam. iv. 1, commenced by Israel against the Philistines, may be held to indicate the new vigor which the victories of Samson and the terrible catastrophe at Gaza had infused into the people. About thirty years had probably elapsed since the death of Samson. Then follow twenty years of penitence on the part of Israel (1 Sam. vii. 2), dated from the exile of the ark and its restoration to Kirjath-jearim, that great event with which the Book of Judges is also acquainted. If next, according to ancient tradition, we add forty years for the time of Samuel and Saul, and forty for the reign of David, we arrive at the number four hundred and eighty in a manner sufficiently satisfactory and historically probable, as shown by the following tables:—

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|-------------------|-----|---------------------|----|--|
| Wanderings in the desert | 40 | Chushan | 8 | ABIMELECH | 3 | } = { Philistines 40 } = { SAMSON 20 } = { From death of Samson to Sam'l, about 30 |
| Conquest of the land | 7 | OTHNIEL | 40 | TOLA | 23 | |
| Until Chushan | 20 | Moab | 18 | JAIR | 22 | |
| — | | EHUD | 40 | Ammon | 18 | |
| 67 | | Jabin | 20 | JEPHTHAH | 6 | |
| | | BARAK | 40 | IBZAN | 7 | |
| | | Midian | 7 | ELON | 10 | |
| | | GIDEON | 40 | ABDON | 8 | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | 213 | | 97 | |

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|------------|
| SAMUEL before the victory (1 Sam. vii. 10) | 20 | Therefore, From Exodus to Chushan | 67 |
| SAMUEL and SAUL | 40 | Chushan to Gideon | 213 |
| DAVID | 40 | Abimelech to Abdon | 97 |
| SOLOMON | 3 | Samuel to Solomon | 103 |
| | 103 | | 480 years. |

Those who accept the eighty years of Ehud, as has hitherto been done, are obliged with Keil to reduce the interval from the death of Moses to Chushan to seventeen years, and that from the death of Jair to Solomon to one hundred and twenty-three, whereby Samson's judgeship vanishes, and no account is taken of the twenty years preceding the victory under Samuel.

3. In conclusion, we remark that in the historical sketch of the Apostle Paul, Acts xiii. 18–20, where he says, ver. 18, “and God nourished (τροφοφορήσεν) them forty years in the wilderness;” ver. 19, “and destroying seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot;” ver. 20, “and after that he gave them Judges for about four hundred and eighty years, until Samuel the prophet,” the reading four hundred and eighty can scarcely be the original one. The apostle evidently had his eye on our canonical books: in vers. 17 and 18, on the Books of Moses; in ver. 19, on the Book of Joshua; in ver. 20, on the Book of Judges; for this is followed by references to the Books of Samuel. As he was undoubtedly acquainted with the number four hundred and eighty in Kings, he could not assign four hundred and fifty years to the period from Joshua to Samuel, with which moreover no ancient tradition coincided. The conjectural reading, three hundred and fifty, appears therefore to be preferable; and it is certainly not a matter of indifference that, adding the numbers one after another as was done by Jewish tradition in general, three hundred and fifty years would actually represent the period from Chushan to the end of the Philistine domination. True, it would show that Paul also read only forty years in connection with Ehud. The objection that Paul also assigns a definite period of forty years for the reign of Saul, for which the Old Testament gives no authority, is destitute of force. For the Book of Samuel gives no information at all concerning the length of this king's reign, and the Apostle followed the view, entertained also by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 14, 9), according to which the reign of Saul, during and after the lifetime of Samuel, lasted forty years. It was sought in this way to explain 1 Sam. xiii. 1.

[NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR. Keil and Bachmann, both of whom have repeatedly investigated the chronology of the Book of Judges, have come to conclusions somewhat different

from those of our author. As their schemes essentially agree, it will be sufficient to indicate that of Bachmann, the latest published and the least accessible to the English reader. It may be found in his commentary, *Das Buch der Richter*, vol. i. pp. 53-74. Its turning points so far as they differ from our author's, may be briefly stated as follows: (1.) It adheres in every instance to the numbers given; hence, the period from Chushan to Gideon inclusive (cf. the table above), becomes two hundred and fifty-three years. (2.) It makes the forty years' Philistine servitude come to an end with the victory near Mizpeh. (3.) While it makes the Ammonitish and Philistine servitudes synchronistic in the main, as required by ch. x. 7, it supposes the beginning of the Philistine to fall from three to five years later than that of the Ammonitish oppression. If they began simultaneously, it would follow that a new Judge, Abdon, was somewhere recognized *after* Samuel had already assembled *all* the house of Israel, and had shown himself the Judge and deliverer of *all* Israel (cf. 1 Sam. vii. 3, 5, 6), which is not likely. Abdon, however, having once been recognized as Judge, before the victory under Samuel, might continue to be regarded as such until his death. It is only necessary, therefore, to bring down the beginning of the Philistine servitude far enough to allow of this previous recognition. (4.) It includes the twenty years of Samson in the "days of the Philistines," according to ch. xv. 20. It supposes Samson to begin his work as a young man of eighteen or nineteen years of age (cf. ch. xiv. 4 ff.), and thus allows his birth to fall after the beginning of the Philistine servitude, as demanded by ch. xiii. 5. (5.) As to Eli, since his pontificate ended twenty years before the victory of Mizpeh, its beginning must antedate the commencement of the Philistine oppression by twenty, and the Ammonitish by from fifteen to seventeen years. And, in fact, the earlier years of Eli's pontificate afford no traces of hostile oppression. The people journey to the great festivals regularly and securely (1 Sam. i. 3, 7, 21, 24; ii. 19); and even the sins of the sons of Eli, by which the people also are led astray (1 Sam. ii. 17, 24), are such as bespeak a time of careless security and prosperity. The following table exhibits the results thus obtained, for the time beginning with the Ammonitish and ending with the Philistine oppression. The figures at the left denote years after the death of Jair:—

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1 | Ammonitish servitude begins in the East, and continues eighteen years. | Eli is in the seventeenth year of his pontificate. |
| 4 | | In this year or one year earlier or later, the Philistine servitude begins in the West. |
| 18 | Jephthah breaks the Ammonitish yoke, and judges six years. | |
| 22 | | Samson begins his career, as a young man of eighteen to nineteen years. |
| 24 | Ibzan, Judge, seven years. | Eli dies. Samuel. |
| 31 | Elon, Judge, ten years. | |
| 41 | Abdon becomes Judge, and rules eight years. | |
| 42 | | Samson dies. |
| 44 | The third year of Abdon's Judgeship. | The victory near Mizpeh, under Samuel, ends the Philistine servitude, 1 Sam. vii. |

Now, allowing ten years, instead of Dr. Cassel's twenty, for the interval between the division of the land and the invasion of Chushan, and retaining the eighty years of Ehud, we get,—

| | |
|---|------------|
| From the Exodus to Chushan, | 57 years. |
| From Chushan to Gideon, | 253 " |
| From Abimelech to Mizpeh, | 92 " |
| Samuel and Saul, 40; David, 40; Solomon, 3, | 83 " |
| Total, | 485 years. |

This total, which it would be more proper to express variably as four hundred and eighty-four to four hundred and eighty-six, is not so far away from four hundred and eighty as to occasion any difficulty. In the first place it may be questioned whether the three years of Abimelech ought to be reckoned in; and in the second place, it is highly probable that some of the periods include fractional years, so that the last year of one and the first of the next properly form but one, whereas in the process of addition they come to stand for two. But are not ten years too short to cover the interval between the division of the land and the inroad of Chushan-Rishathaim? No, says Bachmann, p. 72 ff., "for, 1. Nothing demands a

lengthened period between the death of Joshua and the beginning of the Mesopotamian servitude. The passage at ch. ii. 11 ff. does not describe an earlier visitation than the Mesopotamian, but merely gives a general view of the causes and consequences of all the visitations about to be related. Under the *דור אחר*, the "other generation," cf. ch. ii. 10, neither a chronological generation of forty years (Bertheau), nor a *familia eminens*, that placed itself at the head of the nation (M. Hartmann), is to be understood. Nor does the remark of ch. ii. 7, about the elders who "outlived Joshua," require any considerable number of years. It merely affirms that they outlived him, without saying that they outlived him long. If in the second year of the Exodus these elders were eighteen or nineteen years old (Num. xiv. 29), at the division of the land, that is 38 + 7 years later, they would be sixty-three or sixty-four; and ten years more, until the first hostile oppression, would suffice fully to bring them to that age which according to Ps. xc. 10 constituted the highest average of human life even in the time of Moses. Nor, finally, is it necessary to assign much time to the process of moral deterioration in Israel (ch. ii. 6 ff.); for this began and went on progressively in and even before the days of the elders, and it was only the completed apostasy to idolatry that ensued after their death. 2. From Josh. xiii. 1, compared with xiv. 10 ff. it is evident that Joshua cannot have continued to live long after the division of the land. While the second of these passages represents Caleb, at the age of eighty-five years, still full of youthful strength and perfectly ready to undertake the conquest of his inheritance, the first gives the great age of Joshua as the reason for the command to divide the land, although the conquest was yet far from complete. And since exactly the same expression recurs in ch. xxiii. 1, 2, it is impossible to suppose that the farewell gatherings of chaps. xxiii. and xxiv., which were held shortly before the death of Joshua (ch. xxiii. 14), took place many years later. Neither the *ימים רבים*, "many days," of ch. xxiii. 1, nor the circumstance that, according to ch. xix. 50, Joshua built a city and lived in it, can prove the contrary; for a few years' time satisfies them both. Nor is there any ground in Ex. xxxiii. 11 and Num. xi. 28 for inferring that Joshua must have lived a considerable time after the division of the land; for the term *נער* denotes office, not age, and *מבחריו*, even if we explain it "from his youth" ("of his chosen ones," is probably to be preferred, cf. the Sept. and Vulg.), does not assert that Joshua was *then* a young man. On the other hand, it is only when we assume that Joshua died at a relatively early date, that the contents of Judg. i. 1-21 appear in their true light. But especially decisive for the utmost possible reduction of the length of the interval in question is the passage Judg. xi. 26. According to this passage, three hundred years had elapsed since Israel took possession of the land on the east of the Jordan. Now, between the Mesopotamian invasion and the death of Jair, there lies a period of three hundred and one, or, excluding Abimelech, two hundred and ninety-eight years. It is evident, therefore, that, reckoning Jephthah's three hundred years from the dismissal of the eastern tribes (Josh. xxii.) to the attack of the Ammonites (Judg. x. 7), the shorter the preceding period be computed, the closer becomes the agreement between the historical fact and the approximate number of Jephthah. It is manifestly more likely that three hundred and eight to three hundred and eleven, than that three hundred and thirty to three hundred and forty or more years, should be roundly represented as three hundred. We hold, therefore, with Lightfoot (*Opp.* i. 42), S. Schmid, Vitringa, Keil, and others, that an interval of about ten years, as left at our disposal by our computation of the chronology of the whole period, is in fact fully sufficient for the events between the division and the first subjugation of the land; and we accordingly reject, as wholly groundless extensions of the chronological frame, the assumption, since Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, 29; vi. 5, 4) almost become traditional, that twenty-five years are to be allowed for Joshua, and eighteen for the "elders;" the computation of various Rabbins (*Sed. Olam*, Isaaki, Abr. Zakut, and others), which assigns twenty-eight years to Joshua and the "elders" together; and every other similar hypothesis."—Tr.]

§ 5. Critical and Exegetical Helps.

1. In the criticism and translation of the Hebrew text, constant use has been made of the large *Rabbinic Bible* published at Venice, 1617-1618 by Petrus and Laurentius Bragadin, after the Bomberg edition. Compare the preface by Judah Arjeh of Modena, corrector of the work. Use has also been made of the *Biblia Universa*, published in 1657, at Leipzig, by Christian Kirchner, after the edition of B. A. Montanus. Compare the preface prefixed to

the work by the Dean and Theological Faculty of the University of Leipzig. Also of the *Biblia Hebraica* of Joh. H. Michaelis, Halle, 1720; the *Biblia* of Döderlein and Meisner, as edited by Knapp, 1819; and the edition of the *Book of Judges*, with a German translation and commentary, by Mair Obernik, Fürth, 1805.

A treatment of the text such as has recently again been attempted by the wild theories of Geiger, Dozy, and others, is at variance with the laws of objective scientific criticism, and renders textual tradition, language, and contents so many footballs for subjective caprice. Its application is the more to be lamented, since it also increases the difficulties of such criticism as is both necessary and in accord with the spirit of Holy Scripture. But we must not be hindered by excesses of this kind from acknowledging, that it is more in keeping with piety toward the sacred volume to venture upon textual emendations in a few passages than to reject them. This conviction has governed us in the exposition of several passages (cf. on ch. ii. 3, iv. 15, v. 11, vii. 6 and 8), and especially in the treatment of ch. xviii. 30, where it is shown that the antiquity of the current reading is by no means a guaranty of its correctness, but only a proof of the fidelity of the Masoretic tradition.

It is unfortunately impracticable here to institute a closer collation of the Hebrew text with the LXX. and the Targum, as also with Josephus, than has been incidentally done in the exposition. It is, however, a matter sufficiently necessary, not to be neglected hereafter. The beginnings made by Ziegler (*Bemerkungen über das Buch d. Richter*, in the *Theol. Abhandl.*, Göttingen, 1791) and Frankel (in his *Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, Leipzig, 1841) are certainly still in want of a thorough continuation.

The Syriac version of the Books of Judges and Ruth by Paul of Tella (beginning of the 7th century), has been published at Copenhagen, by Th. Skat Rørdam: *Libri Judicum et Ruth, secundum versionum Syriaco-Hexaplaem*, Havniæ, 1859. The exposition of the Midrash on the Book of Judges, is given in the *Jalkut Shineoni*, by R. Simeon, of Frankfurt, Venice edition, printed by Bragadin, tom. ii.

For assistance in gaining acquaintance with Talmudic expositions, the following works may be consulted: *Nachalath Shineoni*, by R. Simeon, of Lissa, ed. Wandsbeck; *Toledoth Jakob*, by R. Jakob Sasportas, Amsterdam, 1657, 4to; *Sepher Mareh Kohen*, by R. Isachar, Cracow edition, 1689, 4to. The Jewish expositors of the Middle Ages, R. Solomon Isaaki (i. e. Raschi, frequently but improperly called Jarchi), R. David Kimchi (Redak), R. Levi ben Gerson (Ralbag), and other expositors, are found in the large Rabbinic Bibles. The commentary of R. Isaak Abarbanel on the *Prophete Priores* appeared at Leipzig, 1686.

Expositions, partly excellent, of passages of our Book, by the Caraites Aaron, are found in Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Hamburg, 1715-43. A Jewish German translation in rhyme is found in *Koheleth Jakob*, Prague, 1763, but with expositions and legends intermixed. A better, older, and literal Jewish German translation appeared at Amsterdam, 1679, fol. In more recent times several synagogue versions of the Holy Scriptures have been printed. Of these that which appeared under the conduct of Dr. Zunz adheres most closely to the Masoretic text, cf. *Orient. Literaturbl.*, 1840, p. 618.

The Book of Judges as a whole did not receive separate and special treatment at the hands of the earlier Christian exegesis. We must here refer to the general introductions to the O. T. for information concerning editions and expositions which include our Book. Jerome, Theodoret, and, later, Rhabanus Maurus and Rupert von Deutz, might be particularly mentioned.

Among the later Roman Catholic expositors Serarius stands preëminent on account of his diligence and voluminousness: *Commentarii in libros Judicum et Ruth*, Paris, 1611, Moguntiæ, 1619. Among Protestant expositors Brentius, Bueer, P. Martyr, Chyträus, Seb. Schmid, Osiander, Starke, and Drusius, are still worthy of attention. The commentary of Le Clerc began the rationalistic mode of exposition, and has furnished it with most of its materials. It is only forty years since the Book began again to receive any real attention. For ten years the commentary of Studer, *Das Buch der Richter, grammatisch und historisch erklärt*, Bern, 1835, almost entirely controlled the exposition. Valuable matter was contributed by Hengstenberg, *die Authentie des Pentateuchs* [translated into English by Ryland, under the title *Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, Edinburgh, 1847. — Tr.]. Still longer than Studer did Bertheau's exposition, *Das Buch der Richter und Rut*, Leipzig, 1845, maintain its prominence, to which for that reason special attention is given in the present work. The first volume of C. R. Keil's *Biblischer Commentar über die Prophetischen Geschichtsbücher des A. T.*, containing Joshua, Judges, and Ruth (Leipzig, 1863), appeared

after the greater part of our Book was finished. The author's theological attitude, diligence, and erudition are in no need of special characterization in this place. [Since the publication of Dr. Cassel's work, the first volume of a new commentary by Dr. Joh. Bachmann, Professor at Rostock, has appeared, entitled, *Das Buch der Richter, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Geschichte seiner Auslegung und kirchlichen Verwendung erklärt*, etc., Berlin, Ersten Bandes erste Hälfte, 1868, Zweite Hälfte, 1869. Theologically, the author stands on substantially the same ground with Cassel and Keil. His work is thorough and exhaustive. For English works on the whole Bible, cf. the commentary on Matthew, p. 19. We here add: Bush, *Notes Critical and Practical on the Book of Judges*, New York; and the *Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth*; with *Notes and Introductions* by Chr. Wordsworth, D. D., London, 1865, forming Part I. of vol. ii. of *The Holy Bible; with Notes*, etc., by the same author. Dr. Wordsworth is learned and devout, but somewhat too much given to allegorizing. — Tr.]

It cannot be desirable to enumerate here all the exegetical introductions and other writings more remotely connected with the business of exposition. For such enumeration we refer to Danz's *Universälwörterbuch*, to the works named by Dr. Lange in the commentary on Genesis, and to the older general commentaries of Starke, Lisco, and Gerlach. It is sufficient here to mention the *Introductions* of Hävernick and Keil, Ewald's *Geschichte Israels*, and Stähelin's *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch, die Bücher Joshua, Richter*, etc., Berlin, 1843. Much that is excellent — to confine ourselves to what specially belongs here — is contained in the little work of Prof. Wahl, *Ueber den Verfasser des Buches der Richter*, a "programme" of the Gymnasium and Realschule at Ellwangen, 1859. Compare also Nägelsbach, s. v. *Richter*, in Herzog's *Real Encyclopädie*, vol. xiii.; and in general, the articles of this encyclopædia on the several Judges.

On the chronology of the Book, the following works deserve to be mentioned: Jewish — the *Sepher Juchasin*, by Abraham Saento, Amsterdam, 1717; *Tsemach David*, by David Gans, in the edition of Vorstius, Hebrew and Latin, 1644, 4to; and *Seder Haddoroth*, by R. Jehiel, of Minsk, 1810, fol. Herzfeld, *Chronologia Judicum et primorum Regum Hebraeorum*, Berolini, 1836; and Bachmann, *Symbolarum ad tempora Judicum recte constituenda specimen* (Rostock University "Programme" for 1860). The very latest conjectures may be found in Rockerath, *Bibl. Chronologie*, Münster, 1865.

2. Of writings treating single parts of the Book of Judges, the number is larger. The Song of Deborah has been especially favored. We mention the following: ¹ Lette, *Animalversiones Sacrae*, L. Bat. 1759. Ruckersfelder, *Sylogæ comment. et observat. philol. exegit.*, Deventrae, 1762. Wilh. Abrah. Teller, *Uebers. des Segens Jakobs und Moses, insgleichen des Liedes der Israeliten und der Debora*, etc., Halle and Helmst., 1766. Schmurrer, *Diss. in Deboræ-Canticum*, Tüb. 1775 (cf. his *Dissert. Phil. Critica*, Gotha, 1790). Köhler, *Nachlese einiger Anmerk. über das Siegestied der Deb.*, in Eichhorn's *Repertorium* for 1780, p. 163 ff. Hollmann, *Comment. phil. crit. in Carmen Deboræ*, Lips. 1818. Köhler, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1831, pp. 72–76. Kemink, *Commentatio de Carmine Deboræ*, Traj. ad Rhen., 1840. Kalkar, *Questionum Biblic. Specimen*, I., Othinia, 1835. Böttger, in *Kändler's Biblischen Studien* (only to ver. 23), Dresden and Leipzig, 1842–44. Gumpach, *Alttestamentlichen Studien*, Heidelberg, 1852. Sack, *Die Lieder in den historischen Büchern des A. T.*, Barmen, 1864. Among translations, that of Herder, in his *Geist der Hebräischen Poesie*, ii. 196 (Cotta's edition of his works, 1852), still holds its merited rank. Little known, and yet not unimportant, is that of J. C. W. Scherer, in *Irene*, a monthly periodical by G. A. v. Halem, Münster, 1804, i. 44. Less valuable is *Debora, a Portrait of Female Character*, by E. Münch, in *Minerva*, an annual, for 1828, p. 339. Many excellent remarks on the Song of Deborah are found in Lowth's celebrated book on Hebrew Poetry; but the annotations of Schmidt (in *Auszuge aus Lowth's Vorlesungen*, Dantzig, 1793) are worthless.

In the exposition of the Song below, compression has been so much sought after, that its brevity, in view of the many new explanations that are offered, may be deemed a fault. Some improvement may perhaps be made in this respect hereafter.

The history of Jephthah has experienced an equally abundant treatment. To the literature mentioned in the exposition below, we here add the following: Reinke, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des A. T.*, Münster, 1852. Very sensible remarks against the assumption that Jephthah's daughter was sacrificed are found in Schedius, *Syngramma de Diis Germanis*, Halle, 1728. A discourse on "Jephthah's Sacrifice," with special reference to the importance of vows of

¹ The Jewish traditions concerning Deborah are given in a popular form in *Beth Jisraël*, Amsterdam, 1724.

homage, may be found among the *Discourses* of the Stolberg Chancellor, Joh. Titius, Halberstadt, 1678. F. Ranke, also, in his *Klaglied der Hebräer*, felt himself obliged to follow the old view. It is a curiosity of uncommon ignorance that in the French Opera *L'Enfant Prodigue*, of Sue and Auber, the bride of the Prodigal, that is to say, a woman, is named Jephthah.

Roskoff, in his work *Die Simsonssage, nach ihrer Entstehung, Form, und Bedeutung, und der Heraklesmythus*, Leipzig, 1860, gives the literature of those writings in which Samson is put on a parallel with Hercules. The author's own zeal for the parallelism is far more moderate than that of E. Meier, for instance, in his *Gesch. der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Hebräer*, Leipzig, 1856. But even his admissions we have not been able to consider well founded and trustworthy. We cannot believe, for instance, that there is such similarity between the answer to Samson's prayer, after his exploit at Leli, and the myth which recounts how Hercules, when unable to sleep on account of crickets, got rid of them, as to make it a safe foundation for scientific results. And it is only the thorough-going establishment of the historical and moral as well as ideal *difference* between the two characters that can give any real significance to other analogies that may exist, and that appear to suggest themselves so plainly. In the commentary on the narrative we have engaged in no polemics, but have attempted a positive exposition of the ideas contained in it.

Single parts of Samson's life were formerly frequently treated. As against the boundlessly insipid and wretched views of the so-called rationalistic exposition, which reached its acme in Baur's *Biblischer Moral*, 1803, i. 195 ff. the modern mythical apprehension is, to a certain extent, a real advance. But it is only by setting aside the subjective party opinions of the day, and by adopting a mode of apprehending the narrative that shall be at once objective, historical, and congenial to its contents, that exegesis can claim to be scientific or be capable of advancing science. A beautiful eulogium of Samson as compared with Hercules is found in Petri Labbe *Elogia Sacra*, Lips. 1686, p. 667:—

“Herculi coætaneus verus Hercules fuit;
Quæ in illo fabula, in hoc fuere miracula.”

“Samson's Foxes” are treated of by Paullini, in his *Philosoph. Luststunden*, i. 147. Essays on the jawbone in Leli are named below. Schiller, perhaps, had the miracle of Leli in mind in his ballad *Der Bürgschaft*, verses twelve and thirteen, where Möros in answer to prayer is delivered from thirst by water issuing from the rock. In the *Wiltinasage* (ed. Peringskiöld, p. 272), Sigurd, who has freely allowed himself to be bound, at the right time rends all his cords asunder. Thackeray relates (in his *Four Georges*, ch. vii.) that when George III. of England was blind and mentally diseased, he nevertheless selected himself the music for sacred concerts, and always from the *Samson* of Milton and Handel, and all his selections had reference to blindness, imprisonment, and suffering. There is a dramatic poem in three acts, by Sack, entitled *Simson*, Zurich, 1854.

The narrative in Judg. i. 17 is supposed to be improved and supplemented in the work of the Leiden Professor, Dozy: *De Israeliten te Mekka, van Davids tyd tot in de vyfde eeuw onser tydrekening*, Haarlem, 1864. German translation, Leipzig, 1864. If any book can bring contempt and ridicule on philological and ethnographical investigations and expositions, it is this volume. Few books can ever have been written whose authors presumed, to such an extent, and with such naive boldness, to substitute subjective arbitrariness for objective tact and moderation in the treatment of history and language. It is here made clear how little a knowledge of Arabic literature implies a fitness for historical investigation and conjecture. It happens unfortunately too often that some knowledge of technology imagines itself to be master of art, and that some acquaintance with grammatical forms deems itself proficient in exegesis. Let it not be thought that this judgment is here written down because Prof. Dozy holds the freest views of the Bible, considers Abraham and Sarah to be myths, and subscribes to Geiger's opinion that the Jews falsified Scripture. For Prof. Dozy, the credibility of Scripture is conditioned by the necessities of his hypothesis. If a passage suits him, it is by all means to be accepted; if it does not suit him, the reasons for rejecting it are at once apparent. The book, likely to dazzle and deceive by reason of its unequalled audacity and the splendor of its exterior, deserves the severest censure, because it treads under foot all lawful methods of scientific and philological research. A few sentences, having reference to the above-mentioned passage will show this.

We pass over his identification of the fact recorded at Num. xxi. 2, 3, with that related in

Judg. i. 17, for therein he follows others. But he thinks that the reading of the Syriac and Arabic versions, "Simeon went with Judah his brother," is better than that of the Hebrew text (which the Sept. has also), "Judah went with Simeon his brother." The Hebrew text, he thinks, was altered by the Jewish doctors, "who begrudged Simeon the first rôle." Now, the matter stands thus: In ver. 3 Judah invites Simeon to assist him to subjugate the territory allotted to him, promising that he will afterwards help him (Simeon) to take possession of his also. Simeon consents, "and," says the writer, "Simeon went with him (Judah). Simeon therefore stands first in this instance, and yet the envy of the Jews did not alter the clause. When the turn came to Simeon's territory, to which Zephath belongs, Judah rendered assistance to Simeon; consequently ver. 17 says, "and Judah went with Simeon." If rank comes into consideration at all in this expression, it belongs to the second-named, to whom he who goes with him merely renders assistance. If the Peshito reversed the order in ver. 17, it was only to bring about a verbal agreement with ver. 3 b.

Simeon and Judah had smitten the Canaanites in Zephath, inflicted the ban upon them, and given to Zephath the name Hormah (prop. Chormah) from *cherem*, cf. below on ch. i. 17. Now this putting under the ban was not anything peculiar to these two tribes. Moses had done it in behalf of all Israel (Num. xxi. 3). Its infliction throughout the conquest was expressly enjoined, Deut. vii. 2. Joshua executed it in Jericho, in Ai, and everywhere else (cf. Josh. vi. 17, vii. 10, etc.). But Dozy finds in the ban (*cherem*) something peculiar to the tribe of Simeon; and combining this assumption with the narrative in 1 Chron. iv. 24-43, where (ver. 41) we read of a ban executed by the tribe of Simeon, he arrives at the following conclusion: "Since the sons of Simeon made and inflicted the ban (בְּחֵרֶם), it follows that they made a *herem*." The place therefore "was called Herem or Hormah." But what place in Arabia — for that the place was in Arabia similar reasonings have previously proved — could be called Herem but Mecca! For Herem means also a "place consecrated to God," and Mecca is called Haram, which is equivalent to Herem. Therefore, the battle of the sons of Simeon took place in Mecca; and even the name Mecca dates from it; for *maka raba* signifies a great defeat, to wit, that which the enemy there suffered at the hands of Simeon. The Simeonites came to the entrance of Gedor, on the east side of the valley (1 Chron. iv. 39). Now, of course, the walls of the old temple in Mecca were called *al gadr* (*al gudar* = the wall); consequently, Gedor is to be read Geder, and signifies the temple in Mecca, to which they came. It must, however, be read Geder Baal, although the second word be wanting; for 2 Chron. xxvi. 7 speaks of Arabians who dwelt in Gur Baal, and *Gur* is to be read *Geder*. The LXX. at this place speaks of Arabians dwelling ἐν τῆς πέτρας. Common sense would think of Petra; but Dozy knows that they mean the black stone in Mecca, etc.

Dozy says at the beginning, that exegesis requires so much learning only because it deals with "Hebrew books." Unquestionably! for where but in Hebrew exegesis would one dare to be guilty of such scientific folly! Had one ventured to do this in the domain of classical philology, he would have experienced the fate with which the philosophers menaced Homer when they threatened to drive him from the stadium with scourges.

All science becomes impossible, when credible objective tradition is made the plaything of subjective caprice. We cannot here enter farther into details; these must be left for other places. For those who know, it is enough to say, that if such arguments are valid, the next thing will be, instead of the Israelites in Mecca, a book on "the Meccans in Zion."

Science, too, needs to experience the promise written in Ezek. xxxix. 29.

§ 6. *The Course of Thought.*¹

The Book derives its name from the Judges whom God raised up to guide and deliver Israel. It begins, therefore, by depicting the sins and consequent sufferings into which Israel fell after the death of Joshua, and which rendered the judgeship necessary.

[1 The following paragraphs were written by the author as "Preliminary Observations" to the "Homiletical Hints," which he gives in a body at the close of the commentary, and not, as in the other volumes of this work, after the several sections to which they refer. It was thought advisable in translating the book to alter this arrangement and make it conform to that observed in other parts of the general work. The more detailed analysis of the contents, as also the formal division of the work itself into parts and sections, together with the *resumes* placed at the head of each division throughout the work, have been added by the translator, guided for the most part by hints, and largely even in the language of the author himself. It is proper to add that these are the only additions that have not been inclosed in brackets. — Ta.]

After this introduction follows the main body of the work, which treats of the history of Israel under the Judges themselves. The raising up of the successive heroes exhibits with ever-growing lustre the gracious guidance of God, revealing itself more and more wonderfully as the distress into which Israel falls becomes more pressing. The selection of the several judges and heroes forms a climax of divine wonders, in which the multiformity of Jehovah's saving resources shows itself in contrast with the monotonousness of Israel's sins, and the workings of His grace in the hidden and obscure in opposition to that pride of the people in which their falls originated. The histories of the Judges, especially those of Othniel, Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, through whom and their adherents the great and merciful deeds of God do show themselves in ever-increasing fullness, form the sections into which the Book may be divided. From Othniel to Samson, under whom the history returns to the tribe of Judah from which it started, every Judge illustrates a new side of God's wonderful assistance. This manifoldness characterizes the judgeship. It rests on no tradition. The changes of the persons and tribes entrusted with its functions, interrupt its efficacy. The narrative gradually indicates the want of unity, despite the abundance of strength. Hence that which peculiarly characterizes the judgeship, marks at the same time its imperfection. For even times of peace admitted of such occurrences as those which fill the closing part of the Book, after the record of Samson's death.

In the closing part of the Book, the decay of the priesthood, the arbitrariness of individuals, and the abominations of licentiousness, passion, and discord, are traced back to the want of a settled, permanent government. The close of the Book of Judges forms an introduction to the Books of Kings.

The following analysis indicates a little more in detail the course of the narrative as sketched above:—

PART FIRST.

Introductory delineation of the condition of Israel after the death of Joshua; sin, and the judgments entailed by it, rendering the judgeship necessary. Chaps. i.—iii. 4.

1st Section. The relations of Israel towards the remaining Canaanites, as forming the background of the ensuing history. Believing and obedient Israel enjoys divine direction and favor, is united within and victorious without; but faithlessness and disobedience lay the foundations of apostasy and servitude. Ch. i.

2d Section. The religious degeneracy of Israel which resulted from its disobedient conduct with respect to the Canaanites, and the severe discipline which it rendered necessary, as explaining the alternations of apostasy and servitude, repentance and deliverance, characteristic of the period of the Judges. Chaps. ii.—iii. 4.

PART SECOND.

The history of Israel under the Judges: a history of sin, ever repeating itself, and of divine grace, constantly devising new means of deliverance. Meanwhile, however, the imperfections of the judicial institute display themselves, and prepare the way for the appointment of a king. Chaps. iii. 5.—xvi.

1st Section. The servitude to Chushan Rishathaim, King of Mesopotamia. Othniel, the Judge of blameless and happy life. Ch. iii. 5—11.

2d Section. The servitude to Eglon, King of Moab. Ehud, the Judge with the double-edged dagger. Shamgar, the deliverer with the ox-goad. Ch. iii. 12—31.

3d Section. The servitude to Jabin, King of Canaan. Deborah, the female Judge of fiery spirit, and Barak, the military hero. Chaps. iv., v.

4th Section. The incursions and oppressions of the Midianites. Gideon, the Judge who refuses to be king. Chaps. vi.—viii.

5th Section. The usurped rule of Abimelech, the fratricide and thorn-bush king. Ch. ix.

6th Section. Two Judges in quiet, peaceful times: Tolah of Issachar, and Jair the Gileadite. Ch. x. 1—5.

7th Section. The oppression of the Midianites. Jephthah, the Judge of the vow. Chaps. x. 6—xii. 7.

8th Section. Three Judges of uneventful lives in peaceful times: Ibzan of Bethlehem, Elon the Zebulonite, and Abdon the Pirathonite. Ch. xii. 8—15.

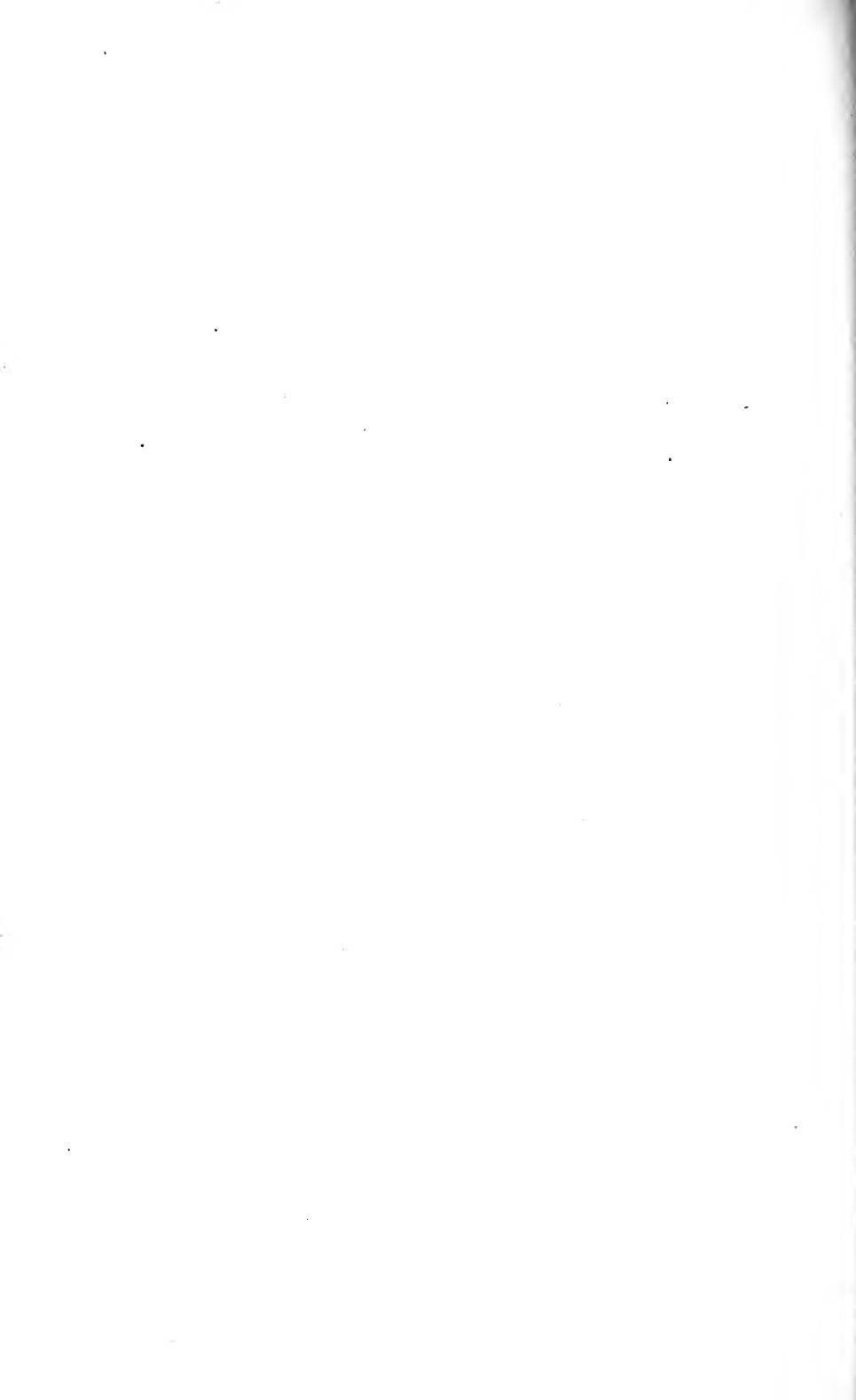
9th Section. The oppression of the Philistines. Samson the Nazarite Judge. Chaps. xiii.—xvi.

PART THIRD.

The conclusion of the Book, tracing the evils of the period, the decay of the priesthood, the self-will of individuals, and the prevalence of licentiousness, passion, and discord, to the absence of a fixed and permanent form of government. Chaps. xvii.-xxi.

1st Section. The history of Micah's private temple and image-worship: showing the individual arbitrariness of the times, and its tendency to subvert and corrupt the religious institutions of Israel. Chaps. xvii., xviii.

2d Section. The story of the infamous deed perpetrated at Gibeah, and its terrible consequences: another illustration of the evils that result when "every man does what is good in his own eyes." Chaps. xix.-xxi.



THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

PART FIRST.

INTRODUCTORY Delineation of the Condition of Israel after the Death of Joshua ; Sin, and the Judgments entailed by it, rendering the Judgship necessary.

FIRST SECTION.

THE RELATIONS OF ISRAEL TOWARDS THE REMAINING CANAANITES AS FORMING THE BACKGROUND OF THE ENSUING HISTORY. BELIEVING AND OBEDIENT ISRAEL ENJOYS DIVINE DIRECTION AND FAVOR, IS UNITED WITHIN AND VICTORIOUS WITHOUT ; BUT FAITHLESSNESS AND DISOBEDIENCE LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF APOSTASY AND SERVITUDE.

“Who shall first go up against the Canaanite?”

CHAPTER I. 1, 2.

1 Now [And] after the death of Joshua it came to pass, that the children [sons] of Israel asked the Lord [Jehovah],¹ saying, Who shall go up for us² against³ the 2 Canaanites first to fight against them? And the Lord [Jehovah] said, Judah shall go up: behold,⁴ I have delivered the land into his hand.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. — The author renders: “the sons of Israel asked God;” and by way of explanation adds the following note: “Thus do we intend constantly to render יהוה, on the ground that it expresses the absolute idea of the true God in Israel. Since אלהים is also used in connection with heathen worship, it corresponds to our ‘Godhead, Deity’ or ‘the Gods.’” In this translation the word *Jehovah* will be inserted. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 1. — מִי־יֵעָלֶה לָנוּ. Dr. Cassel takes לָנוּ in a partitive sense, and translates, “who of us shall go up.” It is more properly regarded as *dat. commodi*; for, (1.) The partitive relation, though sometimes indicated by ל (apparently, however, only after numerals, cf. Ges. *Lx.* s. v. ל, 4 b), would be more properly expressed by אֶל or בִּין; and (2.) If the writer had intended to connect לָנוּ with מִי, he would not have placed the verb between them, cf. Is. xlviii. 14; Judg. xxi. 8. As it stands, the expression is a perfect grammatical parallel with Is. vi. 8: מִי־יֵעָלֶה לָנוּ. Moreover, לָנוּ, in the sense of אֵלֵינוּ or מִמֵּינוּ, adds nothing which is not already implied in the words, מִי יֵעָלֶה לָנוּ, “who shall first go up.” On the other hand, taken in its natural sense, as indirect object after the verb, it expresses the thought that whoever “goes first,” makes a beginning, will do it for the advantage of all. What that advantage was, may be seen from our author’s exposition of the inquiry. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 1. — אֶל, properly, *towards*. Dr. Cassel has *gegen*, which means both “towards” and “against.” The same preposition occurs in vers. 10, 11; and though translated “against,” is not to be taken in the sense of עַל. The

hostile intent in these passages is not expressed by לִּי , but appears from the context. In this verse, attention to the proper meaning of לִּי , does away with the appearance of tautology which in English the inquiry presents. — Ta.]

[⁴ Ver. 2. — Dr. Cassel: "Wohlan! Up then!" On this rendering of וַיִּבְרַח , cf. the foot-note on p. 26. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. **And after the death of Joshua it came to pass.** This commencement corresponds entirely with that of Joshua, ch. i. 1: "and after the death of Moses, the servant of Jehovah, it came to pass." On account of this correspondence the usual addition, "the son of Nun," but also the designation "servant of Jehovah," elsewhere applied to Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 29; Judg. ii. 8), is omitted. A similar correspondence exists between Josh. xxiv. 29, and Deut. xxxiv. 5. Wherever Joshua is compared with Moses, care is taken to indicate at the same time the important difference between them. Joshua also is a "servant of Jehovah," but not in the same high sense as his master. Joshua also died, but not like Moses "through the mouth of Jehovah" (עַל פִּי יְהוָה). Moses was clothed with the authority of *origination and establishment*. He had been the Father (cf. Num. xi. 12), the Priest (Ex. xxiv. 8), the sole Regent (Num. xvi. 13), and Judge (Ex. xviii. 16), of his tribes. He transferred the priesthood from *himself* to Aaron (Ex. xxviii. 1); he selected those who assisted him in deciding minor lawsuits (Ex. xviii. 21; Num. xi. 17). *He* took seventy men of the "elders of the people," to bear with him the burden of governing the tribes (Num. xi. 16); *he* imparted of his own honor to Joshua, that the congregation

1 If in Ex. vi. 20, 26, the order is "Aaron and Moses," it is only to indicate Aaron as the first-born; hence, ver. 27 of the same chapter, as if by way of correction, says, "these are that Moses and Aaron." For the same reason Num. iii. 1 reads: "These are the generations of Aaron and Moses." As the order is everywhere Moses and Aaron, so it is naturally also "Moses and Eleazar." This difference in the relations of Moses and Joshua respectively to the Priest, it is important to notice. For it is of itself sufficient to show the un-tenability of Bertheau's assertion (*Buch der Richter*, p. 9), that Num. xxvii. 21 is to be so taken that Joshua is to ask, *not before*, but *for*, instead of, Eleazar, whether he shall go out; that is (as he thinks), "in a manner just as valid as if the high-priest had inquired of Jehovah." To inquire of God by means of the Urim, the Priest alone could do, for he alone had it. Moses and the prophets received revelations immediately; but when the Urim is mentioned, the Priest is the only possible medium. The passages to which Bertheau refers, speak against his assertion. The LXX. are as plain as the Hebrew text. In 1 Sam. xxii. 10, it is the Priest who inquires of God for David. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 7, 2, is an irrelevant passage, and therefore cannot be cited at all. Moreover, Josephus himself puts Eleazar before Joshua, when he speaks of both (iv. 7, 3). Nor is there any good ground for doubt as to the clearness of the passage in Num. xxvii. If we find no mention anywhere of Joshua's having inquired by Urim, the foundation of this fact is deeply laid in his relations to Moses. He was called only to be the executor of the designs of Moses. His activity expends itself in *continuing* the work of Moses. It moves entirely within the lines prescribed by Moses, and is impelled by his inviolable authority. Joshua's deeds are but the historical outgrowth of the spirit of Moses. The Book of Joshua is but the narrative of Joshua's obedience to the word of Moses. Whatever Joshua ordains, is rendered sacred by an appeal to Moses. Even the division of the land is conducted according to this authority (Josh. xiii.-xv.). "Every place have I given you, as I said unto Moses," is the language used (Josh. i. 3). Remember what Moses commanded you, says Joshua to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh (Josh. i. 13). The fact is brought out

of Israel might obey him (Num. xxvii. 20.) With the death of Moses *the work of legislation is closed.*

After him, Joshua exercises the authority of *government and direction*. By his deeds he gains for himself respect among the people, like that which Moses had (Josh. i. 5, i. 17, iv. 14, xvii. 4, xviii. 3); similar wonders are wrought through him; but he executes only *inherited* commands; his task demands the energy of *obedience*. Moses had always been named before Aaron (Moses and Aaron);¹ but when Joshua and the Priest were named together, Eleazar stood first. (Thus, Num. xxxiv. 17; Josh. xiv. 1, xvii. 4, xix. 51, xxi. 1). When Moses lived, the priesthood received their commands through him; after his death, Joshua received support and aid through the Priest (Num. xxvii. 21). In accordance with this, we must understand what is said, Josh. i. 1, namely, that "the Lord spake unto Joshua." For henceforth "there arose not a prophet like unto Moses." That which Moses was, could not repeat itself in any other person. Joshua, therefore, was only the reflection of a part of the power of Moses; but as such he had conducted the first historical act of fulfillment demanded by the Mosaic law. The conquest of Canaan was the necessary presupposition of the Mosaic system. Israel, having been liberated, received a national homestead. When Joshua died, the division of the land among the tribes was completed. With the death of Moses

with peculiar emphasis in the following passages: "Be strong and very courageous to do according to all the laws which Moses my servant commanded thee: *turn not from it to the right hand or the left*" (Josh. i. 7). "There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel" (Josh. viii. 35). "As the Lord commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua, and so *aid Joshua*; he left nothing undone of all that the Lord commanded Moses" (Josh. xi. 15).

Wherever, therefore, Joshua simply executes the will of God as expressed in the commands of Moses, the necessity for inquiring by Urim does not arise. It is precisely *in this execution* of the Mosaic commands that God speaks to Joshua, as Josh. iv. 10 clearly teaches: "until everything was finished that the Lord commanded Joshua to speak, according to all that Moses commanded Joshua." The direct command of God to Moses operates on Joshua who executes it.

That Joshua is the executor of the commands of Moses, cannot consistently with the spirit of the book which relates his history, be overlooked. When, however, the decision by Urim is alluded to, and it is said, "according to his mouth" (עַל פִּיו), the reference is to the same (priestly) mouth which, Josh. xix. 50, assigns an inheritance to Joshua, "according to the mouth of Jehovah" (עַל פִּי יְהוָה).

This method of decision comes into play when Joshua has no instructions from Moses according to which to act. The peculiar position of Joshua, by whom, through the word of Moses, God still always speaks and acts as through Moses (Josh. iii. 7), and who nevertheless does not like Moses stand *before*, but *after*, the priest, becomes everywhere manifest. This position also is unique, and never again recurs. It is therefore at his death, and not till then, that the preponderance of the Priest as the *sole* possessor of the word of God, becomes fully manifest. The fact, therefore, that we now first hear of an "asking of the Lord," so far from being obscure, is full of instruction on the historical position of affairs.

the spirit revealed in the law enters upon its course through the history of the world. With the departure of Joshua, the national development of Israel in Canaan commences. The position of Moses was unique, and like that of a father, could not be refilled. When he dies, the heir assumes the house and its management. This heir was not Joshua, but the people itself. Joshua was only a temporary continuator of the Mosaic authority, specially charged with the seizure of the land. He was but the executive arm of Moses for the conquest (מִשְׁפָּרֵי, "minister," Josh. i. 1). His personality is inseparable from that of Moses. As Elijah's spirit does not wholly depart from the nation until Elisha's death, so the personal conduct and guidance of the people by Moses do not entirely cease until the death of Joshua. Joshua's activity is just as unique as that of his teacher. He is no lawgiver, but neither is he a king or judge, as were others who came after him. He is the servant of Jehovah, inasmuch as he is the minister of Moses. The correspondence between Judg. i. 1 and Josh. i. 1, is therefore a very profound one. The death of the men, which these verses respectively record, gave rise to the occurrences that follow.

The sons of Israel asked Jehovah. Literally: "And it came to pass . . . and the sons of Israel asked," etc. The first "and" (ו) introduces the cause,¹ the second the consequence. It is moreover intimated that the consequence is speedy in coming, follows its cause without any interval. The translation might have been: "And it came to pass . . . that the sons of Israel immediately asked;" or, "Scarcely had Joshua died, when the sons of Israel," etc. It lies in the nature of the Hebrew copula, that when it introduces a consequence, it also marks it as closely connected with its antecedent in point of time. The Greeks and Romans made similar use of *kal* and *et*. Cf. the line of Virgil (*-Æneid*, iii. 9): *Vix prima inceperat astas, et pater Anchises dare fatis vela jubebat*. The Hebrew idiom has also passed over into the Greek of the New Testament, cf. Luke ii. 21; *καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήθη ἡμέρας ὀκτώ . . . καὶ ἐκλήθη*, etc.: "and the child was eight days old, when forthwith it was named Jesus," where the Gothic version likewise retains the double *yah*, "and." This brings out the more definite sense, both in the parallel passage, Josh. i. 1, and here. Scarcely had Moses died, is the idea there, when God spake to Joshua. The government of Israel was not for a moment to be interrupted. Scarcely was Joshua dead, when the sons of Israel asked Jehovah. As Joshua succeeded Moses in the chief direction of affairs, so the congregation of the children of Israel succeeded Joshua. The representatives of this congregation, as appears from Josh. xxiv. 31 and Judg. ii. 7, are the Elders (זְקֵנִים). Jewish tradition, accordingly, makes the spiritual doctrine pass from Moses to Joshua, and from Joshua to the Elders. These El-

ders are the seventy men chosen by Moses (Num. xi. 16) to assist him in bearing the burden of the people. The term "Elder," it is true, is applied to every authority among the people, especially civil. "Elders," as representatives of the people, are witnesses of the wonders of God in the desert (Ex. xvii. 5). The "Elders" are judges² (Deut. xxii. 16); the civil authorities of each city are "Elders" (Deut. xxv. 7). "Seventy of the Elders," with Moses and the priests, beheld the glory of God (Ex. xxiv. 1, *seq.*). The שְׂטָרִים, *shoterim*, officers charged with executive and police duties, become "Elders" as soon as they execute the regulations of Moses among the people (Ex. xii. 21). The seventy Elders who assisted Moses in bearing the burden that pressed upon him must, therefore, be distinguished from the authorities of the several tribes and cities. They represent the whole nation. As such, they unite with Moses, at the close of his career, in commanding the people to keep the law, and after passing the Jordan to erect a memorial of great stones (Deut. xxvii. 1, 2). During the regency of Joshua, the authorities and representatives of the people, beside the priests and Levites, consist of Elders, heads of tribes, judges, and magistrates (*shoterim*). Such is the enumeration after the conquest of Ai, and particularly in Josh. xxiii. 2, where, in order to give his last instructions to Israel, Joshua calls all the representatives of the people together. Again, in ch. xxiv. 1, it is stated that Joshua "called for the Elders of Israel, and for their heads, judges, and magistrates." If no distinction were intended here, it had been sufficient to say, "elders and heads;" for judges and magistrates were also "elders." But he called together the national representatives and those of the several tribes, like two "Houses" or "Chambers." The tribal representatives and authorities he dismisses; but the "Elders," who belong to all the tribes in common, remain near him, as they had been near Moses. These, therefore are they who, when Joshua dies, step into his place. As on him, so on them, there had been put of the spirit that was on Moses (Num. xi. 17). They quickly and zealously undertake the government. They determine to begin at once where Joshua stopped, to make war on the nations who have not yet been conquered, though their lands have been assigned to the several tribes (Josh. xxiii. 4). Joshua is scarcely dead, before the Elders inquire of God.³

No father ever cared for his children as Moses, under divine direction, cared for his people. Who, then, when he is gone, shall determine what the people are or are not to undertake! The answer to this question is recorded Num. xvii. 21: After the death of Moses, Joshua is to stand before Eleazar the priest, inquire of him after the judgment of Urim from Jehovah, and according to his answer they shall go out and come in. That Joshua ever did this, the book which bears his name nowhere records. It is characteristic of his exceptional position, as bound by the word and directions of Moses,

¹ [BERTHEAU: "וְיָ" in conjunction with the words, "after the death of Joshua," first connects itself with the closing narrative of the Book of Joshua (xxiv. 29-33), and secondly designates the Book of Judges as a link in the chain of books which relate, in unbroken connection, the [sacred] history of the world, from the creation to the exile of the inhabitants of the southern kingdom. The several books which contain this connected historical account are joined together by the connective וְ. — Tr.]

² Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8, 14, who states on the authority

of Jewish tradition that there were in every city seven judges, each with two Levitical assistants, corresponding to the seventy-two of the general senate.

³ [BACHMANN: "The sons of Israel here are not the whole nation, but only the tribes west of the Jordan, who are spoken of in the same way, and in express contradistinction from the tribes east of the Jordan, in Josh. xii. 12, 13, 32. According to Josh. xiii. and xlii. the further conflict with the Canaanites was incumbent on the western, not on the eastern tribes. Hence, also, the following account treats only of the doings and omissions of the western Israel." — Tr.]

that the word of God comes directly to him, although he ranks after Eleazar the priest. But this is not the position of the congregation of Israel; and hence the provision made by Moses for Joshua now formally becomes of force. For the first time since Num. xxvii. 21, we find here the word **שָׁאַל** with **יְיָ**, in the signification "to inquire of Jehovah;" for the **שָׁאַל בְּאֵרֵים** of that passage and the **שָׁאַל בִּיהוָה** of this are equivalent expressions. Inquiries put to the Urim and Thummim were answered by none but God. In the sublime organism of the Mosaic law every internal thought, every spiritual truth, presents itself in the form of an external action, a visible symbol. Urim and Thummim (Light and Purity) lie in the breast-plate on the heart of the priest, when he enters into the sanctuary (Ex. xxviii. 30). They lie on the heart; but that which is inquired after, receives its solution from the Spirit of God in the heart of the priest. Consequently, although in the *locus classicus* (Num. xxvii. 21), the expression is, "to inquire of the Urim," here and elsewhere in the Book of Judges it is always, "and they inquired of Jehovah." The Greeks also used the expression *ἐρωτᾶν τὸν θεόν* for "inquiring of the oracle," cf. Xenoph., *Mem.*, viii. 3). The Urim also were an oracle, and a priest announced the word of God. The God of Israel, however, does not speak in riddles (Num. xii. 8), but in clear and definite responses. Israel asks:—

Who of us¹ shall first go up against the Canaanite to fight against him? The word "go up" is not to be taken altogether literally. The Hebrew **יָצָא**, here and frequently answers in signification to the Greek *ἐφορμᾶν*, Latin *aggredi*. It means to advance to the attack, but conceives the defense as made from a higher level. The point and justification of the inquiry lies in the word "first." The question is not whether aggressive measures shall or shall not be adopted, but which of the tribes shall *initiate* them. Hitherto, Moses, and after him, Joshua have directed the movements of the people. Under Joshua, moreover, all the tribes united in common warfare. All for one, each for all. The general war is at an end; the land is divided, the tribes have had their territories assigned them. Now each single tribe must engage the enemies still settled within its borders. This was another, very difficult task. It was a test of the strength and moral endurance of the several tribes. The general war of conquest under Joshua did not come into collision with the joy of possession and rest, for these had as yet no existence. But after the dispersion of the tribes such a common war, under one leadership, was no longer practicable. It may also have appeared unwise that all the tribes should be engaged in general and simultaneous action within their several territories. Had one tribe been defeated, the others would not have been in a position to assist it. The question therefore concerned the honor and duty of the first at-

tack. As yet no tribe held any definite priority of rank. For the sake of peace and right, it was left with God to determine who should first go up to fight against the inhabitants of the land, to *grind* them, as the word used expresses it, and thus deprive them of that power for evil which as nations they possessed. The signification "to war" of **לָחָם**, is illustrated by the meaning "to eat," which it also has. The terrible work of war is like the action of the teeth on bread, it tears and grinds its object. Hence the Greek *μάχαιρα*, knife, belongs to *μάχουμαι*, to fight, just as the Hebrew **כָּחַל**, knife, belongs to **אָכַל**, to eat.

Ver. 2. And Jehovah said, Judah shall go up. Judah takes a prominent position among the sons of Jacob, even in the lifetime of their father. The misdemeanors of his elder brethren favor this. It is he who saves Joseph from the pit in which the wrath of the others designed him to perish; and who, by suggesting his sale into Egypt, paves the way for the wonderful destinies which that land has in store for Israel. He is capable of confessing his sins (Gen. xxxviii. 26). He pledges himself to Jacob for the safe return of Benjamin, and him the patriarch trusts. He, also, in the hour of peril, speaks the decisive word to the yet unrecognized Joseph (Gen. xlv. 18); and, although he bows himself before Joseph, the blessing of Jacob nevertheless says of him (Gen. xlix. 8 ff.): "Thy brethren press thee; the sceptre shall not depart from Judah." The tribe of Judah holds the same prominent position. It is the most numerous tribe. At the first census (Num. ii.), its military strength is greater than that of both the tribes of Joseph. In the desert, it leads the first of the four encampments,—that, namely, which faces the east (Num. ii. 3).² It began the decampment and advance (Num. x. 14). Among those appointed by Moses to allot the land, the representative of Judah is named first (Num. xxxiv. 19); and hence when the allotment was actually made under Joshua, the lot of Judah came out first (Josh. xv. 1).

But the tribe of Judah had yet other merits, by reason of which it took the initiative on the present occasion. When Moses sent twelve men to reconnoitre the land, one man from each tribe, the messengers of Judah and Ephraim alone, full of faith and courage, sought to awaken within the people a spirit pleasing to God. The messenger of Ephraim was Joshua, the son of Nun, the minister of Moses; the representative of Judah was Caleb. Both obtained great credit for their conduct. Joshua became the successor of Moses. When Joshua died, Caleb still lived. The great respect which he enjoyed, as head of the tribe of Judah, and on account of the approbation of Moses, may also be inferred from Josh. xiv. 6.³

Up then! I have delivered the land into his hand. "Up then," the address of encouragement: *agite, mactè!*⁴ Judah may boldly attack—victory is certain. Caleb stands at the head of the tribe.

1 [Cf. on this rendering the note under the text on p. 23.—Tr.]

2 Cf. Ps. cxiv. 2, and the *Psikta* and *Jalkut* on the Book of Judges (Ed. Amsterd.) § 37, p. 2, ch. viii.

3 The history of Athens contains a similar instance. The council of war before the battle of Marathon was presided over by Callimachus, of the tribe Ajax. A preponderance of voices, exaggerating the danger, already inclined to avoid the Persian army, when Callimachus voted for the course urged by Miltiades, and turned the tide. In consequence of this, the tribe of Ajax was specially honored. Notwithstand-

ing the use of the lot, the last place in the chorus was never assigned to this tribe (Plutarch, *Qu. Symp.*, i. 10; cf. Böckh, *Staatsverwaltung der Athener*, i. 743, note). It is said that Charlemagne, induced by the heroic deeds of Count Gerold, bestowed on the Swabians the right of forming the vanguard in every campaign of the empire.

4 [Occasionally **יָצָא**] may be properly rendered by "Up!" or "Now then!" cf. Ps. cxxiv. 1, where it is followed by an imperative; but in situations like the present such a rendering is unnecessarily free. The word is designed

He has already been assured of victory by Moses (Num. xiv. 24; Josh. xiv. 9). Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, 1) calls the priest who officiates Phinehas. He infers this from Josh. xxiv. 33, where the death of Eleazar is recorded. According to Jewish tradition, Phinehas also wrote the conclusion of the Book of Joshua.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Ver. 1. Israel is believing and obedient after the death of Joshua. Like a child after the death of its father, it has the best intentions. It is zealous to perform, with speed and vigor, the task imposed by Joshua. As directed by the law (Num. xxvii. 21), it inquires of God through His priest, the appointed medium for announcing His will. The recollection of benefits received from the departed hero, and the feelings of piety toward him, are still exerting their influence. So does many a child finish the period of instruction preparatory to confirmation, with a heart zealously resolved to be pious. Many a Christian comes away from an awakening sermon with resolutions of repentance. *Principium ferret.* First love is full of glowing zeal. To begin well is never without a blessing. The best inheritance is to continue obedient toward God.

STARKE: God gives more than we seek from him. — GERLACH: Not even the task which had been imposed on each individual tribe, will they take in hand, without having inquired of the Lord concerning it.

Ver. 2. God therefore vouchsafes direction and promise. Judah is to go before. When Israel is believing and obedient, Judah always goes before (Gen. xlix. 10): in the desert, at the head of the host; after the time of the Judges, when David sits upon the throne of Israel; and finally, when to excite the attention and put it on the alert for what is coming. Of course, the assurance which here follows it, would animate and incite; but the *agite! macte!* are in the

the Lion of the tribe of Judah conquers the last enemy, which is death.

STARKE: If we also desire to war against our spiritual Canaanites, the first attack must be made, and the war must be conducted, by Christ Jesus, the Lion of the tribe of Judah (Rev. v. 5).

LISCO: The words, "I have delivered the land," are meant prophetically; with God that which is certain in the future is as if it were present.

[BUSH (combining Scott and Henry): The precedence was given to Judah because it was the most numerous, powerful, and valiant of all the tribes, and that which the Lord designed should possess the preëminence in all respects, as being the one from which the Messiah was to spring, and for that reason crowned with the "excellency of dignity" above all its fellows. Judah therefore must lead in this perilous enterprise; for God not only appoints service according to the strength and ability He has given, but "would also have the burden of honor and the burden of labor go together." Those who have the precedence in rank, reputation, or influence, should always be disposed to go before others in every good work, undismayed by danger, difficulty, or obloquy, that they may encourage others by their example.]

WORDSWORTH: The death of Joshua is the date of degeneracy. So in spiritual respects, as long as the true Joshua lives in the soul, there is health. St. Paul says, "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." The true Joshua lives in the souls of his saints; but if He dies in the soul, that death is theirs; the death of their souls (*Origen*).

BACHMANN: As the Book of Joshua opens with the mention of Moses' death, so the Book of Judges with that of Joshua. The servants of the Lord die one after the other; but the history of his kingdom goes on uninterruptedly. — Tr.]

words to which יְהוָה calls attention, not in יְהוָה itself. Tr.]

Judah and Simeon agree to assist each other in clearing their allotted lands of Canaanites. They defeat the enemy in Bezek, capture Adoni-bezek, and burn Jerusalem.

CHAPTER I. 3-8.

3 And Judah said unto Simeon his brother, Come up with me into my lot, that we may [and let us] fight [together] against the Canaanites; and I likewise will go with
4 thee into thy lot. So Simeon went with him. And Judah went up, and the Lord [Jehovah] delivered the Canaanites and the Perizzites into their hand: and they
5 slew [smote] of [omit: of] them in Bezek ten thousand men.¹ And they found [came upon, unexpectedly met with] Adoni-bezek in Bezek: and they fought against him,
6 and they slew [smote] the Canaanites and the Perizzites. But [And] Adoni-bezek fled; and they pursued after him, and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his
7 great toes. And Adonibezek said, Threescore and ten kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered *their meat* under my table; as I have done, so
8 God [the Deity] hath requited me. And they brought him to Jerusalem, and there he died. (Now [Omit the (), and for Now read: But] the children [sons] of Judah had fought [omit: had²] against Jerusalem, and had taken it, and smitten it [and took it³ and smote it] with the edge⁴ of the sword, and set the city on fire [gave the city up to the fire].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 4. — "Smote them in Bezek ten thousand men" i. e. to the number of 10,000 men. Cf. ch. iii. 29, 31, etc.

As for the word **כָּרַךְ**, its proper meaning is "to strike, to smite;" here, doubtless, so far as the ten thousand are concerned, to smite fatally, to kill; elsewhere (in ver. 5, for instance), to defeat, vanquish. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 8. — MATTHEW HENRY: Our translators judge it [the taking of Jerusalem] spoken of here, as done formerly in Joshua's time, and only repeated [related] on occasion of Adoni-bezek's dying there, and therefore read it, "they had fought against Jerusalem," and put this verse in a parenthesis; but the original speaks of it as a thing now done; and that seems most probable, because it is said to be done by the children of Judah in particular, not by all Israel in general, whom Joshua commanded. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 8. — To fight against a city, **הִלָּחֵם בְּעִיר**, is to besiege it, or assault it by storm, cf. Josh. x. 31; 2 Sam. xii. 26. **לָכַד** is to take by such a movement. Hence Dr. Casel translates, "fought against Jerusalem, and took it by storm, *erstürmten es.*" — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 8. — **לְפִי רֶבֶב**: lit. "according to the mouth (i. e. edge) of the sword. The expression denotes unsparing destruction, a killing whose only measure is the sharpness of the sword's edge. Cf. Bertheau in *loc.* — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 3. And Judah said unto Simeon his brother. In matters of war the tribes were represented by the *Nesi'im* (**נְשִׂיִים**). A *Nasi*, prince or chief, stood at the head of each tribe, and acted in its name, although with great independence. At the numbering of the people in the desert, the *Nasi* of Judah was Nahshon, the son of Aminadab; but after the sending of the spies, Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, held that position (Num. xxxiv. 19). According to the directions of Moses in the passage just referred to, these princes were to assist the Priest and Joshua in the allotment of the land to the tribes. They are the same who, in Josh. xix. 51, are called "heads of families." For, as appears especially from Josh. xxii. 14, only he could be *Nasi* who was "head of a family." Collectively, they are styled "the princes of the congregation" (Josh. xxii. 30). That Moses names only ten (Num. xxxiv. 18, etc.), arises from the fact that he refers only to the allotment of the land this side the Jordan. The princes of the two and a half tribes beyond the Jordan had nothing to do with this. When the trans-Jordanic tribes were erroneously suspected of apostasy, the *ten* princes with the priest went to them as an embassy from the other tribes (Josh. xxii. 14). It was these princes who ratified the treaty with the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 15); and the congregation was bound by their oath, although greatly dissatisfied when the deception of the Gibeonites was discovered.

Come up with me into my lot. The territory of a single tribe was called its lot, **צִוְרָל**. Compare the Greek *κληρος*, used to denote possessions in general, and also the portion of territory assigned to each party embarked in a colonial enterprise. ("Cæsus devastated the lots of the Syrians," *φθείρων τούς κλήρους*, Herod. i. 76.) — It was natural for Judah to summon his brother Simeon to join him; for Simeon's territory lay within the borders of Judah.¹ According to the statements of Josh. xv., the inheritance assigned to the tribe of Judah might be bounded by two lines, drawn respectively from the northern and southern extremities of the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean, the northern line passing below Jerusalem. Simeon's part lay in the middle between these lines, toward the west. For this reason, Simeon is already in Num. xxxiv. 20 named second, next to

1 [KEL: Simeon is called the "brother" of Judah, not so much because they both descended from one mother, Leah (Gen. xxix. 33, 35), as because Simeon's inheritance

Judah, the first tribe. This summons of Judah to Simeon to conquer together their territories is instructive in several respects. It shows that the whole south had indeed been attacked, but was not yet occupied. True, the narrative of the conquest of Canaan by Joshua is not complete, and leaves much to be supplied; but thus much is clear, that though Joshua undoubtedly made war on the southern and northern Canaanites, he by no means obtained control of all the land. It is also evident from Josh. i.-x. 42, that as long as Joshua fought with the more southern enemies, his encampment was at Gilgal, in the neighborhood of Jericho and the Jordan, to which after each victory over the southern kings, whom he pursued far into the southwest, he always fell back (Josh. x. 15, 43). Hence the conversation with Caleb, concerning the inheritance of the latter takes place while the camp is still at Gilgal (Josh. xiv. 6). Consequently, it can only have been the result of victories over the northern princes, that Joshua, in the last years of his regency, transferred the encampment of the people to Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1, xxi. 2) and Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 1). Of this territory he had already gained permanent possession. It belonged to the inheritance of the tribe of Ephraim. Joshua himself was of this tribe. That fact explains how it was that Ephraim was the first to come into secure and permanent territorial possession. In this also Joshua differs from Moses. The latter, although sprung from the tribe of Levi, belonged to all the tribes. He was raised above every special tribe-relationship. His grave even none can boast of. Joshua does not deny that he belongs to Joseph, although he does not yield to their less righteous demands (Josh. xvii. 14). His tribe forms the first circle around him. When he locates the national centre in Shiloh and Shechem, it is in the possessions of Ephraim. Here, as long as Joshua lived, the government of the Israelitish tribes and their sanctuary had their seat. Here the bones of Joseph were buried; here are the sepulchres of Joshua and his contemporary, the priest Eleazar. Ephraim was the point from which the farther warlike expeditions of the individual tribes were directed. Precisely because the first permanently held possession had connected itself with Joshua and his tribe, the summons to seize and occupy their assigned territory came next to Judah and its prince Caleb, the associate of Joshua, and after him the first man of Israel. But Judah and lay within that of Judah (Josh. xix. 1 ff.), on account of which Simeon's connection with Judah was closer than that of the other tribes. — Tr.]

Siméon cannot have set out on their expedition from Shiloh or Shechem. There was not room enough in the territory of the tribe of Ephraim to afford camping-ground for all Israel. The encampment in Gilgal had not ceased; and there the tribe of Judah found a suitable station whence to gain possession of its own land. Thence they could enter immediately into the territory assigned them. Moreover, it is only upon the supposition that Gilgal was the point of departure of the army of Judah, that it becomes entirely clear why Judah turned to his brother Siméon. Had he come down from Shechem, he might also have turned to Benjamin. But Siméon needed the same avenue into his dominions as Judah. He must pass through the country of the latter to reach his own. From Gilgal, the armies of Judah advanced along the boundary line between their own land and Benjamin, in the direction of the western shore of the Dead Sea which formed their eastern border (Josh. xv. 5-7), intending to march through the wilderness, and perhaps after passing Tekoah, to turn first against Hebron. There the enemy met them.¹

Ver. 4. And they smote them in Bezek, ten thousand men. The position of Bezek is indicated by the direction of Judah's advance. It must have been already within the limits of Judah; for "Judah went up," namely, to his territory. Its distance from Jerusalem cannot have been great, for they brought the wounded and maimed Adoni-bezek thither, and immediately after the battle in Bezek the tribes attack Jerusalem. If it were the name of a city, the place bearing it would seem to have been of such importance, as to make it matter of surprise that we find no further mention of it.² The name announces itself as an appellative derived from the character of the region. בֶּזֶק (Bezek) is undoubtedly

equivalent to בָּרַק (Barak). It designates unfruitful, stony sand-areas (*Syrtes*). The desert Barca in North Africa is familiar in ancient and modern times. The inhabitants of deserts received the name Barceans, as Jerome remarks (*Ep. cxxix.*), "from the city Barca, which lies in the desert." At the present day a chasm in the rocks, in the peninsula of Sinai, bears the name *Berika* (Ritter, *xiv.* 547). The ancient name Bene-berak (Josh. xix. 45) also explains itself in this way. In Arabic بَرَكَ designates stony, unfruitful land. Now, the land west of the Dead Sea, through which Judah marched into his territory, is for the most part of this character. "The desert here, covered with chalk and crumbling limestone, and without the least trace of vegetation, has a truly terrible appearance" (Ritter,

¹ [That Judah, nor in fact any of the western tribes, except Ephraim, had not hitherto enjoyed actual possession of any part of his land, is also the view of Bertheau and Ewald. It is strenuously objected to by Bachmann, who maintains that "not only the allotment of the land among the tribes, but also its actual occupation by them, are constantly presupposed in all that this first chapter relates both about the prosecution of the local wars, and the many instances of sinful failure to prosecute them." And, certainly, such passages as Josh. xxiii. 1 and xxiv. 28, cf. Judg. ii. 6, appear at least to be decidedly against the view taken by our author. The subject, however, is obscure and intricate, and not to be entered upon in a foot-note. — Tr.]

² The name does indeed occur again in 1 Sam. xi. 8, where Saul numbers Israel in Bezek. But the very fact that Bezek is there used as a place for mustering troops, shows that it is open country, not any thickly peopled spot. It cannot be maintained that both Bezeks must designate the same region. Similar topographical conditions conferred similar or

xv. 653 (Gage's Transl., iii. 114). It was in this tract that the battle was joined, which ended in the defeat of the Canaanite and Perizzite. The name Canaanites passed over from the cities of the Phœnician Lowlands (Canaan), to the inhabitants of cities throughout the land. It designates the population devoted to agriculture and the arts of civilized life. Perizzites may have been the name of tribes of Bedouins, inhabitants of tents, roving at will among the mountains and in the desert. Down to the present time, the eastern part of Judah, adjoining the Dead Sea, is a true Bedouin highway, especially for all those Arabs who press forward from the east and south. The Canaanites and Perizzites unite to meet the common enemy in the desert tract, just as Zenobia united herself with the Saracens of the desert against the Romans. They are defeated, and there fall ten thousand men, *i. e.* $\mu\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\iota$, myriads, an indefinitely large number. From the fact that Bezek does not designate a particular place, but the region in general, it becomes plain that verses 4 and 5 do not relate the same occurrence twice. Verse 4 speaks of the first conflict. The second was offered by Adoni-bezek (ver. 5).

Ver. 5. And they came upon Adoni-bezek in Bezek. We can trace the way which Judah took, with Siméon, to the borders assigned him. From Gilgal it proceeded to Beth-hogla (*Ain Hajla*), through the wide northern plain of the Dead Sea, on its northwestern shore, to the region at present traversed by the Ta'ámirah Bedouin tribes. This region was named Bezek. בֶּזֶק and בָּרַק primarily signify "dazzling brightness;" hence the signification "lightning." It was doubtless the dazzling glare of the ground, produced by the reflection of the sun whether from the white salt-crust of the surface, the rocks,⁴ or the undulating sandhills, that suggested the name Bezek for such regions. This primary sense enables us, moreover, also to discover the connection between Adoni-bezek and Bezek. That the latter is not a city, might have been sufficiently inferred from the fact that notwithstanding the victory no record is made here, as in the cases of other cities, of its fall and destruction. To take Adoni-bezek as Prince of Bezek, does not seem advisable. The proper names of heathen kings always have reference to their religion.⁵ Since Adoni-bezek, after having been mutilated, was carried by his attendants to Jerusalem, he must have held some relation to that city. Only that supposition enables us to see why Judah and Siméon storm Jebus (Jerusalem), belonging as it did to the tribe of Benjamin, for which reason they make no attempt to hold it by garrisoning it. Already in the 10th chapter of Joshua we meet with identical names. Bene-berak [sons of Berak, Josh. xix. 45, as to the origin and significance of the name compare the commentary on vers. 4 and 5. — Tr.] was in the tribe of Dan. And so a region west of the Jordan, and east of Shechem, so far at least as we can determine the true direction from the narrative [in Sam. xi. 8], seems also to have borne the name Bezek.

³ According to the interchange of *r* and *s* as in בָּרַק and בֶּזֶק (Ezek. i. 14), *quæro* and *quæso*, etc. In Ezek. i. 14, *bezek* (*bazak*) denotes a dazzling radiance. Barak, lightning, became a proper name. In the regions of Barca (the desert), the name Barcas (Hamlicar) was familiar enough.

⁴ "The glitter of the (grave) surface in the sunshine, is not a little trying to the eyes." — Strauss, *Sinai und Gogotha*, li. 1, 133.

⁵ Cf. my *Ortsnamen* (Erfurt, 1856), i. 118.

Adoni-zedek in Jerusalem, just as in the history of Abraham Melchi-zedek appears there. *Adon* is a Phœnician designation of the Deity. Adoni-zedek and Melchi-zedek mean, "My God, my king, is Zedek." The names of the kings enunciated their creeds. Zedek (*Sadyk, Sydyk.*) belongs to the star-worship of the Canaanites, and according to ancient tradition was the name of the planet Jupiter. Adoni-bezek manifestly expresses a similar idea. Bezek = Barak is the dazzling brightness, which is also peculiar to Jupiter. His Sanskrit name is "*Brahupati (Brihaspati),*"¹ Father of Brightness." "*My God is Brightness,*" is the creed contained in the name Adoni-bezek. His name alone might lead us to consider him King of Jerusalem, to which, as if it were his royal residence, his own attendants carry him after his defeat.²

Ver. 6. **And Adoni-bezek fled, . . . and they cut off the thumbs of his hands and feet, etc.** How horrible is the history of human cruelty! It is the mark of ungodliness, that it glories in the agony of him whom it calls an enemy. The mutilation of the human body is the tyranny of sin over the work of God, which it nevertheless fears. The Persian king Artaxerxes caused the arm of his brother, which had bent the bow against him, to be hewn off, even after death. Thumbs were cut off to incapacitate the hand for using the bow, great toes to render the gait uncertain. When in 456 B. C., the inhabitants of Ægina were conquered by the Athenians, the victors ordered their right thumbs to be cut off, so that, while still able to handle the oar, they might be incapable of using the spear (*Ælian, Var. Hist., ii. 9.*) Mohammed (*Sura, viii. 12*) gave orders to punish the enemies of Islam by cutting off their heads and the ends of their fingers, and blames its omission in the battle of Beder. In the German *Waldweisthümern* the penalty against hunters and poachers of having their thumbs cut off, is of frequent occurrence (*Grimm, Rechtsalterth., 707; Deutsches Wörterb. ii. 346.*)³ Adoni-bezek, in his pride, enjoyed the horrible satisfaction of making the mutilated wretches pick up their food under his table, hungry and

1 Cf. Bohlen, *Alts Indien*, ii. 248.

2 [Bezok is generally regarded as the name of a city or village. The majority of scholars (Le Clerc, Rosenmüller, Reiland, V. Raumer, Bachmann, etc.) look for it in the territory of Judah, but without being able to discover any traces of it, which is certainly remarkable; for, if a city, it must have been, as Dr. Cassel remarks, and as the usual interpretation of Adoni-bezek as King of Bezok implies, a place of some importance. Others, therefore (as Bertheau, Keil, Ewald, etc.), connect this Bezok with that of 1 Sam. xi. 8, and both with the following statement in the *Onomasticon*: "hodie duae villae sunt nomine Bezoch, vicinæ sibi, in decimo septimo lapide a Neopoli, descendentes Scythopolin." Then to account for this northern position of the armies of Judah and Simeon, Bertheau supposes them to set out from Shechem (cf. Josh. xxiv. 1, etc.), and to make a detour thence to the northeast, either for the purpose of descending to the south by way of the Jordan valley, or for some other reason; while Keil, without naming any place of departure, suggests that Judah and Simeon may have been compelled, before engaging the Canaanites in their own allotments, to meet those coming down upon them from the north, whom after defeating, they then pursued as far as Bezok. Dr. Cassel's explanation is attractive as well as ingenious; but, to say nothing about the uncertainty of its etymology, Bezok, as an appellative applied to a definite region, would, as Bachmann remarks, require the article, cf. הַפְּזָרָה, הַשְּׁפִלָּה, הַנְּהָבָה. — Tr.]

3 Hence, on the other hand, the severe punishment which is the ancient popular law adjudged to him who unjustly cuts off another's thumb. The fine was almost as high as for the whole hand. The Salic law rated the hand at 2,500, the

whining like dogs.⁴ Curtius relates that the Persians had preserved Greek captives, mutilated in their hands, feet, and ears, "for protracted sport" (*in longum sui ludibrium reseraverant. De Rebus Gest. Alex., v. 5, 6.*) Posidonius (in *Athenæus*, iv. 152, d.) tells how the king of the Parthians at his meals threw food to his courtier, who caught it like a dog (*τὸ παραβόληθῃ ἐκ κονιστῆσι σιτῆται*), and was moreover beaten like a dog. The tribe of Judah simply recompensed Adoni-bezek: not from revenge, for Israel had not suffered anything from him; nor from pleasure in the misery of others, for they left him in the hands of his own people.

Ver. 7. **As I have done, so has the Deity⁵ completed unto me.** Many (in round numbers, seventy) are they whom he has maltreated. אֲשֶׁר

(Piel of אֲשַׁר) is to finish, complete, and hence to requite; for reward and punishment are inseparably connected with good and evil deeds. As the blossom reaches completion only in the fruit, so deeds in their recompense. The Greeks used *τελεῖν* in the same sense. "When the Olympian (says Homer, *Iliad*, iv. 160) does not speedily punish (*ἐτέλεσσαν*), he still does it later (*ἐκ τε καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ*)." It was an ethical maxim extensively accepted among ancient nations that men must suffer the same pains which they have inflicted on others. The later Greeks called this the *Neoptolemic Tisis*, from the circumstance that Neoptolemus was punished in the same way in which he had sinned (Pausanias, iv. 17, 3; Nägelsbach, *Nachhom. Theologie*, 343). He had murdered at the altar, and at the altar he was murdered. Phaleris had roasted human beings in a brazen bull—the same punishment was inflicted on himself.⁶ That which Dionysius had done to the women of his people, his own daughters were made to undergo (*Ælian, Var. Hist.*, ix. 8). Jethro says (Ex. xviii. 11), "for the thing wherein they sinned, came upon them."

And they brought him to Jerusalem. None but his own people⁷ could bring him thither, for the city was not yet taken. It was evidently his

thumb of hand or foot at 2,000 denarii, "*qui faciunt solidos quinquaginta*" (*Lex Salica*, xxix. 3, ed. Merkel, p. 16).

4 [Kitto (*Daily Bible Illustrations: Moses and the Judges*, p. 293): "This helps us to some insight of the state of the country under the native princes, whom the Israelites were commissioned to expel. Conceive what must have been the state of the people among whom such a scene could exist, — what wars had been waged, what cruel ravages committed, before these seventy kings — however small their territories — became reduced to this condition; and behold in this a specimen of the fashion in which war was conducted, and of the treatment to which the conquered were exposed. These are certainly very much in the wrong who picture to themselves the Canaanites as 'a happy family,' disturbed in their peaceful homes by the Hebrew barbarians from the wilderness. Behold how happy, behold how peaceful, they were!" — Tr.]

5 *Elohim*, which is also used of the heathen deity. The speaker speaks in the spirit of heathenism. As regards the seventy kings, it needs no argument to show that אֲשֶׁר like the Greek *τύραννος*, is applied to any ruler, even of a single city. Josephus (*Ant.*, v. 2, 2) read seventy-two, which especially in his time, was interchangeable as a round number with seventy.

6 In the *Gesta Romanorum*, ch. xlviil., this is still adduced as a warning, and with an allusion to the passage in Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, l. 653 [*Et Phaleris tauro violenti membra Perilli torruit. Infelix inbutit auctor opus.* — Tr.], it is remarked: "*neque enim lex æquior ulla, quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*"

7 Since it is Adoni-bezek who speaks in ver. 7, the word

city; for the Israelites follow after, and complete their victory by its capture. The storming of Jerusalem for its own sake could not have formed part of the plan of the tribes, since it belonged to Benjamin. They were led to it by the attack which they suffered from Adoni bezek. Nor did they take possession of it. They only broke the power of the king thoroughly. He died miserably; his people were put to the sword; the city was consumed by fire (שָׂרַף אֶת־הָעִיר, to abandon to the flames). Thus the wanton haughtiness of Adoni bezek was terribly requited.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Ver. 3. Believing Israel is also united Israel. Judah and Simeon go forth together, in faith, as one tribe, one heart, and one soul, to the same victory. So united are children, when in faith they return from their father's grave [cf. Hom. Hints on ch. i. 1. — Tr.]. The children of God are good brothers and sisters. They do not quarrel over the inheritance, — they enjoy it in love. Believing Israel is a sermon on unity among families, neighbors, citizens, and nations. Union arises not from without, but from within. Penitence and faith bind together. *Unio* is the name of a pearl, and pearls symbolize tears. *Ex unione lux. E luce unio*nes.

STARKE: As all Christians in general, so brothers and sisters in particular, should maintain a good understanding, and live together in peace and unity.

[HENRY: It becomes Israelites to help one another against Canaanites; and all Christians, even those of different tribes, to strengthen one another's hands against the common interests of Satan's kingdom. Those who thus help one another in love, have reason to hope that God will help them both.

BACHMANN: It is not incompatible with the obedience of faith, that Judah makes use of the helps placed by God at his disposal; and it is in accordance with the dictates of fraternal love that he makes that tribe the companion of his undertaking whose lot it was made rather to attach itself to others than to equal their independence (cf. Gen.

וְיָבִיאוּ) in the same verse cannot refer to the Israelites. Why should they carry him with them? It would indicate the gratification of gratuitous cruelty, a thing inconceivable in this connection. Those who save him are his own servants; but arrived at Jerusalem he dies. Verse 8, there-

fore, commences very properly, not with the mere verb וְיָבִיאוּ, but with a repetition of the grammatical subject: בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה.

xlix. 7, and also the silence of Deut. xxxiii. concerning Simeon), and whose interests were peculiarly closely connected with his own. — Tr.]

Vers. 4-8. STARKE: In the lives of men, things are often wonderfully changed about, and not by accident, but by the wonderful governance of God (Gen. 1. 19).

THE SAME: God requites every one according to his deeds. Wherein one sins, therein he is also punished, — evidence that there is a God, and that He is just, recompensing according to deserts.

[SCOTT: Men often read their crimes in their punishments; and at last every mouth shall be stopped, and all sinners be constrained to admit the justice of God in their extremest miseries. Happy they who justify Him in their temporal afflictions, plead guilty before his mercy-seat, and by repentance and faith seek deliverance from the wrath to come.

JOSEPH MEDE († 1638): As I have done so God hath requited me; 1. God punisheth sin with temporal punishment in this life as well as with eternal in the life to come. 2. God doth not always presently inflict his judgments while the sin is fresh, but sometimes defers that long which He means to give home at the last. 3. These divine judgments by some conformity or affinity do carry in them as it were a stamp and print of the sin for which they are inflicted. 4. The profit and pleasure which men aim at when they commit sin will not so much as quit cost even in this life.

WORDSWORTH: As by this specimen at the beginning of this book, showing what *two tribes* of Israel could do by faith and obedience against Adoni-bezek, who had subdued and enslaved *seventy kings*, God showed what the *twelve tribes* might have done, if they had believed and obeyed him; and that all their subsequent miseries were due to defection from God; — in like manner, also, in the Christian Church, if men had followed the examples of the Apostles, — the Judahs and Simeons of the first ages, — and gone forth in their spirit of faith and love against the powers of darkness, they might long since have evangelized the world. All the distresses of Christendom are ascribable to desertions of [from] Christ, and not to any imperfection (as some have alleged) in Christianity (cf. Bp. Butler, *Analogy*, Part ii. ch. 1). — Tr.]

fore, commences very properly, not with the mere verb וְיָבִיאוּ, but with a repetition of the grammatical subject: בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה.

ject: בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה.

The sons of Judah smite the Anakim and take Hebron.

CHAPTER I. 9, 10.

9 And afterward [Hereupon] the children [sons] of Judah went down [proceeded] to fight against the Canaanites that dwelt in the mountain [mountains], and in the south. 10 and in the valley [i.e. depression, low country]. And Judah went against the Canaanites that dwelt in Hebron: (now the name of Hebron before [formerly] was Kirjath-arba [The Four Cities¹]:) and they slew [smote] Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 10. This is the nearest we can come in English to Dr. Cassel's *Vierstadt*, Tetrapolis. Against the common interpretation, "City of Arba," — Arba being taken as the name of a person, — cf. Mr. Grove in Smith's *Bib. D. ct.*, s. v. Kirjath-arba. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 9f. Hereupon the sons of Judah proceeded. They advanced, proceeded, יָרְדוּ. While עָלָה, "ascendere," was used to express the first attack (ver. 4), the continuation of the conflict is indicated by יָרְדוּ, "descendere," although they advance mountain-ward. Verse 9 sets forth the full extent of the task undertaken by the tribes. Before advancing into the territory allotted them, they have been obliged to resist the attack of Adonibezek at its border. They divide their work proper into the conquest of the mountains, the occupancy of the southern tract from the Dead Sea to Beer-sheba, and the seizure of the western lowlands. Details of these undertakings are given us only so far as they concern Caleb and his house. Hence, the conquest of Hebron is first of all related. About this ancient city,¹ where Abraham tarried, and the patriarchs repose in the family-vault, the recollections of the tribe of Judah concentrate themselves. It was of old the dwelling-place of valiant people. The robust vine-dressers of the valley, ages before, supported Abraham in his victorious expedition against the eastern hosts. But on the mountains there dwelt a wild and warlike race, the sons of Anak, before whom the faint-hearted spies of Moses formerly trembled. Only Caleb and Joshua were full of confidence in God. On this account, Caleb received the special assurance of Moses that he should possess the land which he had seen; and therefore at the division of the country by Joshua, he brings forward his claim to it (Josh. xiv. 12). Joshua allows it. It is no lightly-gained inheritance that Caleb asks: "Therefore give me (he says) this mountain, whereof the Lord spake in that day; for thou hast heard that there are Anakim there, and cities great and fenced; perhaps the Lord will be with me that I drive them out" (Josh. xiv. 12). Now, although the conquest of the city, and the expulsion of the Anakim, are already recorded in Josh. xv. 14, that is only an anticipatory historical notice in connection with the description of boundaries. The events actually occur now, in connection with the first efforts to gain permanent possession of the territory. Caleb, it is true, is old; but younger heroes surround him. They defeated the Anakim.

Ver. 10. Hebron, formerly called the Four Cities (Kirjath-arba). It is difficult to see why modern expositors² take offense at the idea that in Hebron an earlier Tetrapolis is to be recognized.

¹ Hebron is said to be seven years older than Zoan (Tanis) in Egypt (Num. xiii. 22). The number "seven" is here also to be regarded as a round number. It expresses the finished lapse of a long period.

² Ritter's remarks (xvi. 211 [Gage's Transl. iii. 292, seq.]), would admit of many corrections. Jerome, it is true, follows Jewish traditions (cf. *Pirke*, R. Eliezer, ch. xx.) when he thinks that the *Civitas Quatuor* was so named from the patriarchs who were buried there. It is, however, none the less evident from this, that the Jews of old interpreted Kirjath-arba as meaning "Tetrapolis." Nor does Num. xiii. 22 afford the slightest occasion for doubting the truth of the statement that Kirjath-arba was the former name of Hebron. Ritter seems especially to have followed Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 88)

The remark, Josh. xiv. 15: "And the name of Hebron was formerly Kirjath-arba, אַרְבַּת הַיְּבִרִים הָיְתָה," cannot furnish the ground; for אַרְבַּת is here a collective term, like *gens*, as appears indubitably from Josh. xv. 13, where we have the expression, "Kirjath-arba, the father of Anak (אֲבִי הָאֲנָקִים)," which is Hebron." The Tetrapolis was the ancient seat of powerful tribes, whom the traditions of Israel described as giants. Similar tetrapolitan cities are elsewhere met with. The Indians had a *Katurgrama*, the Four Villages (Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, i. 72). In Phrygia, Cibyra and three other places formed a Tetrapolis (Strabo, *lib.* xiii. 1, 17). I am inclined to find in the name Cibyra the same idea as in the Arabic *Chebar*³ and the Hebrew *Chebron* (Hebron), namely, that of confederation, community of interest. It is a suggestive fact that Abraham's expedition is joined by the brothers Eshcol, Aner, and Mamre (Gen. xiv. 13); concerning Mamre it is remarked, "the same is Hebron" (Gen. xxiii. 19). The Upper City (Acropolis), situated upon the mountains, and the lower cities lying in the fertile valley which these mountains inclose, together constituted the Tetrapolis. At the present day the city in the valley is still divided into three parts.⁴ Three sons of Anak are enumerated, manifestly three tribes, probably named after ancient heroes, which tribes coalesced with the mountain city.⁵ As late as the time of David, the phraseology is, that he dwelt in "the cities of Hebron" (2 Sam. ii. 3). Probably the name Hebron was originally given to the mountain⁶ (the הָרַיִם which Caleb claims, Josh. xiv. 12), as forming the common defense, and was then after the suppression of the Anakim, transferred to the whole city. The names of the three families of Anakim do not admit of any certain interpretation.

אֲחִיזַיִן might with most probability be interpreted after the analogy of Aehijah (Ahijah or Ahiah), "Friend of God." בֶּן, בְּנֵי, is the heathen deity (Isa. lxx. 11), who also occurs in Phœnician inscriptions, in proper names like עַבְד־מְנִי, "servant of Meni." The name שֵׁשַׁי, "Sheshai," reminds one of the Egyptian king שֵׁשַׁק, Shishak, Sechonchis, who made war on Rehoboam (1 Kgs. xiv. 25). The name שֵׁשַׁבְזַר ("Sheshbazzar," Ezra

³ Cf. my *History of the Jews*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopadie*, ii. 27, p. 166.

⁴ Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, ii. 74.

⁵ In a manner analogous perhaps to the fusion of the *Romnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*, into the one *Roma* of the *Romnes*.

⁶ Ritter (xvi. 228 [Gage's Transl. iii. 301]) proves that the ancient Hebron lay higher than the present, which however can refer only to a part of the city. The great importance of the place is explained by its protected situation in the mountains, along whose slopes it extended down into the valley. That fact only adapted it to be the capital of David's kingdom. Cf. Josh. xi. 21 (הָרַיִם הַזֶּה).

l. 8) may also be compared. The third name, Talmal, leaves it doubtful whether it is to be taken primarily as the name of a place or of a person. Stephanus Byzantinus speaks of an Arabic place which he calls Castle *Θελαμῶσα*. It is possible, however, that analogous mythical ideas come into contact with each other, in the Greek legend concerning Salmonus,¹ father of Tyro, and husband of Sidero. Hesiod already (in a Fragment, ed. Götting, p. 259) calls him an *ἄδικος καὶ ὑπέρθυμος*. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, 3) says that the Anakim were a race of giants, "whose bones are still shown to this very day." What stories were current about the discovery of gigantic human remains in Asia Minor and Syria, may be learned from the *Heroica* of Philostratus (ed. Jacobs, p. 28). A body of gigantic length was found in the bed of the Oron-

1 Cf. Heyne on *Apollodorus*, l. 9, p. 59. The later Jews write *תְּלַמַּל* for Ptolemy. Cf. Ewald, *Gesch. Israel's*, i. 300, 311.

tes. It was thought also that the bodies of Orestes and Ajax had been seen. The faint-hearted spies had depicted the Anakim as *Nephilim*, men like the prehistoric *Nibelungen* of German story; and from this Josephus constructed his giant-tale.

Josh. xv. 14 remarks, "And Caleb drove thence the three sons of Anak." A contradiction has been found therein with what we read here, "And they smote." None really exists. The narrative is actually more exact than is generally supposed. The statement of Josh. xv. 14 refers to Judges i. 20. The tribe of Judah had now indeed taken Hebron, and conquered the Anakim; but for peaceable possession the time had not yet come. Accompanied by Simcon, Judah proceeded onward to gain possession of the whole territory. At Judg. i. 19 the whole campaign is finished. Then they give Hebron to Caleb, and he drives out whatever remains of the Anakim. It was not with three persons, but with three tribes or nations, that they had to do.

Othniel takes Kirjath-sepher, and wins Achsah, the daughter of Caleb.

CHAPTER I. 11-15.

11 And from thence he [i. e. Judah] went against the inhabitants of Debir: and the
12 name of Debir before was Kirjath-sepher: And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kir-
13 jath sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. And
Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it: and he gave him Achsah
14 his daughter to wife. And it came to pass, when she came to him [at her coming;
sic. to her husband's house], that she moved [urged] him to ask of her father a [the] field:
and she lighted from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wilt thou [what is
15 the matter with thee]? And she said unto him, Give me a blessing: for thou hast
given me a south land [hast given me away into a dry land¹]; give me also [therefore]
springs of water. And Caleb gave her the upper springs, and the nether springs.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 15. — *וְיָתֵן לָהּ אֶחְסָה*: Dr. Cassel's rendering agrees substantially with that of the LXX. and many modern critics. Bertheau says: "*וְיָתֵן לָהּ* is the accusative of place. It would be difficult to justify the other and usual rendering grammatically, since *וְיָתֵן* with the accus. suffix, never, not even Jer. ix. 1, Isa. xxvii.

4, means to give anything to one." Bachmann, however, objects that "*וְיָתֵן* does not occur of the giving of daughters in marriage, and that the absence of a preposition, say *לָהּ*, before *וְיָתֵן* would make a hard construction. The suffix *וְיָתֵן* is either a negligent form of popular speech, substituted for *וְיָתֵן* (cf. Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb.* 315 b), or, better, a second accus., such as is quite common with verbs of giving, favoring, etc. (cf. Ewald, 283 b), and from which rule *וְיָתֵן* is not to be excepted, cf. Ezek. xxi. 32." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 11. And he went against Debir. The position of Debir, hitherto unknown, was recognized not long since by Dr. Rosen, on the hill-top called *Dewirbân*, near the spring *Ain Nunkur*, in a southwestern direction from Hebron, between that place and Dura (*Zeitschr. der Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1857, ii. 50-64).

The name of Debir was formerly Kirjath-sepher. In my *Ortsnamen* (i. 116, note), I already endeavored to show that Debir, Kirjath-sepher, and

Kirjath-sannah (*קִרְיַת סַנַּח*, Josh. xv. 49) philologically express one and the same idea. Fürst well remarks (*Lex.* s. v. *קִרְיַת*) that "*קִרְיַת* is the Phœnician equivalent of the Hebrew *קִרְיַת*, a material prepared from the skins of animals, and of the Himyaritic for a book written on palm-leaves." From the latter, he says, the Greek *διφθέρα* was formed, and thus the word passed over to the Greeks and Persians. There is no reason to doubt that the name describes the city as a depository of

written traditions, book-rolls. Kirjath-sepher¹ was a Palestinian Hermopolis, city of Thoth, where literature had its seat (cf. Plutarch, *De Isid.*, ed. Parthey, p. 4; the Sept. translates, *πόλις τῶν γραμμάτων*). Such depositories, where the sacred writings were kept *ἐν κίστη*, in a chest (Plut. *l. c.*), for preservation, were common to the religion of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians. To this place, that which sheltered the sacred ark of Israel's divine law opposed itself. It was therefore of much consequence to conquer it, as on the other hand its inhabitants valiantly defended it. The different names testify of the different dialects of the tribes who have held Debir.

Ver. 12. And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kirjath-sepher. Caleb is the chief of the tribe of Judah. Hebron has fallen to him as his inheritance, but it does not circumscribe his eager interest. "Caleb said." His personal zeal is the more prominently indicated, because displayed in a matter which involved the general cause, the honor of the whole tribe. At the conquest of Hebron, the phrase was, "and they smote;" at the next battle, fought for Debir, it is, "Caleb said." As the whole tribe assisted in gaining his personal inheritance, so for the honor of the tribe he devotes that which was wholly his, and his alone. He offers the dearest possession he has, as a prize for him who shall storm and take the strong mountain fortress and seat of idolatry. It is his only daughter (cf. 1 Chron. ii. 49) Achsah, born to him in advancing years. He can offer nothing better. Stronger proof of his zeal for the cause of Israel he cannot give. To obtain the daughter of a house by meritorious actions has in all ages been a worthy object of ambition set before young and active men. It was only by a warlike exploit that David obtained Michal who loved him. The Messenian hero Aristomenes bestows a similar reward. When a country maiden rescued him, with heroic daring, from danger involving his life, he gave her his son for a husband (Pans. iv. 19). The conquest of Debir is therefore especially mentioned to the honor of Caleb and his love for Israel. The event was a glorious incident in the hero's family history.

Ver. 13. And Othniel, the son of Kenaz, a younger brother of Caleb, took it. Israel, the nation, was divided into tribes, these into families, these into "houses," and these again into single households. This may be clearly seen from the story of Achan (Josh. vii. 14 ff.). Achan was of the tribe of Judah, the family of Zerah, the house of Zabdi, and the son of Carimi. So Caleb was the son of Jephunneh, of the house of Kenaz; whence, Num. xxxiii. 12, he is called the Kenazite. Bertheau (pp. 21, 22) labors under a peculiar error, in that he confounds the family of the Kenazite in the

tribe of Judah with the hostile people of the same name mentioned Gen. xv. 19. It is true, Lengerke (*Kanaan*, p. 204) and others preceded him in this; Ritter also (*Erdkunde*, xv. 138 [Gage's Transl. ii. 146]) has allowed himself to be misled by it. But a consideration of the important relations in which Caleb stands to the people of God, would alone have authorized the presumption that he could have no connection with a people that was to be driven out before Israel. In addition to this, notice should have been taken of the isolated position of the Kenites, continuing down to a late period; for notwithstanding the peaceful conduct of this people, and their attachment to Israel, their historical derivation from the father-in-law of Moses is never forgotten. The adoption of the celebrated hero into the tribe of Judah must at all events have been explained. But there is absolutely no foundation for any such assumption as that in question. The similarity of names affords so much the less occasion, since the same names were frequently borne by heathen and Israelites, and also by families in the different tribes of Israel. One Edomite is named Kenaz, like the ancestor of Caleb; another Saul, like the king of Israel; a third Elah, like a man of Benjamin (Gen. xxxvi. 41; 1 Kgs. iv. 18). There is an alien tribe named *הַיִּזְרְעֵלִי*; but no one imagines that Israelites of the name *הַיִּזְרְעֵלִי* are to be reckoned to it. The name of the king of Lachish whom Joshua defeated, was Japhia, exactly like that of a son of David (2 Sam. v. 15). Hezron and Carmi, both families of Reuben, are such also in the tribe of Judah. The name Jephunneh is borne also by a man of the tribe of Asher (1 Chron. vii. 38). To this must be added that the Book of Chronicles traces the family of Caleb more in detail, and places them as relatives alongside of Nahshon, the progenitor of David (1 Chron. ii. 9 seq.). Caleb is the son of Jephunneh, of the house of Kenaz. Othniel is his brother. That the latter is not designated "son of Jephunneh," is because he is sufficiently distinguished by means of his more illustrious brother. That he is styled "son of Kenaz," is to intimate that he is full brother to the son of Jephunneh, belonging to the same stock; not, as might be, the son of Caleb's mother, by a husband from some other family. He is so much younger than Caleb, that the latter may be regarded as his second father, who had watched over him from youth up. Why we are here, where the narrative is so personal in its character, to think only of genealogical, not of physical relationships, as Bertheau supposes, it is difficult to perceive. Just here, this would destroy, not merely the historical truth, but also the æsthetic character, of the narrative.²

Ver. 14. And it came to pass at her coming.

1 Attention was again directed to the city from the fact that the first liturgical poet of the modern Jews, Kalir, designates a Kirjath-sepher as his native place. He does not, however, mean this city, but, playing on the word, he translates *Καλαρῶσις* in Palestine by Kirjath *Siepher*, i. e. Beautiful City. This opinion advanced by me in 1845 (*Frankl's Zeitschr.*) has perhaps lost none of its probability.

2 [The above view of the relationship between Caleb and Othniel is held by most modern critics. Among its opponents, however, are Ewald and De Wette. The former (*Gesch. Israels*, ii. 374) deems it "more suitable, in accordance with the view of the oldest narrator, to take Kenaz as the younger brother of Caleb;" the latter, in his excellent German Version, translates: "Othniel, der Sohn des Kenas, des jüngsten Bruders Calbs." Of ancient versions, the Tar-

gum and Peshito leave the question undecided. The LXX. in C. Vat., in all three passages, and in C. Alex. at Josh. xv. 17 and Judg. iii. 9, makes Othniel the nephew, while in Judg. i. 13 C. Alex. makes him the brother, of Caleb. The Vulg. invariably: "Othniel filius Cenez, frater Caleb."

Grammatically, both constructions are equally admissible. For that adopted by Dr. Cassel, cf. Gen. xxviii. 5; 1 Sam. xxvi. 6, etc.; for the other, Gen. xxix. 10; 1 Sam. xiv. 3, etc. That the distinctive accent over Kenaz is not incompatible with either construction, or rather does not commit the Masorites to the construction adopted by Dr. Cassel, as Keil intimates, may be seen from Gen. xxiv. 15, etc.

Bachmann favors the alternate rendering — "filius Kenas fratris Calebi" — on the following grounds: 1. "The fact that elsewhere Caleb is always designated as 'the son of Jephunneh,' while Othniel is always spoken of as 'the

Othniel had conquered the stronghold, — the victory was his, and Caleb gave him his daughter. The narrator forthwith adds an incident that marked the peaceful entrance of the young wife into the house of her husband, and afforded an interesting glimpse of her character. Caleb, the head of the tribe, was rich; to him, and to him alone, the fine fields and estates about Hebron had been given. Only Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, had received them, not the whole family (Josh. xxi. 12). Othniel was poor. In the character of a poor, younger son, he had achieved heroic deeds. Not he thinks of goods and possessions; but so much the more does the young Achsah, who has been accustomed to wealth. Such is the course of the world. They are on their way to Hebron, a way which leads through fertile, well-watered fields. Their journey is a beautiful triumphal procession, over which the aged father rejoices. Achsah urges

(כרתה) from her husband to seize the opportunity, and petition her father for the noble field through which they are passing.¹ He does it not. He deems it an act unworthy of himself. She, however, like a true woman, too sagacious to lose the proper moment, proceeds herself ingeniously to call her father's attention to the fact that she desires not merely honor, but also property. She slides from her ass — suddenly, as if she fell (וּנְפְלָה) — so that her father asks, "What is the matter with thee?" Her answer has a double sense: "Thou gavest me away into a dry land, give me also springs." O give me a blessing!

אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב ("land of the south") is land destitute of water. No greater blessing there than springs. They make the parched field flourishing and productive (cf. Ps. exxvi. 4). Now, just as springs are a sign of abundance and wealth, so *negeb* is a symbol of indigence and want. Thou gavest me away, says Achsah, in words full of concealed meaning, into a dry land — to a poor husband; give me also springs to enrich the land — my husband. Caleb understood and gave, the more liberally, no doubt, for the ingenious manner in which she asked. He gave her the upper and lower springs. אֶרֶץ, for springs, occurs only in this passage. It is obviously not to be derived from אָרָץ, in the sense of rolling, turning, — from which

comes אֶרֶץ, "pitcher," so named on account of its round form, — but is connected with old roots expressive, like the Sanskr. *gala*, "water," of welling, bubbling (cf. Dieffenbach, *Wörterb. der Goth.*

son of Kenaz," raises a presumption against the supposition that Othniel is the brother of Caleb in the strict sense of the term. . . . 2. Caleb was 85 years old when Hebron was bestowed on him (Josh. xiv. 10, 14); and when he took possession of it, must have been some years older. Accordingly, if Othniel was his brother, even though his junior by from twenty to thirty years, — and a greater difference in age is surely not to be supposed, — it would follow, that the bold hero who won his wife as a prize for storming Debir was at that time from sixty to seventy years of age; that about eighteen years later, he entered on his office as Judge as a man of full eighty years of age; and that, even though he died some time before the end of the forty years' rest (ch. iii. 11), he reached an age of 120 years or more, which is scarcely probable. 3. According to ch. iii. 9, Othniel is the first deliverer of Israel fallen under the yoke of heathen oppressors in consequence of its apostasy to heathen idolatry. Now, since idolatry is said to have become prevalent in Israel only after the generation that had entered Canaan with Joshua and Caleb had died off (ch. ii. 10), it is clear that Othniel is regarded as belonging not to this, but to the

Sprache, i. 183). What springs they were which Othniel received, it is difficult to say. Were they those which Robinson found on the way to Hebron, within an hour's distance! Le Clerc wonders why this family history is here related. Most certainly not without intending to make the zeal of Caleb, the unselfishness of Othniel, and the prudence of Achsah, points of instruction. The Jewish exegesis, reproduced by Raschi, is essentially right, when it explains that Othniel was poor in everything but the law, in everything, that is, but piety and solidity of character.² History and tradition present many another pair like Othniel and Achsah. The thing to be especially noted, however, is the firmness of Othniel in resisting his wife's enticement to make requests which it is more becoming in her to make. Not many men have so well withstood the ambitious and eagerly craving projects of their wives.

HOILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Compare Hom. Hints on ch. i. 17-20.

[SCOTT: It is a very valuable privilege to be closely united with families distinguished for faith and piety; and to contract marriage with those who have been "trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

THE SAME: Nature teaches us to desire temporal benefits for our children; but grace will teach us to be far more desirous and earnest in using means that they may be partakers of spiritual blessings.

THE SAME: If affection to a creature animates men to such strenuous efforts and perilous adventures, what will the love of God our Saviour do, if it bear rule in our hearts!

THE SAME: If earthly parents, "being evil, know how to give good gifts to their children, how much more will our Heavenly Father give good things to those who ask him!"

HENRY: From this story we learn, 1st. That it is no breach of the tenth commandment moderately to desire those comforts and conveniences of this life which we see attainable in a fair and regular way. . . . 3dly. That parents must never think that lost, which is bestowed on their children for their real advantage, but must be free in giving them portions as well as maintenance, especially when dutiful.

P. H. S.: Three Lessons from an Ancient Wedding: 1. Caleb's lesson: Pious zeal for God and an heroic character are better than wealth or social rank. To such as possess these qualities let fathers freely give their daughters. 2. Othniel's succeeding generation, which agrees better with the hypothesis that he is the son of a younger brother of Caleb, than that he is such a brother himself. 3. Finally, whatever, in view of Lev. xviii. 12, 13, may be thought of the difficulty of a marriage between an uncle and a niece, that interpretation surely deserves to be preferred which, while it is possible in itself, does not raise the said difficulty at all. — Ta.]

[WERNER: "The field: that is, the field which had been given to Othniel when the Book of Judges was written, and which was known to be well supplied with water." This explanation of the article supposes that the words attributed to Achsah in the text, were not the very words she used. — Ta.]

2 At an early date, the passage 1 Chron. iv. 10, where Jabez says, "Oh, that thou wouldest bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that thine hand might be with me," was already explained as referring to Othniel (cf. *Tomura*, p. 16, a). Jerome was acquainted with a Jewish opinion according to which Jabez was a teacher of the law (cf. 1 Chron. ii. 65), who instructed the sons of the Kenite, cf. *Quest. Hebr. in Lib. i. Para.*, ed. Migne, iii. 1370.

lesson: A wife is to be won for her own sake, not as the means of gaining access to her father's wealth. 3. Achsah's lesson: It is the wife's duty to promote the interests and honor of her husband. Wealth is a source of weight and influence, and a means of usefulness. Who knows how much this and similar thoughtful acts of Achsah contributed to shape the subsequent life-work of Othniel as judge of Israel.

THE SAME: It is more honorable to woman to be "sold" (a term entirely inapplicable, how-

ever, to the ease in hand), than to have a husband bought for her by her father's gold or lands. When a man stormed the walls of a stronghold, or slew an hundred Philistines by personal prowess, or paid fourteen years of responsible service, for a wife, or when, as in the days of chivalry, he ran tilts and courted dangers in her behalf, however grotesque the performance, it indicated not only solidity of character in the wooer, but also a true and manly respect for woman, which is not possessed by all men of modern days.—Tr.]

The Kenites take up their abode in the territories of Judah.

CHAPTER I. 16.

16 And the children [sons] of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law, went up out of [from] the city of palm-trees with the children [sons] of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which *lieth* in the south of Arad; and they [he¹] went and dwelt among² the people.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 16. — *He*, i. e., the Kenite. The subject of יִלְךְ is כְּנִיזִי, the Kenite, collective term for the tribe. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 16. — יַרְבֵּשׁ, with, near, the people, but still in settlements of their own, cf. ver. 21. Dr. Cassel's *unter* answers to the English *among*. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 16. **And the sons of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law.** Kenite is the name of a heathen tribe, which in Gen. xv. 19 is enumerated among the nations hostile to Israel. In the vision of Balaam it is mentioned in connection with Amalek (Num. xxiv. 21). It is there said of the tribe, "In the rock hast thou put thy *nest*" (כְּנִיזִי, from כָּן, "nest"). "Strong," indeed, "is their dwelling-place." The Kenites were a tribe of the wilderness, troglodytes, who dwelt in the grottoes which abound everywhere in Palestine, but especially in its southern parts. Barth, in 1847, saw caves at the lower Jordan, "high up in the steep face of the precipitous rock, on the left, inhabited by human beings and goats, though it is impossible to see how they get there" (Ritter, xv. 463). At the Dead Sea, Lynch discovered grottoes in the rocks, the entrance to which, in spite of all proficiency in climbing, could not be found. The name of the tribe, Kenites, is doubtless derived from כָּן,

which means an elevated hiding-place in the rocks, as well as a nest. The term troglodytes, likewise, comes from τρώγλη, "grotto," and is applied to both birds and human beings. As Jeremiaah (xlix. 16) exclaims, "though thou shouldst make thy *nest* as high as the eagle," so Æschylus (*Choëphoroe*, 249) calls the nest of the eagle's brood, σκήνημα, "dwelling-place."

It is from this passage, and from ch. iv. 11, that we first learn that Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses,¹ belonged to one of the Kenite families. Moses, when a fugitive in the desert, found an asylum and a wife in the retirement of Jethro's household. From that time, this family, without losing its independent and separate existence, was closely allied with all Israel. But it was only this family, and not the whole Kenite nation, that entered into this alliance. Else, how could the Kenite be named among enemies in the prophetic announcements of Gen. xv., and with Amalek in the vision of Balaam? Moreover, the text clearly intimates that the sons of the Kenite adhered to Israel, not as Kenites, but as descendants of Jethro, the father-

1 Earlier scholars (Le Clerc. Lightfoot, *Opera*, ii. 581) were already struck by the Targum's constant substitution of שַׁלְמַא, Salmaah for Kenite. In this passage also it reads, "the sons of Salmaah." Even Jewish authors were at a loss how to explain this. As it affords a specimen of the traditional exegesis of the Jews, already current in the Targum on this passage, I will here set down the explanation of this substitution: The Kenite of our passage is identified with the *Kinim* of 1 Chron. ii. 55, who are there described as "the families of the *Sopherim*." But how came the Kenites to hold this office, in after times so highly honored, and filled by men learned in the law (cf. *Sopherim*, p. 104 a and 106 a)? The father-in-law of Moses — (tradition makes him

flee from the council of Pharaoh of which he was a member, *Sota*, 11 a) — is the Kenite who, when the latter wandered in the desert (Ex. ii. 20, 21), gave him *bread* (*lechem*) and also, through his daughter, a *house* (*beth*). Now, the same chapter of Chronicles, vers. 51, 54, names a certain *Salma*, and styles him the "father of *Beth-lechem*." The father of this "*Bread-house*" is then identified with *Jethro*. Consequently, the sons of the Kenite are the sons of Salmaah, and thus their name itself indicates how they attained to the dignity accorded them. The Targum on Chronicles (*ed. Wilna*, 1836, p. 3, A) expresses it thus: "They were the sons of Zippora, who (in) their capacity of *Sopherim*) enjoyed, together with the families of the Levites, the glory of having descended from Moses, the teacher of Israel."

in-law of Moses.¹ It is the constant aim of the historian of the conquest of Canaan by Israel, to show that every promise was fulfilled, and that no one who at any time showed kindness failed of his promised reward. Caleb's constancy and courage found their long-promised inheritance in Hebron. A recompense had also been promised to the sons of the Kenite. When Israel was on its journey through the desert (Num. x. 31), and Hobab (on the name, see below, on ch. iv. 11) desired to return to his old place of abode, Moses said: "Leave us not; thou knowest our places of encampment in the desert, and hast been to us instead of eyes. If thou go with us, every good thing with which God blesses us, we will share with thee." The fulfilment of this promise now takes place. The Kenites enter with the tribe of Judah into the inheritance of the latter, as into a domain in which they had always been at home. They share in the blessing bestowed by God on Israel.

They went up from the City of Palms. No other place than the plain of Jericho is ever called the City of Palms in the Scriptures. Although the city was destroyed, the palm-groves still existed. How was it possible to suppose,² in the face of Deut. xxxiv. 3 and Judg. iii. 13, that here suddenly, without any preparatory notice, another City of Palms is referred to! The statement here made, so far from occasioning difficulties, only testifies to the exactness of the narrator. Judah's camp was in Gilgal, whence they marched through Bezek against the enemy, and then to Hebron. Gilgal lay in the vicinity of Jericho. When the tribe decamped, the Kenite was unwilling to remain behind. On the march through the desert, their position as guides had of course always been in the van, and, therefore, with the tribe of Judah. They desire to enjoy their reward also in connection with this tribe, and hence the palms of overthrown Jericho cannot detain them. The region in which they were, can therefore be no other place of palms than that from which Judah broke up, namely, Jericho. In fact, the statement that they came from Jericho, proves the correctness of the view given above, that Gilgal was the place from which Judah set out to enter his territory.

Into the wilderness of Judah, which lieth in

¹ This view does away with all those questions of which, among earlier expositors, Bertheau treats on pp. 24, 25.

² Into this error, Le Clerc has misled later expositors, and among them, Bertheau, p. 25. However, the wholly irrelevant passage of Diodorus (lib. 42), frequently cited to justify the assumption of another City of Palms, was already abandoned by Rosenmüller, p. 24.

³ Ishak Chelo, the author of *Les chemins de Jérusalem*, in the 14th century, found Arad sparsely inhabited, by poor

the south of Arad. But why is the narrative of the Kenite expedition here introduced? It is a peculiarity of Hebrew narrators, that they weave in episodes like this and that of Othniel and Achsah, whenever the progress of the history, coming into contact with the place or person with which they are associated, offers an occasion. Hence we already find events communicated in the 15th chapter of Joshua, which occurred at a later date, but of which the author was reminded while speaking of the division of the land. The history of the conquest of their territory by Judah is very brief. First, the mountain district of Hebron and the northeastern part of the territory was taken possession of. Then, according to the plan laid down ver. 9, they turned to the south. Of this part of their undertaking no details are given; but as they were getting possession of the land in this direction, they came to Arad, where it pleased the Kenites to take up their abode, in close relations with Judah. A king formerly reigned at Arad, who attacked Israel when journeying in the desert (Num. xxi. 1), and was defeated by Moses. A king of Arad was also conquered by Joshua (Josh. xii. 14). After its occupancy by the tribe of Judah, the Kenites resided there. The position³ of the place has been accurately determined by Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 101, cf. Ritter, xiv. 121). Eusebius and Jerome had placed it twenty Roman miles, a camel's journey of about eight hours, from Hebron. This accords well with the position of the present *Tell 'Arād*, "a barren-looking eminence rising above the country around." From this fragmentary notice of the place, we may perhaps infer what it was that specially attracted the Kenites. If these tribes were attached to the Troglodyte mode of life, the Arabs still told Robinson of a "cavern" found there. The Kenites still held this region in the time of David; for from the vicinity of the places named in 1 Sam. xxx. 29 ff., especially Hormah, it appears that they are those to whom as friends he makes presents.⁴ It is true, that when the terrible war between Saul and Amalek raged in this region, Saul, lest he should strike friend with foe, caused them to remove (1 Sam. xv. 6). After the victory, they must have returned again.

Arabs and Jews, who lived of their flocks. The Rabbi tends his sheep, and at the same time gives instruction to his pupils. Cf. Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte* (Bruxelles, 1847), pp. 244, 245.

⁴ Cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 10, where the same local position is assigned to the Kenites, and spoken of by David as the scene of his incursions, in order to make the suspicious Philistines believe that he injures the friends of Israel.

Simeon's territory is conquered, and Judah takes the Philistine cities.

CHAPTER I. 17-20.

17 And Judah went with Simeon his brother, and they slew [smote] the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it [executed the ban upon it].¹ And 18 the name of the city was called² Hormah. Also [And] Judah took Gaza with the coast [territory] thereof, and Askelon with the coast [territory] thereof, and Ekron 19 with the coast [territory] thereof. And the Lord [Jehovah] was with Judah: [.]

and he drove out *the inhabitants* [obtained possession] of the mountain [mountains]; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley [for the inhabitants of the low country were not to be driven out],³ because they had chariots of iron. And they gave Hebron unto Caleb, as Moses [had] said: and he expelled thence the three sons of Anak.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 17. — The הָרָה (LXX. *ἀνάθημα*), in cases like the present, was, as Hengstenberg (*Pent.* ii. 74) expresses it, "the compulsory devotement to the Lord of those who would not voluntarily devote themselves to him." To render the word simply by "destruction," as is done in the A. V. here and elsewhere, is to leave out the religious element of the act, and reduce it to the level of a common war measure. Cf. Winer, *Realwörterb.*, s. v. *Bann*; Smith's *Ebb. Diet.* s. v. *Anathema*. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 17. — נִקְרָאוּ . Dr. Cassel translates it as if it were plural, and gives it the same subject with נִקְרָאוּ , "they called." Correct, perhaps, as to fact, but grammatically less accurate than the A. V. קָרָא is the indefinite third person. Cf. Ges. *Gr.* 137, 3. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 19. — Dr. Cassel: *denen nicht zu vertreiben waren die Bewohner der Niederung*. On the force of בִּי , for (E. V. but), cf. Ges. *Gram.* § 155, p. 271. — The construction of לֹא לְהוֹרִישׁ is unusual. According to Keil (and Bertheau) "לֹא" is to be taken substantively, as in Amos vi. 10, in the same sense in which the later Scriptures use לֹא before the infinitive, 2 Chron. v. 11; Esth. iv. 2, viii. 8; Eccles. iii. 14. Cf. Ges. *Gram.* § 132, 3, Rem. 1; Ewald, 237 c." Idea and expression might then be represented in English by the phrase: "there was no driving the enemy out." On עָמְקָה , see foot-note on p. 39. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 17. And Judah went with Simeon his brother. The course of conquest by the tribes is regularly followed, but the narrative *delays* only at such points as are connected with noteworthy facts. When Judah had reached the south, and was in Arad, the statement was introduced that the Kenite settled there. After the conquest of the south, the conquerors turned toward the low country (ver. 9). In order to get there, they must traverse the territory of Simeon. Consequently, Judah goes with Simeon now, to assist him in gaining possession of his land. This expedition also offered an event which it was important to chronicle.

They smote the inhabitants of Zephath, and called the city Chormah. In itself considered, the mere execution of the ban of destruction on a city otherwise unknown, cannot be of such importance as would properly make it the only reported event of the campaign in Simeon's territory. The record must have been made with reference to some event in the earlier history of Israel.¹ The tribes had just been in Arad, where the Kenites settled. Now, according to the narrative in Num. xxi. 1 ff., it was the King of Arad who suddenly fell upon the people in their journey through the desert. The attack was made when the Israelitish host was in a most critical situation, which, to be sure, could not be said to be improved by the ban executed on the cities of the king after the victory was won. Not Arad, — for this retained its name, — but one

1 Compare Rosenmüller, p. 25, and Hengstenberg, *Pent.* ii. p. 179, etc.

2 The King of Arad only is spoken of, Num. xxi. 1, and it is not said that Arad was called Hormah. The "name of the (one) place." It is stated, they called Hormah, whereas they "banned their cities." Since, therefore, Arad and Hormah are distinguished, it is plain that this one place of the banned cities, which was called Hormah, was Zephath. — [BERTHEAU: "It has been thought, indeed, that the word

מְקוֹמָה in Num. xxi. 3, in the connection in which it stands, indicates that in the time of Moses the whole southern district received the name Hormah, whereas, according to our passage [i. e. Judg. i. 17] it was given only to the city of Zephath; but מְקוֹמָה never signifies "region," and must

of the places put under the ban, we are told, received the name Hormah.² The vow in pursuance of which this ban was inflicted required its subsequent maintenance as much as its original execution. Thus much we learn from the passage in Numbers. That a close connection existed between Arad and Hormah is also confirmed by Josh. xii. 14, where a king of Arad and one of Hormah are named together. In the same way are the inhabitants of Hormah and the Kenites in Arad mentioned together, upon occasion of David's division of booty (1 Sam. xxx. 29). Since Moses was not able to occupy these regions, the banned city, as appears plainly from Josh. xii. 14, where a king of Hormah occurs, had been peopled and occupied anew. Hence it was the task of the tribe of Simeon, with the help of Judah, to restore the vow of Israel, and to change the Zephath of its heathen inhabitants once more into Hormah. That, in this respect also, the tribes observed the commands of Moses, and fulfilled what was formerly promised, — adjudging to one, reward, as to the Kenite; to another, the ban, as to Zephath, — *this is the reason* why this fact is here recorded. Robinson thought that there was every reason for supposing that in the position of the pass es-Sufāh, far down in the south, the locality of Zephath was discovered (*Bib. Res.* ii. 181). The position, as laid down on his map, strikes me as somewhat remote from Tell 'Arād; and the name es-Sufāh, Arabic for "rock," cannot, on account of its general character, be considered altogether decisive.³ Moreover, another Zephath actually occurs, near Mareshah (2 Chron. xiv. 10), be understood here, as in Gen. xxviii 19 and elsewhere, of one place or one city." — Tr.]

3 Some ruins, named Sepāta by the Arabs, were found by Rowlands (cf. Ritter, xiv. 1084-5; Williams' *Holy City*, i. 464), two and a half hours southwest of Khalass (Robinson's Elusa), and have also been identified with Zephath. Their position is very different from that of Tell es-Sufāh. They also seem to me to lie too remote from Arad. That the Biblical name Zephath has been preserved, after the Jewish inhabitants for many centuries must have used, not that, but Hormah, does not appear at all probable. In the mountains of Ephraim, Eli Smith came into a village Um-Sufāh. "It reminded him of the locality of Hormah near the southern border of Palestine, both of which names [Um-Sufāh and Hormah] in Arabic designate such smooth tracts of rock" (Ritter, xvi. 561).

not far from Eleutheropolis, and Robinson (ii. 31) makes it probable that by the valley of Zephath in which King Asa fought, the wady is meant which "comes down from Beit Jibrin towards Tell es-Sâfieh." In the Middle Ages, a castle existing there, bore the name Alba Specula, Fortress of Observation, which at all events agrees with the signification of Zephath.

Ver. 18. **And Judah took Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron.** The territory assigned to Judah extended to the sea, including the Philistine coast-land, with their five cities. After the conquest of Simeon's lot their course descended from the hills into the lowlands (*Shephelah*, ver. 9), most probably by way of Beer-sheba, to the sea. In their victorious progress, they storm and seize Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, pressing on from south to north. Although Ashdod is not mentioned here, it is natural to suppose, since it was included in the borders assigned to Judah (Josh. xv.), and lay on the road from Askelon to Ekron, that it was also taken, previous to the conquest of Ekron. Josephus, drawing the same inference, expressly includes it. It is said וַיִּכְבְּדוּ, "they took by storm." They were not able, at this time, so to take and hold these places as to expel their inhabitants. The tribe of Judah, which, as it seems, now continued the war alone, on the sea-coast fell in with cultivated cities, provided with all the arts of warfare. Israel at that time was not prepared for long and tedious wars. In swift and stormy campaigns, their divinely-inspired enthusiasm enabled them to conquer. On the mountains, where personal courage and natural strength alone came into play, they were entirely victorious, and held whatever they gained. It was only in the plains, where the inhabitants of the coast cities met them with the murderous opposition of iron chariots, that they gave up the duty of gaining entire mastery over the land.^{1 2}

Ver. 19. **For the inhabitants of the low country were not to be driven out, because they had iron chariots.**³ The noble simplicity

¹ Thus an internal contradiction between this verse and the statement of the next that Judah failed to drive out the inhabitants of the low country, as asserted by Basinger (*Herz. Real-Encykl.* xi. 554), does not exist.

² [The author identifies the מְדִינָה, the inhabitants of which Judah failed to drive out, with the מְדִינָה הַנְּמוּנָה, ver. 9, and hence renders it (see ver. 19) by *Niederung*, "low country," prop. depression. Against this identification, accepted by Studer, Bertheau, Kell, and many others, Bachmann objects that, with the single exception of Jer. xlvii. 5, a poetic passage in a late prophet, מְדִינָה is never applied to the Philistine plain. "In accordance with its derivation, מְדִינָה denotes a valley-basin (cf. Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* p. 70), broadly extended it may be (Gen. xiv. 9, 10; Josh. xvii. 16; etc.), adapted for battle (Josh. viii. 13), susceptible of cultivation (Job xxxix. 10; Cant. ii. 1; Ps. lxx. 14; etc.), but still always depressed between mountains and bordered by them. It never means a level plain or lowlands." Cf. Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, p. 476, Amer. ed. Bachmann, therefore, looks for the *Emek* — which, by the way, with the article, is not necessarily singular, but may be used collectively — within or at least very near the Mountains of Judah. "Of valleys affording room for the action of chariots, the mountains of Judah have several; e. g., the Emek Rephaim, Josh. xv. 8, southwest of Jerusalem, one hour long and one half hour broad, known as a battle-field in other times also (2 Sam. v. 18, 22; xliii. 13); the Emek ha-Elah, 1 Sam. xvii. 1, 2; the broad basins of the valleys of Jehoshaphath and Ben Hinnon near the northern boundary (see Rob. i. 298, 273); the great, basin-like plain of Beni Naim,

of the narrative could not show itself more plainly. "The Lord was with Judah, and he gained possession of the mountain district; but לֹא יִהְיֶה לְהוֹרִישׁ, "not to be driven out," etc. The expression לֹא יִהְיֶה, "they could not," is purposely avoided. They would have been quite able when God was with them; but when it came to a contest with iron chariots their faith failed them. The tribes of Joseph were likewise kept out of the low country because the inhabitants had chariots of iron (Josh. xvii. 16); but Joshua said (ver. 18), "Thou shalt (or canst) drive out the Canaanite, though he be strong." Iron chariots are known only to the Book of Judges, excepting the notice of them in the passage just cited from Joshua. The victory of Deborah and Barak over Jabin, King of Canaan, owed much of its glory to the fact that Sisera commanded nine hundred iron chariots. Bertheau rejects the earlier opinion that these chariots were *currus fulcati*, scythe-chariots, on the ground that those were unknown to the Egyptians. He thinks it probable that the chariots of the Canaanites, like those of the Egyptians, were only made of wood, but with iron-clad corners, etc., and therefore very strong. But such chariots would never be called *iron* chariots. The Egyptian war-chariots which Pharaoh leads forth against Israel, are not so called. To speak of chariots as iron chariots, when they were in the main constructed of a different material, would be manifestly improper, unless what of iron there was about them, indicated their terrible destructive capacities. It has, indeed, been inferred from Xenophon's *Cyropedia* (vi. 1, 27), that scythe-chariots were first invented by Cyrus, and that they were previously unknown "in Media, Syria, Arabia, and the whole of Asia." But even if this Cyrus were to be deemed strictly historical, the whole notice indicates no more than the improvement⁴ of a similar kind of weapon. It does not at all prove that scythe-chariots did not previously exist. The principal improvement which the

in the east (see Rob. i. 488 ff.); and others. And that, in general, chariots in considerable numbers might be used in the mountain country, appears, with reference to a region a little further north, from 1 Sam. xiii. 5." Bachmann's view of the connection of ver. 19 with what precedes is as follows: Ver. 9. The battle of Bezek, etc., having secured Judah from attacks in the rear, and left him free to proceed in his undertakings, the theatre of these undertakings is divided by ver. 9 into three parts: the mountain country, the south (*negeb*), and the plain (*shephelah*). The conquest of the mountain country is illustrated by a couple of instances in vers. 10-15; that of the south is similarly indicated in vers. 16, 17; and that of the plain in ver. 18. Here, too, Judah was successful in his undertakings. As in the other cases, the places named here, Gaza, Askelon, Ekron, are only mentioned as examples of what took place in the Shephelah generally. The conquest of the western parts of the Shephelah being related, that of the eastern districts, nearer the mountains, was left to be inferred as a matter of course. Then, in ver. 19, the narrative returns to the mountain country, in order to supplement vers. 10-15 by indicating, what those verses did not show, that the conquest of this division, the first of the three mentioned, was not complete. — Tr.]

³ How properly the readings of the Septuaginta are not considered as authorities against the Hebrew text, is sufficiently shown by the single fact that here they read, "ὄτι Πηχάβ διεστράλατο αὐτοῖς;" which also passed over into the Syriac version. A few Codd. add "καὶ ἀμάρτα σιδηρὰ αὐτοῖς."

⁴ Cf. Joh. Gottl. Schneider, in his edition of the *Cyropedia* (Lips. 1840), p. 353.

Cyrus of Xenophon introduced, was, that he changed the chariot-rampart, formed perhaps after the manner of the Indian battle-array (*akschauhini*,¹ the idea of our game of chess) into a means of aggressive warfare. For this purpose, he changed the form of the chariot, and added the scythe to the axle-tree. But the chariots of our passage must already have been intended for aggressive action, since otherwise the purpose of the iron is incomprehensible. Nor does Xenophon assert that Cyrus was the first who affixed scythes to chariots, although he would not have failed to do so if that had been his opinion. It is, moreover, in itself not probable. Xenophon mentions that the (African) Cyrenians "still" had that kind of chariots which Cyrus invented.² And Strabo informs us that in his time the Nigretes, Pharusii, and Ethiopians, African tribes, made use of the scythe-chariot.³ The changes introduced in the chariot by Cyrus, were made in view of a war against the Assyrians, whom Xenophon distinguishes from the Syrians. But from a statement of Ctesias⁴ we learn that the Assyrian armies already had scythe-chariots. The same occasion induced Cyrus to clothe his chariot-warriors in armor. For at all events, Assyrian monuments represent the charioteers encased in coats of mail.⁵ It serves to explain the term iron chariots, that Xenophon also speaks of iron scythes (*δρέπανα σιδηρᾶ*). Curtius (iv. 9, 4) describes chariots which carried iron lances on their poles (*ex summo tenone hastæ præfixæ ferro eminebant*), for which the form of Assyrian chariots seems to be very well adapted. Representations of them sufficiently indicate the horrors of these instruments of war, by the bodies of the slain between their wheels.

Ver. 20. And they gave Hebron unto Caleb. This statement, even after that of ver. 10, is by no means superfluous. Now, and not before, could Caleb receive Hebron as a quiet possession. Judah must first enter his territory. When the conquest was completed, — and it was completed after the western parts of the mountain region also submitted, — the tribe of Judah entered upon its possessions; and then the aged hero received that which had been promised him. Then also, most likely, transpired that beautiful episode which gave to Othniel his wife and property.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Vers. 4–20. Obedient, believing, united Israel is attended by victory. And in victory it knows

1 Bohlen, *Ates Indien*, ii. 66.

2 [On this sentence of our author, Bachmann remarks: "Cassel's explanation that the Cyrenians had 'still' that kind of chariots which Cyrus invented, is the opposite of what Xenophon, *l. c.*, expressly and repeatedly declares, namely, that Cyrus abolished (*κατένευσε*) both the earlier (*πρόσθεν ὄσαν*) Trojan method of chariot-warfare, and also that still in use (*ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄσαν*) among the Cyrenians, which formerly (*τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον*) was also practiced by the Medes, Syrians, etc." Bertheau and Bachmann (Keil, too) resist the conversion of "iron chariots" into *currus falcati* on the ground that these were unknown before Cy-

rus, who invented them, *Cyropædia*, vi. 1, 27, 30. On the Egyptian war-chariot, see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i. 350. — Tr.]

3 Lib. xvii. 3, 7, ed. Paris, p. 703: "χρῶνται δὲ καὶ δρεπανηφόροις ἄρμασι."

4 In the *Bibl. Hist.* of Diodorus, ii. 5.

5 Cf. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 335. [For an account of the Assyrian war-chariot, p. 349. On p. 353, Layard remarks: "Chariots armed with scythes are not seen in the Assyrian sculptures, although mentioned by Ctesias as being in the army of Ninus." — Tr.]

how to punish and reward. Adoni-bezek terribly experiences what he had inflicted on others, but the sons of the Kenite dwell like brethren in the midst of Judah. The Canaanite is chastised; but the Kenite reaps the fruits of conquest. The unbelievers among the spies formerly sent by Moses are infamous, but Caleb gains an inheritance full of honor. Thus, faith makes men united before action; after it, just. Men are wise enough to give every one his own (*suum cuique*), only so long as they continue obedient toward God. For faith 1. regards that which is God's; and, therefore, 2. awards according to real deserts. Othniel obtained Caleb's daughter, not because he was his nephew (*nepos*), but because he took Kirjath-sopher. Before God, no nepotism holds good, for it is a sign of moral decay; on the contrary, he gives the power of discerning spirits. He only, who in the sanctuary of God has inquired after "Light and Righteousness" (Urim and Thummim), can properly punish and reward.

STARKE (ver. 16): The children of those parents who have deserved well of the church of God, should have kindness shown, and benefits extended to them before others. For ingratitude is a shameful thing.

THE SAME (ver. 17): Covenants, even when involving dangers, must be faithfully kept by all, but especially by brothers and sisters.

[SCOTT (ver. 19): Great things might be achieved by the professors of the gospel, if they unitedly endeavored to promote the common cause of truth and righteousness; for then "the Lord would be with them," and every mountain would sink into a plain. But when outward difficulties are viewed by the eye of sense, and the almighty power of God is forgotten, then no wonder we do not prosper; for according to our faith will be our vigor, zeal, and success. Love of ease, indulgence, and worldly advantages, both spring from and foster unbelief. Thus many an awakened sinner, who seemed to have escaped Satan's bondage, "is entangled again, and overcome, and his last state is worse than the first." Thus even many a believer who begins well is hindered: he grows negligent and unwatchful and afraid of the cross; his graces languish, his evil propensities revive; Satan perceives his advantage, and plies him with suitable temptations; the world recovers its hold; he loses his peace, brings guilt into his conscience, anguish into his heart, discredit into his character, and reproach on the gospel; his hands are tied, his mouth is closed, and his usefulness ruined. — Tr.]

rus, who invented them, *Cyropædia*, vi. 1, 27, 30. On the Egyptian war-chariot, see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, i. 350. — Tr.]

3 Lib. xvii. 3, 7, ed. Paris, p. 703: "χρῶνται δὲ καὶ δρεπανηφόροις ἄρμασι."

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Benjamin is inactive, and allows the Jebusite to remain in Jerusalem. The House of Joseph emulates Judah, and takes Bethel.

CHAPTER I. 21-26.

21 And¹ the children [sons] of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem: but the Jebusites dwell [dwelt] with [among]² the children [sons] of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day. And the house of Joseph, they also³ went up against Beth-el: and the Lord [Jehovah] was with them. And the house of Joseph sent to descry [spy out the entrance to]⁴ Beth-el. Now the name of the city before was Luz. And the spies saw a man come forth out of the city, and they said unto him, Shew us, we pray thee, the entrance into the city, and we will shew thee mercy [favor]. And when [omit: when] he shewed them the entrance into the city, [and] they smote the city with the edge of the sword: but they let go the man and all his family. And the man went into the land of the Hittites, and built [there] a city, and called the name thereof Luz: which is the name thereof unto this day.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[¹ Ver. 21. — The ׀ would be better taken adversitively: But. It contrasts the conduct of Benjamin with that of Caleb, ver. 20. — Tr.]

[² Ver. 21. — Cf. note 2, on ver. 16, and 3 on ver. 29. — Tr.]

[³ Ver. 22. — *וַיֵּרָא* looks back to ver. 3 ff. and intimates a parallelism between the conduct of the House of Joseph and that of Judah and his brother Simeon. — Tr.]

[⁴ Ver. 23. — Dr. Cassel apparently supplies *וַיֵּרָא* from the next verse. *וַיֵּרָא*, it is true, is usually followed by the accusative, not by *ב*. But on the other hand, *וַיֵּרָא* is put in the const. state before *וַיֵּרָא* (cf. vers. 24, 25); whereas, if we supply it here, we must suppose it joined to *וַיֵּרָא* by means of a preposition. It is as well, therefore, to say, with Bertheau, that "the verb is connected with *ב* because the spying is to fasten itself, and that continuously, upon Bethel, cf. *ב* with *וַיֵּרָא* and *וַיֵּרָא*;" or with Bachmann, that "*ב* indicates the hostile character of the spying." *וַיֵּרָא* is used as a general expression for any way or mode of access into the city: "Show us how to get in," is the demand of the spies. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 21. And the sons of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusite. At Josh. xv. 63, at the close of a detailed description of the territory of Judah, it is said, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the sons of Judah could not drive them out; and the Jebusites dwelt with the sons of Judah in Jerusalem unto this day." This verse has been thought to contradict the one above. In reality, however, it only proves the exactness of the statements. The boundary line of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah ran through the district of Jerusalem, through the valley of Ben Hinnom, south of the city (Josh. xv. 8). The city already extended outward from the foot of the citadel. The remark of Josephus,¹ that, in the passage above discussed, Jud. i. 8, the tribe of Judah took only the lower city, not the citadel, has great probability on its side. The conquest of the citadel was not their business at the time. It was sufficient for them to pursue the hostile king into his city, and then lay that in ashes. The citadel lay within the tribe of Benjamin. Nevertheless, on account of this fortress, Judah, also, was not able to expel the Jebusites, who continued to live side by side with them in the district of Jerusalem. At all events, the Jebusites in Jerusalem belonged to the territory of Judah so far at least, that the failure to expel

them must be mentioned in connection with the boundaries of Judah. Still more necessary was it to repeat this statement in connection with Benjamin, within whose limits the city and fortress of the Jebusites were situated. Their expulsion properly devolved on this tribe. Successful occupation of the stronghold would have greatly increased the honor and consideration of Benjamin. The importance of the place, David recognized as soon as he became king. But Benjamin was content when the Jebusites, humbled by Judah, offered no resistance, left them in possession of the fortress, and lived peaceably together with them. It has been justly observed, that different terms are employed in speaking of the failure of Judah and Benjamin respectively to drive out the Jebusites. Of Judah it is said (Josh. xv. 63), "they could not," because the Jebusites had their stronghold in another tribe. But of Benjamin this expression is not used, because they were wanting in disposition and energy for the struggle that devolved upon them. Cf. on ch. xix. 12.

Ver. 22. And the house of Joseph, they also went up toward Bethel. This action of the house of Joseph is told by way of contrast with the house of Benjamin. The tribe of Benjamin lay between Judah and Ephraim (Josh. xviii. 11); and Bethel, within its limits, formed a counterpart to Jerusalem. Historically, Bethel is celebrated for the blessing there promised to Jacob, and afterwards less favorably for the idolatrous worship of Jero-

¹ Ant. v. 2, 2: Χαλεπή δ' ἦν ἡ καθύπερθεν αὐτοῖς αἰρεθῆσαι, etc.

boam. Geographically, it was important on account of its position and strength. As Jebus and Jerusalem are always identified, so it is everywhere remarked of Bethel, that it was formerly Luz; and as Jebus indicated particularly the fortress, Jerusalem the city,—although the latter name also embraced both,—so a similar relation must be assumed to have existed between Bethel and Luz. Otherwise the border of Benjamin could not have run south of Luz (Josh. xviii. 13), while nevertheless Bethel was reckoned among the cities of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22). This assumption, moreover, explains the peculiar phraseology of Josh. xviii. 13: "And the border went over from thence toward Luz (after which we expect the usual addition "which is Bethel;" but that which does follow is:) on the south side of Luz, which is Bethel. It explains likewise the mention, Josh. xvi. 2, of the border "from Bethel to Luz," *i. e.* between Bethel and Luz. The latter was evidently a fortress, high and strong, whose city descended along the mountain-slope. When Jacob erected his altar, it must have been on this slope or in the valley. One name designated both fortress and city, but this does not militate against their being distinguished from each other. Bethel belonged to two tribes in a similar manner as Jerusalem. The capture of Luz by Joseph would not have been told in a passage which treats of the conflicts of the individual tribes in their own territories, if that fortress had not belonged to the tribes of Joseph. By the conquest of Luz, Joseph secured the possession of Bethel, since both went by that name, just as David, when he had taken the fortress of the Jebusite, was for the first time master of Jerusalem. This deed is related as contrasting with the conduct of Benjamin. Benjamin did nothing to take the fortress of Zion: Joseph went up to Luz, and God was with him. This remark had been impossible, if, as has been frequently assumed,¹ the tribe of Joseph had arbitrarily appropriated to itself the city which had been promised to Benjamin. The view of ancient Jewish expositors, who assume a Bethel in the valley and one on the mountain, does not differ from that here suggested. — Robinson seems to have established the position of the ancient Bethel near the present Beitin, where scattered ruins occupy the surface of a hill-point. A few minutes to the N. E., on the highest spot of ground in the vicinity, are other ruins, erroneously supposed to be Ai by the natives: these also perhaps belonged to Bethel.² It cannot, however, be said, that until Robinson this position was entirely unknown. Esthori ha-Parchi, who in his time found it called Bethal, the *l* having fallen away, was evidently acquainted with it.³ In another work of the fourteenth century the then current name of Bethel is said to be Bethin.⁴

Vers. 23–25. And the house of Joseph sent to spy out. וַיִּשְׁלַח בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף שְׂפָיִם to travel around, in order to find an entrance less guarded and inaccessible. Luz appeared to be very strong and well guarded, and for a long time the assailants vainly

1 Already by Reland, *Palæstina*, p. 841.

2 Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 448.

3 *Kafoer ve Pherach* (Berlin edition), ch. xi. pp. 47, 48. Cf. Zunz, in *Asher's Benj. of Tulela*, ii. 436.

4 Ishak Chelo in Carmoly, pp. 249, 250.

5 The German traitor Segestes merely alleges that he follows his higher reasons, although he knows that "proitores etiam is quos antepontant inveniunt." Tacit., *Annal.* i. 58, 2. Israel saw the hand of a higher Helper in such assistance; and hence it had no hatred toward the instruments

sought a suitable opportunity for a successful assault. When the Persians besieged Sardis, their efforts were long in vain. One day a Persian saw a Lydian, whose helmet had fallen over the rampart, fetch it back by a hitherto unnoticed way. The man was followed, and the city was taken (Herod. i. 84). A similar accident favored the conquest of the fortress. The spies saw a man who had come out of the city. He failed to escape them. They compelled him to disclose the entrance. They promised him peace and mercy on condition of showing them the right way. He did it. It seems not even to have been necessary to storm the city; they fell upon the inhabitants unawares. Only the man who had assisted them, and his family, were spared. They let him go in peace. He was evidently no Ephialtes, who had betrayed the city for money. Doing it under compulsion, and unconsciously serving a great cause,⁵ no calamity befell him, and he found a new country. It not only behooves the people of God to perform what they have promised, but Jewish tradition followed persons like Rahab and this man, as those who had furthered the course of sacred history against their own people, with peculiar kindness. This man, like Rahab, is blessed for all time (cf. *Jalkut* on the passage, p. 8, d).

Ver. 26. And the man went into the land of the Hittites. It evinces a special interest in the man that his fortunes are traced even into a strange land. Greek patriotism relates that Ephialtes fared as he deserved;⁶ our history employs the favorable destiny which befell this man, to show that as he did not designedly for the sake of money practice trea-on, so he was also the instrument of setting a prosperous enterprise on foot. But where is the land of the *Chittim* (Hittites) to which he went? In nearly all passages in which Scripture makes mention of the Sons of Cheth (חֵתִים, E. V. Heth), the Chitti (חֵתִי, E. V. Hittite), and the Chittim (חֵתִיִּם, E. V. Hittites), the name appears to be a general term, like the word *Canaanite*. Especially in the three passages where the *Chittim* are mentioned (Josh. i. 4; 1 Kgs. x. 29; 2 Kgs. vii. 6), their land and kings are placed between Egypt and Aram in such a way as seems to be applicable only to the populations of Canaan. Movers⁸ has successfully maintained that חֵתִי and חֵתִיִּם refer to the same race of people; but it cannot be accepted that this race consisted only of the *Kittim* of Cyprus. It must rather be assumed that the *Chittim* answer to a more general conception, which also gave to the *Kittim*, their colonists, the name they bore. The historical interpretation of *Kittim*, which applied it to Ionians, Macedonians, and Romans, would not have been possible, if the name had not carried with it the notion of *coast-dwellers*,⁹ an idea which comparative philology may find indicated. Now, it is unquestionable that the Phœnician cities, with Tyre and

6 Ephialtes was the traitor of Thermopylae, cf. Herod. vii. 213. Traditions are still current of a traitor at Jona (1896), who was obliged to flee into exile.

7 [That is, where this people is spoken of under the plural form of its patronymic, which happens only five times — at Judg. i. 26, 2 Chron. i. 17, and the places named in the text. — Ta.]

8 *Phönizier*, ii. 2, 213, etc.

9 I have already directed attention to this in the *Mag. Aelterthümer* (Berlin, 1848), p. 261.

their head, are even on their own coins designated by the terms **הרר** and **בהר**. As from its lowlands, "Canaan" became the general popular name of Palestine, so likewise to a certain extent the name Chittim became a general term applied to all Canaanites. When the panic-struck king of Aram thinks that Israel has received support from the kings of Egypt and the Chittim (2 Kgs. vii. 6), this latter name can only signify the coast-cities, whose power, from Tyre upwards, was felt throughout the world. From the fact that our passage merely says that the man went into the land of Chittim,¹ and presupposes the city built by him as still known, it may reasonably be inferred that he went to the familiarly known Chittim north of Israel. The probability is great enough to justify our seeking this Luz upon the Phœnician coast or islands. A remarkable notice in the Talmud (*Sota*, 46 b), derived from ancient tradition, may lead to the same conclusion: Luz is the place where the dyeing

of **הַבְּלֵר** is carried on, where there are hyacinthian² purple dyeing-establishments. Down to the most recent times, the coast from Tyre upwards, as far as the Syrian Alexandria, was very rich in purple (Ritter, xvi. 611 [Gage's Transl. iv. 280]). Now, pretty far away to the north, it is true, in the present Jebel el-Aala, at a point where a splendid northwest prospect over the plain to the lake of Antioch offers itself, Thomson³ found hitherto wholly unknown ruins bearing the name of Kûlb Lousy, with remnants of old and splendid temples. The surname Kûlb⁴ might authorize the inference that the dyeing-business was formerly exercised there. The existence of temple-ruins, concerning which the Druses said that they had been without worshippers from time immemorial, explains also another remarkable tradition of the Talmud; that Luz is a city which the conquerors of the land did not destroy, and to which the angel of death never comes, but that they who feel the approach of death, leave the city of their own accord. Traditions like this are characteristic of Sun-worship. In Delos no one was allowed to die or to be buried.⁵ To Charos no serpents came. Neither could they penetrate to the land of the Astypaleans, on the island Cos. The island Cos is at the same time one of the seats of the ancient purple-trade. In the Syrian city Eneisa there was a temple of the Sun, on account of which — as the story still went in Mohammedan times — scorpions and venomous animals cannot live there.⁶ Name, ruins, and tradition would therefore tend to identify Kûlb Lousy as the remnant of an ancient city, distinguished like Cos for a specific form of industry and for its sun-worship, if indeed Cos itself (**כר**) be not understood by it.

Luz is described by its name as a place of *almond-trees* (Gen. xxx. 37). And indeed, philologically Luz is akin to *nuz*, nut. The Greek *κάρυον* signifies almond (on account of its shape) as well as nut and egg. Eusebius was induced to identify the land of the Chittim with Cyprus, the rather

because the Cyprian almonds were celebrated in antiquity.⁷ The almond-tree has always abounded in the holy land. The cities are in ruins, but the tree still flourishes.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The cessation of perfect obedience is attended by the cessation of perfect victory. Benjamin does not expel the hostile Jebusite from Jerusalem because he has lost his first love. The tribes of Joseph, on the other hand, are able to conquer Bethel, because God is with them. Benjamin, the valiant tribe, is alone to blame, if it failed to triumph; for when Bethel resisted the sons of Joseph, the latter were aided by a fortunate incident. Benjamin did not conquer Jerusalem; therefore, not the king out of Benjamin (Saul), but the ruler out of Judah (David), dwelt therein. However, it is of no avail to conquer by faith, unless it be also maintained in faith; for Bethel became afterwards a Beth-aven, a House of Sin.

STARKE: Ill got, ill spent; but that also which has been rightly got, is apt to be lost, if we make ourselves unworthy of the divine blessing, just as these places were again taken from the Israelites.

[WORDSWORTH: Here then was a happy opportunity for the man of Bethel; he might have dwelt with the men of Joseph at Bethel, and have become a worshipper of the true God, and have thus become a citizen forever of the heavenly Bethel, the house of God, which will stand forever. But . . . he quits the house of God to propagate heathenism and idolatry. The man of Bethel, therefore, is presented to us in this Scripture as a specimen of that class of persons, who help the Church of God in her work from motives of fear, or of worldly benefit, and not from love of God; and who, when they have opportunities of spiritual benefit, slight those opportunities, and even shun the light, and go away from Bethel, the house of God, as it were, unto some far-off land of the Hittites, and build there a heathen Luz of their own. — THE SAME: There are four classes of persons, whose various conduct toward the Church of God, and to the gospel preached by her, is represented by four cases in the Books of Joshua and Judges; namely, — 1. There is this case of the man of Bethel. 2. There is the case of the Kenites, in ver. 16, who helped Judah after their victories in Canaan, and are received into fellowship with them. 3. There is the case of the Gibeonites, who came to Joshua from motives of *fear*, and were admitted to dwell with Israel, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. 4. There is the case of Rahab. She stands out in beautiful contrast to the man of Bethel. He helped the spies of Joseph, and was spared, with his household, but did not choose to live in their Bethel. But Rahab received the spies of Joshua, even before he had gained a single victory, and she professed her faith in their God; and she was spared, she and her household, and became a mother in Israel, an ancestress of Christ (see Josh. vi. 25). — Tr.]

¹ Cf. *ἀκρή*, Cos (the island Cos), *cautes*, *costa*, *côte*, *Küste*.

² The Sept. constantly (with barely two exceptions) translate **הַבְּלֵר** by *βακίθιστος*. Cf. Ad. Schmidt, *Die griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, 1842), p. 134.

³ Cf. Ritter, xvii. 1577. (Thomson, *Journey from Aleppo to Mt. Lebanon*, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. v. p. 657. — Ta.]

⁴ Cf. Bochart, *Herozoicon*, li. 740. *Aruch* (ed. Amsteld.) p. 80, s. v. **בלברב**.

⁵ On this and the following notices, which will be more thoroughly treated in the second part of my *Herozoicon*, compare meanwhile, *Ælian, Hist. Anim.* v. cap. viii.; cap. x. 49.

⁶ Cf. Ritter, xvii. 1010.

⁷ Casaubon, on *Athenæus*, p. 65.

⁸ *Athenæus*, p. 62; cf. Meursius, *Cyprus*, p. 30.

A list of places in the central and northern tribes from which the Canaanites were not driven out. The tribes when strong, make the Canaanites tributary; when weak, are content to dwell in the midst of them.

CHAPTER I. 27-36.

- 27 Neither did [And]¹ Manasseh [did not] drive out *the inhabitants* of Beth-shean and her towns [daughter-cities], nor Taanach and her towns [daughter-cities], nor the inhabitants of Dor and her towns [daughter-cities], nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and her towns [daughter-cities], nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns [daughter-cities]; but the Canaanites would dwell [consented to dwell] in that land.
- 28 And it came to pass when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute [made the Canaanites tributary], and [but] did not utterly drive them out.
- 29 Neither² did Ephraim drive out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among³ them. Neither⁴ did Zebulun drive out the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt among
- 31 them, and became tributaries. Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of
- 32 Aphik, nor of Rehob: But the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: for they did not drive them out. Neither did Naphtali drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh, nor the inhabitants of Beth-anath; but he dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: nevertheless, [and] the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and of Beth-anath became tributaries [were tributary] unto them.
- 34 And the Amorites forced [crowded]⁵ the children [sons] of Dan into the mountain [mountains]: for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley: But [And] the Amorite would dwell [consented to dwell] in mount Heres [.] in Aijalon, and in Shaalvim: yet [and] the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed [became
- 36 powerful], so that [and] they became tributaries [tributary]. And the coast [border] of the Amorites *was* [went] from the going up to Akrabbim, from the rock, and upwards [from Maahleh Akrabbim, and from Sela and onward].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 27. — So Dr. Cassel. But the position of the verb at the beginning of the sentence suggests a *contrast* with what precedes: the House of Joseph took Luz; but drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shean Manasseh (a member of the House of Joseph) did not do. Cf. next note. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 29. — The ׀ here connects Ephraim with Manasseh, ver. 27: Ephraim also was guilty of not driving out. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 29. — בְּקִרְבָּם: lit. "in the midst of them." Cf. vers. 16, 21, 30, 32, 33. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 30. — The "neither" ought to be omitted here and also in vers. 31 and 33. Manasseh and Ephraim are coupled together, cf. notes 1 and 2; but from this point each tribe is treated separately: "Zebulun did not drive out," etc. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 34. — יָלְחָצוּ: to press, to push. From this word Bachm. infers that Dan had originally taken more of his territory than he now held. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 27. **And Manasseh did not drive out.** The conquest of Luz was achieved by the two brother tribes conjointly. With the exception of this place, the lands allotted to them had for the most part been already conquered by Joshua. The portion of the half tribe of Manasseh lay about the brook Kanah (Nahr el-Akhdar).¹ A few cities, however, south of this brook, which fell to Ephraim, were made good to Manasseh by certain districts included within the borders of Asher and Issachar. This explains why Manasseh did not drive out the

¹ [On this identification of the brook Kanah, cf. Grove in Smith's *Bib. Diet.*, s. v. "Kanan, the River." — Tr.]

inhabitants of these districts. There were six townships of them, constituting three several domains, each of them inclosed in the lands of another tribe (שְׁלוֹשֶׁת הַנְּפָרָה, Josh. xvii. 11). The first of these was Beth-shean to the east; the second, the three cities Megiddo, Taanach, and Ibleam; the third, Dor on the sea-coast. The two former were inclosed within the tribe of Issachar; the latter should have belonged to the tribe of Asher. The districts thus given to Manasseh were valuable. Beth-shean (Greek, Scythopolis, at present Beisân) occupies an important position, and has a fertile soil. It formed a connecting link between the two seas, as also between the territories east and west of the

Jordan, and was a precious oasis¹ in the Ghôr, the desert-like valley of this stream. It was an important place in both ancient and later times. Esthor ha Parehi, the highly intelligent Jewish traveller of the 14th century, who made this place the central point of his researches, says of it: "It is situated near rich waters, a blessed, glorious land, fertile as a garden of God, as a gate of Paradise" (Berlin ed., pp. 1, 6; cf. Zunz in Asher's *Benj. of Tudeia*, ii. 401). The situation of the three cities Megiddo, Taanach, and Ibleam, in the noble plain of Jezreel, was equally favorable. Concerning the first, it is to be considered as established that it answers to the old *Legio*, the modern *Lejjûn* (Rob. ii. 328; iii. 118); although I am not of the opinion that the name *Legio*, first mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, is etymologically derived from Megiddo. It appears much more likely that *Lejjûn* was an ancient popular mutilation of Megiddo, which subsequently in the time of the Romans became Latinized into *Legio*. Taanach is confessedly the present Ta'annuk (Schubert's *Reise*, iii. 164; Rob. ii. 316, iii. 117). The more confidently may I suggest the neighboring Jelameh as the site of Ibleam, although not proposed as such by these travellers.² Robinson reached this place from Jenin, in about one hour's travel through a fine country (*Bib. Res.* ii. 318 ff.). Dor³ is the well-known Dandûra, Tantûra, of the present day, on the coast (Ritter, xvi. 608, etc. [Gage's transl. iv. 278]). Josh. xvii. 11 names Ender also, of which here nothing is said. The same passage affirms that "the sons of Manasseh could not (לֹא יָדְעוּ) drive out the inhabitants." Evidently, Manasseh depended for the expulsion of the inhabitants of these cities upon the cooperation of Issachar, by whose territory they were inclosed. The example of the tribes of Judah and Simeon, the latter of whom was entirely surrounded by the former, does not seem to have been imitated. Issachar is the only tribe concerning which our chapter gives no information. But since in the case of all the tribes, except Judah, only those cities are here enumerated out of which the Canaanites had not been expelled, the inference is that Issachar had done his part, and that the cities within his limits which did not expel their inhabitants, were just those which belonged to Manasseh. The statement that in Beth-shean, Megiddo, Taanach, and Ibleam the Canaanite remained, included therefore also all that was to be said about Issachar, and rendered further mention unnecessary. Issachar possessed the magnificent Plain of Jezreel (μέγα πεδιον), and was on that account an agricultural, peaceable, solid tribe.

And the Canaanite consented to continue to dwell. Wherever רִיבֵאל occurs, it seems necessary to take it as expressing acquiescence in offered

proposals and conditions. In this sense it is to be taken Ex. ii. 21, where Moses consents to enter into the family of Jethro. Upon the proposals made by Micah to the Levite (Judg. xvii. 11), the latter consents to remain with him. David willingly acquiesces in the proposal to wear the armor of Saul, but finds himself as yet unaccustomed to its use. Manasseh was too weak to expel the inhabitants of these cities. He therefore came to an understanding with them. He proposed that they should peaceably submit themselves. Unwilling to leave the fine country which they occupied, and seeing that all the Canaanites round about had been overpowered, they acceded to the proposition.

Ver. 28. When Israel was strong, they made the Canaanite tributary. The narrator generalizes what he has said of Manasseh, and applies it to all Israel. The Canaanite, wherever he was not driven out, but "consented" to remain, was obliged to pay tribute. This lasted, of course, only so long as Israel had strength enough to command the respect of the subject people. Similar relations between conquerors and conquered are of frequent occurrence in history. The inhabitants of Sparta, the *Periæci*, were made tributary by the victorious immigrant Dorians, and even after many centuries, when Epaminondas threatened Sparta, were inclined to make common cause with the enemy (Manso, *Sparta*, iii. i. 167). According to Mohammedan law, the unbeliever who freely submits himself, retains his property, but is obliged to pay poll-tax and ground-rent (cf. Tormaun, *Das Mosl. Recht*, p. 51). When the Saxons had vanquished the Thuringian nobility, and were not sufficiently numerous to cultivate the land, "they let the peasantry remain," says the *Sachsenspiegel* (iii. 44), and took rent from them (cf. Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats und Rechtsg.*, § 15). The treatment which the Israelitish tribes now extended to the Canaanites, was afterwards, in the time of their national decay, experienced by themselves (cf. my *History of the Jews* in Ersch & Gruber, II. xxvii. 7, etc.). The word כֶּסֶף, by which the tribute imposed is designated, evidently means ground-rent, and is related to the Sanskrit *mādnictor*, to measure. Another expression for this form of tribute is the Chaldee מְהֵרָה (Ezra iv. 20), for which elsewhere מְהֵרָה appears (Ezra iv. 13). The Midrash (*Ber. Rabba*, p. 57, a), therefore, rightly explains the latter as מְהֵרָה מְהֵרָה, ground-rent. The terms *mensura* and *mensuraticum*, in mediæval Latin, were formed in a similar manner. The Arabic כֶּסֶף, Talmudic כֶּסֶף, also, as Hammer observes (*Ländervervalt. des Chalifats*, p. 119), mean tribute and corn.⁴

But the better view seems to be that although it is sometimes used concretely for scaggers or bond-servants, (cf. 1 Kgs. v. 27 [13]), yet its proper and usual meaning is tribute-service. Out of the twenty-three instances in which the word occurs, there is not one in which it can be shown that it means tribute in money or products; while it is abundantly evident that in many cases it does mean compulsory labor, personal service. What kind of service the Israelites here required of the Canaanites does not appear. It may have been labor on public works, or assistance rendered at certain times to the individual agriculturist. This appears at least as probable as Bachmann's suggestion that perhaps "the Canaanite merchants" were expected to furnish certain "commercial supplies and services." Our author's view in favor of "ground-rent," cannot be said to derive the support of analogy from his historical references. For as Bachmann

¹ Its magnificent position is also celebrated in the Talmud, *Eruvin*, 19 a; cf. *Ketuboth*, 112 a. See below on ch. iv.

² [According to Bachmann, Knobel had already proposed this identification. Kell, after Schultz, suggests Khirbet-Belameh, half an hour south of Jenin. — Ta.]

³ Levy (*Phönizische Inschriften*, i. 35) thought that he read this Dor on a Sidonian inscription together with Joppa. It is very doubtful whether he has found any one to agree with him.

⁴ [On the derivation and radical idea of the word כֶּסֶף, opinions are very much divided. There is no unanimity even as to the usage of the word. Kell (on 1 Kgs. iv. 6, Edinb. ed. 1857) asserts that it "nowhere signifies *vertical*, tribute, or scage, but in all places only *serf* or *scagger*."

[But did not drive them out. BERTHEAU: "וְהָרִישׁ לֹא-הִדְרִישׁ": the emphatic expression by means of the infinitive before the finite verb, we regard as indicative of an implied anthesis; but, although Israel, when it became strong, had the power to execute the law of Moses to destroy the Canaanites, it nevertheless did not destroy them." — Tr.]

Vers. 29. And Ephraim did not drive out the Canaanite that dwelt in Gezer. The situation of Gezer may be exactly determined from Josh. xvi. 3. The border of Ephraim proceeds from Lower Beth-horon, by way of Gezer, to the sea. Now, since the position of Beth-horon is well ascertained (Beit 'Ur et-Tatha), the border, running northwest, past Ludd, which belonged to Benjamin, must have touched the sea to the north of Japho, which likewise lay within the territory of Benjamin. On this line, four or five miles east of Joppa, there still exists a place called Jesôr (Jazour Yazûr), which can be nothing else than Gezer, although Bertheau does not recognize it as such (p. 41; nor Ritter, xvi. 127 [Gage's Transl. iii. 245]). It is not improbable that it is the Gazara of Jerome (p. 137, ed. Parthey), in *quarto miliario Nicopoleos contra septentrionem*, although the distance does not appear to be accurately given. The *Ganzur* of Esthor ha-Parehi (ii. 434), on the contrary, is entirely incorrect. The position of Gezer enables us also to see why Ephraim did not drive out the inhabitants. The place was situated in a fine, fertile region. It is still surrounded by noble corn-fields and rich orchards. The agricultural population of such fruitful regions were readily permitted to remain for the sake of profit, especially by warlike tribes who had less love and skill for such peaceful labors than was possessed by Issachar.

Vers. 30. Zebulon did not drive out the inhabitants of Kitron nor the inhabitants of Nahalol. This statement will only confirm the remarks just made. There is no reason for contradicting the Talmud (*Meqilla*, 6 a), when it definitely identifies Kitron with the later Zippori, Sepphoris, the present Seffûrieh. As the present village still lies at the foot of a castle-crowned eminence, and as the Rabbinic name Zippori (T-sippori, מְצִיפֹרִי, "a bird, which hovers aloft") indicates an elevated situation, the ancient name קִטְרוֹן (from מְצִיפֹרִי=קִטְרוֹר) may perhaps be supposed to describe the city as the "mountain-crown" of the surrounding district. The tribe of Zebulon, it is remarked in the Talmud, need not commiserate itself, since it has Kitron, that is, Sepphoris, a district rich in milk and honey. And in truth Seffûrieh does lie on the southern limit of the beautiful plain el-Buttauf, the present beauty and richness of which, as last noted by Robinson (ii. 336), must formerly have been much enhanced by cultivation. In connection with this, it will also be possible to locate Nahalol more definitely. Philologically, it is clearly to be interpreted "pasture" (Isa. vii. 19). It answers perhaps to the later

Abilîn, a place from which a wady somewhat to the northwest of Seffûrieh has its name. For this name comes from *Abel*, which also means pasture. This moreover suggests the explanation why from just these two places the Canaanites were not expelled. They both became tributary, and remained the occupants and bailiffs of their pastures and meadows.

Vers. 31, 32. Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Accho, Zidon, Ahlab, Achzib, Helbah, Aphik, Rehob. The whole history of Israel can be nothing else than a fulfilling of the spirit of the Mosaic law. The division of the land of Canaan is a part of this fulfillment. This division therefore cannot have respect only to the territory already acquired, but must proceed according to the *promise*. The boundaries of the land destined for Israel were indicated by Moses. The territories which they circumscribe must be conquered. Whatever part is not gained, the failure is the fault of Israel itself. The boundaries indicated, were the outlines of a magnificent country. Splendid coast-lands, stately mountains, wealthy agricultural districts, rich in varieties of products and beauty, inclosed by natural boundaries. The whole sea-coast with its harbors—Phœnicia not excepted—was included; the northeastern boundary was formed by the desert, and lower down by the river. The border lines of the land of Israel, drawn Num. xxxiv., are based upon the permanent landmarks which it offers; they are accurate geographical definitions, obtained from the wandering tribes of the land. It seems to me that it is only from this point of view that the hitherto frequently mistaken northern boundary of the land, as given Num. xxxiv. 7-9, can be correctly made out. "And this shall be your north border," it is there said: "from the great sea ye shall take Mount Hor as your landmark; thence follow the road as far as Hamath; and the border shall end in Zedad: thence it goes on to Ziphron,¹ and ends in Hazar-enan." The range of Mount Casius, whose southernmost prominence lifts itself up over Laodicea (the present Ladikieh), forms the natural northern boundary of Phœnicia. This is the reason why on coins Laodicea was called אֶשׁר בְּכַנְעַן, the "Beginning of Canaan," as it might be translated. It is therefore also from the foot of this range that the northern boundary of Israel sets out. The name Mount Hor is simply the ancient equivalent of Mount Casius and also of the later Jebel Akra, which latter term furnishes a general designation for every mountain since the Greek Akra was explained by the Arabic *Jebel*. From the foot of this mountain ancient caravan roads (suggested by הַמְּדִינָה לְבַאֵי הַמְּדִינָה) lead to Hamath, and from Hamath to the desert. At present, as in the time of the geographer Ptolemy, who indicated their course, these roads pass over Zedad, at the western entrance of the desert, the modern *Sudad* (Ritter, xvi. 5 [Gage's Transl. iii. 175]; xvii. 1443, etc.). Thence the border went southward till it ended in Hazar-enan, the last oasis, distinguished by fertile meadows and good water (*Enan*), where the two

justly remarks, "the case in which the conquerors of a country leave the earlier population in possession of their lands on condition of paying ground-rent, is the *reverse* of what takes place here, where a people, themselves agriculturists, take personal possession of the open country, and concede a few cities to the old inhabitants." It is probable, however, that the situation varied considerably in different localities, cf. ver. 31 f. and ver. 34. — Tr.]

¹ Wetzstein (*Hauran*, p. 88) writes: "Of Ziphron (Arab.

Zifrân) wide-spread ruins are yet existing. According to my inquiries, the place lies fourteen hours N. E. of Damascus, near the Palmyra road. It has not yet, I think, been visited by any traveller." It is impracticable here to enter into further geographical discussions, but the opinion of Keil (on Num. xxxiv. 7-9), who rejects the above determination, cannot be accepted as decisive, if for no other reason on account of the general idea by which he is evidently influenced.

principal roads from Damascus and Haleb to Palmyra meet, and where the proper Syrian desert in which Palmyra (Tadmor) is situated begins. The name *Ceheré* on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Zoaria (for the Goaria of Ptolemy), at present Carietein, Kuryetein (Ritter, xvii. 1457, etc.), may remind us of Hazor.

Tadmor itself did not lay beyond the horizon of Israelitish views. Whithersoever David and Solomon turned their steps, they moved everywhere within the circle of original claims. Israel was not to conquer in unbridled arbitrariness; they were to gain those districts which God had promised them. *Conquest*, with them, was *fulfillment*. The eastern border has the same natural character. From Hazar-enan it runs to Shepham, along the edge of the desert to Riblah (the present Ribleh) "on the east side of Ain" (Rob. iii. 534), along the range of Antilebanon, down the Jordan to the Dead Sea. These remarks it was necessary to make here where we must treat of the territories of Asher and Naphtali, the northwestern and north-eastern divisions of Israel. For it must be assumed that Asher's territory was considered to extend as far up as Mount Hor, — that the whole coast from Aecho to Gubala was ascribed to him. This coast-region Asher was not sufficiently strong and numerous to command. The division of the land remained ideal nowhere more than in the case of the Phœnician cities. Nowhere, consequently, was the remark of ver. 32 more applicable: "the Asherite dwelt among the inhabitants of the land;" whereas elsewhere the Canaanites dwelt among Israel, though even that was against the Mosaic commands. Nor can it be supposed that the seven cities expressly named were the only ones out of which Asher did not expel the Canaanites. For who can think that this had been done in the case of Tyre, the "fortified city" (Josh. xix. 29)? The names are rather to be considered as those of townships and metropolitan cities, so that when Zidon is mentioned other cities to the south and north are included as standing under Sidonian supremacy. The express mention of Tyre, in Josh. xix. 29, is due to the fact that the passage was giving the course of the boundaries. For the same reason, Joshua xix. is not a complete enumeration of places; for of the seven mentioned here, two at least (Aecho and Ahlab) are wanting there. That Aecho cannot have been accidentally overlooked, is evident from the fact that the border is spoken of as touching Carmel, and that mention is made of Achzib. The relation of Asher to the Phœnician territory was in general the following: A number of places (Josh. xix. 30 speaks of twenty-two) had been wholly taken possession of by the tribe. Outside of these, the Asherites lived widely scattered among the inhabitants, making no attempts to drive them out. The seven cities mentioned above, especially those on the coast, are to be regarded as districts in which they dwelt along with the Canaanites. We have no reason for confining these to the south of Sidon. On the contrary, Esthor ha-Parehi (ii. 413-415) was right in maintaining that cities of the tribe of Asher must be acknowledged as far north as Laodicea. The statements in Joshua for the most part mention border-places of districts farther inland, in which the tribe dwelt, and from which the boundary line ran westward to the sea. Thus, at one

time the line meandered (צָפַר) to Zidon (xix. 28); then it came back, and ran toward Tyre (ver. 29). Not till the words, "the ends were at the sea,

מִן־הַיָּם אֶחָדָה," do we get a sea-boundary from north to south. I translate this phrase, "from Chebel towards Achzib:" it includes the whole Phœnician tract. True, the whole enumeration implies that *most* of the places lay farther south than Zidon, in closer geographical connection with the rest of Israel. But places higher up are also named, for the very purpose of indicating the ideal boundaries. Among these are the places mentioned ver. 30, two of which again appear in our passage. Asher did not drive out the inhabitants of Aecho (Ptolemais, the present Akka), but dwelt among them. To the north of this was Achzib (Eedippa, the present ez-Zib). They dwelt with the inhabitants of Zidon in their dominion. They did not expel the inhabitants of Aphik (Apheca), on the Adonis river (Ritter, xvii. 553, etc.), notwithstanding the ancient idolatry there practiced, on account of which, evidently, it is mentioned. Rehob, since it is here named, must have been a not unimportant place. The Syrian translation of Rehob is פֶּלְטִיָּה, פֶּלְטִיָּה, *paltia, paltusa* (*plata*). This accounts for the fact that the Greeks and Romans speak of an ancient Paltos, otherwise unknown (Ritter, xvii. 890), and of which the present Beldeh may still remind us. Hitherto, this has escaped attention. It was remarked above that the sea-boundary is drawn, Josh. xix., "from Chebel to Achzib." With this Chebel the חֶבֶל (Chehlah, E. V. Helbah),

probably to be read חֶבְלָה (Chehlah), of our passage, may perhaps be identified. It is the Gubala of Strabo and Pliny, the Gabellum of the crusaders, the present Jbele, which lies to the north of Paltos, and below Laodicea, and in Phœnician times was the seat of the worship of the goddess Thuro (Ritter, xvii. 893; Movers, ii. 1, 117 ff.). There is but one of the seven cities of which we have not yet spoken, namely, Ahlab, named along with Achzib. It is very probable that this is Giscala, situated in the same latitude with Achzib, but farther inland. In Talmudic times the name of this place was Gush Chaleb; at present there is nothing but the modern name el-Jish to remind us of it.

Ver. 33. **Naphtali did not drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath.** The names of both these places allude to an idolatrous worship, and are also found in the tribe of Judah. The name of Beth-anath (בֵּית אֲנָת), "House of Echo," from אָנָה, "to answer," indicates that its situation was that of the present Baniás, the ancient Paneas. The inscriptions on the grotto called Panium, still point to the echo. One of them is dedicated to the "echo-loving" (φιλῶσυχρον) Pan. The love of Pan for the nymph Echo was a widely-spread myth. Another inscription tells of a man who dedicated a niche (κόγχη) to the Echo (Commentary on *Setzen's Reisen*, iv. 161, 162). The introduction in Greek times of Pan worship in Baniás, is moreover also explained by the fact that the name Bethanas (th), required only an easy popular corruption to make it Paneas.

Chald., p. 1740), but also in proper names, as Rehoboth Ir, Gen. x. 11.

1 The Targum also translates רָחֹב by פֶּלְטִיָּה, not only when used as a common noun (cf. Buxtorf, *Lex.*

Robinson (*Bib. Res.* iii. 409) has again taken up the view, already rejected by Ritter (xvii. 229), which identifies Pancas with the repeatedly occurring Baal-gad, and which on closer inspection is simply impossible. Joshua xi. 17 says of Baal-gad that it lay in the *Bikath* (בִּיקְרָת) Lebanon, under Mount Hermon. Joshua xii. 7 speaks of it simply as Baal-gad in the *Bikath Lebanon*. The valley thus spoken of is none other than the Buka'a, i. e. "Hollow Syria." There is no other hollow region that could be thus indicated. The further determination *tachath har Chermon* indicates, quite consistently with the meaning of *tachath*, which frequently combines the signification of "behind" with that of "under," the Lebanon valley behind Mount Hermon, i. e. on the northern base of Hermon, for on its southern base there can be no Lebanon valley. This alone would suffice to transfer Baal-gad to the Buka'a. But in Joshua xiii. 5 a Lebanon is spoken of "east of Baal-gad under Mount Hermon." Now, a Lebanon east of Baal-gad there can be only if Baal-gad lies in the Buka'a; and there being a Lebanon on the east, only the northern base of Mount Hermon can be meant by the phrase "under Mount Hermon" (cf. below, on ch. iii. 3). Now, although there ought to be no doubt that Baal-gad lay in the "Hollow," yet, the addition "under Mount Hermon" cannot have been made without a reason. It was intended to distinguish *Baal-gad* from *Baal-bek*, which latter, since it lies in the northern part of the Buka'a, could not properly be said to lie on the northern base of Hermon. We scarcely need to hesitate, therefore, to recognize in Baal-gad the position of the later Chaleis (*ad Libanum*) whose site is marked by fountains and temple-ruins. "The temple which stands on the summit of the northernmost hill, belongs evidently to an older and severer style of architecture than those at Baalbek. Its position is incomparable" (Ritter, xvii. 185; Rob. iii. 492, etc.).

Besides the inhabitants of Beth-anath, the tribe of Naphtali failed to drive out those of Beth-shemesh also. There was a celebrated place of the same name in Judah, and still another, unknown one in Issachar. Concerning the tribe of Naphtali also the remark is made that they dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land. Their assigned boundaries likewise went far up to the north. They inclosed Cælo-Syria, as was already remarked. The peculiar mode in which Beth-shemesh is here spoken of, along with Beth-anath, is doubtless intended to point it out as a remarkable seat of idol worship, whose people nevertheless Israel did not expel, but only rendered tributary. The most celebrated place of the north was the temple-city in the "Hollow," — Beth-shemesh, as later Syrian inhabitants still called it, — Baalbek as we, following the prevailing usage of its people, Heliopolis as the Greeks, named it. The Egyptian Heliopolis also bore the name Beth-shemesh, House of the Sun. Baalbek answers to the name Baalath,¹ to which, as to Tadmor, Solomon extended his wisdom and his architecture.

VERs. 34, 35. And the Amorite crowded the sons of Dan into the mountains. The domains of the tribe of Dan lay alongside of those of Benja-

1 1 Kgs. ix. 18. Others refer this to Basalath in the tribe of Dan. Cf. Kell on *Joshua* xix. 44, and on 1 Kgs. ix. 18.

2 Compare the Syrian שלבחה, "anfractus inter duos montes." Cf. Castelli, p. 912.

3 [BACHMANN: "That the House of Joseph used its greater strength not to exterminate the Amorite cities, but only to

min, between Judah on the south and Ephraim on the north. They should have reached to the sea; but the warlike dwellers on the western plain, provided with the appliances of military art, had resisted even Judah. The plain which we are here told the sons of Dan could not take, seems to have been the magnificent and fertile Merj Ibn Omeir, which opens into the great western plain. This may be inferred from the remark in ver. 35: "The Amorite consented to remain on Mount Heres, in Aijalon, and in Shaalbibim." This plain, as Robinson (iii. 144) accurately observes, reaches to the base of the steep mountain wall, on the top of which Sâris is the first place met with. It must be this mountain land that is meant by Mount Heres. Southward of it is the ridge on which Yâlo lies, which is justly considered to be the ancient Aijalon. Perhaps no place answers more closely to the Shaalbibim of our passage, than Amwâs (Emmaus, Nicopolis), twenty minutes distant from the conical Tell Latrôn. It is evident that שַׁעֲלִיבִים has nothing to do with שַׁעֲלִיב, "fox," but belongs to the Chaldaic שַׁלְב, "to connect," שַׁלְבִּינ, "steps,"² to which the Hebrew עֲנָב corresponds. The position of Amwâs is "on the gradual declivity of a rocky hill," with an extensive view of the plain (Rob. iii. 146), "where," as Jerome says, "the mountains of Judah begin to rise." When Jerome speaks of a tower called Selebi, he probably refers to the neighboring castle Latrôn.

The sons of Dan were not only unable to command the plain, but also on some points of the hill-country they suffered the inhabitants to remain.

Har Heres (הַר הֶרֶס) means the "mountain of the Sun;" but the attempts to bring its position into connection with Ain Shems cannot succeed, since that lies much farther south, in the valley. Heres was the name of the mountain chain which at Beth-horon enters the territory of Ephraim, and on which Joshua was buried. Possibly, the name Sâris or Soris contains a reminiscence of it. This explains the remark, that "the hand of the sons of Joseph became powerful and made the Amorites tributary." That which was impossible for the tribe of Dan, Ephraim from their own mountains performed.³

Ver. 36. The border of the Amorite remained from the Scorpion-terrace, from Sea and onward. This peculiar statement is explained by the composition of the whole tableau presented by the first chapter. It had been unfolded how far the tribes of Israel had performed the task appointed by Moses, by taking the territories whose borders he had indicated. For this reason, it had been stated concerning all the tribes, what they had not yet taken, or had not yet wholly nationalized. Neither the eastern, nor the northern and western boundaries had been hitherto fully realized. Only the southern border had been held fast. This line, as drawn Num. xxxiv. 3 ff., actually separated Israel and the heathen nations. Ver. 36 is, as it were, a citation from the original Mosaic document. After beginning the sentence by say-
render them tributary, thus benefitting itself more than the tribe of Dan, sets forth the unsatisfactory nature of their assistance, and conveys a just reproach. Meanwhile, however, it seems that the subjugation of the Amorite by the House of Joseph was so far at least of use to Dan as to enable them to reach the coast, in partial possession of which, at least, we find the tribe in ch. v. 17." But cf. our author in *loc.* — Tr.]

ing, "and the border of the Amorite went from Akrabbin and Sela," it is brought to a sudden close by the addition וַיֵּשֶׁבֶת , "and onward, because it is taken for granted that the further course of the border to the "Brook of Egypt" is known from the determinations of Moses as recorded in Numbers. There it was said, "Your border shall go to the south of Maaleh Akrabbin (at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea), pass through Zin, and its end shall be to the south of Kadesh-barnea." Here, the statement is somewhat more exact, inasmuch as the border is prolonged from Akrabbin eastward to Sela, i. e. Petra. From Akrabbin westward it proceeds along the already indicated route, over Kadesh-barnea, Hazar-addar, and Azmon, to the "Brook of Egypt" (Wady el-Arish, Rhinocorura). This course the writer deemed sufficiently indicated by the words "and onward."¹

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Obedience and love toward God are wrecked on greediness and love of ease. Immediately after the death of Joshua, the children of Israel asked after God. But very soon they ceased to do that which Moses, and, in his name, Joshua had commanded them. Their business was to conquer, and not to tremble at strongholds or chariots of iron. They were to expel, and not to take tribute. But their heart was no longer entirely with their God. They

¹ [The foregoing paragraph, rendered somewhat obscure by its brevity, was explained by the author, in reply to some inquiries, as follows: "I endeavored to show that the idea of the passage is, that the original boundary lines of Israel, as drawn by Moses, had nowhere been held against the Amorite, i. e. the original inhabitants, except only in the south. Everywhere else, the inhabitants of Canaan, especially the Amorite, had thus far prevented the Israelites from taking full possession of the land; but in the south the boundary between Israel and the Amorite remained as drawn by Moses, in Num. xxxiv. 3. I would ask that in connection with this the remarks under vers. 31, 32, be considered. The whole first chapter is an exposition of the fact that Israel had not yet attained to complete possession of Canaan. It is a spiritual-geographical picture of what Israel had not yet acquired, and what nevertheless it should possess." In other words, Dr. Cassel's idea is, that the main thought of ch. i. may be expressed in two sentences: 1. On the west, north, and east Israel did not actually realize the assigned boundary lines between itself and the original inhabitants — the term Amorite being used in the wider sense it sometimes has. Cf. Gage's *Ritter*, ii. 125. 2. On the south, the Mosaic line was made good, and continued to be held. The first of these sentences is expressed indirectly, by means of illustrative instances, in vers. 4-35; the second, by direct and simple statement, in ver. 36. In that verse, the narrative which in ver. 9 set out from Judah on its northward course, returns to its starting-point, and completes what might be called its tour of boundary inspection, by remarking that the southern boundary (known as southern by the course ascribed to it) corresponded to the Mosaic determinations. Ver. 36, therefore, connects itself with the entire previous narrative, and not particularly with vers. 34, 35.

This explanation labors, however, under at least one very serious difficulty. It assumes that in the expression "border of the Amorite," the gen. is an adjective gen., making the phrase mean the Amorite (Canaanite) border, just as we speak of the "Canadian border," meaning the border of the U. S. over against Canada. But in expressions of this kind, the gen. is always the genitive of the possessor, so that the border of the Amorite, Ammonite, etc., indicates the boundary of the land held by the Amorite, Ammonite, etc. It seems necessary, therefore, with Bertheau, Keil, Bachmann, etc., to read this verse in connection with vers. 34, 35, and to find in it a note of the extent of territory held by the Am-

forget, not only that they were to purify the land, and *alone* control it, but also why they were to do this. They were indulgent to idolatry, because the worm was already gnawing at their own religion. They no longer thought of the danger of being led astray, because they were unmindful of the word which demanded obedience. Perfect obedience is the only safe way. Every departure from it leads downhill into danger.

Thus we have it explained why so many undertakings of Christians and of the church fail, even while the truth is still confessed. The word of God has not lost its power; but the people who have it on their tongues do not thoroughly enter into its life. The fear of God is still ever the beginning of wisdom; but it must not be mixed with the fear of men. Preaching is still ever effective; but respect to tribute and profitable returns must not weaken it. Perfect obedience has still ever its victory; but that which does not belong to God comes into judgment, even though connected with Christian matters. Israel still confessed God, though it allowed the tribes of Canaan to remain; but nominal service is not enough. When confession and life do not agree, the life must bear the consequences.

STARKE: We men often do not at all know how to use aright the blessings which God gives, but abuse them rather to our own hurt. — THE SAME: Our corrupt nature will show mercy only there where severity should be used, and on the other hand is altogether rough and hard where gentle-

rite. The question then arises, how it is to be explained. We take for granted that the Maaleh Akrabbin of this verse is the same as that in Num. xxxiv. 4 (a line of hills, a few miles below the Dead Sea, dividing the Gh'ir from the Arabah, see Rob. ii. 120), and is not, as some have thought, to be sought in the town Akrahah, a short distance S. E. of Nâbulus (Rob. iii. 206). The other point mentioned is

וְהָרֹם , the Rock. Commentators generally take this to be Petra, in Arabia Petra; but the difficulties in the way of this view are insurmountable. In the first place we never hear of Amorites (take it in the wider or narrower sense) so far south as Petra, in the midst of the territories of Edom. In the next place, וְהָרֹם means *upward*, i. e. under the geographical conditions of this verse, northward (Dr. Cassel's *onward*, i. e. downward to the sea, could scarcely be defended). Now, a line running from Akrabbin to Petra, and thence northward, would merely return on its own track, and would after all leave the Amorite territories undefined on just that side where a definition was most needed because least obvious, namely, the southern. It seems, therefore, altogether preferable (with the Targ., Kurtz, *Ist. O. Cov.* iii. 228, Keil, and Bachm.) to take

וְהָרֹם as an appellative, and to find in it a second point for a southern boundary line. Kurtz and Keil identify it with "the (well-known) rock" at Kadesh (the Kules of Rowlands, cf. Williams, *Holy City*, i. 463 ff.), from which Moses caused the water to flow, Num. xx. 8. Bachmann prefers the "bald mountain that ascends toward Seir" (Josh. xi. 17), whether it be the chalk-mountain Madurah (Rob. ii. 170), or, what he deems more suitable, the northern wall of the Azizimat mountains, with its masses of naked rock. In the vast confusion that covers the geography of this region, the most that can be said, is, that either view would serve this passage. In either case we get a line running from Akrabbin on the east in a westerly direction. From this southern boundary the Amorite territories extended "upwards."

But when? Manifestly not at the time of which ch. i. treats, cf. ver. 9-19. The statement refers to the time before the entrance of Israel into Canaan, and is probably intended to explain the facts stated in vers. 34, 35, by reminding the reader of the originally vast power of the Amorite. It was not to be wondered at that an enemy once so powerful and widely diffused should still assert his strength in some parts of his former domain. Cf. Bachmann. — Tr.]

ness might be practiced. — THE SAME: Self-conceit, avarice, and self-interest can bring it about that men will unhesitatingly despise the command of God. When human counsels are preferred to the express word and command of God, the result is that matters grow worse and worse.

[SCOTT: The sin [of the people in not driving

out the Canaanites] prepared its own punishment, and the love of present ease became the cause of their perpetual disquiet.

HENRY: The same thing that kept their fathers forty years out of Canaan, kept them now out of the full possession of it, and that was unbelief. — [Tr.]

SECOND SECTION.

THE RELIGIOUS DEGENERACY OF ISRAEL WHICH RESULTED FROM ITS DISOBEDIENT CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO THE CANAANITES, AND THE SEVERE DISCIPLINE WHICH IT RENDERED NECESSARY, AS EXPLAINING THE ALTERNATIONS OF APOSTASY AND SERVITUDE, REPENTANCE AND DELIVERANCE, CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES.

A Messenger of Jehovah charges Israel with disobedience, and announces punishment. The people repent and offer sacrifice.

CHAPTER II. 1-5.

1 And an angel [messenger] of the Lord [Jehovah] came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, I made you to go up¹ out of Egypt, and have brought you unto the land which I swore unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with
2 you. And [But] ye shall make no league [covenant] with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall throw down² their altars: but ye have not obeyed [hearkened to] my
3 voice: why have ye done this?³ Wherefore [And] I also said, [In that case—*i. e.* in the event of disobedience]⁴ I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be as
4 thorns in your sides,⁵ and their gods shall be [for] a snare unto you. And it came to pass, when the angel [messenger] of the Lord [Jehovah] spake [had spoken]⁶ these words unto all the children [sons] of Israel, that the people lifted up their voice, and
5 wept. And they called the name of that place Bochim [weepers]: and they sacrificed there unto the Lord [Jehovah].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. — אֲנִי־אֵלֹהִים. KEIL: "The use of the imperfect instead of the perfect (cf. ch. vi. 8) is very singular, seeing that the contents of the address, and its continuation in the historical tense (אָנֹכִי and אָנֹכִי), require the preterite. The imperfect can only be explained by supposing it to be under the retrospective influence of the immediately following imperfect consecutive." De Wette translates, "I said, I will lead you up out of Egypt, and brought you into the land," etc. This supposes that אֲנִי־אֵלֹהִים, or some such expression, has dropped out of the text, or is to be supplied. This mode of explaining the imperfect is favored (1), by the fact that we seem to have here a quotation from Ex. iii. 17; but especially (2), by the אָנֹכִי before the last clause of this verse, and the אֲנִי־אֵלֹהִים of ver. 3, which suggest that the same verb is to be understood in *ver.* 1 a. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 2. — הָרַסְתֶּם, from פָּרַס, to tear down, demolish. On the form, cf. Ges. *Gram.* § 47, Rem. 4. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 2. — More literally: "What is this that ye have done!" *i. e.* How great is this sin you have committed! cf. ch. viii. 1. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 3. — Dr. Bachmann interprets the words that follow as a definite judgment on Israel, announcing that henceforth Jehovah will not drive out any of the still remaining nations, but will leave them to punish Israel. It is undoubtedly true that אֲנִי־אֵלֹהִים may be translated, "therefore, now, I also say;" but it is also true that it is more natural here (with Bertheau, Keil, *Class.*) to render, "and I also said." To the citations of earlier divine utterances in vers. 1, 2 (see the Comment.), the messenger of Jehovah now adds another, from Num. xxxiii. 55, Josh. xxiii. 13. It is, moreover, a strong point against Bachmann's view that God does not execute judgment speedily, least of all on Israel. We can hardly conceive him to shut the door of hope on the nation so soon after the departure of the latest surviving contemporaries of Joshua as this scene at Bochim seems to have occurred, cf. the comparatively mild charges brought by the messenger, as implied in ver. 2, with the heavier ones in ver. 11 ff. and ch. iii. 6, 7. Besides, if we understand a definite and final sentence to be pronounced here, we must understand ch. ii. 20 f. as only reproducing the same (as Bachmann does), although

Israel's apostasy had become far more pronounced when the first Judge arose than it is now. It seems clear, therefore, that we must here understand a warning, while the sentence itself issues subsequently (cf. foot-note 3, on p. 62). — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 3. — Dr. Cassel translates: "they shall be to you for thorns." Cf. the Commentary. The E. V. supplies "thorns" from Num. xxxiii. 55; but it has to change לַמְּדָרִים into מְדָרִים or מְדָרִים. — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 4. — Better perhaps, with De Wette: "And it came to pass, as the messenger of Jehovah spake, etc., that the people," etc. On בְּ with the infin. cf. Ges. *Lex. s. ב*, B. 5, b. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. And there came a messenger of Jehovah. Israel had experienced the faithfulness of the Divine Spirit who, through Moses, led them forth from Egypt, and made them a people. In him, they conquered Canaan, and took possession of a noble country. In addition to this, they had the guaranty of the divine word (cf. Lev. xxvi. 44), that God would never forsake them—that the truth on which He had thus far built up their life and nationality, would endure. Reason enough had been given them to fulfill everything prescribed by Moses, whether great or small, difficult or pleasant, whether it gave or took away. They had every reason for being wholly with their God, whether they waged war or enjoyed the fruits of victory. Were they thus with Him? *Could* they be thus with Him after such proceedings in relation to the inhabitants of Canaan as ch. i. sets forth? Israel's strength consists in the enthusiasm which springs from faith in the invisible God who made heaven and earth, and in obedience to his commands. If enthusiasm fail and obedience be impaired, Israel becomes weak. The law which it follows is not only its rule of duty, but also its bill of rights. Israel is free, only by the law; without it, a servant. A life springing from the law, exhibited clearly and uninterruptedly, is the condition on which it enjoys whatever is to its advantage. To preserve and promote such a life, was the object of the command, given by Moses, not to enter into any kind of fellowship with the nations against whom they were called to contend. The toleration which Israel might be inclined to exercise, could only be the offspring of weakness in faith (Deut. vii. 17) and of blind selfishness. For the sake of its own life, it was commanded not to tolerate idolatry within its borders, even though practiced only by those of alien nations. For the people are weak, and the superstitious tendency to that which strikes the senses, seduces the inconstant heart. It cannot be otherwise than injurious when Israel ceases to be entirely obedient to that word in whose organic wisdom its history is grounded, and its future

secured. Ruin must result when, as has been related, the people falls in numerous instances to drive out the heathen nations, and instead thereof enters into compacts with them. Special emphasis was laid, in the preceding narrative, upon the fact that for the sake of tribute, Israel had tolerated the worship of the lewd Asherah and of the sun, in Apheen, in the Phœnician cities, in Baniass, and in Beth-shemesh. When the occupation of Canaan was completed—a date is not given—the impression produced by a survey of the whole land was not such as promised enduring peace and obedience to the Word of God. The organs of this word were not yet silenced, however. When the heads of Israel asked who should begin the conflict, the Word of God had answered through the priest; and ancient excesses rightly considered the messenger of God who now, at the end of the war, speaks to Israel, to be the same priest. At the beginning, he answered from the Spirit of God; at the end, he admonishes by an impulse of his own. There he encourages; here he calls to account. There "they inquire of God;" here also he speaks only as the "messenger of God." He is designedly called "messenger of God." Every word he speaks, God has spoken. His words are only reminiscences out of the Word of God. His sermon is, as it were, a lesson read out of this word. He speaks only like a messenger who verbally repeats his commission. No additions of his own; objective truth alone, is

what he presents. That is the idea of the מַלְאָךְ, the messenger, ἄγγελος, according to every explanation that has been given of him. The emphasis falls here, not on who spake, but on *what* was spoken. God's word comes to the people unasked for, like the voice of conscience. From the antithesis to the opening verse of the Book, where the people asked, it is evident that no angel of a celestial kind is here thought of. Earlier expositors ought to have perceived this, if only because it is said that the messenger—

Came up from Gilgal to Bochim. Heavenly angels "appear," and do not come from Gilgal particularly.¹ The connection of this statement

the Angel of Jehovah that he comes up from Gilgal to Bochim. His appearance at Bochim is described as a coming up to Bochim, with as much propriety as in ch. vi. 11 it is said concerning the Angel of Jehovah, that "he came and sat down under the terebinth at Ophrah." The only feature peculiar to the present instance is the coming up "from Gilgal." This statement must stand in intimate connection with the mission of the angel—must contain more than a mere notice of his journeying from one place to another." Keil then recalls the appearance to Joshua, at *Gilgal*, of the angel who announced himself as the "Captain of the host of Jehovah," and promised a successful issue to the siege of Jericho. "The coming up from Gilgal indicates, therefore, that the same angel who at Gilgal, with the fall of Jericho delivered all Canaan into the hands of the Israelites, appeared to them again at Bochim. In order to announce the divine decree resulting from their disobedience to the commands of the Lord." With this view Bachmann and Wordsworth also agree. It must be admitted, however, that the appearance of the Angel of Jehovah, or indeed of any angel, in the character of a preacher before the assembled congregation of Israel is without a parallel in sacred history. Keil's supposition that he addressed the people only through the

1 Nevertheless, Keil also, *in loc.*, has followed the older expositors. [We subjoin the main points on which Keil rests his interpretation: "מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה is not a prophet or any other earthly ambassador of Jehovah, as Phinehas or Joshua (Targ., Rabb., Stud., Berth., and others), but the Angel of Jehovah, consubstantial with God. In simple historical narrative no prophet is ever called מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה; such are designated נְבִיא or נְבִיאָה, as in ch. vi. 8, or אֱלֹהִים, 1 Kgs. xli. 22, xlii. 1, etc. The passages, Hag. i. 13 and Mal. iii. 1, cannot be adduced against this, since there, in the prophetic style, the purely appellative significance of מַלְאָךְ is placed beyond all doubt by the context. Moreover, no prophet ever identifies himself so entirely with God, as is here done by the Angel of Jehovah, in his address vers 1-3. The prophets always distinguish themselves from Jehovah by this, that they introduce their utterances as the word of God by the formula "thus saith Jehovah," as is also done by the prophet in ch. vi. 8. . . . Nor does it conflict with the nature of

with the whole preceding narrative is profound and instructive. The history of Israel in Canaan begins in Gilgal. There (Josh. iv. 20 ff.) stood the memorial which showed how they had come through the Jordan into this land (גִּלְגָּל וְיַרְדֵּן אֲרָבָהּ אֲרָבָהּ אֲרָבָהּ). The name Gilgal itself speaks of the noblest benefit bestowed on them — their liberation from the reproach of Egypt. There the first Passover in Canaan had been celebrated. Thence also begin the great deeds that are done after the death of Joshua. As now the messenger of God comes from Gilgal, so at first Judah set out from thence to enter into his possessions. A messenger who came from Gilgal, did by that circumstance alone remind the people of Joshua's last words and commands. The memorial which was there erected rendered the place permanently suggestive to Israel of past events. From the time that Joshua's camp was there, it never ceased to be a celebrated spot (comp. 1 Sam. vii. 16); but that on this occasion the messenger comes from Gilgal, has its ground in the nature of his message, the history of which commences at Gilgal.

Vers. 2, 3. **Why have ye done this?** This sorrowful exclamation is uttered by the priest — according to Jewish exegesis, Phinehas, the same who spoke ch. i. 2 — after he has exhibited in brief quotations from the old divine instructions, first, what God has done for Israel, and then what Israel has done in disregard of God. The eternal God has enjoined it upon you, not under any circumstances to enter into peaceful compacts with the idolatrous tribes and their altars among you, thereby authorizing them openly before your eyes to manifest their depravity and practice their abominations — what have ye done! The exclamation is full of sharp grief; for the consequences are inevitable. For God said (Josh. xxxiii. 13): "I will not drive out these nations from before you." Israel had its tasks to perform. If it failed it must bear the consequences. God has indeed said (Ex. xxiii. 29, 30), and Moses reiterates it (Deut. vii. 22), "By little and little I will drive out the Canaanite, lest the land become desolate." And this word received its fulfillment in the days of Joshua and subsequently. But when Israel di-obeys, God will not prosper its disobedience. It must then experience that which the messenger now with grief and pain announces: Since Canaanites remain among you, who ought not to remain, and whom ye could have expelled, had ye been wholly with your God (Deut. vii. 17 ff.), they will hurt you, though they are conquered. *It is not an innocent victim to suffer the presence of sin, and give it equal rights.*

They shall be thorns, and their gods shall be a snare unto you. The Hebrew text has יְהוָה לְקֶבֶץ לְעֵינַיִם: literally, "they shall be sides unto you." יְהוָה everywhere means "the side;" and the explanations which make "adversaries, hosts" (Vulgate), "nets" (Luther), "tormentors" (Sachs), out of it, are without any foundation. Arias Montanus, who gives in *luteribus*, follows therein the older Jewish expositors; but neither does the idea of "hurtful neighbors" lie in

the word. From the fact that the Chaldee paraphrast has מְעִיקִין, "oppressors," it would indeed seem that he read עֵינַיִם; for in Num. xxxiii. 55 he also renders עֵינַיִם by עֵינַיִם. The Septuagint rendering σνοχάς (the Syriac version of it has the singular, cf. Rörden, p. 69), might seem to indicate a similar reading, although σνοχάειν occurs perhaps only twice for עֵינַיִם (1 Sam. xxiii. 8; 2 Sam. xx. 3). None the less does it appear to me to be against the language and spirit of Scripture, to read עֵינַיִם here. For not only does

עֵינַיִם occur but once in Scripture (Lam. i. 7), but it is expressive of that hostility which arises in consequence of the state of things here described. Only after one has fallen into the snare begins that miserable condition in which one is *oppressed* by the enemy, while all power of resistance is lost. The following considerations may assist us to arrive at the true sense: Every sentence, from ver. 1 to ver. 4, is in all its parts and words a reproduction of utterances by Moses and Joshua. Verse 1 is composed of expressions found as follows: מְעִיקִים, etc., Ex. iii. 17; אֲרָבָהּ, etc., Josh. xxiv. 8; וְיִשְׁפְּעוּתִי, etc., Deut. i. 35; לֹא אֶפְרַיִם, etc., Lev. xxvi. 44. Verse 2 likewise: לֹא הִבְרָרְתִּי, etc., Ex. xxxiii. 32, Deut. vii. 2; מְזַבְּחֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, etc., Ex. xxxiv. 13, Deut. vii. 5; לֹא אֶפְרַיִם, Num. xiv. 22. The case is similar with ver. 3, and it is to be assumed that the parallel passages may be used to throw light on the text. Now, as the first parallel to the expression, "and they shall be to you for *tsiddim* (עֵינַיִם)," we have the words in Num. xxxiii. 55: "and they shall be to you for pricks in your eyes and *thorns* in your sides (לְעֵינַיִם בְּצִבְעוֹתֵיכֶם)." Not for "sides," therefore, but for "thorns in the sides;" and we can as little believe that the same meaning would result if the expression were only "sides," as we can imagine the idea to remain unaltered if instead of "pricks in the eyes," one were to say, "they shall be to you for *eyes*." The second parallel passage is Josh. xxxiii. 13: they shall be to you for "scourges in your sides and thorns in your eyes." The enemies are compared, not with "sides" and "eyes," but with scourges and thorns by which sides and eyes are afflicted. Now as our passage as a whole corresponds entirely with those of Numbers and Joshua, save only that it abridges and epitomizes them, the threat which they contain appears here also, and in a similarly condensed form. It was sufficient to say, "they shall be to you for *thorns*;" accordingly, instead of עֵינַיִם we are to read עֵינַיִם (*tsinnim* for *tsiddim*), a change as natural as it is easily accounted for, since both words occurred not only in each of the other passages, but in one of them were joined together in the same clause. Emendation in this instance is more conservative than retention, for it rests on the internal organic coherence of Scripture.¹ *Tsinnah, tsinnim, tseninim,*

heads or representatives, is against the clear import of vers. 4, 5, and not to be justified by a reference to Josh. xxiv. 1, 2. Besides, an assembly of the heads and representatives, presents the same difficulty as an assembly of all the people. Angels appear only to individuals; to Israel as a nation God speaks through prophets. — Tr.]

1 [Bachmann is not inclined to admire the "conservative" character of this emendation. He holds to the reading of the text, and finds in it a free reference to Num. xxxiii. 55 and Josh. xxxiii. 13, by virtue of which "the nations themselves" — for, in his view, the לֹא אֶפְרַיִם (ver. 3) refers

are thorns, *spinæ*, pointed and stinging. The figure is taken from rural life. Israel, in the conquest, has acted like a slothful gardener. It has not thoroughly destroyed the thorns and thistles of its fields. The consequence will be, that sowing and planting and other field labors, will soon be rendered painful by the presence of spiteful thorns. What it will turn the Canaanites into stinging weeds and snares for Israel! The influence of habitual intercourse. Familiarity blunts aversion, smooths away contrarieties, removes differences, impairs obedience. It induces forgetfulness of what one was, what one promised, and to what conditions one is subject. Familiar intercourse with idolaters will weaken Israel's faith in the invisible God who has said, "Thou shalt not serve strange gods."

Ver. 4. **When the messenger had spoken these words, etc.** It is most likely that the few sentences here given, are but the outlines of the messenger's address. But every word rests on the basis of instructions delivered by Moses and Joshua. The people are sensible of the surpassing reality of the blessings which they have received, and for that reason are the more affected by the thought of the consequences which their errors have brought upon them. For the fulfillment of the law of truth as to its promises, guarantees the same as to its threatenings. Their alarm on account of sin is the livelier, the less decidedly active their disregard of the Word of God has hitherto been. They have not yet served the gods whose temples they have failed to destroy — have not yet joined in sin with the nations whom they suffered to remain. It was a weak faith, but not yet full-grown sin, by which they were led astray. God's messenger addresses "all the sons of Israel," for no tribe had formed an exception. In greater or less degree, they all had committed the same disobedience. The whole nation lifted up its voice and wept.

Ver. 5. **And they called the name of the place Bochim (Weepers).** The messenger of the divine word, when he wished to address Israel, must have gone up to the place where he would find them assembled. Israel had been commanded, as soon as the Jordan should have been crossed, and rest obtained, to assemble for feasts and sacrifices at a sacred place (Deut. xii. 10). This order applied not to Jerusalem merely, but to "the place which the Lord your God shall choose in one of the tribes." Thither they are to go up, trusting in God and dismissing care. It was only at such festal assemblies that Israel could be met. There was the opportunity for preaching and admonition. The chosen place at that time was Shiloh. There the tabernacle had been set up (Josh. xviii. 1); and there the people assembled (cf. Josh. xxi. 2). Thither they went up from far and near, to attend festivals (Judg. xxi. 19), and to offer sacrifices (1 Sam. i. 3). The whole progress of Joshua was a going from Gilgal to Shiloh. Accordingly, the messenger of God can have found Israel at no other place. His discourse produced a general outburst of weeping (cf. 1 Sam. xi. 4). And only because it was a weeping of penitence and shame before God, did the place where it occurred receive and retain the name Bochim. It was not a place otherwise nameless. How could the place where such an assembly was held be without a name! And how could it occur to the people to assemble

rather to the nations of the unconquered border districts (cf. ch. ii. 23, iii. 1), than to the scattered remnants of Canaanites within the conquered territories — "are described as *siles* for Israel, i. e. as cramping, burdensome, tormenting neighbors." But is it quite "conservative" to attach the

at such a place! In Shiloh itself, some spot — perhaps that where the priest was accustomed to address the people — received the name Bochim. This name served thenceforth to recall the terrors which were there shed. So do they show to day in Jerusalem the "Jews' weeping-place" (El Ebra, Ritter, xvi. 350 [Gage's Transl. iv. 50]), where every Friday the Jews pray and lament. "And they offered sacrifices there." After *repentance and reconciliation comes sacrifice*.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Faith and repentance come from preaching. God's messenger preaches, and Israel hears. The people acknowledge their sins, and weep. At that time only a divine admonition was needed to make them sacrifice again to their God. To fall is possible even for one who has received so much grace as Israel had experienced in the lifetime of Joshua and after his death; but he rises up as soon as the messenger of God touches his heart with the preaching of repentance. A generation which experienced divine miracles, and recognized them as divine, can be brought to repentance by that miracle which in the proclamation of the word of God addresses the souls of men.

Therefore, let not the preaching of repentance fail to address all the people. But the preacher must be (1), a messenger of God; and (2), must not shun the way from Gilgal to Bochim, — must not wait till the people come to him in the place for preaching, but must go to them, until he find a Bochim, a place of tearful eyes. But as God's messenger he must give heed that the weeping be not merely the result of affecting words, but of a penitent disposition; that it be called forth, not by the flow of rhetoric, but by memories of the grace of God hitherto experienced by the congregation.

STARKE: How great concern God takes in the salvation of men, and especially in the welfare of His church, appears clearly from the fact that He himself has often reasoned with them, taught them, admonished and rebuked them.

THE SAME: The Word of God has the power of moving and converting men.

THE SAME: To attest our repentance by tears as well as reformation, is not improper; nay, repentance is seldom of the right sort, if it does not, at least in secret, weep for sin.

GELACH: He reminds them of earlier commands, promises and threats, and shows them how their own transgressions are now about to turn into self-inflicted judgments. The people, however, do not proceed beyond an unfruitful sorrow in view of this announcement.

[HENRY: Many are melted under the word, that harden again before they are cast into a new mould.

SCOTT: If transgressors cannot endure the rebukes of God's word and the convictions of their own consciences, how will they be able to stand before the tribunal of the holy, heart-searching Judge.

THE SAME: The worship of God is in its own nature joy, praise, and thanksgiving, and our crimes alone render weeping needful; yet, considering what we are and what we have done, it is much idea of something cramping, etc., to the simple word "sile," which on no other occasion appears with such horrible suggestions of compression and suffocation as Dr. B. would give it here? — Tr.]

to be wished that our religious assemblies were more frequently called "Bochim," the place of the weepers. "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

WORDSWORTH · The Israelites called the place Bochim; they named it from their own tears. They laid the principal stress on their own feelings, and on their own outward demonstrations of sorrow. But they did not speak of God's mercies; and they were not careful to bring forth fruits of

repentance; they were a barren fig-tree, having only leaves. Their's was a religion (such as is too common) of sentiment and emotions, not of faith and obedience.

THE SAME: Reproofs which produce only tears — religious feelings without religious acts — emotions without effects — leave the heart worse than before. If God's rebukes are trifled with, His grace is withdrawn. — Tr.]

An extract from the Book of Joshua showing when and through what occasion the religious apostasy of Israel began.

CHAPTER II. 6-10.

6 And when [omit: when] Joshua had [omit: had] let the people go, [and] the children [sons] of Israel went every man unto his inheritance, to possess [to take
7 possession of] the land. And the people served the Lord [Jehovah] all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived ¹ Joshua, who had seen all
8 the great works of the Lord [Jehovah], that he did for Israel. And Joshua, the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord [Jehovah], died, *being* an hundred and ten years
9 old. And they buried him in the border [district] of his inheritance in Timnath-heres, in the mount [mountains] of Ephraim, on the north side of the hill [north of Mount]
10 Gaash. And also all that generation were gathered unto their fathers: ² and there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord [Jehovah], nor yet the works ³ which he had done for Israel.

[1 Ver. 7. — *וַיִּמְּוּ יָמָיו*, to prolong one's days, usually means, "to live long;" but here the addition "after Joshua" shows that the expression is not to be taken in this ordinary acceptation, but according to the proper sense of the words: "they prolonged days (life) after Joshua," i. e. they survived him: not, "they lived long after Joshua," cf. the remarks of Bachmann quoted on p. 15. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 10. — The sing. suf. in *וַיִּבְרְכוּ*, although the verb is plural, arises from the fact that the expression *וַיִּבְרְכוּ* and others of like import, are generally used of individuals. Habit gets the better of strict grammatical propriety. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 10. — Dr. Cassel: *die Gott nicht kennen, und [also] auch seine That nicht*; i. e. "who knew not God (Jehovah), nor [consequently], the works." The explanation of this rendering is that he takes "knew" in the sense of "acknowledge," see below; so that the clause gives him the following sense: "they acknowledged not what God had done for them, and of course did not rightly value his works. But, as Bachmann observes, *לֹא יָדְעוּ* conveys no reproach, but only states the cause of the ensuing apostasy. The new generation did not know the Lord and his work, sc. as eye-witnesses (cf. ver. 7, iii. 2); they only knew from hearsay." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 6-8. The penitence of the people at Bochim had shown that it had not yet fallen from its obedience to God, that it was still conscious of the blessings which had been bestowed upon it. The promise made to Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 24) had as yet been kept. They still served the Lord. Their position in this respect was the same as when he dismissed the tribes to take possession of their several inheritances. This dismissal introduced Israel to the new epoch, in which it was no longer guided by Moses or Joshua. Hence, the insertion of these sentences, which are also found in Josh. xxiv., is entirely appropriate. They describe the whole period in which the people was submissive to the Word of God, although removed from under the direct guidance of Joshua. The people was faithful when left to itself by Joshua, faithful after

his death, faithful still in the days of the elders who outlived Joshua. That whole generation, which had seen the mighty deeds that attended the conquest of Canaan, stood firm. Our passage says, "for they had *seen*," whereas Josh. xxiv. 31 says, "they had *known*." "To see" is more definite than "to know." The facts of history may be known as the acts of God, without being witnessed and experienced. But this generation had stood in the midst of the events; the movements of the conflict and its results were still present in their memories. Whoever has felt the enthusiasm inspired by such victories and conquests, can never forget them. The Scripture narrators are accustomed, like the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, to repeat literally what has already been said elsewhere, in cases where modern writers content themselves with a mere reference. While we should have deemed it sufficient to appeal to earlier histories for an account

of the death of Joshua, the narrative before us takes the more accurate method of literal repetition. Hence, the interruption of the course of thought commenced vers. 1-5, is only apparent. Vers. 6-10 explain the pious weeping of the people which vers. 4 and 5 recorded. Joshua's death, age, and burial are mentioned, because the writer wishes to indicate that Israel served God, not only after its dismission by the still living leader, but also after his decease. The less necessity there was for the statements of vers. 8 and 9, the more evident it is that they are borrowed from Josh. xxiv. And we may congratulate ourselves that by this means the name of the place where Joshua was buried, has been handed down to us in a second form.

Ver. 9. **And they buried him in Timnath-heres, in the mountains of Ephraim, north of Gaash.** In Josh. xxiv. 30, the place is called Timnath-serah (תִּמְנַת־סֶרַח). The most reverential regard for the Masoretic text will not refuse to acknowledge many variations in the names of places, arising especially from the transposition of letters (as תִּבְנֵחַ and תִּבְנֵחַ Josh. xix. 29).¹ Jewish tradition, it is true, explains them as different names borne by the same place; but the name Cheres is that which, in Keir Cheres, preserved itself in the country, as remarked by Esthor ha-Parchi (ii. 434) and other travellers (Carmoly, pp. 212, 368, 444, etc.). Eli Smith discovered the place, April 26, 1843. A short distance northwest of Bir-Zeit (already on Robinson's earlier map, cf. the later), near Wady Belat, "there rose up a gentle hill, which was covered with the ruins or rather foundations of what was once a town of considerable size." The spot was still called Tibneh (for Timnath, just as the southern Timnath is at present called Tibneh). The city lay to the north of "a much higher hill, on the north side of which (thus facing the city), appeared several sepulchral excavations."² No other place than this can have been intended by the Jewish travellers, who describe several graves found there, and identify them as those of Joshua, his father, and Caleb (Carmoly, p. 387). The antiquity of the decorations of these sepulchres may indeed be questioned, but not that of the sepulchres themselves. Smith was of opinion that hitherto no graves like these had been discovered in Palestine. Tibneh lies on the eastern side of Mount Ephraim, the same side on which, farther south, Beth-horon and Sâris are found. "Mount Heres," which is not the tribe of Dan, but only the strength of Ephraim, could render tributary, must have lain near Sâris, east of Aijalon. It is evident, therefore, that the name Heres must have been borne by this whole division of the mountains of Ephraim; and that the Timnath in which Joshua was buried, was by the addition of Heres distinguished from other places of the same name. In this way, the peculiar interest which led Ephraim to administer justice on Mount Heres (cf. on ch. i. 35) explains itself.

Ver. 10. **And also all that generation, etc.** Time vanishes. One generation goes, another comes. Joshua, who had died weary with years, was followed into the grave by his younger contemporaries. The generation that had borne arms with him, had been buried in the soil of the promised land; and another, younger generation lived.

It had already grown up in the land which the fathers had won. It inherited from them only possession and enjoyment. It already felt itself at home in the life of abundance to which it was born. It could not be counted as a reproach to them that they had not *seen* the mighty works of God in connection with the conquest (hence it is not said לֹא רָאוּ); but in the triteness of possession they utterly failed to acknowledge (לֹא יָדְעוּ) their indebtedness for it to God. How Israel came into the land, they must indeed have known; but to "know Jehovah" is something higher. They did not acknowledge that it was through God that they had come thither. Their fathers had seen and felt that victory and freedom came to them from the Lord. But they, as they did eat, built goodly houses, and dwelt in them (Deut. viii. 12), forgot God, and said (Deut. viii. 17): "Our power and the might of our hands hath gotten us this wealth." Modern German history furnishes an instructive illustration. The generation which broke the yoke of servitude imposed by Napoleon, "felt their God," as E. M. Arndt sang and prayed. The succeeding age enjoys the fruits and says: "Our skill and arms have smitten him." The living enthusiasm of action and strength, feels that its source is in the living God. It looks upon itself as the instrument of a Spirit who gives to truth and freedom their places in history. The children want the strength which comes of faith in that Spirit who in the fathers accomplished everything — and want it the more, the less they have done. Everything foretold by Moses goes into fulfillment. The later Israel had forgotten (Deut. viii. 14) what God had done for their fathers — in Egypt, in the desert, in Canaan. The phraseology is very suggestive; they "knew not Jehovah, nor, consequently, the works which he had done for Israel." Among the people, the one is closely connected with the other, as is shown by what follows.

HOIMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

One generation goes and another comes, but the word of God abides forever. It holds good for fathers and children; it judges ancestors and descendants. The new Israel had not beheld the deeds of Joshua and Caleb; but the God in whose spirit they were accomplished, still lived. They had not witnessed the recompense which was visited upon Adoni-bezek; but the Word which promises reward and punishment, was still living. Israel apostatized not because it had forgotten, but because sin is ever forgetful. When the blind man sins, it is not because he does not see the creation which God created, but because sin is blind both in those who see and in those who see not.

Therefore, no one can excuse himself, when he falls away into idolatry. Creation is visible to all, all have come up out of Egypt, all enjoy the favor of their God. Inexperience, satanic arts of temptation, temperament, can explain many a fall; yet, no one falls save by his own evil lusts, and all wickedness is done before the eyes of God (ver. 11).

STARKE: Constantly to remember and meditate on the works of God promotes piety, causing

¹ As חֶרֶס and חֶרֶס, and חֶרֶס and חֶרֶס. Cf. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, lib. I. cap. xx. tom. 2, p. 137.

² Ritter xvi. 562, Gage's Transl. iv. 246; (Smith's "Visit to Antipatris," in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1843 (published at New York) p. 484 — Tr.) O; the desire of the Bedouins to be buried on mountains, cf. Wetstein, *Huwan*, p. 25.

us to fear God, to believe in Him, and to serve Him. mighty works of God continued alive, so long also did active gratitude, covenant faithfulness, endure.

Lisco: As long as the remembrance of the

The apostasy of Israel during the period of the Judges: Idolatry and its consequences.

CHAPTER II. 11-15.

11 And the children [sons] of Israel did evil¹ in the sight of the Lord [Jehovah], and
 12 served Baalim: And they forsook the Lord [Jehovah. the] God of their fathers,
 which brought them out of the land of Egypt [Mitsraim], and followed other gods, of
 the gods of the people [peoples] that were round about them, and bowed themselves
 13 unto them, and provoked the Lord [Jehovah] to anger. And [Yea] they forsook the
 14 Lord [Jehovah], and served Baal and Ashtaroth. And the anger of the Lord
 [Jehovah] was hot [kindled] against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands
 of spoilers that [and they] spoiled them, and he sold them [gave them up²] into the
 hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before
 15 their enemies. Whithersoever [Where-oever]³ they went out, the hand of the
 Lord [Jehovah] was against them for evil [disaster], as the Lord [Jehovah] had said,
 and as the Lord [Jehovah] had sworn unto them: and they were [became] greatly
 distressed.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 11. — עָוֹן: lit. "the evil." The use of the article, however, scarcely warrants the stress laid on it by Dr. Cassel (see below), as עָוֹן, although most frequently used of idolatry, occurs also of sin in general and of other sins, cf. Num. xxxii. 13; 2 Sam. xii. 9; Ps. li. 6. The art. is probably used here as with other words denoting abstract ideas, cf. Ges. *Gr.* § 109, Rem. 1, c. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 14. — BACHMANN: "The giving up to the enemy is represented as a selling. The term of comparison, however, is not the price received, but the complete surrender into the stranger's power." — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 15. — The E. V. takes בָּלָל = בְּכָל-מְקוֹמָם, and הֵאָנֹכִי as the accus. whither, cf. Num. xiii. 27. So also Bertheau, Keil, and most versions and commentators. Dr. Cassel takes הֵאָנֹכִי as accus. where, as in Gen. xxxv. 13, 2 Sam. vii. 7. Dr. Bachmann thinks it safer "in accordance with 2 Kgs. xviii. 7 (cf. Josh. i. 7, 9), to understand the whole expression not of the place of the undertaking, but of the undertaking itself (cf. Deut. xxviii. 20: בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יֵרֵד ה' אִתְּךָ בְּבָרָאָהּ): lit. "in all what = for what they went out," i. e. (since the connection points to matters of war) in all undertakings for which they took the field. It is at least safe to say that 2 Kgs. xviii. 7 requires this interpretation of the phrase in question, cf. Thienius *in loc.* — Tr.]

NEBETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 11-13. And they did the evil in the sight of Jehovah. In what the evil consisted, we are soon informed: they served other gods, not their God. These other gods of the nations round about them, are national gods. They severally represent the morals, inclinations, and aptitudes, of those nations. The heathen god is the embodiment of the spiritual life and character of the people that worships him. The God of Israel is the very opposite of this. He is the God of the universe, inasmuch as He created heaven and earth; and the God of Israel, inasmuch as He elected them from among the nations in order to be a holy people unto Himself. The law is the abstract representation of that divine morality which is characteristic of the holy nation, as such. Israel forsakes God, when it does not follow this law. It forgets God, when it ascribes to itself that which belongs to Him; when it explains the history of its wars and victories by referring them, not to divine

guidance, but to its own strength. Hence also, as soon as Israel forgets God as the author of its history, it falls into the service of other gods, since these are the opposite of the absolute God, namely, the visible embodiment of the nation's own self. The God of Israel is a God on whom the people feels itself dependent; the heathen deity, with its material representation, is the resultant of the popular will. The very moment in which the impatient Israel of the desert forsook God, it worshipped the golden calf, the type of Egypt. Now, in Canaan also, Israel is induced to forget God as its benefactor. It seeks to remove the contrariety which exists between itself and the Canaanites: to cancel the dividing-lines drawn by the law of the invisible God. It can have fellowship with the other nations only by serving their gods. Among the nations of antiquity no leagues found place except on the basis of community in sacred things, for in these the national type or character expressed itself. In the Italian cities, a union for joint-sacrifices was called *concilium*, and formed the

indispensable prerequisite to *conubium* and *commercium*. The children of Israel, for the sake of their neighbors, forget their God. To please men, they do "the evil in the sight of the Lord." Evil, **רע**, is the opposite of what God wills. Whatever the laws forbids, is "evil." "Ye shall not worship strange gods," is the burden of the first, and the ultimate ground of all commandments. Therefore, when Israel serves them it does what is, not simply "evil," but "the evil" (**הרע**). The trains of thought of the simple sentences, are bound together by a profoundly penetrating logic. The new generation no longer knows the works of God in Israel's behalf. Hence it longs for intercourse with the nations round about. For these have not been driven out. In order to gratify this longing, it serves their strange gods. But thereby it forsakes Jehovah, and provokes Him to anger.

And they served Baalim. Baal (**בַּעַל**), as deity, is for the nation, what as master *hē* is in the house, and as lord in the city. He represents and impersonates the people's life and energies. Hence, there is one general Baal, as well as many Baalim. The different cities and tribes had their individual Baalim, who were not always named after their cities, but frequently from the various characteristics for which they were adored. The case is analogous to that of Zeus, who by reason of his various attributes, was variously named and worshipped in Greece. The Israelites, as they forgot their own God, apostatized to that form of Baal service which obtained in the tribe or city in which they happened to live, according to the manifold modifications which the service of the idol assumed. Our passage reproduces very closely the words of the Mosaic law (cf. Deut. xvii. 2, 3; xxix. 25 (26)), except that it substitutes Baalim for *elohim acherim*, other gods. *Elohim acherim* is of universal comprehensiveness. "Other gods" being forbidden, the false gods of all ages and countries, whatever names they may bear, are forbidden. *Acher* is "another," not in any sense implying coördination, but as expressive of inferiority, spuriousness. It is used like *ērepos*, *posterior*, and the German *after* and *aber*. (*Aberglaube* [superstition] is a false *glaube* [faith], just as *elohim acherim* are false gods.)¹ Baalim is here substituted as being the current name of the country for the false god. And in truth the very name of Baal, in its literal significance, expresses the contrast between him and the absolute and true *Elohim*, Jehovah. For as Baal (i. e. Lord, Master), he is dependent on the existence of him whose Baal he is, just as he is no husband who has not a wife; whereas it is the nature of the absolute God to be perfectly free and independent of every extraneous object. These Baalim were the "gods of the nations who dwelt round about them." Every word of ver. 12 indicates that what now occurred, had been foretold by Moses (cf. Deut. xxviii. 20; xxxi. 16; Lev. xxii. 33). The chief passages which are kept in view, are Deut. vi. 10 ff.; xxix. 25 ff. Ver. 13 begins with the same words as ver. 12, "they forsook God," not to repeat but to strengthen the statement. It must astound the reader that they have

forsaken God (**זָבַח** has the sense of our expression "to ignore one," "not to notice him," as one lets a poor man stand and beg without noticing him), to serve "Baal and Ashtaroth." Israel, the narrator wishes to say, was actually capable of giving up its own glorious God, who brought it up out of Egypt, for the sake of Baal and Ashtaroth! The statements of vers. 11, 12, 13, and 14 form a climax; for sin is not stationary, but sinks ever deeper. Ver. 11 had said that "they served Baalim." Ver. 12 intimates that this was in fact nothing else than that which Moses, in the name of God, had described as the deepest and most radical crime of which the nation could be guilty. Ver. 13 shows the blindness of Israel in its deepest darkness. The people has forsaken its God of truth and purity, for the sake of Baal and Ashtaroth! That has come to pass against which Deut. iv. 19 warned as possible: "Lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, all the host of heaven, shouldst bow down to them and serve them." The luminaries of the heavens are the original symbols of ancient idolatry. Baal answers to Zeus, the Greek Light god. Ashtaroth, in like manner, corresponds to Hera (according to the meaning of her name, a Baulah), the Star-queen. Ashtoreth means "the star" (**שֵׁתַרְתָּ**, Persian *sitārah*, *astārā*, star); in the plural her name is Ashtaroth. This plural expresses the Scripture phrase "host of heaven," in one collective conception. As *Elohim* in its plural form represents the Deity, so Baalim represents Baaldom, and Ashtaroth the shining night-heavens.

(Just as *cives* and *civitas*, **בְּעָלִים** and **בְּעִלָּה**, are used to express all that is included in the idea of the State.) The Greek form of Ashtaroth, it is well known, was Astarte. Hence, names formed like Abdastartus² (Servant of Astarte), find their contrast in such as Obadiah (Servant of Jah), formed in the spirit of the Israelitish people. Astarte represents on the coast of Phœnicia the same popular conception, suggested by natural phenomena, which till a very late period Asia Minor worshipped in the goddess of Ephesus. The Greek conceptions of Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite do not so coalesce in her as to prevent us from clearly finding the common source. From the instructive passages of Scripture, in which the language shows a relation of Astarte to the propagation of flocks (Deut. vii. 13; xxviii. 4), it is evident that as luminous night-goddess she, like Hera, was a patroness of corporeal fertility, an Iliithya, Lucina, Mylitta. On account of this idea, which is characteristic of both goddesses, the heavenly Hera (*Juno caelestis*) coincides with Aphrodite Urania, so that Hesychius remarks concerning Belthiis (Baalath), that she may be the one or the other. Astarte was worshipped as Ashtoreth, not only in Zidon (1 Kgs. xi. 5; 2 Kgs. xxiii. 13), but throughout Canaan; special mention is made of her temple in Askelon (1 Sam. xxxi. 10). It is evidently this temple of which Herodotus (i. 105) speaks as dedicated to Aphrodite Urania, and which, as the national sanctuary of Askelon, the Scythians destroyed. It was on account of its national charac-

¹ Cf. my *Abhandlung über Wissensch. und Akademien*, p. xxxviii.

² Compare Methuastartus (**מְתוּשְׁתָּרְתָּ**), formed like Methubaal, Methusalem, Man of (belonging to) Astarte. Compare **אִמְתַּשְׁתָּרְתָּ**, "my mother is Astarte," on the

Babylonian inscription of Eshmunazar. Rüdiger (*Zeitschrift d. d. m. Ges.*, 1855, p. 656) regards it as an abbreviation for

אִמְתַּשְׁתָּרְתָּ, "maid-servant of Astarte," wherein he is followed by others.

ter, that the Philistines deposited in it the armor of Saul as trophies. They saw in its goddess the victor over the defeated enemy, just as at Ephesus the repulse of the Cimmerians was attributed to the aid of Artemis. Powers of resistance and defense were ascribed to all those Asiatic goddesses who presided over the principle of fecundity in nature. Their weapons protect pacific nature and that which she cherishes, against the hostility of wild and savage forces. The worship of the Ephesian goddess is founded and celebrated by Amazons. Juno, the celestial, is represented with lance in hand. The same conception is indicated by ancient representations of Aphrodite, in which she appears armed and prepared for battle. Astarte is at all events considered favorable to her nation in war, since trophies of victory hang in her temple, and the capital of the terrible warrior Og bears the name Ashtaroth (Josh. ix. 10; xii. 4). This King Og of Bashan is regarded as a son of the mighty Rephaim. These latter have their seat at Ashtaroth Karnaim, where they are attacked by the eastern kings (Gen. xiv. 5). Ashtaroth Karnaim points to the horns of the crescent moon, by which also Astarte of Askelon is indicated on the coins of that city (cf. Stark, *Gaza*, p. 259). The armed Aphrodite in Sparta is the same with Helena or Selene, the moon-goddess, — a fact clearly demonstrative of her identity with Astarte. Moon and stars, the luminaries of the night-sky, are blended in Ashtaroth. She represents the collective host of heaven. Before this "host" Israel bowed down when it forsook its "Lord of hosts." Baal and Ashtaroth stand for the whole national worship of Phœnicia, ever against Jehovah, the God of the universe. They are the representatives of their nation's prosperity; and it is therefore a profound conception, which Epphianias says some held (*Hæres.* iv. cap. 2), which makes Hercules (Baal) to be the father, and Ashtaroth (or Asteria, *ἄστὴρ καὶ Ἀστερίας*), the mother, of Melchizedek. Thus when Melchizedek bowed himself before Abraham and Abraham's God, the national spirit of Canaan submitted itself. When Israel prostrates itself before such symbols, it cannot fail to provoke the anger of its God.

Ver. 14. And the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel. A climax appears also in the expressions concerning the displeasure of God. First, that which they do is evil in his sight (ver. 11); then, they provoke Him to anger (ver. 12; cf. Deut. iv. 25; ix. 18); finally, his anger is kindled (ver. 14; also Num. xxv. 3; xxxii. 13).

And He delivered them into the hands of the oppressors [spoilers] — and gave them up into the hands of their enemies.¹ Thus far the phraseology has been literally quoted from Mosaic utterances, except that Baal and Ashtaroth were substituted for sun, moon, and stars. The above words occur here for the first time. They express the historical consequences of Israel's wrong-doing. When Israel forsakes God and his law, it loses the basis of its nationality. With God and God's law, and through them, it is a people; without them, it has neither law nor national power. The gods after whom they run, do not at all belong to them. On the contrary, they are the property of nations who are their enemies. Israel left Egypt a crowd

1 [On these words Bachmann remarks: "This does not describe a twofold visitation, either simultaneous or successive: first spoiling, then servitude (P. Mart.), or roving robber bands and regular hostile armies (Schm.); still less (Cajet.) a three-fold degree of calamity — spoiling, slavery, flight [the

of slaves. It was God's own revelation of Himself, fulfilling his promise to the fathers, that made it free. If it give up this revelation, it has no longer a basis of freedom. Freedom is henceforth impossible; for by serving the gods of other nations, it dissolves its own national existence. Hence, this faithlessness towards God, is the worst folly against itself. For the enemy who gave way before Israel's God and Israel's enthusiasm, will no longer spare the conquerors of Canaan when, like men without character, they kneel at strange altars. When God who elected Israel is not in the midst of the nation as its protector, it is like the defenseless hart which the hunter pursues. Such is the figure which underlies the expression: "and God gave them into the hands of their שׂוֹרְטִים." The root

שׂוֹרְטִים, שׂוֹרְטִים, is not found in the Pentateuch, and occurs here for the first time. The *shosim* are enemies of the property of another, robbers, plunderers, — as the hunter robs his game of life and happiness. The word is kindred to the Greek *χάζω*, with the same meaning, although, to be sure, only the passive *χάζομαι* is in use. (It seems also that the Italian *cacciare* and the French *chasser* are to be derived from this word; but cf. *Diez, Lex. der Röm. Spr.*, p. 79). Israel, having broken its covenant with God for the sake of men, was by these very men oppressed. They robbed it of goods and freedom. For God had "sold it," like a person who has lost his freedom. What but servitude remained for Israel when it no longer possessed the power of God? It cannot stand before its enemies, as was foretold, Lev. xxvi. 37, in somewhat different words. A people that conquered only through the contrariety of its spirit with that of its enemies, must fall when it ceases to cherish that spirit. No one can have power to succeed, who himself destroys his sole vocation to success. Hence, Israel could no more be successful in anything. The measure of its triumph with God, is the measure of its misery without Him. Apostasy from God is always like a return to Egypt into bondage (Deut. xxviii. 68).

Ver. 15. As Jehovah had said, and as he had sworn unto them. By applying to their sin the very words used in the law, the narrator has already emphasized the enduring truthfulness of the divine announcements. Israel is to experience that everything threatened comes to pass; and with reason, for every promise also has been verified. But here he expresses himself still more plainly. The hand of the Lord (Deut. ii. 15) was against them for evil (Deut. xxix. 20), as He "had sworn unto them." No sentence evinces more plainly how closely the narrator keeps to the Mosaic writings. When God is said to swear unto Israel, it is almost always in connection with blessings to be bestowed. Only in two instances (Deut. ii. 14; cf. Josh. v. 6), the Lord is represented as having sworn that to those who had not obeyed his voice, He would not show the land. In these, therefore, the oath is confirmatory of threatened punishment. The double form of expression also, that God spake and swore, is prefigured Deut. xxix. 12 (13).

And they became greatly distressed, וַיִּגְדְּלוּ. Deut. xxviii. 50–52 describes the plunderers, who

later indicated by 'Ta;] were no longer able to stand before their enemies' — 'Ta;] but God in abandoning the people to the relentless violence of their hostile neighbors, does thereby deliver them into the hands of the spoilers.' — 'Ta]

shall rob them of their cattle and their harvests. "Thou shalt be distressed in all thy gates" (הַיְצֵר לְךָ), is twice repeated in ver. 52. The narrator presupposes intimate acquaintance with the ancient writings, and therefore cites only their salient points.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

After the judgment of the word comes the judgment of the sword. He who ceases to remember the works of God, ceases also to enjoy the power of God. For him who shuts his eyes, the sun affords no light. Men are judged by the truth which they despise, and betrayed by the sin which they love. Israel can no longer withstand the nations over whom it formerly triumphed, because it courts their idols and leaves its own God.

Thus men suffer through the passions which they entertain. They are plundered, when instead

of God, they serve Baal-Mammon. The judgment of the word which they forsake, is confirmed. Men lose the freedom of the children of God, when (1) they are no longer grateful to God; consequently, (2) remember Him no more; hence, (3) attend no longer to the preaching of repentance; and despite of it, (4) serve idols.

STARKE: He who engages in another worship, forsakes the true God, and apostatizes from Him. But woe to the man who does this: for he brings himself into endless trouble. THE SAME: God is as true to his threats as to his promises. LISCO: The people whom trouble and bondage had brought to a consciousness of their guilt, sank again into idolatry through levity and commerce with heathen, and thus new chastisements became necessary. GERLACH: The judgment affords a deep glance into God's government of the world, showing how He makes all sin subservient to his own power, by punishing it with the very evils that arise from it.

The interposition of God in Israel's behalf by the appointment of Judges. Deliverance and the death of the Deliverer the occasion of renewed apostasy.

CHAPTER II. 16-23.

16 Nevertheless [And] the Lord [Jehovah] raised up judges, which [and they] delivered them out of the hand of those that spoiled them. And yet they would not [But neither did they] hearken unto their judges, but¹ they went a whoring^a after other [false] gods, and bowed themselves unto them: they turned quickly^b out of the way² which their fathers walked in, obeying³ the commandments of the Lord [Jehovah]; but they did not so. And when the Lord [Jehovah] raised them up judges, then the Lord [Jehovah] was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge: (for it repented the Lord [Jehovah] because of their groanings [wailings^c] by reason of them that oppressed^d them and vexed [persecuted^e] them.) And [But] it came to pass, when the judge was dead, that they returned [turned back], and corrupted themselves⁵ more than their fathers, in following other [false] gods to serve them, and to bow down unto them; they ceased not from⁶ their own [omit: own] [evil] doings,^f nor from their stubborn way.^g And the anger of the Lord [Jehovah] was hot [kindled] against Israel; and he said, Because that this people hath transgressed my covenant^h which I commanded their fathers, and have not hearkened unto my voice: I also will not henceforth [will not go on to] drive out any [a man] from before them of the nations which Joshua left when he died: that through them I may prove [in order by them to proveⁱ] Israel, whether they will keep the way of the Lord [Jehovah] to walk therein, as their fathers did keep it, or not. Therefore [And] the Lord [Jehovah] left those [these] nations [at rest^k], without driving them out hastily [so that they should not be speedily driven out], neither delivered he them [and delivered them not] into the hand of Joshua.

^a Ver. 17. — פִּי זָבָה, etc., cf. Deut. xxxi. 16.

^b Ver. 17. — קָרָבָה בְּיָהָר, cf. Ex. xxxii. 8; Deut. ix. 12.

^c Ver. 18. — נִאֲחָזְקָם, from נָחַץ, cf. Ex. ii. 24, vi. 5.

^d Ver. 18. — לְרֹצֵץ, cf. Ex. iii. 9.

^e Ver. 18. — יָהָרָה appears here for the first time. Cf. the Greek δῆλον.

^f Ver. 19. — Cf. Deut. xxviii. 20.

^g Ver. 19. — הִמְטָהוּ, with reference to Ex. xxxiii. 5, etc., where already Israel is called הַמְטָהוּ-יִשְׂרָאֵל.

^h Ver. 20. — Cf. Josh. vii. 11.

ⁱ Ver. 22 — Cf. Ex. xvi. 4; xx. 20; Deut. viii. 2, 16; xiii. 4 (3).

^k Ver. 23. — Cf. Num. xxxii. 15.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 17. — Dr. Cassel has *denn*, "for." "But" is better. On **כי** after a negative, cf. Ges. *Gr.* p. 272, at top.—Tr.]
 [2 Ver. 17. — That is, as often as a Judge had succeeded in bringing them back to the way of their fathers, they quickly left it again. So Bachmann. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 17. — **לְשֹׁמֵעַ**: "in that they obeyed." On this less regular, but by no means rare (cf. ver. 19, Ps. lxxviii. 13; 1 Sam. xx. 20; etc.) use of the infinitive with **לְ**, cf. Ew. 280 d. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 18. — **דָּחַקוּ**, only here and in Joel ii. 8. If the clause were rendered: "before those that crowded (**לְחִצְיָ**, cf. on ch. i. 34) and pressed upon them," its metaphorical character would be preserved as nearly as possible. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 19. — The E. V. is correct as to sense; but the Hebrew phrase, filled out, would be, "they corrupted their way," cf. Gen. vi. 12. — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 19. — **לֹא הִפְּילוּ בָּן**: lit. "they caused not (sc. their conduct, course of action) to fall away from their (evil) deeds." — Tr.]

[7 Ver. 22. — **לְמַעַן נִפְתָּה**. Grammatically this infinitive of design may be connected either with **לֹא אִוְסִיף**, ver. 21, **וַיֵּאמֶר**, ver. 20, or **יָבֵן**. The first construction (adopted by E. V.) is inadmissible, because, 1. It supposes that Jehovah himself continues to speak in ver. 22, in which case we should expect **אֶת־דְּרֹכָי**, first per., rather than

הָאֶת־דְּרֹכָי יְהוָה. 2. It supposes that the purpose to prove Israel is now first formed, whereas it is clear from ch. iii. 1, 4, that it was already operative in the time of Joshua. This objection is also fatal to the construction with **וַיֵּאמֶר**, adopted by Keil. (That Dr. Cassel adopts one of these two appears from the fact that he reads: "whether they *will* (instead of *would*, see farther on) keep the way of Jehovah," but which of the two is not clear.) It remains, therefore, to connect with **עָיִב**, against which there is no objection, either grammatical or logical. "For in such loosely added infinitives of design, in which the subject is not definitely determined, the person of the infinitive goes back to the preceding principal word *only* when no other relation is more obvious, see Ew. 337 b (cf. Ex. ix. 16). But that here, as in the perfectly analogous parallel passage, ch. iii. 4, the design expressed by the infinitive is not Joshua's nor that of the nations, but Jehovah's, is self-evident, and is besides expressly declared in ver. 23 and ch. iii. 1. So rightly LXX. *l. Pesh. Ar. Aug.* (ques. 17), *Ser. Stud.* and many others" (Bachmann). The connection from ver. 21 onward is therefore as follows: In ver. 21 Jehovah is represented (cf. foot-note 3 on p. 62) as saying, "I will not go on to drive out the nations which Joshua left when he died." To this the author of the Book himself adds the purpose for which they were left, namely, to prove Israel, whether they would (not, *will*) keep the way (**אֶת־דְּרֹכָי**) of Jehovah to walk therein (**בָּבָב**, plur. "in them," *constr. ad sensum*, the way of Jehovah consisting of the **יְהוָה**, Deut. viii. 2. — Keil), as their fathers kept it, or not. "And so," he continues, *i. e.* in consequence of this purpose, "Jehovah (not merely Joshua) left these nations (**הָאֶת־הַגּוֹיִם**), these, pointing forward to ch. iii. 1 ff., where they are enumerated,) at rest, in order that they should not speedily (for that would have been inconsistent with the design of proving Israel by them, but yet ultimately) be driven out, and did not give them into the hand of Joshua." But the "not speedily" of Joshua's time had by Israel's faithless apostasy been changed into "never." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The first two chapters indicate, by way of introduction, the laws of historical cause and effect whose operation explains the occurrences about to be related in the succeeding pages. They are designed to give information concerning that most important of all subjects in Israel, — the relation of the will of God to his chosen people. Since prosperity and calamity were both referred to God, it was necessary to explain the moral grounds of the same in the favor or wrath of God. It was most important, in view of the peculiar histories which were to be narrated, that the doubts which might be raised against the doctrine of God's all-powerful and world-controlling direction, should be obviated. The connection between the national fortunes, as about to be related, and the declarations of the Mosaic law, was to be pointed out. The reader was to be informed why the purposes of God concerning the glory of Israel in Canaan, as unfolded to Moses, had been so imperfectly fulfilled. In ch. i. a historical survey of the conquests of the tribes had been given, in order in connection therewith to state how little heed had been given to the behest of the law to expel the nations. In that disobedience the germ of all subsequent misfortunes was contained. For by mingling with the heathen nations, the chosen people fell into sin. With Israel to fall from God was actually to fall

back into bondage. In their distress and anguish, God (vers. 15 and 18) mercifully heard their crying, as he had heard it in Egypt (Ex. ii. 24; vi. 5). Now, as then, He raised them up heroes, who through his might smote the enemy, and delivered the people from both internal and external bondage (ver. 16). This, however, did not remove the evil in its germ. Since the judgeship was not hereditary, the death of each individual Judge brought back the same state of things which followed the departure of Joshua and his contemporaries. The nation continually fell back into its old sin (vers. 18, 19). The history of events under the Judges, is the history of ever recurring exhibitions of divine compassion and human weakness. Hence, the great question in Israel must be one inquiring into the cause of these relations. If, the people might say, present relations owed their existence to the temptations occasioned by the remaining Canaanites, he on whom the first blame for not expelling them must fall, would be none other than Joshua! Why did not that hero of God drive them all out of the land? Why did he not secure the whole land, in all its extended boundaries, for a possession to Israel? If only sea and desert had bounded their territories, Israel would have had no temptation to meddle with the superstitions of neighbors. Left to themselves, they would have thought of nothing else than to serve their God. To this vers. 21 ff. reply: God is certainly the Helper and Guide of Israel, its Libera-

tor and Conqueror; but not to serve the sinfulness and sloth of Israel. The Spirit of God is with Israel, when the freewill of Israel chooses obedience to God. But the freedom of this choice demonstrates itself only under temptation. Abraham became Father of the Faithful because, though tempted (Gen. xxii. 1), he nevertheless stood firm. Fidelity and faith approve themselves only in resistance to seductive influences. God in his omnipotence might no doubt remove every temptation from the path of believers; but He would not thereby bestow a boon on man. The opportunity for sinning would indeed be rendered difficult; but the evidence of victorious conflict with sin would be made impossible. Had God suffered Joshua to remove out of the way all nations who might tempt Israel, the people's inward sinful inclinations would have been no less, it would have cherished no greater love for God its benefactor, it would have forgotten that He was its liberator (ch. ii. 10); and the faith, the fidelity, the enthusiasm, which come to light amid the assaults of temptation, would have had no opportunity to win the approval of God or to secure the impartation of his strength. Unfaithfulness, to be sure, must suffer for its sins; but faithfulness is the mother of heroes. The Book of Judges tells of the trials by which God suffered Israel to be tried through the Canaanites, of the punishments which they endured whenever they failed to stand the tests,—but also of the heroes whom God raised up because they preserved some faith in Him. The closing verses do not therefore contradict the opening of the chapter. The pious elders weep when from the words of the "messenger from Gilgal" they perceive the temptation. The unfaithful younger generation must suffer the penalty because they yielded to the seduction. Joshua would doubtless have expelled all the nations; but God did not permit it. He died; but in his place God raised up other heroes, who liberated Israel when, in distress, it breathed penitential sighs. Such, in outline, are the author's thoughts as to the causes which underlie his history. He uses them to introduce his narrative, and in the various catastrophes of the history constantly refers to them.

Vers. 16-19. And Jehovah raised them up Judges, שׁוֹפְטִים, Shophetim. This word occurs here for the first time in the special sense which it has in this period of Israelitish history, and which it does not appear to have had previously. שׁוֹפֵט is to judge, to decide and to proceed according to the decision, in disputes between fellow-country-

1 A similarly formed title is that of *Batonnier*, given by the French to the chief of the barristers, and yet very different from the medieval *batonarius*.

2 [Dr. Cassel's words are: *Gesetz und Recht*. For the latter term, as technically used, the English language has no equivalent. It is Right as determined by law.—Tr.]

3 [Dr. Bachmann (with many others) reaches an entirely different definition of the "Judges." The Judge as such, he contends, acts in an external direction, in behalf of, not on, the people. A Judge, in the special sense of our Book, is first of all a Deliverer, a Savior. He may, or he may not, exercise judicial functions, properly speaking, but he is Judge because he *delivers*. This view he supports by an extended review of the *usus loquendi* of the word, and especially by insisting that ch. ii. 16, 18 admits of no other definition. "Why," he asks, quoting Dr. Cassel, "if a Judge is first of all a restorer of law and right, does not ch. ii. 11-19, which gives such prominence to the fact that the forsaking of the divine law is the cause of all the hostile oppressions endured by Israel, lay similar stress, when it comes to speak of the Shophetim, on the restoration of the authority of law, but, on the contrary, speaks of the deliv-

men and citizens. Originally, Moses, deeming it his duty to exercise all judicial functions himself, was the only judge in Israel (Ex. xviii. 16). But when this proved impracticable, he committed the lesser causes to trustworthy men from among the people, just as at the outset the Spartan ephors had authority only in unimportant matters. These he charged (Ex. xviii. 21; Deut. i. 16) to "judge righteously between every man and his brother." For the future, he enjoins the appointment of judges in every city (Deut. xvi. 18). Their jurisdiction extends to cases of life and death, to matters of idolatry as all other causes (Deut. xvii. 1-12; xxv. 2); and although the words are "thou shalt make these judges," the judges are nevertheless clothed with such authority as renders their decisions completely and finally valid. Whoever resists them, must die (Deut. xvii. 12). The emblem of this authority, in Israel as elsewhere, was the *staff* or *rod*, as we see it carried by Moses. The root שׁוֹפֵט is therefore to

be connected with שׁוֹפֵט, staff, σκήπτρον, *scipio*.

שׁוֹפֵט is a *staff-man*, a judge. In the Homeric poems, when the elders are to sit in judgment, the heralds reach them their staves (*Il.* xviii. 506); "but now (says Achilles, *Il.* i. 237), the judges carry in their hands the staff."¹ Judicial authority is the chief attribute of the royal dignity. Hence, God, the highest king, is also "the Judge of all the earth" (Gen. xviii. 25). He judges concerning right and wrong, and makes his awards accordingly. When law and sin had ceased to be distinguished in Israel, compassion induced Him to appoint judges again. If these are gifted with heroic qualities, to vanquish the oppressors of Israel, it is nevertheless not this heroism that forms their principal characteristic. That consists in "judging." They restore, as was foreseen, Deut. xvii. 7, 12, the authority of law. They enforce the penalties of law against the sin of disobedience towards God. It is the spirit of this law living in them, that makes them strong. The normal condition of Israel is not one of victory simply; it is a condition in which שׁוֹפֵט וְדָן law and right,² are kept. For this reason, God raises up *Shophetim*, judges, not princes (*vesiim, sarim*). The title sets forth both their work and the occasion of their appointment. Israel is free and powerful when its law is observed throughout the land.³ Henceforth, (as appears from Deut. xvii. 14.) except *shophetim*, only kings, *melakim*, can rule in Israel. The difference between them

erance of the people from its oppressors?" To which it were enough to reply, first, that ver. 16 intends only to show how Israel was delivered from the previously mentioned consequences of its lawless condition, not how it was rescued from the lawless condition itself; and, secondly, that ver. 18, 19 clearly imply, that while military activity may (and from the nature of the case usually did) occupy a part of the Judge's career, efforts, more or less successful, to restore the supremacy of the divine law within the nation engage the whole. Hence, the Deliverer was rightly called Shophet, whereas in his military character he would have been more properly called שׁוֹשֵׁב, cf. ch. iii. 9. Dr. Bachmann, it is true, explains the title Judge (as derived from the second of the three meanings of שׁוֹפֵט, 1. to judge; 2. to save, namely, by affording justice; 3. to rule) by the fact that the O. T. views the assistance sent by Jehovah to his oppressed people as an act of retributive justice towards both oppressor and oppressed, cf. Gen. xi. 14; Ex. vi. 6, vii. 4; but in such cases Jehovah, and not the human organ through whom He acts, is the Judge.—Tr.]

lies chiefly in the hereditaryness of the royal office—a difference, it is true, of great significance in Israel, and closely related to the national destiny. The Judge has only a personal commission. His work is to re-inspire Israel with divine enthusiasm, and thus to make it victorious. He restores things to the condition in which they were on the death of Joshua. No successor was necessary, if without a judge, the nation itself maintained the law, and resisted temptation. Israel has enough in its divinely-given law. Rallying about this and the priesthood, it could be free; for God is its King. But it is weak. The Judge is scarcely dead, before the authority of law is shaken. Unity is lost, and the enemy takes advantage of the masterless disorder. Therefore, Judges, raised up by God, and girded with fresh strength, succeed each other,—vigorous rulers, full of personal energy, but called to exercise judgment only in the Spirit of God. It has been customary, in speaking of the Punic *suffetes*, to compare them with the Israelitish *shophetim*. And it is really more correct to regard the *suffetes* as *consules* than as kings. Among the Phœnicians also the idea of king included that of hereditaryness.¹ The *suffetes* were an elected magistracy, whose name, like that of the Judges, was doubtless derived from the fact that they also constituted the highest judicial authority. They sat in judgment (*ad jus dicendum*) when the designs of Aristo came to light (Livy, xxxiv. 61). It is, in general, by no means uncommon for the magistracy of a city (*summus magistratus*), as in the Spanish Gales (Livy, xxviii. 37), to be styled Judges, *i. e.* *suffetes*. As late as the Middle Ages, the title of Spanish magistrates was *judices*. The highest

1 Which Movers (*Phönizier*, ii. 1, 536) has improperly overlooked. As those who exercised *governmental* functions, properly symbolized by the sceptre, the Greek language could scarcely call them anything else than βασιλεύς. Some good remarks against Heeren's view of this matter were made by J. G. Schlosser (*Aristoteles' Politik*, i. 195, 196).

2 It is only necessary to refer to Du Cange, under *Judices*. Similar relations occur in the early political and judicial history of all nations. Cf. Grimm, *Rechtswörterbuch*, p. 75), etc.

3 [Dr. Cassel, in striving after brevity, has here left a point of considerable interest in obscurity. Ver. 20 reads as follows: "And the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel, and he said, Because this people hath transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers, and have not hearkened to my voice, I also will not," etc. How is this verse connected with the preceding? Vers. 11-19 have given a bird's-eye view of the whole period of the Judges. They have described it as a period of constantly renewed backsliding, calling down God's anger on Israel, and not permanently cured even by the efforts of the Judges. Thereupon ver. 20 proceeds as above; and the question arises, to what point of time in the whole period it is to be referred. Dr. Bachmann argues that in ver. 20 the narrative goes back to the "sentence" pronounced at Bochim (see ver. 3). "Ver. 20," he says, "adds [to the survey in vers. 11-19] that, before God's anger attained its complete expression in delivering Israel into the hands of strange nations (ver. 14), it had already manifested itself in the determination not to drive those nations out; and with this the narrative returns to the judgment of Bochim."

Accordingly, he interprets the וַיֹּאמֶר , "and he said," of ver. 20, as introducing an actual divine utterance, namely, the one delivered at Bochim. Without following the whole course of Dr. Bachmann's argument, it is enough here to say that his conclusion is surely wrong, and that the source of his error lies in the view he takes of the words spoken at Bochim, which are not a "sentence" or "judgment," but a *warning*, designed to obviate the necessity for denouncing judgment. The true connection, in my judgment (and as

officer of Sardinia was termed *judex*.² The Israelitish Judges differ from the *suffetes*, not so much by the nature of their official activity, as by the source, purpose, and extent of their power. In Israel also common *shophetim* existed everywhere; but the persons whom God selected as deliverers were in a peculiar sense men of divine law and order. They were not regular but extraordinary authorities. Hence, they were not, like the *suffetes*, chosen by the people. God himself appointed them. The spirit of the national faith placed them at the head of the people.

Ver. 20, etc.³ I will not go on to drive out a man of the nations which Joshua led when he died. The purport of this important sentence, which connects chapters i. and iii. historically and geographically, is as follows: The whole land, from the wilderness of Edom to Mount Casius and the "road to Hamath," and from Jordan to the sea, was intended for Israel. But it had not been given to Joshua to clear this whole territory. A group of nations, enumerated ch. iii. 3, had remained in their seats. Nor did the individual tribes, when they took possession of their allotments, make progress against them (cf. ch. i. 19, 34). Especially does this explain what is said above, ch. i. 31, of the tribe of Asher. Israel, therefore, was still surrounded by a circle of heathen nations, living within its promised borders, to say nothing of those who with their idolatry were tolerated in the territory actually subjugated (cf. ch. i. 21, 27, 30). These were the nations by whom temptations and conflicts were prepared for Israel, and against whom, led by divinely-inspired heroes, it rose in warlike and successful resistance.

I think Dr. Cassel also conceives it), is as follows: When Joshua ceased from war, there were still many nations left in possession of territory intended for Israel, cf. Josh. xiii. 1 ff. They were left temporarily, and for the good of Israel, cf. Judg. ii. 22, 23, iii. 1. 2. At the same time Israel was warned against the danger that thus arose, and distinctly told that if they entered into close and friendly relations with the people thus left, Jehovah would not drive them out at all, but would leave them to become a scourge to them, Josh. xiii. 12 ff. Nevertheless, Israel soon adopted a line of conduct towards them such as rendered it inevitable that the prohibited relations must soon be established, cf. Judg. i. Then came the warning of Bochim. It proved unavailing. Israel entered into the closest connections with the heathen, forsook Jehovah, and served Baal and Ashtaroth, ch. iii. 6, ii. 11 ff. The contingency of Josh. xiii. 12, 13 had actually occurred, and its conditional threat passed over into irrevocable determination on the part of Jehovah. The time of the determination falls therefore in the earlier part of the period of the Judges; but as the moment at which it went into force was not signalized by any public announcement, and as each successive apostasy added, so to speak, to its finality, the author of the Book of Judges makes expression of it (allusion to it there is already in vers. 14 b, 15 a.) only at the close of his survey, where, moreover, it furnished an answer to the question which the review itself could not fail to suggest, Why did God leave these nations to be a constant snare to Israel? why was it, that even the most heroic Judges, men full of faith in God and zeal for Israel, did not exterminate them? The וַיֹּאמֶר of ver. 20, therefore, does not introduce an actual divine utterance. The author derives his knowledge of God's determination, first, from Josh. xiii. 13, and secondly, from the course of the history; but in order to give impressiveness and force to his statement, he "clothes it in the form of a sentence pronounced by God" (Keil). The ו in וַיֹּאמֶר denotes logical, not temporal, sequence. On the connection of ver. 22 ff. with ver. 21, see note 7 under the text. — Tr.]

With their enumeration, briefly made in ch. iii. 1-5, the author closes his introduction to the narration of subsequent events. The historical and moral background on which these arise, is now clear. Not only the scene and the combatants, but also the causes of conflict and victory have been indicated.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The judgments of God are indescribable—his compassion is indefatigable. Whatever God had promised in the law, must come to pass, be it prosperity or distress. Apostasy is followed by ruin; the loss of character by that of courage. Heroes become cowards; conquerors take to flight. Shame and scorn came upon the name of Israel. The nation could no longer protect its cities, nor individuals their homes. In distress, the people returned to the altars which in presumptuous pride they had left. Old Israel wept when it heard the preaching of repentance; new Israel weeps only when it feels the sword of the enemy. And God's compassion is untiring. He gave them deliverers, choosing them from among Israel's judges, making them strong for victory and salvation. But in his mercy He chastened them. For Israel must be trained and educated by means of judgment and mercy. The time to save them by a king had not yet come. Judah had formerly led the van; but neither was the education of this tribe completed. Judges arose in Israel; but their office was not hereditary. When the Judge died a condition of national affairs ensued like that which followed the death of Joshua: the old remained faithful, the young apostatized. The Judges for the most part exercised authority in single tribes. The heathen were not expelled from the borders assigned to Israel; Israel must submit to ever-renewed trials; and when it failed to stand, then came the judgment. But in this discipline, compassion constantly manifested itself anew. The word of God continued to manifest its power. It quietly reared up heroes and champions. The contents of these verses form the substance of the whole Book. Israel must contend, — 1, with sin, and 2, with enemies; it experiences, — 1, the discipline of judgment, and 2, the discipline of compassion; but in contest and in discipline that which approves itself is, — 1, the victory of repentance, and 2, the obedience of faith.

Thus the contents of the Book of Judges afford a look into the history of Christian nations. They have found by experience what even in a modern novel the author almost involuntarily puts into the mouth of one of his characters (B. Abeken, *Greifensee*, i. 43): "Truly, when once the granite rock on which the church is reared has crumbled away, all other foundations crumble after it, and nothing remains but a nation of cowards and voluptuaries." A glance into the spiritual life shows the same process of chastisement and compassion. The Apostle says (2 Cor. xii. 7): "And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan, to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness." A recent philosopher (Fischer, *Gesch. der neueren Philos.*, i. 11) defines philosophy to be, not so much universal science, as *self-knowledge*. If this be correct, repentance is the true philosophy; for in repentance man learns to know himself in all the various conditions of apostasy and ruin, reflection and return, pride and penitence, heart-quickening and longing after divine compassion.

STARKE: Fathers, by a bad example, make their children worse than themselves; for from old sins, new ones are continually growing. THE SAME: Although God knows and might immediately punish all that is hidden in men, his wisdom employs temptation and other means to bring it to the light, that his justice may be manifest to his creatures. THE SAME: Through tribulation and the cross to the exercise of faith and obedience, prayer and hope. And all this tends to our good; for God tempts no one to evil. THE SAME: Though God permit, He does not approve, the unrighteous oppressor of the unrighteous, but punishes his unrighteousness when his help is invoked. LISCO: God's judgment on Israel is the non-destruction of the heathen. GERLACH: From the fact that the whole history does at the same time, through scattered hints, point to the flourishing period of Israel under the kings, we learn that these constantly-recurring events do not constitute a fruitless circle, ever returning whence it started, but that through them all, God's providence conducted his people, by a road wonderfully involved, to a glorious goal.

Enumeration of the heathen nations left to prove Israel.

CHAPTER III. 1-4.

- 1 Now these *are* the nations which the Lord [Jehovah] left [at rest], to prove Israel by them, (*even as many of Israel as had not known* [by experience] all the wars of Canaan;
- 2 Only that the generations of the children [sons] of Israel might know to teach them
- 3 war, at the least such as before knew nothing thereof;)¹ *Namely*, five lords [principalities] of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwell [dwell] in mount Lebanon, from mount Bual-hermon unto the entering in of
- 4 [lit. unto the coming, i. e. the road to] Hainath. And they were to prove Israel by them, to know whether they would hearken unto the commandments of the Lord [Jehovah], which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 2. — Dr. Cassel renders this verse freely: "Only that to give experience to the generations of the sons of Israel, they might teach them war which they did not formerly learn to know." He supplies a second לְמַעַן before לְלַמְּדָם (see the exposition below), and in a note (which we transfer from the foot of the page), remarks: "Ver. 2 contains two subordinate clauses dependent on the subject of the principal sentence in ver. 1, which is 'Jehovah.' In the first of these clauses (each of which is introduced by לְמַעַן), the subject is 'Israel' (fully, 'דֹּרוֹת בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל'); in the second, 'the nations.' The first expresses the result of the second; that which Israel experiences is, that the nations teach it war." Keil (who follows Bertheau) explains as follows: "only (כִּי, with no other view than) to know the subsequent generations (דֹּרוֹת, the generations after Joshua and his contemporaries) of the sons of Israel, that He (Jehovah) might teach them war, only those who had not learned to know them (the wars of Canaan)." But, 1, if דֹּרוֹת were in the accus., the author could hardly have failed to remove all ambiguity by prefixing לְרַגְלֵהֶם to it. 2. An infin. of design with לְ, following one with לְמַעַן, without ו to indicate coördination, can only be subordinate to the preceding. Thus in the English sentence: "We eat in order to live to work," "to work;" would be at once interpreted as subordinate to "to live." A second לְמַעַן might indicate coördination even without the assistance of ו, cf. in English: "We eat in order to live, in order to work;" where we feel at once that "to live" and "to work" are coördinate so far as their relation to the principal verb is concerned. Hence, Dr. Cassel inserts a second לְמַעַן; but this is an expedient too much like cutting the Gordian knot to be satisfactory. Bachmann, who in the main agrees with our author, avoids this by treating לְלַמְּדָם as a gerundive adverbial phrase. As for דַּעַת it is not indeed impossible that, remembering what he said in ch. ii. 10 (לֹא יָדְעוּ, etc.), and just now substantially repeated in ver. 1 b, the writer of Judges uses it here absolutely, to indicate briefly the opposite of the condition there described, in which case Dr. Cassel's rendering would be sufficiently justified. But since דֹּרוֹת דְּבָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (ver. 2 a) clearly represents the אֵת כָּל-מִלְחָמֹתָם of ver. 1 b, it seems obvious that the דַּעַת of ver. 2 in like manner resumes the יָדְעוּ אֵת כָּל-מִלְחָמֹת פְּנֵעֵן of ver. 1. We may suppose, therefore, that the pronoun "them" is here, as frequently, omitted after דַּעַת, and trans-late, freely, thus: "And these are the nations which Jehovah left to prove Israel by them — all that Israel which did not know all the wars of Canaan, in order that the after generations of Israel (they also) might know (understand and appreciate) them (i. e. those wars), in that he (i. e. Jehovah, or they, the nations) taught them war, (not war in general, however, but) only the wars which (or, such wars as) they did not formerly know." The first כִּי, as Bachmann remarks, limits the design of Jehovah, the second the thing to be taught. As to the last clause of ver. 2, if the accents be disregarded, the only difficulty in the way of the rendering here given is the plural suffix ם; but this probably arises from the fact that the writer's mind at once recurs to the "wars of Canaan." The לְפָנֶיךָ, of old, is used from the point of time occupied by the "after generations," as was natural to a writer who lived so late as the period of kings, and not from that in which the דַּעַת of ver. 1, and its design, took place. The masculine ם to represent a fem. plur. is not very unfrequent, cf. 2 Sam. xx. 3; 2 Kgs. xviii. 13. Dr. Bachmann connects the last clause with דַּעַת, respects the accents (which join לְפָנֶיךָ with אֵת, not with יָדְעוּם, לֹא), and renders: "that Israel might learn to know . . . war, namely, only those (wars) which were formerly, they did not know them = only the former wars which they did not know." The sense is not materially affected by this change. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. All who had not experienced the wars of Canaan. These are they of whom it was said, ch. ii. 10, that they "knew not the works of the Lord." This younger generation, after the death of Joshua and the elders, enjoyed the fruits of conquest, but did not estimate aright the greatness of the dangers endured by the fathers, and therefore did not sufficiently value the help of God. The horrors of war, to be known, must be experienced. As if the conquest of Canaan had been of easy achievement! It was no light thing to triumph over the warlike nations. Was not the tribe of Judah, although victorious, obliged nevertheless to abandon the valley to the iron chariots? But of that the rising generation no longer wished to know anything. They did not know what "a war with Canaan signified."

Ver. 2. Only that to give experience to the generations of the sons of Israel they might teach them war, with which they did not before become acquainted. The construction of the sentence is difficult, and consequently has been frequently misunderstood (among others, by Bertheau). The book which the narrator is about to write, is a Book of Wars; and it is therefore incumbent upon him to state the moral causes in which these originated. God proves Israel for its own good. With this in view, "He left the nations in peace, to prove Israel by them." How prove Israel? By depriving it of rest through them. They compel Israel to engage in conflict. In defeat the people learn to know the violence of Canaanitish oppression, and, when God sends them heroes, the preciousness of the boon of restored freedom. Only for this; the emphasis of the verse

falls on *only* (רַק), which is introduced twice. Between *יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *לְלִמְעוֹן* a *לְמַעַן* is to be supplied. The Hebrew *usus loquendi* places both clauses (*לְמַעַן יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *לְלִמְעוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל*), each beginning with *לְמַעַן*, alongside of each other without any connective, whereby one sets forth the ground of the other. God leaves the nations in peace, "in order that they might teach the Israelites what war with Canaan signified, — in order that those generations might know it who had not yet experienced it." It is not for technical instruction in military science that He leaves the heathen nations in the land, but that Israel may know what it is to wage war, that without God it can do nothing against Canaan, and that, having in the deeds of contemporary heroes a present counterpart of the experience of their fathers, who beheld the mighty works which God wrought for Israel through Moses and Joshua, it may learn humility and submission to the law. This reason why God did not cause the Canaanites to be driven out, does not, however, contradict that given in ch. ii. 22. Israel can apostatize from God, only when it has forgotten Him. The consequence is servitude. In this distress, God sends them Judges. These triumph, in glorious wars, over victorious Canaan. Grateful Israel, being now able to conceive, in their living reality, the wonders by which God formerly raised it to the dignity of nationality, has learned to know the hand of its God. Cf. ver. 4.

Ver. 3. **Five principalities of the Philistines.** Josh. xiii. 2, *seq.*, enumerates the nations which were to remain, with still more distinctness. There, however, the reason, given in our passage, why God let them remain, is not stated. The principalities of the Philistines must be treated of elsewhere. The Canaanites and the Zidonians are the inhabitants of the Phœnician coast. The importance of Zidon has already been pointed out in ch. i. 31. The districts *not* under Zidonian supremacy, are referred to by the general term "Canaanite." The Hivite, here mentioned as an inhabitant of Mount Lebanon, does not occur under that name in Josh. xiii. 5. He is there spoken of under the terms, "land of the Gîlîlîtes (Byblus, etc.) and all Lebanon;" here, a more general designation is employed. The name *רְבִי* indicates and explains this in a manner highly interesting. The LXX. render *רְבִי* by *Eὐδαίος*, as for *רְבִי*, the mother of all the living, they give *Eὐα*. The word *רְבִי*, *רְבִי*, to live, whence *רְבִי*, includes the idea of "roundness, circularity of form." So the *ὠόν*, *ovum*, egg, is round, and at the same time the source of life. Consequently, *רְבִי* and *רְבִי* came to signify battle-array or encampment (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 11) and village (Num. xxxii. 41), from the circular form in which camps and villages were disposed. The people called Hivite is the people that resides in *round villages*. Down to the present day — marvelous tenacity of national custom! — the villages in Syria are so built that the conically-shaped houses form a circular street, inclosing an open space in the centre for the herds and flocks.

Modern travellers have found this style of building still in use from the Orontes to the Euphrates (Ritter, xvii. 1698). It distinguished the Hivite from the other nations. And it is, in fact, found only beyond the boundary here indicated; on northern Lebanon, above Mount Hermon. This therefore also confirms the remarks made above (at ch. i. 33), on the parallel passage, Josh. xiii. 5, where we find the definition "from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon," whereas here we read of a "mount Baal Hermon." Baal Hermon, according to its signification, corresponds exactly with the present name *Jebel esh-Sheikh*, since on the one hand *Sheikh* may stand for *Baal*, while, on the other, *Hermon* derived its name from its peculiar form. *רְבִי* is a dialectic equivalent of the Hebrew *רְבִי*. *רְבִי* is the height, the highlands:

רְבִי the prominent point, the commanding fortress. Hermon, as the southern foot of Anti-Libanus, is its loftiest peak. It towers grandly, like a giant (cf. Ritter, xvii. 151, 211), above all its surroundings, — like a silver-roofed fortress of God. This is not the only instance in which Hermon is apparently the name of a mountain. It is probable indeed that to the Greeks the Hermean Promontory (*Ἡρμαία ἄκρα*, Polyb. I. xxxvi. 11; cf. Mannert, *Geogr.*, x. ii. 512) suggested only some reference to *Hermes*. But the greater the difficulty of seeing why *Hermes* should give names to mountain peaks, the more readily do we recognize a

רְבִי, not only in this but also in the promontory of Lemnos, the Hermean Rock (*Ἡρμαίων λέπτας*) mentioned by Greek poets (*Æschyl. Agam.*, 283). It accords with this that Ptolemy specifies a Hermean Promontory in Crete also. It is evident how appropriately Hermon, in its signification of Armon, "a fortress-like, towering eminence," is used to denote a promontory. The Greek *ἄκρα* also has the twofold signification of fortress and promontory; and Mount Hermon itself may to a certain extent be considered to be both one and the other.

It is evident that when in Josh. xiii. 5 the boundary of the hostile nations is defined as running from "Baal-gad under Mount Hermon," and here as extending "from Baal Hermon" onward, the same sacred locality is meant in both passages, and that Baal Hermon is identified with Baal-gad. This is further confirmed by the following: The Talmud (*Chulin*, 40 a) speaks of the sinful worship

which is rendered *לְבָנֵי דְהַר רְבִי*, to the God of the mountain, *i. e.* as Raschi explains, the angel like unto Michael, who is placed over the mountains of the world. Moses ha-Cohen advances an equally ancient conception, current also among the Arabians, when he states (*sup. Ibn Ezra*, on Isa. lxx. 11), that Baal-gad is the star *Zedek*, *i. e.* *Zeus*. For *Zeus* is in fact the Hellenic deity of all mountain-peaks,² the Great Baal Hermon. Hence it was customary among the Hellenes also to prepare sacrificial tables in the service of *Zeus*; and with Isa. lxx. 11 we may profitably compare Paus. ix. 40, where we learn that in Charonea, where the sceptre of *Zeus* was venerated as a palladium, "a table with meat and pastry was daily" prepared. At the birth of a son to her maid, Leah says (Gen.

(*Mythologie*, I. 170), were erected to other gods only excepttionally. As for the temple of *Hermes* on Mount Cillene (Paus. vii. 17, 1), it could perhaps be made probable that here also the name of the mountain suggested the worship of *Hermes*.

1 Cf. Josh. iv. 24. [Compare the note under "Textual and Grammatical." — Tr.]

2 Cf. Preller, *Gr. Mythol.*, I. 77. He is such an *ἀκραιός*, *ἀκραιός*, etc. That *ἀκραιός* also has no other meaning, Preller shows elsewhere. Mountain temples, says Welcker

xxx. 11): **גַּד** **גַּד**; which the Chaldee translators already render by **גַּד** **גַּד** (Jerus. Targ.) and **גַּד** **גַּד** (Jonath.). **גַּד** (cf. 2 Kgs. xxiii. 5), means, star; **גַּד** **גַּד** is the good star that appears, — fortune, as the Septuaginta render **τύχη**. Two planets, Jupiter and Venus, were **ἀγαθουργοί** (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, cap. xlviii.), bearers of what is good, — fortune-bringers. Hence, Gad, as “Fortune,” could be connected both with Astarte (cf. *Movers, Phœn.*, i. 636), and with Baal (Jupiter). **גַּד** is manifestly the same as the Persian **גַּד** (cf. **גַּד** and **גַּד**, **גַּד** and **גַּד**, etc.), *Ghoda*, which signifies god and lord, quite in the sense of **גַּד** (cf. Vullers, *Lex. Pers. Lat.*, i. 660). If there be any connection between this term and the Zendic *Khadhâta*, it is only that the latter was used to designate the constellations. In heathen views of life, fortune and good coincide. To enjoy the good things of life is to be fortunate. **Αγαθὴ ἡ τύχη** is the Hellenic for happiness. The Syriac and Chaldee versions almost uniformly render the terms **גַּד** and **μακάριος**, blessed, which occur in the Old and New Testaments, by **גַּד**, good (cf. my work *Irene*, Erf. 1855, p. 9). In **גַּד** the ideas God and Fortune coexist as yet unresolved; subsequently, especially in the Christian age, they were separated in the Germanic dialects as God and Good. For there is no doubt that in Gad (God), the good (fortunate) god and constellation, we find the oldest form, and for that reason a serviceable explanation, of the name God, which, like *Elohim*, disengaging itself from heathen conceptions, became the sacred name of the Absolute Spirit. At the same time it affords us the philological advantage of perceiving, what has often been contested (cf. Dieffenbach, *Goth. Lex.* ii. 416; Grimm, *Myth.* pp. 12, 1199, etc.), that God and Good actually belong together. Baal-gad was the God of Fortune, which was held to be the highest good.¹ — The meaning of **גַּד** has been indicated above (p. 46).

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[Compare the Homiletical Hints of the preceding section. — KELL: In the wars of Canaan under Joshua, Israel had learned and experienced that the power which subdued its enemies consisted not in the multitude and valor of its warriors but in the might of its God, the putting forth of which however depended upon Israel's continued faithfulness towards its Possessor. . . . Now, in order to impress them with this truth, on which the existence and prosperity of Israel, and the realization of the purpose for which they had been divinely called, depended; in other words, in order to show them by the practical lessons of experience that the People of Jehovah can fight and conquer only in the strength of their God, the Lord had

¹ *Movers (Phœn.* ii. 2, 515) thinks that he can explain the name of the Numidian seaport *Cirta* from **גַּד** **רִשָּׁא**, which is doubtful. On the other hand, when the *Etymolog. Magnum*, under *Gades*, expresses the opinion that *Gades* in Spain was so named because “*γάδος παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ*

suffered the Canaanites to be left in the land. Necessity teaches prayer. The distress into which Israel fell by means of the remaining Canaanites, was a divine discipline, by which the Lord would bring the faithless back to Himself, admonish them to follow his commands, and prepare them for the fulfillment of his covenant-engagements. Hence, the learning of war, *i. e.* the learning how the People of the Lord should fight against the enemies of God and his kingdom, was a means ordained by God of tempting or trying Israel, whether they would hearken to the commands of their God and walk in the ways of the Lord. When Israel learned so to war, it learned also to keep the divine commands. Both were necessary to the People of God. For as the realization by the people of the blessings promised in the covenant depended on their giving heed to the voice of the Lord, so also the conflict appointed for them was necessary, as well for their personal purification, as for the continued existence and growth of the kingdom of God on earth. — BERTHEAU: The historian cannot sufficiently insist on the fact that the remaining of some of the former inhabitants of the land, after the wars of Joshua, is not a punishment but only a trial; a trial designed to afford occasion of showing to the Israelites who lived after Joshua benefits similar to those bestowed on his contemporaries. And it is his firm conviction that these benefits, consisting chiefly of efficient aid and wonderful deliverances in wars against the remaining inhabitants, would assuredly have accrued to the people, if they had followed the commands of Jehovah, especially that on which such stress is laid in the Pentateuch, to make no league with the heathen, but to make war on them as long as a man of them remains.

HENRY: It was the will of God that Israel should be inured to war,—1. Because their country was exceeding rich and fruitful, and abounded with dainties of all sorts, which if they were not sometimes made to know hardship, would be in danger of sinking them into the utmost degree of luxury and effeminaey,—a state as destructive to everything good as it is to everything great, and therefore to be carefully watched against by all God's Israel. 2. Because their country lay very much in the midst of enemies, by whom they must expect to be insulted; for God's heritage was as a speckled bird; the birds round about were against her. . . . Israel was a figure of the church militant, that must fight its way to a triumphant state. The soldiers of Christ must endure hardness. Corruption is therefore left remaining in the hearts even of good Christians, that they may learn war, keep on the whole armor of God, and stand continually on their guard.

WORDSWORTH: “*To teach them war.*” So unbelief awakens faith, and teaches it war; it excites it to contend earnestly for the truth. The dissemination of false doctrines has led to clearer assertions of the truth. Heresies have produced the creeds. “There must be heresies,” says the Apostle, “that they who are approved among you may be made manifest” (1 Cor. xi. 19). — Tr.]

ἐκ μικρῶν ἐφοδομημένον,” there is evidently no reference to **גַּד**, but to Gad in the sense of Fortune. For the stress is laid not on the small beginnings, but on the good for tune, which from a small city made it great. This on *Movers*, ii. 2, 621, not. 89 a.

PART SECOND.

THE History of Israel under the Judges: a history of sin, ever repeating itself, and of Divine Grace, constantly devising new means of deliverance. Meanwhile, however, the imperfections of the judicial institute display themselves, and prepare the way for the Appointment of a King.

FIRST SECTION.

THE SERVITUDE TO CHUSHAN-RISHATHAIM, KING OF MESOPOTAMIA. OTHNIEL, THE JUDGE OF BLAMELESS AND HAPPY LIFE.

Israel is given up into the power of Chushan-rishathaim on account of its sins: Othniel is raised up as a Deliverer in answer to their penitence.

CHAPTER III. 5-11.

5 And the children [sons] of Israel dwelt among [in the midst of] the Canaanites,
6 Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites: And they took
7 their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served
8 their gods. And the children [sons] of Israel did evil¹ in the sight of the Lord
[Jehovah], and forgat the Lord [Jehovah] their God, and served Baalim, and the
9 groves [Asheroth]. Therefore [And] the anger of the Lord [Jehovah] was hot
[kindled] against Israel, and he sold them [gave them up] into the hand of Chushan-
rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia [Aram-naharaim]: and the children [sons] of Israel
10 served Chushan-rishathaim eight years. And when [omit: when] the children
[sons] of Israel cried unto the Lord [Jehovah], [and] the Lord [Jehovah] raised
up a deliverer to the children [sons] of Israel, who [and] delivered² them, *even*
11 Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother. And the Spirit of the Lord
[Jehovah] came [was]³ upon him, and he judged Israel, and went out to war: and
the Lord [Jehovah] delivered Chushan-rishathaim king of Mesopotamia [Aram]
into his hand; and his hand prevailed [became strong]⁴ against Chushan-risha-
thaim. And the land had rest forty years: and Othniel the son of Kenaz died.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 7. — Literally, "the evil," as at verse 12 and frequently. On the use of the article compare the "Grammatical" note on ch. li. 11. Wordsworth's note on the present verse is: "They did *that* evil which God had forbidden *as* evil." — Tr.]

2 Ver. 9. — נִישָׁאֵם (from נָשָׂא), here, without any preposition, with אֶת עֲרִישַׁתַּיִם; on the other hand, at 2 Kgs. xiv. 27, פָּיַד is inserted. [De Wette, in his German Version, also takes Jehovah as subject of נִישָׁאֵם, which seems to be favored by the position of אֶת עֲרִישַׁתַּיִם, which according to the common view would be separated from its governing verb by another verb with a different and unexpressed subject. But Dr. Cassel is certainly wrong when he supplies "through" instead of the "even" of our E. V., and so makes "Othniel" the medium by whom Jehovah delivered. That would be expressed either by פָּיַד or by פָּ, cf. Hos. i. 7; 1 Sam. xiv. 6; xvii. 47. The words אֶת עֲרִישַׁתַּיִם are in apposition with מִיִּשְׁרָאֵל. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 10. — So do Dr. Cassel and many others render וַיָּבֵרָה; but the rendering "came" is very suitable, if with Dr. Bachmann, we assume וַיִּתְּנֵהּ, etc., to be explanatory of וַיָּבֵרָה, etc., in ver. 9. — Tr.]

4 Ver. 11. — וַיִּגְדַּל, from גָּדַל. [On the vowel in the last syllable, see Ges. Gram. 67, Rem. 2. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 5. **And the sons of Israel dwelt.** The introduction is ended, and the author now proceeds to the events themselves. Fastening the thread of his narrative to the relations which he has just unfolded, he goes on to say: Israel (therefore) dwelt among the Canaanite, Hittite, Amorite, Perizzite, Hivite, Jebusite. The last of these tribes he had not in any way named before; nor, apparently, is it accurate to say that Israel dwelt among the Jebusites. But the passage is a deeply significant citation. Deut. xx. 17 contains the following: "Thou shalt utterly destroy the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee; that they teach you not to do after all their abominations." But, says the narrator, the contrary took place; Israel dwells among them, and is consequently, as Moses foretold, initiated into the sins of its neighbors. Hence, just as in that passage, so here also, only six nations are named. At Deut. vii. 1 the Gîr-gashites are added. The most complete catalogue of the nations of Canaan is given in Gen. x. 15 ff. Another one, essentially different, is found Gen. xv. 19-21. Here, the writer does not intend to give a catalogue; he names the nations only by way of reproducing the words of Moses, and of manifesting their truthfulness.

Ver. 6, 7. **And they took their daughters.**

Precisely in this consisted the "covenant" (בְּרִית) which they were not to make with them. The reference here is especially to Deut. vii. 2 ff.: "Thou shalt make no covenant with them. And thou shalt not make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. For it would turn away thy child from me, and they will serve false gods." All this has here come to pass. We read the consequence of intermarriage in the words: "and they served their gods." The same passage (Deut. vii. 5) proceeds: "Ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their Asheroth." But now Israel served "Baalim and Asheroth." It bent the knee before the altars of Baal and the idols of Astarte. *Asherah* (see below, on ch. vi. 25) is the idol through which Astarte was worshipped. The altar was especially consecrated to Baal, the pillar or tree-idol to her. Hence the Baalim and Asheroth of this passage answer perfectly to the Baal and Asheroth of ch. ii. 13. Instead of destroying, Israel

served them. עָבַד is to render bodily and personal service. It is not a matter of thought or opinion merely. He who serves, serves with his body, — he kneels, offers, prays. The ancient translators are therefore right in generally rendering it by λειτούργειν. Among the Hellenes, *liturgy* (λείτουργία) meant service which, as Böckh shows, differed from all other obligations precisely in this, that it was to be rendered personally. Hence, also, liturgy, in its ecclesiastical sense, corresponded perfectly with *abdah* (עָבַד), and was rightly used to denote the acts of divine service. Now, when in this way Israel performed *liturgy* before idol images, that took place which Deut. vii. 4

1 [The "Crime-committing (*frevelnde*) Chushan." See Bertheau in *loc.* — Tr.]

2 Josephus has χουσαρσάθος. On other readings see Haverkamp, *ad Josh.*, i. 280, not. x.

3 The opinion of Bertheau that the prophet alludes to our

foretold: "the anger of the Lord was kindled." Whenever Israel, the people called to be free, falls into servitude, it is in consequence of the anger of God. It is free only while it holds fast to its God. When it apostatizes from the God of freedom, He gives it up to tyrants, as one gives up a slave (קָנָה).

Ver. 8. **He gave them up into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim.** The explanation of Rishathaim, adopted by Bertheau, which derives it from רִשְׁתָּע, and gives it the sense of "double injustice" or "outrage," is not to be thought of. To say nothing of its peculiar form, there is no reason whatever why this title should be given to Chushan and not to the other tyrants over Israel. Had it been intended to describe him as peculiarly wicked,

he would have been called רִשְׁרָע, as in the analogous case of Haman (Esth. vii. 6). The Midrash alone attempts an explanation, and makes Rishathaim to mean Laban. The "double sin" is, that Aram (of which, in the spirit of the Midrash, Laban is the representative) formerly injured Jacob, and now injures his descendants (cf. *Jalkut, Judges*, n. 41). The renderings of the Targum and Peshito¹ sprang from this interpretation. Paul of Tella, on the other hand, follows the Septuagint, which has χουσαρσάθαιμ; he, and others of later date, write Χουσαν Ρεσαθθόμ (ed. Rördam, p. 74). (Synecellus, ed. Bonn. i. 285, has χουσαρσάθωμ.)² Rishathaim is manifestly a proper name, and forms the complement of Chushan, which does not conceal its national derivation. At all events, at Hab. iii. 7,³ where it stands parallel with Midian, it is used to designate nationality.⁴ Now, ancient Persian tradition, as found in the *Schahnameh* of Ferdousi, contains reminiscences of warlike expeditions from the centre of Iran against the West.

One of the three sons of Feridoun, Selm (שלם), is lord of the territories west of the Euphrates. The nations of those countries are hostile to Iran. Mention is also made of assistance from *Gampi Jehocht* (as Jerusalem is several times designated) in a war against Iran (cf. Schack, *Helldens. des Firuzi*, p. 160). The Iranian heroes, on the other hand,

Sam, Zal (זל), and Rustem, who carry on the wars of the kings, east and west, are from Sedjestan. Sedjestan, whose inhabitants under the Sassanides also formed the nucleus of the army (cf. Lassen, *Indische Alterth.* ii. 363), derives its name from the *Sacæ* (Sacastene). The name Sacæ, however, is itself only a general ethnographic term, answering to the term Scythians, and comprehended all those powerful nations, addicted to horsemanship and the chase, who made themselves famous as warriors and conquerors in the regions east and west of the Tigris. All Scythians, says Herodotus, are called Sacæ by the Persians. The term Cossæans was evidently of similar comprehensiveness. As at this day Segestan (or Seistan) is still named after the Sacæ, so Khuzistan after the Cossæans (cf. Mannert, v. 2, 495). Moses Chorenensis derives the Parthians from the land of Chushan (ed. Florival, i. 308-311). In the *Nakhschi Rüstam* inscription (ver. 30) we read of Khushiya, which certainly appears more suggestive of Cossæi, as Lassen interprets, than of Gaudæ, as passage, is already found in the older Jewish expositors. From any objective, scientific point of view, this view can scarcely be concurred in.

4 [That is to say, the term expresses ethnological, not local relations. — Tr.]

Befrey explains (*Die Pers. Keilinschr.*, p. 60). That they are quite like the Parthians, Scythians, Sacee, in the use of the bow and the practice of pillage and the chase, is sufficiently shown by the passage of Strabo (ed. Paris, p. 449, lib. xi. 13, 6). Like Nimrod (Gen. x. 8), all these nations, and also the princes of the Sacee, Sam, Zal, and Rustem, are represented as heroes and hunters. Nimrod descends from Cush, and rules at the rivers. So here also Cush is a general term for a widely-diffused family of nations. It does not indicate their dwelling-place, but their mode of life and general characteristics.¹ Even the reference in the name of this Chushan to darkness of complexion is not to be overlooked. A centaur (horseman) is with Hesiod (*Sent. Herc.* 185) an *asbelos*. "Asbelos," says Eupolemus (in Euseb., *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17; cf. Niebuhr, *Assur and Babel*, p. 262, note 2), is translated *χούβος* by the Hellenes. The second Chaldee king is called Chomasabelos by Berossus (*Fragmenta*, ed. Müller, Paris, p. 503; Niebuhr, p. 490; Syncellus, i. 147, ed. Bonn); while in one passage (*Lam.* iv. 8) the LXX. translate *shechor*, "black," by *ἄσβόλη*. Syncellus is therefore improperly censured by Niebuhr for comparing Ezechias, and not the son of Chomasabelos, with Nimrod. He could compare none but the first king with him who was likewise held to be the first. Accordingly, it cannot appear surprising that kings and heroes beyond the Euphrates are named *שְׁחַשָּׁן*, "Chushan."² One of the most famous of the primitive kings of Iran was named *כַּי כַּאוּשׁ*, *Kai Kaous*. Persian tradition tells of wars and conquests which he carried on in *Mesi*, *Shaan*, and *Kam*, i. e. Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor (cf. Herbelot, *Or. Bibl.* ii. 59). They also relate misfortunes endured by him. In his wars in the West,³ he was defeated and taken prisoner. His hero and deliverer was always Rustem (*רִשְׁתֵּם* or *רִכְתֵּם*, also *רוּשְׁתֵּם*, *רוּשְׁתֵּם*, cf. Vullers, *Lex. Pers.* ii. 32). Now, since it is obviously proper to compare these names with *רוּשֵׁן רִשְׁתַּיִם*, "Chushan-rishathaim" (for the *שׁ* as well as the pointing of the Masora dates from the Rabbinic Midrash), there is nothing to oppose the idea that the celebrated Rustem of the East, the hero of Kaous, whom Moses Chorenensis calls the *Sacee*, is actually mentioned here. It would enhance the interest of the narrative to find the hero of the Iranian world brought upon the scene of our history. Profane history would here, as so frequently elsewhere, receive valuable illustration from Scripture. An historical period would be approximately gained for Kai Kaous. On the other hand, such conflicts were sufficiently memorable for Israel to serve as testimonies first of God's anger, and then of salvation wrought out by Him.

And they served Chushan-rishathaim, *וַיַּעֲבָדוּ*. God is served with sacrifices; human lords with tribute (cf. ver. 15). Hence the expression *בְּכֶסֶף*

בְּכֶסֶף, when a people became tributary. The "eight years" are considered in the introductory section on the Chronology of the Book.

Ver. 9. And the sons of Israel cried unto Jehovah. *וַיִּצְעַק* is the anxious cry of distress. So cried they in Egypt by reason of their heavy service (Ex. ii. 23). They cry to God, as children to their father. In his compassion, He hears them. However, Jeremiah (xi. 11) warns the people against that time "when they shall cry (*וַיִּצְעַקוּ*) unto God, but he will not hearken unto them."

And He delivered them through Othniel the son of Kenaz. The Septuagint gives his name as *Θουθνήλις*, while Josephus has *Θουθνήλιος*. Jerome (*De Nominibus*, ed. Migne, p. 809) has *Athaniel*, which he translates "my time of God" (*tempus meum Dei*). This is also the translation of Lenzden in his *Onomasticon*, who however unnecessarily distinguishes between a Gothniel (1 Chron. xxvii. 15) and Othniel. Gesenius derives the name from the Arabic, and says it means "lion of God." How carefully Josephus follows ancient exegesis, appears from his inserting the story of Othniel only after the abominations of Gibeah (ch. xix.) and those of the tribe of Dan (ch. xviii); for these occurrences were regarded as belonging to the time of servitude under Chushan (*Jalkot, Judas*, n. 41). But his anxiety to avoid every appearance of improbability does not allow him to call Othniel the brother of Caleb. He speaks of him as *τῆς τοῦδα φυλῆς τις*, one of the tribe of Judah" (*Ant.* v. 3, 3); for he fears lest the Greek reader should take offense at finding Othniel still young and vigorous enough to achieve victory in the field, and render forty years' service as Judge. But the narrator adds emphatically, "the younger brother of Caleb,"—in order to leave no doubt that the conqueror of Kirjath-sepher and the victor over Aram were one and the same person. Nor is there any foundation for the scrupulosity of Josephus. In Israel the men capable of bearing arms were enrolled upon the completion of their twentieth year (*Num.* xxvi. 2, *seq.*). Now, if Othniel was twenty-five years of age when he conquered Kirjath-sepher, and if after that a period of twenty years elapsed, during which a new generation grew up, he would be fifty-three years of age when as hero and conqueror he assumed the judicial office,—a supposition altogether natural and probable. Caleb in his eighty-fifth year still considered himself fully able to take the field. Besides, it is consonant with the spirit which animates the history here narrated, that it is Othniel who appears as the first *Shophet*. Not merely because of the heroism which he displayed before Kirjath-sepher; but a new dignity like this of Judge is easily attracted to one who is already in possession of a certain authority, which was evidently the case with Othniel. He was one of those who, in part at least, had shared the wars with Canaan. He was the brother and son-in-law of the celebrated Caleb, and hence a head of the tribe of Judah, to which in this matter

¹ We cannot enter here on a full illustration of the genealogy of Cush, as given Gen. x. For some excellent remarks see Knobel *Die ethnogr. Tafel*, p. 251. Where he read *Cush*, in Wagenseil's edition of Petachia, Carmoly's edition, probably less correctly, has *Acco*. Where Benjamin of Tudeia, ed. Asher, p. 83, has *בְּרִית*, other manuscripts have *בְּרִית*. Cush (*Ezek.* xxxviii. 5) may also pass for the African.

² One of the worst enemies of Kai Kaous was Deo Sefid, i. e. the White Foe. At the birth of Rustem's father, Zal, it was considered a misfortune that his head was white. He was therefore exposed (cf. Schneck *Firdusi*, p. 176).

³ Some call him ruler of Arabia, others of Syria. Cf. Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, i. 27.

also the initiative belongs. Once it was asked, "Who shall first go up?" Judah was the tribe selected by the response. The first Judge whom God appointed, must appear in Judah. That tribe still had strength and energy; there the memory of former deeds achieved by faith was still cherished among the people (cf. *Shemoth Rabba*, § 48, p. 144 a).

Ver. 10. **And the spirit of Jehovah was upon him.** The spirit of faith, of trust in God, of enthusiasm. It is the same spirit which God bestows upon the seventy also, who are to assist Moses (Num. xi. 25). It was on that occasion that Moses exclaimed, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them." In this spirit, Moses and Joshua performed their great deeds. In this spirit, Joshua and Caleb knew no fear when they explored the land. In this spirit, the spirit of obedience, which in faith performs the law, becomes a spirit of power. Of those seventy we are told (Num. xi. 25), that when they had received the Spirit of God, they prophesied. The Targum therefore translates, both there and here, רִיחַ נְבוּיָהּ, Spirit of Prophecy. It does this, however, in the case of no Judge but Othniel. For although רִיחַ יְהוָה is also spoken of in connection with Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, it merely gives רִיחַ נְבוּיָהּ in those cases, Spirit of heroism (ch. vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 25). The first ground of this distinction conferred on Othniel, is the irreproachable character of his rule. No tragic shadow lies on his life, as on the lives of the other heroes. To this must be added the ancient interpretation, already alluded to above (p. 35, note 2), which identified Othniel with Jabez (1 Chron. iv. 10), and regarded him as a pious teacher of the law. They said concerning him, that his sun arose when Joshua's went down (*Beresith Rabba*, § 58, p. 51 b). They applied to him the verse in Canticles (iv. 7): "Thou art all fair, there is no spot in thee" (*Shir ha-Shirim Rabba*, on the passage, ed. Amsterd. p. 17 c.).¹

And he judged Israel. He judged Israel before he went forth to war. It has already been remarked above, that שָׁפַט means to judge in the name of

the law. The Judge enforces the law; he punishes sin, abolishes wrong. If Israel is to be victorious, it is not enough to "cry unto the Lord;" the authority of the law (חֻקֵּי) must be recognized. "These are the חֻקֵּי הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים (judgments) which thou shalt set before them," is the order, Ex. xxi. 1. Israel must become conscious of God and duty. At that point Othniel's judicial activity began. This was what he taught them for the future. Not till that is accomplished can war be successfully undertaken.

Ver. 11. **And the land rested.** מָנוּחַ does not occur in the Pentateuch. It signifies that desirable condition of quiet in which the people, troubled by neither external nor internal foes, enjoys its possessions, — when the tumults of war are hushed, and peaceful calm pervades the land. Such rest is found in Israel, when the people obediently serve their God. "The service of righteousness (says Isaiah, ch. xxxii. 17), is rest (מָנוּחַ) and security forever." Jeremiah (ch. xxx. 10) announces that when Israel shall be redeemed, Jacob shall rest and be free from care (שָׁמַח וְנָנוּחַ). The present rest, alas, endured only until Othniel died. When he went home, his authority ceased, and peace departed.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Othniel the Judge without offense and without sorrow. The first Judge comes out of Judah. Here also that tribe leads. On all succeeding Judges there rests, notwithstanding their victories, the shadow of error, of grief, or of a tragic end. They were all of other tribes; only Othniel, out of Judah, saved and died without blemish and without sorrow. To him no abnormity of Jewish history attaches. He was the appointed hero of his time. The relative and son-in-law of Caleb continued the line of heroes which begins in the desert. For that very reason he was free from many temptations and irregularities. Men were accustomed to see Judah and the family of Caleb take the lead. Other Judges had first to struggle for that

[KEL: "The Spirit of God is the spiritual life-principle in the world of nature and of mankind; and in man it is the principle as well of the natural life received by birth, as of the spiritual life received through the new birth, cf. Auberlen, *Geist des Menschen*, in Herzog's *Realencykl.*, iv. 731. In this sense, the expression 'Spirit of Elohim' alternates with 'Spirit of Jehovah,' as already in Gen. i. 2, compared with vi. 3, and so on in all the books of the O. T., with this difference, however, that whereas 'Spirit of Elohim' designates the Divine Spirit only in general, on the side of its supernatural causality and power, 'Spirit of Jehovah' presents it on the side of its historical operation on the world and human life, in the interests of salvation. In its operations, however, the Spirit of Jehovah manifests itself as the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, of Council and Strength, of Knowledge and the Fear of the Lord (Isa. xi. 2). The impartation of this spirit in the O. T., takes the form for the most part of an extraordinary, supernatural influence exerted over the human spirit. The usual expression for this is, 'the Spirit of Jehovah (or Elohim) וְהָיָה עָלָיו, came upon him:' so here and in xi. 29; 1 Sam. xix. 20; 23; 2 Chron. xx. 14; Num. xxiv. 2. With this, however, the expressions וְהָיָה עָלָיו, ch. iv. 6, 19; xv. 14; 1 Sam. x. 10; xi. 6; xvi. 13, and לְבַשְׁתָּהּ אֶת הַרוּחַ, the Spirit 'put on (clothed) the person,' ch. vi. 34; 1 Chron. xii. 18; 2 Chron. xxiv. 2), alternate;

the former of which characterizes the influence of the Divine Spirit as one which overpowers the resistance of the natural will [the verb וְהָיָה עָלָיו, which in this connection the E. V. sometimes renders 'to come upon nightly,' as in Judges xiv. 6, sometimes merely 'to come upon,' as in ver. 19 of the same chapter, properly signifies 'to cleave, to cut, to break through' — Tr.], while the latter represents it as a power which envelops and covers man. They who receive and possess this spirit are thereby endowed with power to perform wonderful deeds. Commonly, the Spirit that has come upon them manifests itself in the ability to prophesy, but also in the power to perform wonders or exploits transcending the natural courage and strength of man. The latter was especially the case with the Judges. Hence the Targum already, on ch. vi. 34, explains the 'Spirit of Jehovah' as the 'Spirit of Strength from the Lord,' while on the other hand in our passage it erroneously thinks of the 'Spirit of Prophecy.' Kinchi also understands here the 'spiritum fortitudinis, quo excitatus, amato omni metu, bellum adversus Cuschanem suscepit.' It is however scarcely proper so to separate the various powers of the Divine Spirit, as to take it in its operation on the Judges, merely as the Spirit of Strength and Valor. The Judges not only fought the enemy courageously and victoriously, but also judged the people, for which the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, and restrained idolatry (ch. ii. 18 seq.), for which the Spirit of Knowledge and of the Fear of the Lord, was required." — Tr.]

authority which Othniel already possessed. He who is exempt from this necessity, escapes many a temptation.

Thus Othniel is a type of sons descended from good families, and of inherited position. From him such may learn their duty to use life and strength for their country. His life shows that to lead and judge is easier for them than for others. There are many "Caleb-relatives" who squander the glory of their name; but yet there have never been wanting Christians who, historically among the first men of their country, have borne aloft the banner of truth. Joachim von Alvensleben composed his Confession of the Christian Faith (printed at Stendal, 1854), that he might acquit himself of his "paternal office" to his family, warn them faithfully, and preserve them from apostasy; so that Martin Chemnitz prays the "good and kind God to preserve *hoc sacram depositum* in its purity, everywhere in his church, and especially in *nobili hac familia*" (Brunswick, March 1, 1566). The spirit of Othniel clearly manifested itself in Zinzendorf; and he rendered useful service not only in spite of his distinguished name, but especially in his own day, because he bore it. His life, while it testifies that in the spirit of the gospel everything can be turned into a special blessing, shows also that no gift of Providence is to be suppressed, — least of all, one's family and origin (cf. Otto Strauss: *Zinzendorf, Leben und Auswahl seiner*

Schriften, etc., iv. 147, etc.). This spirit of Othniel was in the Minister Von Pfeil, in his life and work, confessing and praying. In his own words: —

"Knight of heaven Jesus made me,
Touched me with the Spirit's sword,
When the Spirit's voice declared me
Free forever to the Lord."

STARKE: What great depravity of the human heart, that men so easily forget the true God whom they have known, and voluntarily accept and honor strange gods, whom neither they nor their fathers knew. THE SAME: God is at no loss for means; He prescribes bounds to the aggressions of the enemy. But in the spiritual warfare also men must be bold. We do not conquer by sitting still. LISCO: The spirit of the Lord is the originator of everything good and of all great achievements.

[HENRY: Affliction makes those cry to God with importunity, who before would scarcely speak to him. THE SAME: Othniel first judged Israel, reproved them, called them to an account for their sins, and reformed them, and then went out to war; that was the right method. Let sin at home be conquered, that worst of enemies, and then enemies abroad will be more easily dealt with. BISHOP HALL: Othniel's life and Israel's innocence and peace ended together. How powerful the presence of one good man is in a church or state, is best found in his death. — TR.]

SECOND SECTION.

THE SERVITUDE TO EGLON, KING OF MOAB. EHUD, THE JUDGE WITH THE DOUBLE-EDGED DAGGER. SHAMGAR, THE DELIVERER WITH THE OX-GOAD.

Eglon, King of Moab, reduces Israel to servitude, and seizes on the City of Palms: they are delivered by Ehud, who destroys the oppressor.

CHAPTER III. 12-30.

- 12 And the children [sons] of Israel did evil again [continued to do evil] in the sight of the Lord [Jehovah]: and the Lord [Jehovah] strengthened [encouraged¹] Eglon the king of Moab against Israel, because they had done [did] evil in the sight of the Lord [Jehovah]. And he gathered unto him [having allied himself with] the children [sons] of Ammon and Amalek, and went and smote Israel, and [they] 14 possessed [took possession of] the city of palm-trees. So [And] the children [sons] 15 of Israel served Eglon the king of Moab eighteen years. But when [And] the children [sons] of Israel cried unto the Lord [Jehovah], [and] the Lord [Jehovah] raised them up a deliverer, Ehud the son of Gera, a Benjamite [Ben-jemini], a man left-handed [weak² of his right hand]: and by him the children [sons] of Israel 16 sent a present unto Eglon the king of Moab.³ But [And] Ehud made him a dagger which had two edges, of a cubit [gomed] length: and he did gird it under his 17 raiment upon his right thigh. And he brought the present unto Eglon king of Moab: 18 and Eglon was a very fat man. And when he had made an end to offer the present, 19 he sent away [dismissed⁴] the people that bare the present. But he himself turned again [turned back] from the quarries [Pesilim] that were by Gilgal, and said, I have a secret errand⁵ unto thee, O king: who said, Keep [omit: keep] silence.

20 And [thereupon] all that stood by him went out from him. And Ehud came [drew near] unto him; and he was sitting in a summer parlour [now he, i. e. the king, was sitting in the upper story of the cooling-house⁶], which he had for himself alone [his private apartment]: and Ehud said, I have a message from God [the Deity] unto thee. And 21 [Then] he arose out of his seat. And [immediately] Ehud put forth his left hand, and 22 took the dagger from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly: And the haft also went in after the blade: and the fat closed upon [about] the blade, so that he could not [for he did not] draw the dagger out of his belly; and the dirt [the dagger⁷] came 23 out [behind]. Then [And] Ehud went forth through the porch [went upon the balcony], and shut the doors of the parlour [upper story] upon him [after him], and 24 locked them. When he was gone out, his [the king's] servants came; and when they saw that [and they looked, and] behold, the doors of the parlour [upper story] were locked, [and] they said, Surely [doubtless], he covereth his feet in his summer-chamber [chamber of the cooling-house]. And they tarried till they were ashamed [waited very long]: and behold, he opened not [no one opened] the doors of the parlour [upper story], therefore they took a [the] key and opened them: and behold, their 26 lord was fallen down dead on the earth. And [But] Ehud [had] escaped while they tarried; and [had already] passed beyond the quarries [Pesilim], and 27 [had] escaped unto Scirath [Scirah]. And it came to pass when he was come [when he arrived], that he blew a [the] trumpet in the mountain [mountains] of Ephraim, and the children [sons] of Israel went down with him from the mount 28 [mountains], and he before them. And he said unto them, Follow [Hasten] after me: for the Lord [Jehovah] hath delivered your enemies the Moabites into your hand. And they went down after him, and took the fords of Jordan toward Moab, 29 and suffered not a man to pass over. And they slew [smote] of Moab at that time about ten thousand men, all lusty,⁸ and all men of valour: and there escaped not a 30 man. So Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel: and the land had rest four-score years.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 12. — יִחַזְקֶיךָ: the same word is used Ex. iv. 21. etc., Josh. xi. 20; but is here, as Bachmann remarks, to be explained not by those passages, but by Ezek. xxx. 24. It implies here the impartation not so much of strength as of the consciousness of it. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 15. — חַזַּק: Dr. Cassel, *schwach*, weak. "Impeded" would be the better word. Against the opinion of some, that Ehud's right hand was either lamed or mutilated, Bachmann quotes the remark of Schmid that it would have been a breach of decorum to send such a physically imperfect person on an embassy to the king. It may be added that this explanation of חַזַּק is at all events not to be thought of in the case of the 700 chosen men mentioned in ch. xx. 16. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 15. — Dr. Cassel translates this clause: "when [at]; i. e. Jehovah raised up Ehud as a deliverer, when) the sons of Israel sent a present by him to Eglon, the king of Moab." But it is altogether simpler and better to take the clause as an independent progressive sentence, as in the E. V. So Bachmann also. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 18. — יִשְׁלַח: dismissed them by accompanying them part of the way back, cf. Gen. xii. 20; xviii. 16; etc. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 19. — דְּבַר סֵתֶר: Dr. Cassel translates, "a secret word." But "errand" is better; because like דְּבַר, it may be a word or message, or it may be a commission of a more active nature. Bachmann quotes Chyträus: *rem, negotium secretum habeo apud te agendum*. So, he goes on to remark, in ver. 20 "דְּבַר יְהוָה לִי אֶלְיָךְ, is not necessarily, 'I have a word from God to say to thee'; but may mean, 'I have a commission from God to execute to thee.'" It would be preferable, therefore, to conform the English Version in ver. 20 to ver. 19, rather than the reverse. — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 20. — The rendering given above is Dr. Cassel's, except that he puts the verb (יָשַׁב) in the pluperfect, which can scarcely be approved. He translates פַּעֲלֵית הַמְקָרָה by *Obergeschoss des Kühlhauses*, which we can only represent by the awkward phrase: "upper story of the cooling-house." It would be better, however, to take מְקָרָה as containing an adjective idea, descriptive of the 'alijah: "cool upper story." Cf. Bachmann. — Tr.]

[7 Ver. 22. — The term פְּרִשְׁדוֹן occurs only here, and is of exceedingly doubtful interpretation. Bachmann assumes that the מַיִתָּה which precedes it has Ehud for its subject, and then — by a course of reasoning far too lengthy and intricate to be here discussed — comes to the conclusion that פְּרִשְׁדוֹן denotes a locality, which in the next verse is more definitely indicated by מִסְפָּרָיוֹן. The latter term, he thinks, is best understood "of the lattice-work by which the roof was inclosed, or rather of the inclosed platform of the roof itself." Accordingly he conceives the text to say that Ehud issued forth from Eglou's private apartment "upon the flat roof, more definitely upon the inclosed platform or gallery." — Tr.]

[8 Ver. 29. — Dr. Cassel: *angeschene Leute*, cf. the Commentary; but it seems better to hold fast to the E. V. The expression is literally: "fat men," i. e. well-fed, lusty men, of great physical strength. So Bachmann also. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 12-14. **And Jehovah encouraged Eglon, king of Moab.** The second attack on Israel came likewise from the east, but from a point much nearer home than that from which the first by Aram had come. A warlike prince of Moab had formed a league for the occasion with neighbors north and south of him. For the sons of Ammon dwelt beyond the Jordan, east of the Dead Sea, above the Moabites; while the hosts of Amalek roved lower down, to the southwest of Moab. Hitherto no actual conflict had occurred between Moab and Israel. But the order that "no Ammonite or Moabite shall enter into the congregation of Jehovah" (Deut. xxiii. 4 (3)), sufficiently marks the antagonism that existed between them. The Moabites longed for the excellent oasis of the City of Palms. Jericho, it is true, was destroyed; but the indestructible wealth of its splendid site attracted them. They surprised Israel, now become dull and incapable. Neither in the land of Benjamin, where the battle was fought, nor from the neighboring tribes of Judah and Ephraim, did they meet with any energetic resistance. From the words "and they took possession of," in connection with the following narrative, it appears that Eglon had fixed his residence in the City of Palms.¹ This renders it probable that Eglon was not the king of all Moab, (whose principal seat was in Rabbath Moab,) but a Moabitish chieftain, whom this successful expedition placed in possession of this fair territory west of the Jordan.

Ver. 15. **And Jehovah raised them up a deliverer, Ehud, the son of Gera, a Ben-jemini, a man weak of his right hand.** עֲהוּד בֶּן־יִמִּינִי; for which the LXX. read יְהוּדָא, *Aod* (Jerome has *Eud*). It seems to me that the older derivation of this name from יָדָה, giving it the sense of "one who praises," or "one who is praised" (*gloriam accipiens*, Jerome), is to be unqualifiedly preferred to the later, proposed by Fürst, from a conjectural root דָּה. יְהוּדָא is related to יָדָה, יָדָה, as לָמַד, to be bright, is to לָמַד, לָמַד, and יְהוּדָא (Arabic, *Hārūn*) to יָדָה, יָדָה. Elsewhere I have

already compared *hod* with the Sanskrit *val*, *āḍḍā*, *āḍḍā*, and the Gothic *audays* (*Irene*, p. 6, note.) At all events, as Ehud belongs to *hod*, so such names as *Audo*, *Eudo*, *Heudo*, seem to belong to *audays* (cf. Förstemann, *Namenbuch*, i. 162, 391).

He was a Ben-jemini, of the tribe of Benjamin, as the Targum expressly adds. When the son of Jacob was born, his dying mother named him Benoni, "son of my sorrow;" but his father, by way of euphemism, called him Ben-jamin, "son of good fortune" (Gen. xxxv. 18). *Jamin* came to signify "good fortune," only because it designated the right side. The inhabitants of the holy land had the sea (*jam*²) on the right, hence called

¹ [It certainly appears that he had done so temporarily, but by no means that he had done so permanently. — Tr.]

² The importance of this observation has been overlooked with reference to other lands as well as Palestine. The general fact that the sea-side was the right side, was constantly ignored. That was the reason why Jacob Grimms (*Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 990, etc.) failed to understand why among the Indians, Romans, etc., the south side

that side *jamin*, literally, sea-side; and the highlands of Aram (or *Sham*, cf. Magyar, *Altherth.*, p. 228) on the left, hence *שמאל*, the left, from *Sam*. Different nations derived their expressions for right and left from conceptions peculiar to themselves. Thus *δεξιός* and *dexter*³ are based on the idea of showing, pointing, with the right hand (*δεικνύωμαι*); *sinister*, from *sinus*, on the action of laying the right hand on the side of the heart. The left hand has everywhere been regarded as the weaker, which, properly speaking, did not wield arms. When oriental custom placed the stranger on the left, it assigned him the seat of honor in so far as the left side seemed to be the weaker and less protected (cf. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 4; Meiners, *Ueber die Versch. der Menschennaturen*, ii. 588). From the idea of weakness, sprang such terms as *λαίος*, *lævus*, Ger. *link*, [Eng. left], because that side is harmless, smooth, and gentle (cf. *λαίος*, *lævis*). Hence also the custom among Asiatic nations of inclining toward the left side, and resting on the left hand, when seated, (Meiners, iii. 213); the right hand was thus left free. It was by a euphemism that the name of Jacob's son was *Ben-jamin*. Among the Greeks also the "left" was euphemistically called *εὐάνυμος*, good-omened, because it was wished to avoid the ominous *ἀριστερός*. A similar custom must have obtained in Israel, since just in the tribe of Benjamin there were, as we are informed Judg. xx. 16, large numbers of men who, like Ehud, were

יְמִינִי יָדָה, i. e. *left-handed*, — the sons of the right hand being thus most addicted to the use of the left. But for the very reason that it seems to have been a habit of the tribe to use the left hand, it cannot be supposed that יְמִינִי is meant to indicate lameness of the right hand. The LXX. felt this when they rendered the phrase by *ἀμφιδέξιος*, "double right-handed." The same consideration influenced those more recent scholars who instanced (as Serarius already did, p. 84) the Homeric Asteropæus, who fought with both hands. However, this also contradicts the spirit of the narrative, and, as the peculiarity occurs only in Benjamin, the name is well. Those *Ben-jemini*, who, like Ehud, use the left hand, do it in contrast with others, who make use of the right without any lameness in the left. That which Stobæus (*Eclogæ Physicæ*, ed. Heeren, i. 52, 992) relates of certain African nations, might also be said of the Benjamites: that they are "good and for the most part left-handed fighters (*ἀριστερομάχους*), and do with the left hand whatever others do with the right." These are manifestly the same tribes of whom Stephanus of Byzantium (ed. Westermann, p. 128) speaks as an Egyptian people near Ethiopia, and whom he styles *Ευωνυμίται* (thus designating them, like Benjamin, by the euphemistic term for left-handed). Accordingly יְמִינִי יָדָה means no more than "unpracticed, weak, awkward, with the right hand," as other people are with the left. They are such as among other

of the mountains was the right, and the north side the left. The same idea prevailed among the Greeks. That in Roman augury "to the left" was more favorable than "to the right," originated only in another view of the object which was supposed to produce good fortune. The sea-side was the free side.

³ Cf. Benfey, *Griech. Grammat.*, i. 240.

nations the people frequently called *Linketatz, Link-fuss* [literally, "left-paw," "left-foot"] (Frisch, i. 616), in France *gauchier* [lit. "left-hander"]; cf. the English *awk, guick*, and their derivative forms]. It is remarkable that in the Roman legend the hero, who, like Ehud, undertakes to kill the enemy of his country, is also named Scævola, left-handed. The traditional explanation that he was so named because he burned his right hand, is not very suitable; he should in that case, be named "one-handed." Still, no one will agree with Niebuhr (*Röm. Gesch.*, i. 569), who, following Varro, proposed an altogether different derivation. The tradition must refer to an actually left-handed hero. Scævus, says Ulpian (*Digestor.*, lib. i. tit. 1, 12, 3), does not apply to one who is maimed; hence, he who cannot move the right hand is called *maucus*. As such a left-handed person we are to consider Laïus (*Adaios*), the father of Oedipus (*Oidïtrous*).

Ver. 16. And Ehud made him a dagger [German: Dolch] which had two edges, a gomed long. The word *dolch* [dagger, dirk] has passed over into the German, from the Slavic, since the sixteenth century, and was not yet known to Luther.¹ It answers to *דגל* in this passage, better than "sword" would do, because it has become quite synonymous with *stechdegen* (dirk or poniard). Oriental daggers have always been double-edged and short-handled (ver. 22). *Gomed* is translated *σπιθαμή* by the Septuaginta. Among the Greeks, the *σπιθαμή* was half an ell, i. e. twelve digits or three fourths of a foot (cf. Böckh, *Metrolog. Unters.*, p. 211). With this measure, *gomed*, in its general sense of *cubitus*, which is also given in the *garnida* of the Targum, corresponds. The dagger of Ehud was not curved, as the *sicce* usually were and as the daggers of the Bedouins still are (cf. Jos. Ant. xx. 10). Its length could only be such as was consistent with concealment.

And girded it under his raiment. "To the presence of Dionysius the Tyrant, glided Maeros, the dagger in his garment," sings our poet,² and is withal perfectly historical, even though the Fable (n. 257) of Hyginus does not expressly say this. With such daggers in their garments the Sicarii raged among the crowds at the fall of Jerusalem. Prudentius (*Psychomachia*, 689) sings of *Discordia*: "*sicam sub veste tegit!*" Rothari, the would-be murderer of the Longobard king Luitprand, wore coat of mail and a dagger beneath his clothing (Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Lomb.* vi. 37). Ehud had to wear the dagger on his right side because he was left-handed. However, among German warriors who were not left-handed, the dagger was also frequently worn on the right, because the sword hung on the left, as may be seen in old pictures and on gravestones (Klemm, *Waffen und Werkzeuge*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 173).

Ver. 17. And Eglon was a very fat man.

Considering the sense of *פָּרְיָן* wherever it occurs in Scripture, there can be no doubt that it is intended here to express the corpulency of the king. The LXX. in giving *ἀστέιος*, follow another interpretation. They do not (as Bochart thought, *Phaleg*, p. 534) take it as descriptive of a handsome

man, nor do they imagine that all *urbani*, on account of their comfortable mode of living, have a tendency to become fat (cf. Serarius, p. 87); but since the statement "and Eglon was a fat man" is closely connected with the narrative of the presentation of the gifts, they make it refer to the manner in which the king received the presents.³ *Ἀστέιος* is friendly, accessible (Plato, *Phaed.*, 116 b.). In Egypt, where the translators lived, it was probably still a matter of present experience, that presentations of tribute and gifts to the rulers did not always meet with a gracious reception.

Ver. 18. When the presentation of the present was over, he dismissed the people. Menschen (*Nov. Test. ex Talm.*, p. 971) very properly observes that *קָרַב*, here employed to express the presentation of gifts to a king, is elsewhere used to denote the bringing of oblations to God, hence *קָרַב*, offering. It was not lawful to appear before an Asiatic king without bringing a gift⁴ (Seneca, *Ep.* xvii.); only in this way, therefore, could Ehud inform himself of the situation and humor of the king. The presentation of gifts is a lengthy ceremony. The tenacious adherence of oriental nations to ancient customs, enables us to depict the present scene by the help of Persian descriptions of similar occasions. Our narrator properly speaks of the bearers of the present as *בְּנֵי אֱמֻנָה*, the people; for the more numerous the persons who carried the gifts, the more honored was the king. "Fifty persons often bear what one man could easily carry," says Chardin (*Voyage*, iii. 217). At this ceremony Ehud had no opportunity to attempt anything, for he neither came near the king, nor saw him alone; nor yet was he willing, among so many bystanders, to involve his companions in the consequences of a possible failure. On the contrary, he accompanied them back to the borders, in order to be sure that he was alone when making the dangerous attempt. Whether he suffered or escaped, he wished to be unhindered by their presence, and also to appear as acting without their concurrence.

Ver. 19. But he himself turned back from the boundary-stones. This is evidently the sense in which *בְּסֵתֵי אֵילִים* is to be taken. *בְּסֵתֵי* is always a carved image, *γλυπτόν*. The entire number of instances in which this word is used by Scripture writers fails to suggest any reason for thinking here of "stone-quarries," a definition which moreover does not appear to harmonize with the locality. But as the connection implies that the borders of Eglon's territory, which he had wrenched from Israel, were at the *pesilim*, we must understand by them the posts, *σῆλαι*, stones, *lapides sacri*, which marked the line. In consequence of the honors everywhere paid them, these were considered *Pesilim*, idol images, just as at a later time the *Hermæ*, (*ἑρμακες*, heaps of stone) were prohibited as idolatrous objects (cf. *Aboda Sara*, *Mischna*, 4). With this, the interpretation of the Targum, *בְּהַרְבֵּי אֵילִים*, heaps of unhewn stones, may also be made to harmonize.⁵ This border line was in the vicinity of

¹ This is the opinion of Grimm (*Deutsch. Wörterb.*, ii. 1222). However, the view of Klemm (*Waffen und Werkzeuge*, p. 172) may nevertheless serve to find the original etymology of the word. [Luther has *Schwert*, sword. — *R.]

² [Schiller, in his ballad entitled *Die Bürgschaft*. — Tr.]

³ Hence they also translate *קָרַב* by *ἀστέιος*, Ex. ii. 2, where, to be sure, it rather signifies "beautiful."

⁴ Transferred to God, Ex. xxiii. 15: "None shall appear before me empty."

⁵ [To this interpretation of the *pesilim*, Bachmann (who agrees with our author in rejecting the commonly received "stone-quarries") objects that it is not in accordance with

Gilgal, which had not fallen into the hands of Moab. Ewald has rightly insisted upon it that Gilgal must have lain northeast of Jericho (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii. 317). That this was the relative position of Gilgal, and its direction from Jericho, has already received confirmation from the first chapter of our Book.

And said, I have a secret message. It could not be matter of surprise that Ehud did not make this request until his return. The ceremony of the public audience did not allow it to be made at that time. The presentation of the presents must have been so conducted as to impress the king with the conviction that Ehud was especially devoted to him. Signs of discontent and ill-will on the part of the subjugated people cannot have escaped the conqueror. The more highly would he value the devotion of one of the Israelitish leaders. That Ehud had sent his companions away, and had not returned until they had crossed the border, was easily explained as indicating that he had a matter to present in which he did not wish to be observed by them. All the more eager, therefore, was Eglon to hear that which Ehud seemed to hide from Israel. It was only by such a feint that Ehud could succeed in approaching the tyrant and obtaining a private interview. Israel's deliverer must first seem to be its betrayer. The same artifice has been used by others. When the Persians wished to destroy the pseudo-Smerdis, and doubtingly considered how they could pass the guards, Darius said that he would pretend to have a secret commission, concerning Persia, from his father to the king; adding, as Herodotus (iii. 72) says: "For when lying is necessary, lie!"

Who said, Silence! Thereupon all that stood by him went out. Ehud does not demean himself as if he wished that those present would depart. He appears to be on the point of telling his secret before them all. But this Eglon will not permit. Oriental manners could not be more perfectly set forth. The king's injunction of silence (סָתַם, 'st!) on Ehud, is of itself a sufficient command to those present to leave the room. Eglon must therefore have expected matters not to be heard by all ears. All who "stood" about him, went out. They were his servants (ver. 24), who do not sit when the king is present. "Happy are these thy servants," says the queen of Sheba to Solomon, "who stand continually before thee, and hear thy wisdom." In the *Talmud* (translated by Rosen, i. 42, 43) it is said: "The King of Khorassan was once sitting in his palace, and before his throne stood the pillars of the empire, the servants of the crown, high and low, great and small," etc.

Ver. 20. Now, he had seated himself in the upper story of the cooling-house. To understand what part of the house is thus indicated, we have only to attend to the description of oriental architecture given by Shaw, in his *Travels* (i. 386, Edinb. edit. 1808). Down to the present day many oriental houses have a smaller one annexed to them, which sometimes rises one story higher than the main building. In Arabic as in Hebrew this is called *alijah*, and serves for purposes of entire seclusion or rest. "There is a door of communication from it into the gallery of the

house, besides another which opens immediately, from a privy stairs, down into the porch or street, without giving the least disturbance to the house." The *alijah* of Eglon consisted of an inner chamber, opening on an exposed balcony (מַסְדֵּרוֹן), from which a door led into the house itself (at present called *dor* or *bait*). Within the door of the *alijah*

there was however still another apartment (חֶבֶרֶת, ver. 24), which served the purpose of a necessary-house. Being high and freely accessible to currents of air, the *alijah* was a cool retreat. Similar purposes were subserved in Germany by the *pergula*, balconies, galleries, arbors (*Louben*); hence Luther's translation, *Sommer-loube* (summer-arbor or bower). He followed the rendering of the LXX. who have τῶ θέρματι, while the Targum gives more prominence to the idea of repose (בֵּית הַיָּסוּד, *soitha*). The public reception of the gifts had taken place in the house. Afterwards, while Ehud accompanied his companions, the king had betaken himself to the *alijah* "which was for himself alone" (his private chamber). When Ehud returned he was received there, as he had anticipated.

And Ehud said, I have a message from the Deity unto thee. Then he arose from his seat.

דָּבַר יְהוָה is a commission from a higher being. He does not say Jehovah, for this is the name of the Israelitish God, with whom Eglon has nothing to do. We are not however to assume that the God of Eglon is meant; for what can Ehud the Israelite announce from Chemosh! It is therefore probable that by *Elohim* a superior prince is to be understood, whose liegeman or satrap Eglon was, as was already intimated above, — a human possessor of *majesty* and *authority*. As it is not to be supposed that the capital of Moab was transferred from Rabbah to the small bit of territory which had been acquired across the Jordan, Eglon in Jericho is not to be looked on as lord of all Moab. The relation in which he stood to the mother-country was most likely that of a vassal or feudal baron. That he is styled king does not contradict this. The potentates of single cities were all called "kings," as the Greeks called them *τύραννοι*, without on that account being anything more than dependents of more powerful states and princes.¹ It suits the rôle which Ehud wishes to be ascribed to him, that he should also have relations with the transfuvial Moab, a fact which of course must be kept profoundly secret. Thus Eglon's rising is explained. The same honor was due to a message from the superior lord as to his presence. Like reverence was shown to royal letters even, as appears from the narrative of Herodotus concerning a message to Oroetes; and from it, the fidelity of those whom the message concerned was inferred (Herod. iii. 128). The same mark of honor was paid to parents and aged persons. From this custom the ecclesiastical usage of standing during the reading of the Gospel, is also to be derived.

Eglon rises out of respect for the דָּבַר יְהוָה. This has been the constant explanation. The diverging view of Bertheau² does not commend itself. The Talmud — understanding the words, self and those with him secure until he has passed the *pesilim*. — Tr.]

¹ Thus the king of Hazor was king paramount over all the kings of his vicinity (Josh. xi. 10).

² [Bertheau says: "Divining the purpose of Ehud, he rose up to defend himself." — Tr.]

the usual meaning of the word. He thinks that the *pesilim* were idolatrous images set up either by the apostate Israelites themselves, or by Eglon, "as boundary-marks of the territory immediately subject to him, and as signs of his supremacy." He seems inclined to prefer the latter alternative, because of "the fact that Ehud does not feel him-

however, of the God of Israel — already deduces from them the lesson, that if a stranger thus rose up to receive a message from God, much more is it the duty of an Israelite so to do (*Sanhedrin*, 60 a).

Vers. 21-24. **Immediately Ehud put forth his left hand.** Ehud made use of a pretext, *in order* to cause Eglon to rise. He was surer of his thrust if his victim stood. Eglon's attention must be wholly diverted, that the attack, entirely unresisted, might be the more effective. In such sudden assaults, bulky people like Eglon are at a disadvantage. Cimber pressed closely on Cæsar, as if to make most urgent entreaty for his brother (Plut., *Cæsar*, 86). Parmenio was stabbed by Cleander, while cheerfully reading a letter (Curtius, vii. 2, 27). The instance most like Eglon's case, is that of King Henry III. of France. Clement, to secure an interview, had provided himself with a commission from a friend of the king. When he arrived, the king was sitting on his close-stool. Hoping to hear of an understanding with his opponents, Henry bade the messenger draw near; whereupon the monk stabbed him in the abdomen (cf. Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.*, i. 171). Ehud's thrust, though left-handed, was powerful. The dagger, together with its short handle, buried itself in the fat of the man, and came out behind.

כֶּהֱבֵה לִיגִיב signifies a flame; then the blade of a sword, which glitters and burns like a flame. In a mediæval writing, the following words occur: "*Sin sweet flammieret an siner haut*" (Müller's *Mittelh. Wörterb.*, iii. 336). In technical language we also speak of flaming blades (*geflammeten Klingen*).

And came out behind, הַפִּרְשֵׁדוֹנָה וַיֵּצֵא. The ancient doubt as to this word, which occurs but once, and about which opinions are still divided, appears from the divergent renderings of the Septuagint and the Targum. It is certain, however, in the first place, that the Greek rendering *προστάδα* can have little weight; for it arose from the similarity of the word in the text to פִּרְשֵׁדוֹנָה, current at the time, and meaning *prostās*, vestibule. In the second place, the addition of Ehud after the second וַיֵּצֵא (ver. 23), shows that another subject begins, and that therefore the first וַיֵּצֵא can refer only to the sword, not to the man. Further, since הַפִּרְשֵׁדוֹנָה is provided with ה local, it manifestly denotes that part of the body toward which the course of the sword was directed, while וַיֵּצֵא testifies to the actual perforation of the body. Now, as the sword was thrust from before into the abdomen (פִּרְשֵׁדוֹנָה), there would be no doubt as to the part where it emerged, even if the etymology, which has here to deal with an onomatopoeic word, did not make this perfectly plain. *Parshedon* is the Greek *πρωστας*, and belongs to the same family as the Lithuanian *persti*, Lettish *pirst*, Polish *piędziec*, Russian *perstjet*, Greek *πέρδευ*, Sanscrit *pard*, Latin *pedere*, Gothic *fairtan*, Old High German *fērzan* (cf. Pott, *Etymolog. Forsch.*, i. 245; Grimm, *Wörterb.*, iii. 1335). The sword emerged behind through the

fundament. The king fell down without uttering a sound. Ehud did not delay, but went out unhindered through the balcony. The attendants had entirely withdrawn from the *alijah*: Ehud takes advantage of this circumstance, and locks the door to it, in order to delay the moment of discovery. The heedless conduct of the unsuspecting attendants supports his boldness. As soon however as they see him go out, — an earlier return to their lord is not lawful, — they endeavor to enter the *alijah*. Ehud had gone away so calmly, that they suspect nothing. They are not even surprised when they find the doors fastened. Serarius has properly directed attention to the aversion felt by the ancients to the least degree of exposure when complying with the necessities of nature. This applies especially to kings, inasmuch as subjection to these necessities, too plainly proved them men. Of Pharaoh, the Jewish legend says that he wished to appear like a god, above the need of such things. "He covers his feet," is a euphemism, taken from the descent of the long garments (cf. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. 677).

Vers. 25-30. **And they waited long, בּוֹשׁוּ** וַיִּבְּשׂוּ. These words add the notion of displeasure and ill humor to the idea of waiting (cf. 2 Kgs. ii. 17; viii. 11). At length they comprehend that something extraordinary must have taken place. They procure another key, with which they open the doors, and find their lord — dead. Ehud's artifice, however, had succeeded. While they delayed הַרְהוּמְהוּמָה (הַרְהוּמְהוּמָה, from מְהוּמָה, *morari*, is onomatopoeic), he had got beyond the border, as far as Scirah. This place, which according to ver. 27 belonged to the mountains of Ephraim, is unknown. It bounded the territories of Benjamin on the north. Ehud reached it by way of the border which ran by Gūgal, which shows that both these places were north of Jericho. It is evident that he had agreed with the Israelites to give the signal there, in case he were successful. His trumpet-blast was transmitted among the mountains. Israel flocked together, and heard of the unprecedentedly fortunate deed. The people saw in it the firm resolve, which gives victory. The plan of battle had also been already determined by Ehud. It was of the last importance to cut the terrified and leaderless Moabites off from the assistance of their transjordanic friends. Hence, the first care of Israel is to seize the ford of the river. The ford in question was manifestly no other than that which, directly east of Jericho, half an hour north of Wady Heshban, is still in use. Seetzen called it *el-Mūkhāta*, Robinson *el-Helu*² (Ritter xv. 484, 547, Gage's transl. iii. 4, 49). That the occupation of this ford decides the victory, proves clearly that Eglon was not king of all Moab, but only of the Moab on this side of the Jordan. It was a terrible retribution, a sort of "Sicilian vespers," which Israel, rising up after long subjection, inflicted on Eglon and his people. The falling foes were men of might. אִישׁ אִישׁ expresses the distinction (*das Ansehen*),³ אִישׁ אִישׁ הַלְּאִי the warlike character and abilities, of the smitten enemies. Moab was

southeast of Jericho, a short distance north of W. Heshban. — Ta.]

³ (BERTHEAU: "אִישׁ אִישׁ, the fat, i. e. (in contrast with persons of starved appearance) the well-fed and opulent man; cf. Latin *opimus*; hence, the man of consequence." But compare note 8 under "Textual and Grammatical." — Ta.]

¹ ["His sword flamed in his hand." — Ta.]

² [Robinson's map locates *El-Helu* not directly east, but southeast of Jericho, not north but south of Wady Heshban (cf. *Bibl. Res.* i. 535). It appears that the words "directly east" belong to Seetzen, and must in Ritter's opinion be made to conform to Robinson's location of *El-Helu*. Cf. Gage's Ritter, iii. 49. Van de Velde's map places *El-Helu*

thoroughly vanquished, and Israel had rest for eighty years.

The exploit of Ehud doubtless surpasses all similar deeds of ancient history in the purity of its motive, as well as in the energy and boldness of its execution. Harmodius and Aristogiton, however celebrated by the Athenians, were moved to kill Hipparchus by private interests (cf. Thucyd. vi. 56). Blind warrior-fury fills Mucius Scaevola, as also Theodorus (Polyb. v. 81), the would-be murderer of Ptolemæus, and they fail of success. Ehud was equally bold and pure. He risked his life for no interest of his own, but for his people. And not merely for the external freedom of his nation, but for the maintenance and honor of its divine religion, which was inseparably linked with freedom. It was against the mortal enemy of Israel—against one lying under the ban, and shut out from the congregation of Israel—that he lifted up his sword. He exposed himself to a fearful peril, in order, if successful, to give therewith a signal of courage and comfort to his people. To be sure, if he did not succeed, the hatred and oppression of the enemy would increase in violence. But for that very reason men saw the more clearly that God had raised him up to be a deliverer. And yet, where in Israel are those praises of Ehud, which in Athens resounded for centuries in honor of Harmodius? Scaevola's deed¹ is celebrated as one of the nation's heroic performances. The historian makes him say (Livy, xi. 12): "As an enemy have I slain the enemy." It is true, the remarkable act has had the honor of being minutely handed down, even to the least details of its progress. But all this was to point out the sagacity and energy of the strong left-handed man. Not one word of praise is found. On the contrary—and this fact deserves attention—the remark usually made of other Judges, is here wanting: it is not said that "the Spirit of Jehovah was upon him." Nor is it said, as of Othniel, that he "judged Israel." Neither are we told that the rest and peace of Israel were connected with his life and death. Subsequent exegesis called him the Wolf, with which Benjamin is compared (*Mideash, Ber. Rabba*, cap. 89, p. 87 a). As the wolf throws himself on his prey, so had Ehud thrown himself on Eglon. They saw in Ehud's deed the act of a mighty man, influenced by zeal for God; but the "Spirit of Jehovah" inspires neither such artifice nor such murder. So much the less could the act of Ehud, however brilliant under the circumstances, be made to exculpate similar deeds. So much the less could the crimes that defile the pages of Christian history, such as those committed against Henry III. and Henry IV., use it as a cover for themselves.² Although Eglon was a heathen, a foreigner, a tyrant, an enemy actually engaged in

hostilities, the Scripture speaks of Ehud only as a deliverer, but never of his deed as sprung from the Spirit of God. How much more disgraceful are murder and treason against one's own king, countrymen, and fellow Christians! It was an insult to Christianity, a sin against the Holy Ghost, when in answer to Clement's question, whether a priest might kill a tyrant, it was determined that "it was not a mortal sin, but only an irregularity" (Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.*, i. 473); or when Pope Paul V. exclaimed, with reference to the murder of Henry IV. by Ravaillac: "*Deus spiritum fecit hoc, quia datus in reprobum sensum.*" Worse than the dagger is such doctrine.³

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Ehud, the Judge with the two-edged sword.—
1. Israel was again in bondage on account of sin. And the compassion of God was not exhausted, although no deliverer came out of Judah. In the kingdom of God, the great and rich may indeed become instruments of God's will; but his power is not confined to them. If no one arises in Judah, some one in Benjamin does. If it be not Othniel, Caleb's nephew, it is some unknown person who comes to rescue his people. Neither the name, nor the physique, is material. Deliverance may be begun with the left hand.

2. Ehud kills Eglon, the tyrant of Israel; yet he is not properly a murderer, but only a warrior. However, it is better to conquer as Othniel and Gideon conquered. He did it, not for private revenge, nor from fanaticism, but for the just freedom of Israel and its religion. He did it against Moab, and not against one who shared his own faith and country. God raised him up; but yet the Word of God does not approve his deed. He was a deliverer of Israel; but there hangs a shadow nevertheless over his official activity. Therefore, no murderous passion can appeal to him. By him no tyrant-murder, no political assassination, is exculpated. And this not simply because in Christian states and churches there can be no Eglons or Moabs.—STARKE: "The Jesuit principle that it is right to put an heretical prince out of the way, will never be valid until a person can be certain of having such a calling from God to it, as Ehud undoubtedly had."—His cause was pure; which cannot be said of any other assassination in history.—Christian history not excepted,—down to the murder of the North American President Lincoln; not even of those instances which remind us (as Mallet, *Ates und Neues*, p. 92, so beautifully did with reference to G. Sand, the murderer of Kotzebue) of the words of the Lord: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."
GERLACH: We are not to think that the deed

1 In Plutarch's *Parallels of Greek and Roman History* (n. 2), the same history is given of a Greek, Neocles, who made an attempt against Xerxes like that of Scaevola against Persenna.

2 Excellent remarks are found in the work of Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, lib. 1 cap. iv. (ed. Trj., 1773), p. 178. Serarius declines to treat the subject, under the feeble pretext of lack of time, p. 92. (Compare Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *Mariana*, li. 261, e.)

3 [WATTSWORTH: "Some have raised objections to this act of Ehud, as censurable on moral grounds: and they have described him as a 'crafty Israelite,' taking an unfair advantage over an unwieldy corpulent Moabite; others have apologized for it, on the plea that it is not to be measured by what they call the standard of our 'enlightened modern

civilization' compared with what they term the 'barbarous temper of those times.' But surely these are low and unworthy motives." He then quotes with approbation from Bp. Sanderson and Dr. Waterland, the gist of whose remarks (Sanderson's however being made with immediate reference to the act of Phineas, Num. xxx.) is, that the Lord raised up deliverers for Israel, and divinely warranted their actions, which actions, however, form no precedents for those who have not similar divine authority. But it is surely not an improper question to ask, whether, when God raised up a hero, endowed him with faith and zeal, and with strength and energy, to secure certain results. He also, always and necessarily, suggested or even approved the methods adopted not only as a whole but even in detail.—TR.]

of Ehud, in the manner of its accomplishment, is set before us as an example; but we must also beware lest, because the manner is no longer allowable, we be led to deny the operation of the Holy Ghost by whom this deliverer of his people was impelled.

3. Because Ehud's cause was pure, his deed was followed by peace and freedom. That can be said of no other similar deed. He first searched out the enemy in his hiding-place, and then triumphed over him in the battlefield. He shows himself, — 1, a true Israelite by *faith*; 2, a true son of Benjamin, who was compared with the wolf, by his

strength. He drew his sword, not for the sake of war, but of peace. Therefore, Israel had peace through him until he died.

Ehud may not improperly be considered a type in spirit of him who likewise sprang from Benjamin — of Saul who first ravened like a wolf, but became patient and trustful like a lamb; of the Apostle who called the Word of God a two-edged sword that pierces through the conscience; of Paul, whose symbol in the church is the sword through which as martyr he lost his own life, after he had saved the lives of thousands by the sword of the Spirit.

Shamgar smites six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad.

CHAPTER III. 31.

31 And after him was Shamgar the son of Anath, which [and he] slew [smote] of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad; and he also [he, too,] delivered Israel.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

After him. After his example. Following Ehud's example,¹ Shamgar smote the Philistines. That the expression is not to be taken of time, as if on the death of Ehud Shamgar had succeeded him, is evident from ch. iv. 1. Moreover, if that were the meaning, a statement of the years of Shamgar would not be absent. The hypothesis of Josephus, that he governed one year, is untenable. Accordingly, the other Jewish expositors have properly assigned the exploit of Shamgar to the time of Ehud, *i. e.* to the period of eighty years.

Shamgar,² the son of Anath. To what tribe he belonged, is not stated. If it be correct to con-

nect עַנְתָּ with עֲנָתוֹת, Anathoth (cf. Kaplan, *Erets Kedumim*, ii. 142), it will follow that like Ehud he was of Benjamin, and defended the territory of that tribe in the west against the Philistines, as Ehud did in the east against the Moabites. His whole history, as here given, consists of a single heroic exploit, in which he repulsed an attack of the Philistines with extraordinary strength.³

With an ox-goad. The Septuagint gives ἀροτροπούς, by which it evidently means the plough-

1 [Bachmann observes that this and similar interpretations of this expression, militate against the analogy of ch. x. 1, 3; xii. 8, 11, 13, in all which passages עֲנָתוֹת refers to the duration of the official or natural life of the previously mentioned person. Appealing to ch. v. 6, where the "days of Shamgar" are described in such a way as to exclude the supposition that they belonged to the period of "rest" obtained by Ehud, he makes them synchronous with some part of the Canaanite oppression under Jabin. While the Canaanites subjugated the northern part of the land, the Philistines attempted to extend their power in the south, which occasioned the conflicts of Shamgar with them. — Tr.]

2 שָׁמְגָר. The ancients translated it: *Nomen Advenæ*, "Name of a stranger." Ehud was the son of a certain אֲנָת. Perhaps Shamgar also is somehow related to that name.

handle, *stiva*, that part which the ploughman holds in his hand, and with which he guides the plough.⁴ More correct, however, is the rendering "ox-goad" (cf. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. 385);

פָּרַשׁ הַתְּרִיבָה, as the Targum has it. It was the "prick" against which the oxen "kicked," when struck with it. The Greeks called it βουπλάγη. With such an instrument, King Lycurgus is said to have attacked the wandering Bacchus and his followers⁵ (*Il. vi. 135*). There is a tradition in Holstein that in the Swedish time a peasant armed with a pole put to flight a multitude of Swedes who had entered his house and threatened to burn it (*Müllenhoff, Sagen*, etc., p. 81).

He delivered Israel. He procured victory for them, and assisted them over the danger of present and local subjugation. But to "deliver" is not to "judge." Nor is there any mention of the "Spirit of the Lord" in connection with him.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Shamgar the deliverer with the ox-goad. Courageous examples find worthy followers. Shamgar

3 [BACHMANN: "We are undoubtedly to think here of a marauding band like those brought to view in 1 Sam. xxx. 1 ff. and Job i. 15, against whom Shamgar, either engaged at the moment in ploughing, or else seizing the first weapon that came to hand, proceeded with an ox-goad, with such effect as to strike down six hundred of them." — Tr.]

4 This interpretation of the LXX. has nothing to do (as Bertheau thinks) with the reading מִלְּבַד הַתְּרִיבָה, found by Augustine.

5 This legend is copiously treated by Nonnus, on the basis of Homer's version of it. It is remarkable that although the scene is laid in "Arabia," Nonnus nevertheless transfers the above-mentioned event and the city of Lycurgus to Carmel and the Erythrean Sea. It is doubtless true, as Köhler observes (*Die Dionysiaka von Nonnus von Panopolis*, Halle, 1853, pp. 76, 77), that by βουπλάγη Nonnus appears to have understood an *axe*. The Roman poets also give an axe to Lycurgus.

trode in Ehud's footsteps. One triumphs with a sword, the other with an implement of peace. Hence we may infer, says Origen, that a judge of the church need not always carry a sword, and be full of severity and admonitions to repentance, but should also be like a husbandman, "who, gradually opening the earth with his plough, prepares it for the reception of good seed."

STARKE: When God wishes to terrify the enemy. He needs not many men, nor strong defence and preparation for the purpose. — GERLACH: Shamgar's deed is probably to be viewed only as the effect of a sudden outbreak of holy enthusiasm, under the influence of which he seized the first best

weapon, and put to flight the enemy whom some terror from God had scared.

[HENRY: 1. God can make those eminently serviceable to his glory and the church's good, whose extraction, education, and employment are very obscure. He that has the residue of the Spirit, could, when he pleased, make ploughmen judges and generals, and fishermen apostles. 2. It is no matter what the weapon is, if God direct and strengthen the arm. An ox-goad, when God pleases, shall do more than Goliath's sword. And sometimes He chooses to work by such unlikely means, that the excellency of the power may appear to be of God. — TR.]

THIRD SECTION.

THE SERVITUDE TO JABIN, KING OF CANAAN. DEBORAH, THE FEMALE JUDGE OF FIERY SPIRIT, AND BARAK, THE MILITARY HERO.

Ehud being dead, Israel falls back into evil-doing, and is given up to the tyranny of Jabin, king of Canaan. Deborah, the Prophetess, summons Barak to undertake the work of deliverance.

CHAPTER IV. 1-11.

1 And the children [sons] of Israel again did [continued to do] evil in the sight
2 of the Lord [Jehovah;] when [and] Ehud was dead. And the Lord [Jehovah]
sold them [gave them up] into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan that reigned in
Hazor, the captain of whose host *was* Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth of the Gen-
3 tiles [Harosheth-Hagojim]. And the children [sons] of Israel cried unto the Lord
[Jehovah]; for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and twenty years he mightily
4 oppressed the children [sons] of Israel. And Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of
5 Lapidoth,¹ she judged Israel at that time. And she dwelt [sat ²] under the palm-tree
of Deborah, between Ramah and Beth-el in mount Ephraim: and the children [sons]
6 of Israel came up to her for judgment. And she sent and called Barak the son of
Abinoam out of Kedesh-naphtali, and said unto him, Hath not the Lord [Jehovah
the] God of Israel commanded [thee], *saying*, Go, and draw toward mount Tabor,³
and take with thee ten thousand men of the children [sons] of Naphtali, and of the
7 children [sons] of Zebulun? And I will draw unto thee, to the river [brook]
Kishon, Sisera the captain of Jabin's army, with ⁴ his chariots and his multitude;
8 and I will deliver him into thine hand? And Barak said unto her, If thou wilt go
9 with me, then I will go: but if thou wilt not go with me, *then* I will not go. And
she said, I will surely go with thee: notwithstanding [but] the journey that thou
takest [the expedition on which thou goest] shall not be for thine honour; for the
Lord [Jehovah] shall sell [give up] Sisera into the hand of a woman. And Deborah
10 arose, and went with Barak to Kedesh. And Barak called Zebulun and Naphtali
to Kedesh; and he went up with ten thousand men at his feet:⁵ and Deborah went
11 up with him. Now Heber the Kenite, *which was* of the children [sons] of Hobab
the father- [brother-] in-law of Moses, had severed himself from the Kenites, and
pitched his tent unto the plain of Zaanaïm [near Elon-Zaanannim], which *is* by
Kedesh,⁶

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 4 — אִשֶּׁת לַפִּדּוֹת: Dr. Cassel, taking the second of these words as an appellative, renders, — *ein Weib von Feuergeist*, a woman of fiery spirit, cf. his remarks below. The possibility of this rendering cannot be denied; but

it is at least equally probable that the ordinary view which regards Lapidoth as a proper noun is correct. Bachmann points out that the succession of statements in this passage is exactly the same as in "Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron," "Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum," "Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel," etc. These instances create a presumption that in this case too the second statement after the name will be one of family relationship, which in the absence of positive proof the mere grammatical possibility of another view does not suffice to counter-veil. The feminine ending of Lapidoth creates as little difficulty as it does in Naboth, and other instances of the same sort. Of Lapidoth we have no knowledge whatever. The mention here made of him does not necessarily imply that he was still living. Cf. Ruth iv. 10; 1 Sam. xxvii. 3; etc. — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 5. — יוֹשֵׁבֵת: Bachmann also translates "sat" (*sass*), although he interprets "dwelt;" cf. ch. x. 1; Josh. ii. 15; 2 Kgs. xxii. 14. "As according to the last of these passages the prophetess Huldah had her dwelling (יְהוּדָה) in the second district of Jerusalem, so the prophetess Deborah had her dwelling (יְהוּדָה) under the Palm of Deborah." — Ta.]

[3 Ver. 6. — בָּהָר תַּבּוֹר: Dr. Cassel, — *Ziehe auf den Berg Tabor*, proceed to Mount Tabor. So many others. For ב with a verb of motion, cf. Ps. xxiv. 3. But inasmuch as מִשְׁנֵה recurs immediately in ver. 7, and is there transitive, Bachmann proposes to take it so here: go, draw *sc.* an army, to thyself or together, on Mount Tabor. Cf the Vulgate. — Ta.]

[4 Ver. 7. — וְאֶרְבֵּי קָבוֹ: properly, "and (not, *with*) his chariots," etc., although Cassel also has *mit*. אֶת is the sign of the accusative, not the preposition, as appears from the fact that it has the copula "and" before it. — Ta.]

[5 Ver. 10. — בְּרַגְלָיו: if the subject of וַיַּעַל be Barak, as it the E. V. and Dr. Cassel take it, בְּרַגְלָיו can hardly mean anything else than "on foot," as Dr. Cassel renders it; cf. ver. 15. But the true construction — true, because regular and leaving nothing to be supplied — is that which De Wette adopts: "and there went up, בְּרַגְלָיו, ten thousand men." In this construction, which harmonizes perfectly with the context, בְּרַגְלָיו evidently means "at his feet," *i. e.* as De Wette renders, "after him." — Ta.]

[6 Ver. 11. — Dr. Cassel's translation adheres strictly to the order of the original: "And Heber, the Kenite, had severed himself from Kain, the sons of Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses, and had pitched his tent near Elon-Zaanannim, by Kedesh. On the rendering "brother-in-law," instead of "father-in-law," cf. Keil, on Ex. ii. 18; Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* s. v. Hobab. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. And Ehud was dead: *i. e.* For Ehud was no more. That the eighty years of rest were also the years of Ehud's government is not indeed expressly stated, but seems nevertheless to be indicated in this verse. For "rest" is always coincident with "obedience towards God;" and obedience is maintained in Israel through the personal influence of the Judge. When he dies, the weakness of the people manifests itself anew. Hence, when we read that the people "continued to do evil, and Ehud was dead," this language must be understood to connect the cessation of rest with the death of Ehud. Shamgar — no mention being made of him here — must have performed his exploit some time during the eighty years. The standing expression וַיִּסְיִפוּ, "and they continued," is to be regarded as noting the continuance of that fickleness which obtains among the people when not led by a person of divine enthusiasm. They always enter afresh on courses whose inevitable issues they might long since have learned to know. The new generation learns nothing from the history of the past. "They continued," is, therefore, really equivalent to "they began anew."

Vers. 2, 3. And Jehovah gave them up into the hand of Jabin, king of Canaan, etc. Joshua already had been obliged to sustain a violent contest with a Jabin, king of Hazor. He commanded a confederation of tribes, whose frontier reached as far south as Dor (Tantara) on the coast, and the plains below the Sea of Tiberias. The battle of Jabin with Joshua took place at the waters of Merom (Lake Huleh); and from that fact alone Josephus inferred that "Hazor lay above (ὕπερκειρα) this sea." But its position was by no means

so close to the lake as Robinson (*Bibl. Res.*, iii. 365) wishes to locate it, which is altogether impossible. The course of Joshua makes it clear that it lay on the road from Lake Merom to Zidon. For in order to capture Hazor, Joshua turned back (וַיָּשׁוּב), Josh. xi. 10) from the pursuit. It appears from our passage, and also from Josh. xix. 37, that it must have been situated not very far from Kedesh, but in such a direction that from it the movements of Israel toward Tabor, on the line of Naphtali and Zebulon, could not be readily observed or hindered: that is to say, to the west of Kedesh. That its position cannot be determined by the similarity of modern names alone, is shown by the experience of Robinson, who successively rejected a Hazîreh, a Tell Hazâr, and el-Hazârî (for which Ritter had decided). For a capital of such importance as Hazor here and elsewhere appears to be, in an elevated situation, commanding the lowlands (הַגְּבֹהֹת־הַבְּצֻעֹת), must be assumed. It must have been a fortress supported by rich and fertile fields. These conditions are met by Tibnin, as is evident from Robinson's extended description of it (ii. 451 ff.; iii. 57 ff.). The similarity of name is not wanting; for the Crusaders must have had some reason for calling it Toronum. William of Tyre (*Hist. lib.* xi. 5; in *Gesta Dei Francorum*, p. 798) described the place as adorned with vineyards and trees, the land fertile and adapted for cultivation. It lies midway between Tyre and Pancas, and is of immense importance for the control of the country. Robinson has justly remarked, that a fortress must have been on this spot long before the time of the Crusaders; nor does it raise any great difficulty that William of Tyre reckoned it to the tribe of Asher, on whose borders, at all events, it lay.¹ — The Jabin, king of Hazor, of our

¹ [Bachmann identifies "Hazor with Hazâr or Hazîreh, two hours W. of Bint Jeleil, in the heart of Northern Galilee, on an acclivity with extensive ruins and a sepulchral vault of great antiquity," cf. Rob. iii. 62. He remarks that for Tibnin nothing speaks except its importance from a military point of view, which of itself is not sufficient evidence. "The similarity of the mediæval name Toronum (= Hazor?) is wholly illusory." — Ta.]

passage, evidently cherished the design of regaining, in some favorable hour of Israelitish supineness, the territory taken from his ancestors by Joshua. With this object in view, his general-in-chief, Sisera, kept the languishing nation under discipline at another point. The name of Sisera's residence was Harosheth Hagojim. It may perhaps be possible to fix this hitherto wholly unknown place also. The power of the present Jabin must have extended as far as that of the earlier one (i. e. to Tautira and the region south of the Sea of Tiberias); since otherwise the battle with Barak would not have been fought at the Kishon. Moreover, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar were all interested in the war against him (ch. v. 15). This being the case, it is certainly probable that Sisera's residence was in this southern part of Jabin's dominions. Sisera was commander of an army dreaded chiefly for its nine hundred iron chariots. But these were of consequence only on level ground. That is the reason why, Josh. xvii. 16, such prominence is given to the fact that just those Canaanites who lived in the plains of Beth-shean (Beisân) and Jezreel, through which latter the Kishon flowed, had iron chariots. The name itself of Harosheth Hagojim suffices to suggest its connection with iron chariots. Harosheth (Heb. *Charosheth*) is the place where iron was worked (*charash*, the smith). It is only natural to look for it in the plains just named. But the residence of Sisera is called Harosheth Hagojim, the Harosheth of the Gojim. By Gojim we must understand a race different not only from Israel, but also from the Canaanite, Aram, Edom, Moab, etc. The Targum translates Harosheth Hagojim by fortress or city of the Gojim (ג'וֹיִם עִירָה), and thus refers us to *Gelil Hagojim* (Isa. viii. 23 [E. V. ix. 1]), which is translated in the same way (ג'וֹיִם עִירָה stands often for עִיר, city). The prophet in the passage referred to, locates this *Gelil of the Gojim* on this side of the Jordan, in the neighborhood of the Lake of Tiberias. It is clearly erroneous to make this *Galilæa Gentium* cover the whole district of Galilee; for that included Zebulun, Naphtali, and the shore of Lake Tiberias, which the prophet mentions separately. If it be proper to interpret the passage geographically, *Gelil Hagojim* must lie south of Lake Tiberias, where subsequently Galilee began. Joshua himself also conquered a king of the Gojim in "ג'וֹיִם קִנְיָה" (Josh. xii. 23). From the position given to this king in the catalogue, no geographical inference can be drawn, since the enumeration is made without any regard to the situation of localities. The passage becomes clear only when ג'וֹיִם קִנְיָה is taken as ג'וֹיִם קִנְיָה, making Joshua victorious over the king of the Gojim in *Gelil*. Now, it cannot escape notice that among the kings conquered by Joshua, no king of Beth-shean is found, although in Josh. xvii. 16 this place appears so important, and its territory must have been conquered, and although the cities in the plain of Jezreel are named. The conjecture, therefore, is plausible that Beth-shean is represented by the king of the Gojim. Beth-shean was the start-

ing-point of the later Galilee (cf. Lightfoot, *Opera*, i. 216, etc.); it was the city of iron chariots; its population was always of a mixed character (Canaanites, Gojim, Jews, Judg. i. 27; *Chulin*, 6 b). From the date of the first Greek notices of it (in the Septuagint, Josephus, etc.; cf. Ritter, xv. 432 [Gage's Transl. ii. 335]), it appears under the name Scythopolis, city of the Scythians. On the question how this name originated, we are not to enter here. Thus much is certain, that it is not unsuitable to take the term Scythians as equivalent to Gojim; especially when we compare Gen. xiv. 1, where Tidal, king of the Gojim, is named in connection with Elam, Shinar, and Ellasar. Although our historical data are not sufficient to raise these probabilities to certainties, several considerations suggested by the narrative are of some weight. If Harosheth Hagojim is to be looked for in the vicinity of Beth-shean, the whole geography of the war becomes quite plain. Jabin and Sisera then occupy the decisive points at the extremities of the kingdom. The southern army of Sisera is the most oppressive to Israel, and its dislodgement is the main object. Barak is not to attack Hazor, for that is surrounded and supported by hostile populations, which it is impracticable as yet to drive out. Deborah's plan is to annihilate the tyrannical power, where it has established itself in the heart of Israel. Tabor is the central point, where Naphtali and Zebulun can conveniently assemble. A straight line from Kedesh to that mount, runs through the territories of both. Sisera must fight or allow himself to be cut off. His overthrow is Israel's freedom. His army is Jabin's only hold on those regions. Hence, Sisera's flight from the Kishon is northward, in order to reach Hazor. On the way, not far from either Hazor or Kedesh, his fate overtakes him.¹

Ver. 4. And Deborah a prophetic woman, אִשָּׁה נְבִיאָה. According to Num. xi. 25, the prophetic gift has its source in the "Spirit of Jehovah." Its office answers to its origin: it preaches God and speaks his praises. Cause and effect testify of each other. Every one, whether man or woman, may prophecy, on whom the "Spirit of Jehovah" comes. The prophetic state is a divine ecstasy, a high poetic enthusiasm (*εὐθουσιάζειν*, from *θεός*), under the influence of which the praises of God are spoken. On this account, the prophet resembled at times the Greek *μάντις* (from *μανομαι*); compare especially Jer. xxix. 26 (מְנַבְּאֵי מְנַבְּאֵי); מְנַבְּאֵי, connected with *nabi*, in the same chapter, ver. 8, is actually rendered *μάντις* by the LXX.). In itself, however, both as to derivation and meaning, *nabi*, *niba*, is to be compared with *πρεβ*. The prophet utters the *ἔπος*, in which the Spirit of Jehovah manifests itself; he declares the greatness and glory of God. He is a spokesman of God and for Him. Hence Aaron could be called the *nabi* of Moses (Ex. vii. 1). He was the ready organ of the spirit which resided in Moses. Doubtless, in the highest sense, Moses was himself the *nabi*. With him, God spake mouth to mouth, not in visions and dreams and enigmas (Num. xii. 6-8); not, that is, as He announced himself to Aaron and

¹ [To our author's identification of Harosheth ha-Gojim with Beth-shean, Bachmann objects that the latter city is known by its usual name to the writer of Judges; cf. ch. i. 27. He is "inclined to adopt the view of Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ch. xxix., who finds Harosheth in Harothiel, a hill or mound at the southeastern corner of the

Plain of Akka, close behind the hills that divide this plain from that of Jezreel, on the north side of the Kishon, yet so near the foot of Carmel as only to leave a passage for the river. This mound is covered with the remains of old ramparts and buildings." — Ta.]

Miriam. Miriam was the first prophetess who praised God in ecstatic strains of poetry, with timbrels and dances, before all the people (Ex. xv. 20). It has been asked (cf. my treatise *Ueber Prophetinnen und Zauberinnen in Weimar, Jahrbuch für Deutsche Sprache*, vol. iv.), how it comes about that prophetic women constitute a "significant feature" of the old German heathenism only, whereas Jewish and Christian views assigned the gift of prophecy to men. The contrast certainly exists; it rests in the main upon the general difference between the heathen and the Scriptural view of the universe. The subjective nature of woman is more akin to the subjective character of heathenism. So much the higher must Deborah be placed. She was not, like Miriam, the sister of such men as Moses and Aaron. The objective spirit of her God alone elevates her above her people, above heroes before and after her. Not only the ecstasy of enthusiasm, but the calm wisdom of that Spirit which informs the law, dwells in her. Of no Judge until Samuel is it expressly said that he was a "prophet." Of none until him can it be said, that he was possessed of the popular authority needful for the office of Judge, even before the decisive deed of his life. The position of Deborah in Israel is therefore a twofold testimony. The less commonly women were called to the office she exercised, the more manifest is the weakness of those who should have been the organs of divine impulses. That she, a woman, became the centre of the people, proves the relaxation of spiritual and manly energy. But on the other hand, the ruddy might of divine truth, as delivered by Moses, comes brilliantly to view. History shows many instances, where in times of distress, when men despaired, women aroused and saved their nation; but in all such cases there must be an unextinguished spark of the old fire in the people themselves. Israel, formerly encouraged by the great exploit of a left-handed man, is now quickened by the glowing word of a noble woman.

The name Deborah does not occur here for the first time. It was also borne by the nurse of Rebecca, who was buried near Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 8). Many find the name peculiarly appropriate for the prophetess. Its proper meaning is, "bee"; and in Hellenic oracles also bees play an important part (cf. Paus. ix. 40, etc.). This honor they enjoyed, however, only in consequence of the erroneous derivation of the name *melitta* from *melos*, a song. In like manner, Deborah (*דְּבֹרָה*), the bee, is not connected with *dabar* (*דָּבַר*), to speak; nor does it properly mean the "march of the bees" (Gesenius); neither is it "buzzing" (Fürst); but, as *melitta* from *meli*, honey, so Deborah is to be derived from *debash* (*דְּבַשׁ*), which also means honey, the interchange of *r* and *s* being very common (*honor*, *honos*, etc.). Deborah is a female name akin in meaning to the German Emma,¹ — and does not necessarily imply any reference to the prophetic office in the case of our Deborah any more than in that of Rebecca's nurse.

A woman of a fiery spirit, *אִשָּׁת לַיְדוּת*. The majority of expositors, ancient as well as modern, regard Lapidoth as the name of Deborah's husband. Yet it was felt by many that there was something peculiar in the words. If the ordi-

nary interpretation were the true one, it would be natural to look also for a statement of the tribe to which the husband belonged. In accordance with the style of the ancients, the designation would have been at least once repeated (at ch. v. 1). To make it seem quite natural for Deborah always to appear without her husband, it had to be assumed that he was already dead. To avoid this, some old Jewish expositors assert that Barak was her husband, — Barak and Lappid being of kindred signification, namely, "lightning" and "flame." But in all this no attention is paid to the uncommonness of the phenomenon presented in the person of a woman such as Deborah. What a burning spirit must hers have been, to have attained to such distinction in Israel! It was in perfect keeping with the poetical cast of the language of the age, that the people should seek to indicate the characteristic which gave her her power over them, by calling her *אִשָּׁת לַיְדוּת*. If a capable woman was called *אִשָּׁת הַיָּל*, from *יָל*, strength (Prov.

xxxi. 10), — and a contentious woman, *אִשָּׁת מְדוֹנָיִם* (Prov. xxi. 19); and if in *אִשָּׁת קְסִילוֹת* (foolish woman, Prov. ix. 13), we are not to regard *kesiluth* as a proper name, it must also be allowed that *אִשָּׁת לַיְדוּת* may be rendered "woman of the torch-glow," especially when we consider what a fire-bearing, life-kindling personage she was. It is a fact, moreover, that *lappid* (torch) occurs almost as often in figurative as in literal language. The salvation of Jerusalem shines "like a torch" (Isa. lxii. 1). "Out of his mouth torches go forth" (Job xli. 11 (19)). The appearance of the heroes of Israel is "like torches" (Nah. ii. 5 (4)). The angel who appeared to Daniel had "eyes like torches of fire" (Dan. x. 6). "The word of Elias," says Sirach (xlviii. 1), "burned like a torch." Concerning Phinehas, the priest, the Midrash says, that "when the Holy Ghost filled him, his countenance glowed like torches" (*Jalkut, Judges*, § 40).

The spirit of Deborah was like a torch for Israel, kindling their languid hearts. It was the power of her prophetic breath which fell on the people. This is the secret of her influence and victory. The moral energy which was at work is traced to its source even in the grammatical form of the word which describes it — *אִשָּׁת לַיְדוּת*, not *לַיְדוּת*,² albeit that the former, like *כְּסִילוֹת* occurs but once.

She judged Israel. Inasmuch as in the gift of prophecy she had the Spirit of God, she was able to judge. Notwithstanding her rapt and flaming spirit, she was no fanatic. She judged the thronging people according to the principles of the law. The wisdom of this "wise woman" was the wisdom revealed by God in his law. She deals in no mysterious and awful terrors. The *מִשְׁפָּטִים* (judgment), for which Israel came to Deborah, was clear — did not consist in dark sayings, like the verses of the Pythia, though these also were called *θεμίστες*, *θέμιτες* (statutes, *מִשְׁפָּטִים*; cf. Nägelsbach, *Nachhom. Theologie*, p. 183). The comparison with the Sphinx, instituted by Bochart (*Phaleg*, p. 471), was not fortunate; not even according to the notions of the grammarian Socrates, who repre-

¹ [From the same root with *emsiç*, industrious, and *amineç*, emmet, ant — Tr.]

² [That is, apparently, the energy proceeds from a woman,

and therefore the word which figuratively characterizes it has, by a sort of attraction, a feminine, not masculine plural given it. — Tr.]

sented the Sphinx as a native soothsayer, who occasioned much harm because the Thebans did not understand her statutes (cf. Jaep, *Die griechische Sphinx*, p. 15).

Ver. 5. She sat under the palm-tree of Deborah. Under the palm still known to the narrator as that of Deborah (cf. "Luther's oak," in Thüringen). It is impossible to see why C. Bütticher (*Ueber den Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 523) should speak of "Deborah palms." She sat under a large palm, public and free, accessible to all; not like the German Velleda, who, according to Tacitus, sat in a tower, and to whom no one was admitted, in order to increase the veneration in which she was held. The palm was the common symbol of all Canaan; it adorned the coins of both the Phœnicians (Movers, ii. 1, 7) and the Jews.¹ From these coins, carried far and wide by sailors — and not, as is generally assumed, from the appearance of the coast when approached from sea, which showed many other things besides palm-trees, — arose the custom of calling those who brought them Phœnicians (*φοίνις*, the palm). The symbolism of the palm, which the ancients admired in Delos, was based on ideas which were unknown to Israel. It referred to the birth of Apollo, not to divination.

Between ha-Ramah and Beth-el, on Mount Ephraim.² Beth-el lay on the border between Ephraim and Benjamin; so likewise Ataroth (Josh. xvi. 2). Robinson discovered an Atara in that region (*Bibl. Res.*, i. 575). Not far from it, he came to a place, called er-Râm, lying on a high hill, which he regarded as the Ramah in Benjamin (Judg. xix. 13), while Ritter (xvi. 537, 538 [Gage's Transl. iv. 230]), identifies it with the Ramah of our passage. Both conjectures are tenable, since neither interferes with the statement that Deborah sat between Beth-el and Ramah, on Mount Ephraim, — on the border, of course, like Bethel itself (cf. *בֵּית־אֵל*, Josh. xvi. 1).

Vers. 6, 7. And she sent and called Barak out of Kedesh-naphtali. That which especially comes to us here, is the moral unity in which the tribes still continued to be bound together. Deborah, though resident in the south of Ephraim, had her eyes fixed on the tyranny which pressed especially on the tribes of the north. While of the priests at Shiloh none speak, she nevertheless cannot rest while Israel is in bondage. But she turns to the tribes most immediately concerned. Kedesh, to the northwest of Lake Hulch, has been identified in modern times, still bearing its old name. It is situated upon a rather high ridge, in a splendid region (Rob. iii. 366 ff.). There, in Naphtali, lived Barak ("lightning," like Barcas), the man fixed on by Deborah to become the liberator of his people. The names of his father and native place are carefully given, here, and again at ch. v. 1. The power of Deborah's influence shows itself in the fact that Barak, though living so far north, readily answers her summons to the border of Benjamin. At the same time, Barak's obedience to the call of the prophetess, is in itself good evidence, that he is the called deliverer of Israel. But she not only calls him, not only incites him to the conflict; she

also gives him the plan of battle which he must follow.

Go, and gradually draw toward Mount Tabor, with ten thousand men of Naphtali and Zebulun (*לֵךְ וּבְיַעֲקֹבָה בְּחַר הַבְּבוֹר וְלַמְּחֹף עִמָּוָה*).

The word *בְּשֹׁף* always conveys the idea of drawing, whether that which is drawn be the bow, the furrow, or the prolonged sounds of a musical instrument; tropically, it is also used of the long line of an army, advancing along the plain. Its meaning here, where the object which Barak is to draw is put in another clause, "*וְלַמְּחֹף עִמָּוָה*," is made plain by the analogous passage, Ex. xii. 21. There Moses says, *מִשְׁכַּב וַיִּדְחֵה לָקֵם זֵאֵו* and the sense is evidently that the families are to sacrifice the passover one after another (*מִשְׁכַּב*), each in its turn killing its own lamb. The same successive method is here enjoined by Deborah. Barak is to gather ten thousand men toward mount Tabor, one after another, in small squads. This interpretation of the word is strengthened by the obvious necessity of the case. The tyrant must hear nothing of the rising, until the hosts are assembled; but how can their movements be concealed, unless they move in small companies? For the same reason they are to assemble, not at Kedesh, but at a central point, readily accessible to the several tribes. Mount Tabor (*Jebel Tor*), southwest of the Sea of Tiberias, is the most isolated point of Galilee, rising in the form of a cone above the plain, and visible at a great distance, though its height is only 1735 (according to Schubert, 1748) Par. feet.³ Barak, however, is not to remain in his position on the mountain. If Sisera's tyranny is to be broken, its forces must be defeated in the plain; for there the iron chariots of the enemy have their field of action. Hence, Deborah adds that Sisera will collect his army at the brook Kishon, in the plain of Jezreel. "And I" — she speaks in the "Spirit of Jehovah" — "will draw him unto thee, and deliver him unto thine hand."

Ver. 8. And Barak said. Barak has no doubt as to the truth of her words, nor does he fear the enemy; but yet he will go only if Deborah go with him, not without her. Her presence legitimizes the undertaking as divine. It shows the tribes he summons, that he seeks no interest of his own — that it is *she* who summons them. He wishes to stand forth as the executor merely of the command which comes through her. The attempt to draw a parallel between Deborah and Jeanne d'Arc, though it readily suggests itself, will only teach us to estimate the more clearly the peculiar character of the Jewish prophetess. The latter does not herself draw the sword, for then she would not have needed Barak. Joan, like Deborah, spoke pregnant words of truth, as when, on being told that "God could conquer without soldiers," she simply replied, "the soldiers will fight, and then God will give victory;" but she fought only against the enemies of her country, not the enemies of her faith and spiritual life. It was a romantic faith in

¹ [STANLEY *Jewish Church*, i. 352]: "On the coins of the Roman Empire, Judaea is represented as a woman seated under a palm-tree, captive and weeping. It is the contrast of that figure which will best place before us the character and call of Deborah. It is the same Judæan palm under whose shadow she sits, but not with downcast eyes, and folded hands, and extinguished hopes; with all the fire of

faith and energy, eager for the battle, confident of the victory." — TR.

² The rendering of the Targum here is quite remarkable: "And she sat in the city, in Ataroth Deborah."

³ Cf. Ritter, xv. 833 [Gage's Transl. ii. 311; also Rob. ii. 351 ff.]

the right and truth of an earthly sceptre, for which the poor maiden fell: the voice which called Deborah to victory was the voice of the Universal Sovereign. No trace of sentimentalism, like that of Dunois, can be discovered in Barak; nevertheless, he voluntarily retires behind the authority of a woman, because God animates and inspires her.

Vers. 9, 10. She said: the expedition on which thou goest, shall not be for thine honour; for Jehovah will give Sisera into the hand of a woman. The victory will be ascribed, not to Barak, but to Deborah. It will be said, "a woman conquered Sisera." This is the first and obvious meaning of the words;¹ by the deed of Jael they were fulfilled in yet another sense. The honor of hewing down Sisera did not fall to Barak. Nevertheless, Barak insists on his condition. He will have the conflict sanctified by her presence. Something similar appears in Greek tradition: with reference to a battle in the Messenian war it is said (Paus. iv. 16), that "the soldiers fought bravely, because their Seers were present."

And Deborah arose, and went with Barak to Kedesh. For the sake of the great national cause, she leaves her peaceful palm; and by her readiness to share in every danger, evidences the truth of her announcements. Kedesh, Barak's home, is the place from which directions are to be issued to the adjacent tribes. Thither she accompanies him; and thence he sends out his call to arms. Some authority for this purpose, he must have had long before: it is now supported by the sanction of the prophetess. When it is said, that he "called Zebulun and Naphtali to Kedesh," it is evident that only the leaders are intended. It cannot be supposed that the troops, in whole or in part, were first marched up to Kedesh, and then back again, southward, to Tabor. In Kedesh, he imparts the plan to the heads of families. Led by these, the troops collect, descending on all sides from their mountains, like the Swiss against Austria, and proceed towards Tabor—"on foot" (וְעַל רַגְלֵיכֶם), for they have neither chariots nor cavalry. Their numbers constantly augment, till they arrive on Tabor,—Barak and Deborah always at their head.

Ver. 11. And Heber, the Kenite, had severed himself from Kain, the sons of Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses. We read above that the tribe of the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses, decamped from Jericho with the tribe of Judah (ch. i. 16), and, while the latter carried on the war of conquest, settled in Arad. From there the family of Heber has separated itself. While one part of the tribe has sought a new home for itself below, in the extreme south of Judah, the other encamps high up, in the territory of Naphtali. It is as if the touching attachment of this people to Israel still kept them located at the extremities of the Israelitish encampment, in order,

1 [This is the first and obvious meaning of the words, and it is very strange that Bachmann should pronounce this interpretation, from which but for Jael no one would ever have dreamed of departing, impossible.—Tr.]

2 In giving Jethro seven names, homiletical applications were followed. Thus, Hobab was taken as a surname of Jethro, "because he was dear to God." (*Ja'kut, Judges, n. 33.*)

3 To pitch one's tent "in the vicinity" of a place, is expressed by עָד: so here, עָד אֵלּוֹן; so Gen. xxxviii. 1,

עָד אִישׁ עַד לְמִי.

as of old, to show them the way. Above, ch. i. 16, they are called "sons of the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses"; here, "Kain (cf. Num. xxiv. 22), the sons of Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses." Ancient expositions² have been the occasion of

unnecessary confusion as to Jethro's name. יֶתְרוֹ means to contract affinity by marriage; and, just as in German *Schwäher* (father-in-law) and *Schwager* (brother-in-law) are at bottom one, so the Hebrew יֶתְרוֹן may stand for both father-in-law and brother-in-law. The father-in-law of Moses was Jethro; as priest, he was called Renel (רַעֲוִיֶל). He did not accompany Israel, but after his visit to Moses, went back to his own land (Ex. xviii. 27). His son Hobab, however (Num. x. 29), had remained with Israel; and when he also would return home, Moses entreated him to abide with them, that he might be for eyes to them on the way, and promised him a share in whatever good might be in store for Israel. The proposal was accepted, and the promise was kept. In the north and south of Canaan, the Kenites had their seats. They are here designated "sons of Hobab," because it was from him, the ancient guide of Israel, that they derived their position in the land. Heber's tent was in the vicinity of Kedesh, near Elon Zaanannim,³ mentioned also at Josh. xix. 33, as a place on the border of Naphtali. The name may have originated from the sojourn of the Kenites; a supposition which becomes necessary, if with an eye to Isa. xxxiii. 20,⁴ it be interpreted to mean the "oak of the wandering tent."⁵

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Compare the reflections at the end of the next section.

[BISHOP HALL: It is no wonder if they, who ere fourscore days after the law delivered, fell to idolatry alone; now, after four-score years since the law restored, fell to idolatry among the Canaanites. Peace could in a shorter time work looseness in any people. And if forty years after Othniel's deliverance they relapsed, what marvel is it, that in twice forty years after Ehud they thus miscarried!—THE SAME: Deborah had been no prophetess, if she durst have sent in her own name: her message is from Him that sent herself. "Hath not the Lord God of Israel commanded!" Barak's answer is faithful, though conditional; and doth not so much intend a refusal to go without her, as a necessary bond of her presence with him. Who can blame him, that he would have a prophetess in his company? If the man had not been as holy as valiant, he would not have wished such society.—THE SAME: To prescribe that to others, which we draw back from doing ourselves, is an argument of hollowness and falsity. Barak shall see that Deborah doth not

4 [Where, according to De Wette's translation, Jerusalem is spoken of as a "Zelt das nicht wandert"—a tent that does not wander.—Tr.]

5 The reading *δρυός πλεονεκτούτων*, found in some Greek versions, expounds יֶתְרוֹן as if it came from יֶתְרֵי; while the *ἀναπαυομένων* of other versions gives it the sense of יֶתְרוֹן, which is so rendered, Jer. xlviii. 11.

offer him that cup whereof she dares not begin: without regard of her sex, she marches with him to Mount Tabor, and rejoices to be seen of the ten thousand of Israel. — HENGSTENBERG (*Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, ii. 101): To grant succor through a woman was calculated to raise heavenwards the thoughts of men, which are so prone to cleave to the earth. If the honor was due to God alone, they would be more disposed to show their gratitude by sincere conversion. That Barak was obliged to lean on Deborah, depended on the same

law by which Gideon was chosen to be the deliverer of Israel from the Midianites, though his family was the meanest in Manasseh, and himself the youngest in his father's house; that law by which Gideon was divinely directed to take only three hundred men from the whole assembled host; the women Deborah and Jael stand in the same category with the ox-goat of Shamgar. In all ages God is pleased to choose for his service the inconsiderable and the despised. — TR.]

The Battle of the Kishon. Sisera, defeated, seeks shelter in the tent of Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite, and is slain by her.

CHAPTER IV. 12-24.

- 12 And they shewed Sisera that Barak the son of Abinoam was gone up to Mount
 13 Tabor. And Sisera gathered [called] together all his chariots [his whole chariot-
 force], *even* nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that *were* with him, from
 Harosheth of the Gentiles [Harosheth Hagojim] unto the river [brook] of Kishon.
 14 And Deborah said unto Barak, Up; for this *is* the day in which the Lord [Jehovah]
 hath delivered [delivereth] Sisera into thine hand: is [doth] not the Lord [Jehovah]
 gone [go] out before thee? So Barak went down from Mount Tabor, and
 15 ten thousand men after him. And the Lord [Jehovah] discomfited [confounded]
 Sisera, and all *his* [the] chariots, and all *his* [the] host, with the edge of the sword¹
 before Barak; so that [and] Sisera lighted down off *his* chariot, and fled away on
 16 his feet. But [And] Barak pursued after the chariots, and after the host, unto
 Harosheth of the Gentiles [Harosheth Hagojim]: and all the host of Sisera fell
 17 upon [by] the edge of the sword; and there was not a man left. Howbeit, Sisera
 fled² away on his feet to the tent of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite: for *there was*
 18 peace between Jabin the king of Hazor and the house of Heber the Kenite. And
 Jael went out to meet Sisera, and said unto him, Turn in, my lord, turn in to me; fear
 not. And when he had turned [And he turned] in unto her into the tent, [and] she
 19 covered him with a mantle.³ And he said unto her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water
 to drink; for I am thirsty. And she opened a bottle of milk [the milk-skin], and gave
 20 him drink, and covered him. Again [And] he said unto her, Stand in the door of
 the tent, and it shall be, when any man doth come and inquire of thee, and say, Is
 21 there any man here? that thou shalt say, No. Then [And] Jael Heber's wife took
 a nail of the tent [the tent-pin], and took an [the] hammer in her hand, and went
 softly unto him, and smote [drove] the nail [pin] into his temples, and fastened it
 [and it pressed through] into the ground: for he was fast asleep, and weary. So
 22 he died.⁴ And behold, as [omit: as] Barak pursued Sisera, [and] Jael came out
 [went] to meet him, and said unto him, Come, and I will shew thee the man whom
 thou seekest. And when he came into her tent, behold, Sisera lay dead, and the
 23 nail [pin] *was* in his temples. So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of
 24 Canaan before the children [sons] of Israel. And the hand of the children [sons]
 of Israel prospered, and prevailed [grew continually heavier] against Jabin the king
 of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 15. — לְפָנָיו. Standing in connection with מִדְּבָרָא, these words are of somewhat difficult interpretation. Dr. Cassel's rejection of them will not commend itself to most critics; nor is the provisional translation he gives of them, "in the conflict," exactly clear. The best view is probably that of Bachmann, that the expression denotes the great operative cause by which Jehovah's confounded the enemy. Barak's man, rushing down from the mountain, and

falling suddenly on the hosts of Sisera, cutting down with remorseless sword all that stood in their way, threw the enemy into utter confusion; but the effect is rightly ascribed to Jehovah, from whose Spirit both the impulse and the strength to execute proceeded. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 17. — Dr. Cassel translates by the pluperfect: "had fled," cf. below. But it seems better to retain the indefinite perfect. The narrative left Sisera for a moment, in order in ver. 16 briefly to indicate the fate of the army, but now returns to him. Cf. 1 Kg. xx. 30, and many similar instances. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 18. — שְׂמִיכָה. This word means a "covering;" but exactly what sort of covering is uncertain. Dr. Cassel translates here by *Regenüch*, raincloth, perhaps to indicate its close, impervious texture. Dr. Bachmann thinks it was "probably a rather large covering or mat of thick, soft material (perhaps skin or goat's-hair), on which a person lay down and in which he at the same time wrapped himself up, — a sort of mattress and coverlet in one. Similar articles still form part of the furniture of the Bedouin's tent and the Fellah's dwelling." He derives the word from תָּמַךְ = תָּמַךְ, in its usual sense to support, to lean, specifically to recline at table. Accordingly the proper meaning of the word would be "supporting;" then, concretely, that which supports or serves to recline upon. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 21. — Dr. Cassel: "and he — for weariness he had fallen fast asleep — died." Keil: "Now he was fallen into a deep sleep, and was wearied (i. e. from weariness he had fallen fast asleep); and so he died." Similarly Bachmann.

The clause וַיִּפֹּל — וַיִּשְׁכַּח is manifestly designed to set forth the circumstances which enabled Jael to approach Sisera unperceived; consequently, the "for" of the English version is perfectly proper, and formally not less correct than Dr. Cassel's German, which was only designed to correct Luther's version: "he however, fell asleep, swooned away, and died." Dr. Wordsworth (p. 93) considers it a mistake to suppose that Jael "smote a nail into Sisera's head while he was asleep." He would render: "and he fell down astounded, and fainted away, and died." The passage is a curiosity in interpretation. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Intensely vivid pictures, and of the highest historical clearness, are drawn in these simple sentences. The reader is conducted, in imagination, into the tumult of the battle, and stands horror-stricken in the tent of Jael.

Ver. 12. **And they told Sisera.** Jabin was in Hazor, Sisera in Harosheth Hagojim. Since the tidings from Tabor come to Sisera, he must have been near the scene of action; whilst Jabin appears to be at a distance from all the events narrated.

Vers. 13, 14. **And he called together,** וַיִּקְרָא. וַיִּקְרָא means properly, to cry; here, as in ver. 10, to assemble by crying, κηρύττειν: he mobilizes the troops quartered round about. Everything revolves about Sisera. He is the prominent, controlling personage; commander, probably, of the mercenaries, who on account of their mixed¹ character, were also perhaps called *Gojim*. The chariots, which Sisera orders to be sent to the brook Kishon, must already have been in the plain, since otherwise they could not have been transported. Their head-quarters cannot have been anywhere else than at Beisan, where at the same time they commanded the best chariot and cavalry roads to the country beyond the Jordan. The plain of Jezreel to which he conducts them, is ground on which his army can properly unfold itself. He leads them to the southwest side of Tabor, where the mountain shows its greatest depression. It must have been his intention, in case Barak did not attack, to surround him on the mountain, and thus compel him to descend into the valley. But before the terrible chariot-force has well arranged itself, the Israelitish army, fired with divine enthusiasm by Deborah, and led by Barak, charges down on the flanks of the enemy, and breaks up their battle ranks. Everything is thrown into confusion — panic terrors ensue, — everything turns to flight. The great captain has lost his head; of all his

strategic plans nothing remains; only presence of mind enough is left him to seek salvation from destruction by not fleeing in his chariot, nor with the others.

Vers. 15-24. **And Jehovah confounded them** Deborah had promised that God would go before them — as He went before Joshua, not visibly as an angel (as the Targum has it), but in the might of his Spirit, which He puts upon his heroes. It is by that quickening Spirit that, in their charge from the height, Barak becomes lightning, and Deborah a torch, by which the enemy is consumed.

וַיִּפְּחֵם, "He confounded them," as He confounded the host of the Egyptians (Ex. xiv. 24). When confusion enters the ranks of the chariots, all is lost. They are then worse than useless. God did this, that Israel might conquer.

In the conflict. לְפִי־חֶרֶב. This is the only meaning which these words can have, if they properly belong here. In that case, however, the phraseology לְפִי־חֶרֶב . . . וַיִּפְּחֵם is peculiar, and admits only of an artificial explanation. Bertheau's idea, that God is represented as a champion hero with his sword, is altogether inadmissible. To me it seems likely that לְפִי־חֶרֶב did not originally stand here at all, but slipped in from ver. 16, an error easily accounted for by the fact that the next word, לַחַיִּי, begins with the same letters.

And Sisera lighted down off his chariot. Because on that he was likely to be recognized. The bulk of the army, on account of the chariots, can only flee along the plain, back to Harosheth, whence they advanced. Sisera takes to his feet, in order to escape by other roads. He foresees that Barak will pursue the army, and look for him there. Therefore he secretly flees in a northern direction towards Hazor; and gains thereby at all events the advantage that Barak seeks him in the other direction, towards Harosh-

¹ According to Ezekiel (ch. xxvii. 10), Paras, Lud, and Phut, were in the army of the king of Tyre, as mercenaries. The same prophet (ch. xxxviii 5), addressing Gog, implies that he had Paras, Cush, and Phut, in his service. It is certainly more reasonable to think of the Assyrian Cush (Cossaeans) as connected with the army of Gog, than of the African. In place of Gog and Magog, an ancient interpretation already puts Cimmerians and Scythians. In like

manner, Symmachus explains the king of Elam, who invaded Palestine, to be the king of the Scythians. The historical fact that people of Scythian manners served in the armies of the Phoenicians, may serve to render the existence of a Scythian colony at Beisan more probable at least, than it is on the basis of the traditions communicated by Pliny and others, which are only like similar stories current at Antioch and elsewhere.

eth. During the tumult in which his proud army is shattered by the heroic deeds of Israel, he has succeeded in getting well on towards his destination, and thinks himself to have found a safe hiding-place with a friend. The language is designedly chosen to indicate this order of events: first, ver. 15, and Sisera fled; then, ver. 16, Barak pursued; finally, ver. 17, Sisera had fled.—Between Heber the Kenite and Jabin there was peace; the Kenite therefore had not shared the oppression under which Israel suffered. Consequently, Sisera could hope to find in his tent a little rest from the fatigue of his long-continued exertions. Securer still was the shelter of the woman's tent. In that of Heber, he might have feared the violence of Barak: the tent of a woman no one enters with hostile purpose. He seems first to have made inquiries. She meets him with friendly mien, invites him urgently, and quiets his apprehensions: "fear not," she says; she prepares him a couch that he may rest himself, and covers him carefully with a close covering. The covering is called **הַכֶּסֶל**, a word which occurs only here. The derivations given in Bochart (*Phaleg*, 748) and in the recent lexicons (Gesenius, Fürst), throw no light on it.

הַכֶּסֶל is the Syriac and Chaldee **שַׁכְנָה** hide, skin, leather; Arabic, **شاش** (cf. Freytag, *Lex. Arab.*, iv., *sub voce*), *cliticium, saccus*. This is finally indicated by those Greek versions (followed also by Augustine; and cf. Rörldam, p. 83) which translate it *δέππης*; for that means not only "hide," but also "leathern covering," and a female garment, according to the *Etymol. Magnum*, where we read of a *γυνή ἀκαίαν δέππην ἡμφοσμένην*. Thus also the direction of certain Rabbins that this word is to be interpreted as **הַכֶּסֶל** (*stragula*), explains itself. The Targum also agrees with this; for it has **הַכֶּסֶל**, *καυάκη*, a covering rough on one side. Nor is anything else meant by the word **הַכֶּסֶל** (in Targum of Jon., Deut. xxiv. 13). It must be a close covering, fitted to conceal the soldier who lies under it.

Sisera is not incautious. He proceeds to ask for drink, pleading thirst. She gives him of her milk. It is an ancient, oriental practice, common to all Bedouins, Arabs, and the inhabitants of deserts in general, that whoever has eaten or drunk anything in the tent, is received into the peace of the house. The Arab's mortal enemy slumbers securely in the tent of his adversary, if he have drunk with him. Hence, Saladin refuses to give drink to the bold Frank Knight, Reinald of Chatillon, because he wishes to kill him (Marin, *Hist. of Saladin*, ii. 19). Sisera thinks that he may now safely yield to sleep. Only he feels that he ought first to instruct Jacl how to answer any pursuers that may come. How did he deceive

himself! Sisera is made to know the demonlike violence [*dämonische Gewalt*] of a woman's soul; which, when it breaks loose, knows no bounds. True, Jabin is at peace with Heber. But Jacl's race and its history have from time immemorial intergrown with those of Israel. Israel's freedom is her freedom; Israel's glory, her glory. How many women have been dishonored and carried away as booty by Sisera (ch. v. 30)! Shall she be idle, when the tyrant gives himself up into her hands? What, if she saves him? Will it not be treason on her part against the ancient covenant with Israel? Will he not, by virtue of his vigor and skill, collect fresh troops, and threaten Israel anew? Shall it be said, Jacl saved the enemy of the people among whom she lived as among brothers, to their destruction? The conflict in which she finds herself is great; and none but a great and powerful soul could end it as she does. She will not allow him to escape—as he will do, if she refuse to harbor him; and yet, she can harbor him only to destroy,—and that not without doing violence to ancient popular custom. She makes her decision. She scorns the reward which Sisera's safety might perhaps have brought her. She takes the nobler object into consideration—the freedom of a kindred nation,—and the older right preponderates. A ruthless warrior stands before her, the violator of a thousand laws of right, and all hesitation vanishes. She has no sword with which to hew the oppressor down, and seizes the terrible weapon of womanly cunning, before which no law can stand. Besides, it has been noticed, even in modern times, that in general the women of those regions care less about the rights of hospitality than the men. Burkhardt in his wanderings had personal experience of this (Ritter, xiv. 179).

Jacl, through her terrible deed, far surpasses similar female characters of other times and nations. Concerning the Greek Aretochila, of Cyrene, Plutarch (*On the Virtues of Women*, n. 19) exclaims: "Her glorious deed raises her to the rank of the most ancient heroines!" What was her deed! By poison, lies, and perjury, she finally succeeded in overthrowing the tyrant who loved her, the husband who trusted her! But she would never have risen to such an undertaking, had he not slain her first husband. Still more horrible is the Chriemhild of the German *Nibelungen*. She invites those whom she wishes to murder, from a great distance; she not only violates the rights of hospitality, but her victims are her own relatives, countrymen, and friends. Jacl has no by-ends, no personal wrong to avenge; the tyrant is a stranger to her, and not properly her enemy. But he is the oppressor of the freedom of the people of God, with whose life her own and that of her race have become identified. She does a demonlike deed,—but does it solely and purely in the service of general ideas.²

1 [STANLEY: "It must have been three days after the battle that he reached a spot, which seems to gather into itself, as in the last scene of an eventful drama, all the characters of the previous acts."—Ta.]

2 [Dr. Wordsworth, treating the question, "What is the true character of Jacl's act?" argues that as it was commended by the Song of Deborah, and as that Song "is recited by the Holy Ghost as the utterance of one who spake by his own inspiration," it follows that "Jacl must have received a special commission from God to attempt and perform this act." Much in the history, he says, "confirms this conclusion." What he adduces, however, is not worth repeating. Dr. Bachmann enters into the discussion very

fully. The salient points of his essay may, however, be stated in few words. He thinks it unquestionable that the language of Deborah, ch. iv. 9, "Jehovah shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman," is a prediction of the chieftain's destruction by Jacl. This utterance of the prophetess cannot have been unknown to Jacl. Hence, when the latter sees Sisera approach her tent for shelter, she at once obtains the clear and certain conviction that it is by her hands that he is to fall. She therefore acts under a divine commission. Her invitation to Sisera, her promise of protection, and her honorable entertainment of him, are not to be defended. But "although she transcended the proper limits in the means she employed, it is not to be denied that the operation of

It had not been necessary for her to kill him. Scarcely was her deed accomplished, before Barak, swift as lightning both in battle and in pursuit, appeared. But, since it was done, it served to manifest the faithfulness of the Kenite, and to increase the disgrace of Jabin. Barak had gained nothing by personally slaying the flying foe; only the honor of the hostile chieftain had been subserved, if he had fallen by the sword of the hero. Filled with astonishment, Barak enters the tent of Jael—a noble subject for the painter's pencil!—and before him lies the mighty Sisera, a dead man, nailed to the earth by a woman! A victory thus begun, could not but end magnificently. Continually more telling were the blows that fell on Jabin's head, until his power was annihilated. No other Jabin reigned in Hazor. His name is thrice repeated in verses 23 and 24, in order to emphasize its importance.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Deborah, the female Judge, full of fire, and Barak the hero. Israel's sin remains ever the same. When their hero dies, when the elders who have seen the works of God are no more, the younger generation apostatizes. So perverse and cowardly is the human heart; and times do not change, nor experience teach it.—**STARKE**: Peace and too prosperous days are not long good for men.

But the danger of the judgment becomes ever greater, the tyranny of sin ever stronger and nearer. The king of Aram, whom Othniel smote, was distant; the king of Moab, beyond the Jordan; but the king of Hazor is in the midst of the land, possessed of unprecedented power. However, the greater the power of the enemy, the more manifest become the wonders of God's compassion. The deliverer raised up against Moab, though left-handed, is a man; but against the master of nine hundred iron chariots, the battle is waged through a woman. Thus, 1. the heathen learn that victory comes not by horses or horsemen, but by the word of God; and, 2. Israel is humbled, not only by the judgment, but also by the mercy, of God.

There was no want of warlike men in Israel; but lances break like rushes, when the heart is not courageous. Israel, with all its strong men, is impotent so long as it lacks faith in its God. Barak

the Spirit of God influenced her deed, nor that she acted from the impulse of the obedience of faith. It is, moreover, only from this point of view that we obtain an explanation of the fact that Deborah in her judgment (ch. v. 24 ff.) so entirely overlooked the human weakness that clung to Jael's

is a valiant hero, but a woman must call him. His name is "Lightning," and his deeds are mighty; but the lightning is kindled by the fire-word of the prophetic. As Moses sings after the exodus, "The Lord is a man of war, the Lord is his name," so Deborah's word and song testify that God alone can save. To make this truth seen and believed by all, He lends his victory to a woman. Thus the vanity of men reveals itself, who ascribe to themselves that which belongs to God. Military readiness is of no avail, when readiness of spirit is not cherished. Not legions, but prophets, guard the kingdom of God. God only can conquer, and He suffers not men to prescribe the instruments of conquest.

Barak was a valiant hero, for he was obedient. He followed, but did not begin. Hence, also, though he gained the victory in the field, he nevertheless did not complete it. He took his impulse from a woman,—with Deborah, but not without her, he was willing to go where he went; a woman likewise finished the victory, when Jael slew the leader of the enemy. He waited for the spirit which Deborah breathed into him; not so did Jael wait for his sword to lay Sisera low. Hence, a woman's name became connected both with the beginning and the end of the great achievement. Thus God grants results according to the measure of courage. As we believe, so we have. If Barak had believed like Deborah, he would have been as near to God as she was. But the Spirit of God needs no soldiers to conquer. He glorifies, through his word, the despised things of the world. Jesus selected as disciples, not athletes, but children of God who sought their Father. Put up thy sword, He said to Peter. When risen from the dead, it was to a woman that He first appeared.

STARKE: Holy men love holy company, for therein they find a great blessing.—**THE SAME**: We with our distrust often close God's hands, so that but for our own actions, He would give us far more than He does; for God is more inclined to give, than we to receive.—**THE SAME**: So are men's hearts in the hands of God, that out of the timid He can make heroes, and out of heroes, cowards.—**GERLACH**: The holy faith that animates the deed of Jael, is of divine origin; the ways and methods, however, of rude and savage times continue in part until the time when all the promises of God in Christ shall be fulfilled.

deed." Compare the remarks of Dean Stanley, *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, i. 365-370.—**TR.**]

1 It is powerfully treated in the *Bibel in Bildern*, published by Schnorr.

Deborah's Song of Triumph.

CHAPTER V. 1-31.

THE SUPERScription.

Verse 1.

1 They sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying,

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The special sign of the prophetic spirit, is the use of lyrical expression. The praise of God, and the proclamation of his mighty deeds, burst from the prophets in the rapture of poetic visions. Their language is glowing and powerful, like a torch in the night. This lofty view of the nature of poetry shows itself everywhere. Poets, says Socrates, speak like men divinely inspired, like those who deliver oracles. Among the Romans, legendary tradition (Liv. i. 7) told of an ancient prophetic nymph, Carmenta (from *Carmen*). Of no Judge is it expressly said that he was a prophet: this is affirmed of Deborah alone; and she alone among them *sang*, — and that, not merely as Miriam, who with her women formed the responsive choir to Moses' song, but as Moses, the victor, himself.

She sang, שָׁרָהּ. She was the creator of the song. Quite parallel is the expression, Ex. xv. 1: "then sang Moses and the sons of Israel" (שָׁרָהּ), not "they sang." Moses, divinely inspired, composed the song, and the people sang it. The case was similar with Deborah. The feminine of the verb, with the following connective, וְ, expresses the independent creation and the joint-execution of the Song; for already in the fourth chapter, Barak stands for the most part for the people themselves. Thus, Barak has gone up to Mount Tabor, ch. iv. 12; Sisera's army is thrown into confusion before Barak, ver. 15; Barak pursues, ver. 16; etc. Here also, therefore, Barak takes the place which in the Song of Moses the "children of Israel" occupy. He and his men raise Deborah's hymn as their song of triumph; and thus it becomes a national hymn. Song is the noblest ornament which the nations of antiquity can devise for victory. They preserve its utterances tenaciously, both as evidences of their prowess, and as incentives to action in times of dishonor. In the days of Pausanias (in the second century after Christ), and therefore about 800 years after the event, the Messenians still sang a triumphal song of the time of Aristonenes (Paus. iv. 16). Perhaps the most interesting remnant of German recollections of Arminius, is the Westphalian popular song, still sung in the region of what was once the field of

victory (cf. Horkel, in *Der Gesch. der Deutschen Vorzeit*, i. 257). In the case of Israel, whose victories are the steps in its national work, and the evidences of its religious truth, the interest of such a song is the greater, because there tradition moulded the conscience of the generations, and fidelity to its earliest history formed the conditions of the national calling, greatness, and glory.

The form of the Song, as of the old Hebrew poetry generally, is that of free rhythm. The Song is a poetical stream: everywhere poetical, and yet untrammelled by any artistic division into strophes. Such a division, it is true, is not altogether wanting; but it is never made a rule. Consequently, efforts to force it systematically on the poem, while only traces of it show themselves, are all in vain. There is no want of finish; introduction and conclusion are well defined; but the pauses subordinate themselves to the thoughts, and these unfold themselves free as the waves. The peculiar character of the Song consists in the boldness of its imagery and the force of its unusual language. It appropriates, in a natural manner, all those forms which genuine poetry does not seek but produce; but it appropriates them all with a freedom which endures none as a rule, yet without, like the natural stream, violating harmony. The Song, then, has strophes, but they are not of equal measure; it moves along in parallelisms, but with variations corresponding to the movement of the thought. The most interesting feature to be noticed, is the alliteration, which appears in the highest development and delicacy, as elsewhere only in the old Norse poems, but also with considerable freedom from restraint. It is important to notice this, because it testifies, more than any division into strophes that may exist, to the nature of the popular song and its lyrical use. The divisions which the poem certainly shows, are determined only by its own course of thought. They are: the praise of God, as introduction (vers. 2-5); the delineation of the emergency (vers. 6-8); the call to praise that the evil no longer exists (vers. 9-11); delineation of the victory and the victors (vers. 12-23); the fate of the enemy (vers. 24-31). The renderings which distinguish the following translation from the older versions extant, will be justified under the several verses in which they occur.¹

¹ The author's version of the Song forms an essential part of his exposition, and we therefore substitute a translation of it, adhering as closely as practicable to his German, for the ordinary English text. For Dr. Casael's rendering of

שָׁרָהּ, cf. "Textual and Grammatical," note 1, p. 23. In general, it will be seen that he does not anxiously aim at literalness. The black-faced letters are designed to imitate, rather than reproduce, the alliteration which in our author's view forms a marked feature of the poem (see above). It

may be useful to some readers to be referred to the following readily accessible English versions of the Song: Robinson's, with an extended commentary, in *Bibl. Repository*, 1831, p. 568; "Review of Hollmann on the Song of Deborah," *Chris. Spectator* (New Haven), B. 307; Robbins, "The Song of Deborah," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1865, p. 597; Milman's version, in *Hist. of the Jews*, i. 292; Stanley's, in *Jewish Church*, i. 870. The whole special literature of the subject is given by Bachmann, i. 298 ff. — Tr.]

INTRODUCTION.

Vers. 2-5.

- 2 That in Israel wildly waved the hair
In the people's self-devotion, — Praise God !
- 3 Hear, O ye kings, give ear, O ye princes :
I for God,¹ unto Him will I sing,
I will strike the strings unto God, the Lord of Israel !
- 4 O God, at thy march from Seir,
At thy going forth from Edom's fields,
The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped,
Yea, the clouds dropped down water.
- 5 The mountains were dismayed before God,
Even this² Sinai, before God, the Lord of Israel.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 3. — Dr. Cassel: *Ich für Gott*; but the accents separate *לַיהוָה אֲנֹכִי*, and there appears no good reason for disregarding them. The position and repetition of the subject *אֲנֹכִי* serve to bring the person of the Singer prominently into view, and that not in her character as woman, but as prophetess, filled with the Spirit of God, and therefore entitled to challenge the attention of kings and princes. So Bachmann. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 5. — *זֶה סִינַי*: literally, "this Sinai." "Sinai is present to the poetic eye of Deborah" (Wordsworth). Dr. Cassel translates by the definite article, *der Sinai*. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 2. The above translation of ver. 2¹ differs from all earlier renderings, which however also differ more or less from each other. The most interesting among them is that of those Greek versions which render "*ἐν τῷ ἀρξασθαι ἀρχηγός*." It has been followed by a multitude of esteemed expositors (Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, Ewald, Bertheau, Böttger, Kenink); and yet it betrays its Egyptian origin, since in connection with *בְּפָרַע* it thought only of the Egyptian Pharaoh or king, and expounded accordingly. A similar, more homiletical interpretation proceeds from the Targum. This was more naturally reminded of *פְּרִיעַנַת*, *ultio, vindicta*; the Midrash, by speaking of the cessation of the sufferings, whose previous existence is implied in the necessity for vengeance, shows that it adopts the same interpretation. Teller also, perhaps unconsciously, arrived at the same explanation. The interpretation of Raschi, who takes *פָּרַע* as equivalent to *פָּרַץ*, and of those who suppose it equivalent to *פָּרַט* may, like various others, be passed over in silence. The natural exposition, which is always at the same time the poetical, has on all sides been overlooked. *פָּרַע* is undoubtedly (as in Arabic) the hair of the head, and more particularly the long, waving hair, the *coma*,² as appears from Ezek. xlv. 20. *פְּרִיעוֹת* is its plural form, and is used in Deut.

בְּפָרַע פְּרִיעוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
בְּהַרְגֵנְבָב עָם בְּרַכְנֵי יְהוָה

² That we must go back to the sense of this word, is also admitted by Kell; but he attaches a meaning to it which it never has. [KEL: *פְּרִיעוֹת* here means properly

xxxii. 42, where blood is spoken of as flowing down from the hairy head (*מֵרֹאשׁ פְּרִיעוֹת אוֹיֵב*).

Hence the verb *פָּרַע* (cf. *κομᾶν*, to cultivate the hair), signifies "to make loose," to allow to "become wild," as when the hair flies wild and loose about the neck; wherefore it is said of Aaron (Ex. xxxii. 25) that he had caused the people *פָּרַעוּ*, "to grow wild," and of the people that they "had grown wild" (*פָּרַעוּ*). The circumstances under which the hair was allowed to grow, are well known. The person who makes a vow, who would be holy unto God, is directed (Num. vi. 5) to let his hair "grow" (*גָּדַל פָּרַע*). The instance of Samson, to which we shall come hereafter, is familiar. The present occasion for this observance arose *בְּהַרְגֵנְבָב עָם*,³ when the people consecrated themselves, devoted themselves (*se devovit*), to God, — the people, namely, who gave heed to the voice of Deborah, and placed themselves in the position of one who called himself holy unto God. Israel, through disobedience, had fallen into servitude. Those who followed Barak had faith in God; upon the strength of this faith they hazarded their lives. They devoted themselves wholly as a sacrifice to God. The verse therefore exhibits a profound apprehension of the essential nature of the national life. It sets forth the ground of the very possibility of the Song, and therefore stands at its head. Israel could be victorious only by repentance and return to obedience.⁴ The prophetess delineates, poetically and with forcible beauty, *comati*, hairy persons, *i. e.* those who are endowed with strength. The champions in battle are meant, who by their prowess and valor preceded the people." — Tr.]

³ The verb *נָדַב* occurs only in Exodus, Ezra, Chronicles, and here.

⁴ The Targum, though merely paraphrastic, in its spirit agrees entirely with this interpretation.

the people's great act of self-devotion, when whole tribes give themselves to God, — their hair streaming, their hearts rejoicing, — and place their strength and trust in Him. They were the *καρηκομῶντες*¹ of a divine freedom. This interpretation also brings the parallelism out clearly: *בְּפָרְעַי* stands in both causal and positional correlation with *בְּהִרְגֵנֵם*. The preposition *בְּ* points out the condition of the people in which they conquered and sang. The Song is the people's consecration hymn, and praises God for the prosperous and successful issue with which He has crowned their vows. "Praise ye God," it exclaims, "for the long locks," — i. e. for and in the people's consecration. The result of every such consecration as God blesses, is his praise. And now, the nations must hear it! The object of Israel's national pride, is its God. Hence, Israel's song of triumph is a call upon surrounding kings to hear what God did for his people when they gave themselves up to Him.²

Ver. 3. Hear, O ye kings and princes. Both are expressions for the "mighty ones" among the nations, cf. Ps. ii. 2. *הַגִּבּוֹרִים* are the great, the strong. *Roseu* manifestly answers to the Sanskrit *vrishna* (Bentley, i. 332), Old High German *riso*, giant. — Deborah proposes not merely to sing, but adds, I will play (*תִּנְנֶנָּה*). As in the Psalms, singing and playing are joined together, one representing thought, the other sound. The action expressed by *תִּנְנֶנָּה* is performed on various instruments (cf. Ps. cxlv. 9, "ten-stringed lute"), chiefly on the cithern, a species of harp or lyre (Ps. xcvi. 5, etc.), but also with timbrels and citherns (Ps. cxlix. 3, cf. Ps. lxxx. 3). Miriam also accompanied her antiphonal song with timbrels (*tympanis*, Ex. xv. 20), Jephthah's daughter used them as she came to meet her father (Judg. xi. 34). Nor can they have failed as an accompaniment to the Song of our prophetess. *Tympania* (tymph, timbrels) appear in antiquity as the special instrument of impassioned women (Crenzer, *Symbolik*, iii. 489). The derivation of the word *תִּנְנֶנָּה* is not clear. Delitzsch is doubtless right in deciding (*Psalter*, i. 19) that it has nothing to do with the *samar* which signifies to "prune the vine." That *samar* reminds one of the Greek *σάλας*, a clasp and carving-knife. *Sinnur*, to play (scil. *mismor*, ψαλμός), distinguishes itself as an onomatopoeic word. The primitive Greek singer, whose contest with the muses in cithern-playing Homer already relates, was named *Thamyris* (*Il.* ii. 594).

Vers. 4, 5. O God at thy march from Seir. An Israelitish song can praise God only by re-

hearsing the history of Israel. For the fact that God is in its history constitutes the sole foundation of Israel's national existence and rights over against other nations. But this immanence of God in the history of the people, manifests itself most wonderfully in those events through which, as by steps, Israel became a nation. For not in Egypt, where Israel was a servant, was the nation born, nor through the exodus alone; the nationality of Israel is the child of the desert. There, through the self-revelation of God, Israel became a free people. The journey through the desert — of which Sinai was the central point, — by the giving of the law and the impartation of doctrine, by the wonderful provision of food and the gift of victory, and by the infliction of awful judgments, became one continuous act of divine revelation. Thus, Israel came forth from the desert a perfected nation. The prophetic insight of the Hebrew poets, at one clear glance, traces the desert-birth of the nation back to the manifest nearness of God as its cause. All that happened to the people came from God. "The Lord came from Sinai," says the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 2), "and rose up from Seir; He shined forth from Mount Paran." The 114th psalm (ver. 2) represents the exodus from Egypt as the beginning of Israel's nationality: "Then Judah became his sanctuary." Deborah takes Seir and Edom, whence Israel entered history as a nation, as representatives of the whole desert; which from her position was, even geographically, quite natural. The 68th Psalm, borrowing from this passage, at the same time explains it by substituting more general terms for Seir and Edom: "When thou wentest forth before thy people, when thou didst march through the wilderness." The wilderness was the theatre of the revelation of God. There He appeared to his people. Where is there another nation to whom this occurred? "Hear, ye kings," cries the prophetess, what nation was ever raised up, instructed, and led, by the manifest presence of such a God?

The earth trembled. The superior grandeur of Scriptural over the noblest Hellenic conceptions, is scarcely anywhere more clearly apparent. The earthquake, with Hesiod and others, is symbolic of conflict between the powers above and those below, between Zens and Typhon: —

"Great Olympus trembled beneath the immortal feet
Of the Ruler rising up, and hollow groined the earth.

The earth resounded, and the heavens around, and the
floods of ocean."⁴

To the prophetic spirit of Deborah, also, and of the Psalms, the earthquake becomes a powerful symbol; but it is the symbol of the creature's

1 ["Long-haired," of the Homeric *καρηκομῶντας* Ἀχαιοῦς, "long-haired Greeks," *Il.* ii. 11, etc. Among the later Greeks, long hair was the badge of freedom, and hence was not allowed to slaves. See Smith's *Dict. Antiquities*, s. v. "Coma." — Tr.]

2 (Dr. Bachmann adopts the view of ver. 2 given by the LXX. according to the Alexandrine Codex: *ἐν τῷ ἀρχισταυ ἀμύγητος ἐν Ἰσραὴλ*, and translates, "that the leaders led," etc. The idea of "leading" or "going before," he says, may be readily derived from the radical meaning of *פָּרַע*, "to break forth," ac. into prominence (*herortreten*). His criticism on our author's translation is as follows: "To say nothing of the fact that the partitive (?) *בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל* excites surprise, standing as it does in parallelism with *עַם*, it may

well be doubted whether the expression taken in this sense would ever have been intelligible, notwithstanding the alleged explanatory apposition of the second member of the verse; at all events, in the language of the law *פָּרַע* denotes, not an act, but a condition (the consequence of the *תַּעַר לְאִיִּכְבֹּר*, Num. vi. 5), such as at the beginning of the fulfillment of a vow of consecration — and to a beginning the reference would have to be here, — could have no existence." — Tr.]

3 For *מִשְׁעָרָה מִשְׁעָרָה*, Ps. lxxviii. substitutes *מִשְׁעָרָה מִשְׁעָרָה*, and for *מִשְׁעָרָה מִשְׁעָרָה* it has *מִשְׁעָרָה מִשְׁעָרָה*.

4 Hesiod, *Theogon.*, v. 840, etc.

humility and awe on account of the sacred nearness of God. For Israel's sake, God descended from on high; the creature knows its Lord, and trembles. The earth trembles,¹ and "the heavens pour." (In the desert peninsula of Sinai the latter is a wonder. Even at this day, the Bedouins cherish the superstition that Moses had in his possession the book which determines the fall of ruin.) The heavens lose their brazen aridity; whatever is hard and unyielding, firm as rock and stone, becomes soft and liquid:² the mountains stagger, the rocks flow down like water

(גִּזְלוֹ). The earthquake-belt that girdles the Mediterranean afforded numerous instances of such phenomena. Tremendous masses of rock have been shaken down from Mount Sinai by earthquakes (Ritter xiv. 601, etc.). Even this Sinai. That is, Sinai especially, Sinai before all others is the mountain that shook when God descended, according to the statement, Ex. xix. 18; "and the whole mount quaked greatly." Thunders rolled and heavy clouds hung upon its summit (Ex. xix. 16). "The mountains saw thee," says Habakkuk (ch. iii. 10), "and they trembled; the overflowing of the waters passed by." "What ailed you, ye mountains, that ye trembled like

1 Cf. Jer. x. 10; Joel iv. (iii.) 16, etc.

lambs?" asks the Psalmist, Ps. cxiv. 6: "Before the Lord the earth trembled, before the God of Jacob. The Lord

These introductory ascriptions of praise to God, have no reference to the battle at the Kishon. They magnify the power and majesty of Israel's God, as manifested in the nation's earlier history. Such is the God of Israel, the nations are told. Such is He who has chosen Israel for his people. It was there in the desert that they became his; and for that reason the poet selects the scenes of the desert as the material of her praise. She speaks with great brevity: the 68th Psalm amplifies her conceptions. Very unfortunate is the conjecture (Böttger) that by Sinai Tabor is meant. It is altogether at variance with the spirit of the old covenant, which could never consent to make Sinai the representative of any less sacred mountain. Moreover, the battle was not on Tabor, but in the plain, near the Kishon. With ver. 5 closes that part of the Song by which the "kings and princes" are informed that the God whom the elements fear, has become the Lord of Israel. With ver. 6 the poetess first enters on the history of the state of affairs which existed in Israel previous to her great deed.

2 "The mountains melt like wax," cf. Ps. xcvi. 5.

THE PREVIOUS DISTRESS.

Vers. 6-8.

- 6 After¹ the days of Shamgar, son of Anath,
After the Helper's (Jael's) days,
The highways were deserted,
The traveller went in winding ways.
- 7 Deserted were Israel's hamlets,² deserted,
Till I Deborah rose up — rose up a mother in Israel.
- 8 New gods had they got them³ — therefore the press of war approached their
gates; ⁴
Among forty thousand in Israel was there found⁵ or shield or spear?

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 6.—On this translation of בְּ , compare the author's remarks below. The justification they attempt, is, however, too forced and artificial to be satisfactory. The passages cited in its support, are rather against it. For in Num. xiv. 11, it is the very fact that Israel's unbelief exists contemporaneously, in the presence, as it were, of mighty wonders, that makes it so culpable. And so in the passages cited from Isaiah (ch. v. 25; ix. 11 (12); x. 4), it is the continuance of Jehovah's anger while surrounded, so to speak, by the terrible evidences of previous punitive inflictions, that gives it its full dreadfulness. It seems necessary, therefore, to take בְּ here in the sense of "in," "during." It is necessary, further, to place Shamgar not in, but after, the eighty years' rest procured by Ehud, cf. on ch. iii. 31; for while the "land rested," such a state of affairs as Deborah here describes cannot have existed. He belongs to the period of the Canaanite oppression in the north, and fought against the Philistines who rose up in the south (so Bachmann and others). A single exploit is told of him; and the comparatively inferior position assigned him in the Book of Judges, seems to warrant the conclusion that it was the only remarkable deed he did. That deed, however, was one which would make him universally known and held up as a great hero. Deborah seizes on this popular estimate of Shamgar, in order by contrast to heighten the glory of the divine deliverance just achieved. Such was your condition when your great hero lived, she says: but now, behold, what hath God wrought! — The words בְּיַמֵּי יַעֲלֵי , "in the days of Jael," contain another difficulty. It must strike every one as inappropriate that one who, so far as we know, had only now become famous, and that by a deed of deliverance, namely, Jael, the slayer of Sisera, should be connected with the past misery. Dr. Cassel's suggestion that יַעֲלֵי is to be taken as a surname or popular designation of some hero (see below), becomes therefore exceedingly attractive. But according to our view of בְּ , the hero thus designated cannot be Ehud, but must be Shamgar — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 7 — בְּיַמֵּי יַעֲלֵי . Gesenius and Fürst define this word as properly meaning, "rule, dominion;" here, concrete for

"rulers, leaders." So also Bertheau, De Wette, Bunsen, and similarly many previous expositors and versions: LXX., Cod. Vat. *duvaroi*, al. codd. of *εραυούρες* (Cod. Al. simply transfers the word, and writes *φράζων*); It. *Vera potentes*, *Vulg. fortes*. This undoubtedly yields a good sense; but, as Bachmann points out, it rests on a meaning of the root פָּרַץ, which although belonging to it in Arabic, it does not practically have in Hebrew. Moreover, it appears to be a hazardous proceeding to separate פָּרַץ from פָּרַץ in signification, if not (as Furst does) in root-relations. Accordingly, Bachmann and Keil, like our author and others, explain פָּרַץ by פָּרַץ, and make it mean the "open country," or "the unwall'd cities or villages of the open country." In this they only follow the Targum, Peshito, most of the Rabbin, and many earlier and later expositors. The form of the word shows that it is properly an abstract, cf. Ges. *Gr.* 83, 2; 84, 15; Ewald, 161, b, d. Keil and Casel make it apply in the concrete to the cities, villages, or hamlets, Bachmann to the population, of the open country (*Landvolk*). The connection of the passage, he thinks, requires a personal, not local, signification; for as ver. 8 a corresponds to (or rather gives the ground of) ver. 6 c d, so ver. 7 a (the cessation of פָּרַץ) must correspond to ver. 8 b (the absence of shield and spear). He further argues that as in ver. 2, 7 b, and

8 b, פָּרַץ refers to the *people* of Israel, it must also refer to them in ver. 7 a; and, finally, that the signification "rural population," is more suitable in ver. 11. The ultimate result is the same whether one or the other interpretation be adopted; yet, as Bachmann's arguments do not appear to have much force, and as the immediately preceding mention of highways leads the mind to think of local centres of population rather than of the population itself, we prefer to interpret villages or hamlets. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 8. — Dr. Casel's translation conforms more closely to the original: *Gewahrt hatten sie neue Güter*, — "they had chosen new gods." The above English rendering was adopted in order to reproduce the alliteration of the German. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 8. — אַחַר הַחַיָּה לָחֶם: literally, "then war (was at the) gates." לָחֶם is best explained as a verbal noun from *piel*, the vowel of the final syllable of the absolute לָחֶם being shortened because of the close connection with the following word, and the retraction of the tone being omitted on account of the toneless initial-syllable of אַחַר (Bertheau, Keil, Bachmann). אַחַר may be genitive (in which case לָחֶם must be in the construct state) or accusative of place, which is more simple. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 8. — אֵין־יִרְאוּהָ. According to Keil and others אֵין introduces a negative interrogatory. But as אֵין with simple, direct questions is rare, cf. Ges. *Gr.* 153, 2, Bachmann prefers to regard it as the אֵין of obtestation: "if shield or spear were seen!" i. e. they were not seen. So also Bertheau, Gesenius, Furst (in their Lexicons), and many others — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL

Vers. 6-8. After the days of Shamgar, בַּיָּמֵי שַׁמְגָר. The difficulty of the passage can scarcely be removed, if, as is usually done, the preposition אַחַר be taken in the sense of "in," "during." *During* the days of Shamgar such misery cannot have come upon Israel. The narrator could not in that case have said of him, ch. iii. 31, that he "delivered Israel," just as (ver. 15) he speaks of Ehud as a "deliverer." If Shamgar was no deliverer, how can it be said "and after him (or like him, i. e. Ehud, cf. on ch. iii. 31) was Shamgar?" It seems impossible to assume (as nevertheless Keil also does), that the poetess could say of the days of such a hero, that there was no resistance and defense, no sword or shield, in Israel. The disparaging connection in which, were this assumption true, it would please her to exhibit the hero, is also wholly at variance with her spirit. To this must be added that, as was above shown to be probable, Shamgar's famous exploit and further activity fall within the eighty years of "rest" after Ehud. At all events, Shamgar's fame is related before the time in which Israel again begins to sin, and consequently again falls into servitude. It cannot therefore be otherwise understood, than that Deborah retraces the misery of her people up to the time of this last hero. "Since the days of Shamgar," i. e. upon and after his days, the highways began to be deserted.]

Philologically, this form of expression is not without analogies. God says (Num. xiv. 11), "They believe not me, בְּכָל הַאֲהָרֹת, in, i. e. after "all the wonders I have done among them." In the same manner we are to interpret בְּכָל in several passages of Isaiah (ch. ix. 11 (12); v. 25; x. 4): "the Syrians and Philistines devour Israel, — in all that, after all that, notwithstanding all that, his anger is not turned away." Thus the sense of our passage also becomes clear. Notwithstanding that the days of Shamgar have been, i. e. after them, misery began. His heroic deed against the Philistines, was the last great act performed by Israel. But the author adds, "in, after, the days of Jacl." That this cannot be the stout-hearted woman who slew Sisera, is self-evident, since Deborah, speaking of her contemporary, could not say "in the days of Jacl." But apart from this, the Song itself (ver. 24) distinguishes this Jacl by carefully designating her as the "wife of Heber, the Kenite." Moreover, Jacl is properly a man's name. The other assumption, however, that Jacl was a Judge, who lived before Deborah's time, rests on slender foundations. It is utterly inconceivable that the narrator, who communicates the Song of Deborah, had he so understood it, would not have told us something of this Judge Jacl. He would at all events have inserted his name, at least in some such manner as that of Shamgar himself, of Elon the Zebulonite, and of Abdon (Judg. xii. 11-15), of

1 The use of אַחַר in, in the sense of upon = after, cannot be considered surprising, when the poetical freedom of the language is taken into account. Even our German *auf* ("upon" or "on"), of which Grimm says that in many cases it has appropriated the meaning of *in*, affords an instance of the same kind. To pass by other examples, we also say with equal propriety, "in vielen tagen" (in many

days), and "nach vielen tagen" (after many days), not only when the reference is to the future, but even when it is to the past. — Although Shamgar slew the Philistines with an ox-goad, that fact cannot explain the non-employment of sword and lance in ver. 8 of the Song; for, as Barak's heroes show (ch. iv. 16), there is no want of weapons, but of courage to use them.

whom nothing is reported beyond the general fact that they judged Israel. The only remaining supposition, and one fully accordant with the poetic cast of the Song, is, that Jacl was the knightly surname of Shamgar, or even more probably of Ehud. We know that Gideon is frequently mentioned by his heroic name Jerubbaal, and that Samson is simply styled Bedan (1 Sam. xii. 11). That Jacl might readily become the beautiful popular designation of a man so determined and rapid in his movements as Ehud, is evident, whether we take it to mean the Mountain-climber, the August One, the Prince, or the Rock-goat, whose facile ascent to the most inaccessible rocky heights is astonishing. Most probably, however, the name is connected with the word **הוֹצִיל**, to help. The same word, which is often used negatively concerning heathen gods (**לֹא יוֹצִילָהּ**, "they help not," 1 Sam. xii. 21, Jer. ii. 8, etc.), is here employed positively to denote one who was a "Helper" of Israel in distress. The sense, moreover, becomes thus perfectly clear: "After the days of Shamgar, after the days of Jacl (Ehud)," the people perished through their sins; that is, as ch. iv. 1 asserts, and ver. 8 of this chapter confirms, — "they had chosen themselves new gods."

הַדְרֹגוֹת אֶרְחוּרָה, The highways were deserted, literally, they ceased to be highways. No one travelled on the public roads, because there was no security. The enemy plundered all through the country. He who was obliged to travel, sought out concealed by-paths, in order to elude the tyrant and his bands. These few lines give a striking picture of a land languishing under hostile oppression. **הַדְרֹגוֹת פְּרוּזוֹן**, open places, hamlets, ceased to exist. **פְּרוּזוֹן** is the open country, in distinction from cities surrounded by walls and gates. One imagines himself to be reading a description of the condition of Germany in the 10th century, when the Magyars invaded the land (cf. Widukind, *Sachs. Gesch.* i. 32). Henry I. is celebrated as a builder of cities, especially because by fortifying open villages he rendered them more secure than formerly against the enemy. All ancient expositors, Greek as well as Chaldee and later Rabbinic, consent to this explanation or **פְּרוּזוֹן** (cf. Schnurrer, p. 46). Ver. 8 also agrees with it: no place without walls was any longer secure against the hostile weapons of those who oppressed Israel; the conflict was pushed even to the very gates of the mountain fortresses. The attempt to make the word mean "princes," "leaders," labors under great difficulties; which modern expositors, almost

¹ Koil also has adopted it.

² [WORDSWORTH: "Until that I Deborah arose. Deborah, as an inspired person, looks at herself from an *external* point of view, and speaks of herself objectively, considering all her acts as due, not to herself, but to the Spirit of God. She does not praise herself, but blesses God who acted in her: so did Moses (see Num. xii. 3), and so Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 11). — Tr.]

³ Isolated interpretations of the Middle Ages, taken up by a few moderns, find the subject in *Elohim*, as if "God had

all of whom have adopted it, have by no means overcome. It raises an internal contradiction to connect **הַדְרֹגוֹת** with **פְּרוּזוֹן**, when taken in this sense. We can very properly say **רַעֲבִיב הַדְרֹגוֹת**, "the hungry cease to be such," but not "princes." Of a banished dynasty there is no question. A Judge there was not; none therefore could cease to be. The lack of military virtue is first mentioned in ver. 8. Situated as Israel was, the misery of the people might be measured by the extent to which their fields and rural districts were devastated and rendered insecure. As to their "princes," their hereditary chiefs, they in fact still existed. Nor does the form of the word need any correction (cf. ver. 11).

עַד אֲנֹשֶׁר הִמְתִּיתִי עַד שֶׁמָתַי Till I arose, a mother in Israel: who, as it were, bore Israel anew. It was the regeneration of Israel's nationality that was secured at the Kishon. How came it about (she adds, ver. 8), that Israel had so fallen as to need a new mother? They had chosen "new gods" for themselves. The eternal God, before whom the mountains trembled, Him they had forsaken. Hence the loss of all their strength. They were hard pressed, up to the very gates of their fortresses. (**לָקַח** is not simply war, but an already victorious and consuming oppression.) Resistance in the open field there was none anywhere. Among forty thousand not one sought safety by means of sword and shield.³ The poet says "new gods," not "other gods." The objective idea is of course the same, but not the subjective thought as here entertained. For Israel had from of old its everlasting God, — Him whose glory the poem had delineated at the outset. But instead of that God, Israel chose them *new gods*, whom they had not formerly known. There is a profoundly significant connection of thought between this passage and the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 17. There the thought, which is here implied, lies fully open: "They shall sacrifice to gods whom they never knew, to *new gods*, that came newly up, whom their fathers feared not." The heathen gods of Canaan are in truth all new to Israel; for their own God had already chosen them in the desert, before ever they set foot in the land. Israel's recent ruin as the consequence of their serving these new gods. That all manliness had vanished, that servitude prevailed up to the gates of their fortresses, that they were shut out from highway, hamlet, and fountain, was the bitter fruit of their unfaithfulness to their ancient God. Nor was deliverance possible, until, as the result of Deborah's efforts, the people became regenerated by means of the ancient truth.

chosen new things." But ver. 8 itself opposes this construction, to say nothing of the contradiction which it involves with the whole course of thought. To adopt Kemink's correction, **הַמְתִּיתִי**, "God chose women," would only increase the distortion of the hymn, which even without this would arise from the change of subject. That not *Elohim*, but *Jehovah*, would be used, were God the subject, is remarked by Bertheau (p. 88), who in his turn, however, unfortunately gives a wrong sense to *Elohim*.

THE SUMMONS TO PRAISE GOD FOR DELIVERANCE.

Vers. 9-11.

- 9 My heart (was) with the Orderers of Israel,
Who devoted themselves among the people, — Praise God!
- 10 Ye who ride on beautifully-saddled asses,
Who sit on mats,
And walk through ways, — Sing!
- 11 Instead of the cry of the contending at the cisterns,
They praise there the benefaction of God,
The benefaction of his freedom in Israel, —
When the People of God hastened down to the gates.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 9. Deborah has delineated, first, the glorious majesty of God; then, in contrast therewith, the ruin which overtook Israel because it forsook Him, and chose new gods who cannot help, till she arose, a mother in Israel. With that she returns to the beginning. For what had she done! She had called on the people to turn back, and consecrate themselves to God. When everything lay prostrate, Barak and his faithful followers had taken the vows of God upon themselves. If Deborah had become a "strong one" (*gibbor*) in Israel, so had those who followed her inspiring call. If she speaks of herself as Deliverer, it is not without including those to whom she imparted her faithful and courageous "heart." Ver. 9 resumes ver. 2. The ground of all her praise, is that Israel turned again to God. This had been stated in ver. 2; here, by way of farther transition from ver. 7, she adds the expression "my heart:" she has infused the new spirit into Israel. She has imparted her heart to the people, as a mother to her children. The "heart" is the seat of divine inspirations and hopes; it is the organ that praises, desires, and seeks after God. The contents of Deborah's heart flowed over into Israel. "If thou wilt go with me," says Barak, "then I will go." "My heart," she exclaims, "was with the orderers of Israel," with those who devoted themselves, so that they devoted themselves, when they devoted themselves as

יְדָוָה of Israel.¹ The explanation of יְדָוָה has been thought more difficult than it is. It has already been remarked above, that the duty of a Judge was to execute the *mishpat*, the law of Israel, according to the ordinances of Moses. Whenever a Judge reintroduced the observance of the law, divine order sprang up anew among the people. Now, הָיָה and יְדָוָה are ever conjoined (cf. Ex. xv. 25). "What nation is there," asks Deut. iv. 8, "that has such *chukkin* and *mishpatim*?" "Hear, O Israel, reiterates Moses, in Deut. v. 1, "the *chukkin* and *mishpatim* which I speak in your ears." "Joshua made a covenant with the people (Josh. xxiv. 25), and set them *chok* and *mishpat*." What the *Shophet* is for the *mishpat*, that the *Chokk* is for the *chok*. Both words have the same

[1 In this sentence our author seems to combine two different explanations of יְדָוָה, etc., namely: 1. I imparted my spirit to the "Orderers" of Israel, by virtue of which they became such; and, 2. My heart loves those who proved

grammatical form; both have the same historical relations. Whoever watched over the *chok* of Israel, was a *chokk*. They were the Orderers of Israel; for *chok* is the "order" resulting from law. The men who followed Deborah, the leaders of the people, who staked their lives for Israel's nationality in God, were not *shophetim*, — for that word was already used in a definitely restricted sense; but to the name *chokkim*, which the prophetic sense gives them, they were justly entitled. They were men of law and national order.

Ver. 10. **Praise God.** The Song of Deborah is a hymn of praise to God: praise forms the keynote to all its variations. The refrain of ver. 2 is here repeated, because the thought of ver. 2 has come up in a new form. The arrangement of the poem is delicate and beautiful. Ver. 2 called on all to praise God. Thereupon she herself began to sing, ver. 3: "I will praise;" her own personality comes to view in her song of God, and again in the saving power through which she became a mother of Israel. From ver. 9 she transfers the work of praise to others. The self-devotion of "her heart" had communicated itself to the people. "Praise God," she resumes; but now they are to sing who have been delivered, and enjoy the fruits of victory. The whole Song is a hymn of freedom. How extreme and miserable was the recent oppression! The country was full of danger, intercourse interrupted, life enslaved. But now everything is free again. Every kind of movement is practicable. The highways are secure. Therefore, praise is to employ all who enjoy this return of rest. Whoever now is able to travel, without being hindered, robbed, or put in peril of his life, is to thank God who restored him this privilege. They who can ride, rest, or walk in peace again — for now animals are not stolen, tents are not plundered, foot-travellers are not murdered, — are to know and proclaim the preciousness of this new blessing. It is the habit of Biblical writers to comprehend the various movements of persons under the terms "walking, standing, and sitting" (cf. Ps. i. 1). Here, where the freedom of the open country is spoken of, riding is naturally mentioned in the place of standing, which was included in the other expressions. The riders are represented as riding on אֲרָמֹת נַחֲרֹת. To themselves "Orderers," etc. The latter explanation, merely hinted at by Dr. Cassel, is that commonly adopted by expositors. Bachmann remarks that if the first idea had been intended, it would have been more clearly expressed. — Ta.]

ride on asses, was certainly a well-known custom (cf. Judg. x. 4; xii. 14); but the mention of "white," or as it is commonly rendered, "white-dappled" asses, would not be very suitable. Even

though the connection of the word **צְהָרֹת** with those roots which signify "to glisten," should be finally established, still it will always seem more appropriate to refer it to the beautiful, ornamented coverings that served for saddles. But there seems to be also a philological affinity between *tsachar* and what the Greeks and Romans called *σάγμα*, *σάγμα*, *sagma*,¹ and the Germans *saumsattel* (pack-saddle). Asses, we know, carried burdens: provisions, corn, wine, etc. (Gen. xlii. 25; xlv. 23; 1 Sam. xxv. 18; cf. Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 184). They are to this day the important beast of burden in Palestine; and to leave the ass unladen, even on steep mountain paths, is considered injurious (Ritter, xvii. 295). The Targum (Jonathan), in its rendering of Lev. xv. 9, uses the word *σάγμα*; for

נָפְתִי, and not **נֹפְתִי**, is to be read in its text at that place (a fact overlooked by Sachs, *Beiträge zur Sprachf.*, note 2, 196). The thought suggests itself naturally that restored freedom and security must have been of special value to those who transported important and costly articles. The passage becomes peculiarly significant, if brought into connection with the safety of traffic and intercourse, consequent upon the enemy's destruction. — **And sit on mats.** Since here also the blessings of freedom are the subject of discourse, those only can be meant who were accustomed to sojourn in tents and tent-villages. "To spread the covering," and "to pitch the tent," are to this day equivalent expressions. "To sit on cloths," was the poetic phrase for dwelling in the open country, in hamlets, oases, and on highways, without needing the protection of walls and fortifications. **מַטֵּי** (mats)

is undoubtedly a plural of **מַד**, garment. It is in keeping with the make of ancient, especially of oriental dress, that the various terms for garment, covering, cloth, are more indefinite and interchangeable than in modern times.² Such, for instance, is the case with **בְּגָד**, garment (Num. iv. 6-13); compare also **בְּכֹסֶת**, covering (Deut. xxii. 12). For the establishment of this general signification of **מַטֵּי**, Teller has rendered meritorious service. In a manuscript note in a copy of his "*New Critic*," now in my possession, he directs attention to *μάτριον* as a cognate word. At all events, that also has the double sense of garment and covering, or cloth. The same, as is well known, is the case with *εσθής* and *vestis*. The word, mats (Latin, *matra*), in the translation above, is used merely for the sake of assonance; a philological connection between it and the Hebrew word is not

discoverable. — **הִלְכֵי עַל-דְּרָוֹתָם**, foot-travellers, on the proper public roads. They too are no longer driven to seek winding paths. All, whether they ride, sit, or walk, have become free. Therefore, sing praise to God! **שִׁירָו**, to celebrate in song, as the Psalmist uses it (Ps. cxlv. 5): "Words of thy wonders will I sing" (**אֲשִׁירָה**).

Ver. 11. The prophetic continues to depict the wonderful change from servitude to freedom. While the enemy had the upper hand, there was security only within the gates; up to the threshold of these, the inhabitants were hunted and pursued. A lively conception of such a condition of society, may be obtained from the history of Germany from the 13th to the 16th century, when it often happened that large cities were at war with their neighbors. In Palestine, cities being built on hill-tops, water must be procured outside of the gates. It was at a well, at the time of water-drawing (Gen. xxiv. 11), that Eliezer met Rebecca, coming out of the city. In time of war, this water-drawing was a dangerous occupation. The crowd was great, and every one wished to be the first to get away. Consequently, there was no lack of contention and vociferation. How all that is changed! Now the maidens draw leisurely and merrily, praising God the while, who has restored quiet and security. The philological explanation agrees perfectly with this exposition. Verse 11 does not depend on ver. 10; it introduces a new thought.

מִתְחַבְּרִים is to be taken or read as **מִתְחַבְּרִים**, *i. e.*

as participle of the piel **חָבַר**, to strive, quarrel, *ricari* (cf. Num. xxvi. 9; Ps. lx. 2; etc.), connected with the niph'al **חָבַר**, often used of persons who strive and contend with each other (Deut. xxv. 11; Ex. ii. 13; etc.).³ The "voice" of those who thus contend is wont to attract attention; and a voice is now also heard: **אָשִׁיב**, there they sing aloud, there resounds the song of those who praise the mercy of God. (**יְהַלְלוּ** from **הָלַל**, piel, imperfect, 3d person, plural, to sound, to sing; Sanskrit, *tāna*, *tōvos*, German *tönen*.) The harsh voice of contention is replaced by the sounds of praise. The burden of this praise? The benefits of God — the benefits which his all-disposing arm has bestowed on Israel, in that, after their self-surrender and return to Him, He has made them free again from the enemy. The consequence of his interposition is **פְּרִיזוֹן**, freedom: Israel is free again, and no longer depends on walls for safety. **פְּרִיזוֹן** is derived from **פָּרַז**, just as **הַפְּרִיזוֹן** from **פָּרַז**. It contains the notion of that which is free, of freedom, as it is expressed by the prophet Zechariah, quite in the spirit of our Song, when he says

1 For further philological comparisons, see Benfey, i. 433, and Dieffenbach, *Celtica*, i. 85.

2 The same may be said of the use of the articles themselves. The popular custom of spreading out garments, like carpets or cloths, for persons to ride or walk over, is sufficiently familiar from the history of our Lord and the usages of both Greeks and Romans.

3 [It does not appear how a piel **חָבַר** can possibly be obtained from a niph'al **חָבַר**. The form **מִתְחַבְּרִים**, in the text, can only be derived from **חָבַר**, either directly or indirectly. In the latter case it would be a denominative

from **חָוָה**, an arrow, and would mean "archers;" so Bertheau, Keil, and many other interpreters, both ancient and modern. Many, perhaps most expositors, however, prefer the direct derivation from **חָבַר**, to divide, but with various modifications of the radical idea. For a full discussion of the word and the interpretations it has received, see Bachmann, i. pp. 351-359; it must suffice here to say that he translates it, *Butehründend*, "those who divide the spoil." They (he explains) who frequent the places of drawing water are to praise the righteous acts of Jehovah, with the joyful voice of those who divide the spoil, cf. Isa. lx. 2 (3). — Tr.]

(chapter ii. 8, 9 (4, 5)): "Jerusalem shall dwell open (פָּרְוֹזֶרֶת, i. e. without walls); and I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about." When Israel devotes itself to God, it is at rest; accordingly, after the deeds of the several Judges are related, it is constantly added, "and the land had rest." Then enemies are powerless; exposed hamlets are secure; God is their protection. There, at the cisterns, they praise the goodness of God which manifests itself in this newly recovered freedom.

When the people of God hastened down to the gates. Here also the beauty of the internal arrangement of the Song comes prominently to view. Verse 8 says, they chose themselves new gods, לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים; verse 9 — interrupted by the praise of God, but resumed in the last line of ver.

1 [Keil and others connect the last clause of ver. 11, not with ver. 9; but with the immediately preceding praise for victory. "After this victory," says Keil, "the people descended again to its gates, from the mountains and hiding-places whither it had betaken itself for safety from the

11,—when they devoted themselves to God, אֶל־יְהוָה לְשִׁעְרֵיהֶם. When the people apostatized, they were pressed up to their very gates, and fled; when, by self-surrender, they became a people of God, they rushed boldly down to the gates and through them. The consequence of the first was flight; that of the second, impetuous attack.¹ In the former case, among forty thousand there was not a man capable of making resistance; in the latter — and here with the Song enters on the delineation of the conflict, — it was a small band who threw themselves upon the mighty. In vers. 9-11 the prophetess, by praising God for freedom, interrupted the progress of her Song's narrative, just as she does in vers. 3-5 and in ver. 12, to which and the following verses we now pass on.

enemy (ver. 6 f.) — entered again into the plains of the land, into the cities now relieved of enemies." Similarly, Bachmann. Dr. Cassel's translation of אֶל־יְהוָה by "when" is against the usage of the word.—Ta.]

DELINEATION OF THE VICTORS AND THE VICTORY.

Vers. 12-23.

- 12 Awake, awake Deborah!
Awake, awake, compose the song!
Barak, arise! — conquer thy conquest,
Thou son of Abinoam!
- 13 Then down against the robust rushed a remnant,
The People of God rushed with me against the powerful.¹
- 14 From Ephraim's stock, the victors of Amalek;
After thee (marched) Benjamin against thy foes,²
Masters came from Machir,
Men skillful with the accountant's pencil³ distinguished Zebulun.
- 15 But the first⁴ in Issachar were with Deborah,
Yea, Issachar was the basis of Barak,
When into the valley his men threw themselves on foot,⁵ —
While by the brooks abode Reuben's great investigators.⁶
- 16 Why sitt'st thou by the folds, listening to the shepherd's flute?
By the brooks Reuben has great scrutinizers.
- 17 Gilead stays beyond the Jordan;
But, Dan, how didst thou sail in ships!⁷
Asher sits on the sea-shore, sheltered in his bays,
- 18 But Zebulun hazarded his soul unto death,
With Naphtali, upon the high plain of the field.
- 19 Kings came to fight — Kings of Canaan fought,
At Taanach and by Megiddo's waters, —
Satisfaction-money⁸ gained they none.
- 20 From heaven strove the stars,⁹
They strove from their stations with Sisera.
- 21 Kishon's stream swept them away —
A stream of succours was Kishon's stream, —
Tread strongly on, my soul!¹⁰
- 22 When struck the sounding hoof of the rushing steed,

- Of the flying strong ones !¹¹
 23 The ban on Meroz, commands the messenger of God, the ban! —
 The ban on its inhabitants ;
 Because they came not to the help of the People of God,
 Of the People of God against the powerful.¹²

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 13. — This rendering of ver. 13 supposes the Hebrew text to be pointed and divided thus :

אֵז יָרַד שָׂרִיד לְאַדְרִיב
 עַם יְהוָה יָרַד לִי בַּבְּפוֹרִים :

So also the LXX. (in Cod. Vat.) and many expositors. The most serious objection to it is, that as it is the easier reading, the Masorites must have had strong traditional grounds for preferring one more difficult. The verse has been translated and interpreted in a great variety of ways ; but the view of Dr. Cassel commends itself strongly, especially when compared with ch. iv. 14. Our English version seems to take יָרַד as imperf. apoc. Piel from יָרַד, after the example of several Jewish grammarians and interpreters. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 14. — Dr. Cassel's rendering of the first line of ver. 14 — מְנֵי אֶפְרַיִם שָׂרְשָׁם בְּעַמְלָק — is, *Aus Ephraim's Art, die Amaleksieger*. It does not clearly appear how he would translate the passage literally, but the following would probably express his view : " Out of Ephraim (came) their root (who were) against Amalek." The " root," then, according to our author's exposition (see below), would be Joshua, in his relation to those whom he led to victory against " Amalek." So far as שָׂרְשָׁם is concerned, this interpretation has full as much in its favor as that which makes it mean " dwelling-place." On the rendering of עֲצֻמְיָהוּ, see the commentary. The majority of expositors, would probably accept the rendering of the two lines given by Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Repos.* 1831) : —

" Out of Ephraim (came those) whose dwelling is by Amalek ;

After thee (was) Benjamin among thy hosts."

But in a document the language of which is so obscure as that of the Song of Deborah, much necessarily depends on the conception formed of the connection in which one passage stands with another. Now, while the majority of interpreters assume that ver. 14 speaks of such as took part in the war against Jabin and Sisera, our author maintains that it dwells on the fame of those who did *not* take part in this war, in order by this comparison to exalt that of those who did. On the decision of this question the interpretation in detail of the whole verse depends. Which of the two conflicting views is true, is not a matter to be discussed here, but it is certain that ch. iv. is very favorable to our author's side, cf. the com. below. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 14. — The rendering of this line turns on שָׂבַט כֹּפֵר. The Targum, Peshito, and most ancient expositors, explain it of the " stylus of the writer ;" while most moderns translate it " the staff of the leader." Compare the remarks in the preceding note. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 15. — Dr. Cassel probably reads שָׂרֵי, with Bertheau, Keil, and most expositors. The preposition בְּ after the construct state is not unusual in poetry, cf. 2 Sam. i. 21 ; Job xviii. 2 ; etc. Some regard שָׂרֵי as an unusual plural (cf. Ges. *Gram.* 87, 1, c), or as an archaic form of the construct (so Ewald, *Gram.* 211, c). — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 15. — On בְּרִגְלָיו, compare " Grammatical " note on ch. iv. 10 ; also ch. viii. 5 ; 2 Sam. xv. 17 ; etc. — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 15. — חֲתָקוּ לָב ; Dr. Cassel, *Ergründler*. For הִתְקַיֵּי לָב, in the next verse, he has *Ergrübler*, which admirably reproduces both the paranomasia and the irony of the original. חֲתָקוּ וְהִתְקַיֵּי are, of course, abstract nouns, followed by the genitive of the subject to which they pertain. — Tr.]

[7 Ver. 17. — " *Aber Dan, was zogst du auf Schiffen aus !*" Our author probably takes דָּוָר in its most usual sense, " to sojourn : " to sojourn in or on ships, readily suggesting the idea of sailing in ships. Most expositors translate : " And Dan, why abides he at the ships ? " The prepositionless accusative is as easy or as difficult in one case as in the other. — Tr.]

[8 Ver. 19. — קֶצֶיִי בְּקָפָה ; Dr. Cassel, *Geld zur Busse*, " penance money," cf. the Commentary below. Bertheau, Kell, and others, taking קֶצֶיִי in its Arabic sense of *frustum* (cf. the root בָּצַע), translate : " not a piece of silver did they take ; " but against the Hebrew use of the word. — Tr.]

[9 Ver. 20. — Dr. Cassel, following many previous expositors, alters the Masoretic text division by transferring " the stars " from the second to the first clause. But it is justly objected to this change that it reduces the second clause to a mere repetition by which nothing is added to the idea already expressed in the first. In the next line, the word מִסְלָחָה signifies, " a causeway," " highway." Dr. Cassel's rendering, *Statten*, places, is manifestly chosen for the sake of alliteration : *Sie stritten von ihren Statten mit Sisera* ; compare the English imitation above. — Tr.]

[10 Ver. 21 — הִתְדַרְבֵּי גִבְשֵׁי עוֹ. This line has been very variously interpreted. It is now generally agreed, however, that it is an address of the Singer to herself. הִתְדַרְבֵּי Our author probably takes the jussive of the second person, cf. Ges. *Gram.* 48, 4.

עוֹ may either be taken as an adverbial accusative (= בעוֹ), or as the direct object after the verb. Dr. Cassel decides for the former, after Herder, Justi, Bertheau, Ewald, Keil ; Dr. Bachmann, with Schnurrer, Köhler, Holmann, etc., prefers the latter, and takes עוֹ as the abstract for the concrete : " Tread down, my soul, the strong ones ! " cf. Robbins, in *Bibl. Sacra*. In either case, the incitement of the line may be directed to the continuation of the Song, or to

the prosecution of the pursuit of the enemy. Bachmann prefers the latter; but the former seems to us more striking and appropriate. — Tr.]

[11 Ver. 22. — Dr. Cassel: —

*Da der Jagenden Rosshuf hallend aufschlag,
Der entjagenden Starcken.*

On the translation of מִן by "when," cf. note 1, on p. 97. In the second line of the above rendering, the מִן does not come to its rights, and the suffix in אֲחֵרָיו is neglected. The מִן is causal, and the suffix יוֹ goes back to the collective כֹּחַ of the first line, so that it seems necessary to explain אֲחֵרָיו of men, not, as our author (see below), of horses. The best rendering of the verse is probably that adopted, for substance, by Keil, Bachmann, and many others: —

"Then the hoofs of the horses smote the ground,
Because of the galloping of their valliant riders."

The last expression may very well be taken ironically: "runaway heroes." On the repetition of נִהַרְוֹת, to indicate continuance, see Ewald, *Gram.*, 313 a; cf. also Ges. *Gram.* 108, 4. — Tr.]

[12 Ver. 23. — On the above translation of ver. 23 it is to be remarked, 1. That the word rendered "ban," is אָרַר, and does not, like חָרַר, imply the actual destruction of the object against which it is aimed. 2. That with the LXX. (Cod. Vat.) our author transfers אָרַר from the second line to the first. On the construction of אָרַר (which below, but not here, he changes (with the LXX.) into אָרַרְךָ, cf. Ges. *Gram.* 131, 4 b. 3. That the expression "People of God" is our author's interpretation of what is meant by "coming to the help of Jahovah," cf. below. 4. That אֲנַחְרָיו is by most recent expositors rendered, "among (or, with) heroes," namely, the warriors of Israel. Compare the Septuagint and Vulgate; the Targum takes אָרַר in the hostile sense. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL

Ver. 12. With the words of ver. 11, "when the People of God hastened down to the gates," i. e. out to battle, the prophetess transfers herself into the midst of the conflict. Verse 12 presents a reminiscence of the battle song. It recalls the rallying cry. Wake up! wake up! (עֲרִירָא from עָרַר, cf. Isa. li. 9.) "Awake, awake!" is addressed to Deborah, urging her to fire the soldiery through her song; "arise!" refers to Barak. For she sang, and Barak fought. שָׁבְרָה שְׁבָרָה, "lead forth thy captives." To be able to carry away captives, was evidence of a complete victory. When Jerusalem and Samaria fell, the people were carried away prisoners. The captivity of the enemy ends the conflict. The reason why a perpetual ban of destruction was pronounced against the enemies who attacked the host of Israel, in the wilderness, near Arad, was not merely that they fought against Israel, but that they also "took some of them prisoners" (Num. xxi. 1). The completeness of God's victory, as the 68th Psalm celebrates it, is indicated by the expression, ver. 19 (18) "שָׁבִיתָ שְׁבִי, "thou hast carried away the captives."¹

Ver. 13. The prophetess now continues to depict the surprising contrasts that have arisen from Israel's return to God. A קָטָנִים, a remaining few, by no means all Israel, but a small band — like the remnant (שְׁרִירִים) whom, according to the prophet Joel (ch. ii. 32 (iii. 5)), God calls, — takes up the conflict with אֲדִירִים, mighty ones. (Cf. my discussion on Ps. viii. 2, in the *Lutherischen Zeitschr.*, 1860. "Mighty kings," מְלָכִים אֲדִירִים, are slain by God, Ps. cxxxvi. 18). The next line runs parallel with this: "the people of God (דְּרוֹהָ; עַם)

charges against² *gibborim*." *Gibborim* are warlike men of gigantic strength. It is applied here to enemies, as elsewhere to Nimrod, who also was an enemy. In the view of Scripture, God alone is the true *Gibbor* (Deut. x. 17, etc.). Usually, the *gibborim* conquer; but here the result is that of which Isaiah speaks (ch. xlix. 25), "the captives of the *gibbor* are taken away from him." There is a peculiar beauty in Deborah's mode of stating her own share in the war: "the People of God rushed for me (לִי) against heroes." For my sake, she sings, at my call, with me, did they hazard the conflict with men of superior strength.

Vers. 14-16. It was truly a "remnant" that fought at the Kishon against Sisera. It was only a part of all Israel that was entitled to the honor of being styled the "People of God." A special renown must henceforth attach to those tribes who took part in the war, just as the Athenians never lost the glory of having alone gained the battle of Marathon. In Israel, as in Hellas, rivalries obtained between the different tribes. Considerations like these afford the proper introduction to ver. 14. Expositors have made its difficulties altogether insurmountable, by supposing that all the tribes here named assisted Barak.³ But this supposition is utterly untenable: 1. The statement of ch. iv. is positive and definite, that only Zebulun and Naphtali fought on the plains of Issuchar. It is moreover corroborated by the fact that, from her residence on Mount Ephraim, Deborah sends to just those tribes, because the oppression under which Israel suffered bore heaviest on them. 2. The question whether Ephraim and Benjamin took part in the war, could not have been overlooked by the narrator; for the direction of the march which he had to trace was altogether different from what, had they been combatants, it would have been. And why, in that case, would it have been necessary for Deborah to go with Barak to Kedesh? 3. It is contradicted by ver. 14 itself. Machir means

¹ [According to Bachmann the first half of ver. 12 contains the self-incitement of Deborah to begin the description of the battle, while the second half actually enters on the description with a reminiscence of ch. iv. 14. — Tr.]

² יָרַד בְּגִבּוֹרִים. Cf. Judg. vii. 9, יָרַד בְּפִתְחָהּ; also Judg. vii. 13.

³ Keil also has adopted this view.

Gilead proper.¹ Manassch as a whole cannot be intended by it (cf. the word מַנַּשֶׁשׁ). It is for the very purpose of designating a part that the term "Machir" is employed. But Deborah herself says, ver. 17, that Gilead did not take part in the campaign. Nor would it be at all apparent why Zebulun should be described by two different attributes (vers. 14 and 18), in relation to the same event. 4. If those tribes took part in the conflict, why does ver. 18 speak only of Zebulun and Naphtali? The Plateans, who alone stood by the Athenians in the day of battle, were not thus forgotten. The most ancient Jewish expositors, however, already perceived the more correct view to be taken of the verse: it is to be *historically* interpreted. The poet's mind, like the action itself, moves over the northern territory of Israel. The tribes of Judah and Simeon lie altogether beyond her present field of vision. But with the ancient glory of those tribes, whose territories stretched onward from Mount Ephraim — from the spot where she herself resided, near the border of Benjamin, — she compares that of the conquerors whom she led on. Each tribe had its own glorious traditions. No doubt, exclaims the prophetess, Ephraim is renowned, for out of him sprang he who was against Amalek. The ancients rightly understood this of Joshua, the conqueror of Amalek,² the pride of Ephraim, who was buried among them, and on whom, unquestionably, the Ephraimites always founded their claim to the leadership among the tribes. — אֶת־חֵיבֶן

אֶת־חֵיבֶן בְּעַמְּמִי, after thee, Benjamin against thine enemies. Since אֶת־חֵיבֶן (Aram. plur. e. suffix) manifestly answers to אֶת־חֵיבֶן, the בְּ, which with the latter means "against," must be taken in the same sense with the former. This is confirmed by the fact that the plural of עַם is always³ applied to the "heathen," the "nations," and carries with it the idea of hostility against Israel.

אֶת־חֵיבֶן means the hostile nations who stand arrayed against thee, — "thy heathen," so to speak, "thine enemies." "After thee," says the prophetess to Ephraim, "Benjamin advanced against thine enemies" — Benjamin, who bears the name of Wolf (Gen. xlix. 27). It is the fame of Ehud, that renders Benjamin illustrious. The old expositors understood these utterances of Deborah, concerning Benjamin and the other tribes, as prophetic. But such an explanation cannot be accepted. A prophetess who looked into the boundless and indefinite future, could not have compared tribe with tribe in a manner possible only when dealing with the facts of history. — By the side of the warlike fame of Ephraim and Benjamin, the prophetess places the peaceful renown of Machir and Zebulun. How far the sons of Machir distinguished themselves as *mechokekim*, orderers of the law, we have, it is true, no information. But it is to be noticed that what is told of Jair, Judg. x. 4, connects itself with a Jair who lived as early as the time of Moses (Num. xxxii. 41). The sons of Machir were born "upon the knees" of their grandfather Joseph

¹ Num. xxxii. 39; cf. Josh. xvii. 3.

² "In the land of Ephraim" there was a Mount of Amalek, cf. Judg. xii. 15.

³ ["Always" is too strong; cf. Gen. xviii. 4; Lev. xxi. 1; Ezek. xviii. 18. — Tr.]

⁴ As in conflicts of the Bedouin tribes, the Arab women at the present time still stand in the rear, and encourage

(Gen. l. 23). It is only by supposing that the renown of Zebulun also, is one which existed previous to the war, that what is here said can be brought into easy and proper connection with what is said in ver. 18. Zebulun, formerly known only

for his מוֹשְׁפֵי בִשְׁבָרִים כֹּתְבֵי, experts with the ciphering-pencil, had now become a people courageous unto death. Zebulun was a commercial tribe, like Zidon. The purple-trade especially occupied them. Consequently, the art of the *Sopher*, i. e. writing, reading, and ciphering, could not fail to be extensively practiced in this tribe. The *Sopher* appears also in Phœnician inscriptions; Gesenius compares him with the quæstors of Carthage, who held an office next in importance to that of the Suffetes (*Monum. Phœnic.*, 173). A like important office was held by the *Sopherim* at the courts of the Jewish kings. They are always named in conjunction with the high-priest (cf. 2 Sam. viii. 17; xx. 25; 1 Kgs. iv. 3; 1 Chron. xviii. 16; Isa. xxxvi. 3; 2 Kgs. xix. 2). The *Sopher* and the high-priest count the money found in the offering-box, 2 Kgs. xii. 10 (11). King Josiah sends his

Sopher Shaphan (שָׁפָן, cf. שָׁפָן, Elizaphan, a Zebulonite, Num. xxxiv. 25) to the priest. It is he who reads the sacred book, which the priest has found, to the king (2 Kgs. xxii. 8). The commander-in-chief has a *Sopher* who enrolls the army (2 Kgs. xxv. 19; Jer. lii. 25). The uncle of David is celebrated as a wise man and a *Sopher* (1 Chron. xxvii. 32). The Psalmist praises the stylus of a ready *Sopher* (Ps. xlv. 1 (2)). The activity of a *Sopher* is everywhere pacific in its nature, demanding sagacity, and presupposing knowledge.

The stylus, עֵט, of the Psalmist, is the same as Deborah's שֵׁבֶט, staff. It was an honor to Zebulun, that in the tribe there were able *Sopherim*, who could make the art which commerce had caused to flourish among them, subserve the internal and higher life of Israel. The word מוֹשְׁפֵי suggests a forcible picture; we see the writer artistically drawing the letters with his stylus. This constituted the ancient renown of the tribe. But the victory with Deborah at the Kishon, will not less highly exalt those who had a part in it. That thought forms the transition to ver. 15. Issachar, it is true, had not shared in the battle; but that did not diminish the significance of the tribe. Their territory was the theatre of the decision. Very much depended upon the attitude they assumed. Were the battle lost, Issachar must first bear the consequences. Nevertheless, their chiefs decided to hearken to Deborah. "The princes in Issachar were with Deborah." They surrounded Deborah, while Barak plunged into the valley. As Moses did not himself take the field against Amalek, but intrusted Joshua with the conduct of the battle while he prayed on the mount, so Deborah stood behind the battle-ranks, surrounded by Issachar, uttering blessings, or in case discouragement showed itself,⁴ urging, encouraging, inspiring, in a manner similar perhaps to that which the German women were wont to adopt.⁵ It has been well observed by their *zûlâgit* (singing). Cf. Wetzstein, *Haurân*, 145.

⁶ This was still done by the women of the crusaders in the battle near Dorylâum, as Petrus Trudebod informs us (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 782): "*Femine nostræ in illa die fuerunt nobis in refugium . . . confortantes nos fortiter pugnant'es et viros protegentes.*" Cf. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzz.*, i. 155.

served that in the expression **וַיִּשְׁפֹּר בֶּן בָּרָק** the word **בֶּן** is not the particle, but the noun. (Schnurrer was the first to adduce this from among various opinions collected together in the commentary of R. Tanchum.) **בֶּן** signifies the base, the pedestal (cf. Ex. xxx. 18); and in truth Issachar was this for the whole battle. It was fought on his territory, and his men formed the reserve of Barak, when that chieftain threw himself into the valley. **בָּעֵמֶק שְׁלַח בְּרַגְלָיו** expresses the storm-like rapidity of Barak's movement. The Pual **שְׁלַח** is to be taken in the sense of the Greek middle voice. — Presently the thought occurs to the prophetess that still other neighboring tribes could have helped, Reuben, namely, and Gilead, beyond the Jordan, Dan at its sources, Asher on the coast; but their assistance did not come. Deborah does not blame the distant tribes, as Judah, Simeon, Ephraim, Benjamin, Gad, but only the near ones. Reuben at that time cannot have dwelt to the east of the Dead Sea, but according to Num. xxxii. 26, etc., must have had a more northerly location, reaching as far up as the banks of the Jabbok.¹ There he must have dwelt, pasturing his herds by his brooks. **פְּלָגוֹת**, plural of **פְּלֵגָה**, like **פְּלֵגַת**, brook, stream (cf. my exposition of Ps. i. *Luther. Zeitschr.*, 1859, p. 537). Reuben, like the tribes beyond the Jordan generally, had been called on by Barak to take part in the war against Sisera. In like manner was Sparta summoned by Athens, before Marathon. And like Sparta, Reuben considered long. Hence the descriptive description of the men of Reuben as **חֲקֵרֵי לֵב** and **לֵב**, like **חֲקֵרֵי לֵב**, investigators and scrutinizers. They reflect upon the necessity and feasibility of acting, till the time for it is past. Reuben sits between the folds, and prefers to listen to the shepherd's flute, **שְׁרִיקָה**, **שְׁרִיקוֹת יַעֲרִירֵי**, pipe, flute, from **שָׁרַק**, *sibilare*, to whistle, to hiss, according to the root and form of the name, is nothing else than the *syrix*, pipe, whose invention Hellenic mythology ascribed to Pan. What is here said of Reuben, that he amuses himself with listening to the herdsmen's flutes (**יַעֲרִירֵי** is properly the herd), is the same that Homer says, *Iliad*, xviii. 525: "*νομῆες τερπόμενοι σίρηνι.*"

Ver. 17. And Gilead carries beyond Jordan. The fact that what is here said of Gilead might be equally applied to Reuben, since both dwelt beyond the Jordan, is suggestive of the excuse which Gilead may have urged in distinction from Reuben. Reuben reflected; but Gilead denied that the efforts of Barak concerned him: did he not live beyond the Jordan?

But Dan, how didst thou sail in ships!² Jewish tradition places the occurrence related in

¹ Only those tribes can have been censured who stood in close geographical connection with Naphtali and Zebulun, not those whose position inclined them to southern alliances. Ephraim, Benjamin, Judah, and Simeon, receive no censure; but Asher, Dan, and Gilead, do. How could Reuben be blamed, while Judah was not, if his seat were below at the Dead Sea?

² **אֲבִירֹת**, used only of sea-going vessels, cf. Prov. xxx. 19.

³ [But **מְרוֹמֵי** assuredly means height, an elevation

ch. xviii. before the time of Deborah. And to all appearance this seems to be the right view. For in its southern possessions the tribe of Dan did not hold the sea-coast (Judg. i. 34). Moreover, how should Deborah complain of the want of assistance from southern Dan, when she entered no such complaint against Judah? If, however, Dan had already removed to the vicinity of Naphtali, the complaint was very natural. The old expositors explain that "Dan had shipped his goods and chattels in order to cross the Jordan." But this is less simple than the supposition that Dan, like Zebulun, was engaged with the Phenicians (Tyre) in maritime commerce, or at least pretended to be, as a reason for refusing Barak's summons. What renders this interpretation the more probable, is the fact that Deborah speaks next of Asher, "who dwells on the sea-shore." Jabin, king of Hazor, cannot have domineered over the coast, where the powerful maritime cities were in the ascendancy. Therefore Asher also had nothing to suffer from him. He dwells securely in his harbors. It is noteworthy that what the singer here says of Asher, the blessing of Jacob says in the same words of Zebulun, **לְהוֹף בַּיָּם וּבַשָּׁן**, with an additional clause, however, concerning the pursuit of navigation.

Ver. 18. This verse puts it beyond all doubt that only Zebulun and Naphtali engaged actively in the conflict; for only to them refers the declaration that they "hazarded their souls unto death." (For the sake of the poetical parallelism Naphtali is put at the head of the second member, instead of making "Zebulun and Naphtali" the composite subject of the whole distich.) Their faith in Deborah's word was so firm, that they dared risk the unequal conflict even in the valley ("the high plain of the field"). Therein consisted the uncommon sacrifice of these tribes. Hitherto, Israel had always given up the valleys (cf. Judg. i. 19, 34), because it could not overcome disciplined armies and chariots. Even down to the time of the later kings, it was considered invincible on the mountains (1 Kgs. xx. 23), which fact however implies that in the valleys it still continued to be otherwise. Hence, **מְרוֹמֵי שָׂדֵה** is to be understood, not of the "heights," but of the surface, of the field.³ It was a fearful battle-crisis: a few against so many, a band of footmen against a host of iron chariots, a handful of mountaineers on the plain, a few tribal chieftains against the mighty.

Ver. 19. Kings came. This is to be understood figuratively, of eminent and powerful military leaders: Sisera was no king.⁴ **בְּצֵנֶת בְּפָהָה לֹא**, gain of money they obtained not. This is usually understood only of the booty, which the enemy hoped to obtain, but failed to get. But the troops of Zebulun and Naphtali can scarcely have appeared to promise a booty rich in money. It is therefore probable that the meaning of the proph-
above the general level, not surface. In connection with the facts of the history, the expression, it seems to me, can only mean either Mount Tabor or the higher parts of the plain of Esdraelon, as the gathering-place of the warriors, where they in thought and intention "scorned their lives." So Bachmann and many other expositors. — Ta.]

⁴ (On Taanach and Megiddo see at ch. i. 27. The "waters of Megiddo" undoubtedly refers to the Kishon. The Kishon valley was in like manner called the Valley of Megiddo, 2 Chron. xxxv. 22; Zech. xii. 11. Cf. Rob. *Bibl. Res.*, ii. 330. — Ta.)

etess includes something else. We know from instances of later times, that when the people did not feel themselves strong enough to cope with a threatening enemy, they sought to buy him off with money. Thus, in the reign of Rehoboam, Shishak, king of Egypt, took away all the treasures of the temple (1 Kgs. xiv. 26). Asa gave all the remaining gold and silver to Benhadad of Damascus (1 Kgs. xv. 18). Menahem collected a large amount of money in order to persuade the king of Assyria to turn back (2 Kgs. xv. 20). Sisera was not so successful. He neither obtained composition-money before the campaign, nor did he secure any booty after it. The troops and their leaders who had accompanied him, gained no profit from this expedition. Profit is the prominent idea in מַמְנוֹן: hence the Chaldee Paraphrast usually puts "Mammomon" for it.

Vers. 20-22. From heaven fought the stars. Josephus has introduced into his narrative of this victory, the description of a thunder-storm, accompanied by wind and hail, by which the enemy were thrown into confusion. It is one of those pragmatical endeavors by which he seeks to facilitate belief for his Hellenic readers, and to make the miraculous more natural. The occasion for it was given by the expression, ch. iv. 15, "and God confounded them." The presence and effect of thunder and hail were inferred, by comparison, from two other passages, where a similar divinely-wrought confusion of the enemy is related. Thus in Josh. x. 10, 11, when Joshua fights against the enemy, it is said: "And the Lord confounded them, and as they fled cast down great hailstones upon them, that they died." So also 1 Sam. vii. 10: "And the Lord thundered with a great thunder on that day, and confounded the Philistines." But there appears to be no necessity whatever for transferring these occurrences into our passage. The narrator is rather thinking of Ex. xiv. 24, which speaks of Pharaoh's confusion by God without thunder and hail. Nor is there any need of thunder and hail to confound an army. The confusion of Rosbach (Nov. 5, 1757) was not caused by the intervention of a storm. All that appears from the statements of ch. iv. and the Song of Deborah alone, is, that Barak and his faithful followers made a violent and sudden attack, before the numerous chariots had been placed in battle-array. This was done as night was coming on. When Joshua fought, sun and moon assisted him (Josh. x. 12): on Barak, the stars shone brightly, — which does not make a thunder-storm probable. Consistently with Israelitish conceptions, the help of the stars can only be understood of their shining.¹ Joshua also had come upon his enemies

suddenly (פָּתְאוּ, Josh. x. 9). Gideon, too, threw himself upon the hostile camp in the night. But not the stars alone assisted Barak in his heroic course. As the enemy, either for attack or in flight, wished to cross the Kishon, in the direction from Taanach and Megiddo, the swollen stream swept many of them into the arms of death.

"The brook Kishon snatched (נִקְּצָה) them away."

(קִישׁוֹן, in its Semitic forms, corresponds to the Indo-Germanic forms *rapere*, Ger. *raffen*, Sanskrit, *rup*.) It thus came to the help of Israel, and

became a קִישׁוֹן, בְּרֶחֱלֵי קִישׁוֹן, brook of succors. In what sense the Kishon should be especially called a brook of "ancient days," as many explain

קִישׁוֹן, cannot be made out, not at least from Scripture.² The rendering "brook of battles," has little ground in philology. The repetition of "brook Kishon," is doubtless intended to suggest a definition of what sort of a stream the Kishon was for Israel on that day. It was not merely the scene of battle, but an instrument of help against

the foe. קִישׁוֹן has frequently this sense, especially in poetical language. In Ps. lxxix. 8 the poet prays, "Let thy mercy come speedily to our help"

(יִקְּצֵנוּ); cf. Ps. lix. 11; xxi. 4. But in Deuteronomy, also, ch. xxxiii. 5, it is said of Ammon and Moab that they did not help Israel with bread and water (לֹא-יִקְּצֵמוּ אִתָּנוּ). *Kedumim* is the

plural of a form קִישׁוֹן. The Kishon — thus exults the poet — showed itself a helpful stream. The statement that it snatched the enemies away, presupposes its swollen condition. It is only after the rainy season that the Kishon runs full; for which reason the LXX. call it χειμαρρῶν, winter-flowing. In summer it is for the most part dried up; but in the spring it sends down a rushing flood. Ritter (xvi. 704, Gage's Transl. iv. 351) adduces the fact that on the 16th of April, 1799, in a conflict between the French and Turks, many of the latter perished in its raging waters. Hence we may infer that the time of Barak's battle is to be fixed in the latter part of April or the beginning of May. The Feast of Weeks fell in the same season.³ Immediately after the narrative in Exodus, it is intimated that the manifestation on Sinai occurred in the beginning of the third month, and consequently coincided with the Feast of Weeks. The occurrence of the battle in a season devoted to such commemorations, explains with peculiar emphasis the opening lines of the Song, concerning the omnipotence of God on Sinai, "when the earth trem-

1 [Bertheau takes the words "the stars fought," as figurative language, expressive of divine assistance. "From the decisive victory it is certain that God was with Israel and fought in the midst of them, ver. 13 [read according to the Masoretic text division]; that He himself threw the hostile host into confusion, ch. iv. 15; and that the strong arm of a higher Power directed the course of the battle. All this is clearly and vividly present to the mind of the Singer. Filled with the thoughts of God's wonderful aid, and venturing under the impulses of a bold enthusiasm to give definite representation of his distinctly recognized yet mysterious work on earth and in the midst of men, it is to her as if the heavens, the eternal dwelling-place of the holy God, had bowed themselves down to earth, or — to use the language of the text — as if the stars, forsaking their usual orbits, had fought against Sisera. Quite similar is the imagery in Ps. xviii." The same view is adopted by Bachmann and many others. — Tr.]

2 [Bachmann, who adopts this interpretation, explains it from the fact "that the ancient wonder of the Red Sea appears to repeat itself at the Kishon. As in the whole of the present wonderful deliverance Deborah beholds a renewal of the glorious occurrences at Sinai (ver. 4), so she finds in the experience of Sisera's army at the Kishon a renewal of that which befell the Egyptians at the Red Sea; and thus the Kishon in her view takes the place of the Red Sea which that ancient wonder had rendered famous." Far fetched; although suggested by several earlier Rabbinical and ecclesiastical expositors. — Tr.]

3 A Jewish hymn of the Middle Ages, by R. Mair, still sung in the synagogues, at the Passover (*Lel Shemurim*), transports the battle into the Passover night; for which, however, it has no chronological grounds, but only the theological principle that all achievements of freedom were accomplished in that night.

bled." The ancients had a not ungrounded tradition, — to prove which this is not the place, — for regarding the lxxviii Psalm as a song for the Feast of Weeks; and it is just that psalm which incorporated into itself the introductory parts of Deborah's Song.

While singing, the prophetess sees herself transported into the tumult of the battle. The stream rushes violently onward, — the perishing foes contend with its whirling eddies. The roar of the conflict, its battle-cries, and shouts of victory, are around her. In the midst of her Song, she addresses her own soul, as the Greeks addressed their muse, with words of animation and refreshment: Tread vigorously on, my soul! Her genius hovers over the valley of conflict; her ear feels the hoof-strokes of the flying foes, who, panic stricken before Israel, furiously dash off into flight. What a triumph! the "strong ones" (אֲבִירֵי) run away!

רָרָר is to run fast, used of a horse's trot, like the Sanskrit *drū*, Greek *δρᾶναι* (*διδράσκω*). אֲבִירֵי, as Bochart already remarked (*Hieroz.* i. 99), is probably used here, as in Jer. viii. 16; xlvii. 3, of the war-horses, who with their rattling chariots ran wildly off. In that case, the might of the steeds stands representatively for that of the warriors themselves.

Ver. 23. The flying enemy had not succeeded even in escaping, if all places of the surrounding country had done their duty. The prophetess utters sentence of condemnation against the inhabitants of Meroz, because they rendered no assistance. Their aid had probably been important in the pursuit. Hence, their conduct is referred to here, — before the blessing upon Jael. The verse

¹ It is altogether erroneous to take אֲבִירֵי here of the heroes of Israel. For just therein consisted the faithlessness of the inhabitants of Meroz, that though Israel was threatened by heroes and mighty men, they offered no assistance.

first introduces a messenger of God, crying, "Curse ye Meroz, curse it!" and then continues itself, "Cursed are its inhabitants." The "messenger of God" is the singer herself, sent by the Spirit of God to consummate the victorious achievement. In obedience to the Spirit's prompting, she with Barak pronounces the national ban against the faithless city. For it came not to the help of

God (לְעֹזֶרְתָּ יְהוָה), that is, to the help of the

עַם יְהוָה, the People of God, as in vers. 11 and 13. It left the cause and the good gifts of God to their fate, when they were endangered in battle against heroes.¹ The greater the responsibility, the severer the punishment. The higher the cause to be served, the blacker the treason that abandons it. To ascertain, at this date, the site of Meroz, can hardly be possible. It has indeed been supposed to be identical with a place on Robinson's map, southwest of Endor,² called *Kefr Musr* (cf. Ritter, xv. 399 [Gage's Transl. ii. 316]); but neither the name of the place is certain, nor its situation entirely suitable; and, finally, considering the popular odium which the Song of Deborah affixed to the name, it is by no means probable that it remained unchanged, and actually perpetuated itself. Procopius confirms this surmise, when he observes (*Reland, Palästina*, p. 896), that concerning the name he had found nothing anywhere, not even in Hebrew expositions. The curse itself most probably implied, as in Josh. vi., the utter destruction of the place, although nothing further is said of it. In later times, this verse became a *locus classicus* for the Talmudic exposition of the ban against persons and things (*Mond Katan*, 16, a; *Shebnoth*, 36, a; Selden, *de Synedrüs*, p. 84, etc.).

² The battle took place south of Endor. That Barak in his swift descent from the heights met the enemy there first, appears from the remarkable statement of Ps. lxxxiii. 10, which speaks of Endor as a point of the battle-field.

THE FATE OF THE ENEMY.

Vers. 24-31.

- 24 Blessed among women be Jael,
The wife of Heber, the Kenite,
Blessed among women of the tents!
- 25 He asks for water, she gives him milk,
In a beautiful bowl she carries him cream.
- 26 With her left she takes the nail,¹
With her right the heavy hammer,
Swings it over Sisera, smites his head,
Crashes through, and transpierces his temples.²
- 27 At her feet he curls himself and falls,
At her feet he lies, curls himself again, and falls,
And as he curls himself again, falls — dead!³
- 28 Through the window she looks, at the lattice laments the mother of Sisera:
Why lingers his car so long,
Why stay the steps of his chariots?

- 29 Wise ladies answer her,⁴
 Herself also refutes her own words :
 30 Will they not find booty and divide it ?
 Two maidens for each man ;
 Booty of purple robes for Sisera,
 Yea, booty of purple robes !
 Color-embroidered vestments, two for each neck of the captured !⁵
 31 So may all thy foes fall, O God,
 But those who love thee rise as the sun in his strength !
 And the land rested forty years.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 26. — The rendering of יָרֵךְ by "her left hand," — if admissible at all, — must be justified by the assumption of an intended contrast with יְמִינָהּ in the next line. The form תִּשְׁלַחְהָּ, according to Gesenius, *Gram.* 47, 3, 3, is an improper use of the 3d plural for the 3d singular; according to Green, 88, p. 119, it stands for תִּשְׁלַחְהָּ — "her hand, she puts it forth;" according to Ewald, 191 c, it is simply the 3d fem. sg. תִּשְׁלַחְהָּ, with an additional feminine characteristic (נָהּ) in order to distinguish it from the 3d masc. singular. Ewald's view is also adopted by Bertheau, Keil, and (in the main, by) Bachmann, and is probably the true one. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 26. — Dr. Cassel's rendering of the last two lines of this verse is as follows : —

*Schwingt ihn auf Sisra, schlägt ihn an's Haupt,
 Schnettert nach und durchbohrt ihm die Schläfe.*

We have endeavored to reproduce his alliteration as nearly as possible, but have nevertheless lost the paranomasia of הַמַּלְמָדָה with הַמַּלְמָדָה, hammer, in the preceding line, for which our author has *Schlagel*, mallet, beetle. The awful energy of the lines, and their onomatopoeic character, may be distantly and somewhat inelegantly imitated in English, thus —

"She hammers Sisera, mashes his head,
 Smashes (him), and crashes through his temples." — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 27. — The above translation of this verse disregards the Masoretic text-division (according to which שָׁכַב, "he lies," belongs to the first line), and takes פָּתַח־שֵׁנֵי in a temporal instead of local sense. The radical meaning of פָּתַח is probably "to bend or contract one's self" (cf. Ges. *Lex.*, Keil, Bachmann), the usual sense "to kneel" being derivative. The mortally wounded Sisera, pinned to the ground (ch. iv. 21), involuntarily curls himself together, as Dr. Cassel says — *i. e.* brings his knees forward and upward. But Dr. Cassel's idea that this involuntary muscular contraction was repeated three times is inconsistent with the proper local sense of פָּתַח־שֵׁנֵי, and with the repeated נָפַל. Dr. Cassel, it is true, seeks to avoid the latter difficulty by supposing (see the com. below) that Sisera "seeks to rise, and falls back;" but how could he rise so as to fall back when his head was pinned to the ground? It is altogether more likely that in this song of victory, נָפַל is used as in military language (and perhaps not without a touch of contemptuous irony), for "to die," "to be slain," in this sense, נָפַל, like *πίπτειν, cadere*, and our "fall," is frequently used, cf. the *Lexica*. The repetition of the idea of the first line in the second and third springs from the great interest of the singer in the destruction of the much-dreaded chieftain, and serves to intensify the impression to be produced on those who hear her. Accordingly, we would render :—

At her feet he curls himself, he falls, he lies.
 At her feet he curls himself, he falls !
 Where he curls himself, there he falls — destroyed.

So also Bertheau, Keil, Bachmann. For אֵת, in the sense of "at" cf. remarks of Hengstenberg on Zech. xiii. 6, in *Christol.* iv. 106, Elinb. edition. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 29. — The above translation neglects both the suffix in שְׂרָרְתֵיהֶן, and the construct state of הַמַּלְמָדָה (fem. of הַמַּלְמָדָה). In תִּשְׁלַחְהָּ Dr. Cassel apparently finds the 3d fem. sing. imperf. with the suffix of the 3d fem. sing. But as the subject is plural, it is better to take תִּשְׁלַחְהָּ as standing for תִּשְׁלַחְהָּ. The accented é in the latter form seeks to strengthen itself by doubling the following consonant, in which case the ʿ naturally falls away, although it may also remain, as in Mic. vii. 10. Cf. Ewald, *Gram.* 17 c. The true rendering of the second line of this verse is much disputed. According to Keil the sense of the line is: "Sisera's mother, however, does not allow herself to be quieted by the speeches of her wise ladies, but repeats the anxious question, Why does Sisera delay to come?" He and Bachmann translate the verse thus :—

"The wise ones of her princesses answer :
 — But she repeats to herself her words —". — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 30. — On our author's text-division in this verse, see the Commentary below. Bachmann, who adheres to the Masoretic punctuation, translates as follows :—

"Will they not find, divide booty?"

A maiden, two maidens for the head of a man,

Booty of colored garments for Sisera.

Booty of colored garments, (of) variegated work,

A colored garment, two variegated for the neck of the booty." — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The closing part of Deborah's Song has justly been regarded as a specimen of poetical representation that cannot be surpassed. In it the singer shows that she is a woman. The triumph with which Jael's deed is praised and Sisera's mother mocked, evinces an almost passionate mental exaltation. The picture of Sisera's death is drawn with startling vividness. On the back ground of a divine enthusiasm, there rises an ecstatic delight in the deed of one woman, and in the misery of another, such as springs up in none but a woman's heart. That which in heathen female characters becomes demonic in its nature, is in Deborah purified by the divine thoughts which animate her. No subjective interest, no private feeling, no personal passion, influences her; the highest interests of her God and people fill her soul. It is not *her* triumph, but that of her ever-living Maker, that she celebrates; and yet at the height of its exultation her Song breaks out in a mood by which the woman might be recognized, even if neither name nor other information on the authorship had been handed down to us. That which especially gives to the conclusion of the Song its great value and attractiveness, is the fact that from it the genuineness of the whole becomes even more psychologically than grammatically evident—that the mantic power of a prophetic woman, unweakened and in the full glow of its burning ecstasy, is nowhere else filled and controlled as it is here, by rational enthusiasm born of an objective, divinely-given truth. How well it was said of her, that she was a "woman of a fiery spirit" (ch. iv. 4), becomes here most manifest. The more terrible the tyranny, the more commonplace the enemy, the more intensely burns her soul in her song of victory. The glowing heat of her prophetic enthusiasm shines through the irony, with which she places the vain pride of unbelieving enemies over against the almighty power of God. It is not an irony of hatred, disfiguring the face with scornful smiles, but such as springs from the consciousness that God's wisdom and power are superior to all heroes and heathen. Verse 23, pronouncing the ban against Meroz, says, "thus proclaims the messenger of God." The name of God is the source of all power and authority. Apostasy from God incurs the ban; whoever helps to advance his works, is blessed.

Vers. 24, 25. **Blessed among women be Jael.** Meroz did not come to the help of the people of God. Jael came, though a woman; and not of Israel, but a dweller in tents. The name of her husband is mentioned to distinguish her from others of the same name, and also to give him an interest in the fame of his wife. Accordingly, for her sake, he also has obtained a place in the records of history. The blessing which she enjoys before all women "in the tent," *i. e.* before all who like herself and the Kenites wandered about in tents, after the manner of nomads, she did not win by accident. She made an energetic use of her opportunity. She deceives the flying Sisera by the

signs of homage which she presents to him. He asks only for water; she offers him milk, and, as was befitting with such a guest, **בַּכֶּלֶל אֲדִירִים**, in a bowl such as princes use. She takes the handsome show-bowl, not used on ordinary occasions, and hands him **חֶמְצָה**. This word, which also signifies butter, expresses in general the more solid forms of milk. Here, where it stands parallel with **חֶלֶב**, it signifies, in harmony with the "show-bowl," the best milk, the cream. There is absolutely nothing to suggest the opinion of older expositors (Schnurrer, p. 83, received by Herder also) that she wished to intoxicate him with the milk. Moreover, we need not assume that the milk was *camel-milk*; and, at all events, the intoxicating property of that milk¹ must have been known to Sisera. Before Bochart (cf. Serarius, p. 145), Junius and Tremellius had already expressed the opinion, approved by Scaliger, that in **סֶפֶל** the Latin *simpulum* reappears. But *saph*, *sephol*, are Hebrew forms of a widely-diffused term for round, scooped-out vessels, whether of larger or smaller size, and may be recognized in the Greek **σκάφη**, bowl, trough, tub, Latin *scaphium*, and in the German *Schaff* (tub, pail), *Schöffel* (*moedlus*), a round measure.² It is true, however, that *sephol* continued to be used among the Jews (in the Talmud) and Syrians, and that the shape of the vessel may be most nearly expressed by *simpulum*, which, as Cicero's proverb, "*fluctus in simpulo*"—a tempest in a nut-shell—proves, was a smaller drinking-vessel.

Vers. 26, 27. The first of these verses shows that the narrator in ch. iv. was in possession of traditional information beside that furnished by this Song. The prophetic passes over intermediate, self-evident matters. Sisera, of course, must lie down and sleep, before a woman can approach his head with hammer and nail. The verse depicts the dreadful work and vigor of Jael, as she approaches and drives the nail into Sisera's head.

The terms employed (**וַיִּחַק, וַיִּחַק, הָהָלֵם**) are such as cause us to hear the blows of the hammer, sounding repeatedly, till she finishes her work. What a terrible picture! Before the warrior stands the kindled woman—the heavy hammer (as Herder finely translated **הַלְמִיטָה נִמְלֵיִם**, for **נִמְלֵי** is one who works hard or heavily, a toiler) in her right hand. The smitten chieftain draws himself together, he seeks to rise, and falls back. Twice more he writhes convulsively, and dies. There he lies, the haughty warrior, who thought to destroy the People of God—slain by a woman in disgraceful flight, far from his kindred, alone and unlamented, an example to conquerors of human weakness and divine power. (**נִשְׁדָּרָה** is the condition of utter lifelessness, when every sound and motion has ceased; hence it stands in contrast with **בָּרָצָה**, which describes the wounded man instinctively bending and drawing himself together, as if about to rise.)

1 [When soured. See Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, I. 648. — Ta.]

2 Of two hollow measures, still in use in Damascus, the one is called *mudd*, the other *sumbul*.

Vers. 28-31. But the fall of Sisera in the tent of a woman does not complete the picture of the extraordinary triumph. The prophetess shows yet another view. She carries her hearers to a distant scene. While Sisera lies here in ignominious death, what takes place in the palace of his capital? The return of the chieftain, accustomed to victory, has already been long expected. His mother stands at the window above,¹ in the airy upper room. Her view commands the road to a great distance. She peers and listens; but still the rolling of the victorious chariots is not heard. No triumphal procession, with Sisera at its head, gorgeously attired and proud of victory, lights up the horizon. A sad presentiment steals over her heart: Why does his chariot delay? she cries, wailingly; ² why does he tarry so long? Is there no car³ coming, to bring tidings at least? — Who should first suffer anxiety, if not a mother? Of a wife, nothing is said; such love thrives not in the greatness of a prince. He is his mother's pride, the great hero, who had hitherto been invincible. What she has in him, and what she loses, concerns no other woman. With this pride, her women, noble ladies, whom her high rank as mother of the all-powerful commander draws around her, comfort her. Victory, they say, has also its occupations. If he has not come yet, it is because these detain him. No other explanation of his non-arrival is possible. Anxiety, therefore, is improper. For it is precisely victory that delays him. This is what her women say to her; the flattered mother admits the justness of their observations, and with them confutes her own foreboding questions.⁴ The prophetess, with delicate irony, calls the women who thus counsel, "wise ones." It is the wisdom of a pride that deems it inconceivable that Sisera should not have been victorious; how could he prove unfortunate against this insignificant people! What to them is the God of Israel! It is the booty that hinders his coming. Booty, of course, delays the victor; for he must cause it to be divided. The mother and her women naturally think first of the booty; to them, that is the pith of all victories. Their fancy then proceeds to picture at pleasure the conquered treasures. How much time must it take, before every soldier has the two maidens whom he obtains as booty, assigned to him!⁵ And then the heap of costly clothing. The purple garments fall naturally to Sisera, for they are suitable only for princes. But each of the others also obtains embroidered garments, always two for each maiden that fell to his share. In this strain they talk with each other, and already imagine themselves to be looking over the goods which Sisera is bringing with him. But all at once the message comes: No booty, no victory — the hero is dead, the army is shattered! All is lost — the castle falls . . .

So perish they who set themselves against God. Fearful sorrow breaks their pride. But they who love God conquer. Their type is the sun, who like a fame-crowned victor, every morning, every spring, triumphs gloriously, with hero-like power, over clouds and darkness.

Account must here be given for departures from the ordinary division and translation in ver. 30. That verse, like several others in Deborah's Song, has undergone an incredible amount of conjecture and emendation. It reads as follows: —

1. הלא ימנא יחלקו שָׁלָל
2. רחם רחמתיים לראש גבר
3. שָׁלָל צְבָעִים לְסִכְרָא
4. שָׁלָל צְבָעִים
5. רַחֲמָה צְבָע רַחֲמַתִּים לְצִנְאָרִי שָׁלָל.

Victors found their greatest satisfaction and joy in the booty. Hence, Moses also makes Pharaoh say (Ex. xv. 9): "I will pursue, I will divide the spoil." The women took for granted that Sisera will find (ימנא) much booty, and that consequently a division will commence. Lines 2-5 point out the method of the division. First (line 2) each man gets two maidens, or women. Then the garments are divided. But how this was done, depends upon the explanation of line 5, particularly of the words לְצִנְאָרִי שָׁלָל. The difficulty⁶ under which expositors labored, originated in their failing to perceive that שָׁלָל means the booty of maidens mentioned in line 2. It cannot be denied that שָׁלָל is booty of persons as well as of things, cf. Num. xxxi. 11. Zech. ii. 13 (9) says, "They become a spoil to those who have served them." In Isa. x. 2, widows are called שָׁלָל, cf. Jer. xxi. 9, as also Jer. l. 10, where the Chaldeans are spoken of as booty. An entirely analogous error used to be made in interpreting the celebrated chorus in the *Antigone* of Sophocles: —

"Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν,
"Ἔρως, ὅς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις."

the word κτήμασι being understood, not of "the unfree," but always of things (cf. *Weimar. Jahrbuch für Deutsche Lit.*, ii. 359). The "unfree" booty consists of men, animals, and things. So here, שָׁלָל צְבָעִים are the necks of the women taken as booty. For each neck two cloths are allowed. Thus the רַחֲמָה רַחֲמַתִּים of line 5 corresponds to the רַחֲמֵי רַחֲמַתִּים of line 2. The division was thus systematized. As many women as each had,

1 בעד תחלוך נשקפה. invariably expresses the act of looking out from a height, from a mountain, for instance, or from heaven; also from the upper chambers (Gen. xxvi. 8), to which persons of quality (Egion, for example) retired to cool themselves.

2 והינבב יבב occurs only in this passage. It is an onomatopoeic word, like the German "jammern," [cf. the English "wailing."] In Chaldee, however, it chiefly has the sense of "crying," "sounding," in a favorable as well as unfavorable sense.

3 פצמי מרבוותי פצמי may be used of any kind of repeated motion, like that of treading; and therefore also of the rolling of wheels.

4 תשיב אמריה. The mother replies herself to her own words, corrects herself. She does not answer the others, — an interpretation neither philologically congruous, nor in harmony with the fact that they have not said anything which the mother would wish to refute. Cf. Job, xxxv. 4, and Prov. xxii. 21.

5 The following passage from a letter written by the Emperor Claudius II., after his great victory over the Goths, may serve to confirm our explanation of ver. 30: "Tantum mulierum cepimus, ut binas et ternas mulieres victor sibi miles possit adungere." Trebellius Pollio, cap. viii.

6 Observable also in Kell's exposition.

so many times did he receive two cloths (for doubtless the dual form here really signifies the dual number). Now, it must not be overlooked that **רָקְמָה** is used only in connection with the division of the cloths according to the number of maidens.

Elsewhere also (*Ezek. xxvi. 16*, excepted) **רָקְמָה** appears as an article of female adornment, cf. *Ps. xlv. 15*, for instance; also in *Ezek. xvi. 13*, the figure is that of a woman. This confirms the above division, and explains the expression of line 3: **שָׁלַל זָקְנֵימָא לְסִסְרָא**. The **זָקְנֵימָא** which the chieftain is to receive, are distinguished from the **רָקְמָה**, which fall to the maidens. The latter are beautifully-colored female dress-cloths;¹ the former belong to Sisera, and are therefore to be taken as purple garments. It is true, **צָבַץ**, in itself, means only to dip, *i. e.* to dye; but the spirit of the passage invites us to think not of merely colored, but of purple-colored garments, *κατ' εἶσοχάν*. Such garments were worn by princes in battle (cf. *Judg. viii. 26*), and distinguished kings and rulers; by reason of which it was an honor for Mordecai to wear them (*Esth. viii. 15*; cf. *Rosenmüller, Morgenland, iii. 37*). It is a proud thought for Sisera's mother, that the princely garments belong to her son. The repetition of the words **שָׁלַל זָקְנֵימָא** (line 4) is to be taken as expressive of this her joy. The women do not speak, as has perhaps been supposed, of what they themselves shall receive, but simply represent to themselves how much time must be consumed in dividing so much booty among so many persons, in order to explain that which so greatly needed explanation — the delay of Sisera.

We omit recounting the various different expositions of this section. Nor is room allowed us to notice the manifold endeavors that have been made to analyze the arrangement of the whole Song. Neither Köster's, nor Ewald's, nor Bertheau's division holds good. Le Clerc attempted to arrange the Song according to endings of similar sound, — an attempt that must necessarily fail. On the other hand, alliteration is of such frequent occurrence, as to betray more than anything else the presence of conscious art. Since the Song, however, is not built up of regular strophes, it of course cannot be subject to the same regular laws which govern the Scandinavian poems. But the alliterative form, in its perfect freedom, enhances the power of the Song to an extraordinary degree. It resembles in its effects the pebble-stones of the brook, over which the current flows with augmented force. It would transcend the limits of our present task to institute a comparison between the various productions of the Hebrew muse with reference to this alliterative form. Let it suffice, that in the rendering of the original we have endeavored to give prominence to the delicacy of the alliteration as it appears in this Song of Deborah.

And the land rested forty years. These words do not belong to the Song; but connect themselves with the prose narrative, at *ch. iv. 24*, into which the poem was inserted.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Deborah, the prophetic Singer. After the victory, Deborah sings a noble song, and thereby enables us to recognize that the spirit which animates her is the spirit of prophecy. The other Judges conquer like herself, but they have left us no songs of victory. But, indeed, they are not said to have been prophets. Only prophetic tongues can sing. True poetry is a sacred art. For that reason, all prophecy is a sublime hymn on judgment and divine redemption. Whatever the prophet sees, he proclaims and sings to the harp of faith. What they believed, that they spake. The wonderful works of God are always spoken of and preached with other tongues and in ecstatic song. Thus, from David's time till now, the church of God has sung. Hallelujah is the keynote of all church-hymns.

But, just as Deborah, like Moses and Miriam, sang among the people, so the prophecy of song is not confined within the limits of the church. All popular poetry is the product of popular faith. The decay of literature is bound up in the decay of prophetic inspiration. Rhymes and verbal decorations do not rouse the masses. But when the jubilant heart, redeemed, strikes up its Easter-song, then every pulse will beat responses.

STARKE: Although God has not committed the regular office of preaching to women, he has nevertheless many times imparted his prophetic Spirit to them, and through them has spoken great things. — THE SAME: All who share in the benefits of God, should also join in bringing Him praise and thanksgiving. — GERLACH: An age in which this sublime, high-wrought, and spirited song could be composed, though full of restless and wildly antagonistic movements, was certainly not without deep and living consciousness of the high and glorious calling of the covenant-people.

[WORDSWORTH: We have a song of victory in Exodus; we have a song of victory in Numbers; we have a song of victory in Deuteronomy; we have this song of victory in Judges; we have a song of victory in the first of Samuel; we have a song of victory in the second of Samuel; we have the song of Zacharias, and the Magnificat, or Song of the Blessed Virgin, and the song of Simeon, in the Gospel; and all these songs are preludes to the new song, the song of Moses and of the Lamb, which the Saints of the Church glorified, from all nations, will sing, at the crystal sea, with the harps of God, when all the enemies of Christ and his Church will have been subdued, and their victory will be consummated forever (*Rev. xiv. 1-3; xv. 2-4*). — THE SAME (on *ver. 17*): Here, in Dan and Asher, is the second hindrance to zeal for God's cause; the other was that in the case of Reuben — comparative distance from the scene of danger, and rural occupation (see *vers. 15, 16*). They who live in commercial and maritime cities, engaged in worldly business, are tempted to prefer their own worldly interest to the cause of God and his Church. They who thus act, imitate Dan, and forfeit the blessing of Deborah. They also who live in country villages, removed from the din of controversy, and engaged in farming and other

¹ [This general explanation of **רָקְמָה**, as cloth or garments "worked in colors," is probably to be preferred to the more definite "embroidered in colors," adopted by Dr. Cassel in his translation of the passage. Kell (on *Ex. xxvi. 35*) remarks that in the only passage where the verb **רָקַם**

occurs, *Ps. cxxxix. 15*, it signifies "to weave." Robinson (*Bibl. Repos.*, i. 610) says: "The verb **רָקַם**, both in Hebrew and Arabic, signifies to diversify, make variegated, *sc.* in color; and is not necessarily applied to needlework." Cf. also Bachmann, *in loc.* — Tr.]

rural occupations, have strong temptations to live merely to themselves, and to stand aloof from their brethren, and not to listen to Deborah's voice, and not to flock to Barak's standard, and fight God's battle together with them against the heresy and infidelity which assail his Church.—THE SAME (on ver. 18): Zebulun and Naphtali, in "Galilee of the Gentiles," sent forth champions to the Lord's battle against the enemies of the Hebrew Church; and their land was afterwards honored as the scene of Christ's preaching (see Matt. iv. 13), and gave birth to many of the Apostles, the first champions of the Christian Church against the spiritual Sise-

ras of this world.—THE SAME (on ver. 31): After the stirring emotions of the tempest of the elements, and the rush of the combatants, and the din of arms, and shock of battle, described with wonderful energy in this divine poem, the land had rest; a beautiful contrast, and an emblem of the peaceful calm which will prevail when the storms of this world will be lulled in the Sabbath of Eternity.—HENRY: And well had it been if, when the churches and the tribes had rest, they had been edified, *and had walked in the fear of the Lord.*—[Tr.]

FOURTH SECTION.

THE INCURSIONS AND OPPRESSIONS OF THE MIDIANITES. GIDEON, THE JUDGE WHO REFUSES TO BE KING.

The Midianites invade the land seven years. Israel cries to Jehovah, and is answered through a prophet, who reminds them of their sins.

CHAPTER VI. 1-10.

- 1 And the children [sons] of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord [Jehovah]:
 2 and the Lord [Jehovah] delivered them into the hand of Midian seven years. And the hand of Midian prevailed [was strong] against [over] Israel: *and* because of the Midianites the children [sons] of Israel made them the dens [grottoes] which
 3 *are* in the mountains, and [the] caves, and [the] strong holds. And *so* it was, when Israel had sown [his fields], that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites, and the children [sons] of the east, even they came up against them [and passed
 4 over them]:¹ And they encamped against [upon] them, and destroyed [ruined] the increase [produce, cf. Deut. xxxii. 22] of the earth, till thou come unto Gaza; and left no sustenance² for [in] Israel, neither sheep, nor ox, nor ass. For they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers [locusts] for multitude: *for* both they and their camels were without number: and they
 6 entered into the land to destroy [ruin] it. And Israel was greatly impoverished [reduced] because of the Midianites; and the children [sons] of Israel cried unto the Lord [Jehovah]. And it came to pass, when the children [sons] of Israel
 8 cried unto the Lord [Jehovah] because of the Midianites, That the Lord [Jehovah] sent a prophet unto the children [sons] of Israel, which [and he] said unto them, Thus saith the Lord [Jehovah, the] God of Israel, I brought you up from Egypt [cf. 1 Sam. x. 18] and brought you forth out of the house of bondage [Ex. xiii. 3];
 9 And I delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of all that oppressed you, and drave them out from before you, and gave you their land;
 10 And I said unto you, I *am* the Lord [Jehovah] your God; fear not [ye shall not fear, *i. e.* reverence] the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but ye have not obeyed my voice.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 Ver. 3.—עָלָה עָלָיו: literally, "came up upon him," or, "came up against him." Dr. Cassel supplies שָׂרְדוֹהוּ אַחֲרָיו, and accordingly makes "him" refer to "field." But although this rendering suits the connection admirably well, it cannot be supposed that the Hebrew writer would have left the accusative after עָלָה unexpressed if he had

intended to refer back to it by means of a pronoun, especially when the latter could so readily be referred to another noun. וְעָלַב עֲלָיו simply adds the idea of hostility, which the preceding עָלַב left unexpressed. In like manner, עָלַיָּהֶם, in the next verse, explains that the "encamping" was "against" I-rael — had hostile purposes in view. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 4. — מְחַיֶּה: Dr. Cassel, *Lebensmitteln*, "means of life." So also Kell: "They left no provisions (produce of the field) in Israel, and neither sheep, nor cattle, nor ass." Dr. Cassel, in a foot-note, gives a simple reference to 2 Chron. xlv. 12 (13), where, however, the word unquestionably means anything "alive." Bertheau adopts that meaning here; but cf. ch. xvii. 10. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. And Jehovah delivered them into the hand of Midian. Of the death of Deborah and Barak, no mention is made; the peace which their great deeds procured lasted forty years. But those deeds were already forgotten again; and with them the God whose Spirit had begotten them. Then fresh bondage and misery came, and reminded the people of Him who alone can save. Numerous tribes of eastern nomads invaded, plundered, and devastated the land. The transjordanic tribes could at that time offer them no such resistance as, according to 1 Chron. v. 10, 19, they were able, at a later date, to make against the Hagarites, Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab. The present invaders are called Midian, and appear in league with Amalek and the "sons of the east." The Midianites are wandering tribes in the desert of Sinai, in the neighborhood of the Moabites, answering both in name and manner of life to the Bedouins. In the constantly occurring interchange of מ and ב (*m* and *b*) in the Semitic dialects, the Arabic tongue seems to prefer the ב, while the Hebrew inclines to the מ (cf. Timnath and Tibneh). The Bedouin derives his name from the Arabic *بَادِيَة*, the desert; an expression of which the Hebrew *בָּדוּד*, to be desolate and waste, readily reminds one. The derivation from *בִּדְיָר*, formerly current, is too artificial, since the prominent idea of the term Bedouin is not a reference to pasture lands, but to the desert. The name Midian manifestly belongs to the same root — *מִדְיָן*¹ being the same as

בִּדְיָן, primitive *Bedawin*, who, like the Towara of the present day (Ritter, xiv. 937), engaged in the carrying trade between the Enphrates and Egypt, and in general pillage. Not all desert tribes boast the same descent, as in fact the Ishmaelites and the Midianites did not belong to the same family; both, however, followed similar modes of life, and hence are sometimes designated by one and the same name (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28; Judg. viii. 22,

24). They are dwellers in tents, as contrasted with those who till the earth or dwell in cities.

Ver. 2. And the sons of Israel made them the grottoes which are in the mountains, and the caves and the strongholds. The word for

grottoes is *מְקַהָרוֹת*, and an entirely satisfactory description of them is given by Wetzstein (*Hauran*, p. 45): "At some rocky, elevated, and dry place, a shaft was sunk obliquely into the earth; and at a depth of about twenty-five fathoms, streets were run off, straight, and from six to eight paces wide, in the sides of which the dwellings were excavated. At various points these streets were extended to double their ordinary width, and the roof was pierced with airholes, more or less numerous according to the extent of the place. These airholes are at present called *rösen*, plural *rawasin* (windows)." From this may be seen how accurately Raschi and Kimchi explained the above word, when they made it mean "caves with air-holes like windows." The remark of R. Tanchum is likewise correct, that watchmen were employed, who gave alarm signals when the enemy approached. As soon as these were given, the ploughmen and herds hurried quickly into the earth, and were secure. Commonly, says Wetzstein, these excavations had a second place of exit; and consequently, in a region whose inhabitants are liable to constant attacks from the desert (he speaks of the Hauran), are regarded as strongholds. Quite appropriate, apparently, is the rendering of that Greek version which translates *מְקַהָרוֹת* by *μάδρα*, an inclosed space, a fold, stable. In later times, eastern monks, who lived in such grottoes, called the cloister itself *μάδρα*.²

Vers. 3, 4. Till thou come unto Gaza.³ They were expeditions for plunder and devastation, such as the Bedouin tribes of the present day are still accustomed to undertake against hostile communities.⁴ Their general direction was towards the plain. The invaders, however, did not content themselves with ruining the growing crops from east to west, but also scoured the land towards the south. Gaza, moreover, formerly as in later times, was the great bazaar of stolen wares, brought to-

¹ A *Madian* near the Arabian Gulf is mentioned by Abulfeda; cf. *Geogr.*, ed. Paris, p. 86; Arnold, in *Herzog's Realencykl.*, i. 403.

² [Kell: "The power of the Midianites and their confederates bore so heavily on the Israelites, that these 'made for themselves the clefts which are in the mountains, and the caves, and the strongholds,' those, namely, which were afterwards (at the time when our Book was written) everywhere to be found in the land, and in times of war offered secure places of refuge. This is indicated by the definite article before *מְקַהָרוֹת* and the other substantives. The words, 'they made for themselves,' are not at variance with the fact that in the limestone mountains of Palestine there exist many natural caves. For, on the one hand, they do not affirm that all the caves found in the land were

made at that time by the Israelites, nor on the other does

עָשׂוּהָם, to make, exclude the use of natural caves for purposes of safety, since it applies not only to the digging and laying out of new caves, but also to the fitting up of natural ones. . . . For the rest, these clefts, caves, and strongholds, were to serve, not merely as hiding-places for the fugitive Israelites, but much more as places of concealment and security for their property and the necessities of life. For the Midianites, like genuine Bedouins, were more intent on plunder and pillage, and the desolation of the country, than on the destruction of the people." — Tr.]

³ On Gaza, cf. the Com. on ch. xvi. 1.

⁴ [See Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 163; Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations, Moses and the Judges*, p. 340, etc. — Tr.]

gether there by the Bedouins from their expeditions (Ritter, xiv. 924).¹

Vers. 5. **As locusts** (Sept. *ἀκρίαι*, cf. *II. xxi. 12*) for **multitude**: a comparison suggestive both of their numbers and of the effects of their presence. The Midianite devastation was like that by locusts. In Hauran, says Wetzstein, various plagues are found; the locust is bad, but the worst are the Bedouins (p. 43). A Bedouin said to him: "The *Ruwala* have become like the hosts of God," i. e., numerous as the locusts, for these are called *Gumud Allah* (*Hauran*, p. 138). — **Camels without number**. In such extravagant hyperbolisms the speech of Orientals has always abounded. When Burkhardt asked a Bedouin, who belonged to a tribe of three hundred tents, how many brothers he had, throwing a handful of sand into the air, he replied, "equally numberless." The invaders' object was not to gather the harvest, but only to destroy. What they needed, they had with them — cattle, tents, and camels.

Vers. 6-10. **And the sons of Israel cried unto Jehovah**. When the people were brought low (לַחַיִּים) they repented. Distress teaches prayer. With Israel repentance went hand in hand with the remembrance of their former strength. They lose themselves when they lose their God; they find themselves when they turn to Him. This the prophet sets before them. The words put into the mouth of the unknown preacher, reproduce the old penitential discourse. In various but similar forms that discourse ever reappears; for it rests on Mosaic warnings and declarations whose truth all the fortunes of Israel confirm. For the first time, however, the verb שָׁנָה, to fear, elsewhere used only with reference to God, is here connected with heathen gods; but only to point out the fact that disobedient Israel has yielded to idol gods the reverence which it owed to the eternal God. When such rebukes are gladly heard by the people, deliverance is near at hand. When they believe themselves to have deserved such admonitions and punishments, they again believe God. In accepting the judge, we secure the deliverer. Such is the historical experience of all ages.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Israel had again apostatized, notwithstanding

¹ [BERTHEAU: "Since the expeditions of eastern tribes follow the same plan at every repetition, and since, according to ver. 33, they encamped in the valley of Jezreel, and moreover made their incursion with their herds and camels, it is evident that they must have entered the country by the one great connecting road between the East and Pales-

the victory and the song of Deborah. SAILER: "When one has drunk, he turns his back upon the fountain; but it is only the ingrate who does this." Israel was altogether as it had been formerly, but God's judgment assumes a new form. Greater than ever was the humiliation. Israel was not simply oppressed by a tyranny like that of Sisera, who was in the land, but it was like a slave who toils for a foreign master. Had it accomplished its task? Midian came and seized the fruit. So he who falls away from God who gives, must for that very reason serve sin, which takes. — STARKE: The strongest fortress, defense, and weapon, with which in danger we can protect ourselves, is prayer.

[BP. HALL: During the former tyranny, Deborah was permitted to judge Israel under a palm-tree; under this, not so much as private habitations will be allowed to Israel. Then, the seat of judgment was in sight of the sun; now, their very dwellings must be secret under the earth. They that rejected the protection of God, are glad to seek to the mountains for shelter; and as they had savagely abused themselves, so they are fain to creep into dens and caves of the rocks, like wild creatures, for safeguard. God had sown spiritual seed amongst them, and they suffered their heathenish neighbors to pull it up by the roots; and now, no sooner can they sow their material seed, but Midianites and Amalekites are ready by force to destroy it. As they inwardly dealt with God, so God deals outwardly by them; their eyes may tell them what their souls have done; yet that God whose mercy is above the worst of our sin, sends first his prophet with a message of reproof, and then his angel with a message of deliverance. The Israelites had smarted enough with their servitude, yet God sends them a sharp rebuke. It is a good sign when God chides us; his round reprobations are ever gracious forerunners of mercy; whereas, his silent connivance at the wicked argues deep and secret displeasure; the prophet made way for the angel, reproof for deliverance, humiliation for comfort. — HENRY: Sin dispirits men, and makes them sneak into dens and caves. The day will come, when chief captains and mighty men will call in vain to rocks and mountains to hide them. — TR.]

tine, which crosses the depression of the Jordan near Bethshean, and issues into the plain of Jezreel. The extension of their inroads thence, is indicated by the fact that Gaza, at the southwestern extremity of the land, is named as the limit of their advance." Cf. Dr. Cassel's remarks on ver. 11, p. 111. — TR.]

The Angel of Jehovah appears to Gideon, and commissions him to deliver Israel.

CHAPTER VI. 11-24.

11 And there came an angel of the Lord [Jehovah], and sat under an [the] oak which was [is] in Ophrah, that pertained unto Joash the Abi-ezrite: and his son Gideon threshed [was threshing]¹ wheat by [in] the wine-press, to hide it from the
12 Midianites. And the angel of the Lord [Jehovah] appeared unto him, and said unto him, The Lord [Jehovah] is with thee, thou mighty man of valour [valiant
13 hero]. And Gideon said unto him, O [Pray,] my Lord, if the Lord [Jehovah] be

with us, why then is all this befallen us? and where *be* all his miracles which our fathers told us of, saying, Did not the Lord [Jehovah] bring us up from Egypt? but now the Lord [Jehovah] hath forsaken us, and delivered us into the hands of
 14 the Midianites. And the Lord [Jehovah] looked upon [turned towards] him, and said, Go in this thy might, and thou shalt save [and save thou] Israel from the
 15 hand of the Midianites: have not I sent thee? And he said unto him, O [Pray.] my Lord,² wherewith shall I save Israel? behold, my family *is* poor [the most insignificant] in Manasseh, and I *am* the least [youngest] in my father's house.
 16 And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto him, Surely [Nay, but] I will be with thee, and
 17 thou shalt smite the Midianites as one man. And he said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, then shew me a sign that [it is] thou [who] talkest with
 18 me. Depart not hence, I pray thee, until I come [again] unto thee, and bring forth my present, and set *it* before thee. And he said, I will tarry until thou come again.
 19 And Gideon went in, and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of flour: the flesh he put in a [the] basket, and he put *the* broth in a [the] pot, and
 20 brought *it* out unto him under the oak, and presented *it*. And the angel of God said unto him, Take the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and lay *them* upon this
 21 [that] rock, and pour out the broth. And he did so. Then [And] the angel of the Lord [Jehovah] put forth the end of the staff that *was* in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes; and there rose up fire out of the rock, and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes. Then [And] the angel of the Lord
 22 [Jehovah] departed [disappeared] out of his sight. And when [omit: when] Gideon perceived that he *was* an angel of the Lord [Jehovah, and] Gideon said, Alas, O Lord God [Jehovah]! for because³ I have seen an angel of the Lord [Jehovah]
 23 face to face. And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto him, Peace be unto thee; fear
 24 not: thou shalt not die. Then [And] Gideon built an altar there unto the Lord [Jehovah], and called it Jehovah-shalom [Jehovah (is) Peace]: unto this day it *is* yet in Ophrah of the Abi-ezrites.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 11. — Literally, "was beating" (חָבַד) *sc.* with a stick, ῥαβδίζειν. The more usual word for threshing is שָׂרַף. Threshing was generally done by treading with oxen, or by means of a drag-like machine drawn over the grain by oxen or other animals. But for small quantities, and for certain minor seeds (Isa. xxviii. 27), a stick was used, cf. Ruth ii. 17. — *TA.*]

[2 Ver. 15. — אֱלֹהֵי: thus pointed, this word always refers to God, and the possessive suffix (for such אֱלֹהֵי is most probably) is lost sight of. "From the words in ver. 15 Gideon perceived that he who talked with him was not a mere man. Hence, he now no longer says: 'Pray, my lord' (אֱלֹהֵי, ver. 13), but, 'Pray, Lord' (אֱלֹהֵי, God the Lord)." So Kell. Dr. Cassel apparently points the text here as in ver. 13, for he translates "My Lord." Compare what he says on ver. 17. — *TA.*]

[3 Ver. 22 — כִּי-עַל-כֵּן: "for therefore," "for on this account." Dr. Cassel renders it here by *also*, "so then" (illative). But the phrase regularly indicates the ground or reason for what goes before, cf. Gen. xviii. 5; xix. 8; xxxiii. 10; etc.; and Ewald, *Gram.* 353 a. Gideon's thought is: "Woe is me! for therefore — *scil.* to give me cause for my apprehension of danger — have I seen," etc. Cf. Bertheau and Kell. The E. V. would be rendered accurate enough by striking out either "for" or "because." — *TA.*]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 11. **In Ophrah.** The place is expressly designated as belonging to the family of Abiezer, to distinguish it from another Ophrah in Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23). Abiezer was a son of Manasseh, whose seats were on this side the Jordan (Josh. xvii. 2). To the western half tribe of Manasseh, belonged also Beth-shean (Seythopolis), Jibleam, Taanach, Megiddo, the fertile districts of the plain of Jezreel. Manasseh therefore suffered especially, when the Midianites crossed the Jordan near Beisan, in order to desolate the land. From vers. 33-35 it may be inferred that Ophrah was situated in the northwestern part of the plain, in the direction of Dora, which likewise belongs to

Manasseh. Since the enemy, after crossing the Jordan, encamped in Jezreel, and Gideon invoked assistance against them from Asher, Naphtali, and Zebulun, this inference may be considered tolerably certain. That Asher was called on, shows that Ophrah was in the West, and the appeal to Naphtali and Zebulun indicates that it lay to the north; since otherwise the army of Midian would have prevented a junction. Ophrah was inhabited by a branch of the family of Abiezer, at whose head Joash stood; but among them dwelt others (אֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר), "the men of the city," ver. 27), who were probably of the original inhabitants whom Manasseh had suffered to remain.

Under the oak, חֶטְתֵּי הָאֹקֵה. Septuagint:

τερέμινθος (interchangeable with τερέβινθος), the terebinth. The Targums have בַּרְמִיָּה, oak.

הַלֵּלִי וְהַלֵּלִי are evidently different species of the same stately tree, and probably differ from each other as the *quercus* and *ilex*. The oak and terebinth are too little alike to make it probable that they had almost the same name. *Ilex* is clearly a cognate term. Böttiger's remarks about an "ancestral terebinth," and a "sacred tree" under which "Jehovah appears" (*Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 521), have no support in the passages in which those trees are mentioned. The magnificent tree afforded a grateful shade, and therefore invited persons to sit and rest beneath it. Whoever knows the East, knows also how to estimate the value of shade;¹ though indeed everywhere a large tree near a homestead or in a village, becomes the meeting and resting-place of the inhabitants as well as the traveller. Besides, the tree in Ophrah has nothing whatever to do with what farther happens. The whole section in Böttiger's book is a misunderstanding. The tree is mentioned here only to make it appear natural that a stranger could seat himself under it without drawing special attention and exciting surprise.

And his son Gideon was threshing wheat in the wine-press. In German, also, "wine-press" (*Kelter*) sometimes stands for the place in which the pressing is done, as well as for the vat into which the wine flows. The same is the case in Hebrew. While בַּר is the press-house or place, כַּבֵּי stands for the vat; but they are frequently interchanged. Here it is of course the place, of which Gideon makes use to thresh wheat; threshing on exposed threshing-floors being avoided on account of the pillaging propensities of the Midianites. Here that had again come to pass which Deborah lamented, and the cure of which she had celebrated in her song — there was no פָּרְוֹן, no open country, in the land.

Vers. 12, 13. And the Angel of Jehovah appeared unto him. Hitherto מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה always signified a human messenger of God (cf. ch. ii. 1; v. 23). Here it is otherwise. The mention of a "prophet of Jehovah" in ver. 8, already indicated that the מַלְאָךְ now spoken of, is not a human messenger. That hint is now rendered plain and unmistakable by the phrase וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו, there "appeared" to him, which is only used when the invisible divine nature becomes visible. As Gideon looked up, a stranger stood before him, — who, while exhibiting nothing unusual in his outward appearance, must yet have had about him that which commanded reverence. This stranger greeted him.

Jehovah (is) with thee, thou valiant hero. Gideon cannot have referred this greeting merely to heroic deeds of war. It is much rather the evident pleasure of the stranger in the nervous energy and vigor with which he threshes, to which with a sense of shame he replies. True, indeed, he is conscious of strength and energy; but of what avail are they? Is it not matter of shame that he cannot even thresh his wheat on the threshing-floor? Hence his respectfully spoken answer: No, my lord; God is not with me; for were He with

us, would such things come upon us? would I be driven to thresh wheat in the wine-press? But this answer shows that he believed God; from the greeting (וַיֵּרָא) he had perceived that he stood in the presence of one of the friends and confessors of God. It shows, also, that his courageous heart had long demurred against Israel's dishonor. The national tradition of Israel's ancient glory was not yet extinct. The deliverance from Egypt was the beginning of Israel's nationality and freedom. Doubtless, says the strong man, then, as our fathers tell us, God was with Israel, and freed us from Egypt; but now — we are unable to defend ourselves against the pillaging Bedouins! The doubt which he thus utters, does not spring from an unbelieving and pusillanimous soul. He gladly believed and delighted in what was told of other days. His lament is that of a patriot, not of a traitor. Because such is his character, he has been found eligible to become the deliverer of Israel. The Angel therefore comes to him, and says: —

Vers. 14-16. Go thou in this thy strength² . . . do not I send thee? The difference between Gideon's call and that of former heroes, must be carefully observed. Of Othniel it is said, that the "Spirit of Jehovah" was with him; Ehud is "raised up" to be "a deliverer;" Barak is called through the prophetess. The latter hero does not immediately proceed to victory. He refuses to go, unless Deborah go with him. In Gideon's case much more is done. An angel of God assumes the human form in order to call him. He condescends to work miracles before him. How much more, apparently, than Deborah had to contend with, must here be overcome by the angel! The grounds of this difference have been profoundly indicated in the preceding narrative. What was the all-important qualification demanded of one who should be a deliverer of Israel? *Decided and undivided faith in God.* Faith in God was the root of national freedom in Israel. Whatever energy and enthusiasm the love of country called out among the Greeks and Romans; that faith in God called out in Israel. Israel existed in God, or not at all. The hero, therefore, who would fight for Israel, must thoroughly believe in God. This faith, undivided, unwavering, not looking to earthly things, and unconcerned about life or danger — a perfect unit with itself in devotion to God, and therefore hostile to the idol gods, the representatives of the enemies — this faith the call must find in him whom it selected for the work of deliverance. The men hitherto called did not come from the same tribes. Othniel was of Judah; Ehud of Benjamin. In these tribes, the worship of the true God was less mixed with that of the false gods, because here the old inhabitants had been obliged to yield. Barak was of Naphtali, where idolatry, though existing in many places along side of the true worship, did certainly not prevail as in Manasseh. Precisely those places which constituted the richest portion of this half tribe, and which consequently suffered most from the inroads of Midian, namely, the cities of the plain, had never, as the narrator expressly recorded, been vacated by the original inhabitants. They had continued to dwell in Beth-shean, Taanach, Megiddo, Jibleam, and Dor (ch. i. 27). Here altars of Baal raised themselves everywhere, fully authorized and perfectly unrestrained. Amid such surroundings, the demonstrative 'this' refers to the strength now imparted to him through the divine promise." — Tr.]

¹ Clearly and charmingly apparent in Gen. xviii. 1-4.

² [KEL: "In this thy strength, i. e., in the strength which thou now hast, since Jehovah is with thee. The

position of the faithful is a difficult one at all times, but especially in evil days, when Baal seems to triumph. Their hearts become saddened; and the contrast between the former glory, in which they so gladly believe, and the present impotence, unmanly and confuses them. If the modest soul of Gideon is to be prepared for bold hazards in behalf of the truth of God, he must first be fully convinced that God is still what He was anciently in Israel; that He still works wonders, and in them reveals his love for the nation. In his home and in his city he is surrounded by idolatry. He, the youngest, is to assume an attitude of authority towards all. That he may do this boldly and confidently, the heavenly visitant must inspire him with a divine enthusiasm which shall rise superior to the suggestions of common prudence. [The way to this is opened by the promise, "But I will be with thee!" which is at the same time a challenge to test the speaker. — Tr.] The narrative could not, in so few sentences, teach the love of God, which will thus be tested, more beautifully. Gideon is no presumptuous doubter. It is his humility that requires the miracle. He builds no expectations on his personal strength. If God will show that He is truly "with him," he is ready to do everything. He asks much, because he deems himself altogether insufficient.

Vers. 17. Then give me a sign that thou art He who talketh with me. The angel appeared to Gideon as man; otherwise he could neither have seen him, nor offered him food. His appearance must have been venerable; for Gideon always addresses him deferentially and humbly, with the words *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי*, "Pray, my lord." Now, when this stranger says, "I send thee — I will be with thee," and that without adding who He is, Gideon could hardly fail to conclude that He who addressed him was a supernatural being; especially as these words were used in answer to his own, "if Jehovah were with us." It is, therefore, very instructive that the doubtful Gideon asks for a sign to know "whether thou art he who speaks with me," *i. e.*, whether thou art one who can say, "I am with thee," and *not* to know "whether thou art God," a thought which he is not yet prepared to entertain.

Vers. 18-20. Depart not hence, I pray thee, until I come again unto thee. Gideon is not yet convinced; but nevertheless the word that has been spoken burns within him. The remark in ver. 14, "יָנֵץ," and Jehovah turned towards him," was doubtless intended to intimate that the heavenly visitant turned his face, beaming with the light of holiness, full upon Gideon. Gideon feels the breath of divinity, — but certain he is not. Should the apparition now depart, he would be in twofold dread. He will gladly do whatever is commanded — but, is the commander God? He thinks to solve this question by means of the duties of hospitality which devolve on him. Hence he prays him to remain, until he has entertained him. He is not so poor, but that he can offer a kid and something more to a guest. Flocks of goats still form a considerable part of Palestinian wealth, and find excellent pasturage in the plain of Jezreel. Time permits Gideon to prepare only unleavened

cakes; but the supply is bountiful, for he uses an ephah (*i. e.*, a measure containing about 1994, according to others 1985, or only 1014, Par. cubic inches, cf. Böckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, p. 261) of flour in their preparation. That which appears singular, is the statement that he put the flesh in the basket (*כַּף*). Wherever else this word occurs, it denotes a bread-basket. The explanation is, that Gideon was unwilling to call a servant, and hence used the basket for both bread and meat. He requires, however, a separate "pot" for the broth, which the basket cannot hold. He thinks now that by this meal he will learn to know his guest. Celestials, according to popular belief, took no earthly food. The angel who appears to Manoah, says (ch. xiii. 16): "I will not eat of thy bread." True, of the angels who came to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 8), it is said, "and they did eat;" but the Targum explains, "they seemed to him to eat."¹ This belief has no resemblance to the Homeric conception, according to which the gods, though they eat not bread or drink wine (*Iliad*, v. 341), do nevertheless, like mortals, stretch forth their hands after ambrosia and nectar. The angels, like all that is divine in the Bible, have their spiritual abode in heaven, with nothing earthly about them, consequently with no corporeal wants. The explanation of Ps. lxxviii. 25, as if *לֶחֶם אֱמֹרִיִּים* meant bread such as angels feed on, is erroneous (unhappily, it has been again put forth by Böhm, in Herzog's *Realencykl.* iv. 20); the words have long since been properly explained (by Hengstenberg and Delitzsch) of the manna, which came from heaven, *i. e.*, from on high. Hence, as late as the author of Tobias, the angel is made to say (Tob. xii. 19): "I have neither eaten nor drunk, but ye have seen an apparition." Nor did Gideon err in his expectations. His guest does not eat.

In verse 20, *אֲנִי מְלָאכִי* once takes the place *אֲנִי מְלָאכִי*; but the rule that in the Book of Judges Jehovah stands regularly for the God of Israel, Elohim for the gods of the heathen, is not thereby destroyed. This is shown by the article prefixed to Elohim. The reason for the interchange in this passage lies in the fact that the nature of the angel, as a divine being, here begins to declare itself. In order to describe the angel who speaks to Gideon as the messenger of that unity from which the multitude of the angels proceeds (hence *אֱלֹהִים*), the narrator introduces the term *מְלָאכִי*. He thereby explains how the angel in his individual appearance, can nevertheless contain in himself the power of God. The Angel of Jehovah, he means to say, is none other than an angel of the Elohim; hence, He, the messenger, speaks as Jehovah.

Vers. 21-24. And the Angel of Jehovah put forth the end of his staff. The angel, like a traveller, but also like the prophets, like Moses and Elijah, carried a staff. They also used it, as he does, to work miracles. Among the Greeks likewise, the staff, in the hands of Æsculapius and Hermes, for instance, is the symbol of the divine power to awaken and subdue.² The angel touches

1 The same explanation is adopted by Josephus and Philo, and is not to be rejected as Delitzsch (*Genesis*, p. 383) and others have done. Genesis xviii. to ver. 12 speaks only of "men." But as they only seemed to be men, so they only seemed to eat. The instance of the risen Saviour is

not to be adduced, for angels before Christ were not born like Christ.

2 On the subversion of the staff as a symbol of blessings into an instrument of sorcery, cf. my *Ätische Studien*, p. 76.

the flesh and bread, and they ascend in fire. What was brought as a gift to the guest, is accepted by fire as a sacrifice. Fire is the element in which divine power and grace reveal themselves. A flame of fire passed between the parts of Abraham's sacrifice (Gen. xv. 17). Fire came down on the offerings of Solomon, when he had made an era of praying, and consumed them (2 Chron. vii. 1). Fire fell from heaven in answer to Elijah's prayer that the Lord would make it manifest that He was God in Israel, and consumed the sacrifice before the eyes of the rebellious people (1 Kgs. xviii. 38). To give a similar sign, the angel now touched the flesh and cakes. By the fire which blazed up, and by the disappearance of his visitor, Gideon perceived that his guest was actually a celestial being, who had called down fire from above. He was perfectly convinced. No doubt could any longer maintain itself, and in place of it fear seized upon him.

And Gideon said, Ah Lord Jehovah! Gideon makes this exclamation, because, like Manoah (ch. xiii. 22), he thinks that he must die; for he has seen what ordinarily no living man does see. This view is deeply rooted in the Israelitish idea of God, and directly opposed to Hellenic conceptions. In fact, heathenism, as pantheism, knows of no real partition-wall between the individual gods and men (cf. Nägelsbach, *Iliad*, Theologie, p. 141); but between the God who inhabits the invisible and eternal, and man who dwells in the world of sense, there was seen to be an absolute difference. Every human being is too sinful, and too much under the dominion of sense, to endure the immediate glory of the Incomprehensible. He cannot see God, to whom "to see" means to receive the light of the sun into eyes of flesh. When, therefore, Moses, notwithstanding that he spake with God, as friend converses with friend (Ex. xxxiii. 11), would see his glory, the answer was (ver. 20): "Thou canst not see my face; for no man sees me, and continues to live." It is implied in this idea, that only the living man cannot see God, that to see Him is to die. That, therefore, the dead can see Him, is an inference close at hand, and important for the O. T. doctrine concerning the soul and immortality. — Gideon, however, has no cause for lamentation, for after all he has only seen the *man*. Jacob's life also was preserved, for his wrestling had been with "the man" (Gen. xxxii. 24, 31 (30)). "No man hath seen God at any time" (John i. 18). When, therefore, Philip says, "Show us the Father," Jesus answers: "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father" (John xiv. 9). Hence, a voice is heard — the voice of the now unseen God — saying: "Fear not; thou shalt not die!" It was for the very purpose that Gideon might live, that the angel had not appeared as God. The wife of Manoah wisely draws this same conclusion herself (ch. xiii. 23). And God speaks "Peace" to him. Where peace is, there is no occasion for fear; for peace is the fruit of reconciliation. The divine messenger did not come to punish Israel still further, but to bring them help. When He comes to save, He must have previously forgiven. This forgiveness is the "peace." So Gideon understands it, when he builds an altar, and calls it **יְהוָה שָׁלוֹם**, God-Peace, *i. e.*, the Peace of God. Humility and

penitence prompt him to this. Above, in ver. 13, when he was not yet certain that God had appeared to him, he had said nothing to indicate that it was Israel's own fault that God was not with them. Of this he becomes conscious while standing in the presence of the divine messenger. The fear that to see God involves death, rests first of all on the moral ground of conscious sinfulness. Undoubting faith is ever followed by true repentance, namely, love for truth. Gideon builds his altar to the Peace of God, *i. e.*, to his own reconciliation with God, and salvation from the judgment of God.¹ The narrator seizes on this penitential feeling of Gideon's, to which he joyfully consecrated his altar, and by means of it continues the thread of his story. The altar was known to the author as still extant in his time.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Israel repented, and God's compassion renewed itself. Manifest as nature is the help of God. It is not confined to one method; but its wonders become greater as Israel's bondage becomes more abject. It was a great thing to select a woman to be the deliverer of Israel. This woman, however, had grown up in the Spirit of Jehovah; she was a prophetess already, accustomed to counsel the people. The choice of Gideon was therefore still more extraordinary. He was not only the youngest in the least family, but he belonged to a city in which the heathen had for the most part remained. Idolatry prevailed, invading even his father's house. God took him like a brand from the fire, to make him the deliverer of his people.

So God converted his Apostle, from amidst the multitude of enemies and their plots, on the way to Damascus. So Luther went forth from his cloister to preach the gospel of freedom. God calls whoever He will, and no school, faculty, or coterie, limits the field of his election.

STARKE: When we think that God is farthest from us, that in displeasure He has entirely left us, then with his grace and almighty help He is nearest to us. — THE SAME: Even in solitude the pious Christian is not alone, for God is always near him.

God does not err in his calling. Gideon was the right man, though he himself did not believe it. He desires a sign, not from unbelief, but humility. He who thus desires a miracle, believes in miracles. He desires it not to be a proof of God, but of himself. To him the censure of Jesus does not apply: "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe;" for those wished them as grounds of faith in Jesus, Gideon as evidence that himself was the right man. Gideon's humility was evidence of his strength. — HEDINGER: Conceit and pride do not lead man to God, but humility and lowliness do.

Thus Gideon believed the angel whom he beheld vanishing toward heaven; the Jews did not believe Jesus, when He wrought miracles and rose from the dead. But Gideon's eye was the humility with which he looked at himself. When Christians do not believe, it is because of pride which does not see itself. It is not for want of a theophany that many do not believe; for all have seen angels, if their heart be with God. "For the angel of the

¹ [KEIL: "The design of this altar . . . is indicated in the name given to it. It was not to serve for sacrifices, but as a memorial and witness of the theophany vouchsafed to Gideon, and of his experience that Jehovah

is Peace, *i. e.*, does not desire to destroy Israel in his wrath, but cherishes thoughts of peace." Cf. Hengstenberg, *Diss. on Pent. ii. p. 34.* — TR.]

Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them" (Ps. xxxiv. 8).

STARKE: Even the strongest faith has always something of weakness in it. — LISCO: From ver. 14 Gideon seems already to have perceived who it was that spake with him. His answer is the language not so much of unbelief as of modesty. — GERLACH: His prayer was not dictated by unbelief, but by a childlike, reverential acknowledgment of the weakness of his faith, as in the case of Abraham.

[BP. HALL (ver. 11): What shifts nature will make to live! O that we could be so careful to lay up spiritual food for our souls, out of the reach of those spiritual Midianites! we could not

but live in despite of all adversaries. — THE SAME (ver. 13): The valiant man was here weak, weak in faith, weak in discourse, whilst he argues God's absence by affliction, his presence by deliverances, and the unlikelihood of success by his own inability — all gross inconsequences. — SCOTT: Talents suited for peculiar services may for a time be buried in obscurity; but in due season the Lord will take the candle from "under the bushel," and place it "on a candlestick," to give light to all around; and that time must be waited for, by those who feel their hearts glow with desires of usefulness which at present they have no opportunity of executing. — TR.]

Gideon destroys the altar of Baal, and builds one to Jehovah. His father, Joash, defends him against the idolaters. His new name, Jerubbaal.

CHAPTER VI. 25-32.

- 25 And it came to pass the same [that] night, that the Lord [Jehovah] said unto him, Take thy father's young [ox] bullock, even [and]¹ the second bullock of seven years old, and throw [pull] down the altar of Baal that thy father hath, and
- 26 cut down the grove [Asherah] that *is* by [upon] it: And build an altar unto the Lord [Jehovah] thy God upon the top of this rock [fortification], in the ordered place,² and take the second bullock, and offer a burnt-sacrifice with the wood of the
- 27 grove [Asherah] which thou shalt cut down. Then [And] Gideon took ten men of his servants, and did as the Lord [Jehovah] had said unto him: and *so* it was, because he feared his father's household, and the men of the city, that he could
- 28 not do *it* by day, that he did *it* by night.³ And when the men of the city arose early in the morning, behold, the altar of Baal was cast down, and the grove [Asherah] was cut down that *was* by [upon] it, and the second bullock was offered
- 29 upon the altar that *was* built. And they said one to another, who hath done this thing? And when [omit: when] they inquired and asked [searched], [and] they
- 30 said, Gideon the son of Joash hath done this thing. Then the men of the city said unto Joash, Bring out thy son, that he may die: because he hath cast down the altar of Baal, and because he hath cut down the grove [Asherah] that *was* by
- 31 [upon] it. And Joash said unto all that stood against [about] him, Will ye plead [contend] for Baal? will ye save him? he that will plead [contendeth] for him, let him be put to death whilst *it is yet* morning;⁴ if he *be* a god, let him plead [contend] for himself, because *one* [he] hath cast down his altar. Therefore on that day he [they] called him Jerubbaal, saying, Let Baal plead [contend] against him, because he hath thrown down his altar.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

* [1 Ver. 25. — Bertheau and Wordsworth also find *two* bullocks in the text. "The original text," says the latter, "seems clearly to speak of two bullocks, and the ancient versions appear to distinguish them (see *Sept.*, *Valg.*, *Syrac.*, *Arabic*)." De Wette and Bunsen, too, render "and," not "even." Keil argues, that "if God had commanded Gideon to take two bullocks, He would surely also have told him what he was to do with both." But does He not tell him plainly enough in the words, "and pull down the altar of Baal?" See the commentary, below. — TR.]

[2 Ver. 26. — $\text{בְּרֹאשׁוֹ הַרְבֵּעַ הַשֵּׁנִי}$. Our author's translation of this word, "on the forward edge," is too precarious to allow of its introduction into the text. It probably means: "with the arrangement of wood" (cf. below). On the use of רֹאשׁ in this sense, see Ges. *Lxx.*, s. v., B. 2, a. — TR.]

[3 Ver. 27. — The E. V. is singularly awkward here. Dr. Cassel: "and as, on account of the house of his father and the men of the city, he feared to do it by day, he did it by night." — TR.]

[4 Ver. 31. — Dr. Cassel translates the foregoing clause thus: "he that contendeth for him, let him die! Wait till morning;" etc. Keil interprets similarly. — TR.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 25. **And it came to pass that night.** "Ye have honored false gods instead of the eternal God," the prophet had said above, "and therefore are come under the yoke." For apart from its God, the maintenance of Israel's nationality is an unnecessary thing. If they attach themselves to the gods of the nations, they must also wear their fetters. Only when they believe the Eternal is freedom either necessary or possible. The war against the oppressors, must begin against the gods of the oppressors. Gideon, fully convinced of the truth of Israel's God, cannot summon to battle against the enemy, while an altar of Baal stands in his father's own village. Israel's watchword in every contest is, "God with us;" but before that word can kindle the hearts of the people, it must have been preceded by another—"Down with Baal!" This truth God himself enunciates in the valiant soul of Gideon. For now, being wholly filled with divine fire, he will delay no longer. But, only he who fears not Baal will find confidence among the people. The vigorous blows of his axe against the Asherah are the clearest proofs of his own faith. Such a faith kindles faith. Accordingly, Gideon must begin the liberation of Israel in his own house. Whoever will be truly free, must commence with himself and by his own fire-side—that is truth for all ages.

Take the ox-bullock, etc. Under divine inspiration, Gideon is as energetic as he is prudent. He neither delays, nor hastens overmuch. He chooses night for what he has to do, not from cowardice, but to insure a successful issue. By day, an outcry and contest would be inevitable, and would terrify the undecided. An accomplished fact makes an impression, and gives courage. His task is a twofold one: he must first tear down, then build up. The abominations of Baal must be thrown down. The altars of Baal, as the superior sun-god, were located on heights or elevated situations. They were built of stone, sometimes also of wood or earth (2 Kgs. xxiii. 15), and were of considerable massiveness. Erected upon them, "planted" (לֵאֵל הַיָּבֵשׁ, Deut. xvi. 21), stood a tree, or trunk of a tree, covered with all manner of symbols. This was consecrated to Astarte, the fruitful, subordinate night-goddess. Such an image was that of Artemis in Ephesus, black (like the earth), fastened to the ground, and full about the breasts, to symbolize the fostering love of the earth. In other places, where the Greeks met with similar figures, Sparta, Byzantium, and elsewhere (cf. Gerhard, *Griech. Mythol.* § 332, 4, vol. i. p. 343), they were dedicated to Artemis Orthia, or Orthosia. In this name (ὄρθος, straight), that of the Asherah (from אֲשֵׁרָה, to be straight) was long since recognized (cf. Zorn, *Biblioth. Antiquar.*, p. 383). Asherah was the straight and erect idol of Astarte; the symbol of her sensual attributes. Its phallic character made it the object of utter abhorrence and detestation to the pure and chaste worship of Jehovah. And in truth the worship at Sparta (Paus. iii. 16, 7) did not differ essentially from that on Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs. xviii. 28). This idol was a common ornament of the altars of Baal,

by means of which these represented the worship of nature in its completeness. Hence it is, that we find Baal and Astarte joined together, as well as Baal and Asherah. Accordingly, Asherah and Astarte are not indeed altogether identical, as was formerly supposed; but neither are they, as Movers thought (*Phoeniz.* i. 561, etc.), different divinities. Asherah was the Astarte Orthia, the image which expressed the ideas represented by the goddess; but it was not, and need not be, the only image of the goddess. Without adducing here the many passages of Scripture in which Asherah and Astarte occur, the foregoing observations may suffice to explain every one of them. It will be found, upon reviewing them, that while persons could indeed worship Astarte, it was only Asherah which they could make for themselves, and again destroy. In form and idea, Baal and Astarte presented the perfect contrast to the living and creative God. Gideon, therefore, if he is to build up Israel anew, must begin with the overthrow of their idols. But this was not so slight an undertaking as to be within his own sole powers of execution. He needs men and carts for the purpose. He must wrench the altar of Baal out of its grooves, and throw it down; tear out the Asherah, and cut it to pieces. In their place (this is expressed by the

הָרָקָה, "this," of ver. 26), he is to erect an altar to the Eternal God. For this he cannot use the polluted fragments of the altar of Baal. He must bring pure earth and stones with him, out of which to construct it. Hence he uses ten servants to assist him, and a cart.

Take the ox-bullock which belongs to thy father, etc. The altar of Baal had been erected on his father's estate. The guilt of his father's house must be first atoned for. Therefore his cattle are to be taken. פֶּר הַבָּשׂוֹר, ox-bullock, is not a young bullock, and does not answer to בָּקָר יָעָן. It is rather the first bullock of the herd, the "leader;" for even the second, being seven years old, is no longer young. Hesiod advises agriculturists to provide themselves two plough-bullocks of nine years old (*Works and Days*, 447). In Homer, bullocks of five years are offered and slaughtered (*Il.* ii. 403; *Odys.* xix. 420). Down to the present day, the bullock of the plain of Jezreel and the Kishon surpasses, in size and strength, the same animal in the southern parts of the land (cf. Ritter, xvi. 703). This first bullock, this head of the herd, answers in a sense to the head of the family, which is Joash; it must help to destroy the altar which belongs to the latter. But as Gideon is not simply to destroy, but also to build up, the second bullock must also be taken, to be offered upon the new altar, in a fire made of the wood of the Asherah. The flames for which the idol must furnish the material—and we may thence infer how considerable a log of wood it was,—must serve to present an offering to the Eternal God.²

Vers. 26-29. **On the top of the fortification, on the forward edge,** עַל רֹאשׁ הַמִּצְדָּה, not the rock, near which God first appeared to Gideon. It was stated at the outset, that Israel made themselves grottoes, caves, and fortifications against the

made a priest for the occasion — as Manoah afterwards was (ch. xiii. 19) — by the special command of God, who shows his divine independence and sovereign authority by making priests of whom he will, and by ordering altars to be built where he will. Cf. Hengst., *Pentateuch*, ii. 43. — TR]

1 הַבָּשׂוֹר הַיָּעָן אֲשֵׁרָה עִלְיָו. Hence they always occur together, cf. 1 Kgs. xiv. 23; xvi. 33; 2 Kgs. xvii. 16; xxi. 8; xxlii. 15.

2 [WORDSWORTH: "Gideon, though not a priest, was

enemy. Some such place of protection and defence we are here to understand by the term **בִּצְרָה**. Upon this, the altar of Baal, the helper who could not help, had reared itself. In its place, an altar of the true Helper, the Eternal God, was now

built, and placed **בְּפִינְיָהּ**, on the forward edge. This word occurs repeatedly in the first book of Samuel, in the sense of 'battle-array.' It answers to the Latin *acies*, and indicates that attitude of armies in which they turn their offensive sides toward each other; so that we are told (1 Sam. xvii. 21) that Israel and the Philistines had arranged themselves **לְפָנֵיהֶם בְּפִינְיָהֶם**. Now, as *acies* came to signify battle-array because of the sharp side which this presented, so **בְּפִינְיָהּ**, as here used of the fortification, can only signify its forward edge.¹ The place where Gideon had to work was within the jurisdiction of Joash, but at some distance from the city, since otherwise the inhabitants would scarcely have remained ignorant of his proceedings till the next morning.

Ver. 30. And the men of the city said unto Joash. Although the altar belonged to Joash, the people of the city nevertheless think themselves entitled to sit in judgment on the insult offered to Baal. Baal worshippers are not tolerant. The disposition of Joash however, seems even before this to have been similar to that of Gideon. For when it is said that Gideon feared to do his work by day, among all those whom he considers, his father is not mentioned, though he must be the most directly concerned. The same inference may be drawn from the energetic and ironical answer which he gives the men of the city. There is nothing to support Bertheau's conjecture that Joash held the office of a judge. He is the head of the family; as such, he is required to deliver up Gideon, guilty of crime towards Baal. Joash is not merely inclined to do this, but even threatens to use violence against any one who takes the cause of Baal upon himself. A few such forcible words were enough to quiet the people of the city. Israel had fallen into such deep torpidity and self-oblivion, that their enemies dared to demand of a father the life of his son, because he had done that which it was the duty of every Israelite to do. The first energetic resistance changes the position of parties, and puts the enemy to flight.

Ver. 31. And Joash said, Will ye contend for Baal? In a similar manner,² Lucian ridicules the heathenism of his day, by representing Jupiter as laughed at for letting the sacrilegious thieves depart from Olympia, untouched by his thunderbolts, although they had cut from his statue the golden locks of hairs, each of which weighed six minæ (in *Jupiter Tragœdus*). It lies in the nature

of heathenism to identify God and the symbol which represents Him, since in general whatever testifies of God, every sensible manifestation of Deity, is made Deity itself by it. Joash ridicules the idea of his heathen neighbors, that the destruction of his altar is an insult to Baal. On the principles of heathenism, Baal's protection of his altar, or the contrary, will demonstrate whether he is or is not. If he is able to take care of his own altar, Joash mockingly argues, it is an insult for another to undertake it for him. In this case, not he who injures, but he who would defend his altar, denies his deity. The latter first deserves to die. Many expositors have connected **עַד הַבֹּקֶר**, "till morning," with **וַיָּמָת**, "let him die," which is against the sense of Joash's speech. As to the destroyer of the altar, he says, we know not yet whether he has deserved death; wait till morning, and let us see whether Baal himself will do anything. But he who would take Baal's place, and put the other to death, he deserves punishment at once; for he denies that Baal has any power at all, and by consequence that he exists. Wait till morning, if he be a god, he will contend for himself, because he hath cast down his altar. Joash denies that the altar belonged to him, although ver. 25 states that it did. The altar, he says, belongs to its god: let him see to it. The result of these words must have been, to make it evident to the men of the city that Joash and his house would have nothing more to do with Baal. For this they knew full well, that their Baal would do nothing to Gideon. It is one of the characteristic illusions of heathenism in all ages, that it does not itself believe in that for which it spends its zeal.

Ver. 32. And at that time they named him Jerubbaal, that is, Baal will contend with him, for he hath thrown down his altar. Why expositors have not been content with this significant explanation, it is impossible to see.³ It sets forth the utter impotence of Baal, and the mockery which it excited. Had Gideon been named "Contender with Baal," it would have implied the existence of Baal. But if he was called, "Baal will contend with him, avenge himself on him," and thus by his life, presence, and prosperity, strikingly manifested the impotence of the idol-god, who could not take vengeance on him, then his name itself was full of the triumph of the Israelitish spirit over its opponents. Baal can do nothing, Baal will do nothing, when his altars are overthrown. Baal is not: Israel has no occasion to fear. The superstition that he will avenge himself on his enemies, is idle. Of that, Jerubbaal affords living proof. In vain did Baal's servants wait for vengeance to overtake Gideon — it came not; the hero only becomes greater and more tri-

[KELL. "בְּפִינְיָהּ" 'with the preparation (*Zurüstung*).¹ The explanation of this word is doubtful. Since **בְּפָנָי** is used (1 Kgs. xv. 22) with **בְּ** of the building material, Studer and Bertheau understand **בְּפִינְיָהּ** of the materials of the overthrown Baal-altar, out of which Gideon was to build the altar to Jehovah — Studer applying the word more particularly to the stone of the altar itself, Bertheau to the materials, especially the pieces of wood, lying on the altar, ready to be used in offering sacrifices.

But they are certainly wrong; for neither does **בְּפִינְיָהּ** mean building material or pieces of wood, nor does the definite article, which here precedes it, point to the altar of Baal. The verb **יָצַח** occurs not only quite frequently

of the arrangement of the wood upon the altar (Gen. xxii. 9; Lev. i. 7, and elsewhere), but also of the preparation of the altar for the sacrifice (Num. xxiii. 4). Accordingly,

בְּפִינְיָהּ can scarcely be understood otherwise than of the preparation of the altar to be built for the sacrificial action, in the sense: 'Build the altar with the preparation (equipment) required for the sacrifice.' According to what follows, this preparation consisted in piling up the wood of the Asherah on the altar to consume the burnt-offering of Gideon." — Tr.]

² The same idea underlies the Jewish legends of Abraham's destruction of the idols in his father's house. Cf. Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 10.

³ Kell has come back to it.

umphant. The name is therefore of greater ethical significance, than has been generally supposed. This fact secured its perpetuation and popular use. Even believers in the eternal God are deeply imbued with superstitious fear of Baal, which forbids them to do anything against him. How idle this fear is, Gideon shows. Samuel in his farewell address speaks of Gideon as Jerubbaal (1 Sam. xii. 11); while Joab, speaking of Abimelech, calls him "son of Jerubbosheth" (2 Sam. xi. 21). בַּנְּתָר is a term of reproach for Baal (Hos. ix. 10).¹ Any connection between the name Jerubbaal and that of a god *Jaribolos*, discovered on Palmyrene inscriptions, is not to be thought of. First, for the self-evident reason, that no heathen god can possibly be called Jerubbaal; and secondly, because the like-sounding *Jar* can be better explained from

יָרַח, the moon, thus suggesting a moon-baal (cf. *Corpus Insc. Græc.* iii. n. 4502, etc.; Ritter, xvii. 1531, etc.). It is interesting to notice that Gideon's proper name, בְּדַעוֹן, appropriately expresses the act with which he began his career. בְּדַעוֹ is equivalent to the Latin *caedere*, to fell. Deut. vii. 5 says: "Their altars ye shall throw down, . . . their asherahs ye shall fell (הִבַּדְעֵתֶיךָ), cf. Deut. xii. 3). The same word is used (2 Chron. xiv. 2; xxxi. 1) of the felling of the Asherah, and Isa. ix. 9, of the felling of trees. Gideon, therefore, is the Feller, *Cæsor* (Cæsar).

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

After the miracle of his election, Gideon enters on his calling. Othniel begins his official career in battle, Gideon in his own house. He must test at home his courage against foes abroad. Before he can proclaim the call of God against the enemies of Israel, who are inflicted on account of the prevalent idolatry, he must throw down the altar of Baal in his father's house. The most difficult battle is to be fought first. Nearest neighbors are the worst adversaries. But he dares it because he believes God, and wins. So, when preachers of the gospel reap no fruit and gain no victory, it is often because they have not yet overthrown the altars in their own houses. The road to the hearts of the congregation, is over the ruins of the minister's own Baal.—STARKE: Christian friend, thou also hast a Baal in thine own heart, namely, evil conscience. Wilt thou please the Lord, first tear that idol down.

But Gideon must not merely tear down, but also build up; not only destroy the old altar, but also sacrifice on the new. Tearing down is of itself no proof of devotion; for an enemy's enemy is not always a friend. The spirit that only denies, is an evil spirit. Divine truth is positive. Building involves confession; hence, to build up (edify) is to proclaim our confession and to preach the gospel of Him who is Yea and Amen. So did the Apostle not merely undermine the idolatry of Diana, but build up the church in Ephesus. Boniface, the Apostle of the Germans, not only cut down the oaks of heathenism, but founded churches. All churches are Gideon-altars, dedicated to Him who overthrew death, that He might build up the New Jerusalem.—STARKE: He who

would truly reform, must not only abolish, but put something better in its place.

Gideon's sacrifice was to be consumed by the wood of the idol-image. The sole use which can be made of wooden gods, is to kindle a sacrifice to the true God. The wood was not unholy, but only the heart that fashioned it into an idol-image. The mountains on which the people worshipped were not unholy, but only the people who erected idols upon them. All sacrificial flames arise from the wood of idols previously worshipped. So the Apostle consumed his zeal as persecutor in the burning zeal of love. When the heart burns with longings after its Saviour, the flames consume the worldly idols which it formerly served. When prayer rises like the smoke of sacrifice, it springs from penitence in which old sins are burned to ashes.

Gideon is obedient to every direction, and is crowned with success. Notwithstanding apparent danger, obedience to God conducts only to happy issues. The most painful injunction is laid on Abraham; he obeys, and it turns to salvation. The enemies seek to slay Gideon; but they are sent home with derision. Gideon not only threw down the altar in his father's house, but also won his father's heart for God. So, confession of Christ often draws after it the hearts of parents. It is salvation, even if the first be last. However late, if at last men only come to God!—LISCO: The father had evidently derived new courage from his son's bold exploit of faith, and declares war to the idolaters, if they touch his son.—GERLACH: The bold deed of the son inspired the father also with new faith and courage. Hence, in this strife, Joash dared to judge as faith demanded.

And Gideon was called Jerubbaal. The hero is the wonderful type of the militant church: militant, that is, against unbelief, not engaged in internal warfare. His name proclaimed that Baal is nothing and can do nothing; but that God's word is irresistible. Hence, it is a symbol of encouragement for all who confess the truth. He who fears and hesitates, does not love; but for him who has courage, Baal is vanquished. Gideon threw down his altar, and built another for God, not for the stones' sake, but for Israel's benefit. Every Christian is a Jerubbaal, so long as instead of self-righteousness, he gives a place in his heart to the Cross. Thus, many in our days, who have more fear of man than courage in God, are put to shame by Jerubbaal. They exercise discretion, regard their position, look to their income, defer to superiors, and wish to please all,—but only he who seeks to please God alone, loses nothing and gains all.—STARKE: As names given to men in memory of their good deeds are an honor to them, so to their adversaries they are a disgrace.—GERLACH: Henceforth the life and well-being of Gideon became an actual proof of the nothingness of idolatry; hence he receives the name Jerubbaal from the mouth of his father.

[BR. HALL: The wood of Baal's grove must be used to burn a sacrifice unto God. When it was once cut down, God's detestation and their danger ceased. The good creatures of God that have been profaned to idolatry, may, in a change of their use, be employed to the holy service of their Maker.—WORDSWORTH: The Parthenons and Pantheons of heathen antiquity have been consecrated into Basilicas and Churches of Christ.—HENRY: Gid-

¹ On the names Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth, compare for the present my article on Ishbosheth in Herzog's *Real-*

encycl. vii. 83, where, however, the printer has erroneously put מְרִיב בַּעַל for קָרַי מְבַעַל.

con. as a type of Christ, must first save his people from their sins, then from their enemies. — THE SAME: It is good to appear for God when we are called to it, though there be few or none to second us, because God can incline the hearts of those to stand by us, from whom we little expect it. — TR.]

The Midianite marauders being encamped in the Plain of Jezreel, the Spirit of Jehovah takes possession of Gideon. The double sign of the fleece.

CHAPTER VI. 33-40.

33 Then [And] all the Midianites, and the Amalekites, and the children [sons] of the east were gathered together, and went over, and pitched [encamped] in the valley [plain] of Jezreel. But [And] the Spirit of the Lord [Jehovah] came upon Gideon, and he blew a [the] trumpet; and Abi-ezer was gathered after him. And he sent messengers throughout all Manasseh; who also was gathered after him: and he sent messengers unto Asher, and unto Zebulun, and unto Naphtali; and they came up to meet them.¹ And Gideon said unto God, If thou wilt save Israel by my hand, as thou hast said. Behold, I will [omit: will] put a fleece of wool in the [threshing] floor: and if the dew [shall] be on the fleece only, and *it be* dry upon all the earth [ground] besides, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by my hand, as thou hast said. And it was so: for [and when] he rose up early on the morrow, and [he] thrust [pressed²] the fleece together, and wringed² the [omit: the] dew out of the fleece, a [the³] bowl-full of water. And Gideon said unto God, Let not thine anger be hot [kindled] against me, and I will speak but this once: let me prove [try], I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew. And God did so that night: for [and] it was dry upon the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 35. — בָּרָאִים לִפְנֵי , "to meet them," i. e., Gideon and the Manassites already in the field. Dr. Cassel (De Wette, also) substitutes "him." The LXX. change the number at the other end of the sentence, probably because they thought that the mountaineers of Asher and Naphtali, descending into the plain, did not make a good subject for וַיָּבֹא , to go up, and render: *καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν*. As to what may be called the "military" meaning of וַיָּבֹא , cf. the Com. on ch. i. 1, p. 26. — TR.]

[2 Ver. 38. — The words rendered "thrust together" and "wringed" by the E. V., are וַיִּצְרֹק (from צָרַק) and וַיִּצְרֹק (from וַיִּצְרֹק). Dr. Cassel translates the first by "wringing," the second by "pressing." The difference between them seems to be slight, if any. In the text, one clause expresses the action, the other the result. The primary idea of וַיִּצְרֹק , according to Gesenius, is "to straiten, to bring into a narrow compass;" that of וַיִּצְרֹק , "to suck." The action of wringing, though likely enough to be used by Gideon, is not expressed by either term. However, it lies nearer וַיִּצְרֹק than וַיִּצְרֹק . De Wette: *Er druckte die Wolle aus, und presste Thau aus der Schur*, etc. — TR.]

[3 Ver. 38. — כִּיּוֹד , "the bowl," namely, the one he used to receive the water. On the "bowl," compare our author's remarks on ch. v. 25. — TR.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers 33-35. It was high time that a new spirit bestirred itself in Israel. The Bedouin hordes already pressed forward again from the desert regions beyond the Jordan, and were settling down, like a heavy cloud, on the plain of Jezreel. Gideon, by his bold deed against Baal, and because the idol-god did nothing whatever to avenge the insult to its altar, had acquired authority and distinction among his people. As now the enemy

who oppressed and plundered Israel was near, the Spirit of God filled him, literally, "put him on." What he had done against the altar of Baal in his father's house, that he would attempt against the enemy in the open field. He sounds the trumpet on the mountains. Though the youngest in his family, and that the least in Manasseh, the people obeyed his call, and ranged themselves under him (וַיִּצְרֹק) — such power is there in one courageous deed, in the vigorous resolution of one man in a

servile age. Even Asher, who had held back from Barak, furnished men. Nor were the brave sons of Zebulun and Naphtali wanting on this occasion. In a short time Gideon stood at the head of a not inconsiderable army.

Ver. 36. **And Gideon said unto God.** The success thus far enjoyed by Gideon, has not lifted him up. He cannot yet believe that he is called to conduct so great an undertaking. He is aware also of the dangers to which he exposes his house and country. True, the divine manifestation which roused his soul, is still acting on him. But time, even a few eventful days, envelops such memories in shadowy dimness. In his humility, he is seized by a longing for renewed certainty. He desires to be assured, whether it was indeed destined for him to become the deliverer. He has recourse to no superstitious use of the lot. He turns in prayer to the God who has already shown his wonders to him, and who, as angel, has conversed with him. Now, as in ver. 20, where the angel manifests his supernatural character, the narrator used Elohim, with the article, because from Jehovah alone, who is the true Elohim, the only one to whom this name justly belongs, angels proceed; so here again, when Gideon asks for a new sign, he makes him pray to "the Elohim," and continues to employ this term as long as he speaks of the miracle.

Vers. 37-40. **Behold, I put a fleece of wool in the threshing-floor.** The sign he asks for is such as would naturally suggest itself to a person in rural life. The holy land is favored with heavy, fertilizing dews, which impart to its fields that beautiful and juicy verdure, by which it forms so grateful a contrast with the dry and dewless steppes on which nothing but the palm grows (cf. Ritter, xv. 157; xvi. 42, etc. [Gage's Transl. ii. 164]). Wool, spread on the open threshing-floor, especially attracts the dew. Gideon proposes to consider it a divine affirmative sign, if only the wool absorb dew, while the ground around be dry. It takes place. He finds the wool wet; after wringing (זָרַקְתִּי, from זָרַק = צָרַק) the fleece, and pressing

it (צָרַקְתִּי, from צָרַק = פָּצַק), he can fill a whole bowl full with the water; the ground round about is dry. Though very remarkable, he thinks nevertheless, that it may possibly be explained on natural principles. Perhaps the dew, already dried up from the ground, was only longer retained by the fleece. In his humility and necessity for assurance, and in the purity of his conscience, which is known to God, he ventures once more to appeal to God. If now the reverse were to take place, leaving the wool dry and the ground wet, there could be no doubt that God had wrought a miracle. No other explanation would be possible. This also comes to pass, and Gideon knows now beyond all doubt, that God is with him. The *natecé* of an uncommon depth of thought reveals itself in this choice of a sign for which the hero asks. Faith in God's omnipotence lies at its base. Such a request could only be made by one who knew that the whole creation was in the hands of God. Relying on the grace and power of God, he casts lots with the independent laws of nature. The childlike

faith which animates him, sounds the depths of an unfathomable wisdom. Hence, in the ancient church, his miraculous sign became the type of the highest and most wonderful miracle known to the church, the birth of Jesus from the Virgin Mary, Origen already speaks of the advent of the Son of God as the fall of the divine dew. The development of this type in pictures and customs, I have elsewhere attempted to trace, whither I must here refer the reader (*Weihnachten*, p. 248, etc.).

HOIMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

GERLACH: Gideon does not "put on" the Spirit of the Lord, but the Spirit puts him on. He clothes him, as with a suit of armor, so that in his strength he becomes invulnerable, invincible.

[BP. HALL: Of all the instruments that God did use in so great a work, I find none so weak as Gideon, who yet of all others was styled valiant. THE SAME: The former miracle was strong enough to carry Gideon through his first exploit of ruining the idolatrous grove and altar; but now, when he saw the swarm of the Midianites and Amalekites about his ears, he calls for new aid; and, not trusting to the Abiezrites, and his other thousands of Israel, he runs to God for a further assurance of victory. The refuge was good, but the manner of seeking it savors of distrust. There is nothing more easy than to be valiant when no peril appeareth; but when evils assail us upon equal terms, it is hard, and commendable, not to be dismayed. If God had made that proclamation now, which afterwards was commanded to be made by Gideon, "Let the timorous depart," I doubt whether Israel had not wanted a guide: yet how willing is the Almighty to satisfy our weak desires! What tasks is He content to be set by our infirmity!—KEIL: Gideon's prayer for a sign sprang not from want of faith in God's promise of victory, but from the weakness of the flesh, which paralyzes the faith and energy of the spirit, and often makes the servants of God so anxious and timorous that God must assist them by miracles. Gideon knew himself and his own strength, and that for victory over the enemy this would not suffice.—SCOTT: Even they who have the Spirit of God, and by the trumpet of the gospel call others to the conflict, cannot always keep out disquieting fears, in circumstances of peculiar danger and difficulty. In this struggle against involuntary unbelief, the Lord himself, the Author and Finisher of his people's faith, is their refuge; to Him they make application, and He will help them; and when they are encouraged, they will be enabled to strengthen their brethren.—BUSH: The result went, 1. To illustrate the divine condescension. God, instead of being offended with his servant, kindly acceded to his request. A fellow creature who had given such solemn promises, would have been quite indignant at finding his veracity seemingly called in question. . . .

2. To show the efficacy of prayer. It was prayer that prevailed in this instance. With great humility and much tenderness of spirit, Gideon besought the divine interposition.—Tr.]

Gideon in the field. His numerous army reduced, by divinely prescribed tests, to three hundred men.

CHAPTER VII. 1-8.

1 Then [And] Jerubbaal (who *is* Gideon) and all the people that *were* with him, rose up early and pitched [encamped] beside the well of Harod [near En-Harod]: so that [and] the host [camp] of the Midianites were [was] on the north side of
2 them by the hill of Moreh, in the valley.¹ And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Gideon, The people that *are* with thee *are* too many for me to give the Midianites into their hands, lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, Mine own hand
3 hath saved me. Now therefore go to, proclaim in the ears of the people, saying, Whosoever *is* fearful and afraid, let him return and depart early [turn away] from Mount Gil-ead. And there returned of the people twenty and two thousand: and
4 there remained ten thousand. And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Gideon, The people *are* yet *too* many; bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee there; and it shall be *that* of whom I say unto thee, This [one] shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say unto thee, This [one] shall
5 not go with thee, the same shall not go. So he brought down the people unto the water: and the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Gideon; Every one that lapped of the water with his tongue as a dog lapped, him shalt thou set by himself; likewise every
6 one that boweth down upon his knees to drink. And the number of them that lapped, *putting* their hand to their mouth, were three hundred men: but all the rest
7 of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water. And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Gideon, By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand: and let all the *other* people go every man
8 unto his place. So the people [And they] took [the] victuals [from the people] in their hand, and their trumpets;² and he sent all *the rest of* Israel every man unto his tent, and retained those three hundred men. And the host [camp] of Midian was beneath him in the valley.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1 — Dr. Cassel, taking ל in the last clause of this verse (and also in ver. 8) as if it were ל, renders thus: "And he had the camp of Midian before him in the valley, to the north of the hill Moreh." The E. V. is more correct. Literally rendered, the clause says that "the camp of Midian was to him (Gideon) on the north, at מן. cf. Ges. *Lxx.* s. v., 3, b) the hill of Moreh, in the valley." — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 8. — On the rendering of this clause, see the commentary below. Kell translates similarly ("of the people," instead of "from the people"), and remarks: "הֵעָמָה cannot be subject, partly on account of the sense — for the three hundred who are without doubt the subject, cf. ver. 16, cannot be called הֵעָמָה in distinction of כָּל אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל — partly also on account of the אֲרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, which would then, against the rule, be without the article, cf. Ges. *Gramm.* 117, 2. Rather read אֲרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, as Sept. and Targum." So also Bertheau. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. **And they encamped near En Harod.** The great probability that Ophrah is to be sought somewhere to the northwest of Jezreel (the modern Zerín), has already been indicated above. The battle also must be located in the same region, as appears from the course of the flight, related farther on. The camp of Midian was in the valley, to the north of a hill. Now, since we are told that Gideon's camp was on a hill (ver. 4), below which, and north of another, Midian was encamped, it is evident that Gideon occupied a position north of Midian, and had that part of the plain of Jezreel in which the enemy lay, below him, towards the south. The height near which the hostile army was posted, is

called the Hill Moreh. Moreh (מֹרֶה), from (יָרָה), signifies indicator, pointer, overseer and teacher. The mountain must have commanded a free view of the valley. This applies exactly to the Tell el Mutsellim, described by Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 117). He says: "The prospect from the Tell is a noble one, embracing the whole of the glorious plain, than which there is not a richer upon earth. It was now extensively covered with fields of grain; with many tracts of grass, like meadows; . . . Zerín (Jezreel) was distinctly in view, bearing S. 74° E." To this must be added that the Arabic Mutsellim has essentially the same meaning as Moreh, namely, overseer, district-governor, etc. The peculiar position of the Tell has probably

given it the same kind and degree of importance in all ages. A little north of Tell Mutsellim, Robinson's map has a Tell Kirch, which may mark the position of Gideon; for that must have been very near and not high, since Gideon could descend from it and hurry back in a brief space of the same night. It may be suggested, at least, that Kirch has some similarity of sound with Charod (Harod).¹

Ver. 2. **The people that are with these are too many.** Victory over Midian, and deliverance from their yoke, would avail Israel nothing, if they did not gain the firm conviction that God is their Helper. The least chance of a natural explanation, so excites the pride of man, that he forgets God. Whatever Gideon had hitherto experienced, his vocation as well as the fulfillment of his petitions, was granted in view of his humility, which would not let him think anything great of himself. The number of warriors with which he conquers must be so small, that the miraculous character of the victory shall be evident to everybody. This belief in divine intervention will make Israel free; for not the winning of a battle, but only obedience toward God can keep it so.

Ver. 3. **Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him turn back and depart from Mount Gilead.**² The narrative is evidently very condensed; for it connects the result of the proclamation immediately with God's command to Gideon to make it, without mentioning its execution by him. By reason of this brevity, sundry obscurities arise, both here and farther on, which it is difficult to clear up. The words

וַיִּפְּסֵר מִיָּמֵי הַגִּלְעָד, "and turn away from Mount Gilead," have long given offense, and occasioned various unnecessary conjectures. וַיִּפְּסֵר, it is true, occurs only in this passage; but it is manifestly cognate with מִיָּפִירָה, circle, crown. Hence, that the verb means to turn away or about, is certain, especially as the Greek σφαίρα, ball, sphere, must belong to the same root.³ Gideon, in bidding the timorous depart, after the milder יָשָׁב, uses the somewhat stronger וַיִּפְּסֵר: "let the fearful take himself off!"⁴

But what is meant by turning from "Mount Gilead?"⁵ For Gilead is beyond the Jordan (ch. v. 17). It has therefore been proposed to read גִּלְבֹּעַ, Gilboa, instead of גִּלְעָד, Gilead, which would be a very unfortunate substitution. For, in the first place, the battle did not occur at Mount

Gilboa; and in the next place, by this reading the peculiar feature of the sentence would be lost. To be sure, Gilead does not here mean the country of that name east of the Jordan. Indeed, it does not seem to indicate a country at all, but rather the character of the militant tribe. Gideon belongs to the tribe of Manasseh. From Manasseh likewise descended Gilead, a son of Machir (Num. xxvi. 29); and the sons of Machir took possession of Gilead (Num. xxxii. 40). Nevertheless, the Song of Deborah distinguishes between Machir and Gilead. The name Machir there represents the peaceable character of the tribe: Gilead stands for its military spirit. Joshua xvii. 1 affirms expressly that Gilead was a "man of war." From Gilead heroes like Jephthah descend. Jehu also is reckoned to it.⁶ The valor of Jabesh Gilead is well known. In a bad sense, Hosea (ch. vi. 8) speaks of Gilead as the home of wild and savage men. Here, therefore, Gilead stands in very significant

contrast with קָהָר: "let him," cries the hero, "who is cowardly and fearful depart from the mountain of Gilead, who (as Jephthah said) takes his life in his hand, unterrified before the foe."⁷ For the rest, however, the name Gilead was not confined to the east-Jordanic country. This appears from ch. xii. 4, where we read that the Ephraimites called the Gileadites fugitives of Ephraim, "for Gilead was between Ephraim and Manasseh." Now, Ephraim's territorial possessions were all west of the Jordan. From this, therefore, and from the fact that the western half tribe of Manasseh and the tribe of Ephraim were partly interlocated (cf. Josh. xvii. 8-10), it is evident that the names of the eastern Gilead were also in vogue on this side the Jordan. He who would be with Gilead, must be no "קָהָר" (trembler): out of 32,000 men, 22,000 perceive this, and retire.

That numbers do not decide in battle, is a fact abundantly established by the history of ancient nations; nor has modern warfare, though it deals in the life and blood of the masses, brought discredit upon it. It is a fine remark which Tacitus (*Annal.* xiv. 36, 3) puts into the mouth of Suetonius: *Etiam in multis legionibus, paucos esse qui praelia profugiant* — "even with many legions, it is always the few who win the battle." The instance adduced by Serarius from Livy (xxix. 1), has no proper relation to that before us. It would be more suitable to instance Leonidas, if it be true, as Herodotus (vii. 220) intimates, that at the battle of

5 Dathé proposes to read *al montem*, and Michaelis to point מִיָּמֵי, "quickly," instead of מִיָּמֵי, "from the mountain." Neither proposition can be entertained (cf. Döderlein, *Theol. Biblioth.*, iii. 326).

6 [By the ancient Jewish expositors, cf. Dr. Cassel's article on Jehu in Herzog's *Realencykl.* vi. 466. "In so doing they probably explained son of Nimshi (נִמְשִׁי) as son of a Manassite (מְנַשְׁשִׁי), i. e. a son out of the tribe of Manasseh." — Tr.]

7 [Ewald (*Gesch. Israel's*, ii. 500, note) has the following on this proclamation: "From the unusual words and their rounding, it is easy to perceive that they contain an ancient proverb, which in its literal sense would be especially appropriate to the tribe of Manasseh. "Mount Gilead," the place of Jacob's severest struggles (Gen. xxxi. etc.), may very well, from patriarchal times, have become a proverbial equivalent for "scene of conflict," which is manifestly all that the name here means. And Manasseh was the very tribe which had often found that for them also Gilead was a place of battle, cf. p. 391. — Tr.]

1 [Berhean assumes that En Charod is the same fountain as the modern Ain Jälüd, flowing from the base of Gilboa, see Rob. *Bibl. Res.* ii. 323. Accordingly, Gilboa would be the mountain on which Gideon was encamped, and Little Hermon (on which see Rob. ii. 326) would answer to Moreh. On this combination Keil remarks, that "although possible, it is very uncertain, and scarcely reconcilable with the statements of ver. 23 ff. and ch. viii. 4, as to the road taken by the defeated Midianites." — Tr.]

2 Epaminondas, when advancing against the Spartans at Lœntra, observed the unreliable character of some confederates. To prevent being endangered by them, he caused it to be proclaimed, that "Whoever of the Boeotians wished to withdraw, were at liberty to do so." Polyænus, ii. 3.

3 Under this view, the conjectures adopted by Bentley (*Gr. Gr.* i. 579; ii. 367) fall away of themselves.

4 [The German is: "Wer feige sei, trolle sich vom Berge." The author then adds: "The German *drollen, trollen*, has in fact a similar origin. It means "to turn one's self;" *drol* is that which is turned, also a "coil." *Sich trollen* [English: to pack one's self], is proverbially equivalent to taking one's departure, *recedere*. Cf. Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, ii. 1429, etc." — Tr.]

Thermopylae he dismissed his confederates because he knew them to be deficient in bravery; in relation to which, however, Plutarch's vehement criticism is to be considered (cf. Kaltwasser, in *Plut. Moral. Abhandl.*, vi. 732). Noteworthy is the imitation of Gideon's history in a North-German legend (Müllenhoff, *Sagen*, etc. p. 426). In that as in many other legends, magic takes the place of God.

Vers. 4. **Bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee there.** There is no lack of water in this region. Ponds, wells, and bodies of standing water, are described by Robinson (*E. M. Res.* iii. 115, 116). Beside these, Gideon had the Kishon behind him, which in the rainy season is full of water.

Vers. 5-7. **Every one that lappeth of the water.** The meaning of this test, the second which Gideon was to apply, is obscured by the brevity of the narrative. The question is, What characteristic did it show in the 300 men, that they did not drink water kneeling, but lapped it with their tongues, like dogs. Bertheau has followed the view of Josephus (*Ant. v. 6, 3*), which makes those who drink after the manner of dogs to be the faint-hearted. According to this view, the victory is the more wonderful, because it was gained by the timid and fearful. But this explanation does not accord with the traditional exegesis of the Jews, as handed down by others. Moreover, it contradicts the spirit of the whole narrative. When Gideon was chosen, it was for the very reason that he was a "valiant hero" (ch. vi. 12). All those who were deficient in courage were sent home by the proclamation (ver. 3). If faint-heartedness were demanded, the brave should have been dismissed. Finally, God saves by few, indeed, if they trust in Him, but not by cravens. Cowardice is a negative quality, unable even to trust. To do wonders with cowards, is a contradiction *in adjecto*: for if they fight, they are no longer cowards. Cowardice is a condition of soul which cannot become the medium of divine deeds; for even the valiant few, when they attack the many and conquer, are strong only because of their divine confidence. Besides, it is plainly implied that all those who now went with Gideon, were resolute for war. The Jewish interpretation, communicated by Raschi, is evidently far more profound. Gideon, it says, can ascertain the religious antecedents of his men from the way in which they prepare to drink. Idolators were accustomed to pray kneeling before their idols. On this account, kneeling, even as a mere bodily posture, had become unpopular and ominous in Israel, and was avoided as much as possible. Hence, he who in order to drink throws himself on his knees, shows thereby, in a perfectly free and natural manner, that this posture is nothing unusual to him; whereas those who have never been accustomed to kneel, feel no need of doing it now, and as naturally refrain from it. It would have been difficult for Gideon to have ascertained, in any other way, what had been the attitude of his men towards idolatry. While quenching their eager thirst, all deliberation being forgotten, they freely and unrestrainedly indicate to what posture they were habituated. It is a principle pervading the legendary lore of all nations, that who and what a person is, can only be ascertained by observing him when

under no constraint of any kind.¹ The queen of a Northern legend exchanges dresses with her maid; but she who is not the queen, is recognized by her drinking (cf. Simrock, *Quellen des Shaksp.* iii. 171). That which is here in Scripture accepted with reference to religious life and its recognition, popular literature applies to the keen discriminating observance of social life. — This view of the mark afforded by the act of kneeling, is not opposed by the fact that in the temple the worshipper bowed himself before God. It is announced to Elijah (1 Kgs. xix. 18), that only 7,000 shall be left: "All the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." To bow the knee is an honor due to God alone. Hence, Mordecai refuses to kneel to a man (Esth. iii. 5). Hence, God proclaims by the prophet (Isa. xlv. 23): "Unto me every knee shall bow." The three hundred — this is what God makes Gideon to know — have never kneeled before Baal; they are clean men; and with clean vessels, men, and animals, God is accustomed to do wonderful things. Midian's idolatrous people shall be smitten only by such as have always been free from their idols.

However satisfactory and in harmony with the Biblical spirit this explanation may be as it stands, let something nevertheless be added to it. Verse 5 says: **כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִלְקַח בְּלִשְׁוֹנוֹ מִן־הַמַּיִם בְּפִתְּוֹ** **לָקַח הַקֶּלֶב פִּשְׁגֵי אָרְצוֹ לִבְדֹּר**. In verse 6 the phraseology changes; it speaks of those who naturally use the hollow hand to take up the water and carry it to the mouth, thus making it answer to the concave tongue of a dog, it is evident that we must so understand the words quoted from ver.

5, as if it read: **כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִלְקַח בְּגִדְוֹ מִן־הַמַּיִם בְּלִשְׁוֹנוֹ**, **בְּאֲשֶׁר יִלְקַח הַקֶּלֶב בְּפִתְּוֹ**, "all who sip water with their hands, as the dog with his tongue." However that may be, the circumstance must not be overlooked that a comparison with the sipping of a dog is here instituted; for if the comparison had no special significance, it would have sufficed to distinguish between those who drank standing and those who drank kneeling. It was the perception of this, doubtless, which induced the common reference to what Elian (*Hist. Anim.*, vi. 53) says of the dogs of Egypt, that for fear of crocodiles they drink quickly, while running. And from this arose the view, already confuted, that the three hundred who imitated the lapping of dogs, were spiritless and cowardly. But the comparison must be viewed more profoundly. Those Egyptian dogs are the type, not of cowardice, but of caution. It is known that the crocodiles of the Nile were not the only ones of their kind eager to seize on dogs; those of Central America (the Cayman alligator) are not less so. In Cuba, likewise, dogs will not drink from rivers, lest their greedy foe might suddenly spring on them (cf. Oken, *Naturgesch.*, vi. 666). The crocodile is the image of the adversary; against whom they are on their guard, who do not so drink, that from eagerness to quench their thirst, they fall into his hands.² Sensual haste would forget the threatening danger. To these considerations, add the following:³ The heroic achievement of the three hundred is a surprise, in which they throw themselves

¹ The same popular belief recurs in various forms; in many of which the rudeness and *natreté* of the manner conceals the profundity of the thought. Cf. Grimm, *Kindermärchen*, ii. 229; Müllenhoff, *Sagen*, p. 384.

² An image of heathenism and Israel, which from incon-

siderate thirst for enjoyment, so often falls into the jaws of sin. The godly rejoice with trembling, and enjoy with watchfulness, that they may not become a prey to the enemy.

³ The most remarkable confirmation of this narrative,

selves, as it were, into the jaws of the sleeping foe. Now, the ancients tell of an animal, "similar to a dog," which, hostile to the crocodile, throws itself into the jaws of the reptile when asleep, and kills it internally. This animal, called

Hydrus, or אַנְרִיּוֹן (cf. *Phys. Syrus*, ed. Tyehsen, cap. xxxi. p. 170), has been rightly considered to be the Ichneumon, the crocodile's worst enemy. Its name signifies, "Tracker." Tracking, ἰχθυέειν, is the special gift of dogs. Among five animals before whom the strong must fear, the Talmud (*Sabbat*, 77, b) names the כְּלָבִית¹ from כְּלָב,

dog, as being a terror of the לִיָּקוֹן, crocodile. The band who drink like the Egyptian dog, perform a deed similar to that which the dog-like animal has ascribed to it. They throw themselves upon the sleeper; and, courageous though few, become the terror of the mighty foe. If it may be assumed that for the sake of such hints the similitude of the sipping dog was chosen for the three hundred companions of Gideon, the whole passage, it must be allowed, becomes beautiful and clear. He who has never inclined to idolatry, who has exercised caution against hostile blandishments and mastered his own desires, — he, like the animal before alluded to, will be fitted, notwithstanding his weakness, to surprise and overcome the enemy, how strong soever he be. The similitude, in this view, is analogous to various other significant psychological propositions, expressive of fundamental moral principles.²

Ver. 8. They took the victuals from the people in their hands. The words of the original are: וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־הַמֶּנְעָם בְּיָדָם. Offense has naturally been taken at יָדָה: instead of which

יָדָה, in the *stat. constr.*, was to be expected. The older Jewish expositors endeavored to support the unusual form by a similar one in Ps. xlv. 5, וַיִּעֲנֶה וַיִּדְרֹךְ; but the two are not exactly parallel, either in sense or form, to say nothing of Olshausen's proposal to emend the latter passage also. On the other hand, it is certainly surprising that יָדָה is not found in a single manuscript, although it was so natural to substitute it in effect, as was done by the ancient versions. Nor is it clear that יָדָה can be read.³ It is not to be assumed that the three hundred men took all the provisions of the other thousands. It would be quite impossible to comprehend how the former were benefited by such superabundance, or how the latter could dispense with all means of subsistence. The sense can only be that the three hundred took their provisions out of the supplies for the whole army. As the great body of the army was about to leave them, this little troop took from the common stores as much as they needed. We are not therefore to correct

יָדָה into יָדָה, but to supply מִן before הַמֶּנְעָם. The matter is further explained by the addition בְּיָדָם. From the common stores of the supply-

train, they took what they needed for themselves in their own hands, for the others were going away. The case was not much different with the trumpets. The three hundred needed one each; so many had therefore to be taken from the people. There is nothing to show, nor is it to be assumed, that the other thousands kept none at all, or that at the outset the whole ten thousand had only three hundred trumpets. The three hundred took from the body of the army what, according to their numbers, they needed to venture the battle. — The others Gideon dismissed, "every one to his tent." To be dismissed, or to go to the tents, is the standing formula by which the cessation of the mobile condition of the army is indicated. The people are free from military duty; but they do not appear to have entirely disbanded.

He retained the three hundred. With these he intended to give battle; and the conflict was near at hand, for the hostile army lay before him in the valley below.

HOILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

STARKE: Christianity requires manliness; away, therefore, with those who always plead the weakness of the flesh. — THE SAME: It matters little how insignificant we are considered, if we only conquer. — THE SAME: We should regard, not the means which God uses for our physical and spiritual deliverance, but the God who uses them. — THE SAME: Though men do nothing, but only stand in the order appointed, God by his omnipotence can effect more than when they work their busiest. — GERLACH: God's genuine soldiers never seek their strength in numbers, nor ever weaken their ranks by the reception of half-hearted, slothful, and timorous persons. In times of peace, they may for love's sake hold fellowship with many; but when battle is to be waged for the Lord, it is necessary to get rid of all those who could only weaken the host.

[BR. HALL: Gideon's army must be lessened. Who are so fit to be cashiered as the fearful? God bids him, therefore, proclaim license for all faint hearts to leave the field. An ill instrument may shame a good work. God will not glorify himself by cowards. As the timorous shall be without the gates of heaven, so shall they be without the lists of God's field. Although it was not their courage that should save Israel, yet without their courage God would not serve Himself of them. Christianity requires men; for if our spiritual difficulties meet not with high spirits, instead of whetting our fortitude, they quell it. — THE SAME: But now, who can but bless himself to find of two and thirty thousand Israelites, two and twenty thousand cowards? Yet all these in Gideon's march, made as fair a flourish of courage as the boldest. Who can trust the faces of men, that sees in the army of Israel above two for one timorous? — SCOTT: Many who have real faith and grace are unfit for special services, and unable to bear peculiar trials, from which therefore the Lord will exempt them; and to which He will appoint

considered in its symbolic import, is found in a German legend, communicated by Birlinger (*Volkstümliches aus Schwaben*, i. 116), in which the she-wolf recognizes as genuine only those among her young who drink water, while she regards those who lap like dogs as young wolf-dogs, and her worst enemies. Accordingly, dogs who lap, in the

manner which Gideon wishes to see imitated by his faithful ones, are the enemies of the rapacious wolf.

¹ [*Nomen terris aquaticis, qui ingreditur aures piscium majorum.* Buxtorff, *Lex. Talm.* — Tr.]

² Cf. my Essay on *Den armen Heinrich*, in the *Weim Jahrbuch für Deutsche Sprache*, i. 410.

³ Keil is among those who propose to adopt it.

those to whom He has given superior hardiness, boldness, and firmness of spirit; and very trivial incidents will sometimes make a discovery of men's capacities and dispositions, and show who are and who are not to be depended on in arduous undertakings. — TR.]

Gideon is directed to advance against the enemy; but to increase his confidence he is authorized to make a previous visit to the hostile encampment.

CHAPTER VII. 9-11.

9 And it came to pass the same night, that the Lord [Jehovah] said unto him, Arise, get thee down unto [descend against] the host [camp]; for I have delivered it into thine hand. But if thou [yet] fear to go down, go thou [first] with 11 Phurah thy servant down to the host [camp]: And thou shalt hear what they say; and afterward shall thine hands be strengthened to go down unto [against] the host [camp]. Then went he down with Phurah his servant unto the outside of the armed men that were in the host [camp].

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 9. **Arise, descend!** The three hundred who are with Gideon are enough. The hero may venture the assault with them. The hosts of Midian, despite their numbers, will not withstand their enthusiasm of faith. Not fortune, but God, will help the brave. There is no more time for delay. The harvest waits for the reaper; of that Gideon may convince himself. Let him hear what they say, and he will learn that they are more in dread than to be dreaded. The command addressed to Gideon in this verse, bids him make a general assault with all his men (which Bertheau has failed to perceive). It is only when the undertaking still appears too venturesome to him, that he is bidden first to convince himself of the spirit which rules in the camp of Midian. Again and again does the narrative inculcate the lesson that victory results only from full, undivided, unbroken, and enthusiastic confidence. Every shadow of hesitation is removed by God, before the hero advances to his great exploit.

Ver. 10. **Go thou with Phurah thy servant.** The case of Diomed, who according to Homer (*Il.* x. 220), ventures into the camp of the Trojans, is not altogether analogous.¹ Diomed is to find out what the Trojans are doing, and design to do; Gideon is only to learn the spirit of his enemy, as they freely converse together. Diomed also desires a companion, "for two going together better observe what is profitable." Gideon's servant goes with him, not for this purpose, but that he also may hear what Gideon hears, and may testify to his fellow soldiers of what Gideon tells them, so that they may follow with the same assured courage with which he leads. The two commands are very clearly distinguished. Gideon with his troop were to advance "against" (אֶנְּחָם) the encampment; but Gideon and his servant are to

go "unto" (אֵלָיו) it. — The name Phurah (פְּרָחָה), does not occur elsewhere. *Pere* (פֶּרֶה or פֶּרָה) is a wild ass, *onager*, an animal much talked of and greatly dreaded among the Orientals. Here, however, the Masorites have pointed the same radicals פְּרָחָה; according to which the name of the servant, as signifying "Branch" (פְּרָחָה), was not unaptly chosen. — פֶּרָחָה means both boy and servant or attendant.

Ver. 11. **As far as the line (limit) of the vanguard to the camp,** אֵלֶּיךָ הַחֵמָה לְפָנֶיךָ. The meaning of אֵלֶּיךָ הַחֵמָה is obscure, although the rendering of the LXX. at Josh. i. 14 affords a hint toward a probable explanation. אֵלֶּיךָ is the small of the back, above the hips (*lumbus, lumbi, quinque inferiores spine vertebrae*), about which the girdle, *zona*, was worn. The *chamushim* were not, however, simply those who were girdled and equipped, but as the LXX. indicate in the passage referred to, the εὐζώνοι, the *well-girdled*; which term the Greeks also used to designate the light-armed troops, who were everywhere in use as van and rear guards. Among many passages in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and others, it will be sufficient to quote the following from the *Cyropædia* (v. 3, 56), as illustrating this use of the Greek word: "Ὅτι πρὸ πάντων τοῦ στρατεύματος κερζὸς εὐζώνους . . . προπέμψεν. The same position as vanguard is, according to Josh. i. 14, occupied in the Israelitish host by the two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes: "Ye shall march before your brethren as *chamushim*." These tribes had left their families beyond the Jordan, and were therefore freer and lighter, *expeditioners*. To the same class of soldiery belonged the *chamushim*, to whom

1 In the inn "Zur Hohen Schut" in Ulm, there is still shown a portrait of Gustavus Adolphus, as during the war he appeared, disguised, in that city, as a spy, which is only a legend. In like manner, it is told of Alfred the Great of

England, that in order to inspect for himself the situation of the Danes, he entered their camp as a harper. Hume, *Hist. of Eng.* i. 63.

Gideon approached. They formed the outer rim of the encampment, and beyond them Gideon did not venture to proceed, if for no other reason, for

¹ [Bertheau says, indeed, that the *chamushim* numbered 135,000 men, cf. ch. viii. 10; but by the *chamushim*, he, like most scholars, understands not the vanguard of the hostile army, but the whole body of fighting men in the army. "The eastern tribes," he says, "had invaded the land with their herds and tents, i. e. families, ch. vi. 5.

Among such nomadic tribes, the warriors, called חַמְּשֵׁי,

want of time. What Bertheau says about 135,000 men who constituted this body,¹ is like his whole explanation of the passage, a misapprehension.

or הַלְלִיָּיִם, Josh. iv. 12, 13, are distinguished from the body of the people. The former, in view of the impending battle, were not scattered among the mass of the people, but were collected together in the camp to the number of 135,000. — TR.]

Gideon and his attendant secretly visit the hostile camp. The dream of the soldier and its interpretation. The night-surprise, confusion, and pursuit.

CHAPTER VII. 12-25.

12 And the Midianites, and the Amalekites, and all the children [sons] of the east, lay along in the valley like grasshoppers [locusts] for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand by the sea-side for multitude. And when Gideon was come, behold, there was a man that told a dream unto his fellow, and said, Behold, I dreamed a dream, and lo, a [round] cake of barley-bread tumbled into [rolled itself against] the host [camp] of Midian, and came unto a [the] tent [i. e. the tents; the singular, used collectively], and smote it that it fell, and overturned it that the tent [i. e. all the tents] lay along. And his fellow answered, and said, This is nothing else save the sword of Gideon the son of Joash, a [the] man of Israel: for [omit: for] into his hand hath God delivered Midian, and all the host [camp]. And it was so, when Gideon heard the telling of the dream, and the interpretation thereof, that he worshipped, and returned into the host [camp] of Israel, and said, Arise; for the Lord [Jehovah] hath delivered into your hand the host [camp] of Midian. And he divided the three hundred men into three companies, and he put a trumpet in every man's hand, with empty pitchers, and lamps [torches] within the pitchers. And he said unto them, Look on me, and do likewise: and behold, when I come to the outside of the camp, it shall be that as I do, so shall ye do. When I blow with a [the] trumpet, I and all that are with me, then blow ye the trumpets also on every side of all the camp, and say, The sword of the Lord [Jehovah], and of Gideon. So Gideon, and the hundred men that were with him, came unto the outside of the camp in the beginning of the middle watch; and they had but newly set the watch: and they blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers that were in their hands. And the three companies blew the trumpets [all at once], and brake the pitchers, and held [took] the lamps [torches] in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands to blow withal: and they cried, The sword of the Lord [Jehovah], and of Gideon. And they stood every man in his place round about the camp; and all the host [camp] ran [was thrown into commotion], and cried, and fled. And the three hundred blew the trumpets, and [meanwhile] the Lord [Jehovah] set every man's sword against his fellow, even throughout [and against] all the host [camp]: and the host [camp] fled to Beth-shittah [the House of Acacias] in [toward] Zererath [Zererah], and [omit: and] to the border [edge] of Abel-meholah, unto [near] Tabbath. And the men of Israel gathered themselves together out of Naphtali, and out of Asher, and out of all Manasseh, and pursued after the Midianites. And Gideon sent messengers throughout all Mount Ephraim, saying, Come down against the Midianites, and take [seize] before them the waters unto Beth-barah and [the] Jordan. Then all the men of Ephraim gathered themselves together, and took [seized] the waters unto Beth-barah and [the] Jordan. And they took two princes of the Midianites, Oreb and Zeeb [Raven and Wolf]; and they slew Oreb upon [at] the rock Oreb [Raven's Rock], and Zeeb they slew at the wine-press of Zeeb [Wolf's Press], and pursued Midian, and brought the heads of Oreb and Zeeb to Gideon on [from] the other side [of the] Jordan.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 12. **And Midian and Amalek.** The pregnant and musing character of the style of our Book, notwithstanding its entire simplicity and artlessness, shows itself especially in the episode concerning Gideon. In order to emphasize the contrast which they present to the scanty means of Israel — the handful of men who followed Gideon — the countless numbers and vast resources of the enemy are once more pointed out. On one side, there are three hundred men, on foot; on the other, a multitude numerous as an army of locusts, riders on camels countless as the sands of the sea-shore (cf. above, on ch. vi. 5). This contrast must needs be insisted on here, that so the wonderful help of God may stand out in bold relief; that Israel may learn that victory comes not of numbers, but is the gift of God, and that in all their conflicts, it is the spirit of God who endows their enemies with victorious courage, that He may chasten his people, or fill them with fear and confusion, notwithstanding their multitude and might, that Israel may be delivered. God governs man's free will. He turns the hearts of men according to his wisdom. He raises the courage of the few and small to victory, and brings the proud and great to grief. It is his work that Gideon with three hundred men dares attack the enormous multitude; his doing that, as the soldier's dream and its interpretation indicate, sad forebodings fill the heart of the proud and mighty foe, and cause it to faint before the coming conflict.

Ver. 13. **And as Gideon came, behold, a man told a dream.** From the enemy's dream, Gideon will learn the frame of mind in which they are. For this end he was to go into the encampment, thereby to perfect his own confidence. Jehovah is God of the heathen also. Although they do not believe in Him, they are yet instruments in his hand. It was He who, without their knowing it, raised them up and directed their way. They did not learn to know Him from his works; and yet He shone above them, like the sun concealed by clouds and vapors. The manifest God they fail to see by day; but the Hidden and Unknown they seek in dreams. All heathenism is, to a certain extent, a great dream; and it is in accordance with its nature, that as all nations dream, so all are disposed to find in dreams the indications of a hidden truth. Their interpreters did not know the God of Truth in himself; but He who turns the nations as water-courses, fills their hearts, when He pleases, with visions and interpretations which have their rise in truth. Hence, when in Scripture, God frequently favors heathen with dreams of truth, He does not thereby sanctify every dream; but only uses dreams to influence the men whom He takes under the guidance of his wisdom, — the Philistine king, for instance, Laban the Aramean, the Egyptian baker and butler, — because they already look on dreams as such as hiding a divine mystery. Dreams appeared the more significant, when great events were manifestly at hand. And in the condition of mental excitement which under such circumstances seizes on men, they are natural and to be expected. Thus elsewhere also we hear of dreams by generals before battle. Leonidas, Plutarch (on *Herodotus*) tells us, had a dream before the battle

of Thermopylae, which disclosed to him the future destinies of Greece and Thebes. Xerxes had a dream previous to his Greek campaign; and Gustavus Adolphus is said to have dreamed before the battle of Leipzig, that he was wrestling with Tilly (Joh. Scheffer, *Menorah, Suet. Gentis*, p. 23). It was not unknown to the Midianites that Gideon, though but a contemned foe, lay encamped on the mountain. The peculiar dream must therefore the more impress the soldier who dreamed it.

A round barley-loaf rolled itself. The narrative, notwithstanding its simplicity and brevity, is very vivid and forcible. The animated לָּחֶם recurs three times. The dream itself also portrays the contrast with which it has to do, with uncommon clearness. The barley-loaf is the symbol of wretchedness and poverty, over against the luxury and wealth of Midian. Indigent Bedouins, who have nothing else, at this day still subsist on barley-bread, which they sometimes dip in goat's fat (Ritter, xiv. 1003).² The cake or loaf is here called לָּחֶם עֵלֶּיךָ , a term variously explained. The definition of Gesenius, who derives it from לָּחֶם = לָּחֶם , to roll, seems to be the most likely. The mention of the round form of the loaf was necessary to bring its rolling vividly before the imagination, since all loaves were not round. The Arabs of the desert, according to Niebuhr, take a round lump of dough, and bury it in hot coals, until they think it baked. Then they knock off the ashes, and eat it (*Beschreib. Arab.* p. 52). Such a wretched loaf is that which the Midianite sees rolling in his dream. It signifies Gideon and Israel, who, by reason of their enemies, were reduced to poverty and distress (ch. vi. 4). It comes rolling "against" the encampment (בְּפָנֵינוּ), not "in" it, as the expositors have it; for the dream depicts the coming event.

And it came to the tent, $\text{וַיָּבֹא הָאֵלֶּיךָ$. *The tent* — with the article. It would be an error to think here, with Bertheau, who follows Josephus, of the tent of the king; for there were several kings. The tent of the dream stands collectively for all the tents of the encampment; for the very idea of the dream is that the rolling loaf comes into collision with the tents in general. One tent after another is struck by it, falls, and is turned upside down. $\text{וַיִּפֹּל הָאֵלֶּיךָ$, and "the tent," all the tents, one after another, lay overturned. By this *recapitulatio*, the narrator recapitulates, as it were, the falling of the several tents, which in the vivid dream vision, in which all notions of time and space are forgotten, appeared like the downfall of a single tent.³

Ver. 14. **And his fellow answered.** The fact that a true interpretation is given by one comrade to the other, must be specially noted. The first has not asked, but only related; the other is no sooth-sayer, but only a companion. So much the more significant is the frame of mind in which the interpretation originates. For there exists no visible ground for thinking it possible that, notwithstanding their great power, Midian may be delivered into the hands of a man like Gideon. But

¹ Josephus also understands it thus: "ἀνθρώπους ἀβραω-
τορ." His further interpretation, however, can scarcely be followed.

² (Cf. Thomson. *The Land and the Book*, ii. 106. — Tr.)

³ (WORDSWORTH: "The tent was an expressive emblem

of the Midianites, being nomads; their tent was their all in all. Their wives, their children, their cattle, their goods, their vesture, their treasure, were all collected in it and about it." — Tr.)

what does exist, is an evil conscience. Through seven years Midian had plundered and trodden Israel. This is the first time, in all these years, that resistance is attempted. That in spite of distress and numerical weakness, Israel ventures now to begin a war, must of itself excite attention and make an impression. How long had it been, since Israel had unfurled the banners of its God! Proud tyranny is already startled at the prospect of resistance from a few faithful ones.¹ According to Herodotus (vii. 16), Artaban says to Xerxes: "Men are wont to be visited in sleep by images of what they have thought on during the day." The principle applies in this case to both dreamer and interpreter. Dream and interpretation both reflect the forebodings of an evil conscience, which God is about to judge. The interpreter compares the rolling loaf with the sword of Gideon. (The hit-pael of **שָׁפַד**, here applied to that which symbolized the sword of Gideon (ver. 13), is also used by the sacred writer of the sword which kept the entrance to the garden of Eden. Gen. iii. 24.) He it is—continues the interpreter—who rises up against the domination of Midian: does he venture on this, and dreamest thou thus,—be sure that his God (hence the article with Elohim, since without the article it also designates their gods) has delivered Midian into his power.

Ver. 15. **When Gideon heard this.** What Gideon hears is not merely the interpretation of a dream which confirms his brightest hopes. The dream is one which his enemies have, and the interpretation is their own. He hears in it an expression of the tone and mood of their minds. He learns that the confidence of the enemy is already broken by the reflection that Israel's Lord is on more in the field. Astonished and adoring, he and his attendant hear this wonder, as great and real as any other that God has shown him. They feel that God has done this—they see that He is leader and victor—with thanksgiving they bow before Him.²

Ver. 16-18. **And he divided the three hundred men.** Encouraged, Gideon hastens to act. He divides his band into three companies, so as to be able to surround the hostile encampment (cf. ver. 21). He bids the two companies who are to take their stations on the other sides, to attend to his signal, and gives them the battle-cry. Now, as to this cry, though ver. 18 gives it, "Of Jehovah and of Gideon," yet, since ver. 20 has, "Sword of Jehovah and of Gideon," it is evident that in the former verse the word "sword" is to be supplied. For the two companies who were to wait for the trumpet-blast of Gideon and those with him, could not understand the words of the distant cry, and

yet they also shouted, "Sword of Jehovah and of Gideon" (ver. 20). Moreover, the command must have been executed as it was given; and hence the fact that according to ver. 20 Gideon's own company joined in the longer form, proves that to have been originally given. The cry itself is very expressive. It tells the Midianites that the sword of the God whose people and faith they have oppressed, and of the man whose insignificance they have despised, whose family they have injured, and who through God becomes their conqueror, is about to be swung over their heads.

Vers. 19-21. **And Gideon came to the border line of the camp about the beginning of the middle watch.** From the mention of the middle watch, it has been justly inferred that the night must be considered as divided into three watches. It was still deep in the night when Gideon undertook the surprise. The middle watch was just begun; and the sentinels, it is added, with good reason, had just (**שָׁפַד**) been set—for as the middle watch advanced, the army would begin to stir. Prodigious was the alarm that seized on Midian, when suddenly the trumpets clanged, the pitchers crashed, the thundering battle-cry broke out, the torches³ blazed. . . . Accounts are not wanting in the history of other nations, of similar stratagems adopted by bold generals. Tacitus expresses himself on this subject after his own manner (*Annal.* i. 68, 4): "The clangor of trumpets and the glitter of arms (*sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum*) easily become destructive to a foe who thinks only of a few, half-armed opponents; the more unexpected the alarm, the greater the loss (*caedebant ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti*)." So the Roman Minucius Rufus terrified the Scordisci, by causing trumpets to be blown from among the mountains round about, the sound of which, echoed by the rocks, spread fear and terror (Frontinus, *Stratagematicum*, ii. 3). The ancients named such surprises Panic terrors, because Pan put the enemies of Dionysus to flight with his horns⁴ (cf. Polyænus, *Strategem.* i. and ii.).

The terror which seized on Midian was in truth a terror from God. This the simple narrative sets forth most classically. Ver. 16 had already stated that all had trumpets in their hands, and pitchers, with torches, whereby no hand was left free to use the sword. Ver. 20 says, still more explicitly, "they had the torches in their left, and the trumpets in their right hands." They did not use the sword, but only cried, "Sword of Jehovah and of Gideon." (Not, however, as if Gideon were put on a parallel with God: **יְהוָה וְגִדְעוֹן** is to be

¹ Æschylus (*Persæ*, 188, etc.) represents poetically the forebodings and dreams of Atossa concerning the impending disaster of Xerxes; but the moral view, that such dreams were inspired by the evil conscience of the conquering tyrant, and that the insignificant people triumphed through God, is wanting.

² [Our author treats **שִׁבְחָהוּ** as a plural, and translates: "they worshipped." The form is undoubtedly singular, cf. Gen. xxiii. 7; xxiv. 52; etc., and is so regarded by most grammarians. Ges. *Gram.* 75 Rem. 18; Green, 176, 1 Fürst, however, both in his Lexicon and in his Hebrew Concordance treats it as plural. In his Lexicon, s. v.

שִׁבְחָהוּ, he says: "שִׁבְחָהוּ"; plural, sometimes **שִׁבְחָהוּ**, in pause **שִׁבְחָהוּ**, sometimes **שִׁבְחָהוּ**.—Tr.]

³ [Dr. Thomson remarks (*L. & B.* ii. 163): "I have often seen the small oil lamp of the natives carried in a 'pitcher'

or earthen vessel at night." But the **לְפָדִים** of this history can scarcely be "oil lamps," for which **נְרוֹת** would be more appropriate. A better explanation is suggested by the following note in Smith's *Bible Diet.* (Art. Gideon): "It is curious to find 'lamps and pitchers' in use for a similar purpose at this very day in the streets of Cairo. The *Zabit* or *Agha* of the police carries with him at night, 'a torch which burns, soon after it is lighted, without a flame, excepting 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 (Lane, *Mot. Egypt.* i. ch. iv.)."—Tr.]

⁴ A similar maneuver terrified the inhabitants of Herseum in Achaia, when Diotus besieged them. Polyænus, ii. 36.

taken as supplementing the preceding words — "even that committed to Gideon;" for Gideon was the visible bearer of God's sword.) Hence, also, ver. 21 says: "They stood (the troops of Gideon) round about the encampment;" *i. e.*, they stand, not otherwise attacking, but simply blowing their trumpets; yet the enemy takes to "running"

(צָרָרָה) stands contrasted with (נִצְרָרָה). Just as in Joshua's time the walls of Jericho fell, while the trumpets of Israel sounded, so here it is — "These blew, those fled." Terror and disorder ruled the hour in the Midianitish camp. In the darkness and confusion, they no longer knew what they did. Hence, ver. 22 states that "while the three hundred blew the trumpets" — this is intentionally repeated, and shows that they scarcely needed a sword against Midian — the Midianites thought themselves attacked by enemies, and raged among themselves, for "Jehovah had set every man's sword against his fellow, and against the whole camp," or as we say, in cases of great confusion, "All against one, one against all."

Ver. 22. And the host fled to Beth-shittah (the House of Acacias), towards Zererah, to the edge of Abel-meholah, near Tabbath. The direction of the flight, and the situation of the places named, can only be inferred from the connection and from a comparison of other passages. The mention of the places must have had a local significance for the reader who was acquainted with their situation. From ch. viii. we learn that the Midianites did not flee in one body, but in several divisions. This is as might be expected, seeing the army was composed of different tribes — Midianites, Amalekites, and "Sons of the East." This separation in flight is also indicated by the statement of the places to which they fled. First, they are said to have fled "to Beth-shittah, towards Zererah," by which one line of flight is given. When it is further said that they fled "to the edge of Abel-meholah, near Tabbath," the intention cannot be to prolong the first line, which is already terminated by the phrase "towards Zererah," but a second is indicated. This also explains the measures adopted by Gideon. Being unable to follow both himself, he calls on Ephraim to cut off the other line of flight. The enemy's effort was to gain the fords of the Jordan. That one through which kings Zebah and Zalmunna must have passed (ch. viii. 5), seeing they had the start of the

others, is evidently indicated by צָרָרָה, "towards Zererah." Many codices have צָרָרָה, "toward Zeredah," *dath* being substituted for *resh*. Kimchi, however, expressly calls attention to the two *r's*. But even in the earliest times Zeredah was read instead of Zererah, as appears from 2 Chron. iv. 17, where we find צָרָרָה. From the same passage compared with 1 Kgs. vii. 46, it is evident that Zeredah was identified with צָרָרָה, Zorthan. From both it appears to have been situated in the vicinity of the Jordan, not very far from Beth-shean (BeisAn); and from Josh. iii. 15, 16, it may be inferred that near it there was a ford through the river. This explains why Midian took this line. They approached the river from the direction of Beth-shittah. Bertheau did well to connect this place with the modern village Shutta, mentioned by Robinson (ii. 356), and situated in the vicinity of Beth-shean. Keil's objection that it lies north of Gilboa, is of no force under our view of the localities as above indicated.

Zorthan (Zarthan) is mentioned in connection with a Succoth on this side the Jordan (1 Kgs. vii. 46). To this day the Jordan is passed near some ruins, not far from Beisân, which are supposed to indicate the site of Succoth (Ritter, xv. 446). The other line of fugitives took a more southerly direction, "towards the edge of Abel-meholah." The name of this place, celebrated as the birth-place of the prophet Elisha, has been preserved in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius as ΑΒελμαελαί (ed. Parthey, p. 8). The fact that a צָרָרָה, edge, or strand, is spoken of, indicates perhaps the presence of a wady. And in fact, coming down from Beisân or *Zerin*, the first western tributary of the Jordan met with, is a Wady el-Maleh (cf. Ritter, xviii. 432-448, in several passages). The fugitives are further said to have come to the edge of Abel-meholah "near Tabbath." There is still a city Tubâs, not far from Wady Maleh, usually considered to be the Thebez of the history of Abimelech (ch. ix. 50), for which, however, there is no compulsory ground.

Vers. 23-25. Gideon had a definite plan of pursuit. To carry it out, he required more men than the three hundred who had stood with him in the victory. The troops whom he had collected from Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali (ch. vi. 35), though subsequently dismissed, had not yet disbanded. They now returned (Zebulun only is not named), and assisted in the pursuit. But to overtake the Midianites on their fleet camels was not an easy matter. If not intercepted, those of them who were hastening southward, would get as safely over the Jordan as kings Zebah and Zalmunna had done near Beisân (at Zorthan). Gideon had foreseen this, and had early sent a message to Ephraim, over whose territory the fugitive host was passing, to "seize the waters as far as Beth-barah and the Jordan." Ephraim acted promptly, and a part of the Midianites were cut off. The "waters" can only mean some western tributaries of the Jordan; for Gideon's object is to prevent that body of the enemy which by his pursuit he has thus far kept away from the river, from gaining the lower fords and crossing over. He therefore desires "the waters" to be seized "to Beth-barah." This name Beth-barah cannot well have originated from Beth-abarah (Ford-house). It does not appear that the letter *v* has been

dropped out of צָרָרָה. Besides, if Beth-barah meant "Ford-house," the direction "to Beth-barah" would have been superfluous; for in that case the seizure of the Jordan would have included that of the "waters" and the ford. On the other hand, it was important to provide for the occupation of the "waters," or the particular stream intended, along its whole length to its source; lest, while it was guarded below, the enemy should cross it above. Beth-barah is therefore, with Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*, p. 104), to be explained as "House of the Spring," "Well-house" (from צָרָרָה or בַּר), by which the narrative becomes clear and intelligible. Therewith, also fall all attempts to identify this Beth-barah with the Beth-abarah of Origen's reading at John i. 28; for that lay beyond the Jordan. Origen was, however, led by a right critical feeling. Instead of a Bethany, the people of his day doubtless spoke of a Beth-abarah in that region; and this, philologically and in fact, was one and the same with Bethany. For this trans-Jordanic Bethany — not to be confounded

with that near Jerusalem — is to be derived from *Beth-ain*, as *Beth-abarah* from *Beth-beer*, and like the latter signifies "House of the Spring," — a point to which I formerly directed attention in my "*Bericht über Renan* (Berlin, 1864).

The Ephraimites, to their great glory, captured the two Midianite princes Oreb and Zeeb. It was the reward of their prompt obedience. Very suggestive are the names, under which these two princes of the desert had perhaps been especially dreaded — "Wolf" and "Raven." Among other nations also, these animals, frequenters of desolate places, and eager attendants on battle-fields, have furnished surnames for noted warriors. The Arabs, because the raven follows in the wake of caravans, call him *Ebol-Mirkal*, Father of the Swift Camel, or *Ion-Brsun*, Son of the Sumpter-horse. Noteworthy, at all events, is the conjunction of "Raven and Wolf." Coupled in the same way, we find them sacred to the Scandinavian Odin. Both ravens and wolves were also consecrated to Apollo. In the early Roman legends the woodpecker (*picus*) takes the place of the raven as companion of the wolf, and both belong to the God of War (cf. my *Schanir*, Erf. 1856, p. 103). The Arabs give to both the bird and the quadruped the common name *Ibnol-Erdh*, Son of the Earth (Hammer, *Namen der Araber*, p. 48).

The fame of the deed perpetuated itself in local designations, and the Raven's Rock and Wolf's Wine-press commemorate the disgrace of Midian. The *Odysee* likewise speaks of a Raven's rock in Ithaca (xiii. 408), which name the scholiast derives from a fallen hunter (cf. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, ii. 203); and the use of the German *Rabenstein*,¹ is undeniably analogous. In the other name, the term *jekeb* (יֶכֶב, wine-press) is borrowed from the hollow form of the object; hence, the name is here equivalent to Wolf's-hole. Similar historical allusions are supposed by the German Muse to lie concealed in Worms (from *Wurme*, slain by Siegfried) and in Drachenfels (cf. Grimm, *D. Heldens.*, pp. 155, 316).

In Haurân, Wetzstein heard the name el-Gurâb, the Raven, applied to a spent volcano (p. 16); and Castle Kerek, at the south end of the Dead Sea, was called Hîsnal-gorab, Raven's-castle (Ritter, xiv. 1042).

The important remark in ver. 25, that the heads of the two princes were brought to Gideon "from beyond the Jordan," induces the hope that the name and location of the "Raven's-rock" may yet be traced. The "waters" which Ephraim occupied, must have been those now known as Wady el-Faria. Below this wady, there is to this day a much used ford (Ritter, xv. 449); while over against it, on the eastern bank of the Jordan, there is the steep height of Jebel Ajlûn, overlooking the Ghor, and commanding the confluent valleys (Ritter, xv. 369). On this height there are the ruins of a castle, of which Ibrahim Pasha still availed himself to hold the robber hordes in check, and which (according to the reports of various travellers on this yet but imperfectly known locality) bore the name of Kalaat-er Rabbad, or Rabua. The Ephraimites, charged with the occupation of the Jordan, had crossed over and seized on this important point in order fully to command the Jordan valley. Here they captured the princes "Raven and Wolf." The "Raven's-rock" was still known by this name in the time of Isaiah (see ch. x. 26);

¹ A place of this name occurs in Carinthia as early as the eleventh century (Fürstemann, ii. 768).

and in the corrupted designation Rabua, a similarity of sound with Oreb or Gorab may be traced. The exploit was swift and fortunate. Gideon in his pursuit was still on this side of the Jordan; while he was making a halt before crossing over, the Ephraimites were already returning in triumph from the opposite shore, bringing with them the heads of the slain princes. All other explanations, as found among others in Bertheau and Keil also, fail to harmonize satisfactorily with the connection. The narrator designedly adds the words "from beyond Jordan," that the reader may know that Ephraim had gained the great triumph, before Gideon could so much as cross the river. This passing remark helps to prepare the reader for the opening narrative of ch. viii. It foreshadows the pride and selfishness of Ephraim. Finally, that Ephraim was beyond the Jordan, and there captured the hostile chieftains, is evident even from the words (ver. 25), "they pursued Midian;" for as they held the Jordan and "the waters," they could only pursue those who had passed the river.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

After his first victory over idolatry in his father's house, Gideon has courage for the second, over enemies in the field. He seeks the few, not the many. He knows that help comes from God, not from the multitude; and because he knows this, he conquers. The countless host of enemies vanishes like dust — not because of his three hundred: the terrors of God dissolve them, and turn them against each other. Doubtless, Gideon was also a hero of the sword; but first God's deed — then man's. Therefore he succeeds in everything, from first to last. Gideon is not envious of God, as Ephraim is of him. To God belongs the glory, first and last.

[BP. HALL: Now, when we would look that Gideon should give charge of whetting their swords, and sharpening their spears, and fitting their armor, he only gives order for empty pitchers, and lights, and trumpets. The cracking of these pitchers shall break in pieces this Midianitish clay; the kindling of these lights shall extinguish the light of Midian; these trumpets sound no other than a soul-peal to all the host of Midian: there shall need nothing but noise and light to confound this innumerable army. And if the pitchers, and brands, and trumpets of Gideon, did so daunt and dismay the proud troops of Midian and Amalek, who can we think shall be able to stand before the last terror, wherein the trumpet of the archangel shall sound, and the heavens shall pass away with a noise, and the elements shall be on a flame about our ears? — THE SAME: Those two and twenty thousand Israelites that slipped away for fear, when the fearful Midianites fled, can pursue and kill them, and can follow them at the heels, whom they durst not look at in the face. Our flight gives advantage to the feeblest adversary, whereas our resistance foilth the greatest. — SCOTT: In this world, the wicked are often left under the power of their own delusions and the fury of their mad passions, to avenge the cause of God on each other: a period is approaching, when we may expect that the persecuting foes of Christianity will destroy one another, whilst the host of Israel shall look on, and have nothing to do but to blow the trumpet of the gospel. — WORDSWORTH: Gideon has only three hundred men, and Christ's church is called "a little flock," and their foes are innumerable; but their

countless myriads melt away, dispersed by the breath of God.—THE SAME: The princes of Midian represent the spiritual enemies of the Church. Is it by chance that they were called Oreb, the Raven, and Zeeb, the Wolf? The Raven is contrasted with the Dove in the history of the Flood (see Gen. viii. 7) as an unclean bird (cf. Lev. xi. 15); and in the N. T. the Wolf is the emblem of those false

teachers who tear and devour the flock of Christ.—THEODORET (as quoted by Wordsworth): Gideon overcame Midian with unarmed soldiers, bearing only trumpets, torches, and pitchers. So Christ overcame the world by unarmed apostles, bearing the trumpet of preaching and the torch of miracles.—TR.]

Ephraim's proud complaint and Gideon's wise forbearance.

CHAPTER VIII. 1-3.

- 1 And the men of Ephraim said unto him, Why hast thou served us thus, that thou calledst us not when [didst not call out¹ to us that] thou wentest [wast going] to fight with [against] the Midianites? and they did chide [quarrel] with him sharply
- 2 [vehemently]. And he said unto them, What have I done now in comparison of you? *Is not the gleaning of the grapes* [omit: of the grapes] of Ephraim better
- 3 than the vintage of Abi-ezer? God hath delivered into your hands² the princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb: and what was I able to do in comparison of you? Then their anger [excitement]³ was [omit: was] abated toward [against] him, when he had [omit: had] said that.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 Ver. 1. — לִבְלֹהֵי הָרְאוּת לֹנֵי פִי הַלִּבָּתָּהּ. It is not necessary to take לִבְ in a temporal sense, which at all events it has very seldom. The הָרְאוּת is followed by the objective clause of that which the persons addressed are notified of.

[2 Ver. 3. — "Into your hands," with emphasis. Hence the Hebrew puts it first: "Into your hands (lit. hand) God gave the princes of Midian," etc. — TR.]

3 Ver. 3. — רִפְּתָהּ רִיבָהּ, like כָּתַף כָּתַף, Ps. xxxvii. 8. רִיבָהּ denotes violent, panting excitement.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

In his dealing with puffed-up Ephraim, even more than by his victories, Gideon approves himself as a true warrior of God, wiser in his humility than his dazzled countrymen in their pride. The service rendered by Ephraim in slaying Oreb and Zeeb, was after all of but secondary merit. They had only smitten an already shattered and terrified enemy; had only captured the game which another had chased into their hands. Where was Ephraim when Midian in full force encamped himself in the country? But inferior merit is the more arrogant. The tribe is so intoxicated by the easy victory over the two princes, that it presumes to reprimand Gideon for beginning a war without them, and thus undertaking to deprive them of the laurels which they would certainly have won. So little does Ephraim understand the true strength with which Israel has conquered, that he accounts it an insult to himself on the part of the smaller tribe to have conquered without him. The pride of the mighty men of the world could not be more clearly depicted. They contend with him vehemently (רִפְּתָהּ רִיבָהּ), just as the men of Nineveh, repenting, "cry vehemently" (רִפְּתָהּ רִיבָהּ, Jon. iii. 8) unto God. They address the great hero fiercely and vociferously. His answer is admirable. He might have humbled them by a few words about

his deed; but he will have no strife where Israel needs unity. He says nothing of his own great victory. He does not irritate them by referring to their previous inactivity, although their tribe was so great; or by reminding them that after all he had sent them the word which enabled them to capture an enemy whom he was pursuing. On the contrary, he quiets them by extolling their great merits. He may not conceal that the victory was gained without them; but, his vintage, is it not less than their gleanings? What comparison is there between his spoils and theirs? He, still on this side the Jordan; they, already adorned with the trophies of the "Raven and Wolf!" He lets them know, however, who it is that really gives victory, namely Elohim. But here also the nice discrimination shows itself, with which the terms Jehovah, ha-Elohim, and Elohim alternate, according to the spiritual position of the persons addressed or spoken of. To Ephraim, Gideon says that Elohim gave them victory — as he sometimes gives it even to heathen. He uses this term because they lacked humility and faith to know that Jehovah, ha-Elohim, the true God of Israel, gives strength to his people, and that, thus endowed, it is of no consequence whether the militant tribe be great or small (cf. ver. 6, etc.).

What have I done now in comparison with you? The vain tribe, which only smarted at the thought that an insignificant member of Manasseh

should reap greater glory than Ephraim, is quieted when this person himself disclaims the glory. Vanity that prides itself on seeming merits, is always contracted. The Ephraimites do not understand the modesty of Gideon, which, in denying, as it were, his own real merits, necessarily pours the contempt of irony on their pretended deserts. But Gideon's object is gained. They allow themselves to be pacified, and go home to bask themselves in the sunshine of their achievements. Gideon, for his part, teaches that victory alone does not suffice to save a people; but that he is the real hero who is truly humble, and for the sake of peace overcomes himself. To conquer, he must know how to bend.

The narrative stands here in its proper place. It does not presuppose anything that happened later; but connects, historically and morally, what goes before and what follows after. Gideon is still in the midst of his campaign, when Ephraim attacks him with its pride. But his subsequent career of victory, speaks louder than envy. The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 6, 6), that Ephraim was afterwards punished for its pride, rests on no Scriptural authority; but the confusion to which they are put by the subsequent deeds of Gideon, to whom after all they were indebted for their own achievement also, is a discipline of the sharpest kind.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Ephraim is jealous of Gideon. Jealousy is a quality which only seeks its own. It is a characteristic of unbelief, which envies God his power and love.

STARKE: He acts wisely, who prefers to forego somewhat of his own rights, rather than by a contrary course to invite the opposition of others, and so debar himself from attaining a greater good. —

GERLACH: Gideon's answer, as modest as it was prudent, quiets the Ephraimites. He appears here, as afterwards, as a high-minded man, free from low ambition and domineering tendencies.

[BP. HALL: I did not hear the Ephraimites offering themselves into the front of the army before the fight, and now they are ready to fight with Gideon because they were not called to fight with Midian: I hear them expostulating after it. After the exploit done, cowards are valiant. Their quarrel was, that they were not called. It had been a greater praise of their valor to have gone unbidden. . . . None speak so big in the end of the fray as the feeblest. — THE SAME: Ephraim flies upon Gideon, whilst the Midianites fly from him; when Gideon should be pursuing his enemies, he is pursued by brethren, and now is glad to spend that wind in pacifying of his own, which should have been bestowed in the slaughter of a common adversary. It is a wonder if Satan suffer us to be quiet at home, whilst we are exercised with wars abroad. Had not Gideon learned to speak fair, as well as to smite, he had found work enough from the swords of Joseph's sons; his good words are as victorious as his sword; his pacification of friends, better than his execution of enemies. — SCOTT: In those things which pertain to the truth, authority, and glory of God, Christians should be unmoved as the sturdy oak; but in the little concerns of their own interest or reputation, they should resemble the pliant willow, that yields to every gust. — HENRY: Very great and good men must expect to have their patience tried, by the unkindnesses and follies even of those they serve, and must not think it strange. — BUSH: The incidents mentioned afford a striking illustration of two emphatic declarations of Scripture: 1. That "only by pride cometh contention;" and, 2. That "for every right work a man is envied of his neighbor." — TR.]

Succoth and Penuel refuse supplies to Gideon while in pursuit of the Midianitish kings. The kings surprised and captured. The punishment of the traitorous cities and the captured kings.

CHAPTER VIII. 4-21.

4 And Gideon came to [the] Jordan, and passed over, he, and the three hundred
5 men that were with him, faint [hungry], yet pursuing them [omit: them]. And he
said unto the men of Succoth, Give, I pray you, loaves of bread unto the people
that follow me: for they be faint [hungry], and I am pursuing after Zebah and Zal-
6 munna, kings of Midian. And the princes of Succoth said, Are the hands of Zebah
and Zalmunna now [already] in thine hand,¹ that we should give bread unto thine
7 army? And Gideon said, Therefore when the Lord [Jehovah] hath delivered
Zebah and Zalmunna into mine hand, then I will tear [thresh] your flesh with the
8 [omit: the] thorns of the wilderness and with briers. And he went up thence to
Penuel, and spake unto them likewise: and the men of Penuel answered him as
9 the men of Succoth had answered him. And he spake also unto the men of
Penuel, saying, When I come again [return] in peace, I will break [tear] down
10 this tower. Now Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor, and their hosts [host]²
with them, about fifteen thousand men, all that were left of all the hosts [host] of
the children [sons] of the east: for [and] there fell [had fallen] an hundred and

11 twenty thousand men that drew sword. And Gideon went up by the way of them that dwelt [dwell] in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah, and smote the host: 12 for [while] the host was [thought itself] secure. And when [omit: with] Zebah and Zalmunna fled, [and] he pursued after them, and took the two kings of Midian, 13 Zebah and Zalmunna, and discomfited [terrified] all the host. And Gideon the son of Joash returned from [the] battle [war] before the sun *was up* [from the Ascent 14 of the Sun].³ And [he] caught a young man [a boy] of the men of Succoth, and inquired of him: and he described unto [wrote down for] him the princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, *even* threescore and seventeen men. And he came 15 unto the men of Succoth, and said, Behold Zebah and Zalmunna, with [as to] whom ye did upbraid [mock] me, saying, *Are the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna now [already] in thine hand, that we should give bread unto thy men that are* 16 *weary [hungry]?* And he took the elders of the city, and thorns of the wilderness, 17 and briers, and with them he taught [gave a lesson to] the men of Succoth. And he 18 beat [tore] down the tower of Penuel, and slew the men of the city. Then said he [And he said] unto Zebah and Zalmunna, What manner of men *were they* whom ye slew at Tabor? And they answered, As thou *art, so were they*; each one 19 resembled [looked like] the children [sons] of a king. And he said, *They were* my brethren, *even* the sons of my mother: *as the Lord [Jehovah] liveth, if ye had* 20 *saved them alive, I would not slay you.* And he said unto Jether his first-born, *Up, and slay them.* But the youth [boy] drew not his sword: for he feared. 21 because [for] he *was* yet a youth [boy]. Then Zebah and Zalmunna said, Rise thou, and fall upon [strike] us: for as the man *is, so is his strength.* And Gideon arose, and slew Zebah and Zalmunna, and took away the ornaments [moons] that *were* on their camels' necks.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 6. — Dr. Cassel: "Hast thou the fist of Zebah and Zalmunna already in thy hand," etc. Bertheau and Kell, in their commentaries, have the same rendering, merely changing Luther's plural, *Sind die Fauste*, to the singular.

פֶּסֶחַ is properly the hollow hand, the palm; accordingly the Dutch Version renders, rather awkwardly to be sure, "Is dan the handpalm van Zebah en Zalmunna alreede in uwe hand," etc. The word "fist," even if it did not somewhat alter the metaphor involved, lacks dignity in modern English, although it avoids the tameness of using "hand" twice. For an independent version, De Wette's would be better: "Hast thou then Zebah and Zalmunna already in thy hand," etc. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 10. — מִחֲתֵיבָם: singular, with plural suffix. Cf. Ges. *Gram.* Sect. 93, 9. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 13. — מִלְּמַגְלַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ. The above rendering takes no account of the ל. "At" would be better than "from." It is literally, "from at" the ascent of the sun. It indicates the point to which Gideon came, and at which he turned back. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 4-9. And Gideon came to the Jordan. The pride of Ephraim was not the only incident by which Gideon was taught that the liberation of his people required more than victory over its enemies: that its servitude consisted not merely in external subjection, but much more in the internal bondage of sin and unbelief. Gideon also experiences the truth, which the political history of all ages demonstrates, that the friends of the people and its true interests, do not always find their natural supporters in the people itself. Instead of confederates, they find obstructors and opponents. Was not Gideon's a national achievement, for the freedom and happiness of all? Is it not for all that he risks his life? For whom does he wage war even to extermination with Midian, but for all Israel? Was it anything unreasonable, that he asked Succoth, a considerable city, for some bread for the men who, notwithstanding the many hardships endured, had not ceased to follow their enthusiastic leader? — The Septuagint justly puts κενώπτες, hungry, for אֲרֵיבִים. The same word

(אֲרֵיבִים) is used by Esau, when he returns from thence, and sees the dish of lentiles (Gen. xxv. 30). Had the men been wearied, they could not have prosecuted the pursuit. But nutritious food would strengthen them. For that they longed. The term is not specific, like אֲרֵיבִים, but signifies need of physical nourishment. It includes thirst as well as hunger (cf. Job xxii. 7). — But what did Succoth? Instead of compassion and patriotic sympathy, it consulted its own petty interests. Succoth believed not; nor, consequently, saw God's hand in Gideon's victories. Materialism, which rather than risk a loss, will serve a foreign tyrant, is here depicted to the life. The magistracy of Succoth consider, not the duty to assist, but the danger which may result from such a siding with Gideon as would be implied in rendering him aid. For, not to mention that a quantity of bread costs something — and it is noticeable that while Gideon modestly intercedes for his "followers" (אֲרֵיבִים) they talk of his band as a host (אֲרֵיבִים), — there is a chance that Gideon may fail in his expedition.

Zebah and Zalmunna may possibly conquer and take vengeance. So do slaves speculate. Not so thought the German cities in 1813, when, driven by the hand of God, Napoleon fled from Russia; a disposition which, in spite of Davoust and Vandamme, brought victory to those cities. "Hast thou," they ask mockingly, "the fist of the kings already in thy hand?" The full hand, פֶּה , must be seized, in order to apply the fetters to captives.

This is the second time that Gideon encounters such folly among his people. But he instantly perceives that humility and gentleness like those shown towards Ephraim, would here be out of place. Ephraim had at all events done something, and had not refused assistance. Here were cowardice and treason combined. He does not, however, chastise them at once. Therein also he shows a soul penetrated by spiritual strength. He will not manifest personal resentment; he will show them that they have offended against the cause of God. He is sure of victory; but before he punishes them, they shall see that finished, the accomplishment of which they now doubt. When he shall appear before Succoth with Zebah and Zalmunna in fetters, they will no doubt be glad to give him bread; but then he will give them that to which now on his king-chase through the desert they refer him — he will thresh them with "thorns of the desert and with *barkanim*." Owing to the brevity of the narrative, which only gives the leading speeches, while it omits all transitions, it is not altogether clear why Gideon's threat against the inhabitants of Succoth takes the precise form of "thorns." The ingenious Kimchi thought that it was a play on the name of the city, since שֶׁבַח

(by the constant Chaldee substitution of ס for ש , שֶׁבַח , plur. שֶׁבֹת) means a thorn (Job xl. 31; cf. שֶׁבֹת , plural שֶׁבֹתִים). He even thinks that the name of the city may perhaps have been derived from this word. But, though such a word-play might not have been altogether at variance with the spirit of antiquity, it can scarcely be supposed to have such controlling influence in our passage.

For then why is not the word שֶׁבַח used by Gideon? But instead of it, other and rather remote terms are chosen. The choice of the punishment denounced seems to have a deeper reason. The magistracy of Succoth refuses bread: is not that of itself a mocking reference to the food which the desert affords? But what does Gideon find there? That which can nourish, not men, but at best only the camel, that marvel of the desert — acacia-thorns, thistles, tarfa-needles, springing up amid sand and rock. Shall he thresh these like grain, in order to bake bread? He requites their mockery, by promising with such thorns to belabor their flesh. Hence, the most probable explanation of

בְּרִיחֵי will continue to be that, which, after the constant exegetical tradition of the Jews, makes it thistles or thorns (Raschi explains it by the French *ronces*, briers), and the same as those already indicated by "thorns of the desert." The idea suggests itself that *lotse hamülbar* may only precede *barkanim* by way of explanation; in which case בְּרִיחֵי would have the sense of "namely:" "thorns

of the desert, namely *barkanim*."¹ For that *Barca* (*Barca*) designates stony *syrtes*, may be considered as made out (see on ch. i. 4). The thorns meant are probably those of the acacia, called *tah* by the Arabs, which cover the ground to such an extent, that many Arabs are accustomed to carry *thorn-extractors* about them (cf. Ritter, xiv. 207, 336).

That the threatened chastisement corresponds to the expressions made use of by the ungrateful citizens in reply to Gideon's request, is evident from the fact that, though he receives the same treatment from the inhabitants of Penuel, he does not threaten them with the same punishment. These, who deemed themselves secure in their tower, he promises to tear down that bulwark of their pride. $\text{בְּשֹׁבִי בְּשָׁלוֹם}$: not exactly, when I return in peace; but, when I return prosperously, with success and victory.

Vers. 10-12. And Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor. We are yet to trace the course of Gideon's pursuit. Succoth lay beyond the Jordan, for he came to it after crossing the river (ver. 4; cf. Josh. xiii. 27). It was, moreover, south of the Jabbok (*Zerka*), for the scene of Jacob's wrestling was north of that stream, he alone having remained behind, while his people had crossed over (Gen. xxxii. 23, 24). The place of the wrestling was afterwards occupied by Penuel. When morning had come, Jacob passed over the stream at Penuel (Gen. xxxii. 31), joined his family, met Esau, and afterwards came to Succoth, which was therefore south of the Jabbok. This position of Succoth agrees with that in which we left Gideon at his meeting with Ephraim. That tribe had guarded the Wady el Faria and the fords in its neighborhood. It was in the vicinity of this Wady that they met with Gideon, prosecuting the pursuit, and brought him the heads of the captured princes. Now, if he passed over at this point, he would land south of the Jabbok, and reach Succoth first. He then crossed the Jabbok, and came to Penuel. The hiding-place of the terrified enemy was no secret to him. There is in Haurân an almost unassailable place of refuge for the robber tribes — the volcanic rock-desert of Sâfa (both in the wider and narrower sense), concerning which some very valuable information is given by Wetstein. It embraces a fertile district, "a Ruhbeh, Paradise," for some months of the year, which is almost as inaccessible as Paradise. Says Wetstein (*Hauran*, p. 15, etc.): "Here is the stronghold of the Gêjât, and Stâye, and all the tribes of the eastern slope of the Haurân mountains." The people of Syria have a proverbial expression which says, "he fled into the Wa'r of the Sâfa," i. e., into an unassailable refuge. The Ruhbeh can only be reached by two roads, from the north and the south. The northern is especially dangerous; even in our own days hostile tribes have made inroads at Rigin el Mara. The Sâfa, and the whole of this terrible, rock-walled asylum, is what we are here to understand by the term קַרְקֹר , Karkor. For this word signifies ruins, destruction: cf. Num.

xxiv. 17: "he destroys — וְיָרֵקוּ — all the sons of Sheth." The same verb is used, Is. xxii. 5, of the destruction of walls; and in Talmudic as well as modern Hebrew וְיָרֵקוּ means destruction.²

1 Analogies to this word, such as μάχος , thorn = βράχος (cf. βαδινός and βραδινός , ρίγος and frigus), cannot here be further investigated. In Scandinavian dialects, *thamnus*, thornbush, is called *getbark* or *geitbark*.

2 Eusebius (*Onomast.*, Perthey, p. 252) does not say that this Karkor and Carcaria near Petra are one and the same place. Nor can they be the same, although the names may be similarly explained.

Such being the situation and topography of the place, the significance of the brief statement that the kings were in Karkor, becomes manifest. It not only explains the sense of security felt by the enemy, but also and especially displays the boldness, endurance, wisdom, and energy, with which Gideon followed them into their hiding-place. We can still trace his route; for it passed to the east of Nobah and Jogbehah. Nobah is the same as Kenath (Num. xxxii. 42), which again is the Kanatha of Roman times, and the Kanvât of the present. He who is north of the Jabbok, and passes east of Kanvât, if he be in search of an enemy retired to his hiding-place, must be bound for the Sâfa. But Jogbehah also can be identified. Since Gideon's way is said to have gone to the east of "Nobah and Jogbehah,"¹ the latter must have lain further north than the other, and there is thus the more reason for regarding it as the same with Jobbah, the Shôbah of Setzen, Shuhubah of Buckingham (cf. Ritter, xv. 881), and Shubbah of Wetzstein.

Gideon's attack was so unexpected and sudden, that a renewed attempt at flight fails (ver. 12).

The host, it is said, הִתְרַדָּה: terror seized it, so that no resistance was offered, and the army surrendered. The celerity of this victorious career, and its results, finds many parallels in the history of the desert tribes. When Mehemet Ali, in 1815, fought against Asyr in Arabia, he pursued the defeated enemy with such haste, that all his stores of subsistence had to be left behind, and he himself was at last reduced to a diet of dates. But he was rewarded for this by the capture of the chiefs of his adversaries, and many others went over to him (cf. Ritter, xii. 932). But that for which no parallels can be adduced, is Gideon's aim, his cause for war, and the fewness of his enthusiastic warriors compared with the overwhelming numbers arrayed against him to the last. Even if the 120,000, lost by Midian in the course of their defeat, from the Hill of Morch to Karkor, were a round number, a stream of blood nevertheless marked the track of the smitten tyrants, as it marked that of Napoleon's retreat from Russia. It was probably from prisoners and wounded left behind, at Stations of Death, that Gideon learned the secret way into the rocky asylum, called "hell" by Arabic poets, on account of its volcanic formations, and now become a place of judgment for a seven years' oppression (ch. vi. 1; compare the period of 1806-1813 in German history).

Vers. 13-17. And Gideon, the son of Joash, returned from the war from the Ascent of the Sun. The addition Son of Joash, is here put to Gideon's name for the first time since his rising against idolatry. The glory of having finished the conflict, accrues to the family and name of Joash, because in the hour of danger he had sided with his son. For that the conflict is ended, was already indicated by ver. 10, which said that "all that were left" of the "whole host" were in Karkor. The victory over this remnant ended, not merely a battle, but הַמִּלְחָמָה, the war. The hero can now turn back, but not yet to his own house. He must first settle accounts with Succoth and Penuel. He comes to Succoth first. Had he returned the way he went, he must have reached Penuel first.

¹ Greek texts have a corrupt form 'Ieyβαλ. The Syrian version of Paul of Tella does not have the name at all (Rudam, p. 169).

² For which the Jewish expositors decide, because they assign the previous expedition to the night-time.

His design was evidently to surprise both places, but chiefly Succoth, so that when he came to punish, the scourge might fall only on the persons who had deserved it. Bearing this in mind, the

connection makes it clear that מִלְמַעְלָה הָרִים is not to be taken as a note of time,² sunrise, but of locality. It is designed to explain how Gideon comes to reach Succoth first, and from a direction from which the inhabitants did not expect him. Gideon everywhere displays that great quality of a general, the skill to baffle the calculations of his adversary. What sort of a locality "Maaleh Hacheres" was, the following hypothesis may perhaps indicate with some degree of probability. Succoth lay in the valley of the Jordan, the Ghor, הַבְּרֵיחַ

(Josh. xiii. 27). The expression מִלְמַעְלָה can only be used in connection with mountains (cf. "Maaleh Akrabim," ch. i. 36). The heights from which Gideon descended in order to reach Succoth, were the mountains east of the Jordan, which unfortunately are yet too little known. About the names, also, which in earlier and later periods they bore, we are very much in the dark. Now, in the territory of Reuben, we find (Josh. xiii. 19) a "Tsereth Hashachar on the Mountain of the Valley." The name הָרִים signifies the sun. "Sunrise" (מִזְרַח) always indicates the east side. Accordingly, in the passage just cited, we have a Tsereth Hashachar, i. e., "Splendor of the Dawn," on the mountains of the Ghor, in the east. It may therefore be assumed with great probability that the name "Ascent of the Sun" also was borne by the heights of the mountains east of the Jordan, whether those mountains were named "Sun" or "Sunrise" on local, or what is more probable on religious grounds.

As Gideon appeared quite unexpectedly, he succeeded in laying hold, unnoticed, of a boy, who *verote* down for him the names of those who composed the magistracy of the city. It is not without interest to observe that the boy (בֶּנֶר) could write, that he knew the names of the authorities, and that these numbered seven and seventy, of whom seven or five may be regarded as שְׂרֵי, princes, and seventy or seventy-two as elders. If the government of the city was in the hands of certain families, the boy would not find it difficult to give their names. The astonishment and terror of the inhabitants were doubtless great. The more haughty they had formerly been, the more terrified were they now. It is to be carefully noted that Gideon's purpose is to punish only the rulers of Succoth, and that after he has done it, the remark is made: וַיִּדַע אֶת אֲנָשֵׁי כְפֹת — "he taught the men of Succoth a lesson." This alone shows that the reading וַיִּדַשׁ, "he threshed," already proposed by Serarius, and again by Bertheau, is not to be approved. For the fact that "he took the elders of the city and the thorns," makes it clear that he cannot have chastised the people of Succoth. But he "made them — the whole people, — to know;" gave them a lesson which showed how badly their rulers had acted, and what penalties such distrust and selfishness

² That וַיִּדַע need not necessarily be written וַיִּדַע (Bertheau), and is found elsewhere, has already been justly remarked by Keil, who refers to Num. xvi. 5, and Job xxxii. 7.

cutail (which has been well apprehended by the Jewish expositors). At Penuel, however, which, having heard of the visitation of Succoth, had the folly to defend itself, the traitors lost their lives. It is truly admirable, how finely the narrative, with all its plainness, brings out the specially decisive points of view. Gideon went first to Succoth, because he did not wish to punish all the inhabitants, and it became necessary therefore to surprise the city, lest the guilty should escape, and to "catch a boy," who unreservedly gives him their names. His purpose as to Penuel requires no surprise — the tower cannot run away; and it is the folly of the inhabitants, that in defending it, they lose their lives as well as their tower.

Vers. 18–21. And he said to Zebah and Zalmunna. This took place on his arrival at home, *i. e.* in Israel, for his son Jether was present, who, being but a boy, cannot have shared in the heroic expedition. The place cannot, however, be definitely determined; perhaps it was his old battlefield, the plain of Jezreel, where the people came flocking together, in order to behold the terrible kings in fetters.

The closing scene of Gideon's dealings with these robber-kings, like every other in his history, is worthy of a hero who has been raised up to battle with the sword and mete out punishment. To spare the lives of enemies, especially of enemies so barbarous and cruel as these, was not the custom of antiquity, least of all in the east. Pyrrhus (in Seneca) says: *Lex nulla capto parcat aut penam impedit*; and even Josephus (*Ant. ix. 4, 3*) makes Elisha say — what, however, he never did say — that it is right to kill captives taken in a just war. But Gideon, who respects the royalty of his captives, enemies though they be, would gladly spare them, and believes himself obliged at least to show them why he cannot do it. Through this circumstance, we hear of an occurrence otherwise unknown — a fact which may suggest and cause us to regret how much other information has perhaps failed to reach us. The kings, it seems, had caught and slain on Mount Tabor the brothers of Gideon, sons of the same mother² as well as father with himself. It is probable that this took place after some earlier battle, engaged in by Manassch — but without God's help — against the invaders. They were put to death, though only engaged in defending their native land, and though — as Zebah and Zalmunna flatteringly say — they looked like Gideon, like men of royal blood. In their persons, therefore, "kingly bearing," stately presence and chivalrous valor, had not been respected; and shall Gideon spare those who were robbers and murderers of seven years' standing? Impossible! Gideon's sword has been whetted for the very purpose of administering righteous judgment. When Turnus entreated Æneas for his life, the latter, remembering that the former had slain Pallas, the son of Evander, and "*furiis accensus et ira terribilis*," exclaimed, "*Pallas te innotat*," etc., and thrust the spear into his heart (*Æneid*, xii. 949). And yet Turnus was a native of the country, and fought against aliens, and Pallas was neither son nor

brother of Æneas. The intimation that the family of Joash had previously already bled for Israel, throws a new light on the question why of all men Gideon was selected to be the conqueror. However, notwithstanding their ill deserts, he does not treat his captives cruelly. He neither makes them objects of taunt or insult, nor uses them for purposes of ostentation and self-glorification. He does not load them with ignominy, as Sapor is said to have done to the Roman Emperor Valerian, and, according to the legend in Eutychius, Galerius to a Sapor, and Tamerlane to Bajazet.³ The honor of the captives was sufficiently consulted, even when Gideon wished to make his eldest son the executor of his sentence. But he, a boy, and apparently of timid bearing, shrinks from drawing his sword against the mighty foemen, still distinguished by royal state and show. And truly, they must have been terrible warriors; they ask not for life, as Turnus and Homeric warriors do, but desire to be slain by the hand of an equal, and not to be hacked and hewn by the sword of a boy; for, say they, "as the man, so is his strength." They have no other request to make than that Gideon will kill them himself; and he complies with it — they fall by his sword. The "moons" which have hitherto ornamented their camels' necks, he now takes off; an evidence that even in captivity they have experienced kingly treatment. That he does not take them off until after the kings are dead, indicates that they are the special insignia of royalty, and crescent-shaped. Thus, according to Philostratus (lib. ii. cap. 1), Apollonius of Tyana received the convoy of a camel from the Persian king, which headed the train, and by a golden ornament on its face indicated its royal ownership. In the poem of Statius (cf. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. 17) the horse of Parthenopæus, the fabled assailant of Thebes, wears crescent-shaped ornaments (*lunata monilia*). Mention is made of an Arabic expression, which speaks of "moon-shaped camel ornaments" (Ritter, xii. 486). The ornament, in its peculiar shape, was evidently an escutcheon of the ancient Ishmaelites, who were worshippers of the moon (Herod. iii. 8), as Scripture also speaks of a son of Joktan, the progenitor of many Arab tribes, whose name was Jerah, moon (Gen. x. 26). The crescent of the Arabizing Ottomans of modern times may be referred to it as to its original. For the *lumule* also, which adorned the shoes of ancient Roman senators and nobles, and whose significance was obscure even to antiquity (Plut. *Quest. Rom.*, 73), had only the shape of the half-moon.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[HENRY: "Faint and yet pursuing;" much fatigued with what they had done, yet eager to do more. Our spiritual warfare must thus be prosecuted with what strength we have, though but little; it is many a time the true Christian's case, fainting, yet pursuing. — BR. HALL: It is hard if those who fight the wars of God may not have necessary relief; that whilst the enemy dies by them, they

1 Cf. Grotius, *De Jure Pacis et Belli*, lib. iii. 4, 10.

2 (BUSI: "In countries where polygamy is tolerated, the ties of brotherhood are, as might be expected, much more close and tender between those who are born of the same mother, than those who are connected only as the children of the same father. This explains why 'son of my mother' was among the Hebrews, as now among the Arabs and others, a far more endearing expression than that of 'my brother,' in the general sense." The same remarks hold

also of the tribes of Western Africa. Speaking of polygamy and family life among them, the Rev. J. G. Auer observes (*Spirit of Missions* for 1867, p. 729): "Children cleave to their mother more than to their father, and a full brother or sister is called 'my mother's child.'" — TR.]

3 [On the first of these stories, see Gibbon's *Decline*, etc., Milman's ed., Boston, i. 319; on the second, vol. vi. 271, note 58; on the third, vi. 267–71, with Milman's note on p. 271. — TR.]

should die by famine. If they had labored for God at home in peace, they had been worthy of maintenance; how much more now that danger is added to their toil?—THE SAME: Those that fight for our souls against spiritual powers, may challenge bread from us; and it is shameless unthankfulness to deny it.

THE SAME (on the punishment of Succoth): I know not whether more to commend Gideon's wisdom and moderation in the proceedings, than his resolution and justice in the execution of this business. I do not see him run furiously into the city, and kill the next; his sword has not been so drunken with blood, that it should know no difference; but he writes down the names of the princes, and singles them forth for revenge.—THE SAME: It is like, the citizens of Succoth would have been glad to succor Gideon, if their rulers had not forbidden. They must therefore escape, while their princes perish.—THE SAME (on Penuel): The place where Jacob wrestled with God and prevailed,

now hath wrestled against God and takes a fall; they see God avenged, which would not believe Him delivering.—WORDSWORTH: They who now despise the mercy of Christ as the Lamb, will hereafter feel the wrath of Christ as the Lion (Rev. v. 5).—BUSH: The whole of this remarkable transaction tends to inspire us with confidence in God, and to encourage our exertions in his cause; but there are two lessons especially which we shall do well to learn from it: 1. To prosecute our spiritual warfare under all discouragements ourselves; and 2. To be careful to put no discouragements in the way of others. God is indignant with those who would weaken the hands of his people.

BR. HALL: The slaughter of Gideon's brethren was not the greatest sin of the Midianitish kings; [yet] this alone shall kill them, when the rest [of their sins] expected an unjust remission. How many lewd men hath God paid with some one sin for all the rest!—SCOTT: Sins long forgotten must be accounted for to God.—Tr.]

Gideon refuses to be king. Prepares an ephod, which is followed by evil consequences. Gideon's death and burial.

CHAPTER VIII. 22-32.

- 22 Then [And] the men of Israel said unto Gideon, Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also: for thou hast delivered us from the hand of Midian. And Gideon said unto them, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the Lord [Jehovah] shall rule over you. And Gideon said unto them, I would desire a request of you, that you would give me every man the earrings [the ring]¹ of his prey. (For they had golden ear-rings [rings], because [for] they were Ishmaelites.) And they answered, We will willingly give them. And they spread a garment,² and did cast therein every man the ear-rings [ring] of his prey. And the weight of the golden ear-rings [rings] that he requested, was a thousand and seven hundred *shekels* of gold; beside [apart from the] ornaments [moons], and [the] collars [ear-drops], and [the] purple raiment [garments] that *was* [were] on the kings of Midian, and beside [apart from] the chains [collars] that *were* about their camels' necks. And Gideon made an ephod thereof, and put it in his city, *even* in Ophrah: and all Israel went thither [omit: thither] a whoring after it [there]: which thing [and it *i. e.* the ephod] became a snare unto Gideon, and to his house. Thus was Midian subdued [But Midian was humbled] before the children [sons] of Israel, so that they lifted up their heads no more. And the country was in quietness³ forty years in the days of Gideon. And Jerubbaal the son of Joash went and dwelt in his own house. And Gideon had threescore and ten sons of his body begotten: for he had many wives. And his concubine that *was* in Shechem, she also bare him a son, whose name he [they]⁴ called Abimelech. 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 Abiezrites.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 24.—**תְּרִיזִים**, ring; whether ear-ring or nose-ring, the word itself does not declare. Cassel and De Wette both render it by the singular (De Wette, *Ohring*). It is used as a collective, and simply indicates the class of ornaments desired, without any reference to the number which each man was supposed to have, or was expected to give. This indefinite singular is best rendered in English by the plural, as in E. V.—Tr.]

[2 Ver. 25.—**הַמָּוֶלֶת**: Dr. Cassel, *ein Gewand*, "a garment." The definite article simply indicates the garment used on the occasion. The term **הַמָּוֶלֶת**, though also used in the general sense of garment and raiment, is

specially applied to the outer garment, the mantle or cloak, cf. *Bib. Dict.*, s. v. "Dress." Being a four-cornered piece of cloth, it was quite suitable for the present purpose. — Ta.]

[8 Ver. 28. — וַתִּשְׁלַט הָאָרֶץ, "and the land rested." The E. V. departs here from its own previous renderings, see ch. iii. 11, 30; v. 31, where the Hebrew has the same words. — Ta.]

[4 Ver. 31. — וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ בְּרֵתָאֵם Dr. Cassel: *man nannte seinen Namen*. Bertheau also takes בְּרֵתָאֵם as the indeterminate 3d pers. (see Ges. *Gr.* 137, 8), and says: "the name sounds like a nickname, given him because his lordship was of such brief duration, and he so very far from being Father of a King." The difficulty is that the text gives no hint of a change of subject. But cf. the commentary below, and Keil's view in note on p. 140. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

An extraordinary victory had been gained — a triumph without a parallel. A glory surrounds Gideon in the eyes of Israel, such as had distinguished no one else within the memory of men. Who can stand beside him? How has the arrogance and vain-glory of Ephraim been put to shame! Having caught a couple of princes, already fleeing for their lives, they ceased from the conflict, though still far from finished. Gideon, whose courage began, and whose untiring energy prosecuted the war, has also finished it. He has captured and destroyed, not princes (פְּרִי) merely, but — as the narrative emphatically intimates — the kings (מְלִכֵי) themselves. And what kings! The chiefs of all Midian. Kings, therefore, whose defeat and capture was of the greatest consequence, as the narrative sufficiently indicates by the constant repetition of their names. Their names, also, like those of the "princes," are peculiar; those were borrowed from animals, these from "sacrifice" and "carved work." The latter therefore indicate perhaps the conjunction of priestly with royal authority. Nor did Gideon smite the hostile armies in his own country merely, but he ventured far into a strange land. To pursue a great army into the rock desert, and as it were drag the enemy out of his hiding-place, was an exploit of the most astounding character. Who but Gideon would have dared to enter the terrible Harra, there to seize his royal prey? Apart from this, how imposing his assurance, his wisdom, his moderation and strength! If men admired the discreetness of his answer to Ephraim, they were startled by the punishment of Succoth and Penuel, and the terrible recompense meted out to the kings. Success carries the day with the people: how surprising, grand, and dazzling was its form on this occasion! The people feel that now they have a man among them, who towers, not physically, but in soul and spirit, far above them all. No wonder that Israel, gathered from all quarters to see the hero and his captures, urgently presses him, and says: —

Ver. 22. **Rule over us, thou, thy son, and thy son's son.** This is the language of gratitude and admiration. Excited, and, like all multitudes, easily carried away by momentary impulses of joy and approval, they offer him the supreme authority, and even propose to make it hereditary. It is only done, however, in a storm of excitement. Nor do they propose that he shall be their מֶלֶךְ, but their מִשְׁלָל — not their King, but their Imperator. What they desire is to be not only for his honor, but also for their welfare. His family is to continue forever the champion of Israel. But in this vehement urgency of the moment, the people show how little they comprehend, notwithstanding this and many other great events of their history, to whom they are really indebted for victory. They show that

they regard the strength by which Gideon has conquered to be physical, rather than moral. Thou shalt rule, for thou hast delivered us from Midian. They fail to perceive the contradiction to which they give utterance when they talk of an hereditary "Judge," or as they word it, "ruler." It belongs to the essence of a Judge, that he be raised up by the Spirit, and filled with the strength of God. He is God's military ambassador to a people that has no king. Not the people, but God, had made Gideon what he was — their military leader and commander. His children will not be able to lead the nation, unless they also are called by God. The kingship is hereditary, because it rests on the broad basis of established order, and not merely on the endowments of extraordinary persons. The divinely inspired imperator can at most transmit only his treasures. It was not without a purpose that the narrative told of the timid boy, Jether, Gideon's first-born. Will he — if God do not call him — be able to smite the Midianites? and if he be not able, will the men of Israel obey him? None the less great, however, was the temptation for Gideon. He on whom but recently Ephraim looked superciliously down, has now the offer of dominion over Israel laid at his feet. It requires more strength to resist the allurements of proffered power, than to defeat an enemy. But Gideon is a great man, greater than Washington, to whom absolute dominion was not offered, and who accepted the Presidency because he would obey "the voice of the people," saying as he did so, that "no people could be more bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, than the people of the United States" (cf. *Marshall's Life of Washington*, ii. 146).

Ver. 23. **And Gideon said unto them, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: Jehovah shall rule over you.** God — not "Elohim," but "Jehovah," the God of Israel — is your only Imperator. With this he repels the idea that he was the sole and real conqueror, as also the supposition that any others than those whom God calls can be of service. He declares, moreover, that God must be obeyed, because He is the Ruler; and that as in this war against Midian victory was gained only because his (Gideon's) orders were followed, so victory will always be contingent on obedience to God.

With these words Gideon worthily crowns his heroic deeds; and there he should have stopped. But the moment that he connects the cause of God with a measure of his own, albeit with the best intentions, he falls into error, and without designing it leads the people astray.

Vers. 24–26. **Give me, every man, the ring of his booty.** Since the rings were taken from men, they must be understood to be ear-rings, the use of which, especially among the ancients, was to a great extent common to both men and women. In Ceylon and among the Burmese, the perforation of the ears is to this day, for both sexes, a religious ceremony; just as the habit of wearing rings

did not have its origin solely in desire for finery. The observations of modern travellers among the Arabs, are confined to female ornaments, but "sons" also wore such rings as are here mentioned, even among the Israelites (Ex. xxxii. 2). Plautus (*Pœnulus*, v. 2, 32) says jeeringly of the Carthaginians: "*Digito in manibus non habent, quia incedunt cum annulatis auribus*" (cf. Serarius). The explanation, "they had golden rings, for they were Ishmaelites,"¹ is to be referred, not to the rings, but to the material of which they were made. It calls attention to the love of finery and splendor which then as now characterized the Arab tribes,² and at the same time accounts for the wealth of gold implied in the possession of so many rings of that metal by the Midianitish army. Gold is still extensively used by the Arabs for the same purposes (cf. Ritter, xiv. 415, etc.; xv. 828, etc.).

The army must have been pervaded by thorough, even though temporary, enthusiasm for their heroic leader, since they willingly gave up the most valuable part of the booty, without knowing but that he wanted it for personal use. Accordingly, an abundance of gold rings were brought together. Now, for the first time, was Israel astounded at the magnitude of the spoil; now was it seen that the man who formerly ranked his harvest second to the gleanings of Ephraim, had obtained glory and wealth beyond comparison. For not only were 1,700 shekels of gold handed over to him at this time, but to him also belonged (for ver. 26 speaks only of his possessions) the moons (ver. 21), the

נְּטִיפוֹת, and the purple garments of the kings, and the decorations of their camels. The נְּטִיפוֹת are ear-pendants, made of pearls and precious stones,³ peculiar to their kings, in distinction from the simple rings worn by all other Midianites. The name signifies a "drop," which the pearl resembled. The Greek *σταλάγμαον*, with which Gesenius compares it, I have met with only in Plautus (*Mœchmœi*, iii. 3) as *stalagma*. The monument of Cyrus was adorned with ear-pendants of precious stones (Arrian, vi. 29). Procopius represents the Persian king Pherozes with a costly pearl hanging from his right ear (Brisson, *De Regno Pers.*, p. 83). Among the Indians, persons of distinction wore precious stones in their ears (Curtius, viii. 9, 21). In the Ramayana it is stated, that in Ayodhya no one was without ear-pendants (*akundali*) and other ornaments (Bohlen, *Ates Indien*, ii. 170). — Great wealth stood now at Gideon's command; but he had no thought of appropriating the gifts of the men of Israel to himself. All that he retained was the booty which had fallen to him from the Midianitish kings. Hannibal also, caused the rings of the Roman knights who fell at Cannæ to be collected by the

peck (Liv. xxiii. 12), — but Gideon has no Punic ends in view.

Vers. 27, 28. **And Gideon made an ephod thereof.**⁴ The high-priestly significance of the ephod is clearly explained in Ex. xxviii. It is the special sacred garment, by which Aaron and his sons are distinguished as priests. With the ephod, the breastplate is connected, fastened to it by strings, and not to be displaced (Ex. xxviii. 28). This garment, with the breastplate, the high priest wears in the sanctuary. With it therefore are connected the Urim and Thummim, through which divine instructions are imparted, and to which, after the death of Moses and Joshua, Israel applies for directions. It is this high-priestly character of the ephod, and the gift of prophetic communication through the Urim and Thummim of its breastplate (cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 7), that explains the consecration of such a garment by Gideon. Its procurement is closely connected with the words: "Jehovah shall rule over you." The people has been saved by God's revelation of Himself to Gideon. To his service, therefore, the choicest of the spoil must be devoted. Not on man, but on Him, is hope to be built. He will say what the people are to do. Through the priestly ephod, the heavenly King will speak, and rule his obedient people. The consecration of the ephod, therefore, as that with which the Urim and Thummim are connected, expresses the truth that God governs; and is Gideon's declaration that He, and not any human Imperator, is to be honored.

Thus far, Gideon's action was blameless, and worthy of his faith. But he "deposited⁵ the ephod in his city, in Ophrah." Now, Ophrah was not the seat of the common sanctuary, the tabernacle, nor of the national priesthood. And though the priestly family of that day may have been in a decline, though the tribe of Ephraim, among whom it had at that time its principal seat, gave unequivocal evidence of unbelieving pride, on which account alone Gideon might hesitate to commit the oracle to their keeping; yet, all these reasons, however indicative of spiritual wisdom, were not sufficient to authorize the consecration of an ephod, and the establishment of a priesthood, in Ophrah. It was the inauguration of a separate sanctuary, the establishment, so to speak, of an opposition ephod, under the controlling influence of Gideon. The ecclesiastical centre of Israel was thus severed from the tabernacle. The hero, notwithstanding his personal fidelity to God, evinces herein conceptions of Israel's calling too subjective to be secure against disastrous error. The result soon makes this apparent.

And all Israel went a whoring after it. The expositions of recent interpreters, who ascribe to Gideon the erection of a golden calf, are founded

1 BERTHEAU: "Ishmaelites is the general name of a number of tribes, among whom the Midianites, though according to Gen. xxv. 2, not descended from Ishmael, but from Keturah, were also reckoned, cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28; xxxix. 1." — See also above, on ch. vi. 1. — Tr.]

2 WELLSIEDER ("Reisen in Arabien," i. 224, quoted by Kell): — "The women in Omân squander considerable sums in the purchase of silver ornaments, and their children are literally laden with them. I have sometimes counted fifteen ear-rings on each side, and head, breast, arms, and ankles, were adorned with equal profusion." — Tr.]

3 In Silius Italicus also (*Pœnica*, xli. 231), we find, "*In aure lapis, rubrus adjectus ab oris*."

4 KELL: "It is not necessary so to understand this, as if the 1,700 shekels (fifty lbs.) of gold were worked up into the ephod, but only that the expense of making it was

deprived with this money." — WORDSWORTH: "The immense quantity of gold was probably bestowed not only on the robe itself, but on the chains andouches, and settings of the stones on the shoulders, and on the breastplate, and on the setting of the stones therein; and perhaps also in the purchase of the precious stones for the shoulders, and for the workmanship of the whole." — Tr.]

5 יָצַק. On this word compare Kell on this passage.

[Kell remarks: "יָצַק יָצַק" does not say, he set it up; but may as well mean, he preserved it, in his city Ophrah, יָצַק is nowhere used of the erection of an image or statue; and signifies, not only to place, but also to lay down (e. g. ch. vi. 37), and to let stand, leave behind, Gen. xxxiii. 15." — Tr.]

in utter misapprehension. The use of rings by Aaron in casting his idol, was simply the result of his having no other gold, and has surely no tendency to establish a necessary connection between the collection of rings and the casting of golden calves. The establishment by the recreant Micah, in the closing part of our Book, of "an ephod and a graven image," is itself evidence that he who only consecrated an ephod, did not erect an image. Gideon, with the words "Jehovah shall rule!" on his lips, cannot intend to give up that for which he has risked his life—fidelity towards the God who will have no graven images. The erection of an idol image is the worst of sins. It was from that very sin that Gideon had delivered his people; he was the Contender against Baal, the destroyer of idol altars,—the man who would not even suffer himself to be made Imperator, an idol of the people. Gideon continues faithful to the moment of his death, which he reaches in a good old age. If, nevertheless, Israel goes a whoring after the ephod, this was no part of Gideon's wish; still, the snare was of his laying, because he placed the ephod "in his own house." He thought that by that means the people would better remember from what distress they had been delivered; but it is the nature of the multitude to pervert even faith into superstition. They come to Ophrah with worship and prayer for direction, because this particular ephod is there—not because they seek to honor God, but because this is Gideon's ephod. They regard not the word which issues from the breast-plate to him who believes in God, but only the fact that the ephod is made of the spoils of Midian. Thus they turn Gideon's faith into superstition; and Israel's moral strength, instead of being increased, is weakened. The unwholesome desire has been excited to present worship, not in the customary place, but wherever the subjective sense of novelty allures the worshipper. If Gideon had not consecrated the ephod in his house, it had not become a snare for Israel. It helped him indeed to retain the leadership of Israel, under the supremacy of Jehovah; but by it, discarding as it did the lawful priesthood, he led the people astray into an historical subjectivism instead of establishing them in their objective faith, and thus prepared the way for apostasy. For what but apostasy could follow at his death, when the popular faith became thus connected with his person, his government, and the ephod in his house? The hero erred, when he also made himself a priest. His house fell, because he undertook to make it a temple for the people. The ephod with the breast-plate became a snare, because the God of Israel is not to be led by Gideon, but Gideon by Him—even though there be no ephod in his house.¹

The renewed apostasy, however, for which the way was thus prepared, manifested itself only in the sequel. As long as Gideon lived, his powerful spirit kept the enemy in fear, and the people at rest. The effects of his achievement lasted forty years, although the hero, refusing dominion, had retired as a private person to his house and stayed there,—unlike Washington, who, though at the

end of the war he returned with "inexpressible delight" to his country-seat at Mount Vernon on the Potomac, yet soon left it again, to become President of the new republic.

Vers. 29–32. And Jerubbaal, the son of Joash, went and dwelt in his own house. The surname Jerubbaal has not again called for attention, since the events which gave rise to it. But now, that Gideon's work is finished, the narrative, with a subtlety of thought that is surprising, speaks of him under this name. It was given him because he had overthrown the altar of Baal, for which the superstitious populace expected to see the vengeance of Baal overtake him (ch. vi. 32). The result shows that Baal is nothing. Gideon has smitten him and his servants, and is covered with success and glory. "There goes"—so speak the people among themselves—"Jerubbaal into his house; the greatest man in Israel, because he smote Baal." Baal is impotent against the faithful and valiant. Victory constantly attends his enemies, for God is with them. May this truth never be forgotten by our own people and princes! As long as he continued to live, Gideon had everything that ministered to fame and happiness in Israel—many sons, peace, riches, and a "good old age." The last expression is used of no one else but Abraham (Gen. xxv. 8); for of David it is employed not by the Book of Kings, but only by the late Chronicles (1 Chron. xxix. 28). The "goodness" of his old age consisted in his seeing the blessed results of his great deed of faith, continuing unbroken and unchanged as long as he lived. Nevertheless, the narrative already hints at the shadow which after his death darkened his house. In Shechem, a concubine bore him a son, whom they called Abimelech. אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, I think, refers not to Gideon, but indefinitely to those about the concubine; for it was in Shechem that the name originated. Gideon, who would not "rule," much less be king, would not have named his son, "My Father is King." On the other hand, it was but natural that the vanity of the concubine, when she bore a son to the great Gideon, the man of royal reputation and distinction, would gladly consent to have him named Abimelech.² This vanity of Shechem is the foundation of the coming tragedy.

Of no previous hero has the account been so extended. It is even mentioned that he was buried in his father's sepulchre, in the family vault. That also is a sign of his happy and peaceful end. Here also, as always at the close, the name of the hero's father is associated with his own, as a tribute of honor for the support he once afforded his son (ch. vi. 31); beyond this, however, nothing is recorded of him. Gideon, as conqueror, dwelt no longer in his father's house, but in his own (ver. 29); but at death he is buried in his father's tomb. In that tomb, the glory of Manasseh sleeps; he in whom, tradition declares, the blessing of Jacob on this grandson was fulfilled, and of whom the Midrash says, that what Moses was at an earlier time, that Gideon was in his.

¹ With this explanation of the ephod and its consequences, the old Jewish expositors agree. The Midrash (*Jalkut*, ii. n. 64) gives a profound hint, when it opposes the tribe-feeling of Gideon, as a member of Manasseh, to that of Ephraim. However, even that was already regarded as a species of "unclan service."

² Keil interprets the name as meaning "Father of a King" (*Königsvater*), and says: "אֲבִימֶלֶךְ אֶת־שֵׁמוֹ" *אֲבִימֶלֶךְ*

is not the same as אֶת־שֵׁמוֹ הָרָא, to give one a name, to name him, but signifies to give one a by-name, to surname him, cf. Neh. ix. 7; Dan. v. 12 (Chald.). It follows from this, that Gideon gave Abimelech this name as a surname suitable to his character; consequently, not at his birth, but afterwards, as he grew up and developed characteristics which suggested it.—Tr.]

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Gideon puts kings to flight, pursues them like wild beasts to their dens, slays them with his own hand — an honor not allowed to Barak, — but himself will be no king. Dominion belongs to God, he says; for the victory was of God. It is not majorities that make a king in Israel, but the call of God by the mouth of his prophets. What Gideon had won, was not his. How should he take God's title, to whom everything in Israel belongs? So long as we render God what belongs to Him, we shall also have what properly falls to us. When Gideon inaugurated his ephod, he desired an honor for his house; and this only honor which he sought for himself, beyond that which he already had, proved the downfall of his house after him. Let us therefore seek first the kingdom of God: all other things will come of themselves. So soon as we seek to honor and immortalize ourselves beside God, our labor proves vain, and our glory falls into the dust.

Lisco: Gideon refuses to accede to the proposal of the people, because he is conscious that everything is to be ascribed only to the Lord, and that it would be nothing else than arbitrariness and self-seeking to accept the royal dignity without special direction from above. — GELLACH: He rejects the offered crown from genuine fidelity to the Lord whom alone he serves; but another temptation he fails to withstand.

[HENRY: They honestly thought it very reasonable, that he who had gone through the toils and

perils of their deliverance, should enjoy the honor and power of commanding them ever after; and very desirable, that he who in this great and critical juncture had had such manifest tokens of God's presence with him, should ever after preside in their affairs. Let us apply it to the Lord Jesus; He hath delivered us out of the hand of our enemies, our spiritual enemies, the worst and most dangerous, therefore it is fit He should rule over us; for how can we be better ruled, than by One that appears to have so great an interest in heaven, and so great a kindness for this earth? — BR. HALL: That which others plot and sue, and swear and bribe for (dignity and superiority), he seriously rejects, whether it were for that he knew God had not yet called them to a monarchy, or rather for that he saw the crown among thorns. Why do we ambitiously affect the command of these mole-hills of earth, when wise men have refused the proffers of kingdoms? Why do we not rather labor for that kingdom which is free from all cares, from all uncertainty?

WORDSWORTH: Gideon's history is a warning that it requires more than a good intention to make a good act; and that the examples of the best of men are not a safe guide of conduct; and the better the man is, the more will be the consequences of bad acts done by him. The only right rule of life is the Law of God. — THE SAME: Gideon is numbered among the saints of God in the epistle to the Hebrews (ch. xi. 32); but the saints of God were men, and no man is free from some blemish of human infirmity. — TR.]

Apostasy from God, and ingratitude to man.

CHAPTER VIII. 33-35.

- 33 And it came to pass as soon as Gideon was dead, that the children [sons] of
Israel turned again, and went a whoring after [the] Baalim, and made Baal-berith
34 their god. And the children [sons] of Israel remembered not the Lord [Jehovah]
their God, who had delivered them out of the hands of all their enemies on every
35 side: Neither showed they kindness to the house of Jerubbaal, *namely*, Gideon
[Jerubbaal Gideon],¹ according to all the goodness² which he had showed unto
Israel.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 35. — The word *namely* is added by the translators, who supposed, as Bertheau does, that the writer designed more to point out the identity of Gideon with Jerubbaal. Cf. the Com. — TR.]

[2 Ver. 35. — נִשְׁכַּחְתָּם לְיָהוָה: Dr. Cassel: *trotz aller Wohlthat*, "notwithstanding all the good." The "notwithstanding" lies perhaps in the thought, but not in the language. — TR.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 33, 34. And it came to pass as soon as Gideon was dead. The fact soon became manifest that the people had been raised only by the personal character of Gideon; he is scarcely dead, before they fall back again. The narrator says sharply נִשְׁכַּחְתָּם, "they returned." The same word which elsewhere describes the turning of the people towards God, is here used to indicate their passion for sin. *Ad vomitum redierunt*, as Serarius well remarks.

And went a whoring after the Baalim, and made Baal-berith their god. Nothing could put the stupid thoughtlessness of the people in a stronger light. They have become great and free through victory over Baal; and now they again run after him. Jerubbaal — the contender with Baal — has just died, and they enter into covenant with Baal (see on ch. ix. 4). That the nations in the Baal-covenant (Baal-berith) kept the peace towards them, was because Jehovah had given them victory, — and lo! they make idols their god! The error of Gideon, in supposing that by setting up

his ephod he could preserve the people, now shows itself. Since he is dead, in whom they conceived their salvation to be personified, they think neither of the spoils out of which the ephod was made, nor of him who procured them. Ingratitude is the parent of all unbelief. Thankfulness comes from thought.¹ Israel thinks not on the God who has delivered it from all its enemies; how then should it think on the human hero when he has passed away. They withhold obedience from the God of their fathers; what recognition can they have for the house of their benefactor. The ephod, to be sure, was still in Ophrah; but who that despises the sanctuary of Moses and Joshua, will respect this private institute of Gideon, when his voice has ceased to be heard.

Ver. 35. Neither showed they kindness to the house of Jerubbaal Gideon. In the name Jerubbaal, all the hero's meritorious service, and its great results, are enunciated. For that reason the narrator mentions it here. It serves to aggravate the sinfulness of Israel's ingratitude, and to show that he who enters the service of Baal, will also ignore his obligations towards those who contend with Baal. The people are unwilling to be reminded that to fight against Baal brings prosperity. They seek to forget everything that admonishes to repentance. It has always been the

1 [The German is, "*Dank kommt vom Denken.*" It is interesting to observe, whether the author meant to suggest it or not, that the remark is sound etymology as well as psychology. Grimm (*Wörterb.* ii. pp. 727, 927) derives both

case, that those who apostatize from God, do not do well by the "house" of God. — **Notwithstanding all the benefits which he had shown unto Israel.** The narrator intimates that the endeavor of Gideon to perpetuate, by means of the ephod, the religious and godly memory of his deeds, was altogether vain. For let no one imagine that where God's own deeds fail to command remembrance and gratitude, those of men, however deserving, can maintain themselves against the sinful sophistry of unbelief.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[HENRY: Gideon being dead, the Israelites found themselves under no restraint, and went after Baalim. They went first after another ephod (ver. 27), for which Gideon had himself given them too much occasion, and now they went after another god. False worships made way for false deities. — SCOTT: As we all need so much mercy from our God, we should learn the more patiently to bear the ingratitude of our fellow-sinners, and the unsuitable returns we meet with for our poor services, and to resolve, after the divine example, "not to be overcome of evil, but to overcome evil with good." — Tr.]

dank and *denken* from "the lost root *dinke, danc, dünken,*" expressive "of an action of the mind, a movement and uplifting of the soul." *Thank* and *think* belong, of course, to the same root. — Tr.]

FIFTH SECTION.

THE USURPED RULE OF ABIMELECH, THE FRATRICIDE AND THORN-BUSH KING.

The election and coronation of Abimelech. Jotham's parable.

CHAPTER IX. 1-21.

- 1 And Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal went to Shechem unto his mother's brethren, and communed with [spake unto] them, and with [unto] all the family of the
- 2 house of his mother's father, saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men [lords]¹ of Shechem, Whether [Which] is better for you, either [omit: either] that all the sons of Jerubbaal, *which are* threescore and ten persons, reign [rule] over you, or that one reign [rule] over you?² remember also that I *am* your bone and
- 3 your flesh. And his mother's brethren spake of him in the ears of all the men [lords] of Shechem all these words: and their hearts inclined to follow [inclined
- 4 after] Abimelech; for they said, He is our brother. And they gave him threescore and ten *pieces* of silver out of the house of Baal-berith, wherewith Abimelech hired vain [lit. empty, i. e. loose, worthless] and light [wanton, reckless] persons, which, [and
- 5 they] followed him. And he went unto his father's house at Ophrah, and slew his brethren the sons of Jerubbaal, *being* threescore and ten persons, upon one stone: notwithstanding, yet [and only] Jotham the youngest son of Jerubbaal was left;
- 6 for he hid himself. And all the men [lords] of Shechem gathered together, and all the house of Millo [all Beth-millo], and went and made Abimelech king, by the
- 7 plain [oak] of the pillar [monument]³ that was in [is near] Shechem. And when [omit: when] they told it to Jotham, [and] he went and stood in [on] the top of

mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice, and cried, and said unto them, Hearken unto me, ye men [lords] of Shechem, that God may hearken unto you.⁴ The trees went forth *on a time* to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive-tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive-tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness,⁵ wherewith by me they honour God and man,⁶ and go to be promoted [go to wave] over the trees? And the trees said to the fig-tree, Come thou, and reign over us. But the fig-tree said unto them, Should I forsake⁵ my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to be promoted [to wave] over the trees? Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou, and reign over us. And the vine said unto them, Should I leave⁵ my wine [must], which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted [to wave] over the trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble [thornbush], Come thou, and reign over us. And the bramble [thornbush] said unto the trees, If in truth [i. e. in good earnest] ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust [take shelter] in my shadow: and [but] if not, let fire come out of the bramble [thornbush], and devour the cedars of Lebanon. Now therefore, if ye have done truly and sincerely, in that ye have made Abimelech king, and if ye have dealt well with Jerubbaal and his house, and have done unto him according to the deserving of his hands: (For my father fought for you, and adventured his life far,⁷ and delivered you out of the hand of Midian: And ye are risen up against my father's house this day, and have slain his sons, three score and ten persons, upon one stone, and have made Abimelech, the son of his maid-servant, king over the men [lords] of Shechem, because he is your brother:) If ye then have dealt truly and sincerely with Jerubbaal and with his house this day, then rejoice ye in Abimelech, and let him also rejoice in you: But if not, let fire come out from Abimelech, and devour the men [lords] of Shechem, and the house of Millo [and Beth-millo]; and let fire come out from the men [lords] of Shechem, and from the house of Millo [from Beth-millo], and devour Abimelech. And Jotham ran away, and fled, and went to Beer, and dwelt there, for fear of Abimelech his brother.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 2. — **בְּעֵלַי**: used interchangeably with **אֲנֹשִׁי**, cf. ver. 46 with 49; 2 Sam. xxi. 12, with ii. 4, 5. See also ch. xx. 5, and Josh. xxiv. 11. Dr. Cassel: *Herren*: De Wette, and many others, *Bürger*, "citizens." — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 2. — The E. V. unnecessarily departs from the order of the Hebrew, and thereby obscures the antithesis which is primarily between "seventy" and "one," and secondarily between "sons of Jerubbaal" and "your bone and flesh," thus: "Which is better for you, that seventy men, all sons of Jerubbaal, rule over you, or that one man rule over you? Remember, also," etc. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 6. — **קַלַּל**: The explanation of **הַלְלוּ מַצֵּב** is doubtful. **מַצֵּב**, anything 'set up,' is in Isa. xxix. 3 a military post [garrison], but may also mean a monument, and designates here probably the great stone set up (Josh. xxiv. 2) under the oak or terebinth near Shechem (cf. Gen. xxxv. 4).⁷ De Wette also renders: *Denkmal-Eiche*, "monument-oak." — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 7. — Dr. Cassel translates: "and may God hear you." This is very well, but hardly in the sense in which he takes it, see below. Whether we translate as in the E. V., or as Dr. Cassel, the realization of the second member of the address must be regarded as contingent upon that of the first. — Tr.]

[5 Vers. 9, 11, 13. — **הִחַדְלֵתִי אֶת־הַשְּׂנֵי**. According to Ewald (*Gram.*, 51 c.) **הִחַדְלֵתִי** is a contracted hiplial form (for **הִחַדְלֵתִי**), the second **ה** being dropped in order to avoid the concurrence of too many gutturals, and the resulting **הִחַדְרֵתִי** (cf. Ges. *Gr.* 22, 4) being changed into **הִחַדְרֵתִי** in order to distinguish the interrogative particle more sharply. Others regard it as hophal (see Green, 53, 2, b). But as there are no traces anywhere else of either of these conjugations in this verb, it is commonly viewed as a simple kal form = **הִחַדְלֵתִי**. Kell seeks to explain the anomalous vowel under **ה** by saying that "the obscure o-sound is substituted for the regular a in order to facilitate the pronunciation of successive guttural syllables." Dr. Cassel renders: "Have I then lost [better: given up] my fatness?" But as the notion of futurity must manifestly be contained in the following **וְהִלַּכְתִּי**, the ordinary rendering, "Should I give up?" is preferable. — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 9. — **אֲשֶׁר־בִּי יִכְבְּדוּ אֱלֹהִים וְאָנְשִׁים**: "which God and men honor (esteem) in me." Compare ver. 13. Dr. Cassel renders as the E. V. — Tr.]

[7 Ver. 17. — **וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ מִבְּנֵי**: literally, "cast his life from before (him); cf. the marginal reading of the E. V.: i. e. "disregarded his own life." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. Shechem was a chief city in Ephraim (cf. Josh. xxiv. 1). That tribe still continued to

be jealous of the consideration to which under Gideon Manasseh had attained. Though Gideon was now dead, the ephod was still in Ophrah, and the house of Gideon continued to hold a certain

degree of authority. The narrative distinguishes between the sons of Gideon and Abimelech. While ch. viii. 30 states that Gideon had seventy sons by "many wives" (רַב־נָשִׁים), ver. 31 remarks that the mother of Abimelech was a concubine (שִׁפָּהוּת), in Shechem.¹ Just this son, an Ephraimite on his mother's side, bore the name of Abimelech, "My Father is King." The origin of that lust after power, which manifests itself in his wild and ambitious heart, is thus psychologically explained.

Vers. 2, 3. **For they said, He is our brother.** Abimelech, when he turned to Shechem with his criminal plans, was perfectly acquainted with the vain-glorious lust after power indulged in by the Ephraimites. He knew that it irritated them, to hear of the "rule of the seventy sons of Gideon." Gideon, it is true, desired no dominion, nor could his sons exercise it; but the centre of distinction was nevertheless at Ophrah, in his house, where the ephod was. The negotiations into which Abimelech now enters with Shechem are very instructive. They show, first, that the distinction which the ephod conferred on the house of Gideon, although it implied no claim to dominion, properly speaking, was yet the very thing which, by exciting-envy, became a snare to that house; and, secondly, that Shechem, as Gideon's heir, will nevertheless not surrender this distinction, but desires to transfer it to one of its own people. The narrative is throughout of a tragic cast. Precisely those things which should exhort to greatness and faithfulness, are shamefully metamorphosed by sin into incentives to treason and mischief. In the hearts of the "lords of Shechem," no voice of truth or justice raises itself against the unnatural plan of Abimelech. They convict him not of falsehood, by pointing out that his brothers do not exercise dominion, but support his project, because he is their brother, and by him they will rule. It is manifest that the whole of Shechem is morally depraved. As Abimelech, so his kindred; and as they, so all the Shechemites were disposed.

Vers. 4, 5. **And they gave him seventy silver-pieces out of the house of Baal-berith.** Israel was forbidden to enter into covenant (*berith*) with the nations round about (cf. ch. ii. 2). The first symptom of apostasy among them, was always the inclination to remove the barriers between themselves and their heathen neighbors. The concessions required to make the establishment of covenant relations possible, were altogether one-sided: it was always Israel, and Israel only, that surrendered any part of its faith. The worship of a Baal-berith was the symbol of fellowship with the heathen, whereby the command to make no covenants was violated. His temple was the point of union for both parties. The support of Abimelech in his undertaking came from all the worshippers of Baal-berith; for was it not directed against the house of Jerubbaal, the declared enemy of Baal? Such being its character, it had

moreover a proper claim on the treasures of the temple of Baal-berith. What a disgrace, when the son of the "Baal-vanquisher" takes money from the temple of that same Baal, for the purpose of murdering his brothers! What a victory of Satan over the youthful votary of ambition! And cheap enough was the price of blood. The idle rable who hired themselves as body-guard to Abimelech, received a silver-piece, *i. e.* a shekel, for the head of each of Gideon's sons. However vague the impression we get of a piece of money in that age by computing its equivalent in our coin, it is nevertheless frightful to think how little it cost (scarcely more than half a dollar), to procure the performance of the most horrible deed.

And he slew his brethren. Abimelech is a perfect type of the tyrant, as he frequently appears in Greek history, continental and insular, and also, in more recent times, on Italian soil. Machiavelli (*Prince*, ch. viii.) says, that "whoever seizes a crown, unjustly and violently, must, if cruelty be necessary, exercise it to the full at once, in order to avoid the necessity of beginning it anew every day." In support of this maxim, he refers, first to Agathocles, and then to the petty tyrant of Fermo, Oliverotto, who in order to become master of the city, caused his uncle, who was also his foster-father, friend, and benefactor, to be traitorously slain at a banquet. — Only one escaped, the youngest, Jotham by name. The confession of Jehovah, which this name of his youngest son implies, evidences the constant piety and faithfulness of Gideon, and confirms our conjecture that not he, but Shechem, invented the name Abimelech.

Ver. 6. **And all the lords of Shechem held an assembly.** Gideon's sons being murdered, an election of a king now takes place. As the electors, so their king. The noble undertaking had succeeded; the house of Gideon was destroyed. What a contrast! After the glorious victory over Midian, Gideon, though urgently besought by the men of many tribes, will not consent to continue to be even their imperator; now, the Shechemites raise the assassin of his brothers to the dignity of a king! A kingship like that of the heathen cities on the coast, with no law, but with plenty of blood, without the oil of consecration, but steeped in sin, is thus violently and vain-gloriously set up by Shechem and its fortress (Beth-Millo²); and that too, with a reckless hardihood as great as that which characterized the preliminary murders, in a spot consecrated by sacred memories. There where Joshua, before he died (*Josh.* xxiv. 25, 26), made a covenant with the people on God's behalf, where he had solemnly bound them to the observance of the law, and where they had promised to obey God alone, — there, at the great stone, set up by Joshua under the oak, two apostate, self-seeking cities, stained with murder and unbelief, elect a son of Jerubbaal, who suffered himself to be bought in the interest of Baal, to be their king! For the coronation, the narrative tells us, took place "עַם אֱלֹהֵי מִצְפֵּה," at the monument-oak,

¹ Jotham, also, speaks of Abimelech, with special contempt, as the "son of the slave-woman" (ver. 18).

² **MILLO** is unquestionably the name of the fortress or citadel of the city of Shechem, the same with the Tower of Shechem in vers. 46-49. The word מִלּוֹ (Millo), as also the Chaldee מִלְיָתָא, 'filling,' signifies a rampart formed of two walls, the space between which is 'filled up' with rubbish. There was also a Millo at Jerusalem, 2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Kgs. ix. 15. 'All the house of Millo,'

are all the inhabitants of the citadel, the same who in ver. 46 are spoken of as 'all the citizens of Migdol or the Tower.'" BERTHEAU: "The high plateau of Mt. Gerizim, by which the city (Shechem) is commanded, seems to offer the most suitable site for this Millo, as it also did for later fortifications (*Rob.* ii. 277, 278, comp. p. 294). This location of the fortress, at some little distance from the city, which lay in the narrow valley, would explain the distinction constantly maintained in our chapter between the inhabitants of Shechem and the house, *i. e.* population, of Millo or the Tower." — Ta.]

near Shechem."¹ And though nothing further is said about the place, it may nevertheless be inferred, from the connection and the tragic character of the occurrence, that the narrator, in bringing its locality to the mind of the reader, designs to make the shameful character of the transaction more strikingly evident, just as throughout this passage he constantly writes Jerubbaal, not Gideon, in order to render more prominent the contrast between these servants and that great victor of Baal.²

Ver. 7. **And they told it to Jotham.** While the preparations for the coronation are in progress, tidings of them are brought to Jotham, the last scion of the stock of Gideon. What shall he do? The whole nation is fallen into listlessness and inactivity. The horrible massacre has called forth no rising. Even those tribes who had perhaps heard of it, but took no part in it, continue quiescent. Sin has dulled every nerve of courage and gratitude. The son of the hero still receives intelligence; a few helpers are with him in his flight; a few others perhaps sigh with him in secret; but beyond this, he is alone. The spirit, however, of his father, has not left him. While below they crown the fratricide, he appears above, on the rock, like an impersonation of conscience. So the modern poet, with like grandeur of conception, makes Tell appear on the rock above the tyrant. Jotham's arrow, however, is not sped from the fatal bow, but from a noble spirit. It is the arrow of parabolic discourse, dipped in personal grief and divine retribution, that he sends down among them. Mount Gerizim was the mount of blessing (Deut. xxvii. 12); but through the sin of Shechem, it becomes, in the parable of Jotham, a mount of judgment. Its present name, already borne in the Middle Ages, is el Târ (the Mountain). It rises to a height of eight hundred feet above the present Nâblus (Rob. ii. 276). Jotham probably appeared on some projecting point, near enough to be heard, and distant enough to be not easily caught.³ **Hearken unto me, he says, and may God hear you.** He wishes them to hear his parable, as he desires God (*Elohim*) to hear the coronation rejoicings that rise up from the valley.

Vers. 8-21. The parable belongs to the most remarkable productions of Israelitish life, not only on account of its political significance, but also for what may be called its literary character. Fable and so-called apologue are of oriental, non-Israelitish, as also non-Grecian, origin. They spring from a pantheism in which trees and animals furnished symbols for expressing the popular ideas. Although rooted in the religious vivification of nature, their employment was nevertheless brought

to maturity by the pressure of social necessities. In the East, fable and tale were always the weapons of mind against violence and tyranny (cf. my *Edtischen Studien*, p. 15). They furnished the people with individual consolation against general misery. In their original appearance among the Greeks also, they fail not to exhibit this character. In the same way, Jotham speaks to the tyrants of Shechem in this popular language, which all understand. He does not speak like a prophet, for he is none, and Baal has stopped the ears of his auditors. He does not even speak of the power and mighty deeds of Jehovah, from whom his own name is derived. He speaks of "*Elohim*" and his retributions — of the Deity in the general sense in which the heathen also acknowledge him. He speaks altogether in their language, popularly, with popular wisdom. But what a difference between the moral strength which justifies Jotham to put forth his parable, and (for instance) the motives of the Greek Archilochus. There we hear the wounded vanity of a rejected suitor; here, one solitary voice of indignation and truth against the tyrant and murderer. By this moral motive, Jotham elevates the parable to the level of the divine word, and furnishes the first illustration of how a popular form of discourse, the offspring of directly opposite principles, could be employed for moral purposes, and (in the parables of Christ) become a medium for the highest doctrines and mysteries. Jotham gives a parable and points out its application (from ver. 16 onward); but also apart from the latter, the narrative conveys an independent political idea with a force which has scarcely been equaled by any subsequent expression of it. It manifests a political consciousness so mature, as to surprise one who looks at the apparently simple and common-place relations of the time and people.

The trees will have a king. No reason is given, but the history of Israel, to which reference is had, furnishes one. People felt that in the dangers of war, one common leadership was important. They supposed that their frequent sufferings at the hands of Moab and Midian, were owing to defects in their form of government. They would have a king, in order to be able, as in their folly they think they shall be, to dispense with obedience to the commands of God. Gideon says: God is your Ruler. The apostate people will fill his place with a king, and think that in their selection, they act in accordance with the will of God.

Offers of kingly dignity are seldom refused. Solon, properly speaking, never received a tender of royalty; and Otto, Duke of Saxony, the father of Henry I. was already too old to bear such a

¹ מִשְׁכֵּם is most probably to be taken as מִשְׁכֵּם or מִשְׁכֵּם.

² [KIRRO (*Daily Bible Illustrations: Moses and the Judges*, p. 35): — "It will occur to the reader to ask what right the people of Shechem had to nominate a king, by their sole authority. In the first place, it must be remembered that the land had formerly been governed by a number of petty kings, ruling over some strong town and its immediate district and dependent villages; and it is likely that the Shechemites claimed no more than to appoint Abimelech as such a king over themselves, assuming that they for themselves, whatever might be the view of others, had a right to choose a king to reign over them. Besides, Shechem was one of the chief towns of Ephraim; and that proud and powerful tribe always claimed to take the leading part in public affairs. If not to determine the course of the other tribes — except, perhaps, of those connected with Judah in

the south. It was under the influence of this desire for supremacy, that the revolt against the house of David was organized in that tribe, and resulted in the establishment of the separate kingdom for the ten tribes, in which Ephraim had the chief influence. Indeed, that establishment of a separate monarchy was accomplished at this very place where Abimelech is now declared king. Taking all this into account, it may seem reasonable to conclude that the Shechemites had the support of the tribe in this transaction, or might at least reckon with reasonable confidence upon its not being withheld. Then, again, a king chosen at Shechem, and supported by this powerful tribe, might reasonably calculate that the other tribes would soon give in their adhesion, seeing that, in the time of his father, their monarchial predilections had been so strongly manifested." — Tr.]

³ [Cf. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, li. 209. — Tr.]

burden (as Widukind says, *Ipse vero quasi jam gravior annis recusat imperii onus*). The good trees, however, notwithstanding their strength, will not be elected; they deem the species of royalty which is offered them, too insignificant to warrant the sacrifice of what they already possess. The olive tree, fig tree, and grape-vine, enjoy sufficient honor, happiness, and distinction, not to prefer this sort of coronation to their present activity. They will rather continue in a condition which secures their personal worth, than go to "wave over the trees." It is a beautiful image of popular favor, uncertain, unequal, affected by every wind, which is afforded by the branches of trees, never at rest, always waving. The proffered royalty is dependent on popular favor. It is a royalty which must bend to every breeze, if it would avoid a fall. For they to whom the office is offered, are too noble to use the means necessary to maintain their authority when popular favor deserts them. They must first have lost their nobility of nature, before they can follow the call now made to them. It was a noble king of recent times, who, from similar motives, strenuously resisted to accept what was offered him.

It is very significant that this doctrine proceeds from Jotham, the son of Gideon. He has his eye, of course, on the refusal of the crown by his father; only he brings the negative side of that refusal into special prominence. He makes it evident that even then the fickle and discordant character of popular favor and popular will was thoroughly apprehended. But one needed to be the son of a divinely called hero, to be able to set forth with cutting force the unprincipled conduct of revolutionary malcontents. Against a true kingship, as afterwards established in Israel, and which in its idea forms the highest perfection of the theocracy, Jotham says nothing. The people that applies to Samuel for a king, is a very different one from these criminal Shechemites, who attempt to get a king in opposition to God. These latter, for this reason, can only use a king who has nothing to lose, and is worthy of them: whose fit symbol is the thorn-bush. Sin loves arbitrariness; therefore they deserve a tyrant. The thorn-bush is the type of persons who, after they have accepted power offered by bloody hands, are qualified to preserve it by bloody means.

The æsthetic beauty of the parable is also to be noted. Trees afford the best representation of a republic; each tree has its own sphere of action, and no one is in a position to exercise any special influence over the others. Whoever among them would attempt this in the character of king, must, so to speak, leave the soil in which he is planted, and hover over them all. Their will would then be for him, what otherwise the nourishing earth is for all. Any productive tree would thereby lose its fruit. For the unfruitful thorn-bush alone, the office would involve no loss. The fable is especially beautiful as typical of Israelitish relations. The tribes are all equal. Like the trees, they all receive their strength from God. If they withdraw themselves from Him, in order to crown the thorn-bush, they will experience that which issues from the thorn-bush — namely, fire.

The profound significance of the parable is inexhaustible. Its truth is of perpetual recurrence. More than once was Israel in the position of the Shechemites; then especially, when He whose kingdom is not of this world, refused to be a king. Then, too, Herod and Pilate became friends. The thorn-bush seemed to be king when it encircled

the head of the Crucified. But Israel experienced what is here denounced: a fire went forth, and consumed city and people, temple and fortress.

And they said to the olive-tree. The olive tree is already a king among trees in his own right; hence, Columella calls it "the first among trees." His product is used to honor both "God and man." His oil consecrates "kings and priests," and feeds the light that burns in the sanctuary of God. The olive tree is the symbol of peaceful royalty; its leaf and branch are signs of reconciliation and peace: hence, Israel in its divine glory is compared to the "beautiful olive tree" (Hos. xiv. 6).

Denying the request of the trees, the olive tree says: "Have I then lost (הֲיָרַדְתִּי אֵלַי שֶׁמֶן), an unusual form, which with Keil I regard as a simple Kal) my oil, that I should wave over the trees?" Has Israel then lost its life of peace in God, its sacred anointing through God's servants, its pious light and life in God's law? Has it grown poor as to its God, that it must suffer itself to be governed by heathen arts? The product of the olive tree and the deeds of Abimelech stand in the sharpest contrast with each other.

The same result follows an application to the fig tree. This also is a symbol of that divine peace which fills the land when God governs. The ancients believed that if a wild, untamed bullock were fastened to a fig tree, he would become quiet and gentle (Plutarch, *Symposion*, lib. vi. quæst. 10). Athens, on similar symbolical grounds, had a sacred fig tree as well as olive tree. In Scripture, especially, the fig tree appears as a symbol of holy peace, as the prophet Micah says (ch. iv. 4): "They shall sit every man under his vine and fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid." So Jotham makes the fig tree say suggestively: Have I then — Israel — lost the possibility of sitting in the peace of God? Was there not an abundance of rest and happiness during forty years under Gideon? shall I surrender all that in order to fall into the arbitrariness of sin? For it can act like Shechem only when the peace of God no longer exists; but, in that case, it withers away, like the fig tree rebuked by Christ, and ceases to bring forth fruit.

The same is true of the grape-vine. The oriental vine attains the height of elms and cedars, and affords a grateful shade. Hence it is the widely-diffused symbol of government, as that which gives peace and comfort. "The mountains," says the Psalmist (lxxx. 11), "are covered with the shadow of it." A golden vine canopied the throne of the Persian monarch. Vines of gold were frequently presented to kings in recognition of their sovereignty (cf. my essay, *Der Goldene Thron Salomo's*, in *Wiss. Bericht*, i. p. 124). A celebrated golden vine, mention of which is made by Tacitus also, stood in the temple at Jerusalem. The Mishna says of it: At the entrance to the temple porch there stood a golden vine, trained on poles; whenever any one consecrated anything, he consecrated it as "leaf" or "grape." Elieser b. R. Zadok related, that once it was so vast, that 300 priests were necessary to take it away (*Mishna, Middot*. iii. 8).

The olive tree said that with him God and men were "honored;" the vine expresses the same thing when he speaks of the "joy" which "God and men" find in him. Usually all that is said of wine is, that "it makes glad the heart of man;" it is, however, also over wine, and wine only, that

the "blessing of God" is pronounced,¹ and Melchizedek, as "priest of the Most High God," brings "bread and wine" (Gen. xiv. 18). Nevertheless, the phrase "God and men," is probably to be regarded as proverbial, and as signifying that wine cheers all persons, not excepting the highest and noblest. Since the Middle Ages, we [Germans] use the expression *Gott und die Welt* — God and the world — in a similar manner. Hartmann von Aue (in his *Iwein*, ver. 262) says: *Verlegeniu muezkeit ist gote und der werlte leit* (mouldering idleness is offensive to God and the world).

The transition from the shade-giving vine to the thorn-bush presents us with a very striking contrast. It is indeed in connection with the thorn-bush, that the narrative displays its nicest shading. While the trees say **לְמֶלֶךְ** to the olive tree, and **לְמֶלֶךְ** to the fig tree and vine, unusual forms of the imperative which convey, as it seems to me, the idea of a respectful petition, they address the thorn-bush in common style: **מֶלֶךְ אֲנִי**. When it comes to calling on the thorn-bush to be king, the respect which was felt for the olive tree and his compeers, has no longer any place. It may also be remarked that the shady vine is often at no great distance from the thorn-bush. Not unfrequently, even at this day, fertile wine-hills in the holy land, rejoicing also in olive and fig trees, are hedged in by thorn-bushes (cf. Rosenmüller, *Morgenland*, on Prov. xv. 19).

And the thorn-bush said: **If you really anoint me king over you.** There lies in this the sharpest censure for the trees. The thorn-bush itself can scarcely believe that its election as king is honestly meant (**בְּאֵמֶת**). Equally striking is it, that Jotham makes the thorn-bush speak of the trees as wishing to "anoint" him. Anoint with what? With oil. But the "oil tree" has already refused to be king over such subjects! The idea is: they anoint with oil, the symbol of peace, while they have murder and the opposite of peace in their hearts. — The thorn-bush declares his readiness to give them all he has. They are at liberty to shelter themselves in his shadow. But he gives no protection against the sun, and his branches are full of thorns. In case of disobedience and apostasy, he will cause fire to go forth, and without respect of persons consume all rebels, even the cedars of Lebanon. For these are his only arts and abilities — to prick and to burn. Æsop has a fable (No. 8) which teaches a similar moral, albeit playfully weakened. It treats of the "Fox and the Thorn-bush." The fox, to save himself from falling, lays hold of the thorn-bush, and gets dreadfully torn by the sharp needles. In answer to his outcry, the thorn-bush says: How canst thou hope to lay hold of me, who am accustomed only to lay hold of others.

Jotham's application in ver. 16 forms a perfect parallel to the speech of the thorn-bush in ver. 15. A minute explanation, that the Shechemites are the trees; that the heroes who heretofore benefited Israel (not merely Gideon, nor as the Rabbis think, Othniel and Barak only), correspond to the olive tree and his equals; and that the thorn-bush means Abimelech, is altogether unnecessary. The scene which he delineates, is it not transpiring before him in the valley below? All he needs to do,

is to call their attention to the certainty that the threatening of the thorn-bush will be fulfilled on them; for that is yet future.

As the thorn-bush says to the trees, "If you honestly anoint me king," so Jotham, with crushing irony, says to the people: **If now you have acted honestly and sincerely in making Abimelech king.** The heathen, as well as the worshippers of the true God, believed that good or evil deeds are recompensed by good or evil results. Even when the Persian Oroetes unlawfully murders the tyrant Polycrates, and afterwards perishes himself in a similar manner, Herodotus (iii. 128) remarks: "Thus did the avenging spirits of Polycrates the Samian overtake him." It was maintained that the tyrant Agathocles had perished on the same day in which he had committed his horrible treason against his confederate Ophellus. This belief, prevalent even among heathen, pointed out the most vulnerable side of conscience. Though they turn away from the altar of *Jehovah*, they will not be able to escape the law of *Elohim*, who is even now listening to their loud acclamations. If they think — such is the bitter irony of Jotham's indignant heart — that the collective trees (ver. 14,

לֹא הִינְיִיבִי) can mean it honestly, when they anoint a thorn-bush, then they also, perhaps, acted "honestly and sincerely" when they called Abimelech their king, slew the house of the hero who regarded not his own life to save them, and crowned the murderer, the son of the bondswoman. Such "honesty and virtue" will not fail of their appropriate recompense. The words of the thorn-bush will be fulfilled. The sequel will show the reward. Israel will then perceive the enormity of that which in its present state of moral prostration it allows to pass unchallenged. If such a horrible deed can be deemed "good," he repeats — and the repetition marks the intensity of his grief — then may you rejoice in Abimelech, as now down there in the valley you (hypocritically) shout for joy; but if not then may you experience what it means to have the thorn-bush for king! Then will sin dissolve what sin began; crime will dis sever what treason bound together. Then will fire from the thorn-bush consume the sinful trees, and fire from the trees the tyrannical king. Thus he spake, and thus they heard. But sin and excitement drowned the voice of conscience. The friendship between them and their king, and the joy they felt in him, were yet young. Israel kept silence, and Jotham, the hero's son, fled to Beer. Where this place lay, cannot be determined. Probably in the south — near the desert, which would afford the fugitive security against Abimelech's persecution. Of Jotham, nothing more is known; but from amidst the tragedy which throws its dark shadows over the house of his father, his discourse sounds forth, an imperishable call to repentance, addressed to the world in the language of the world, and an admonisher to kings and nations of the certainty of retribution.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Abimelech the Fratricide. Gideon doubtless excelled in power all previous Judges; the deliverance wrought out by him surpassed all previous deliverances. This fact perhaps helps to explain the greatness of the shadow that fell upon the land after his death. The story of Abimelech displays before us a terrible contrast to the government of Gideon. It exhibits strength attended by the most

¹ [The third cup at the Passover meal was called the "Cup of Blessing," because it was accompanied by a prayer of praise and thanksgiving. Cf. 1 Cor. x. 16. — Ta.]

abominable lust after power, energy with ungodliness, victorious talents with utter criminality. Such was the contrast offered by Abimelech with the memory of his father, in whom strength was united to humility, energy to piety, and victory to righteousness. The history of Abimelech teaches that sin (1) forgets good deeds; and (2) inspires misdeeds; but also, (3) that one abomination punishes another, even to destruction. If Gideon had not taken a concubine, this misery would not have come upon Israel! Why did he take her, and from Shechem, a city whose character he must have known! Why did he allow her son to be called "My Father is King!" The little weaknesses of a great man, become the great temptations of small men. Against the murderous fury of sin, there is no protection. The true sons of Gideon were peaceable. They were sons of a hero, but not trained to bloodshedding (ch. viii. 20). They had among them the ephod, reminder of Gideon's victory. They were related to Abimelech, related more closely than the Shechemites; for they were his brothers, and brothers by such a father: but it availed them nothing. "Piety," says the great poet (Goethe), "is a close bond, but ungodliness still closer." The hand once lifted up to murder, does not spare its own brothers. Bloodthirstiness beclouds both eye and heart. It makes no distinction. Thus, sin lies lurking at the door, until its victim bids it enter. Abimelech's conduct has found imitators among Christians. The murderous deeds committed since his day, some of them at the bidding of church authorities, lie like a blood-cloud over the face of history. Only the love of Jesus Christ can penetrate through it, with the sunbeam of his reconciliation.

Abimelech was tyrant, and Jotham must flee. The bloody knife reigns and the spirit which speaks in parables and lives in faith is banished. But Abimelech comes to shame, smitten by a desperate woman (ver. 53), while Jotham's parable, like a winged arrow, pierces all fratricides, from Abimelech down to Richard III. of England. While Abimelech, a false king, passed on, burdened by a load of hatred, Jotham spent his life, as befitting a mourner, in a profound quiet. Seb. Schmidt says, that "God knows how to give peace and safety to those who innocently become faint-hearted, although men fail to espouse their righteous causes." Such is the preaching of the word of God concerning the world's condition, (1) when a Gideon reigns; (2) when an Abimelech rules. The government of the faithful is the salvation of all; and likewise sin is the destruction of men, not excepting those who commit it. There is a judgment. God is not mocked.

STARKE: Those are ignoble souls, who seek to reach an office, not through their own gifts and virtues, but through the favor and influence of their friends. — THE SAME: To lift one's self up by unlawful and sinful means, is sure to bring a curse. THE SAME: Good men are all alike in this, that they do what is godly and righteous, because they know well that there is but one godliness and one

righteousness. — THE SAME: The unity of bad men can speedily be changed, by the judgment of God, into enmity and mutual destruction. — GERLACH: Jotham stands forth like a warning prophet, who interprets coming events before they occur, and who is at the same time a sign that the Lord has not left the faith of Gideon unrewarded, notwithstanding the terrible judgment that overtakes his house.

[BP. HALL: Those that are most unworthy of honor, are hottest in the chase of it; whilst the consciousness of better deserts bids men sit still, and stay to be either importuned or neglected. There can be no greater sign of unfitness, than vehement suit. It is hard to say whether there be more pride or arrogance in ambition. — THE SAME: The Shechemites are fit brokers for Abimelech: that city which once betrayed itself to utter depopulation, in yielding to the suit of Hamor, now betrays itself and all Israel in yielding to the request of Abimelech. — THE SAME: Natural respects are the most dangerous corrupters of all elections. What hope can there be of worthy superiors in any free people, where nearness of blood carries it from fitness of disposition? Whilst they say, "He is our brother," they are enemies to themselves and Israel. — THE SAME: Who would not now think that Abimelech should find a hell in his breast, after so barbarous and unnatural a massacre? and yet, behold, he is as senseless as the stone upon which the blood of his seventy brethren was spilt. Where ambition hath possessed itself thoroughly of the soul, it turns the heart into steel, and makes it incapable of a conscience. All sins will easily down with the man that is resolved to rise. — HENRY: Way being thus made for Abimelech's election, the men of Shechem proceed to choose him king. God was not consulted, there was no advising with the priest, or with their brethren of any other city or tribe, though it was designed he should rule over Israel. — SCOTT: If parents could foresee their children's sufferings, their joy in them would be often turned into lamentations; we may therefore be thankful that we cannot penetrate futurity, and are reminded to commit those whom we most love into the hands of the Lord, and to attend to our present duty, casting our care upon Him, respecting ourselves and them. — BUSH: The general moral of Jotham's parable is, (1.) That weak and worthless men are ever forward to thrust themselves into power, while the wise and good are more prone to decline it. (2.) That they who unduly affect honor, and they who unjustly confer it, will prove sources of misery to each other. — KITTO: There are indeed legitimate objects of the highest ambition, and of the most exalted aspirations. Crowns and kingdoms lie beneath the feet of him who pursues with steady pace his high career toward the city of the Great King, where he knows there is laid up for him a crown of glory that fadeth not away — a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will bestow upon all that love his appearing. — TR.]

Discord between Abimelech and Shechem. The intrigue of Gaal.

CHAPTER IX. 22-30.

22 When [And] Abimelech had [omit : had] reigned [held sway] three years over
 23 Israel. [.] Then [And] God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men
 [lords] of Shechem; and the men [lords] of Shechem dealt treacherously with
 24 Abimelech: That the cruelty [violence] *done* to the three-score and ten sons of
 Jerubbaal might come, and their blood be laid upon Abimelech their brother which
 slew them, and upon the men [lords] of Shechem which aided him [strengthened
 25 his hands] in [for] the killing of his brethren. And the men [lords] of Shechem
 set liers in wait [ambuscades] for¹ him in the top of the mountains, and they
 26 robbed all that came along that way by them: and it was told Abimelech. And
 Gaal the son of Ebed came with his brethren [on an expedition], and went over to
 [passed over into] Shechem: and the men [lords] of Shechem put their confidence
 27 in him. And they went out into the fields, and gathered their vineyards [held vine-
 tage], and trode *the grapes*, and made merry [prepared harvest-feasts], and went
 28 into the house of their god, and did eat and drink, and cursed Abimelech. And
 Gaal the son of Ebed said, Who *is* Abimelech, and who *is* Shechem, that we should
 serve him? *is* not *he* the [a] son of Jerubbaal? and [*is not*] Zebul his officer?
 serve the men of Hamor the father of Shechem: for why should we serve him?²
 29 And would to God this people were under my hand! then would I remove Abim-
 30 elech. And he said to Abimelech, Increase³ thine army, and come out. And
 when [omit : when] Zebul the ruler [prefect] of the city heard the words of Gaal
 the son of Ebed, [and] his anger was kindled.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver 25. — $\dot{\text{ל}}$. KEIL: "Dat. incommodi; to his disadvantage." Cf. the Commentary. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 28. — DE WETTE: "Why should we serve him, we?" The position of וַיִּשְׁמַע at the end of the sentence, marks the speaker's indignation at the thought of Shechem's serving a son of Jerubbaal. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 29. — The pronunciation וַיִּצְוֶה (with seghol) is perhaps designed to give to the imperative piel form the strengthening effect of the ending וַיִּצְוֶה found with the other imperative (וַיִּצְוֶה), but of which " וַיִּצְוֶה " verbs do not admit. Cf. Ewald, *Gram* p. 511, note. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 22. And Abimelech held sway. The narrator says not, "he reigned" (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), nor "he ruled" (וַיִּשְׁלֹט), but וַיִּשְׁמַע : Abimelech was nothing but a שֹׁמֵר . He is not acknowledged either as a rightful king, or as a military chieftain of Israel: he is only a usurper, whom his adherents have clothed with arrogated power. And though his authority is said to have been "over Israel," this does not mean that it extended over the whole nation. The history shows that his authority did not extend beyond the narrow circle of the mountains of Ephraim. Deference and consideration were doubtless paid him in more extended regions, for these no *fait accompli*, whether it be good or evil, ever fails to command.

Ver. 23. And God sent an evil spirit. Friendship among the wicked is only a league of vice against others. In itself it cannot stand. Wickedness, says Hesiod, prepares its own punishment. Abimelech, it seems, ruled three years in peace. Plutarch, in his noble treatise on the purposes of the Deity in so often delaying the retribution due to crime, finds the ground of it in the wisdom of

Providence, which knows the opportune moment for punishment. Here, as in other passages where he speaks of unholy men, our narrator names the recompensing deity Elohim, not Jehovah. Elohim sends the evil spirit of discord among them; for the undeviating law by which sin punishes itself, is grounded in the very nature of the Deity. It would be the destruction of the justice and truth of the divine government, if worthlessness escaped its recompense. The moral universe is so constituted as to ensure evil fruits to evil deeds. The experience which here presents itself is one of the most common in the history of states and individuals. It is the type of all unnatural conspiracies against right, and of their issue. It is moreover demonstrative of the perfect clearness with which the divine government of the world is apprehended in the Book of Judges, that the falling out of vice with itself, and the stopping up by wickedness of the natural sources of its own advantage, are represented as the action of an evil spirit sent by Elohim.¹ Shechem now seeks to deal with Abimelech, as heretofore it helped him to deal with the sons of Gideon. Treason began, and treason ends, the catastrophic.

Ver. 24. That the violence . . . might come home. The twofold expression of the neither a disposition, nor yet a demon." Hoffmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 109.

¹ "A something is meant which operates upon the intellectual nature (*das Geistige Wesen*) of man; therefore,

thought, first by לָבוֹא, and then by לָשׂוּם, serves to give it emphasis. The whole history is related so fully, only to show Israel that there is such a thing as retributive justice, — that sin bears its guilt and punishment. Blood comes home to murderers as guilt. Who did ever experience this more terribly than Israel itself, when it slew Him who was more than Gideon and his sons! That which this narrative exhibits as coming on Abimelech and Shechem in the course of three years, the history of the world, has manifestly fulfilled through centuries on those who cried, "His blood be on us and on our children!" Both are punished, Abimelech and Shechem; for both are equally guilty. So likewise both Jerusalem suffered, and the empire by which Pilate was appointed.

Ver. 25. And they laid ambuscades for him. What it was that gave immediate occasion for discord, is not communicated. But Shechem found that it had deceived itself, in thinking that Abimelech's elevation would make itself the virtual ruler. It had fallen into the hands of an iron despot, against whom the cowardly and pleasure-loving Shechemites did not dare openly to rise. They resorted therefore to underhanded stratagems to make him odious. For the robberies committed from places of concealment become perfectly intelligible, and fall moreover into harmonious connection with the expression "יִנְיָגְדוּ", they dealt treacherously" (ver. 23), when they are regarded as carried on by the Shechemites, but in such a manner as to make them appear to be ordered or instigated by Abimelech. Through them he had become a murderer; they would now make him seem to be a robber and highwayman. But Abimelech received intelligence of the deception. Henceforth, the peace between them was broken; and people such as are here portrayed, know very well that now it is time to be on their guard against each other.

Vers. 26-28. And Gaal Ben-Ebed came. An adventurer, probably a Shechemite, whose name¹ perhaps already expresses the popular contempt into which the braggart subsequently fell, having come to the city with his followers, the Shechemites thought that in him they had found a party-leader who could protect them against Abimelech. Accordingly, they held their vintage, celebrated their harvest-home with songs of rejoicing (הִלְלִיִּים), and then observed the customary sacrificial banquet in the temple of their god. The narrative seeks to exhibit the dramatic contrast between the present jubilant enjoyment and the approaching terrible issue, the present boldness and the subsequent cowardice, the passing luxury and the impending death and destruction. Such sacrificial feasts, particularly as connected with the temple of the "Covenant-God," were also known elsewhere (cf. *Dion. Halicarn.* iv. 25, on the "covenant-feast" at Ephesus; cf. K. F. Hermann, *R. A. der Griechen*, ed. Stark, § 66, 4). Among all nations, says Athenæus (lib. v. p. 192), every meal was referred to God, and He was honored with song and praise. But these feasters in the temple at Shechem had no thought of religion. To them applies what Plutarch says, in the introduction to

his *Symposium*: "when barbarity and immorality betake themselves to wine, the banquet comes to a disastrous end." The fumes of wine make these men rash and thoughtless. That which they had hitherto kept secret, they now divulge. Maledictions against Abimelech make themselves heard. The scene enables us to estimate aright the political wisdom of the Corinthian Tyrant Periander, when he forbade social feasts to his opponents. The speech of the poltroon Gaal is especially remarkable. The episode in which the narrator acquaints us with the divine judgment on Abimelech, affords at the same time a glance into the hidden springs of political life in a city like Shechem.

Let us serve the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem. The apostasy of Israel, after the death of Gideon, in Shechem took the form of a covenant entered into with the remaining heathen. The contrast between heathenism and the religious life of Israel was founded in the existence and the characters of national and local idol gods over against the true God of Israel. The covenant between the heathen and the apostate Israelites in Shechem, found its expression in the election of Abimelech as king, on the ground that on the one hand he was Shechem's brother, and on the other Gideon's son. This covenant now breaks up. The wine-heated Gaal pronounces the word: even Abimelech is still too much of Israel. "By what right," he says, "does Abimelech command our homage? Is he not always still a son of Jerubbaal, the enemy of our god?" The reaction of heathenism must be made complete. Shechem must hold fast to its own ancestors. The families who trace their descent from the heathen Hamor (Gen. xxxiv.) *i. e.* those who desire to banish all Israelitish traditions, must be the masters! The offspring of Hamor, the heathen progenitor, must not serve the descendants of Jacob! When the Tyrant of Sicily² sought to throw off the influence of Argos, he expelled from the city the worship of Adrastus, the primitive Argive hero. That was his way of declaring himself independent.

Is he not a son of Jerubbaal? and is not Zebul his overseer? Zebul, who in ver. 30 is called the "prefect of the city," was not of the party who now feasted. He evidently belonged to the Israelites, who, though they had made a covenant with the heathenism of Shechem, were not willing to serve the children of Hamor. He belonged to the upper families of the city; and Gaal in his drunken audacity, discloses the idea that he also must be overthrown, "because Abimelech's tool."

Vers. 29, 30. Verse 29 gives the further speech of Gaal in a very vivid and forcible manner. "O that some one would give this people into my hands! then would I quickly remove Abimelech! That is directed against Zebul. What Gaal means, is, that if he were prefect of the city, as Zebul is, he would make short work with Abimelech.

And he said to Abimelech, Increase thine army, and come out. Gaal does not actually say this to Abimelech, nor does he cause it to be said to him, as many expositors think, for Abimelech hears of it for the first time through Zebul. It is only an animated apostrophe to Abimelech, in which Gaal boastingly challenges Abimelech to

loathe, means *loathing*, Gesenius, *Lex.*; *Ben-Ebed*, Son of a Slave. Cf. ver. 18, where Jotham speaks of Abimelech as a son of Gileon's bondwoman. — Ta.]

² [Clisthenes. See Herod., v. 67, and Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. 33, seq. — Ta.]

¹ [The author, by writing *Ben (Ebed)* instead of translating it as he did in the text, seems to intimate that the whole name, Gaal Ben-Ebed, was perhaps the expression of subsequent contempt. *Gaal*, from לָעָץ, to abhor, to

prepare himself as if he were present. The inhabitants of Shechem, between their potations, doubtless applauded Gaal, which had the usual effect of emboldening the wine-heated orator. But this drunken jubilation resulted in the ruin of Shechem; for it reached the ears of Zebul. His anger kindled; for his own overthrow, he learned, was to be connected with that of Abimelech.

The narrative, in its admirable simplicity, allows us clearly to trace the advancing progress of that fatal destiny, in which secret treachery and open dissipation, boasting and jealousy, conspire together to precipitate a righteous doom upon the city.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[BR. HALL: The prosperity of the wicked is but short and fickle. A stolen crown, though it may look fair, cannot be made of any but brittle stuff. All life is uncertain; but wickedness overruns nature.—THE SAME: It had been pity that the Shechemites should have been plagued by any other hand than Abimelech's. They raised him unjustly to the throne; they are the first that feel the weight of his sceptre. The foolish bird limes

herself with that which grew from her own excretion. Who wonders to see the kind peasant stung with his own snake?—THE SAME: How could Abimelech hope for fidelity of them, whom he had made and found traitors to his father's blood? No man knows how to be sure of him that is unconscionable. He that hath been unfaithful to one, knows the way to be perfidious, and is only fit for his trust that is worthy to be deceived; whereas faithfulness, beside the present good, lays a ground of further assurance. The friendship that is begun in evil cannot stand: wickedness, both of its own nature and through the curse of God, is ever unsteady.—THE SAME: If the men of Shechem had abandoned their false god with their false king, and out of a serious remorse and desire of satisfaction for their idolatry and blood, had opposed this tyrant, and preferred Jotham to his throne, there might have been both warrant for their quarrel, and hope of success; but now, if Abimelech be a wicked usurper, yet the Shechemites are idolatrous traitors.—THE SAME: When the quarrel is betwixt God and Satan, there is no doubt of the issue; but when one devil fights with another, what certainty is there of the victory?—THE

Abimelech appears before Shechem. Gaal's defeat and expulsion.

CHAPTER IX. 31-41.

- 31 And he sent messengers unto Abimelech privily, saying, Behold, Gaal the son of Ebed, and his brethren, be come to Shechem; and behold, they fortify [excite] 32 the city against thee. Now therefore up by night, thou, and the people that *is* 33 with thee, and lie in wait in the field: And it shall be, *that* in the morning, as soon as the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and set [move] upon the city; and behold, *when* [omit: when] he and the people that *is* with him [will] come out against [to] thee, [and] then mayest [shalt] thou do to them as thou shalt find occasion. 34 And Abimelech rose up, and all the people that *were* with him, by night, and they 35 laid wait against [near] Shechem in four companies. And Gaal the son of Ebed went out, and stood in the entering [at the entrance] of the gate of the city: and [10:] Abimelech rose up, and the people that *were* with him, from lying in wait 36 [from their place of ambush]. And when [omit: when] Gaal saw the people, [and] he said to Zebul, Behold, there come people down from the top [tops] of the mountains. And Zebul said unto him, Thou seest the shadow of the mountains as *if* 37 *they were* men. And Gaal spake again, and said, See, there [also] come people down by the middle [from the height] of the land, and another [one] company come along by the plain of Meonenim [cometh from the way of the Magicians' Grove]. 38 Then said Zebul unto him, Where *is* now thy mouth, wherewith thou saidst, Who *is* Abimelech, that we should serve him? *is* not this the people that thou hast despised? go out, I pray now, and fight with them. And Gaal went out before [at 39 the head of] the men [lords] of Shechem, and fought with Abimelech. And Abimelech chased him, and he fled before him, and many were overthrown *and* wounded 40 [many fell slain], *even* unto the entering [entrance] of the gate. And Abimelech dwelt [remained] at Arumah; and Zebul thrust out Gaal and his brethren, that 41 they should not dwell in Shechem.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 31. And he sent secretly, סֵתַר סֵתַר. Although the form סֵתַר סֵתַר (cf. סֵתַר סֵתַר) is an

unusual one, the connection suggests, not the name of a place, but the fact that Zebul, though "prefect of the city," concealed his measure from the citizens. The messengers whom he sent must have

gone "secretly" (as the Sept. and Targum translate), since Gaal had not learned of their going (ver. 36). How were such intercourse, as ver. 36 implies, possible between Zebul and Gaal, if Zebul's coöperation with Abimelech against Gaal had been publicly known? Nor is Zebul to be regarded as one of Abimelech's generals, but as a Shechemite magistrate, who is incensed because Gaal plots his own overthrow. It may be confidently assumed that if **תְּרִמָּה** were the name of a place, ver. 34 would read: "And Abimelech rose up, **תְּרִמָּה**,

from Tormah." **תְּרִמָּה**, however, conveys not only the idea of secrecy, but of secrecy combined with deceit, secret deceit; and such was certainly the character of Zebul's act.¹ It is also to be noticed that in his me sage Zebul does not accuse the city, but only Gaal as exciting the city against Abimelech. As magistrate, he does not wish to bring the wrath of Abimelech upon the city, but only upon his rival. Very graphic is the expression **יָרִים**, commonly used of besiegers. Gaal and his brethren, says Zebul, press the city like besiegers, to induce it to rise against thee. Their expulsion is therefore all that is necessary. But since this is not the whole truth — for Shechem, as we have seen, first elected Gaal because it had already offended against Abimelech — it is evident that Zebul's policy of exciting Abimelech against Gaal only, is dictated by regard to his own interests.

Vers. 32-41. **And move upon the city.** The place of Abimelech's abode is not given; but he was in the midst of his army. He must have been some distance from Shechem, since he needed a part of the night (ver. 32) to get within easy reach of it. He is to place himself in ambush, so as not to be prematurely observed. Abimelech follows the counsel. In the morning, Gaal and Zebul naturally betake themselves to the gate of the city: Gaal, because it had become his business to watch over Shechem; Zebul, because of his office as magistrate. Gaal, who has no misgivings — for he has slept away the effects of the wine — sees troops descending from the mountains. Zebul thinks it yet too soon to tell him the truth; he will give Abimelech time first to bring up all his forces; and therefore deceives and at the same time mocks

Gaal by saying, "It is the shadow of the mountains that thou seest." Immediately, however, a body of troops is seen advancing whose identity as such cannot be *mi taken*. By the "tops of the mountains" we are to understand the more distant mountains; by the "height (**טִבְרִי**) of the land," a nearer hill, in the immediate vicinity of the city (the "navel" of the land); and by the "Elon Meonenim," a dusky forest ("Magicians' Grove"), against the near horizon. From all these points, commanding the avenues to the city, troops of soldiers advanced, to the consternation of Gaal and the surprise of the citizens. Now Zebul throws off his mask, and reminds Gaal of his previous audacity. The latter is compelled to try his fortunes in battle. At the head of the "lords of Shechem," he marches out against Abimelech. But he is far from being a match for him. He is utterly unable to stand his ground. A terrible rout begins. Gaal saves himself through the open gate; but the road, up to the very threshold of the gate, is covered with the slain. His boasting has a miserable end. His authority is gone. Zebul, who previously did not dare insist on his expulsion, now carries it through. He persuades the timid and terrified Shechemites that they will thus allay the anger of Abimelech. He believes it himself; for he has carefully thrown the whole blame on Gaal. Abimelech's conduct seems to favor this persuasion; for he does not prosecute the attack, but retires to Arumah.² But what a delusion! The banished Gaal is the only one who escapes destruction.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[**BP. HALL**: Never any man was so ill, as not to have some favorers: Abimelech hath a Zebul in the midst of Shechem. Lightly all treasons are betrayed, even with some of their own. — **HENRY**: Proud and haughty people are often made, in a little time, to dread those whom they had most despised. Justly are the insolent thus insulted over. — **THE SAME**: Most people judge of men's fitness for business by their success, and he that does not speed well, is concluded not to do well. Gaal's interest in Shechem is soon at an end, nor do we ever hear of him any more. — **Tr.**]

¹ [KEIL: "**תְּרִמָּה**": either with deceit (**רָמָה**), from **רָמָה**, *i. e.* exercising deceit, inasmuch as he had listened quietly and apparently with approbation to the speech of Gaal; or, in Tormah, — noting a locality, — in which case **תְּרִמָּה** would be an error of transcription for **ארמה** = **תְּרִמָּה** (ver 41). The LXX. and the Tar-

gun take the word as a common noun: *ἐν κρυφῇ*, secretly, so Rashi, and most of the older expositors, while R. Kimchi, the Elder, decides for its being a *nom. propr.* No certain decision can be arrived at." — **Tr.**]

² The site of Arumah cannot be definitely determined. The probability, however, is that it was somewhere on the hills, not in the immediate vicinity of Shechem, but yet near enough for the sudden assault on Shechem which followed.

The destruction of Shechem, and burning of the "Tower of Shechem." The siege of Thebez, and Abimelech's death.

CHAPTER IX. 42-57.

42 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the people went out into the field; and 43 they told Abimelech. And he took the [*i. e.* his] people, and divided them into three

companies, and laid wait in the field, and looked, and behold, the people *were* come [coming] forth out of the city; and he rose up against them, and smote them.

44 And Abimelech, and the company [companies] that *was* [were] with him, rushed forward,¹ and stood [placed themselves] in the entering [at the entrance] of the gate of the city: and the two *other* companies ran [advanced] upon all *the people*

45 that *were* in the fields, and slew them. And Abimelech fought against the city all that day; and he took the city, and slew the people that *was* therein, and beat

46 [tore] down the city, and sowed it with salt. And when all the men [lords] of the tower of Shechem heard *that*, they entered into an [the] hold² of the house of the

47 god Berith [house of El-Berith]. And it was told Abimelech, that all the men

48 [lords] of the tower of Shechem were gathered together [there]. And Abimelech gat him up to Mount Zalmon, he and all the people that *were* with him; and Abimelech took an axe in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it [lifted it up], and laid *it* on his shoulder, and said unto the people that *were* with

49 him, What ye have seen me do, make haste, *and do as I have done*. And all the people likewise cut down [off] every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and put *them* to the hold, and set the hold on fire upon³ them: so that [and] all the

50 men of the tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women. Then went Abimelech to Thebez, and encamped against [laid siege to] Thebez, and took it.

51 But there was a strong tower within [in the midst of] the city, and thither fled all the men and women, and all they [the lords] of the city, and shut *it* to [after] them,

52 and gat them up to the top [roof] of the tower. And Abimelech came unto the tower, and fought against it, and went hard [approached] unto the door of the tower

53 to burn it with fire. And a certain woman cast a piece of a [cast an upper] mill-stone upon Abimelech's head, and all to [omit: all to]⁴ brake his skull⁵ [to pieces].

54 Then he called hastily unto the young man his armour-bearer, and said unto him, Draw thy sword, and slay me [put me to death], that men say not of me, A woman slew him. And his young man thrust him through, and he died. And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they departed every man unto his

56 place. Thus God rendered [caused to return] the wickedness of Abimelech, which

57 he did unto his father, in slaying his seventy brethren: And all the evil of the men of Shechem did God render [cause to return] upon their heads: and upon them came the curse of Jotham the son of Jerubbaal.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 44. — וַיִּצְעֲדוּ : spread out, *sc.* in hostile array. The same word occurs ver. 33; and in both places seems to contrast the expanded form of a body of men freely advancing, with its contraction when lying in ambush. The verse is somewhat difficult. Dr. Cassel renders it as follows: "And Abimelech and the companies that were with him, spread themselves out. Part stood [took their stand] at the entrance of the gate of the city, and two companies threw themselves on all that were in the field, and slew them." — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 46. — מַחְסוֹת . The meaning of this word is doubtful. Our author renders it *Halle*; De Wette, *Veste*, strong-hold; Kell suggests *Zwinger* (*cf. arz*, from *arceo*), citadel, fortress; while according to Bertheau, ver. 49 (where he would render: and they put the boughs *on* the מַחְסוֹת), and infer thence that the place bearing this name was *low*), "rather implies a cellar-like place, some sort of hollow." *Cf.* 1 Sam. xlii. 6, the only other passage where the word occurs, and where it is conjoined with caves and clefts of the rocks." — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 49. — $\text{וַיִּצְרְפוּ אֹתָם}$: Cassel, "with them," *i. e.* the boughs. But this rendering will scarcely find favor. De Wette: "over them," *i. e.* the people in the מַחְסוֹת . — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 53. — "All to brake," is old English for "entirely brake." *Cf.* Webster, *Dict.*, under "all," adv. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 53. — $\text{וַיִּשְׁבֹּר אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ}$, from וַיִּשְׁבֹּר , is undoubtedly to be read $\text{וַיִּשְׁבֹּר אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ}$, which reading, according to Bertheau and Kell, is found in the edition of K. Norzi, Mantua, 1742-44. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 42-44. **The people went out into the field.** Sin is blind, and must be, for only repentance opens the eyes. The people of Shechem, notwithstanding their treasonable practices, actually think that the matter is now settled, and that Abimelech is content with the banishment of Gaal. It is a constant characteristic of the natural man, that he either does not hear his conscience, or seeks

to silence it by persuading himself that the guilt to which he shuts his own eyes is also unseen by others. He thinks only of sin and its pleasure, not of its punishment. The Shechemites have forgotten, to their own hurt, what Jotham told them. The thorn-bush emits fire, and consumes those who despise it. Abimelech only tarries in his concealed height, until he has inspired the foolish Shechemites with confidence. With true Punic strategy, he allures them to the open fields, there to attend

to their labor, as if all were peace, and nothing more were to be feared. Caught in the snare, their retreat is cut off. One of Abimelech's companies holds the gate, while others deal destruction to all in the fields. Similar strategies are told of Hamilear, the Carthaginian, against Agrigentum, and of Hannibal against Saguntum (Frontinus, lib. iii. 10, 1).

Ver. 45. He destroyed the city and sowed it with salt. Notwithstanding Abimelech's sanguinary disposition, it would be difficult to account for his savage treatment of Shechem, if we did not remember that the city stood in the covenant of Baal-berith with him. The very money that assisted him to the throne, had been taken from the temple of this god. Now, among oriental nations, as among others, infidelity to covenant obligations was the greatest of crimes. The God of Israel, also, who made his divine covenant with the nation, says (Dent. iv. 23): "Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the covenant of Jehovah your God, which he made with you. For Jehovah your God is a consuming fire, a jealous God." He utters the threat (Lev. xxvii. 25): "I will bring the sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant." In the book of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. xvii. 15) we read: "He hath broken the covenant, and shall he be delivered?"

This covenant with Jehovah, Abimelech has desecrated in the most horrible manner. Does he fear no punishment for that transgression? But the natural man, who lightly breaks the covenant of his God, nevertheless claims the terrible right of punishing those who have failed in duty toward himself, with a severity greater than that threatened by God. The breach of a covenant born of blood and sin, is visited with vengeance like a "consuming fire." Shechem is razed to the ground, and salt is strewn over its site. The usual explanation of this proceeding, of which no other instance occurs,¹ is that by it Abimelech intends to declare Shechem an unfruitful land, a land of salt, as it were (שָׂדֵה מֶלַח). But this explanation, although accepted by all recent expositors, does not appear to be satisfactory. For to make the land unfruitful, he neither intends, nor, if he did, were he able; for no one will think of such a salting as would actually bring about this result.² He can only intend to say, that this city, being unfaithful to its covenants, and forgetful of its oaths, has ceased to exist, and is never more to be known as a city. When Joshua inflicted a similar destruction on Jericho, he swore that it should never be rebuilt (Josh. vi. 26). Abimelech makes the same declaration in the act of strewing salt; for salt is the symbol of an oath, just as among all nations, not excepting the dull tribes of Siberia, it was the symbol of covenants. The salt which he strewed over Shechem intimated both the cause and the perpetuity of the vengeance inflicted. A fate still worse, but less deserved, was suffered by

¹ [In Scripture, the author means, of course. The following instances in comparatively recent times, probably mere imitations of what from this passage is usually assumed to have been an ancient custom, are noted by Wordsworth: "When Milan was taken in A. D. 1162, it was sown with salt (*Sigonius*); and the house of Admiral Coligny, murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, A. D. 1572, was, by the command of Charles IX., king of France, sown with salt."—Tr.]

² [Wordsworth does however: "Sowed it with salt, to destroy its fertility, and to make it barren for ever, like Sodom, comp. Pliny, xxxi. 7." But this idea is not at all necessary to the common explanation (as given by Bertheau,

the descendants of the Milesian Branchidæ who had betrayed the treasures of the temple of Apollo, at Didymi, into the hands of Xerxes, and had obtained through him a city in Persia. Alexander, coming upon this city, gave it up to the vengeance of the Milesians in his army. These destroyed it to its very foundations, killed all the inhabitants, so that not a trace of them remained, and tore up the groves by their roots, so that, as Curtius says (vii. 5, 34), "*vasta solitudo et sterilis humus linguetur.*" Shechem's destruction was not so bad as that: and it was afterwards rebuilt (1 Kgs. xii. 25).

Ver. 46-49. And the lords of the Tower of Shechem heard of it. Still more cowardly than that of the Shechemites, is the conduct of the men of the Tower of Shechem. They venture no resistance at all, but run for safety to the temple-asylum of El-Berith. The House of El, here mentioned, cannot well be the same with the House of Baal hitherto spoken of. The matter probably stands thus: Under the covenant entered into by Israel and the heathen, both parties served the Covenant-Deity, the Israelites in the temple of El-Berith, the heathen in that of Baal-Berith. Aside from this difference of locality, the worship was perhaps identical; and the covenant itself was already a sin. It would however be an error, to suppose that during such times of apostasy all distinction between Israel and the heathen ceased to exist. Abimelech still continued to be an Israelite; and the inhabitants of the Tower of Shechem probably expected to find greater security in the House of El-Berith than could be looked for in the asylum of a wholly heathen temple. The place to which they retired, is called בְּרִיתֵי, and is probably a hall of the temple³ (like הַיְכָל, used to denote a special part of the temple at Jerusa'em). The sanctuary privileges of temples were very great among all nations; and, as is well known with reference to the temple at Ephesus, were not seldom misused. In order to destroy Pausanias without violating the rights of sanctuary, the doors of the temple of Minerva, at Sparta, in which he had taken refuge, were built up, and the roof taken off "that under the open sky he might more quickly perish" (Corn. Nepos, *Paus.* ch. 5). Abimelech resorted to more terrible means. He ascended the neighboring wooded hill, Mount Zalmon—so named from its forest-shades, — and hewed off a multitude of boughs, himself being the first to swing the axe.

(The plural, מַרְדְּמוֹת, stands for all the axes that were used.) These boughs were piled up about the building, and all its inmates perished in the flames. A like deed is related by Herodotus (iv. 164) of Arcesilaus: a number of Cyrenæans having taken refuge in a tower, he heaped wood around it, and burned them to death. It is a species of violence which, especially among the northern nations, has been practiced oftener than

Keil, Bush) that the act was designed symbolically to turn the city into a salt-desert. Our author's explanation does not conflict with that of his predecessors, but rather completes it. — Tr.]

³ The extent of the temple building which this implies is not unparalleled. The temple of Diana in Samos was so large as to afford sanctuary to the 300 Coreyæan boys whom Periander dispatched to Alyattes, king of Lydia, for eunuchs, and yet leave room for choirs of Samian youth to execute certain religious dances before them, ingeniously invented as a means of conveying food to them (Herod. iii 48).

once, — as, for instance, by king Olaf (Tryggvesson), who burned in this manner all the warlocks of his land (Snorro, *Heimskringla*, Saga vi. ch. 69).

In connection with these events, a number of topographical references to the region of Shechem, which prove that the narrator was an eye-witness, but which although alluding to permanent landmarks, as mountain, valley, and forest, are yet not easily traced. Migdal (Tower of) Shechem, however, may be confidently assumed to be the same as Beth (House of) Millo (vers. 6, 20). Abimelech's wrath against it is thus readily understood; for its inhabitants had taken part in his election at the Monument-Oak, and had now doubtless made common cause with those of Lower Shechem. For it is perhaps safe to assume that the places were related to each other as Upper and Lower Shechem. Migdal Shechem, as the Acropolis, was a little city by itself, and might have ventured on further resistance; but its people preferred to pray for mercy, which Abimelech was not the man to exercise.

Vers. 50-53. **And Abimelech went to Thebez.** Since the course of the narrative leads to the inference that Abimelech's march upon this city formed part of his vengeance on Shechem, its location must be sought for at a very short distance from that place. The opinion of recent expositors and travellers (Robinson, Berggren, cf. Ritter, xv. 448 [Gage's Transl. ii. 341]), who identify Thebez with the modern Tubás at the head of Wady el-Malih, does not therefore appear to be altogether certain. To me, Tubás has appeared more suitable for Tabbath (ch. vii. 22). Thebez must have been closely connected with Shechem. Since, in accordance with Jotham's parable, the two miserable associates, Abimelech and Shechem, perish by each other, and since Abimelech finds his end at Thebez, the inhabitants of the latter must have been among those who at first patronized Abimelech. Thebez was built in circular form, like the Grecian Thebe, for it had its Tower in the centre. Its inhabitants preferred desperate battle to mercy; but they were already on the verge of destruction, when Abimelech ("inter confertissimos violentissimos dmicans," fighting furiously in the thickest of the crowd, as Justin says of Pyrrhus) was struck on the head by a mill-stone, which crushed his skull. It appears that the inhabitants of Thebez were prepared for a lengthy siege, since along with provisions they had also brought a hand-mill into the tower. Such a mill consisted of a movable upper (מִלּוֹן, wagon, Eng. runner, Germ. *Läufer*), and of an immovable, nether stone (מִלּוֹן תַּחְתִּיתִי), on which the other turned. The duty of grinding generally devolved on women. Abimelech falls, as the Jewish expositors say, by a stone, as on a stone he had murdered his brothers. Other usurpers also have met with the same fate. When in 1190, impious men sought to destroy the poor Jews, who had taken refuge in the royal castle at York, one of the ringleaders of the mob fell, crushed by a stone (Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, iii. 242).

Ver. 54. **That men say not, A woman slew him.** Poor Abimelech, in the moment of his fall, thinks of nothing save that his death will be ascribed to a woman; an end which has at all times been considered inglorious. To his latest breath, men were to be deceived by appearances. For though his attendant gave him the finishing stroke, it was nevertheless the woman that killed him. And, as 2 Sam. xi. 21 shows, he was not

able to avert the dreaded infamy. Still, this utterance also goes to show the warlike spirit of the fallen man. Energy, valor, and iron strength, were inherited characteristics of his son, not unworthy of his heroic father. He towers, at all events, far above the cowardly Shechemites, the braggart Gaal, and the intriguing Zebul. If ambition and unrestrained fury had not stupified his conscience; if, like Gideon, he had learned to serve and to suffer; had faithfully tarried the call of his God, and had not sought to found by the sword what only God's Spirit can establish, it might have been said of him, as of the noblest: "he judged, delivered his people." As it was, he is never even named by the title "King" which he arrogated to himself; and Jewish tradition exalts the heathen king Abimelech of Abraham's time, above the valiant son of Gideon.

Vers. 55-57. **When the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead.** In Abimelech's death, also, we may read the fate of tyrants. His attendant thrusts him through without hesitation, and the dead chieftain is forsaken by all. The interest created by his person and his wages, is gone. How much more beautiful is the otherwise so tragical death of Saul! His attendant, influenced by reverence, refuses to kill him, and finally follows him in voluntary death. The songs of David celebrate his memory; Abimelech's epitaph, is his brother Jotham's curse!

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Compare on p. 147.

[BP. HALL: O the just successions of the revenges of God! Gideon's ephod is punished with the blood of his sons; the blood of his sons is shed by the procurement of the Shechemites; the blood of the Shechemites is shed by Abimelech; the blood of Abimelech is spilt by a woman. The retaliations of God are sure and just. — THE SAME: The pursued Shechemites fly to the house of their god Berith: now they are safe; that place is at once a fort and a sanctuary. Whither should we fly in our distress, but to our God? And now this refuge shall teach them what a god they have served. — THE SAME: Now, according to the prophecy of Jotham, a fire goes out of the bramble, and consumes these cedars, and their eternal flames begin in the house of their Berith. The confusion of wicked men rises out of the false deities which they have doted on. — HENRY. What inventions men have to destroy one another! — THE SAME: About 1,000 men and women perished in these flames, many of whom, probably, were no way concerned in the quarrel, nor meddled with either side; men of factious turbulent spirits, perish not alone in their iniquity, but involve many more, that follow them in their simplicity, in the same calamity with them. — WORDSWORTH: Many powerful enemies of God and of his people, after victorious acts of oppression, have been overthrown at last by weak instruments, even by women; Sisera, by Deborah and Jael; Haman, by Esther; Holofernes, by Judith; and the Chureli, by the power of the Seed, overcomes the world. — BRUSH: The end of Abimelech suggests the remark, 1. That they who thirst for blood, God will at last give them their own blood to drink. 2. The weak, in God's hand, can confound the mighty; and those who walk in pride, He is able to abase. 3. They who in life consulted only their pride and ambition, will usually die as they

lived, more solicitous that their honor should be preserved on earth, than that their souls be saved from hell. (4.) The methods proud men take to se-

cure a great name, often only serve to perpetuate their infamy. — [Tr.]

SIXTH SECTION.

TWO JUDGES IN QUIET, PEACEFUL TIMES: TOLA OF ISSACHAR AND JAIR THE GILEADITE.

The Judgeships of Tola and Jair.

CHAPTER X. 1-5.

- 1 And after Abimelech there arose to defend [deliver] Israel, Tola the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar; and he dwelt in Shamir in mount Ephraim.
- 2 And he judged Israel twenty and three years, and died, and was buried in Shamir.
- 3 And after him arose Jair, a [the] Gileadite, and judged Israel twenty and two years.
- 4 And he had thirty sons [,] that rode on thirty ass colts, and they had thirty cities, [those] which are called Havoth-jair [the circles of Jair] unto this day, which *are* in
- 5 the land of Gilead. And Jair died, and was buried in Camon.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. And after Abimelech there arose Tola, the son of Puah, the son of Dodo. The record of this man's life contains no stirring actions, like those of Abimelech, but tells of something better. He "delivered" and "judged" Israel. This, however, always presupposes renewed consciousness of sin on the part of Israel, and return to the living God. It is probable that the horrible deeds and the terrible end of Abimelech and Shechem made such an impression upon the conscience of Israel, as to open the way for deliverance. Under this view, the words "after Abimelech" receive a deeper significance; and the reason why the history of that personage was so copiously narrated becomes still more evident. That which at other times was the result of terrors from without, is this time brought about by the civil catastrophe within.

The deliverer's name was "Tola, the son of Puah, the son of Dodo." The mention of father and grandfather both, is unusual, and occurs in the case of no other Judge. It was therefore natural, that already at an early date, and also, it would seem, by the Masora, "ben Dodo" was taken appellatively, as meaning "Son of his Uncle or Cousin." The "his" in that case must refer to Abimelech; and Tola would have to be regarded as the son of a brother or a sister of Gideon. The son of Gideon's brother, he cannot have been (although this is just the relation indicated by ancient expositions, cf. the *κατὰδέλφου* of the LXX.); for he belonged not to Manasseh, but to Issachar. If a sister of Gideon had married a man of the tribe of Issachar, this person might indeed have been called an uncle (*dol*) of Abimelech. But if such were the relation, is it not more likely that the writer would have said, "Son of the sister of

Jerubbaal?" The names Tola and Puah, as borne by sons of Issachar, are already found in Gen. xlii. 13. They became established in the families of that tribe, and frequently recur. It was just so in German families, especially of the Middle Ages. Particular names were peculiar to particular families. (Instead of פִּוּחַ, Puah, we have פִּוּחָה, Puvah, in Gen. xlii. 13 and Num. xxvi. 23, though not in all MSS. 1 Chr. vii. 1 has פִּוּחָה, Puah.) These names indicate a certain industry, which, it may be inferred, must have been carried on in Issachar. Tola (תּוֹלָה) is the Kermes-worm (*coccus ilicis*), from which the crimson, or deep scarlet color (תּוֹלָה שָׁנִי, of which we read so much in connection with the tabernacle, was derived; and Puah is Chaldee for *rubia tinctorum*, or madder red (cf. Buxtorff, *sub voce*). We shall not err, perhaps, if we conjecture that the third name also is added because of its agreement in meaning with the two preceding. For Dodo, if we derive it from דֹּד, *dud*, instead of דָּד, *dod*, cousin, means "pot," or "vessel," a prominent utensil in the preparation of dyes.¹ Names of this kind, it is well known, are not uncommon in the East. Hammer (*Namen der Araber*) even adduces the name *Fihir*, which signifies the stone used for grinding perfumes.

He dwelt in Shamir, on Mount Ephraim. The centre of his judicial activity was permanently fixed in Ephraim. As to Shamir, this name (on its import, compare my treatise *Schamir*, Erf. 1856) may be identified with Shemer, name of the owner of the hill on which king Omri afterwards built Shomeron, Samaria (1 Kgs. xvi. 24).

Vers. 3-5. And after him arose Jair, the

¹ On the vessels excavated in the sandstone, which were used in the preparation of the purple dye at Tyre, see

Wilde, *Voyage in the Mediterranean*, Dublin, 1840, ii 148 ff. quoted by Ritter, xvii. 372.

Gileadite. Just as Tola was a family-name in Issachar, so was Jair in Gilead. The ancestor of this Jair was the son of Manasseh, whose name was associated with the acquisition of the greatest part of the territory in possession of the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh. Machir, it is stated, Num. xxxii. 39-41, took Gilead, and "Jair, son of Manasseh," the "circles," which were afterwards called the "circles of Jair." It has already been pointed out in connection with our explanation of the name Hivite (Chivi), that *charah*, (plur. *chavoth*, Eng. Ver. *Havoth*), means "circle," from the form in which those villages to which it is applied were laid out (see on ch. iii. 3). It would, therefore, involve a twofold error to explain Havoth-Jair, as modern expositors do, by making it analogous to such German names as *Eisleben* and *Aschersleben*; for, in the first place, *charah* does not mean "life" here; and, secondly, in such names as the above, the German *leben* does not mean *vita* but *mansio*.

By these "circles of Jair" we are evidently to understand the whole of the present western Hauran, reaching as far as Jebel Hauran, for Kenath (the present Kenawath) is reckoned among the sixty cities of Jair (1 Chr. ii. 23; 1 Kgs. iv. 13). Wetzstein's conjecture (*Hauran*, p. 101), that these cities are only sixty tent-villages of the nomadic order, is by no means to be accepted; for the books of Kings and Chronicles are conversant with great cities, with walls and brazen bars, in the region that "pertained to Jair." The objection that if such cities had existed, the Assyrians could not have subjected the two and a half tribes so readily, is not borne out. In the first place, because the accounts of this conquest are very brief and scanty; and in the second place, because the history of all ages teaches us, that when the Spirit has left a people, neither fortresses nor "steep heights" avail to detain the enemy. At all events, the Assyrian successes do not prove that the architectural remains of the Hauran cannot in their elements be referred back to the time of the Amorites and Israelites. Without at present entering into any discussion of this subject, we hold the contrary to be highly probable, even though, at the places which would here come into consideration, more recent buildings bear the stamp of more recent times. Indeed, it seems to me, that just as it was possible to identify Kenath, Saleh, Golan, etc., so the name Jair also is in existence to this day. I find it in the name of the city called "Aere" by Burekhardt, "Eera" by Sectzen, and "Ire" by Wetzstein. It is still the seat of an influential (Druse) chieftain. Ritter (xv. 944) warns us against confounding it with the Aera which the Itinerary of Antonine puts in the place of the present Szanamein; but it were more proper to say that the repeated occurrence of the name, should be regarded as evidence that the whole region was once called "Jair's circles."

The narrator's remark that the cities of Jair "are called Havoth Jair unto this day," has been supposed to conflict with the statement of the Pentateuch, wherein this name is derived from the first Jair (cf. Hengst., *Pent.* ii. 193). With regard to some other names of places, such an exchange of

one derivation for another, may perhaps be made out; but here it is quite impossible that one should have taken place. The narrator, who keeps the Pentateuch constantly before his eyes, designs only to remind the reader of what was there stated. In themselves, his words would have been entirely insufficient to explain the origin of the designation *Havoth-Jair*, seeing the discourse was about "cities"

(עִירֵי). Moreover, the number of these cities, at a later date, was reckoned at sixty, whereas here mention is made of only thirty. The sentence is indeed peculiar on account of the double לָהֶם; for which reason a few codices read it but once. But the word does not bear the same sense in both cases. The second לָהֶם, introduces an explanatory clause; so that the meaning of the sentence is this: "thirty cities belonged to them (לָהֶם), of those (לָהֶם)¹ which (the relative הַאֵלֶּה is frequently omitted) are called Havoth-Jair unto this day." The closing words of this sentence ("unto this day") are evidently a mere verbal citation from Deut. iii. 14; for no other occasion exists here, where the question is only of Jair's distinguished position, for their use. Jair, by his strength and virtue, had diffused his family over one half of the entire district, with which his ancient progenitor had long ago associated his own name.

And he had thirty sons, who rode on thirty asses, and had thirty cities. The paronomasia between עִירֵי, asses, and the rare form עִירֵים for "cities," authorizes the conjecture that we have here a sentence from a song of praise in honor of Jair and his prosperous fortune. That which is celebrated is, not that he possessed thirty asses — what would that be to a man who had thirty cities! — but that he was the father of thirty sons, all of whom enjoyed the honor and distinction implied in the statement that they rode upon asses. They rode, that is to say, not merely as men of quality — the usual explanation, — but as chiefs, governors, and judges. It was peculiar to such persons especially that they made use of the ass, as the animal of pence. Their very appearance on this animal, was expressive of their culling to reconcile and pacify. The sons of Jairs judged their thirty cities. This is something not given to all rich fathers; it was a happiness which not even Samuel the Priest was destined to enjoy.

Jair was buried in Camon, doubtless one of the thirty cities of Hauran. The further and more thorough investigation is carried in the country east of the Jordan, the more instructive will its results become. Perhaps we may take the Sahwed el-Kamh, on Wetzstein's map, not far from Ire (Jair), for the Camon of the text. However little may be told of many of the Judges of Israel, of their place of burial information is given. The whole land was to be, as it were, a memorial hall, by which the people are reminded of the men who brought help in distress, when they repented, and which may also teach them to know that all men,

1 [In the text, Dr. Cassel renders לָהֶם by "those," while here he writes "of those." The first rendering may be defended, but the second is as doubtful as it is unnecessary. If the intention be to avoid all appearance of conflict with the Pentateuch, this is just as effectually reached by the unimpeachable version of De Wette: *Man nennt sie Jair's Dörfer bis auf diesen Tag* — they are called Jair's

Villages unto this day. הַאֵלֶּה is the indeterminate 3d per. plural, and (as is remarked by Bertheau and Kell) does not at all affirm that the name was now first given. לָהֶם is the dative of that to which the name is given, and stands first for the sake of emphasis; "they had thirty cities; precisely those cities people call Havoth-Jair." — Ta]

however valiant, die, and that only the one, eternal God survives in deathless existence. But how inadequate monuments and sepulchres are to preserve energy and piety among the people, that the following section once more teaches.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Two judges in times of quiet. After the terrible storm, comes a calm. For half a century Tola and Jair judge Israel, without committing frightful wrongs, or performing enviable deeds. The greatness of Gideon's times, and the baseness of Abimelech's, are both exhausted. An unknown, but happy, generation lives and works in peace under pious Judges. No enemy threatens, the word of God is quick and active, the country prospers, commerce flourishes. A quiet life is rich in seeds. Amid the silence of repose, the germs of spring prepare themselves. It is a type of the Kingdom in the future, when through the eternal calm only the anthems of adoring choirs will be heard, like the voices of nightingales resounding through the night.

So, it is not given to every one to live a quiet, peaceful life, undisturbed by political and social alarms. Let him who enjoys it, not envy the fame with which publicity surrounds great names. In quietness and confidence shall be your strength, says the prophet (Isa. xxx. 15).

STARKE: To govern a nation well in times of peace, is not less praiseworthy than to carry on wars and overcome enemies.—LISCO: Tola saved his people, not indeed by wars and victims, but by right and justice, by the concord and peace which he restored in Israel.

[SCOTT: The removal of hardened sinners, by a righteous God, often makes way for reformation and public tranquillity, and proves a great mercy to those who survive.—WORDSWORTH: The time in which they [*i. e.* Tola, Jair, Ibazan, Elon, and Abdon] judged Israel amounted to seventy years, but the Holy Spirit does not record a single act done by any one of them; and thus He leads us to look forward and upward to another life, and to that heavenly chronicle which is written with indelible characters in the memory of God Himself, and is ever open to his divine eye.—TR.]

SEVENTH SECTION.

THE OPPRESSION OF THE MIDIANITES. JEPHTHAH, THE JUDGE OF THE VOW.

Renewed apostasy and punishment. Awakening and repentance.

CHAPTER X. 6-16.

- 6 And the children [sons] of Israel did evil again [continued to do evil] in the sight of the Lord [Jehovah], and served [the] Baalim, and [the] Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria [Aram], and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children [sons] of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines, and forsook the Lord [Jehovah], and served not Him. And the anger of the Lord [Jehovah] was hot [kindled] against Israel, and he sold [delivered] them into the hands of the Philistines, and into the hands of the children [sons] of Ammon. And that year they vexed and oppressed the children [sons] of Israel eighteen years,¹ all the children of Israel that *were* on the other side Jordan in the land of the Amorites, which *is* in Gilead. Moreover, the children [sons] of Ammon passed over [the] Jordan, to fight also against Judah, and against Benjamin, and against the house of Ephraim: so that Israel was sore distressed.² And the children [sons] of Israel cried unto the Lord [Jehovah], saying, We have sinned against thee, both [namely], because we have forsaken our God, and also [omit: also; read: have] served [the] Baalim. And the Lord [Jehovah] said unto the children [sons] of Israel, *Did not I deliver you* from the Egyptians [from Mizraim, *i. e.* Egypt], and from the Amorites, from the children [sons] of Ammon, and from the Philistines?³ The Zidonians also [And when the Sidonians], and the Amalekites, and the Moabites did oppress you; [,] and ye cried to me, and [then] I delivered you out of their hand. Yet ye have forsaken me, and served other gods: wherefore I will deliver you no more. Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen; let them deliver you in the time of your tribulation [distress]. And the children [sons] of Israel said unto the Lord [Jehovah], We have sinned: do thou unto us whatsoever seemeth good unto thee;

16 deliver us only, we pray thee, this day. And they put away the strange gods from among them, and served the Lord [Jehovah]: and his soul was grieved for [encured no longer] the misery of Israel.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 8. — Dr. Cassel translates this clause as follows (reading וַיִּצְרֹקֵם , instead of וַיִּצְרֹקֵם , see the Commentary below): "And they vexed and plagued the sons of Israel, as this year, eighteen years long," etc. The better way is to repeat the idea of the verbs after "eighteen years," thus: "And they broke and crushed the sons of Israel in that year; eighteen years did they oppress all the sons of Israel who were beyond the Jordan," etc. וַיִּצְרֹקֵם and וַיִּצְרֹקֵם come from the same root, and are synonyms used to strengthen the idea. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 9. — Literally: "and it became exceedingly strait to Israel," cf. ch. ii. 15. On the use of the fem. gender (וַיִּצְרֹקֵם , from וַיִּצְרֹק) in impersonal constructions, see Green, *Gram.*, 243, 3. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 11. — For Dr. Cassel's rendering of this verse, see the comments on it. The sentence is anacoluthic in the original; the construction being changed at the beginning of the next verse. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 6. And the sons of Israel continued to do the evil in the sight of Jehovah. Sin and forgiveness are the hinges of all history, especially of the history of Israel, including in that term the spiritual Israel of modern times. They follow each other like night and morning. As soon as the prayers and faith of a great man cease from among the people, and the earth is heaped over his grave, the new generation breaks loose, like an unrestrained youth. After Jair's death, idolatry spreads far and wide. Israel plays the harlot, in the east with Aram, in the west with the Phœnicians, in the southeast with Moab and Ammon, in the southwest with the Philistines. Those gods are named first, whose people have already oppressed Israel, and have been turned back by men of God. First, the Baalim and Ashtaroth, whose service Gideon especially, the Jerubbaal, overthrew (ch. vi. 25); next, the gods of Aram, whose king was defeated by the hero Othniel; then, the gods of Zidon, the mention of whom — since Zidon, the metropolis, stood for all Phœnicia, *i. e.* Canaan — reminds us of the victory of Deborah and Barak over Jabin, king of Canaan; and finally, the gods of Moab, smitten by Ehud. Israel served these gods, although they were unable to stand before the eternal God. And beside these, it now also serves the gods of the Ammonites and Philistines. These also will first cause it to experience oppression; but then, though only after long penance, become the occasion of divine displays of grace and mercy to Israel. In truth, this "young" Israel serves all gods, except only the living and the true. It runs after every superstition, every delusion, every sensual gratification, every self-deception, but forgets the truth and peace of God. It seeks false friends, and forsakes the true.

Vers. 7-10. And He delivered them into the hand of the Philistines, and into the hand of the sons of Ammon. As far as their sufferings and conflicts with the western nations are concerned, these are related subsequently under the history of Samson. The chastisement which they experience by means of Ammon, leads the way. This falls especially upon the people east of the Jordan, the neighbors of Ammon; and the enervating and

weakening effects of sin and unbelief become clearly manifest in the fact that one of the most valiant of the Israelitish tribes, Gilead, the home, as it were, of heroes, is not able successfully to oppose the enemy. Israel is pressed, plagued, plundered; "as in the first year,¹ so through eighteen years" (for וַיִּצְרֹקֵם read וַיִּצְרֹקֵם). The inflictions to which they were obliged to submit one year, the spoliation of their harvests, the plundering of their villages, the imposition of tribute, are repeated year after year, eighteen times. The manifest weakness of Israel, the dismemberment of the nation, so that one tribe finds no help from any other (ch. xii. 2), emboldens the oppressor. Ammon passes over the Jordan, and attacks Israel in the heart of its most powerful tribes, without meeting resistance. But how came Israel into such a condition of disruption? Whence this inability to unite its forces against the overbearing enemy? This question has already been answered in ver. 6. The people has forsaken the one God, and worships many idol gods. Falling away from the national faith, it has fallen into the disintegration of egoism. The tribes are divided by their special idols, their respective evil consciences, and by local selfishness. Only one thing is common to all, — despondency and powerlessness; for the ideal spirit of the theocratic people, the source of union and courage, is wanting. Hence, after long distress, they all share in a common feeling of repentance. They come now to the tabernacle, long neglected — for while attending at near and local idol temples, they have forgotten to visit the House of God — and say: we have sinned.

Vers. 11, 12. And Jehovah said to the sons of Israel, Not from Mizraim (Egypt), and from the Amorite, from the sons of Ammon, and from the Philistines! It is the Priest who answers the people, in the name of God, through Urim and Thummim, as in ch. i. 1. It has been observed that in ver. 6 seven different national idols are enumerated as having been served by Israel, and that in vers. 11 and 12 seven nations are named, out of whose hand Israel had been delivered. The number seven is symbolical of consummation and completion. All false gods, whom Israel has foolishly served, are included with those that are

¹ [On this translation, see note 1 under "Textual and Grammatical." Dr. Cassel evidently takes וַיִּצְרֹקֵם "this year," to mean the first year of the oppression. Others (Usher, Bosh, etc.) make it the last year both of the oppression and of Jair's life. But this is altogether un-

likely. Hitherto, apostasy and servitude have always followed the death of the Judge. If the present case were an exception, the narrator would certainly have noted it as such. The use of the word "this," would perhaps be quite plain, if we could have a glance at the sources from which the narrator here draws. — Tr.]

named in ver. 6, from the northeast and southeast, the northwest and southwest. Such, undoubtedly, is likewise the sense of vers. 11 and 12. To Israel's prayer for deliverance from Ammon in the land of the Amorite, and from the Philistines, God replies, reproachfully: that Israel bears itself as if it had sinned for the first time, and asked deliverance in consideration of its repentance. But, says God, from of old I have liberated you from *all* the nations that surround you, — from Egypt first, and from every nation that troubled you — east, west, north, and south, — in turn. The voice of God speaks not in the style of narrative, but in the tone of impassioned discourse. Under general descriptions, it comprehends, with rhetorical vigor, special occurrences. It introduces the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amorites, immediately after Egypt, because these nations are now in question. Have I not already, since your exodus from Egypt, given you peace, even from these very Philistines (Ex. xiii. 17), Ammonites (Num. xxi. 24), and Amorites (Num. xxi. 21 ff) ? Thereupon, the discourse passes over into another construction; for from the ancient part it turns now to events of more recent times. In those early times, when Moses led you, you saw no oppression, but only victory. Later, when Zidonians, Amalekites, and Maonites oppressed you, I helped you at your cry. All three names indicate only in a general way, the quarters from which the more recent attacks had come. Since Joshua's death, Israel had experienced only one attack from the north and northeast, all others had come from the east and southwest. That from the north, was the act of Jabin, king of Canaan. It is true, that in the narrative of Barak's victory, the name Zidonians does not occur; but Zidon is in emphatic language the representative, the mother, as she is called, of Phœnicia, *i. e.* Canaan. In a like general sense do Amalek and Maon here stand for those eastern tribes from whose predatory incursions Israel had suffered; for Amalek, the earliest and most implacable enemy of Israel, assisted both Midian and Moab in their attacks. Thus also, the mention of Maon becomes intelligible. Modern expositors (even Keil) consider the Septuagint reading *Mađiáú* (Midian) to be the correct one. We cannot adopt this view; for this reason, if no other, that difficult readings are to be preferred to plain ones. Maon is the name of the southeastern wilderness, familiar to us from David's history. The name has evidently been preserved in the Maon of Arabia Petraea (cf. Ritter, xiv. 1005). Amalek and Maon represent the Bedouin tribes, who from this quarter attacked Israel. Every point from which Israel could be assailed has thus been included; for the first three nations, Philistines, Ammonites, and Amorites, range from the southwest to the northeast, just as the other three, Zidonians, Amalekites, and Maonites, reach from the northwest to the southeast.

Vers. 13-16. **Go, and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen.** From all nations, says the voice of God, have I liberated you. It has been demonstrated to you that I am your true Deliverer, and that all the tribes round about you are your enemies, especially when they perceive that you have forsaken Me. Every part of your land teaches this lesson; and yet you apostatize always anew. I have chosen you without any merit on your part, to be a great nation, and you have left Me; go, therefore, in this your time of need, and get you help from the idol gods whom you have chosen in my place. This answer cuts the sharper, because the idols to whose service Is-

rael apostatized, were identical with the very nations by whom they were oppressed. For every idol was national or local in its character. God speaks here with a sorrow like that of a human father who addresses an inconsiderate child. Nothing but a sharp goad of reprehension and threatening will drive it to serious and thorough consideration. But though inconsiderate, it nevertheless continues to be a child. The father, though for the present he disowns it, cannot in good earnest intend to abandon it altogether. And, in truth, Israel did not miscalculate. When they not only confessed their sins, but even without any visible assistance, imitated Gideon, and in faith removed their idol altars, the anger of their Father was at an end. The phrase *וַתִּשְׁעַר נַפְשְׁךָ*, elsewhere employed of men (cf. Num. xxi. 4, where the people find the way of the wilderness too long), is here applied with artless beauty to Israel's tender Father. "His soul became too short" for the misery of Israel, *i. e.* the misery of the penitent people endured too long for Him. He could no longer bring himself to cherish anger against them. The love of God is no rigid human consistency: it is eternal freedom. Man's parental love is its image, albeit an image obscured by sin. The parable of the Prodigal Son, especially, gives us some conception of the wonderful inconsistency of God, by which after chastisement He recalls the penitent sinner to himself. Nothing but the freedom of God's love — ever right as well as free — secures the world's existence. Love — as only God loves; love, which loves for God's sake; love, that pardons the penitent offender seven and seventy times, — is true consistency. Put away the strange gods, and the withered stock will become green again. This Israel experiences anew, and first in Gilead.

This notice, however brief, of the removal of all strange gods, and of Israel's return to Jehovah, is the necessary, intimately connected, introduction to the narrative of the deeds of Jephthah. It is indispensable to the understanding of his victory and suffering. It explains, moreover, why in the narrative concerning him, only the name Jehovah appears. It teaches us to consider the nature and measure of that life in which God, once lost but found again, reigns and rules.

HOMEILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Apostasy and Repentance. Neither Deborah's jubilant song of triumph, nor Gideon's exulting trumpet notes, could secure succeeding generations of Israel against renewed apostasy. It reappeared even after a season of quiet piety. But equally sure was the coming of divine judgments. They came from all sides, in ever-growing severity and magnitude. The gods of the heathen brought no help, — for they were nothing; and yet for their sake had Israel betrayed its living God. Then Israel began seriously to reflect. They not merely wept, they did works of true repentance. And whenever, by prayer and actions, they call upon their merciful God, He, like a tender father, cannot withstand them. He hears and answers.

Not so do men act toward each other; and yet they are called on to walk in the footsteps of Christ. What wonder that men find their kindness ill requited, when God experiences a similar treatment! But how then dare they cherish anger, when besought for reconciliation! If God was moved,

how can we remain untouched? And yet grudge-bearing is a characteristic against which even pious Christians bear no grudge. The sinless God forgives, and gives ever anew, — and witnesses of God, men of theological pursuits, cherish ill-will and rancor for years!

"How well, my friend, in God thou livest,
Appears from how thy debtor thou forgivest."

STARKE: Men are very changeable and inconstant, and prone to decline from the right way; neither sufficiently moved by kindness, nor influenced by punishment.—THE SAME: True repentance consists not in words but in deeds.—

LISCO: Israel confesses its guilt and ill-desert, and gives itself wholly up to God's will and righteous chastening; yet, full of faith, asks for merciful, albeit unmerited, deliverance.—GERLACH: That the Lord first declares that He will no longer help Israel, afterwards, however, takes compassion on them and makes their cause his own, is a representation which repeats itself frequently in the Old Testament. Each of its opposite elements is true and consistent with the other, as soon as we call to mind that God, notwithstanding his eternity and unchangeableness, lives with and loves his people in time, and under human forms and conditions.

Repentance followed by energy, concord, and mutual confidence.

CHAPTER X. 17, 18.

17 Then [And] the children [sons] of Ammon were gathered together, and encamped in Gilead. And the children [sons] of Israel assembled themselves together, and encamped in Mizpeh [Mizpah]. And the people *and* princes [the people (namely) the chiefs] of Gilead said one to another, What man *is he* [Who is the man] that will [doth] begin to fight against the children [sons] of Ammon? he shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The call of Gideon to be a deliverer took place just when the national distress was at its greatest height, and Midian had entered on a new expedition of pillage and plunder. A like coincidence marked the present crisis. The sons of Ammon were just making a new incursion into Gilead, when they met with a new spirit. The signature of apostasy and sin, is discord and weakness, despondency and self-seeking, issuing in failure and disaster, whenever action be undertaken. The sign of conversion and true penitence is concord and confidence, leading, by God's assistance, to victory.

Ver. 17. And the sons of Ammon were gathered together . . . the sons of Israel also assembled themselves. The phrase "sons of Israel" does not always include all the tribes. The men of any single tribe may be so designated. The narrator uses the expression here, however, in order to intimate that though Gilead alone actually engages in the war it is nevertheless done as Israel, according to the mind and spirit of the whole nation. As soon as Israel repents, the collective national spirit, the consciousness of national unity through the calling of God, reawakes in each of the tribes. The localities at which the respective armies are said to have assembled and prepared for the conflict, will be considered under ch. xi. 29.

Ver. 18. And the body of the nobles of Gil-

ead said. The hitherto cowed Israelites assembled themselves; but that was not all: they were moreover united in all they did. The narrative says expressly *הַנְּבִיִם שָׂרֵי גִלְעָד*, "the people of the nobles of Gilead," *i. e.* all, without exception.¹ No envious, self-seeking voice of protest or dissent was heard. In times in which distress is recognized with real repentance, private interests cease to govern. People then begin to honor truth and actual merit. No deference is then paid to personal vanity, family connections, or wealth; but, all by-views and self-seeking being set aside, he is sought after who renders service. The nobles of Gilead could not more clearly indicate their new temper, than by unitedly promising to subordinate themselves to him who begins to render the banners of Israel once more victorious, as their head.

It is to be noted that they say, "whoso *beginneth* to fight against the sons of Ammon." In him who first again gains an advantage over the enemy in battle, it will be manifest that God is with him. He, accordingly, is to be, not what Gideon's legions desired him to become, their *מוֹשֵׁל*, ruler, nor what the sinful people of Shechem made of Abimelech, their *מֶלֶךְ*, king, but their *רֹאשׁ*, leader. Him who conquers with God, they desire to follow unanimously, as a common head.

And this one soon appeared.

for the mere notion of totality. It is better to take *שָׂרֵי גִלְעָד* as standing in apposition to *הַנְּבִיִם*; "the people (namely) the chiefs of Gilead," *i. e.* the people through their chiefs, as represented by them.—Ta.]

¹ [Dr. Cassel evidently takes *הַנְּבִיִם* as *stat. const.* Sarcely correct. First, because of the article (cf. Ges. Gram. 110, 2); and, secondly, because *עַם* never stands

The previous history and exile of Jephthah. His recall by the elders of Gilead.

CHAPTER XI. 1-11.

1 Now [And] Jephthah the Gileadite was a mighty man of valour [a valiant hero],
 2 and he *was* the son of an harlot: and Gilead begat Jephthah. And Gilead's wife
 bare him sons; and his [the] wife's sons grew up, and they thrust [drove] out
 3 Jephthah, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house; for
 thou *art* the son of a strange [another] woman. Then [And] Jephthah fled from
 his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tob: and there were gathered [there gath-
 4 ered themselves] vain men [lit. empty men, i. e. adventurers]¹ to Jephthah, and went out
 with him. And it came to pass in process of [after a considerable] time, that the
 5 children [sons] of Ammon made war against [with] Israel. And it was so, that
 when the children [sons] of Ammon made war against [with] Israel, the elders of
 6 Gilead went to fetch Jephthah out of the land of Tob: And they said unto Jephthah,
 Come, and be our captain, that we may [and let us] fight with the children [sons]
 7 of Ammon. And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, Did not ye hate me,
 and expel me out of my father's house? and why are ye come unto me now when
 8 ye are in distress? And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, Therefore we
 turn again to thee now, that thou mayest go with us, and fight against the children
 9 [sons] of Ammon, and be our head over all the inhabitants of Gilead. And Jeph-
 thah said unto the elders of Gilead, If ye bring me home [back] again to fight
 against the children [sons] of Ammon, and the Lord [Jehovah] deliver them
 10 before me, shall I [then I will] be your head? [...] And the elders of Gilead said
 unto Jephthah, The Lord [Jehovah] be witness [lit. hearer] between us, if we
 11 do not so according to thy words [word]. Then Jephthah went with the elders
 of Gilead, and the people² made [placed] him [for a] head and captain over them:
 and Jephthah uttered all his words before the Lord [Jehovah] in Mizpeh [Miz-
 pah].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 3 — יִקְרְיָו]. Dr. Cassel here (cf. ch. ix. 4) renders, *lose Leute*, loose, unsettled persons. In his article on "Jephthah" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vi. 466, he describes them as — "people who had nothing to lose. The character and condition of such persons is more definitely described in 1 Sam. xxii. 2, where distressed persons, embarrassed debtors, and men of wild dispositions, are said to have attached themselves to the fugitive David." To prevent erroneous inferences, it is necessary to add the next sentence: "But that Jephthah, like David, engaged in marauding expeditions, cannot be proved." — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 11. — הָעָם]. Dr. Cassel: *Gesamtheit* — "the collective body," — evidently with reference to his previous rendering in ch. x. 18. Cf. note 1, p. 161. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The story of Jephthah is one of the most remarkable episodes of the Sacred Scriptures. But at the same time it is one of those episodes which, from being too exclusively considered in the character of disconnected fragments, have been subjected both anciently and in modern times, to the most singular misapprehensions and distortions. It gives the moral likeness of an Israelitish tribe, in the time of its awakening and return to God. Manasseh is again the coöperating tribe, — not the western half, however, but the eastern, its equal in warlike spirit (1 Chr. v. 24) and strength, but holding a relation to the hero who appears among them different from that formerly held by the other toward Gideon. When Gideon entered on his work, everything depended on his own personality. No divine awakening had preceded, not even in his own city. In his own house, there was an altar to be destroyed. The number of those who deserved to be his followers was only three hundred. Even in

the time of his success and greatness, it is he alone who keeps and upholds the divine life in the nation.

The history of Jephthah furnishes a different picture. Gilead too had sinned, but it had repented. The whole people had put away its false gods, before it found its hero. This hero, on his part, finds himself supported by a spiritually awakened tribe, thoroughly animated with the spirit of faith and obedience toward Jehovah. Every part of the picture is projected on a background of true piety. Jephthah is the hero, the leader, the head of the tribe: but he is not the only one whose eyes are fixed on God; the whole tribe, like members of the head, obey the same attraction. It is only because this background was ignored, i. e. because the connection between chapters x. and xi. was overlooked, that the principal incident in the history of Jephthah has from the earliest times given rise to such singular explanations.

Vers. 1, 2. **And Jephthah the Gileadite was a valiant hero.** The same terms were applied to

Gideon by the Messenger of God (ch. vi. 12). The nobles of Gilead had determined (ch. x. 18) to elect as their leader, him who should give evidence that God is with him, by beginning to wage successful warfare. Thereupon the narrative proceeds: "And Jephthah was a valiant hero." It was he concerning whom they learned that he answered their description. His history is then related. A noble of Gilead had begotten him by a public harlot, and taken him into his house. The name of the father is unknown. In the statement: "Gilead begat Jephthah;" and also when we read of the "wife of Gilead;" the term "Gilead," as tribe name, takes the place of the unknown personal name. Not, indeed, as if "Gilead" could not be a personal name; but if it were, Jephthah would have been designated as "son of Gilead," and not as a "Gileadite," without any paternal surname, as he is styled at the first mention, when he enters on the scene, and at the last, when he dies (ch. xii. 7). This conclusion is strengthened by a comparison with the names of other heroes; with that of his predecessor Gideon, for instance, who is constantly styled the "son of Joash;" and also, among others, with that of one of his successors, "Elon the Zebulonite (ch. xii. 11), as to whom there can be no doubt that he was of the tribe of Zebulun, and had no more definite patronymic. — The father, subsequently, had other sons by his lawful wife. These, when they had grown up, and their father had died, expelled Gideon from the house, although the eldest; for, said they, —

Thou art the son of another woman (אֲנִי בֶן אִשָּׁה אֲחֵרָה). "Other" is here to be taken in a bad sense, as in the expression "other (*acherim*) gods." As those are spurious gods, so "another *ishah*" is a spurious wife. The expulsion of Jephthah was a base act; for his father had reared him in his house, and left him there, and he was the oldest child. The act cannot be compared with the removal of Ishmael and the sons of Keturah from the house of Abraham. Those the father himself dismissed with presents. But Jephthah's father had kept him in the house, and had thus signified his purpose to treat him as a son. Nevertheless, Jephthah could obtain no redress from the "elders of Gilead" (ver. 7). If he had been the son of one who was properly a wife, his brothers would doubtless have been obliged to admit him to a share in the inheritance; for Rachel, the ancestress of Gilead, had also several co-wives, whose sons — of whom, he it observed in passing, Gad in Gilead was one — inherited as well as Joseph himself. But they maintained that his mother had not been a wife of their father at all, not even one of secondary rank, — that she was nothing but an harlot. On the ground of bastardy, they could drive him out of the house; and at that time, no voice raised itself in Gilead but that of mockery and hatred toward Jephthah. Such being the case he fled.

Ver. 3. And dwelt in the land of Tob. The name Tob is found again in 2 Sam. x. 6, in connection with a war of the Ammonites against king David. Its subsequent mention in the Books of the Maccabees (I. ch. v. 13; II. xii. 17), as **Tob, Tob, Tob**, affords no material assistance to any attempt at identification. But since Jephthah flees thither as to an asylum; and since adventurers collect about him there, as in a region of safety, whence he is able to make successful expeditions, we may

be justified perhaps to hazard a conjecture which would tend to increase our knowledge of the Hauran. **Erets tob** (אֶרֶץ טוֹב) means good land, and fertile, as Canaan is said to be (Ex. iii. 8). The best land in Hauran, still named from its fertility, and with which Wetzstein has made us again acquainted, is the Rubbeh, in eastern Hauran. Its name signifies, "fertile cornfield." It is the best land in Syria. It is still the seat of Bedouin tribes, who extend their pillaging expeditions far and wide. Of the present tribes, Wetzstein relates that they frequently combine with the Zubéd, whose name reminds us of the Zabadeans (1 Macc. xii. 31). Their land is an excellent place of refuge, difficult of attack, and easily defended.

At the head of adventurous persons whom the report which soon went out concerning his valor, had collected about him, he made warlike expeditions like those of David (1 Sam. xxii. 2), directed, as David's were also, against the enemies of his nation. Of the son of Jesse, it is true, we know for certain that, notwithstanding his banishment, he attacked and defeated the Philistines (cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 1 ff.); but though we have no such direct statements concerning Jephthah, we yet have good grounds for concluding that his expeditions were directed against the Ammonites. For he evinced himself to be a mighty hero; and the Gileaditish nobles had pledged themselves to elect him as their head who should initiate victories over Ammon. Therefore, when their choice falls on Jephthah, it must be because they have heard of his deeds in the land of Tob against this enemy. — Modern writers, especially, have made a real Abälino of Jephthah, steeped in blood and pillage. The character belongs to him as little as to David. Though banished, he was a valiant guerilla chieftain of his people against their enemies. He was the complete opposite of an Abimelech. The latter sought adventurers (רֵצִיחִים) for a wicked deed; to Jephthah, as to David, they come of their own accord and subordinate themselves to him. Abimelech was without cause an enemy of his father's house, and dipped his sword in the blood of his own brothers. Jephthah, banished and persecuted by his brothers, turned his strength against the enemies of Israel; and when recalled, cherished neither revenge nor grudge in his heart. Abimelech had fallen away from God; Jephthah was his faithful servant. All this appears from his words and conduct.

Vers. 4-6. And after a considerable time it came to pass that the sons of Ammon made war with Israel. It was during the time of sin and impenitence, that Jephthah was driven away by violence and hatred. He returned as an elderly man, with a grown-up daughter. The Ammonitish conflict and oppression lasted eighteen years. The flight of Jephthah to Tob occurred probably some time previous to the beginning of these troubles. In the course of these years he had acquired fame, rest, house, and possessions. He had found God, and God was with him. If this were not his character, he would not have met the "elders of Gilead" as he did. Meanwhile, however, another spirit had asserted itself in Gilead also. For it is the sign of new life, that the elders of Gilead do not shun the humiliation of going to Jephthah. To be sure, they must have been informed that he also served no strange gods; for how otherwise could he be of service to them? In any case, however, it was no small matter to go to

the hero whom, not his brothers only, but they also, the judges, had once ignominiously driven forth, and now say to him: Come with us, and be our captain! (יָצִי: a leader in war, and according to later usage in peace also.)

Ver. 7-9. And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, Did ye not hate me, and expel me out of my father's house? The interview between him and the elders affords a striking proof of the subduing influence which the confession of God exercises, even over persons of vigorous and warlike spirits. Jephthah's speech does not conceal the reproach, that after the hard treatment he received, they should have invited him back before this, not first now when they are in distress. He speaks in a strain similar to that in which the voice of God itself had recently addressed Israel (ch. x. 11).

And nobly do "the elders" answer him. For that very reason, say they, because we are in distress, do we come to thee. Such being the fact, thou wilt surely come. Did matters stand differently, thou wouldest probably (and not unjustly) refuse; but as it is, we call thee to go with us to fight, and be our head over all the inhabitants of Gilead. The satisfaction thus made to Jephthah is indeed great; but the danger and responsibility to which he is invited are not less eminent. His answer, nevertheless, exhibits no longer any trace of sensitiveness or pride. If his tribe call him to fight, he will obey their summons — as all heroes have ever done, who loved their native land. He, however, does it under a yet nobler impulse. Under other circumstances — such is the underlying thought — I would not have come to be your head. If you were now as heretofore, who would wish to come! for far as it is from being a blessing to the trees when the thorn-bush reigns, so far is it from pleasing to a noble mind to rule over thorn-bushes. But since you come to get me to fight with you against Ammon — full of a new spirit, so that I can cherish the hope that God will deliver the enemy before me — I consent to be your head. It is not to be overlooked that Jephthah speaks of "Jehovah," not of "Elohim," and that he places the issue in God's hand; for, as ch. x. teaches, Gilead had learned to see that only God can help. Jephthah is called because God's Spirit is recognized in him. Verse 9 has often been taken as a question; a construction which Keil has already, and very properly, rejected.¹ The position of affairs has altogether erroneously been so apprehended, as if Jephthah were fearful lest, after victory achieved, they would then no longer recognize him as head, and wished to assure himself on this point beforehand. This view originates in the failure to perceive the spiritual background on which the action is projected. Jephthah is not a man who will be their head at any cost. There is no trace of ambition in his language. He is willing to be their head, if they are such members as will insure the blessing of God. Whoever knows his countrymen as he knew them, and has himself turned to God, will not be willing to be their leader, unless they have become other than they were. For that reason he says: If you bring me back, in order truly and unitedly to fight Ammon, and be worthy of God's blessing, — in that case, I will be your head. The guaranty of vic-

tory is sought by this valiant man, not in his own courage, but in the worthiness of the warriors before God.

Ver. 10. Jehovah be a hearer between us, if we do not so according to thy word. They invoke God, whom they have penitently supplicated, as witness; they swear by Him that they will do whatever Jephthah will command. They give him thereby a guaranty, not only that as soldiers they will obey their general, but also that in their conduct towards God they will be guided by their leader's instruction and direction. For not in military discipline only, but much rather in the moral and religious spirit by which Israel is animated, lies his hope of victory.

Ver. 11. And Jephthah spake all his words before Jehovah in Mizpah. Jephthah goes along; the people — the collective nobility — make him head and leader; but not by means of sin and dishonor, as Abimelech became king. Jephthah receives his appointment from the hand of God. In the spirit of God, he enters on his work. As chieftain, it devolves on him to tell his people what course must be pursued: he does it in the presence of God. It is the ancient God of Israel before whom, at Mizpah, where the people are encamped, he issues his regulations, addresses, and military orders. On Mizpah, see at ch. xi. 29.

Keil has justly repelled the idea that the expression לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, "before Jehovah," necessarily implies a solemn sacrificial ceremony. But, on the other hand, the impossibility of such a solemnity cannot be maintained. Whatever the ceremonial may have been, the meaning is, that Jephthah, in speaking all his words before God, thereby confessed Jehovah and his law, in contradistinction to heathenism and idolatry. In the spirit of this confession, he entered on his office.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The manner in which divine compassion fills men with his Spirit, for the salvation of Israel, is wonderful. The inquiry into the origin of the heroes who suddenly arise in Israel, and in nations generally, to deliver and save, is one which leads down into the profoundest depths of divine wisdom. The selection of every Israelitish Judge is a new sign of compassion, but also of corrective chastening. For presumption and self-sufficiency were always at the bottom of their apostasies. Hence, in the selection of the Judges, the admonition to humility becomes continually more urgent. Israel is made to know that God chooses whom He wills, and raises from the dust him whom the people will place at their head. They have already experienced this in the cases of Ehud, the left-handed, of Deborah, a woman, of Gideon, the youngest and least of his family. All these, however, had been well-born persons, connected with the people by normal relations. In Jephthah's case, the choice becomes still more extraordinary. A bastard, an exile and adventurer, must be gone after. The magnates of the land must humble themselves to bring the exile home, to submit themselves to him, and make him the head of the tribe. That they do it, is proof of their repentance; that the choice is just, is shown by the result.

1 [Keil observes that the reply of the elders in ver. 10, יָצִי, "presupposes an affirmative, not an interrogative utterance on the part of Jephthah." The

יָצִי (ver. 9) is simply the emphatic correlative of the preceding יָצִי. — Tr.]

Thus, many a stone, rejected by the builders, has, typically, even before Christ, become the head of the corner. Unbelief deprives a nation of judgment. To discern spirits, is a work to be done only by an inward life in God. Sin expels whomsoever it cannot overcome; but penitence recalls him, whenever it perceives the ground of its own distress. Only he, however, returns without a grudge in his heart, who shares in the penitence.

STARKE: Men are accustomed to go the nearest way; but God commonly takes a roundabout way, when He designs to make one noble and great.¹ — THE SAME: Happy he, who in all he speaks and does looks with holy reverence, even though it be not expressed in words, to the omniscient and omnipresent God; for this is the true foundation of all faithfulness and integrity.

[BR. HALL: The common gifts of God respect not the parentage or blood, but are indifferently scattered where He pleases to let them fall. The

1 [BR. HALL: "Men love to go the nearest way, and often fail. God commonly goes about, and in his own time comes surely home." — TR.]

choice of the Almighty is not guided by our rules: as in spiritual, so in earthly things, it is not in him that willeth. — SCOTT: As the sins of parents so often occasion disgrace and hardship to their children, this should unite with higher motives, to induce men to govern their passions according to the law of God. — BUSH: The pretense of legal right, is often a mere cover to the foulest wrongs and injuries. — HENRY: The children of Israel were assembled and encamped, ch. x. 17; but, like a body without a head, they owned they could not fight without a commander. So necessary it is to all societies that there be some to rule, and others to obey, rather than that every man be his own master. Blessed be God for government, for a good government! — BR. HALL (on ver. 7): Can we look for any other answer from God than this? Did ye not drive me out of your houses, out of your hearts, in the time of your health and jollity? Did ye not plead the strictness of my charge, and the weight of my yoke? Did not your willful sins expel me from your souls? What do you now, crouching and creeping to me in the evil day? — TR.]

Jephthah's diplomatic negotiations with the king of Ammon.

CHAPTER XI. 12-28.

- 12 And Jephthah sent messengers unto the king of the children [sons] of Ammon, saying, What hast thou to do with me [What is there between me and thee], that
 13 thou art come against [unto] me to fight in my land? And the king of the children [sons] of Ammon answered unto the messengers of Jephthah, Because¹ Israel took away my land, when they [he] came up out of Egypt, from Arnon even unto [the] Jabbok, and unto [the] Jordan: now therefore restore those *lands* again
 14 peaceably. And Jephthah sent messengers again unto the king of the children
 15 [sons] of Ammon: And said unto him, Thus saith Jephthah, Israel took not away
 16 the land of Moab, nor the land of the children [sons] of Ammon: But [For] when
 17 Israel [they] came up from Egypt, and [then Israel] walked through the wilderness
 18 unto the Red Sea, and came to Kadesh; [.] Then [And] Israel "sent messengers
 19 unto the king of Edom, saying, Let me, I pray thee, pass through thy
 20 land:"^b but the king of Edom would not hearken [hearkened not] *thereto*. And in
 21 like manner they sent unto the king of Moab; but he would not *consent*. And Israel abode in Kadesh. Then they went along through the wilderness, and compassed^c the land of Edom, and the land of Moab, and came by [on] the east side^d of [to] the land of Moab, and pitched [encamped] on the other [yonder] side of Arnon, but came not within the border of Moab: for Arnon was [is] the border of
 19 Moab.^e And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites,^f the king of Heshbon; and Israel said unto him, Let us pass, we pray thee, through
 20 thy land^g unto my place. But Sihon trusted not Israel to pass through his
 21 coast [territory]: but Sihon gathered all his people together,^h and [they] pitched [encamped] in Jahaz, and [he] fought against [with] Israel.ⁱ And the Lord [Jehovah, the] God of Israel delivered Sihon and all his people into the hand of Israel, and they smote them;^k so [and] Israel possessed [took possession

^a Ver. 17. — The words printed in blackfaced type are found in Num. xx. and xxi. The first part of ver. 17 is from Num. xx. 14, except that there "Moses" takes the place of "Israel." On the other hand, the expression, "Thus saith thy brother Israel," there used, is here wanting.

^b Ver. 17. — Num. xx. 17; only, "let me pass," is there read, "let us pass."

^c Ver. 18. — Num. xxi. 4 has לְצַדָּבָה.

^d Ver. 18. — Num. xxi. 11.

^e Ver. 18. — Num. xxi. 13.

^f Ver. 19 — Num. xxi. 21.

^g Ver. 19. — Num. xxi. 22 has לְעַבְרָה לְעַבְרָה

^h Ver. 20. — Num. xxi. 23.

ⁱ Ver. 20 — Num. xxi. 23, the words "they encamped" being substituted for "he came."

^k Ver. 21. — Num. xxi. 24; "Israel smote him."

22 of, *i. e.* conquered] all the land of the Amorites, the inhabitants of that country. And they possessed [conquered] all the coasts [the entire territory] of the Amorites, from Arnon even unto [the] Jabbok, and from the wilderness even unto [the] Jordan.

23 So now the Lord [Jehovah, the] God of Israel hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldst thou possess [dispossess]² it [*i. e.* the people Israel]? Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever [whatsoever] the Lord [Jehovah] our God shall drive out from before us [shall give us to possess], them [that] will we possess. And now art thou any thing better than Balak the son of Zippor king of Moab? did he ever strive against [litigate with]³ Israel, or did he ever fight against them, [?] While [Since] Israel dwelt in Heshbon and her towns [daughter-cities], and in Aroer [Aror] and her towns [daughter-cities], and in all the cities that *be* along by the coasts [banks] of Arnon [there have passed] three hundred years? [?] why therefore did ye not recover 27 them within that time? Wherefore I have not sinned against thee, but thou doest me wrong to war against me: the Lord [Jehovah] the Judge be judge this day between the children [sons] of Israel and the children [sons] of Ammon. Howbeit, the king of the children [sons] of Ammon hearkened not unto the words of Jephthah which he sent him.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 13. — Dr. Cassel omits "Because." כִּי, in this place, may be either the sign of a direct quotation, as which it would be sufficiently indicated by a colon after "Jephthah"; or a causal conjunction (E. V., De Wette). If the latter, the sentence is elliptical: "We have much to do with each other," or, "I am come to fight against thee," *because*, etc. — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 23. — יִרְשָׁהוּ, lit. "seize him" "The construction of יִרְשָׁהוּ with the accusative of the people," says Kell, "arises from the fact that in order to seize upon a land, it is necessary first to overpower the people that inhabits it." Both he and Berthieu, however, refer the suffix to "the Amorite," and are then obliged to make the Amorite stand for the "land of the Ambrite." — Ta.]

[3 Ver. 25. — רִיב, to contend in words, to plead before a judge. Dr. Cassel translates by *rechten*, to litigate, which must here of course be taken in a derivative sense. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 12. The peaceable negotiations into which Jephthah, before he proceeds to war, enters with Ammon, demonstrate — and the less successful such efforts usually are, the more characteristically — the truly God-fearing character of the new chieftain. The Ammonites were a strong and valiant people (cf. Num. xxi.; Deut. ii. 20, 21); but it was not on this account that he sought to negotiate with them once more. The Ammonites were descended from Lot, the nephew of Abraham; and Israel, on their journey to Canaan, had not been allowed to assail them (Deut. ii. 19). Jephthah, before he draws the sword, wishes to free himself from every liability to be truthfully charged with the violation of ancient and sacred prescriptions. He desires to have a clear, divine right to war, in case Ammon will not desist from its hostile purposes. He hopes for victory, not through strength of arms, but through the righteousness of his cause. This he would secure; so that he may leave it to God to decide between the parties.

What is there between me and thee, כִּי־יָדָעְךָ

לְךָ. A proverbial form of speech, which may serve the most divergent states of mind to express and introduce any effort to repel and ward off. While it might here be rendered, "What wilt thou? what have I done to thee?" in the mouth of the prophet Elisha, repelling the unholy king (2 Kgs. iii. 13), it means, "How comest thou to me? I know thee not!" and in that of the woman whose sorrow for the loss of her child breaks out

afresh when she sees Elijah (1 Kgs. xvii. 18), "Alas, let me alone, stay away!" The Gospel translates it by *τί ἐμαὶ καὶ σοί*; in which form it appears in the celebrated passage, John ii. 4, where Jesus speaks to Mary. But it has there not the harsh sense, "What have I to do with thee!" (which it has not even here in the message of Jephthah), but only expresses a hurried request for silence, for his "hour was not yet come."

Ver. 13. Israel took away my land. For a question of right, Ammon, like other robbers and conquerors, was not at all prepared; but since it is put, the hostile king cannot well evade it. Reasons, however, have never been wanting to justify measures of violence. Although unacquainted with the arts of modern state-craft, ancient nations, as well as those of later times, understood how to base the demands of their desires on historical wrongs. Only, such claims, when preferred by nations like the Ammonites, usually did not wear even the appearance of truth. The king of Ammon seeks to excuse his present war against Israel, by asserting that when Israel came up out of Egypt they took from him the territory between Arnon, Jabbok, and Jordan, about coextensive with the inheritance of Reuben and Gad. It was utterly untrue. For when Israel went forth out of Egypt, this territory was in the hands of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who ruled in Heshbon (Num. xxi.). This king, it is true, had obtained it by conquest; but not so much from Ammon as from Moab, even though some connection of the Ammonites with the conquered lands is to be inferred from Josh. xiii. 25. Israel itself had fought with

neither Moab nor Ammon, taken nothing from them, nor even crossed their borders.

Jephthah does not fail to reduce this false pretense to its nothingness; for it was of the utmost importance in his view to make it manifest that the war, on the side of the Ammonites, was thoroughly unjust. The memoir which he sends to the king of Ammon, is as clear as it is instructive. It shows the existence of a historical consciousness in the Israel of that day, asserting itself as soon as the people became converted to God. For only a believing people is instructed and strengthened by history. Jephthah unfolds a piece of the history of Israel in the desert. It has been asked, in what relation the statements here made stand to those contained in the Pentateuch. The answer is, that the message of Jephthah makes a free use of the statements of the Pentateuch.

Vers. 15-28. Thus saith Jephthah. This introduction to ver. 15 already indicates the free combination by Jephthah, of statements derived from the ancient records. That which is of peculiar interest in this document, and strongly evinces its originality, is, that while the turns of the language and the various verbal repetitions (already pointed out in the text) indicate the source whence it was borrowed, its departures from that source evidence the freedom with which the material is used for the end in view. Nothing is said which is not contained in the Pentateuch; only a few facts, of present pertinence, are brought forward and freely emphasized. Bertheau is inaccurate, when he thinks that the statement in ver. 17, concerning Israel's sending to Moab to ask for passage through their land and Moab's refusal, is altogether new. For in the first place the perfect equality of Edom and Moab as regards the policy pursued towards them by Moses, is already intimated in Deut. ii. 9; and in the next place, ver. 29 of the same chapter makes Moses request Sihon to give a passage to Israel through his land, and that he will not do "as the sons of Esau and the Moabites did," to wit, deny them. That which connects ver. 29 with ver. 28 (Deut. ii.), is not that Esau and Moab had granted what Moses now requests of Sihon, but that they had not allowed his petition, by reason of which he is compelled to demand it of Sihon.¹ Here, therefore, it is plainly intimated, that Moab also refused a passage. This fact, Jephthah clothes in his own language, and weaves into his exact narrative with the selfsame design with which Moses alluded to it in the passage already quoted, namely, to prove that Israel was compelled by necessity to take its way through

the land of the Amorite. The same tracing of events to their causes, leads Jephthah in ver. 20 to say of Sihon: "he trusted not Israel," whereas Num. xxi. 23 merely says: "he permitted not." Jephthah seeks to give additional emphasis to the fact, that if Sihon lost his land, the fault lay not with Israel. Sihon could not but see that no other passage remained for Israel; but he refused to credit the peaceable words of Moses. His distrust was his ruin. Further: instead of the expression, "until I pass over Jordan, into the land which Jehovah our God giveth us" (Deut. ii. 29), Jephthah writes, "let us pass through thy land to my place." At that time, he means to say, the Canaan this side the Jordan was Israel's destination; for not till after that—and this is why he changes the phraseology—did God give us Canaan beyond the Jordan also. For the same reason he substitutes "Israel" for "Moses" in the expression, "And Moses sent messengers" (Num. xx. 14). Over against Ammon, he brings Israel into view as a national personality.

On the basis of this historical review, Jephthah in a few sentences places the unrighteousness of his demands before the king of Ammon. What, therefore, Jehovah our God allowed us to conquer—that thou wilt possess! thou, who hadst no claims to it at any time, since, properly speaking, it was never thine? If any party could maintain a claim, it was Moab; but Balak, the king of Moab, never raised it, nor did he make war on that account. The conquest, by virtue of which Israel held the land, was not the result of wrongful violence, but of a war rashly induced by the enemy himself. God gave the victory and the land. A more solid title than that which secures to Israel the country between the Arnon and the Jabok, there cannot be. Or has Ammon a better for his own possession? Were they not taken by force of arms from the Zamzumim (Deut. ii. 21)? or, as Jephthah expresses it, "were they not given thee by Chemosh, thy god?" He makes use of Ammon's own form of thought and expression. Chemosh (the desolator, from $\text{כִּמְשׁוֹ} = \text{רָבַח}$) is the God of War. As such, he can here represent the god of Ammon, although usually regarded as the Moabitish deity; for it is the martial method in which Ammon obtained his land on which the stress is laid. Chemosh is war personified, hence especially honored by the Moabites, whose Ar Moab, the later Areopolis, is evidently related to the Greek Ares² (Mars). Hence also the representation of him on extant specimens of ancient Ares

¹ [This interpretation of Deut. ii. 29, which would clear it of all appearance of conflict with Num. xx. 14-29, is unfortunately not supported by the language of the original. The natural rendering of the text is substantially that of the E. V.: "Thou shalt sell me food for money, that I may eat; and thou shalt give me water for money, that I may drink; only I will pass through on my feet; as did unto me the sons of Esau who dwell in Seir, and the Moabites who dwell in Ar: until I pass over Jordan, into the land which Jehovah our God giveth us." The reader's first thought is, that the conduct of Edom and Moab is referred to as a precedent covering both parts of the present request to Sihon: "Sell me food and grant me a passage—as Edom and Moab did, so do thou." But history relates that Edom denied a passage, and that Israel made a detour around the Edomite territories. May we then regard the precedent as referring only to the matter of supplies? and the clause which recalls it to the memory of Sihon, as occupying a place after that which a logical arrangement of the clauses would assign it? This supposition, by no means unlikely in itself, seems to be favored by the construction

of the sentence. It does not, however, relieve the passage of all difficulty. For it still leaves the implication that Edom and Moab sold food and water to Israel, whereas according to Num. xx. 20 they refused to do that also. Keil therefore argues that this refusal was made when Israel was on the western boundary of Edom, where the character of the mountains made it easy to repulse an army; but that when Israel had reached their eastern boundary, where the mountains sink down into vast elevated plains, and present no difficulty to an invading army, the Edomites took counsel of prudence, and instead of offering hostilities to the Israelites, contented themselves with the profitable sale of what would otherwise have been taken by force. This is at least a plausible explanation, although not founded on historical evidence, unless, what is by no means improbable, Deut. ii. 2-9 is designed to explain the course of actual events by a statement of divine instructions.—Tr.]

² Hence, the name Aroer proves also that the worship of the "War-god" obtained in Ammon as well as in Moab. For a city of that name existed in the territories of each of these nations.

opolitan coins, where he appears with a sword in his right, and a lance and shield in his left hand, with torches on either side (Eckhel, *Doctr. Nummorum*, iii. 394; Movers, *Phönizier*, i. 334).

Jephthah is sincere in this reference to the title by which Ammon holds his land. He does not dispute a claim grounded on ancient conquest. For in Deut. ii. 21, also, it is remarked, from a purely Israelitish point of view, that "Jehovah gave the land to the sons of Ammon for a possession." Quite rightly too; inasmuch as Jehovah is the God of all nations. But as Jephthah desires to speak intelligibly and forcibly to Ammon, who does not understand the world-wide government of Jehovah, he connects the same sentiment with the name of Chemosh, to whom Ammon traces back his warlike deeds and claims.¹ He thereby points out, in the most striking and conclusive manner, that if Ammon refuses to recognize the rights of Israel to its territory, he at the same time undermines, in principle, his own right to the country he inhabits. Aside from this, 300 years have passed since Israel first dwelt in Heshbon, Aroer, and on the banks of the Arnon. The statement exhibits a fine geographical arrangement: Heshbon, as capital of the ancient kingdom, is put first; then, to the north of it, Aroer (or Aror, probably so called to distinguish it from the southern Aroer) in Gad, over against the capital of Ammon; and finally, in the south, the cities on the Arnon. Possession, so long undisputed, cannot now be called in question. Jephthah concludes, therefore, that on his side no wrong had been committed; but Ammon seeks a quarrel — may God decide between them! But Ammon hearkened not — a proof how little the best and most righteous state papers avail, when men are destitute of good intentions. On the other hand, let this exposition of Jephthah be a model for all litigating nations, and teach them not only to claim, but truly to have, right and justice on their side. For God, the judge, is witness and hearer for all.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[P. H. S.: Jephthah as Diplomatist — a noble model for modern imitation. His document is, 1. Straightforward and convincing by its truthful-

¹ [WORDSWORTH: "It does not seem that Jephthah is here using the language of insult to the Ammonites, but is giving them a courteous reply. He appears to recognize Chemosh as a local deity; and he speaks of the Lord as the

ness; 2. Firm in its maintenance of righteous claims; yet, withal, 3. Winning and conciliating in its tone.—The most upright diplomacy may fail to avert war; but it is nevertheless powerful for the right. Israel doubtless fought better, and with higher feelings, when it saw the righteousness of its cause so nobly set forth; while the enemy must have been proportionably depressed by convictions of an opposite character.—Jephthah's diplomacy as contrasted with that of the king of Moab. Alas, that representatives of Christian nations should so often imitate the heathen king rather than the Hebrew Judge, and that Christian nations should uphold them in it!

HENRY: Jephthah did not delight in war, though a mighty man of valor, but was willing to prevent it by a peaceable accommodation. War should be the last remedy, not to be used till all other methods of ending matters in variance have been tried in vain. This rule should also be observed in going to law. The sword of justice, as the sword of war, must not be appealed to till the contending parties have first endeavored by gentler means to understand one another, and to accommodate matters in variance (1 Cor. vi. 1).—THE SAME: (on vers. 17, 18): Those that conduct themselves inoffensively, may take the comfort of it, and plead it against those that charge them with injustice and wrong. Our righteousness will answer for us in time to come, and will "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men."—THE SAME: One instance of the honor and respect we owe to God, as our God, is, rightly to possess that which He gives us to possess, receive it from Him, use it for Him, keep it for his sake, and part with it when He calls for it.—THE SAME: (on vers. 27, 28): War is an appeal to heaven, to God the Judge of all, to whom the issues of it belong. If doubtful rights be disputed, He is thereby requested to determine them; if manifest rights be invaded or denied, He is thereby applied to to vindicate what is just, and punish what is wrong. As the sword of justice was made for lawless and disobedient persons (1 Tim. i. 9), so was the sword of war for lawless and disobedient princes and nations. In war, therefore, the eye must be ever up to God; and it must always be thought a dangerous thing to desire or expect that God should patronize unrighteousness.—Tr.]

God of Israel, and as our God; and calls Israel his people. He regards Him [speaks of Him?] as a national deity, but does not claim universal dominion for Him."—Tr.]

Jephthah proceeds to the conflict. He vows a vow unto Jehovah.

CHAPTER XI. 29–33.

29 Then the Spirit of the Lord [Jehovah] came upon Jephthah, and he passed over [through] Gilead, and [namely,] Manasseh, and passed over [through] Mizpeh of Gilead [Mizpeh-Gilead], and from Mizpeh of Gilead [Mizpeh-Gilead] he passed
30 over unto [against] the children [sons] of Ammon. And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord [Jehovah], and said, If thou shalt without fail¹ deliver the children
31 [sons] of Ammon into mine hands, Then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth [out] of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children [sons] of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's [Jehovah's], and I will offer it

32 up for a burnt-offering. So [And] Jephthah passed over unto the children [sons] of Ammon to fight against them: and the Lord [Jehovah] delivered them into his 33 hands. And he smote them from Aroer even till thou come to Minnith, *even* twenty cities, and unto the plain of the vineyards [unto Abel Keranim], with a very great slaughter. Thus the children [sons] of Ammon were subdued before the children [sons] of Israel.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 30. — It would be better, perhaps, with Dr. Cassel to omit the words "without fail." The Hebrew infinitive before the finite verb serves to intensify the latter; but the endeavor to give its value in a translation, is very apt to result in the suggestion of thoughts or shades of thought foreign to the original. Cf. Ges. Gram. 131, 2, a. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 29, 33. Noble words are followed by splendid deeds. It is, however, no easy matter to determine the geographical arena in which the history of Jephthah is enacted. The sons of Israel, according to ch. x. 17, assembled themselves in Mizpah. To Mizpah also, Jephthah is brought from the land of Tob; and there he utters his words before Jehovah (ch. xi. 11). This Mizpah cannot be identical with Mizpeh-Gilead; for, according to ver. 29, Jephthah "proceeded — namely, from Mizpah — through Gilead, even through that part of it which belonged to Manassch, thence to Mizpeh-Gilead, and from Mizpeh-Gilead against the sons of Ammon." The position of Mizpeh-Gilead may be probably determined. According to Josh. xiii. 26, there was in the territory of Gad a place called Ramath ha-Mizpeh. This place, the same doubtless which is elsewhere called Ramoth-Gilead (1 Kgs. iv. 13) and Ramoth in Gilead (Josh. xxi. 38), a possession of the Levites, and distinguished as a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 8 ff.), is with great probability referred to the site of the present es-Salt, in modern times the only important place south of the Jabbok, the central point of the Belka, and meeting-place of all its roads (Ritter, xv. 1122). Being built around the sides of a steep hill, which is still crowned with a castle, this place answers very well to a city bearing the name Ramoth (Height). It is still a place of refuge; and, as Seetzen relates, those who flee thither, are, according to ancient custom, protected by the inhabitants, even at the risk of their own lives. Now, as Ramoth ha-Mizpeh may be compared with es-Salt, so Mizpeh or ha-Mizpeh Gilead with what in modern times is called el-Belka.¹ If this be allowed, the point of departure of Jephthah's course of victory is plain. From Mizpeh-Gilead he pressed forward against the enemy, and smote him "from Aroer" (ver. 33). Now, according to Josh. xiii. 25, Aroer lay over against Rabbath Ammon (at present Amman), the capital of the Ammonites, and its position may therefore not improperly be compared with that of the modern Airoh. The places "unto" which Jephthah smote the enemy, Minnith and Abel Keranim, can scarcely be discovered. They only indicate the wealth and cultivation of the now desolate land. Minnith sup-

plied Tyre with wheat (Ezek. xxvii. 17). As to Abel Keranim (Meadow of Vineyards), it implies the vicinity of the Ammonitish capital, whose ruins, and also many of its coins, still exhibit the grape-bunch prominent among their ornaments (Ritter, xv. 1152, 1157). But with all this, Mizpah, whence Jephthah and his men set out to go to es-Salt and Airoh, pursuing their march through Gilead, more definitely, through the Gilead of Manassch, north of the Jabbok, remains yet undetermined. Although it does not occur again, it must yet have been a place of some importance. Inasmuch as it has a name which characterizes its situation only in a general way, it may in later times have borne a different one. It seems to agree most nearly with what in Josh. xi. 3 is called the "land of Mizpeh," — "the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpeh." For, as is also stated 1 Chr. v. 23, "the half tribe of Manassch dwelt in the land of Bashan, as far as Baul-Hermon, and Senir, and Mt. Hermon." Now, the Pella of later times, so named on account of the similarity of its situation to the Macedonian city of the same name — it lay on a height, surrounded by water — is said formerly to have been called Butis, still in agreement with the Macedonian city, which lay in the district Bottiais. A similarity of sound between the name Butis and Mizpah could only then be found, if it might be assumed that as Timnah was also called Timnath, so Mizpah had also been called Mizpatah. It would at all events be worth while to fix, even conjecturally, upon the place where the great hero prepared himself for his victory. As he enters on the conflict, the Spirit of Jehovah rests upon him. He has given the decision into Jehovah's hands; he looks to Him for victory; and to Him he makes a vow.

Vers. 30-32. This vow has been the subject of the most singular misapprehensions; and yet, rightly understood, it crowns the deep piety of this hero of God. Jephthah perceives the full significance of the course on which he decides. He knows how greatly victory will strengthen faith in God throughout all the tribes. He sees a new Israel rise up. The people have trustingly committed themselves to his leadership, and he has uttered all his "words before Jehovah." In this state of mind, he bows himself before his God (1 Sam. i. 28), and makes a vow.² To the national

1 [El-Belka is a modern division of the east-Jordanic territory, and is bounded by Wady Zerka (the Jabbok) on the north, and by Wady Mejeb (the Arnon) on the south. It is evident, therefore, that our author regards Mizpeh-Gilead as the name of a district, not of a city. The reasoning from the identification of Ramoth-Mizpeh with es-Salt to that of Mizpeh-Gilead with el-Belka, is not so clear, but seems to be this: Since Ramoth-Mizpeh is also called Ramoth-Gilead and Ramoth in Gilead, it is to be inferred that Mizpeh, like Gilead, indicates the district in which Ramoth is situated, with this difference, however, that Mizpeh is more definite,

being only a division of Gilead. But Ramoth may be identified with es-Salt in the Belka; hence the ancient district Mizpeh may be compared with the modern province el-Belka. — Tr.]

2 For the history of the exegesis, and its characteristic points, I refer to my article "Jephthah," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, the materials of which cannot here be reproduced, but the drift of which is here, I trust, provided with fresh support. The other recent literature on the subject is indicated by Keil, who justly explains that the assumption of a spiritual sacrifice is almost imperatively demanded. The opinions of the church fathers are collected in the Com-

spirit which expresses itself in the Bible, vows are the signs and expression of the deepest self-surrender to God. Jacob makes vows to be fulfilled on his prosperous return home (Gen. xxviii. 20 ff.). In the Psalms, "to pay one's vows," has become synonymous with "to live in God" (Ps. lxi. 8; cxvi. 16 ff.). The prophet describes the coming salvation of the nations by saying that they shall "make vows and perform them" (Isa. xix. 21). And this idea is deeply grounded in truth: for in the vows which man makes to God, there is evidently expressed a living faith in the divine omnipotence and omniscience. Man expects from Him, and would fain give to Him. The more one feels himself to have received from God, the more will he desire to consecrate to Him. Such is the feeling under which Jephthah makes his vow to Jehovah. He promises that if God grant him victory, and he return home crowned with success, then that which goeth forth from the doors of my house to meet me, shall be Jehovah's, and I will present it as a whole burnt-offering." He makes this vow from the fullness of his conviction that victory belongs to God alone, and from the fullness of his love, which would give to God that which belongs to Him as the author of success. He would make it known to God, that he regards Him, and not himself, as the commander-in-chief. There exists, therefore, a profound connection between the words, "when I return in peace from the sons of Ammon," and the expression, "whatsoever cometh forth to meet me;" and it is essential to the right understanding of the vow that this be borne in mind. Victory will awaken great rejoicings among the people. They will meet the returning victor with loud acclamations of gladness. They will receive him with gifts and adornments, with garlands and dances. Such receptions were customary among all nations. The multitude scattered roses, myrtles,¹ and perfumes. Similar customs obtained in Israel (1 Sam. xviii. 6). Jephthah will be celebrated and praised. But not to him — to God, belongs the honor! That which is consecrated to him, belongs, wholly and entirely, to God. *This is the first ground of his vow.* Jephthah's overflowing heart knows not what to consecrate. He feels that nothing is sufficient to be presented to God. But all things are subject to God's disposal. Therefore, whatever comes forth over the threshold of his house to meet him, when he returns victorious, — it shall be for God. He will have no part in it. By this first ground of the vow, its analogy with heathen narratives is so far limited, that there is here no talk of a sacrifice to consist of just the first² whom he meets, and the first alone. Nor is it necessary to assume that *הַיּוֹנֵק הַבְּרִיחַ*, "that which goeth forth," must be understood to mean only one person. It is as little necessary as that in Num. xxx. 3 (2), where vows are treated of, the words

mentary of Serarius. Bertheau's decision for an actual sacrificial death, may probably be explained by the supposition that he did not view the transaction freely and independently, but only with reference to the opinions of others, a proceeding of too frequent occurrence.

1 Cf. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griech. Vasengemalte*, i. 130, 166.

2 Which is the decisive point in the legends concerning Idomeneus, as told by Servius, and Alexander, as related by Valerius Maximus (vil. 3; cf. my article in Herzog, vi. 472). This also is the turning point in a series of later, especially German, popular tales, in which the "first" is not so much freely promised to, as demanded by, the demon power who, for that price, has supported or delivered the

person from whom the sacrifice is required. This "first" is usually the person most beloved by him who, to his great regret, has made the promise (cf. Müllenhoff, *Sagen*, pp. 384, 385, 395; Sommer, *Sagen*, pp. 87, 131). Sometimes, the "first human being" is successfully rescued from the devil — for it is he who appears in Christian legends — by the substitution of an animal. In one of Müllenhoff's legends (p. 162, *Anmerk.*) a dog becomes the "first;" in Grimm's *Mythologie*, p. 973 (cf. Wolf, *Deutsche Sagen*, p. 417, etc.), it is a goat. No doubt, a mistaken exposition of Jephthah's vow, had its influence here. It is, therefore, the more important to insist that in the vow nothing is said of a *first* one who may meet the returning conqueror.

הַיּוֹנֵק הַבְּרִיחַ, "that which proceedeth out of his mouth," must mean *one* word. The participle is in the singular on account of its neutral signification. This indefiniteness is the peculiar characteristic of the votive formula. Equally indefinite is the meaning of the verb *הֵצִיחַ* ("goeth forth"), which may be used of persons and things, men and animals (cf. Gen. ix. 10). But the occasion of the vow shows also that Jephthah must have thought of *persons* as coming forth to meet him. At all events, he cannot have thought that precisely a lamb or an ox would come forth from his doors to meet him. Notwithstanding the breadth of the vow, notwithstanding all its indefiniteness, which is left, as it were, to be filled out by God himself, the chieftain must have thought of *persons* coming to meet him; for they come forth on account of the victory, and for that reason may be given to God who gives the triumph. Doubtless, the abundance of his love is as boundless as that of his faith. As little as he analyzes the latter, by which God's victorious might enters his heart, so little does his vow separate and individualize the objects of the former. He calculates not — raises no difficulties: whatever comes to meet him, that he will give to God. But as surely as this does not include things beyond the range of possible contingencies, so surely must he have had some thoughts as to who might meet him on a victorious return home. And if he was aware that not only oxen and lambs might come out to meet him — for such a limitation would contradict the breadth of the vow itself — he was equally aware that not everything which might come forth, could be offered up like oxen and lambs.

Due stress being laid on the fact that the meeting is contemplated as one taking place in consequence of victory, there is suggested, for the further understanding of the vow, a *second point of view*, not yet properly considered. Jephthah's war is a national war against Ammon. The freedom and rights, which Israel had received from Jehovah, are thereby vindicated. The negotiations about the claims to certain lands, set up by Ammon, and refuted by Jephthah, have not been related in vain. They exhibit the God of Israel in his absolute greatness, over against Chemosh, the false deity of the Ammonites. Israel has repented; and it is not one man, but the whole tribe, that is represented as beseeching Jehovah for help. To bring out this contrast between Jehovah and the gods of the heathen, the history of Israel, which rests on the power and will of Jehovah, is referred to in a free and living way. Jephthah is conversant with the divine record. He calls on Jehovah to decide as judge between himself and Ammon (ver. 27), just as in his dealings with the Gileadites he appeals to Him as "Hearer" (ver. 11). He utters his words "before Jehovah," and the "Spirit of Jehovah" comes upon him. The name "Elohim" —

person from whom the sacrifice is required. This "first" is usually the person most beloved by him who, to his great regret, has made the promise (cf. Müllenhoff, *Sagen*, pp. 384, 385, 395; Sommer, *Sagen*, pp. 87, 131). Sometimes, the "first human being" is successfully rescued from the devil — for it is he who appears in Christian legends — by the substitution of an animal. In one of Müllenhoff's legends (p. 162, *Anmerk.*) a dog becomes the "first;" in Grimm's *Mythologie*, p. 973 (cf. Wolf, *Deutsche Sagen*, p. 417, etc.), it is a goat. No doubt, a mistaken exposition of Jephthah's vow, had its influence here. It is, therefore, the more important to insist that in the vow nothing is said of a *first* one who may meet the returning conqueror.

is not used, — for that Ammon considers applicable to his gods also, — but always that name which involves the distinctive faith of Israel, namely, Jehovah. All through, Jephthah is represented as familiar with the Mosaic institutes, and imbued with their spirit; and this just because the history deals with a national war against Ammon. The vow also, which Jephthah makes, is modeled by this contrast between Israel and Ammon. The tribes descended from Lot are especially notorious for the nature of their idolatrous worship. The abominations practiced by Ammon and Moab in honor of Milcom (as they called Molech) and Chemosh, are sufficiently familiar from the history of Israel under the kings (1 Kgs. xi. 7, etc.). The sacrifice of human beings, particularly children, formed a terrible part of their worship. They burned and slaughtered those whom they loved, in token of devotion and surrender to the dreaded demon. The same practices were generally diffused among the Phœnicians (cf. Movers, i. 302). On great national occasions, such as war or pestilence, parents vowed to sacrifice their children on the public altars. In the Second Book of Kings (ch. iii. 27) we have the horrible story of the king of Moab, who slaughtered his eldest son on the walls of his city. Without entering farther into this terrible superstition, the explanation of which by Movers is not exhaustive, thus much it is necessary to say here: that the sacrifices it required were regarded by the nations who offered them, as the highest expression of their self-surrender to the idol-god. Hence, it is only upon the background of this practice, that the offering of Isaac by Abraham can be rightly understood. Abraham is put to the proof, whether he will show the same free and obedient self-surrender. As soon as he has done that, it is made clear that such sacrifices God does not desire.

A similar contrast is unquestionably exhibited in the vow of Jephthah; only, here the reference is specially to Ammon. Jephthah appears before Jehovah with devotion and readiness to make sacrifices not inferior to that of which idolaters boast themselves. He promises to present to God whatever shall come to meet him. In the form of a vow, and with indefinite fullness, he declares his readiness to resign whatsoever God himself, by his providential orderings, shall mark out. It is precisely in this that the conscious opposition of the vow to the abominable sacrifices of the Ammonites expresses itself. The highest self-abnegation is displayed; but in connection with it, the will of God is sought after. God himself will determine what is acceptable to Him; and Jephthah knows that this God has said: "When thou art come into the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire (which was the Moloch-worship of the Ammonites); . . . for every one that doeth these things, is an abomination unto Jehovah; and because of these abominations doth Jehovah thy God drive them out from before thee" (Deut. xviii. 9 ff.). To the expulsion of the nations by God, in favor of Israel, Jephthah's hin-

1 That it is just Jephthah, and he as the hero of law and faith, who presents this contrast with Ammon and human sacrifices, those expositors have overlooked, who, in spite of the God who was with him, describe this very Jephthah as a barbarous transgressor of law.

2 Our exposition puts no new and strained interpreta-

self formerly appealed. We conclude, therefore, that the very formula of this vow, made on the eve of war with Ammon, excludes the idea of a human sacrifice.

The sacrificial system of Israel stands throughout in marked contrast with the Cannanitic Moloch service. Its animal sacrifices are the spiritual symbols which it opposes to the abominations of Canaan. To see this, it is only necessary to refer once more to the sacrifice of Abraham. God says to him: Offer me Isaac for a whole burnt-offering (לְעֹלָה); and when Abraham is about to give Isaac wholly up, an animal is substituted for him (Gen. xxii. 2, 10 ff.). Since that time, עֹלָה (burnt-offering or whole burnt-offering) is the typical and technical term for an animal sacrifice, symbolical of perfect surrender and consecration to God. The offerings which were thus named, were wholly consumed by fire. Nothing was left of them. Hence, precisely עֹלָה, in its sense of animal sacrifice, presented a strong contrast with the worship of the Ammonites, for among them human beings were offered up in the same manner as the Israelites offered animals.

When Gideon is directed to destroy the altar of Baal, he is at the same time commanded to offer a bullock as a whole burnt-offering (עֹלָה) on an altar to be erected by himself, and to consume it with the wood of the Asherah (ch. vi. 26).² Such also is the whole burnt-offering (עֹלָה), to offer which permission is given to Manoah, the father of Samson, without any mention being made of the animal (ch. xiii. 16). The influence of worship on language in Israel, brought it about that

עֹלָה, to offer, signifies the offering of an animal which is to be wholly consumed in the sacred fire. It is therefore significant and instructive, when in Jephthah's vow we find the expression: "It shall be Jehovah's, and I will present it as a whole burnt-offering (עֹלָה)". In no other instance in which the bringing of a whole burnt-offering is spoken of, is the additional expression, "it shall be Jehovah's," made use of, not even in the instances of Gideon and Manoah, although this of Jephthah is chronologically enclosed between them. How strangely would it have sounded, if it had been said to Gideon: "Take the bullock; it shall belong to Jehovah, and thou shalt present it as a whole burnt-offering." For the bullock is presented in order that Gideon may belong to God. It is offered, not for itself, but for men. It is placed on the altar of God, just because it is the property of man. It is foreign to the spirit of Biblical language and life to say of a sacrificial animal, "it shall belong to God," for the reason that the animal comes to hold a religious relation to God, only because it belongs to man, and is offered in man's behalf. An animal belonging to God, in a religious sense, without being offered up, is inconceivable. At least, it cannot be permitted to live.

Very important for this subject, is the passage in Ex. xiii. 12, 13. It is there commanded that, when Israel shall have come into Canaan, every

tions on דָּבָר and עֹלָה, but leaves them to be understood in their general and well known Biblical acceptation —

עֹלָה being here the symbol of a spiritual truth, while

yet it ignores animal sacrifices as little as does דָּבָר, see Pa. II. 21 (19).

first-born shall be set apart unto Jehovah, both the firstlings of every beast "which thou hast" (אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה לְךָ), and the first-born of man. The firstling of such animals as cannot be offered, the ass, for instance, is to be redeemed with money; or, if the owner do not wish to redeem it, he must kill it. The first-born of man, however, must be redeemed. The first-born animal is moreover set apart for God only on account of man, its owner. This substitutionary "belonging to God," it can only represent in death. Hence the expression, "it shall belong to God," is never used of animals, but they are said to be "offered." On the contrary, it can be applied only to human beings; "he shall belong to God," shall live for God, conscious of his own free will and of the divine Spirit, which consciousness is wanting in animals. Scripture itself gives this explanation, Num. iii. 12, where it is said: "Behold, I have taken the Levites from among the sons of Israel, instead of all the first-born; therefore, the Levites belong to me (לְךָ יִהְיֶה לֵוִי)." The Levites belong to God for all Israel through their *life*; the first-born of animals, through their sacrificial death. Accordingly, Hannah also, when she makes her vow to God, says, that if a son be granted her, she will give him unto Jehovah; and when she brings him to the tabernacle, that he is "lent unto Jehovah (שָׂאוֹל לַיהוָה), 1 Sam. i. 28) as long as he liveth."

We perceive, therefore, that in the words of Jephthah, "it shall be Jehovah's, and I will present it as a whole burnt-offering," there can be no mere tautology. The two clauses do not coincide in meaning; they cannot stand the one for the other.

It is necessary, however, to attend to every word of this remarkable verse. For the vow is a contract, every point of which has its importance, and in which not only *one* being is thought of, but in which all creatures, human beings as well as brute beasts, the few or the many, that may come forth to meet Jephthah, are included, and each is consecrated as his kind permits. The vow speaks of whatsoever cometh forth "out of the doors of my house." Many will come to meet him, but he can offer only of that which is his; over the rest he has no power of disposition. His promise extends to what comes out of his own house; and not to anything that comes accidentally, but to what comes "to meet him." It must come forth for the purpose of receiving him. But even then, the vow becomes binding only when he returns crowned with victory and salvation (וְשָׁלוֹם), and that, not over any and every foe, but over Ammon. If *thus* he be permitted to return, then whatever meets him "shall be Jehovah's, and he will present it as a whole burnt-offering."

The promise must necessarily be expressed with the greatest exactitude. This was demanded by the requirement of the law, that he who makes a vow "shall keep and perform that which is gone out of his lips, even as he vowed" (Deut. xxiii. 24 [23]; Num. xxx. 2). Had Jephthah thought only of animals, he would merely have employed the formula usual in such cases — "and I will present it unto thee as a whole burnt-offering." It would

not have been sufficient to have said, "it shall belong to Jehovah," because an animal belongs to God in this sense only when sacrificed for men. Precisely the insertion of the words, "it shall belong to Jehovah," proves, therefore, that he thought also of human beings. The generality and breadth of the vow makes both clauses necessary, since either one alone would not have covered both men and animals. The first was inapplicable to animals, the second to human beings. Both being used, the one explains and limits the other. The main stress lies on the words, "it shall belong to Jehovah," for therein is suggested the ground of the vow. They also stand first. Were human beings in question? then the first clause went into full operation; and the second taught that a life "belonging to God" must be one as fully withdrawn from this earthly life as is the sacrificial victim not redeemed according to law; while the first limited the second, by intimating that a human being need not be actually offered up, as the letter of the promise seemed to require, but that the important point is that it belong wholly to God.

God demands no vows. It is no sin, when none are made. But when one has been made, it must be kept. Jephthah obtains the victory: God does his part; and the trying hour soon comes in which Jephthah must do his. But, as in battle, so in the hour of private distress, he approves himself, and triumphs, albeit with tears.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Jephthah is deeply impressed with the extraordinary nature of the call he has received. For it is only because he is humble, that he is called. Gideon, in his slight estimate of himself, asks of God to show him miraculous signs on such objects as he points out. Jephthah, regarding the undertaking as great and himself as small, would fain give to God whatever He himself shall elect. His vow is the offspring of his humility. It is pressed out of him by the extraordinary calling which is imposed upon him. His love values nothing so highly, that he should not leave it to God to decide what shall be given up; but the will of God often goes sorely against the heart.

So deeply, also, does every truly humble man feel his calling as Christian and as citizen. "It is difficult to be a Christian," says the heart, terrified at itself. And yet, for him who has been redeemed through penitence and faith, it is so easy. He only would give all, who knows that he must receive all. But the love of the soul that gives itself up, is stronger than its own strength. No true vow is made to the Lord without self-crucifixion. God's ways are incomprehensible. Whom He loves, He chastens. We are ready to give Him everything; but when He takes, we weep. A broken heart is more pleasing to Him than sacrifice. No Passion, no Gospel.

GERLACH: The design of this history (concerning the vow) is not so much to set forth the rudeness of the age, or the dangers of rashly made vows, as rather to show how Israel was saved from its enemies by the faith of Jephthah, and how the service of the true God was restored under the heaviest sacrifices of the faithful.

Jephthah, returning victoriously, is met by his daughter. The fulfillment of his vow.

CHAPTER XI. 34-40.

34 And Jephthah came to Mizpeh [Mizpah] unto his house, and behold, his daughter came [comes] out to meet him with timbrels and with dances: and she *was his*
 35 only child; beside her¹ he had neither son nor daughter. And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought [thou bringest] me very low, and thou art one of them [the only one]² that trouble [afflicteth] me: for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord [Jehovah],
 36 and I cannot go back. And she said unto him, My father, *if* [omit: if] thou hast [hast thou] opened thy mouth unto the Lord [Jehovah], [then] do to me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the Lord [Jehovah] hath taken³ vengeance for thee of thine enemies, *even* of the children [sons]
 37 of Ammon. And she said unto her father, Let this thing be done for [to] me:⁴ Let me alone two months, that I may go up and down [may go and descend]⁵ upon the mountains, and bewail [weep over] my virginity, I and my fellows [companions]. And he said, Go. And he sent her away [dismissed her] *for* two months; and she went with her companions, and bewailed [wept over] her virginity upon the mountains. And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father, who did with her *according* to his vow which he had
 40 vowed: and she knew no man. And it was [became] a custom in Israel, *That* the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament [praise] the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in a [the] year.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 34. — מְצִפְהָ, for מְצִפְהָ, because the neutral conception "child" floats before the writer's mind, cf. Bertheau. The explanation of מְצִפְהָ by *ex se*, implying that Jephthah, though he had no other child of his own, had step-children, would, as Bertheau says, be "unworthy of mention," were it not suggested in the margin of the E. V. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 35. — הַיְיָת בְּלִצְרָיִךְ might be rendered: "thou art among those who afflict me." But the י is probably the so-called *essentia* (Keil), and simply ascribes the characteristic of a class to the daughter (cf. Ges. Gram 154, 3, a). Dr. Cassel's "only" is not expressed in the original, but is readily suggested by the contrast of the sad scene with all the other relations of the moment. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 36. — וַיִּצְדָּה, lit. "done," with evident reference to the same word used just before: "do, since Jehovah hath done," cf. the Commentary. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 37. — Dr. Cassel makes this clause refer to the fulfillment of the vow, and renders: "Let this thing be done unto me, only let me alone two months," etc. But it clearly introduces the request for a brief period of delay, and is rightly rendered by the E. V., with which Bertheau, Keil, De Wette agree, cf. the Commentary. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 37. — וַיִּרְדָּה, "descend," i. e. from the elevated situation of Mizpah (cf. on vers. 29, 33), to the neighboring lower hills and valleys (Keil). וַיִּרְדָּה does not mean to "wander up and down," a rendering suggested only by the apparent incongruity of "descending" upon the "mountains." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 34-36. And behold, his daughter comes out to meet him. A great victory had been gained. The national enemy was thoroughly subdued. All Gilead was in a joyful uproar. The return of the victorious hero is a triumphal progress; but when he approaches his home, his vow receives a most painful and unexpected definition. "It shall be God's, and not belong to the victor" — so runs the vow — "whatsoever comes out of my house to meet me." And here is his daughter coming towards him, with tambourines and choral

1 [Dr. Cassel manifestly views Jephthah's vow as *sui generis* — not belonging to the class of vows treated of in Lev. xxvii 1 ff. and therefore not falling under the provis-

dances, to celebrate her father's victory! He sees her, and is struck with horror. It is his only child; and his vow tears her from his arms, and makes him childless. Broad as his vow was, he never thought that he could, even if he would, include *her* in it. This again appears from the circumstance, already adverted to, that the victory and the vow are against *Ammon*. The heathen promised or sacrificed their first-born sons. According to the Mosiac law, also, the first-born males (בְּכֹרֵי) belong to God. The same law permitted only male¹ victims to be presented as
 lions there made. Jephthah proposes a whole burnt-offering — spiritual indeed so far as its possible human subjects are concerned, but still bound by the law of whole burnt-offer-

whole burnt-offerings (Lev. i. 3). Jephthah's design was to testify that he gave himself up to his God as entirely as the Ammonites imagined themselves to do to their idols. He would have consecrated his first-born son to God—Abraham's child, also, was a boy,—but *he had none*. Hence, he expresses his self-renunciation in the form of a vow, in which he leaves it to God to select whatever should be most precious in his eyes. But of his daughter he did not think. It never even occurred to him that she might come forth to meet him; for that was usually done only by women¹ (נָשִׁים, Ex. xv. 20; 1 Sam. xviii. 6), not by maidens, who remained within the house; and Jephthah's daughter was yet a בְּתוּלָה, virgin. But this daughter was worthy of her father. The victory was so great, that she breaks through the restraints of custom, and, like Miriam (the same terms are used here as on the occasion of Moses' song of victory, Ex. xv. 20), goes forth to meet the conqueror. As soon as Jephthah sees her, he recognizes the will of God. His vow is accepted; but comprehensive as he consciously made it, it is God who now first interprets it for him in all its fullness. The hero had made the vow in this indefinite form, because he had no only and dearly loved son like Isaac. True, he had a daughter; but he deemed himself debarred from consecrating her, and *therefore* makes his vow. God now teaches him that he looks not at the sex of the consecrated, but at the heart of the consecrator. However comprehensive Jephthah's vow, without his daughter it would at most have cost him money or property, but his heart would have offered no sacrifice. God teaches him that He delights not in he-goats and oxen;² that that which pleases Him is a broken heart. His heart breaks within him, when he sees his daughter. She is his darling, his sole ornament, the light of his house, the jewel of his heart; and from her he must separate. He comes home the greatest in Israel; he now feels himself the poorest. But he perceives that this is the real fulfillment of his vow; that God cares not for money or property. The highest offering, which God values, is a chastened heart. Obedience is better than sacrifice. The life is not in the letter: every contract with God must be kept in the spirit. Jephthah's faith revealed itself before the battle. That God was with him, was proved by his victory. But his entire self-surrender to God approves itself still more beautifully after the battle. For he conquers himself. He bowed himself reverently before God, before the decision was given; but his deepest piety manifests itself afterwards. He gives his own people, he gives Ammon and Moab, an instance of the power of an Israelite to perform the vows he has made. He suffers his vow to bind him, but does not attempt to bind it. He inter-

ings. Now, that law requires that offerings shall be of the male gender; whereas ordinary vows might embrace females, Lev. xxvii. 4. This view will impart clearness to some of our author's sentences farther on, where he intimates that Jephthah could not redeem his daughter without taking "refuge behind external formulæ," *i. e.* without interpreting the vow, as if it belonged to a class of vows to which it was not originally meant to belong. — Tr.]

¹ [Frauen, by which the author evidently means married women. But נָשִׁים bears no such restricted sense, cf. Ges. Lex. s. v. Moreover, that maidens were confined to the house is a proposition decidedly negated by all we know of the position of the female sex among the Hebrews. See Bible Dict., art. "Women." — Tr.]

² Apparently similar thoughts, it is true, are suggested

prets it, not according to the letter, but the spirit. Lev. xxvii. 4, 5 prescribes the way in which a woman, concerning whom a vow has been made, is to be redeemed. But his only little daughter, who comes to meet him, he cannot protect. Since God leads her forth towards him, He cannot intend an offering of ten shekels (Lev. xxvii. 5). His pious soul does not take refuge behind external formulæ; as we read in connection with heathen vows and bad promises.³ He recognizes the fact that, since his only, dearly loved child comes to meet him, God demands of him all the love which he cherishes for her, and all the pain which it will cost him to part with her. And in this conviction, he hesitates not for an instant. He believes like Abraham; and, like him, albeit with a bleeding heart, makes full surrender of what God requires.

The scene of Jephthah's meeting with his daughter has no equal in pathetic power. Her we see advancing with a radiant face, giving voice to her jubilant heart, surrounded by dancing companions, and longing to hear her father's happy greeting; while he, in the midst of sounding timbrels and triumphant shouts—hides his face for agony! What might have been a moment of londest jubilation, is become one of the deepest sorrow. That on which his imagination had fondly dwelt as the crowning point of his joy—the honor with which he could encircle the head of his only child, his virgin-daughter, now the first in all the nation—was instantly transformed into the heaviest woe. "O my daughter, deeply hast thou caused me to bow, and thou alone distressest me." He borrows the words perhaps from the panegyric song in which she celebrates him as "having caused the enemy to kneel,⁴ and to be distressed;" and in the extremity of his grief applies them to his child, thus suddenly astonished and struck dumb in the midst of her joy. "But," continues the hero, though his heart weeps, "I have opened my mouth unto Jehovah, and I cannot go back." I promised God in the spirit of sincerity, and must perform it in the same spirit. And there is not in all antiquity, no, nor yet in Holy Scripture, an instance of a maiden uttering a more beautiful, more profoundly pathetic word, than that which Jephthah's daughter, a hero's daughter, a true child of Israel, speaks to her father, even while as yet she knows not the purport of the vow: "Hast thou opened thy mouth to Jehovah, then do according to that which proceeded out of thy mouth; for Jehovah also hath done according to thy word, and hath taken vengeance on thy enemies." She neither deprecates nor laments, gives no start, exhibits no despair—does nothing to make her father waver; but, on the contrary, encourages him, refers him to what God has done, and bids him do as he has promised, not to think, as he might perhaps be tempted to do, of change or modification in her from a heathen point of view, not only by such examples as that of Iphigenia (cf. Cicero, *de Officiis*, ii. 95), and of Curtius in Rome, but also by that of Anchurus, the son of the Phrygian king Midas, who deemed his own life the most precious sacrifice that could be offered from his father's possessions to the gods. But in reality, these exhibit only the principles that underlie the practice of human sacrifices—principles, with which the spirit of the Scriptures, and their spiritual modes of conception, stand strongly in contrast.

³ Cf. Nägelsbach, *Nach homerische Theologie*, p. 244, etc.

⁴ הִכְרַעַת הַכְּרַעַתִּי, from כָּרַעַת, to kneel; Hiphil, to cause to kneel, to subdue. She sang perhaps about the enemies whom he had subdued (cf. ch. v. 27); he sadly applies her words to what she is doing with reference to himself.

favor. Such is the delicacy and tenderness of the narrative, that the modes of thought and feeling characteristic of this heroic daughter, as such, stand out in full relief; for it is in true womanly style that she says to her father: "Since Jehovah hath taken vengeance of thine enemies." The utterance is altogether personal, as her womanly interest was personal. She concentrates the national victory in that of her father; the national enemy in the enemies of her father. God has given him vengeance (נִקְמָתוֹ); consequently he is bound, personally, to give to God what he has promised.

Vers. 37-40. **And she said to her father, Let this thing be done to me.** The noble maiden may boldly take her place by the side of Isaac, who, according to the narrative in Genesis, was not aware of the sacrifice to which he was destined. She gives herself up to her father, freely and joyfully, to be dealt with as his vow demanded. Heathen antiquity, also, has similar instances of virgins voluntarily offering themselves up for their native land. But comparison will point out the difference between them and the case of Jephthah's daughter, and will help to show that here there can be no thought of a literal sacrifice of life. Pausanias (i. 32) relates the legend, dramatically treated by Euripides, that when the Athenians, who harbored the descendants of Hercules, were at war with the Peloponnesians, an oracle declared the voluntary death of one of those descendants to be necessary in order to secure victory to the Athenians; whereupon Macaria killed herself. — When the Thebans were waging war with the Orchomenians, the oracle advised them, that, if they were to conquer, their most distinguished fellow-citizen must sacrifice himself (Paus. ix. 17). Antipenus, who is this most distinguished citizen, despises the oracle; his daughters, on the contrary, honor it, and devote themselves to death. — In the war of Erechtheus with Eumolpus, the oracle required of the former the sacrifice of his daughters. They voluntarily killed themselves (Apoll. iii. 15, 11; cf. Heyne on the passage). The same thing is told of Marius by Plutarch. Defeated by the Cimbrians, a divine oracle informed him that he would conquer, if he offered up his daughter, which he did. In all these legends, which might be greatly multiplied, an oracle commands the virgin-sacrifice; in all of them, a vigorous, superstitious belief in the atoning efficacy of pure blood, such as appears in the German legend of Poor Heinrich, is the underlying motive; in all of them, also, the virgin-sacrifice forms the preliminary condition of victory. But in the history of Jephthah all this is changed. Jephthah makes a vow, but does not think of his daughter. In his case, the vow is a recognition of the fact that victory belongs, not to men, but to God. He makes a vow, although God has not required one. He keeps it, even after victory, although the extent of the sacrifice had not been anticipated. Neither he nor his daughter think of evasions, such, e. g., as Pausanias (iv. 9) speaks of in connection with similar histories in Messenia. And yet, the offering which each of them brings is as trying as death would be, although it cannot actually involve death. For that point is decided, not only by the different statements of the history itself, but especially by the fact that the offering is made to Jehovah, who, even when, as in the case of Abraham, he himself re-

quires a sacrifice, will not suffer obedience to consummate itself in deeds of blood.

Let me alone two months, that I may go and descend upon the mountains, and weep over my virginity, I and my companions. No equivocal intimation is here given of the fate which befell the daughter of Jephthah. She was still in her father's house, an only daughter, not yet married. Since the vow touches her, and devotes her entirely as an offering to God, she must belong to no one else, consequently not to her father, nor to a husband. She cannot be married, and will never rejoice over children. That is Jephthah's sorrow — his house is withered away (יָבֵשׁ), his family disappears. The highest happiness in Israel, to have children, and thus to see one's name or house continued, will not be his. The dearest of all beings, his only child, is dead to him. The same sorrow, and in accordance with ancient feelings with even greater severity, if that were possible, falls on the virgin daughter herself. An unmarried life was equivalent to death for the maidens of ancient Israel. For the bud withers away. Conjugal love and duty, the blossoms of life, do not appear. Unmarried maidens have no place in the life of the state. Marriage forms the crown of normal family life. The psalm (lxxviii. 63) notes it as part of the utmost popular misery, that "the fire (of war) consumes the young men, and the maidens are not celebrated" (in marriage songs). Analogous sentiments are frequent in the life of ancient nations. The Brahminism of India looks upon a childless condition as in the highest degree disgraceful. A woman is always in need of manly guidance and protection; be it as daughter from her father, as wife from her husband, or as mother from her sons (cf. Bohlen, *Altes Indien*, ii. 141 ff.). The laws of Lycurgus concerning marriage, and their penalties against men who did not marry, are familiar. Noteworthy, with reference to the customs of Asia Minor, is an episode in the history of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. Being urgently warned by his daughter against leaving his island to go to Oroctus, who was on the continent, he became angry, and threatened her, that in case of his safe return home, she should long afterwards continue to be a virgin; to which the dutiful daughter replied, that she would gladly remain virgin much longer still, if only she did not lose her father (Herod. iii. 124).

And weep over my virginity. Not, then, it appears, to mourn her own untimely death. If she was to die, it would have been unnatural to ask for a space of two months to be spent on the mountains in weeping. In that case, why depart with her maiden companions? why not remain at home with her father? A person expecting death and ready for it, would ask no time for lamentation. Such a one dies, and is lamented by others. But Jephthah's daughter is to live — a virgin life, to which no honor is paid, from which no blossoms spring — a life of stillness and seclusion. No nuptial song shall praise, no husband honor, no child grace her. This weeping of virgins,¹ because they remain without the praise of wedlock, is characteristic of the naïve manners and candid, unaffected purity of ancient life through wide-extended circles. Sophocles, in "King Oedipus" (ver. 1504), makes the father express his fears that "age will consume his children, fruitless and unmarried."

¹ Similar customs may be found even in modern times. In a West-Slavic legend a maiden is blamed for having married without having taken leave of maidenhood, which

it was customary to do in pathetic and elegiac terms. Weizig, *West-Slav. Märchenschatz*, pp. 13, 311.

Electra, in the tragedy which bears her name, says of Chrysothemis (ver. 962 f.): "Well mayest thou lament that thou must grow old so long in unmarried joylessness;" just as she is herself commiserated by Orestes (ver. 1185): "Oh, the years of unmarried, anxious life which thou hast lived." In many other instances of virgins who must die or have died, the fact of their dying unmarried is lamented. So, for example, in the beautiful inscription of the Anthology (cf. Herder, *Werke*, xx. 73): "Dear daughter, thou wentest so early, and ere I adorned thy bridal couch, down to the yellow stream under the shades;" and in the plaint of Polyxena (Euripides, *Hecuba*, ver. 414): "Unmarried, without nuptial song, which nevertheless is my due." The daughter of Jephthah laments not that she must die as a virgin, but with her maiden companions bewails her virginity itself.

From year to year the daughters of Israel go to celebrate in songs (לְהַלְלוֹתָ, cf. ch. v. 11) the daughter of Jephthah. Of this festival¹ nothing further is known. A reflection of the feelings it expressed might, however, be found in very ancient analogies. After the maiden, with her companions, has wept on the mountains for two months, over the vain promise of her youth, she returns to her father. The mountains are the abode of a pure and elevated solitude, in which her own chaste heart and those of her companions can open themselves without being overheard. On mountains, also, and in unfrequented pasture-lands and forests, abode the Greek Artemis, the virgin who goes about alone, without companions, like the moon in the sky. It was on account of this her virginity, that Greek maidens celebrated her in many places with song and dance; from which practice she derived the name Artemis *Hymnia*, especially current in the mountains of Arcadia. The hymns were sung by virgin-choirs (cf. Weleker, *Griech. Mythol.* i. 585). A similar festival was devoted to Artemis on Mount Taygetus. At Caryae, also in Laconia, festive choral dances were yearly executed in her honor (Paus. iii. 10). The virgin goddess was also called Hecaege (*Ἑκαέργη*), and Opis or Onpis (*Ὀπίς* or *Ὀπίς*). *Ὀπίργος* is the song of praise, with which, especially in Delos, and in accordance with peculiar myths, virgins celebrated the chaste Opis, and brought her, as soon as they married, a lock of their hair (Callim. *in Del.* ver. 292; Paus. i. 43). The same custom was observed at Megara with reference to Iphinoe, who died a virgin (Paus. i. 43). Here also tradition leads us back to Artemis, who is styled protectress of her father. That it is the attributes of chastity and virginity which are thus celebrated, is indicated

by the transfer of the custom in honor of a man, in the legend of Hippolytus. "Him," Euripides makes Artemis say, "shall virgins ever praise in lyric songs;" and locks of hair were dedicated to him by Troezenian brides (cf. Euripides, *Hippol.* ver. 1425; Paus. ii. 32).

These observances are a reflection of the narrative concerning Jephthah's daughter, for the reason that they present us with virgin festivals, and with songs to the goddess who did *not die*, but remained a virgin. In point of fact, the existence of such festivals points to conceptions of life under whose influence woman, contrary to the common rule, lived in a state of virginity. The circumstance, also, that it became a custom in Israel to "praise" the daughter of Jephthah four days in every year, is itself a proof that the practice did not refer to a maiden who had been put to death. For what would there have been to praise in what was not necessarily dependent on her own free will? As in Artemis, so in her, it is voluntary, self-guarded chastity that is praised, just as Hippolytus also is not celebrated because he died unmarried, but because his life fell a sacrifice to his virtuous continence.

And he did with her according to his vow, and she knew no man. Had she been put to death, that fact must here have been indicated in some way. The narrator would have said, "and he presented her as a sacrifice at the altar in Mizpah," or, "and she died, having known no man," or some other similar formula. At all events, it does not "stand there in the text," as Luther wrote, that she was offered in sacrifice. Much rather does this sentence show the contrary. For its second clause is explanatory of the nature and purport of the vow as it was fulfilled. The end to which it looked was the very thing which it is stated was actually secured, that she should know no man.² On any other interpretation, the addition of this clause would be inexplicable and questionable. For the fact that she was a virgin in her father's house, has already been twice brought forward. Moreover, it is surely not an event of very rare occurrence, for young women to die before they are married. And why should the narrator have hesitated to speak of the transaction in such terms as properly and plainly described it? In other cases he does not fail to speak of the most fearful aberrations just as they are. The truth is, the whole narrative derives its mighty charm only from the mysterious, and at that time in Israel very extraordinary fact, that the daughter of the great hero, for whom a life of brilliant happiness opened itself, spent her days in solitude and virginity.³ Death, even unnatural, was nothing un-

The women of the passages alluded to are therefore not ministering women, but persons who *collected together* at the tabernacle for purposes of prayer, requests, and thanksgiving, like the wives of Elkannah (1 Sam. i.), or to consult with and inquire of the priests. Some, of course, were more instant and continuous in their attendance than others (cf. Kinechi on 1 Sam. ii. 22). At all events, they were women who were either married or widowed. But the history of Jephthah's daughter is related as something extraordinary. Her virginity must remain intact. On this account she is lamented, and a festival is celebrated for her sake. These are uncommon matters, not to be harmonized with the idea of a familiarly known institute. Even among the Talmudists, a female ascetic is a phenomenon unheard of and unapproved (*Sota*, 22 a).

³ Nor is it necessary to assume anything more to explain the lament of the daughter or the grief of the bereaved father. Even Roman fathers took it sorrowfully, when their daughters became vestal virgins, notwithstanding the great

¹ On the statement of Epiphanius, that a festival of the daughter of Jephthah was still celebrated in his time, compare my article in Herzog, p. 476.

² Hengstenberg, in his valuable essay on Jephthah's vow (*Pentateuch*, ii. 105 ff.), seeks to explain the daughter's destiny by means of an institute of holy women, into which she perhaps entered. This is not the place to treat that subject, which must be referred to 1 Sam. ii. 22. This much only seems to me to be certain, that by the אֲנָשִׁים, Ex. xxxviii. 8 and 1 Sam. ii. 22, we are not to understand ministering women. It must be remarked, in general, that the fundamental signification of אֲנָשִׁים is, not *militar*, but "to be in a multitude." From this the idea of the אֲנָשִׁים, the hosts, in heaven and on earth, is derived. אֲנָשִׁים derives its meaning "host," not from military discipline, but from the assembling of a multitude at one place.

common. But a life such as Jephthah's daughter henceforth lived, was at that time unparalleled in Israel, and affords therefore profound instruction, not to be overlooked because issuing from the silence of retirement.

Jephthah performs his vow. That which comes to meet him, even when it proves to be his daughter, he consecrates entirely to God, as a true offering of righteousness (cf. Ps. li. 21: *וְכַהֲנִי יְהוָה וְקָלִיל*). He fulfills his vow so fully as to put it beyond his own reach to annul or commute its purport. For he fulfills, as he vowed, voluntarily; no one called on him to make his promise good. The background of the history, without which it cannot be understood, is life in and with God. The providence to which the hero commits the definition of his vow, is that of Jehovah. And if God leads his daughter forth to meet him, and thus in her receives the highest object in the gift of Jephthah, the consecration of which she becomes the subject cannot be of a nature opposed to God.

The event throws a brightness over the life of perpetual virginity which rescues it from ignominy and dishonor. Jephthah's daughter typically exemplifies the truth that a virgin life, if it be consecrated to God, is not such an utter abnormality, as until then it had appeared. In Jephthah's fulfillment of his vow and the consequent unmarried life of his daughter, there is a foreshadowing of those evangelical thoughts by means of which the Apostle liberates woman from the dread of remaining unwedded. Not, however, that we are to look here for the germ or type of the nunnery system;¹ but for an example of belonging wholly to God, and of living unmarried, without being burdened or placed in a false position.

That Jephthah through his vow became the occasion of such an example, is already some mitigation of his fate. He has become the father, not of children who inherited his house, but of countless virgins who learned from his daughter to remain free and wholly devoted to God. Jephthah is a truly tragic hero. His youth endures persecution. His strength grows in exile. His victory and fame veil themselves in desolation when his only daughter leaves his home. But everywhere he is great. Whatever befalls, he comes out conqueror at last. God is always the object of his faith. He suffers more than Gideon; but what he does at last does not become a snare to Israel. He also had no successors in his office of wisdom and heroism — just as Gideon, and Samson, and Sam-

honor of such a vocation. They were glad to leave such honors to the children of freedmen (Sueton. *Aug.* 31; Dio *Caes.* 55, p. 523).

1 On this point, compare my article in Herzog, p. 473, note.

2 Poets, unfortunately, have almost without exception considered a sacrificial death more poetical, and have thus done serious injustice to the memory of Jephthah. It was done, among others, by Dante (*Paradise*, v. 66), who herein

uel had none; but it was not his fault that he had them not. His daughter, who resembled a Miriam, gave herself up to God.²

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Jephthah's call was extraordinary: extraordinary also is the manner of his own endurance and his daughter's obedience. He parts with her, though deeply afflicted. He yields, though possessed of secular power. His daughter comforts him, though herself the greatest loser. Isaac did not know that he was to be the sacrifice; but Jephthah's daughter knows it, and is content.

1. Thus it appears that a child who loves its father, can also love God. In true devotion of children to parents, there lies a germ of the like relation to God. The daughter of Jephthah loves her father so dearly, that for his sake she calmly submits to that which he has vowed to God. It is written: Honor thy father and mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. To Jephthah's daughter this was fulfilled in the spirit. Her memory has never faded from the books of Israel, nor from the heaven of God, where all sorrows are redeemed.

2. Jephthah might have conquered without a vow; but having vowed before his victory, he fulfills it after the same. Faithfulness to his word is man's greatest wisdom, even though he moisten it with tears. Faithfulness towards a sin is inconceivable; because unfaithfulness lies in the nature of sin. Faithfulness has the promise: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.

3. Jephthah's daughter does not die like one sacrificed to Molech: she dies to the world. She loses a thousand joys that are sweet as love. But no one ever dies to the world and lives to God, without experiencing sorrow. A virgin life is a nameless life, as Jephthah's daughter is nameless in Scripture. But the happiness of this world is not indispensable; and like the solitary flower, the unmarried woman can belong to her God, in whose heaven they neither give nor are given in marriage.

GERLACH: That the Judges whom God raised up, when they thus offered to the Lord even that which they held most dear, did not deliver the estranged and deeply fallen people in a merely outward sense, is shown by this act of believing surrender.

followed the Catholic exegesis of his day (cf. my article in Herzog, p. 470). To be sure, Herder did the same. Lord Byron also, in his *Hebrew Melodies* (see a translation of his poems in Klein's *Volkskalender*, for 1854, p. 47). The names in Handel's *Oratorio* seem to have been borrowed from the poem of Buchanan, published in Strasburg, 1798. Cf. Godeke, *Pamphilus Gengenbach*, p. 672. In Faber's *Historischer Lustgarten* (Augsburg and Frankfurt, 1702), the daughter is called "Jephthina."

Ephraim's proud and envious conduct towards Jephthah.

CHAPTER XII. 1-7.

1 And the men of Ephraim gathered themselves together, and went northward [proceeded to Zaphon], and said unto Jephthah, Wherefore passedst thou over [Why

- didst thou pass on — proceed —] to fight against the children [sons] of Ammon, and didst not call us to go with thee? we will burn thine house upon thee with fire. And Jephthah said unto them, I and my people were at great strife [in a severe conflict] with the children [sons] of Ammon; and when [omit: when] I called you. [and] ye delivered me not out of their hands [hand]. And when I saw that ye delivered me not, I put my life in my hands [hand], and passed over [on] against the children [sons] of Ammon, and the Lord [Jehovah] delivered them into my hand: wherefore then are ye come up unto me this day, to fight against me? Then [And] Jephthah gathered together all the men of Gilead, and fought with Ephraim: and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they [had] said, ye Gileadites are fugitives of Ephraim among the Ephraimites, and among the Manassites [fugitives of Ephraim are ye Gilead, in Ephraim and Manasseh]. And the Gileadites took the passages [fords] of [the] Jordan before the Ephraimites [toward Ephraim]: and it was so, that when those Ephraimites which were escaped [the fugitives of Ephraim], said, Let me go over; that the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay; Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth: and he said Shibboleth: for he could not ¹ frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him and slew [slaughtered] him at the passages [fords] of [the] Jordan. And there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand. And Jephthah judged Israel six years: then died Jephthah the Gileadite, and was buried in one of the cities of Gilead.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 6. — "Could not," is too strong. KEIL: "הִכִּין", stands elliptically for לֵב הִכִּין, to apply the mind, to give heed. Cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 22; 1 Chr. xxviii. 2, with 2 Chr. xii. 14; xxx. 19." — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The victory of Jephthah is followed by a repetition of what took place after Gideon's heroic achievement. The overbearing pride of the chief tribe, Ephraim, vents itself in each instance against the victor who has risen up within the smaller tribe, and has become the saviour of the people. Now as then the presumptuous jealousy of the tribe complains that it has not been invited to take part. But this apparent eagerness for war was hypocritical. The thing really desired was a share in the booty and the results of success. Ephraim would help to reap, where it had not sown. The injustice of the tribe was even greater on this occasion than in the time of Gideon. For then it really did render some little assistance, albeit only after Gideon had first led the way. But here it had been called on for help, and had stayed at home. As soon, however, as victory had been obtained, it came with threats and war. But it was not so successful now as with Gideon. That hero, when they clamoured against him, was still in pursuit of the enemy, and was obliged, for the sake of his own success, to allay their pride and presumption by gentleness. Jephthah had no reason for submitting to such arrogance. Nor did the Ephraimites come with words only; they were prepared to use force. They derided the people, and thought that with arms in their hands they could chastise Gilead and humble Jephthah. They will set his house on fire over his head. Then Jephthah shows that he is not only a hero against enemies, but also the Judge in Israel. It is his authority which he tries and proves by chastising Ephraim. But here also, as in his dealings with the sons of Ammon, he first establishes the righteousness of his conduct by clear words. However, if sinful Ephraim had cared for righteousness, it would in no case have entered on this course. It relied on violence, like Ammon; and like Ammon it experienced the chastisement of violence. No Judge of

whom the history tells us inflicts such chastisement and exercises such power within the nation as well as against alien enemies, as does Jephthah. But it was needed; and the humiliation of Ephraim for its sin was less severe than it might otherwise have proved, because the punishment came in the time of Israel's freedom, and not at the expense of that freedom.

Ver. 1. **And proceeded to Zaphon.** The older Jewish expositors, whom Ewald and Keil have followed, already found in זַפְּוֹן, not direction toward the north, but the name of a city, which lay beyond the Jordan in the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27). This interpretation rests on the requirements of the context. For in order to explain verses 4 and 5, Ephraim must have advanced across the Jordan. The remark in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Shewith*, 9, 2), which identifies Zaphon with עמרת, Amathus, Aemath, cf. Amath (cf. Ritter, xv. 1031), is therefore altogether suitable. For this city was still known in later times as a strong point on the Jordan, as Josephus repeatedly states. The *Onomasticon*, also (ed. Parthey, p. 26), says concerning it, that it lay beyond the Jordan, to the south of Pella; for Ritter's oversight, who supposes that the *Onomasticon* identifies Amathus with another Aemath in the tribe of Reuben, is not to be concurred in. Amathus, according to its stated distance from Pella (*in vigesimo primo milliario*), could not lie in the tribe of Reuben — which agrees so far with the fact that Zaphon was in Gad.

Ver. 2. **And Jephthah said unto them.** It was not related above that Jephthah called on the tribe of Ephraim to assist, as he here reminds them; but that he would do so, was to be expected. But even if he had not done so, what was there to justify Ephraim in its contention and war? Jephthah's answer is not defiant: it allows that Gilead would gladly have accepted help, if only a helper had been at hand. Jephthah would gladly have

yielded the precedence in victory to Ephraim, if Ephraim had only wielded arms against the enemy as bravely as it now uses words against its brethren. But when he saw that there was no deliverer, he put his life in his hand, and God gave the victory. Did not Jephthah devote his dearest possession in order to obtain from God the victory for which he entreated Him?

The Midrash has a thought in this connection, which, when disengaged from its unhistorical wrappings, is judicious and profound. It says that for the things which befell Israel under Jephthah only the priests were to blame. Why did they not attain the vow of Jephthah! Why did they not restrain Ephraim from civil war! It is manifest that a truth is here suggested which applies to all times. It is undoubtedly the duty of persons equipped with spiritual power, to lift up their voices for peace, and especially to labor for concord between the single tribe and all Israel. If they neglect this duty, their candlestick — this also the Midrash intimates — will sooner or later be overthrown.

Ver. 3. Wherefore then are ye come up unto me this day to fight against me? Ephraim's attempt is actually more culpable than Ammon's. In itself considered, civil war between cognate tribes is a disgrace, which can only spring from ungodliness. But the sin of Ephraim, when it proposes to burn the house of Jephthah, is still further aggravated by the fact that it is directed against the restorer of the divine law and the deliverer of Israel. It is moral and national treason. The Spartans also, under all sorts of pretexts, had left Athens to face alone the advancing Persians. But when the battle at Marathon had been won, the auxiliary troops who arrived too late to be of service, praised and applauded the heroism of Athens (Herod. vi. 120). Jephthah dwells on the injustice of Ephraim, who would not indeed fight against Ammon, but now ("this day") undertakes to make war on him (he always stands personally for his people), in order to excuse his armed resistance. Ephraim now receives the punishment which properly it had already deserved at Gideon's hands. It is totally defeated by the hero; and its men find themselves entered on a calamitous flight.

Vers. 4, 5. And the men of Gilead smote Ephraim. It was not Jephthah, as the fine representation gives us to remark, who prosecuted the bloody pursuit. He contented himself with chastising Ephraim according to its presumption; but the people of Gilead had been exasperated by the contempt of the Ephraimites. It is true that the sentence in which the ground of the wrath of the Gileadites over an utterance of the Ephraimites is expressed, is not easily expounded: **וְעַל־כֵּן־שָׁמַרְתִּים־בְּיַד־יְהוָה־אֱלֹהֵינוּ־לְעַלְמֵי־עוֹלָם־כִּי־עָרַבְתֶּם־בְּיַד־יְהוָה־אֱלֹהֵינוּ־בְּיַד־יִשְׂרָאֵל־בְּעֵינֵינוּ־כִּי־עָרַבְתֶּם־בְּיַד־יְהוָה־אֱלֹהֵינוּ־בְּיַד־יִשְׂרָאֵל־בְּעֵינֵינוּ**. For it is not at once apparent how the Gileadites could be called "fugitives of Ephraim," seeing they were descendants of Manasseh. A closer inspection, however, makes this intelligible. Ephraim raised a claim to participate in war, only in the cases of Gideon and Jephthah, not in those of the other Judges. It is manifest, therefore, that it based its claim upon the fact that Gideon and Jephthah belonged to Manasseh, its own sister-tribe. At any rate, the House of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, had from of old a consciousness of a certain unity of its own. It treated as one with Joshua (Josh. xvii. 14 ff.). It entered together into its territory (Judg. i. 22). Under

king Solomon it was under a common administrative officer (1 Kgs. xi. 28). Now, in the "House of Joseph" Ephraim had the chief voice; for Manasseh was divided, and its possessions lay scattered among other tribes. Hence, it could with some plausibility claim it as its right that no division of the House of Joseph should undertake a warlike expedition without its participation. Nor do Gideon and Jephthah deny this right. "We did call thee," says the latter; "but thou didst not come." Only the manner in which Ephraim raised its claim was sinful, unjust, and arrogant. For it raised it, not in the time of distress, but for the sake of the booty; and instead of applauding a great achievement, it indulged in derision, which exasperated the warriors of Gilead. For in storming at Jephthah for not calling it, it denies to Gilead every right of separate action. "How can Gilead presume to exercise tribal functions, and set a prince and judge over Israel?" "Gilead is no community at all," but only a "set of fugitives," who act as if they were a tribe, whereas in fact they belong elsewhere. They use the word *peletim* (fugitives) by way of contumely, just as among the Greeks *φυγάς* meant both fugitive and banished. Ye are "fugitives of Ephraim," taunted the Ephraimites, and would set yourselves up as an independent principality. In so saying, Ephraim arrogantly put itself in the place of the House of Joseph, to which Gilead also belonged, since it was the son of Maehir of Manasseh. "Gilead belongs in the midst of Ephraim and Manasseh." This addition was intended to add point to what preceded. Gilead is nothing by itself, has no tribal rights; it belongs to the House of Joseph. This was true, indeed; and Gilead's descendants lived on both sides of the river (Num. xxvi. 30 ff.); but "fugitives" they were not. The half-tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan was as independent as any other tribe; and in the war against Ammon Gilead proper was doubtless joined by men of other tribes, especially Gad. It was therefore no wonder that the men of Gilead became greatly exasperated, and did not spare the Ephraimites even in their flight. Jephthah only defeated them; but the multitude slew them like enemies, and gave no quarter. Thus, sin and contumely beget passion and cruelty. The discord of brethren inflicts the deepest wounds. Nowhere does hatred rise higher, than where concord is natural.

Ver. 6. Then said they to him, Say Shibboleth. Ephraim meets with remarkable experiences at the fords of the Jordan. In Gideon's time, it gained easy victory there over the Midianites whom that hero chased into their hands; now it is itself chased thither and there put to death. In the outset, its men had taunted Gilead with the term "fugitives of Ephraim," and now they are themselves in very truth **פְּלֵטִים**. Before, they prided themselves upon their tribe name Ephraim, which they haughtily used for the whole House of Joseph; and now, when an Ephraimite came to the stream, he is fain to deny his tribe in order to save his life. The enraged men of Gilead will not suffer one Ephraimite to cross the river; hence the requisition of every one who wished to pass over, to say *Shibboleth*, which no Ephraimite could do, for he could only say *Sibboleth*. What "Shibboleth" meant, is of minor importance; but as its enunciation was required at the river, and in order to pass it, it may be assumed that the Gileadites thought rather of the signification "stream" than "ear," both of which the word has. Every

Ephraimite in this extremity had the feeling afterwards depicted in the Psalm (lxxix. 3 [2]): "I am come into depths of waters, and the stream overflows me," *וַיִּשְׁבַּח לַיהוָה מִצְפָּרַיִם*. — When, during the Flemish war, the insurrection against the French broke out, May 25, 1302, the gates were guarded, and no one was suffered to pass out, except such as were able to say, "*Scit eunde friend,*" which words no Frenchman could pronounce. (Mensel, *Gesch. von Frankr.* ii. 134; Schmidt, *Gesch. von Frankr.* i. 682).

And there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand. The number 42 (7 times 6) appears to be not far removed from a round number; but its occurrence is associated with severe and well-merited judgments on sin. As here 42,000 sinful Ephraimites fall, so 42 of the mockers of the prophet Elijah are killed by bears (2 Kgs. ii. 24); and when the judgment of God breaks forth over the house of Ahab, 42 brethren of Ahaziah are put to death by Jehu (2 Kgs. x. 14).

Ver. 7. And he was buried in one of the cities of Gilead. Herein the mournful lot of Jephthah, resulting from the surrender of his daughter, shows itself. He had no heir, as he had had no inheritance. He was the first and the last in his house. The greatness of his deeds is proved by the fact that they were nevertheless remembered; for in what city he was buried was not known, just as to us Mizpah, the place where he had his home, is also unknown, and as the place of his birth is not mentioned. It is not known what his father's name was; it is not known where his own grave is. "Gilead" begat him, and Gilead received his corpse. He shares no father's tomb, and no son shares his. He was a great hero who lived and died solitary; only faith in God was with him. Six years he ruled; when they were finished, his rest from labor and sorrow began. His name did not return; Gilead's power rose not again; but he was not forgotten in Israel. His sorrow and victory are typical — so the older expositors suggest — of Him who said: "Not my will, but *thine*, be done!"

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Jephthah's vocation was extraordinary, and equally extraordinary was his fate. He gave up everything to God for his people; and yet at last the envy of his countrymen pursues him. They threaten to burn his house, which for their sake he has made desolate. He makes no boast of this, however; yet exercises discipline with a strong hand. Six years he judged, and in the seventh rested from an office that had brought him so much grief.

1. Prior to success friends are few; but afterwards all wish to share in it. While there is danger, he who takes the lead is called valorous; after the victory, usurper. Sin regards not the offerings which the warrior brings, but only the results which he has obtained. The evil will not assist in sowing; but yet would fain participate in the harvest.

2. Life offers nothing to such as serve not God, even though one rise as high as Jephthah. If

1 (Dr. Wordsworth looks on Jephthah as "one who does mighty deeds in an *irregular* manner, at a time when those persons who are placed in authority by God, and who ought to employ God's appointed means in a regular way, are faithless to their trust, and neglect their duty to God and his Church. His work may be compared to that of the Wes-

Jephthah had not rebuilt the altar of Jehovah in Israel, he had been happier in the desert and the silence of seclusion. The charm of life must be sought in the gospel. Life is short; and though prolonged, full of trouble. Every religion builds its altar for eternity. For Him who has wrought six days for his Saviour, and confessed Him, there opens on the seventh the Sabbath of eternity.

STARKE: The godly are never long without a cross: they are tried at home and abroad; without fighting, within is fear (2 Cor. vii. 5). — SAILER: The gospel without suffering belongs to heaven; suffering without the gospel, to hell; the gospel with suffering, to earth.

[HENRY: It is an ill thing to fasten names or characters of reproach on persons or countries, as is common, especially on those who lie under outward disadvantages; it often occasions quarrels of ill consequences, as here. See likewise what a mischievous thing an abusive tongue is. — WORDSWORTH: Here we see a specimen of that evil spirit of envy and pride which has shown itself in the Church of God. They who are in high place in the Church, like Ephraim, sometimes stand aloof in the time of danger. And when others of lower estate have stepped into the gap, and have stood in the breach, and braved the danger, and have fought the battle and gained the victory, as Jephthah the Gileadite did (the man of Gilead, which was not a tribe of Israel), then they are angry and jealous, and insult them with proud words, and even proscribe and taunt them with being runaways and deserters, and yet daring to claim a place among the tribes of Israel. Has not this haughty and bitter language of scorn and disdain been the language of some in the greatest western church of Christendom against the churches of the reformation? Has it not sometimes been the language of some in the Church of England towards separatists from herself? Schism doubtless is a sin; but it is sometimes caused by the enforcement of anti-scriptural terms of communion, as it is by the Church of Rome; and the sin of the schism is hers. It is often occasioned (though not justified) by spiritual languor and lethargy in the Church of God. Zeal for God and for the truth is good wherever it be found. Let the churches of Christ stand forth in the hour of danger and fight boldly the good fight against the Ammonites of error and unbelief. Then the irregular guerrilla warfare of separatist! Jephthahs and their Gileadites will be unnecessary, and they will fight side by side under the banner of Ephraim. — THE SAME: The Gileadites did not slay the Ephraimites because they did not agree with them in pronunciation, but because they were Ephraimites, which was discovered by their different pronunciation. The strifes in the Church of God lie deeper than differences of *expression* in ritual observances or formularies of faith. They lie in the heart, which is depraved by the evil passions of envy, hatred, and malice; and slight differences in externals are often the occasions for eliciting the deep rooted prejudices of depraved will, and the malignant feelings of unsanctified hearts. Let the heart be purified by the Holy Spirit of peace, and the lips will move in harmony and love. — THE SAME: That river which in the days of Joshua

leys and Whitefields," etc. see on ch. xi. 1. The definition of "irregularity" here given, applies to all the Judges. In a certain sense, they were all irregular; but that Jephthah was so in any special sense is abundantly refuted by Dr. Cassel's exposition. — Ta.]

had been divided by God's power and mercy, in order that all the tribes might pass over together into Canaan, the type of heaven, is now made the scene of carnage between Gilead and Ephraim. In the Church of God, the scenes of God's dearest love have often been made the scenes of men's bitterest hate. The waters of baptism, the living waters of the Holy Scriptures, and of the holy

sacrament of the Lord's Supper — these "passages of our Jordan" — the records and pledges of God's love to the Israel of God, have been made the scenes of the bitterest controversies, and of bloodshed of brethren, by those who bear the name of Christ. The holy sepulchre itself has been made an aceldama. — TR.]

EIGHTH SECTION.

THREE JUDGES OF UNEVENTFUL LIVES IN PEACEFUL TIMES: IBZAN OF BETHLEHEM, ELON THE ZEBULONITE, AND ABDON THE PIRATHONITE.

Ibzan of Bethlehem, Elon the Zebulonite, and Abdon the Pirathonite.

CHAPTER XII. 8-15.

8 9 And after him Ibzan of Beth-lehem judged Israel. And he had thirty sons [.] and thirty daughters whom [omit: whom] he sent abroad [sent out, *i. e.* gave in marriage], and took in [brought home] thirty daughters from abroad for his sons: and 10 he judged Israel seven years. Then died Ibzan [And Ibzan died], and was 11 buried at Bethlehem. And after him Elon, a [the] Zebulonite, judged Israel, and 12 he judged Israel ten years. And Elon the Zebulonite died, and was buried in 13 Ajalon in the country of Zebulun. And after him Abdon the son of Hillel, a [the] 14 Pirathonite, judged Israel. And he had forty sons and thirty nephews [grandsons]. 15 that rode on threescore and ten ass colts: and he judged Israel eight years. And Abdon the son of Hillel the Pirathonite died, and was buried in Pirathon in the land of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amalekites [Amalekite].

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The special value of the notices concerning these three Judges consists in the contrast which they offer to the fortunes of Jephthah. These three all have what Jephthah had not. They all have children in abundance, and are happy in them (Ps. cxxvii. 3 ff.). Ibzan has thirty daughters, whom he gives in marriage, and thirty daughters-in-law. Abdon, likewise, has forty sons, and looks on thirty flourishing grandsons. The people is familiar with the places of their nativity, and knows where their sepulchres are. Indeed, some of these places, even with their old names, are not lost to this day. For even the native place of Ibzan, although it was not the celebrated Bethlehem, but another in Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15), has in our day been identified as Beit Lahm by Robinson (iii. 113). Keil's remark that we are not to think here of the Bethlehem in Judah, must indeed be allowed, although the Jewish legend does think of it and identifies Ibzan with Boaz.¹ But that this Bethlehem always appears with the addition "in Judah" (so also in Judg. xvii. 7), has its ground in the very fact that the other Bethlehem was not unknown.

¹ The unhistorical character of the legend is the more evident, the more clear it is that chapter xii. treats only of northern heroes, whereas the narratives of southeastern heroes and struggles begin at chapter xiii., and continue down to Samuel and David.

The definition "in Judah" could here be the less omitted because the next Judge also belonged to Zebulun.

Ajalon also, the place where Elon, the second mentioned Judge, is said to have died, and where he probably also resided, seems to be recognized in Jalûn, a place of ruins (cf. Van de Velde, referred to by Keil). Pirathon,² the birthplace of the third Judge, whose name Hillel is a highly celebrated one among the Jews of later times, was already recognized by Esthor ha-Parchi in the modern Fer'ata (פּרַעַתָּה), and has been rediscovered by Robinson and others (cf. Zanz, in *Asher's Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 426; Robinson, iii. 134). They all enjoy in fact every blessing of life of which Jephthah was destitute; we hear of their children, their fathers, and their graves; but of their deeds we hear nothing. They have judged, but not delivered. They enjoyed distinction, because they were rich; but they never rose from the condition of exiled and hated men to the dignity of princes, urged thereto by the humble entreaties of their countrymen. Of them, we know nothing but their wealth; of Jephthah, nothing but his renown.

² It lies on a Tell, which ver. 15 calls the mountain of Amalek, perhaps from Joshua, the conqueror of Amalek, cf. ch. v. 14.

They had herds, but made no sacrifices. Their daughters were married; but the unmarried daughter of Jephthah survives them all as an example of the obedience and faith of every noble maiden heart. They had full houses, and widely known monuments; and Jephthah went from an empty house to an unknown grave: but his name, consecrated by the Apostle's benediction, shines forevermore as that of a hero of faith. Such contrasts the narrator wishes to rescue from concealment. The heathen Achilles, according to the legend of the Greeks, chose immortal fame in preference to length of life and pleasure. What would we choose, if choice were given us between Ibzan or Hillel and Jephthah? Or rather, let us Christians choose the Cross of Him who lives forever!

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

After Gideon and Abimelech, two peaceful Judges are named, concerning whose official life nothing is reported. A similar relation subsists between Jephthah and his successors. The comparison may serve for instruction. The result of Gideon's deeds was glory and greatness; of Abimelech's tyranny, terrors and punishment. Both kinds of results were brought to view, for the instruction of the nations, in the career of Jephthah. His victory was mighty against those with-

out; his chastisement towards those within. The seed which he sowed in tears, sprang up in joy for others.

The three Judges have everything that Jephthah has not, — children, paternal home, and commemoration of their death. But they have no heroic victory like his, and his only daughter is an example for all time. Jephthah judged only a short time, and died bowed down with grief and loneliness. But neither can prosperity avail to lengthen years. These peaceful Judges judged only seven, ten, and eight years, respectively. How different is Jephthah's life from theirs! But the kingdom of God does not move onward in tragedies alone, but also in meekness and quietude.

The teachings of God are calculated to serve truth, not to promote human glory. Worldly vanity strives for the immortality of time. It is a strange exhibition of human folly, when great deeds are performed for the sake of the monuments and statues with which they are rewarded. In the kingdom of God, other laws obtain. Jephthah is the great warrior hero; but neither the place of his birth nor that of his death is known. Monuments determine nothing in the history which God writes, but only Godlike deeds. The faithful who have died in God, are followed by their works.

STARKE: It is better to bestow celebrity on one's native land, by virtuous actions, than to derive celebrity from one's native land.

NINTH SECTION.

THE OPPRESSION OF THE PHILISTINES. SAMSON, THE NAZARITE JUDGE.

Renewed apostasy.

CHAPTER XIII. 1.

1 And the children [sons] of Israel did evil again [continued to do evil] in the sight of the Lord [Jehovah]; and the Lord [Jehovah] delivered them into the hand of the Philistines forty years.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The same fatal history repeats itself everywhere. Not one single tribe, the Book of Judges teaches us, is exempted from it. Apostasy is constantly followed by subjection, whether it be inflicted by eastern or western neighbor-tribes. It is written, ch. ii. 14, that when Israel falls into sin, it will be persecuted by all the nations round about. And ch. iii. 3 includes the "five princes of the Philistines" among those through whom Israel is to become acquainted with distress and war. The Book began with the oppression of the Mesopotamian king in the east, from which Othniel, the hero of Judah, liberated the people. After tracing a circular course through the east and northeast, it ends, like the daily course of the sun, in the

west; and the tribe of Judah, with which the narrative began, is again brought forward at its close. As far back as ch. x. 7, in connection with events after the death of Abimelech, we read that God "gave Israel up into the hands of the Philistines and the sons of Ammon." The heroic achievement of Jephthah against Ammon is, however, first reported. (The Judges named immediately afterwards belong to northern tribes, two to Zebulun, one to Ephraim.) Now the writer comes to speak of the great conflicts which Israel had to wage with the brave and well-equipped people of the five Philistine cities on the coast, and which, with varying fortunes, continued to the time of David. The tribes especially concerned in them were Dan, the western part of Judah, and Simeon, encircled by Judah. How changed were the times!

Once, the men of Judah, in their stormlike career of victory, had won even the great cities on the sea-coast. Afterwards, they were not only unable to maintain possession of them, but through their own apostasy from God and the genuine Israelitish spirit, became themselves dependent on them. Dan had already been long unable to hold its ground anywhere except on the mountains (ch. i. 34). Now, the Philistines were powerful and free in all the Danite cities. Chapter x. 15 f. tells of the earnest repentance of the sons of Israel before God. But such a statement is not made here, although the history of a new Judge is introduced. Everywhere else the narrative, before it relates the mighty deeds of a *Shophet*, premises that Israel had cried unto God, and that consequently God had taken pity upon them. Now, unless it be assumed that ch. x. 15 refers also to Dan and Judah, as in ver. 6 the Philistines are likewise already spoken of, it is remarkable that the narrative of Samson's exploits is not preceded by a similar remark. It is a point worthy of special notice. For since the story of Israel's apostasy is repeated, that of its repentance would likewise have been repeated. That which he does not relate, the narrator must have believed to have had no existence. And in fact no such repentance can have taken place at this time in Dan and Judah, as we read of in Gilead. The history of the hero, whose deeds are about to be related, proves this. If, then, such a man nevertheless arose, the compassion which God

thereby manifested toward Israel, was doubtless called forth by the few, scattered here and there, who sought after and acknowledged Him. The power which shows itself in the history of Samson's activity is of a similarly isolated, individual character. It is only disconnected deliverances which Israel receives through him. It is no entire national renovation, such as were brought about by former Judges within their fields of action. Herein the history of Samson differs entirely from the events of Othniel's, Ehud's, Barak's, Gideon's, and Jephthah's times, just as he himself differs from those heroes. Jephthah also speaks as an individual I, when he treats with the enemy; he was in fact the national I, for his will was the will of the people, his repentance their repentance. He can say, "I and my people," (ch. xii. 2); his people have made him their prince. Samson is an individual without a people; a mighty I, but no prince; a single person, consecrated to God, and made the instrument of his Spirit almost without his own will; whereas Jephthah and his people are one in penitential disposition and trust in God. Hence, the circumstance that, although Samson was a Judge, and announced by an angel of God, it is nevertheless not recorded that before his advent the "sons of Israel had cried to God," affords an introductory thought important for the right apprehension of the peculiar and remarkable narratives in which the new hero appears.

An angel foretells the birth of Samson.

CHAPTER XIII. 2-7.

- 2 And there was a certain man of Zorah, of the family of the Danites, whose
 3 name *was* Manoah; and his wife *was* barren, and bare not. And the [an] angel
 of the Lord [Jehovah] appeared unto the woman, and said unto her, Behold, now,
 4 thou *art* barren, and bearest not: but thou shalt conceive, and bear a son. Now
 therefore [And now] beware, I pray thee, and drink not wine, nor strong drink,
 5 and eat not any unclean *thing*: For lo, thou shalt conceive, and bear a son; and
 no razor shall come on his head: for the child [boy] shall be a Nazarite unto
 [of] God from the womb: and he shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of
 6 the Philistines. Then [And] the woman came and told her husband, saying,
 A man of God came unto me, and his countenance [appearance] *was* like the
 countenance [appearance] of an angel of God, very terrible [august]: but [and]
 7 I asked him not whence he *was*, neither told he me his name: But [And] he said
 unto me, Behold, thou shalt conceive, and bear a son; and now drink no wine nor
 strong drink, neither eat any unclean *thing*: for the child [boy] shall be a Naza-
 rite to [of] God from the womb to the day of his death.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 2, 3. And there was a certain man of Zorah. In the times of Israel's penitence, men rose up filled with the Spirit of God; when this was not the case, God had to bring forth the hero for himself. Samson's election was unlike that of any other Judge. Concerning Othniel and Ehud, it is simply said, "and God set them up as deliverers" (וַיִּשָּׂא). Barak was called through Deborah,

who was a prophetess. An "angel of God" came also to liberate the people from Midian; but he came to Gideon, a man of valor already proved. Jephthah's case has just been considered. The election of Samson presents an altogether different phase. He is chosen before he is born. An angel of God comes, not to him, but to his mother. Jephthah is recognized by Gilead as the right man, because he has begun (וַיִּתְּלַח) to triumph over the enemy. In Samson's case, it is predicted to his

mother that her son "shall begin" (לְהַחֲמִי) to deliver Israel.

The father of Samson was of Zorah (see below on ver. 25), of the race of Dan; whence Samson is also called Bedan (1 Sam. xii. 11). He bears the beautiful name Manoah, "Rest," equivalent to the Greek *Ἡρακλῆς*, Heracles, — a name sufficiently peculiar for the father of so restless a spirit as Samson. The name of his wife is not given. Jewish tradition (*Baba Bathra*, 91) derives her from the tribe Judah, and with reference to 1 Chron. iv. 3, names her Zeleponi or Hazeleponi. The parents were at first childless. The mother was barren, as Sarah was before her. But it is not related of her, any more than of Sarah, that she prayed for a son. This can only be inferred from the similar instance of Hannah (1 Sam. i. 10); but it does not appear, that, like Hannah, she made a vow. Nor is it said of her and Manoah that they were old, as in the cases of Sarah and Elizabeth (Luke i. 7). They were pious, uncomplaining people, who lived in retirement, and had hitherto borne their childless condition with trustful resignation. Nevertheless, it was this childless condition that peculiarly adapted the wife for the right reception of the announcement which is made to her. The joy which it inspires prepares her fully for the sacrifice which it requires. It holds out a scarcely hoped for happiness, which she will gladly purchase with the restraints imposed upon her. But this is not the only ground why she is chosen. An announcement like that made to her requires faith in the receiver. The pious disposition of the parents shows itself in this faith, by which, less troubled with doubt than Sarah and Zacharias, they receive as certain that which is announced to them.

Ver. 4. And now beware, I pray thee, and drink not wine nor intoxicating drink. For Samson, the child that is to be born to her, shall be a "Nazir of God." The ideas which here come to light, are of uncommon instructiveness. They reveal a surprisingly free and discriminating conception of the life and wants of the Israel of that time. Far-reaching thoughts, which still influence the Christian Church of our own day, are reflected in them.

I. The law of the Nazarite and his vow, in Num. vi., rests upon the great presuppositions which are implied in Israel's calling. In Ex. xix. 6, God says to Israel, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation;" but he precedes it (ver. 5) by the words, "Ye shall be a possession unto me out of all nations, for all the earth is mine." All nations are God's; but among them, Israel was to be his *holy* people; and the law expresses in symbolic actions the moral ideas through which Israel exhibits itself as holy and consecrated. Within the holy nation, the priests occupy the same relation which the nation holds to the world. Their service, in sacrifice, prayer, and atonement, expresses especially consecration and nearness to God. Moreover, with respect to this service they have likewise a law, whose external command represents the internal idea of their consecration. The command to Aaron is, that the priests, when they go into the tabernacle, are not to drink wine nor strong drink, in order that they may be able to distinguish between holy and unholy, and to teach the children of Israel (Lev. x. 9); for wine is a mocker (Prov. xx. 1). Wine, says Isaiah, with reference to the priesthood

of his day (ch. xxviii. 7), has drowned all priestly consecration. The consequences of intoxication show themselves not only in a man like Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 36), but also in the case of a pious man, like Lot.

That death is the wages of sin, the Old Testament teaches on every page. The priests are to abstain from wine, lest they die. Hence, also, they are not to touch a corpse, for it has the nature of sin and uncleanness (Lev. xxi. 1), and the priests are to be holy. But although the special official priesthood was given by law to the tribe of Levi, holiness and consecration of life were not limited to that tribe: every one, no matter what his tribe, can consecrate himself to God, and without the aid of office, visibly realize the general priesthood in his own person. It is the peculiarity of the law, that it expresses every internal religious emotion by means of a visible act. It obliges the inward life to allow itself to be visibly recognized. All Israel was to be holy; but when an Israelite, in a condition of special spiritual exaltation, rising above the common connection between God and the people, as mediated by the priests, vowed himself to God, this act also was made the subject of ordinances, by which the Nazir, as he who thus vowed was called, was distinguished from other men, and held to special obligations. Hence, an Israelite can vow himself to God for a time, and is accordingly during that time holy to God in an especial sense (Num. vi. 8). Without holding any priestly office, he enters into a free and sacred service before God. Hence, during the whole time of his vow, he is forbidden to touch wine or strong drink, as if he were constantly officiating in the tabernacle, although the priests, when not actually engaged in service, were under no restraint. The priests, generally forbidden to touch a corpse, are yet allowed to do so in the case of a blood relative (Lev. xxi. 1 ff.); but the Nazir, who is to look upon himself as if he were ever in the sanctuary, from which every impurity is excluded, is not to know any exception. He may not touch the dead body of even father or mother. Yea, he is himself, as it were, a temple or altar of God, as appears from the personal mark by which he is distinguished. The priest comes only to the altar; and is forbidden to wear the signs of the idolaters on his hair and beard (Lev. xxi. 5), and is moreover distinguished by his clothing. The Nazir is in the congregation, his clothing is not different from that of others; but he is himself an altar; and therefore, as over an altar, so over his body, and over the head of that body, no iron may be lifted up. "When thou makest an altar of stone," says Moses, "thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy iron upon it, thou hast desecrated it" (Ex. xx. 25). Accordingly, Joshua built an altar of stones "over which no man had lifted up any iron" (Josh. viii. 31). The reason for this prohibition is grounded, not in the nature of stone, but in the symbolical significance of iron. Iron, as the Mishnah observes (*Middoth*, iii. 4), must not even touch the altar; for iron is used to shorten life, but the altar to lengthen it (comp. my treatise *Schamir*, pp. 57, 58). It is well known that other ancient nations regarded iron in the same way. The Egyptians called it "Typhon's Bones" (Plutarch, *de Osirid.* cap. lxii). Iron, according to the oracle (Pausan. iii. 3, 4), is the image of evil, because it is used in bat-

1 [The English version renders, "tool." The word is **כְּרִי**, in the sense of "chisel." The interpretation "iron"

is justified by Josh. viii. 31, where, with evident reference to Ex. xx. 25, **כְּרִי** is substituted for **כְּרִי**. — Ta.]

the.¹ When, therefore, it was enjoined upon the Nazir to let no knife come upon his head during the time of his vow, the ground of the injunction was none other than this: that since the Nazir, like the altar, is holy and consecrate to God, iron, the instrument of death and terror, must not touch him.²

The Nazir is a walking altar of God; and his flowing hair is the visible token of his consecration, reminding both himself and the people of the sacred vows he has assumed. It is the proper mark of the Nazir, as the linen garment is that of the Levite. By it he is known, and from it probably comes his name. It may be assumed that the signification "to devote one's self, to abstain from," of the verb

נָזַר, belongs to it only in consequence of the distinction attached to the נָזַר. It seems to me that

Nazir is equivalent to *καρηκοῦδαν*, long-haired, Cincinnatus, curly-haired, or *Harfagyr* (Harald him Harfagri). For it has been justly remarked that in Num. vi. the term Nazir is already accepted as a familiar expression. It may be compared with the Latin *cirrus*, curl, lock, or tuft of hair (cf. *caesaries* = *curaries*); for comparative philology shows that in most verbs beginning with נ, this letter is a specific Hebrew prefix to the root, so that נָזַר, to

guard, to keep, may be compared with *τηρέω*; נָזַר, to

bear, with *τλάω*; נָזַר, brass, with *αἶς*; נָזַר, serpent, with the onomatopoeic *zischen*, to hiss; נָזַר, with *genre*; נָזַר, with *salire*, etc. The word

נָזַר would then get its signification diadem, ornament (cf. נָזַר, in the same sense), just as the Greek *κομίδας*, derived from *κόμη*, *λομέω*, comes to signify adornment. To trace the original etymological identity of *cirrus*, *cicinnus*, and the Sanskrit *kikura*, with the Hebrew *nazir*, or to inquire whether the terms *ξίρομαι*, to shave one's self, and *κέειραι*, to cut the hair, are connected with the same root, would be out of place here. Precisely those terms which designate objects of primitive interest to man, are most deeply imbedded in the general philological treasures of all nations. But not to pursue these speculations any farther, it must already appear probable, that the use of *nazir* in Lev. xxv. 5, where it is applied to the untrimmed vine of the sabbatic year, is to be explained by reference not to the Nazaritic custom of human beings, vowing and consecrating themselves to God, but to the original meaning of the root. The Sabbath-year being time belonging to God (Lev. xxv. 4), no knife was applied during its course to the vine, which from that circumstance was named *nazir*. This would have been an unsuitable designation, if it had been derived from the vows assumed by the human Nazir; for such subjective activity could not be ascribed to the vine. It was the objective appearance of the Nazir, who, whether man or vine, was holy, and therefore had not been touched by the knife, which gave rise to the name. The name suggests the unshaven condition, the long hair, of the Nazarite, not primarily his consecration, although the sacred character of the person, through

the law, gave sanctity to the name and set it apart from common uses, just as the rite of circumcision was indebted for its name (חַטָּוּת), not to the sacramental character of the rite, but to the mere act

of cutting (כָּרַח, *σμίλη*), and then reflected its own sanctity upon the name. Long hair, although without any reference to the Nazaritic institute it may be called נָזַר (cf. Jer. vii. 29), was the proper mark of the Nazir, because regularly set apart for this purpose by the law. To sanctify the natural life, is the very thing at which the law constantly aims. By its institutions its spiritual requisitions are rendered visible and personal. The circumcision of the foreskin is after all but the national image of circumcision of the heart, and the Nazaritic institute is the symbol of the general priesthood, in which no sin or impurity is to sully the free service of God. But the visible character in which each of these conceptions appeared, was more than a subjective, mutable image: it was a definite and unchangeable law. It was, to a certain extent, a sacrament. It is instructive to see how the relation of spirit and law affects Biblical language and conceptions. The wearing of long hair, a purely natural act, is first, by spiritual ideas, raised into an expression of the general priesthood, in which man is a living altar; but when long hair has become characteristic of the sacred Nazir, whose duty it is to keep far from impurity, a new verb is derived from his name, with the sole spiritual signification of "withholding one's self from what is unclean." The same process may be noted in connection with circumcision. Originally elevated into a sacrament by the intervention of spiritual ideas, incorporated into the law, it affords occasion for the transfer of its name to the spiritual conceptions of the circumcision of tongue and heart. But especially remarkable is the apprehension of the relation between spirit and law in the history of Samson.

II. Why was it necessary for the hero who should begin to deliver Israel, to be a Nazir? Why was the same election and education not necessary in the cases of the other great judges, as, for instance, Gideon and Jephthah? Were then those heroes not spiritual Nazarites, who gave their lives to the service of God? May we not understand the opening words of Deborah's Song as indicating their spiritual consecration to Jehovah: "That in Israel waved the hair, in the people's self-devotion" (see on ch. v. 2)? No doubt; and for that very reason Samson is distinguished from them. For those men arose in times when the tribes of Israel themselves repented and turned their hearts to God. In Samson's day, the situation was different. Dan and Judah were oppressed, but not repentant. An uprising from within through faith, is not to be expected. It is brought about, therefore, as it were from without, by means of the law. The power of the objective, spiritual law manifests itself. It becomes an organ of deliverance, when the subjective source of freedom no longer flows. The angel would have found no Gideon. A prophetess like Deborah, there was not. But the law abides: it is independent of the current popular spirit. It is thus the last sure medium through which the help of God can come to Israel. This significance

¹ The following is said to have been uttered by Apollonius of Tyana: "Let the iron spare the hair of a wise man. For it is not right that it should touch a place where lie the sources of all the senses, whence all sacred sounds and voices issue, and prayers proceed, and the word of wisdom interprets." — Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, viii. 6.

² Hence, we cannot agree with the explanations cited and proposed in Oehler's article on the *Nazarat*, in Herzog's *Encyclopädie* (x. 208). A poem by Max Letteris, on the "Locks of the Nazarite," in *Johann's Blüthenkranz*, p. 239, has entirely missed the idea of the Nazaritic institution.

of the law, and its objective power, is very instructively set forth before the people in the person of Samson. It is this also which, from Samson onward, becomes the ruling force in the vocation and appointment of deliverers, until the kingship is established, which by the objective rite of priestly anointing, changes David the shepherd-boy into David the victorious ruler. And this instruction concerning the law as a whole, is imparted through the medium of the special law concerning the Nazir, because it is here that the relation to be pointed out comes most clearly to view. For precisely the Nazariteship is, according to the Biblical law, the outflow of unrequired, voluntary consecration to God on the part of an individual. No doubt, to a certain extent, the earlier heroes, though not Nazarites in form, were such self-devoted men. But heroes such as they do not arise in times when the absence of penitence and faith dulls the prophets and Nazarites (cf. Amos, ii. 12). Hence, the history of Samson teaches that Israel would have had nothing to hope for from the Nazariteship, if it had had no other than subjective validity. When faith is wanting among the people, no man becomes a Nazir; but the objective law can make of the Nazir, a man. In Samson's case, the Nazariteship makes the hero, the long hair characterizes his strength, the renunciations of the mother consecrate the child. Samson, a Nazirite from his birth and without his own will, becomes what he is only as such, and continues to be a hero only so long as he continues to be a Nazirite. The Nazariteship is first, everything else second, in him. Its power over him is so objective, that it already operates on him before he is born, before anything like free consciousness can be thought of. The command addresses not him whom it concerns, but his mother, and she, during her pregnancy, becomes a female Nazir, in order that her son may be able to become a hero. It is this that properly distinguishes Samson from the other heroes; and its occasion appears in the fact that the narrator could not, as at other times, introduce his story by stating that the tribes had persistently "cried unto God."

III. The Mishnah (*Nazir*, i. 2) already distinguishes between a perpetual Nazirite and a Samson-Nazirite. And in fact, the Nazariteship of Samson is unique, has never repeated itself, and never can repeat itself; for it is conditioned by the history of his age. Samuel also is consecrated by his mother's vow that he shall belong to God, and that no razor shall come upon his head; but there is nothing to show that the mother observed the Nazarite rules in her own person, nor is anything said about any virtue in long hair in connection with Samuel. Hannah was wholly self-moved in the making of her vow. The case of John the Baptist likewise stands entirely by itself. Here, the birth of the child is indeed announced by an angel, but his character as a Nazirite is expressed in language altogether peculiar: "He shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink." John will be great before God, and because of that greatness will drink no wine. Nothing is said about long hair, and the origin of John's vow is placed, not in the act of another, but in the strength with which God had endowed himself. The Mishnah puts it as a possible case that a person should vow to be a Nazirite like Samson; that is, the vow is hypothetically so limited that, while it requires him who makes it to wear his hair long, he is not required to bring sacrifices for defilement. Such a vow was named after Samson, because a part of his life was imitated by it. But properly

speaking, a vow to be like Samson, is impossible. For Samson's vow began not with himself, but with his mother. According to the law in the 6th chapter of Numbers, an Israelite could take a vow upon himself for a longer or, like the four friends of James (Acts xxi. 23), for a shorter period. When the time was expired, he shaved himself, and brought an offering. But no one could vow to be like Samson. It was indeed within the power of a mother to promise to bring up her child like Samson, but even then she had no right to expect the same results as in the case of Samson. It is precisely the impotence of human subjectivity that is demonstrated by Samson's history. It cannot be the wish of all mothers to have Samson-children, when they suffer the hair of their offspring to grow. The angel's announcement, through which the spirit in the law begins to operate even in the maternal womb, is the original source of strength. The Spirit of God operates on mother and son, through the Nazariteship as its organ. The power of the Nazir, the holy influence of the law, opens the man himself; the outflow of divine consecration into the life of the consecrated cannot take place without the Spirit of God. The theological doctrine of the preparatory history of Samson, is just this: that while the law in its immutable objectivity is placed over against the subjective forces of prophecy and heroic inspiration, yet it can never of itself, but only by virtue of the Spirit of God pervading and quickening it, become the organ of deliverance.

The Nazaritic institute is the image of the general priesthood, of the fact that outside of the tribe of Levi, it is possible for man to belong wholly to God. The visible acts which it prescribes, represent, as in a figure, the purity and sinlessness of the heart consecrated to God. In the case of Samson, this Nazariteship begins from his mother's womb. Were it in the power of a son born of human parents, to be sinless through the law, Samson the Nazirite ought to have been sinless. But only Christ is the true Nazirite in spirit, whose life realizes the purity of the idea, and whose free love, rooted in God, continues among men from the womb until death. Jacob, the dying patriarch, announced a blessing "on the head of Joseph and on the crown of the head of the Nazir of his brethren" (Gen. xlix. 26); and there is no reason to doubt that the primitive Christian consciousness interpreted the expression "Nazir of his brethren" not of Joseph, but found in the "and" a link connecting the blessing of Joseph with the person of Him who was a Nazir of the brethren of Joseph. It saw in the passage a prophecy of the Messiah, who though not descended from Levi, was yet the true holy and consecrated high-priest. Hence, the opinion that in the language of the evangelist Matthew (ii. 23), "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a *Ναζωραῖος*," reference is made to the *נָזִיר*, the "Nazir of his brethren," is not to be hastily set aside. Remarkable, at all events, is it that the ancient Jewish interpretation, when Jacob after the blessing on Dan (Gen. xlix. 17) adds the words: "I wait for thy salvation, Jehovah!" conceives him to glance from the nearer but transient deliverance by Samson, to the more distant but eternal redemption of Messiah (*Beresch. Rabba*, p. 86 c; cf. the Targums on the passage); and that, as already mentioned, the mother of Samson, in 1 Chron. iv. 3, is named *Hazeleponi* or *Zeleponi*, i. e., "the shadow falls on me," which may be compared with the words of

the angel to the mother of Jesus: "the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee."

Ver. 5. **And let no razor come upon his head.** Here, and in the history of Samuel, the razor is called *מַרְרָה*, whereas in Num. vi. 4 *תַּיִר* is used.

Both terms come from the same stem *פָּרַח*, *nu-dare*, to uncover, as it were *novare*, to renew, whence also *novacula*, sharp knife, razor. There appears to be less ground for comparison with the Greek *μαρ-βρον*, Latin *marro*, the signification "spade" being too far removed. On the other hand, a certain relationship of *פָּרַח* with the Greek *εραβον*, Sanskrit *khshkara*, shears, may not be altogether denied.

He shall begin. For the Philistines oppressed Israel forty years, and Samson judged his people only twenty. Samson began to restore victory to Israel, he did not make it full and final. The angel of God who calls the hero out of the womb of his mother, knows that he will not finish that for which God nevertheless gave him strength. He knows it, and therefore does not speak as he did to Gideon: "Thou shalt deliver Israel" (ch. vi. 14).

Vers. 6, 7. **And the woman came and told her husband.** Before telling him what the angel had said, she excuses herself for having obtained no particular information about the bearer of the announcement. She should have asked him whence he was, but dared not; for he was a "man of God," with the look of an "angel of God." The angel appeared in human form; but there was an imposing splendor about him, which terrified the woman. Such, probably, had also been the case in Gideon's experience. In her narrative she supplies what we do not find in ver. 5, that the child's character, as a Nazir of God, is to last from the womb until "the day of his death."

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The grace of God shows itself constantly more wondrously. It was to be made ever clearer in Israel that all salvation comes from God, and that without God there is no peace. With God all things are possible. He can raise up children for himself out of stones. His works are independent of human presuppositions and conditions. He has no need of antecedent historical conditions in order to raise up men. When in times of impotence even vessels are wanting, He creates the vessels He needs.

How differently God proceeds in the election of grace from the methods human thought would conceive, is shown by the history of all previous Judges. The deliverer arises there where the natural understanding would never have looked for him. But Samson God raises up in a manner in which no man ever conjectured the growth of a hero to take place. The other Judges He selected as men: Samson He brought up to be a hero.

The earlier Judges were to a certain extent prepared for their work even before their election. Ehud had the abilities of a Benjaminite, Deborah was a prophetess, Gideon a strong man, Jephthah a successful military leader. When the Spirit of

God came upon them, they became Deliverers and Judges. In Samson, God made it known that his grace is able to save Israel even when such persons are not to be found. Before birth, He consecrates the child, through his Spirit, to be a Nazarite. Hence grows a hero.

Earlier Judges were able, like Ehud, to perform single-handed exploits; but they achieved deliverance only in connection with the people. They were all military leaders of Israel, and had to stand at the head of pious hosts. In Samson it is seen that this also is not indispensable. Only individuals among the people were penitent; the tribes, as such, were unbelieving. Therefore the Spirit raised up a single man to be Judge: he alone, without army and without people, fought and delivered.

For this reason, the ancient, deeply thinking church regarded Samson especially as a type of the history of Christ. His birth was similar to that of Jesus. Like the eternal Word who became flesh, he was typically born and consecrated of the Spirit. In Christ, also, it is his sinlessness that presupposes his office as Saviour. The birth of Christ determines his resurrection. He must be born from heaven in order to return to heaven. No one can ascend into heaven but He who came down from heaven.

There was also no penitence in Israel when Christ was born. A few sought the promised Messiah in the prophets. Christ did not come to put himself at the head of a host of believers; but alone, as He was, so He stood among the people. He performs his entire work alone. He needs no legions of angels. His work is unique; and He, the worker, is a solitary hero.

Every believing heart treads in the footsteps of Christ. Fellowship is good in Christian work, but not essential. A Christian can live alone, if he be with Christ.

STARKE: God cares for his people when they are in misery, and often thinks of their redemption before they think of it themselves. — THE SAME: God connects his grace and gifts with mean things, in order to make men know that everything is to be ascribed to the grace of God, and not to the merits of men.

[BR. HALL: If Manoah's wife had not been barren, the angel had not been sent to her. Afflictions have this advantage, that they occasion God to show that mercy to us, whereof the prosperous are incapable. It would not become a mother to be so indulgent to a healthful child as to a sick. — THE SAME: Nature pleads for liberty, religion for restraint. Not that there is more uncleanness in the grape than in the fountain, but that wine finds more uncleanness in us than water, and that the high feed is not so fit for devotion as abstinence. — WORDSWORTH: Samson is a type of Christ; and in all those things where Samson fails, there Christ excels. Samson began to deliver Israel, but did not effect their deliverance (see ch. xiii. 1; xv. 20). He declined from his good beginnings; and fell away first into sin, and then into the hands of the enemy. But Christ not only began to deliver Israel, but was able to say on the cross, "It is finished." — TR.]

Manoah, believing, yet desirous of confirmation, prays that the "Man of God" may return, and is heard.

CHAPTER XIII. 8-23.

- 8 Then [And] Manoah entreated the Lord [Jehovah], and said, O my Lord [Pray, Lord — cf. ch. vi. 15], let the man of God which thou didst send come again
 9 unto us, and teach us what we shall do unto the child that shall be born.¹ And God hearkened to the voice of Manoah; and the angel of God came again unto the woman as she sat in the field: but Manoah her husband *was* not with her.
 10 And the woman made haste, and ran, and shewed [informed] her husband, and said unto him, Behold, the man hath appeared unto me, that came unto me the *other*
 11 day. And Manoah arose, and went after his wife, and came to the man, and said unto him, *Art* thou the man that spakest unto the woman? And he said, I *am*.
 12 And Manoah said, Now let [When now] thy words come to pass. [,] How [how] 13 shall we order the child, and *how* shall we do unto him?² And the angel of the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Manoah, Of all that I said unto the woman, let her be-
 14 ware. She may not eat of any *thing* that cometh of the vine, neither let her drink wine or strong drink, nor eat any unclean *thing*: all that I commanded her let her
 15 observe. And Manoah said unto the angel of the Lord [Jehovah], I pray thee, let us detain thee, until we shall have made [and make] ready a kid for [th. before]
 16 thee. And the angel of the Lord [Jehovah] said unto Manoah, Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread: and if thou wilt offer [prepare] a burnt-offering, thou must [omit: thou must] offer it unto the Lord [Jehovah]. For
 17 Manoah knew not that he *was* an angel of the Lord [Jehovah]. And Manoah said unto the angel of the Lord [Jehovah], What *is* thy name,³ that when thy sayings
 18 come [word comes] to pass, we may do thee honour? And the angel of the Lord [Jehovah] said unto him, Why askest thou thus [omit: thus] after my name,
 19 seeing [and] it *is* secret [*Peli*, Wonderful]? So [And] Manoah took a [the] kid, with a [and the] meat-offering, and offered *it* upon a [the] rock unto the Lord [Jehovah]; and *the angel* did wondrously [and he caused a wonder to take
 20 place], and Manoah and his wife looked on. For it came to pass, when the flame went up toward heaven from off the altar, that the angel of the Lord [Jehovah] ascended in the flame of the altar, and Manoah and his wife looked on *it* [omit: it],
 21 and fell on their faces to the ground. But [And] the angel of the Lord [Jehovah] did no more appear to Manoah and to his wife. Then Manoah knew that he *was*
 22 an angel of the Lord [Jehovah]. And Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely
 23 die, because we have seen God [Elohim]. But his wife said unto him, If the Lord [Jehovah] were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meat-offering at our hands, neither would he have shewed us all these *things*, nor would as at this time have told us *such things* as these.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 8. — וַיִּתְקַן . This form may be the imperfect pual, with the article used as a relative; but it is probably more correct, with Keil (after Ewald, 169 *d*), to regard it as the pual participle, the preformative ו being fallen away. Even then, however, the more regular mode of writing would be וַיִּתְקַן . — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 12. — Dr. Cassel renders the clause more literally: "What will be the manner of the boy, and his doing?" But the rendering of the E. V. correctly interprets the language of the original, and agrees with our author's exposition. Whatever obscurity there may appear to be in ver. 12, is removed by ver. 8; for it is clear that the petition preferred in ver. 12 can be no other than that made in ver. 8. $\text{מִצִּוְתוֹת הַיְהוָה}$ is the statute or precept (cf. the monastic term "rule") to be observed with regard to the boy — the right treatment of him by his parents; and, similarly, $\text{מִצִּוְתוֹת הַיְהוָה}$ is that which they are to do to him. The genitives are genitives of the object, cf. Ges *Gram.* 114, 2; 121, 5. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 17. — "מִי שְׁמִי"; properly *quis nomen tuum*, equivalent to *quis nominaris*. מִי asks after the person, מַה after the nature, the quality, see Ewald, 325 *a*." (Keil). — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 8 ff. **And Manoah entreated Jehovah.** The narrative affords a pleasing view of the child-like piety of an Israelitish husband and wife under the old covenant.

The adventure with the angel takes upon the whole the same course as the similar incident in the life of Gideon (cf. on ch. vi). The angel here comes and goes as there, yields to entreaties to tarry, receives an offering, disappears in the flame. But the present passage discloses also new and beautiful features, growing out of the mutual relations of Manoah and his wife. The peculiar characteristics of both husband and wife are most delicately drawn. Manoah is a pious man, he knows how to seek God in prayer, and is not unbelieving; but the statements of his wife do not appear to him to be sure enough, he would gladly have them confirmed. And for the instruction and strengthening of Israel, that faith may be full and strong, not being compelled to content itself with the testimony of one woman only to the wonderful event,—God, having respect to the unawakened condition of the people, allows himself to be entreated.¹ But although Manoah sees in the second appearance of the angel the fulfillment of his prayer, he still recognizes in him nothing but a man (אִישׁ). And truly, nothing is more difficult for man, even though he prays, than to receive the fulfillment of prayer! The believing obedience of Manoah to the commands touching his wife's conduct with reference to the promised child, although he conceives them to be delivered by no other than a man, indicates that the coming and preaching of such a man, here spoken of as a "man of God," was nothing unusual. There had probably been a lack only of such obedience as Manoah here shows him. What is more surprising, is, that even when the angel declines to eat of his bread, Manoah yet does not perceive that his visitor is not a man. He had intended, according to the manner of ancient hospitality, as known also to Homer, first to entertain his guest, and then to inquire after his home and name. Such inquiries have interest, and afford guarantees, only in the case of a man. But even the answer concerning the "wonderful" name, does not yet excite his attention. It is only after the angel's disappearance in the flame that he perceives,—what, however, none but a believing heart could perceive,—that he who had just departed was not a man. The wife shows herself more receptive and sensitive to the presence of a divine being. To her, the stranger's appearance, even at his first visit, seemed like that of an angel. At his second visit also, she speaks of his coming in language usually applied to angels,— "Behold, he hath appeared unto me (וַיֵּרָא אֵלַי, ver. 10). She had needed no proof or explanation. She asks no questions, but knows what he has said to her heart; and hence, she also is in no dread when now it becomes manifest that it was indeed an angel of God. Her husband is apprehensive of death; she is of good courage, and infers the contrary. She had long since foreboded the truth, and belongs to the number of those women of sacred history whose sensitive hearts enabled them to feel and see divine secrets, and whose appearance is the more attractive, the more unbelieving and unresponsive the times are, in which, as here,

angels reveal themselves to women rather than to men. For although it is Manoah who prays that the man of God may come again, he appears not to him, but again to the wife. He waits, however, while she, intuitively certain that though feelings of reverence do not allow her to entreat him to tarry, he will nevertheless do so, hastens to call her husband.

Vers. 12, 13. **And Manoah said, When now thy words come to pass, what will be the manner of the boy and his doing?** It is peculiar that notwithstanding the plain words told him by his wife, Manoah cannot rest satisfied with them. Doubtless, it could not but appear singular to him, that his wife tells him of what she is to do, although the call to be a Nazir pertains to the son whose birth is promised. Of such directions, the Mosaic statute contained no traces. It appeared to him as if the report of his wife must contain a misunderstanding on this point. He therefore asks twice, what is to be done with the child, since hitherto he had principally heard only what the mother is to do. Hence, the angel answers him plainly: "What I commanded the mother, that do!"

Nor eat any unclean thing. It had already been said in ver. 4, "Thou shalt drink neither wine nor intoxicating drink, nor eat any thing unclean." The older expositors identified this prohibition as to food and drink with that imposed on Nazarites in Num. vi. 4. But this is not altogether accurate, as appears from ver. 14 of our passage. Express mention is here made of all that Num. vi. 4 forbade to be eaten, namely, everything that comes from the vine, and yet it is added, "nor eat any unclean thing." Num. vi. does not speak at all of anything "unclean," as forbidden to the Nazarite, because no Israelite was allowed to eat what was unclean. Here the angel adds this injunction, first, because it was a time in which much of the law and customs of Israel had perhaps fallen into neglect; and, secondly, in order to serve to Manoah and his wife as an explanation of all that was enjoined upon the latter. The wife was to abstain from the use of everything that can render unclean, because a holy and pure consecration was to rest on him whom she was to bring forth.

Vers. 17 ff. **Why askest thou after my name, and it is Peli?** Renewed attention must constantly be directed to the nice discrimination with which the designations Jehovah, Elohim, and the Elohim, are used in the narrative. Whenever the narrator speaks, he always writes Jehovah. Concerning Samson, the expression (ver. 5) is, that he will be a Nazir of Elohim; because there Elohim indicates the general divine afflatus by which he is to be surrounded, and is the term also used in Num. vi. 7: "For the consecration of his God (אֱלֹהֵי) is upon his head." When the believing parents first speak, they speak, as in Judg. vi. 20 (see above), of the man or angel of "the God," i. e., the God of Israel (vers. 6, 8). Especially, however, do they characterize themselves in vers. 22 and 23. Manoah anticipates death, "for we have seen Elohim," a divine being in general. The wife, impressed by the appearance and announcement, says: "If Jehovah were pleased to kill us, he would not have accepted our offerings." Whenever full faith returns in Israel, the full name of Israel's God, Jehovah, returns with it.

But when Manoah asks the angel for his name, the reply is not, Jehovah, but אֱלֹהִים. The Masora

¹ וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים, as in Gen. xiv. 21; Ex. viii. 25.

reads פֶּלִי, Peli; later authorities (cf. Keil *in loc.*), פֶּלִי, Peli. In either case, the word is adjective, but identical in meaning with מְפַלֵּא. In Isa. ix. 5 (6), it is said: "Unto us a child is born, and his name is מְפַלֵּא." His name is Wonder, Wonder-worker. Isa. xxix. 14, which passage serves literally to explain our present passage, says: "לִבִּי יִפְתָּח לְתַפְלִיא אֶת־הַעֲשֵׂה־הַנִּיחָה הַפֶּלִיא

חֲנִנִי יִפְתָּח לְתַפְלִיא אֶת־הַעֲשֵׂה־הַנִּיחָה הַפֶּלִיא

וְתַפְלִיא, I will continue to show myself doing wonders to this people, doing wonder upon wonder." The epithet of wonder points to the power of him to whom it is applied. He who *is* a wonder, *does* wonders. In Isa. ix. 5 (6) the child is named Pele, not as a passive wonder, but as active; all its epithets are active: Pele, Counsellor, Mighty God, Father, Prince. Hence, here the angel also calls himself Peli, Wonder-worker. For what he does appears extraordinary. A child was chosen in the matrix, and endued with the power of doing wonders. God testifies in times of distress that He saves Israel by wonders, and does not cease, even in their ruin, to interest himself wonderfully in their behalf. Ordinary means of salvation are wanting. God ever again manifests himself in Israel as the מְפַלֵּא, "the wonder-worker," as He is styled Ex. xv. 11. As such He gives his name in ver. 18, and shows his *power* in ver. 19, when He reveals himself in the wonderful manner of his vanishing away: for the expression רַב־מְפַלֵּא ("he caused a wonder"), in the latter verse, refers back to מְפַלֵּא, Peli, of ver. 18. The name Manoah had not understood; but in the deed he recognized the God of wonders.

The key to the whole narrative is contained in this word. It sets forth that Israel's preservation and deliverance rest not in itself, but in the grace of Him who is wonderful and does wonders beyond all understanding, not merely in nature, but also in human life and history. Those explanations are therefore wholly insufficient, which render the word by "secret" or "ineffable." From the old Jewish point of view, this interpretation is intelligible; for to them the external ineffableness of the name Jehovah appeared to be its chief characteristic. Jacob, when he wrestled with the angel, asked after his name. "Why askest thou?" replied the angel, and gave it not. As he wrestled in the night, so he gave no name. Here the unseen corresponds with the unnamed. But in the instance of Samson's parents, the angel is seen. What he says and does is manifest and visible. It is stated with emphasis, that both "saw" (רָאָה). If the angel, by saying, "Why askest thou after my name?" had designed to refuse an answer to Manoah's question, he would have contented himself with these words. But he gives him a name, and that name teaches

that Manoah is to attend rather to the message than the manner of him who brings it. If from the word "Peli" Manoah was to learn that the name for which he asked was "ineffable," he would on hearing it have already perceived that the messenger was no man, for there was only One to whose name this could apply. But it was not till afterwards that Manoah made this discovery. The angel, however, does not design, in this manner to reveal himself. As in the case of Gideon, so here, the deed is to show who the announcer was. Therefore, with fresh kindness, he gives him the name he bears. Angels on earth are always named from their mission and work. The Word of the New Covenant, likewise, when He became flesh, was called Christ Jesus, from his work. The angel in saying "Peli," gave one of the names of God, — that name to which his work here testified (יִמְפָּלֵא). Manoah received it as the name of a man, as later a man occurs named Pelaiah (פֶּלִיא, Neh. viii. 7).

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

STARKE: The names of God are of great circumference and vast importance, and enclose many secrets. *Nomina Dei non sunt nominalia, sed realia.* — LISCO: "My name is wonderful," mysterious, whose depths of meaning can only be guessed at by human thought, never fully comprehended.

(BUSH: The petition of Manoah reminds us also that the care of children is a great concern, and that those who have the parental relation in prospect can make no more suitable prayer at the throne of grace than that of the pious Danite on this occasion. Who upon the eve of becoming parents have not need to say, as said Manoah, "Teach us what we shall do to the child that shall be born." — BR. HALL: He that before sent his angel unasked, will much more send him again upon entreaty. — THE SAME: We can never feast the angels better, than with our hearty sacrifices to God. — BUSH (on ver. 23): This was a just mode of arguing; for such mercies were both evidences and pledges of God's love; and therefore were rather to be considered as earnest of future blessings, than as harbingers of ill. The woman in this showed herself not only the strongest believer, but the wisest reasoner. The incidents related may teach us, (1) That in times of dark and discouraging providences or sore temptations we should remember the past experience of God's goodness as a ground of present support. "Account the long suffering of God to be salvation." He that hath so kindly helped us and dealt with us hitherto, means not to destroy us at last. (2) That the sinner oppressed with a sense of his deserts has no reason to despair. Let him remember what Christ has done for him by his bloody sacrifice, and read in it a sure proof, that he does not design his death. — TR.]

The birth and growth of Samson.

CHAPTER XIII. 24, 25.

24 And the woman bare a son, and called his name Samson [Shimshon]. And the
25 child [boy] grew, and the Lord [Jehovah] blessed him. And the Spirit of the
Lord [Jehovah] began to move him at times [omit: at times] in the camp of Dan,
between Zorah and Eshtaol.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 24. And called his name Shimshon. The Septuagint has Σαμψών, Samson; Josephus also, (*Antiq.* v. 8, 4). This pronunciation refers to the ancient derivation of the name from שִׁמְשׁוֹן, the

sun, just as שִׁמְשַׁי (Shimshai, Ezra iv. 8) is pronounced Samsai (Σαμσαι; according to the Vat. Cod. Σαμψά), and as we hear in later times of Sampsæans, a sun-sect.¹ The Masora seems to have pointed Shimshon after the analogy of Shim-eon (Simeon), and to have had the word שִׁמְשׁוֹן, to hear, in view. The derivation from *shenash*, the sun, is, however, of long standing among the Jewish expositors also, and offers the best grounds for acceptance. Other explanations, "mighty," "bold," "desolator," proposed by various expositors, from Serarius to Keil, appear to be without any historical motive. The name may be brought into connection with the announcement to the parents, that their son would "begin to deliver Israel." To Hebrew conceptions, the rising of the sun is an act of victory. In this spirit Deborah sings: "So fall all thy foes, O God; but אֲהַרְבֵּנוּ קִנְיַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בְּבִבְרָתוֹ, those who love thee are as the rising of the sun in his strength" (*geburah*), as Samson was a *gibbor*). The Jewish expositors (cf. *Jalkut, Judic.* n. 69) said, that "Samson was named after the name of God, who is called Sun and Shield of Israel" (Ps. lxxxiv. 12). The symbol of servitude is night, and accordingly the tyranny of Egypt is so called; but the beginning of freedom is as the dawn of day or the rising of the sun. The interpretation of our hero's name as ἰσχυρός, mighty, by Josephus, is only a translation of *gibbor*, for the sun also is called a hero (Ps. xix. 5, 6). It is an allegorical, not etymological interpretation, and gives no warrant for charging Josephus with philological error, as Gesenius does (*Gesch. der hebr. Spr.* p. 82). That some writers find a *sun-god* in this interpretation, is no reason for giving it up;² especially when this is done, in a manner as bold as it is confused, as by Nork (*Bibl. Myth.*, ii. 405), who goes so far as to compare a father of Adonis, "Manes" (?), with Manoaah, and drags in the "Almanack" besides. The Mosaic law forbade to make idol images of wood and stone as representations of nature; but the use of spiritual, figurative images drawn from sun and moon, is constantly characteristic of Scripture. Notwithstanding all nature-worship as connected with the sun, and its censure in Scripture, God Himself is

called the "Sun of Righteousness." The false syncretisms to which more recent times are inclined, have their origin in the failure to separate rightly the fundamental ideas of Biblical and of heathen life.

The celebrated Armenian family of the Amaduni considered itself to be of Jewish extraction. It descends, says Moses Chorenensis (lib. ii. cap. lvii. ed. de Florival. i. 283), from Samson, the son of Manoaah. "Il est vrai, qu'on voit encore aujourd'hui la même chose dans la race des Amaduni, car ce sont des hommes robustes," etc. A parallel to this is afforded by the Vilkina-legend, which places at the head of its narratives the powerful knight Samson, dark of complexion, like an Oriental, with "hair and beard black as pitch" (cf. the edition by von der Hagen, i. 4), and from whom the mighty race of the Amelungen springs (cf. W. Grimm, *Die Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 264).

Ver. 25. And the Spirit of Jehovah began to move him. The fulfillment had taken place. The son had been born. He grew up under the blessing of God. His flourishing strength, his greatness of spirit, are the consequences of this blessing. But the consecration which was on his head, and which through the abstinence of his mother he had already received in the earliest moments of corporal formation and growth, was a power which imparted to him not only physical strength, but also spiritual impulses. No angel ever comes to Samson; God never talks with him; no appearances, like those to his parents, occur to him. Whatever he carries in his soul and in his members, he has received from the consecration that is upon his head. It is from this source that he derives that elevation of spirit which raises him above the level of common life, and urges him on to deeds of heroism.

In the camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol. Zorah was Samson's native place, always appears in juxtaposition with Eshtaol (Josh. xv. 33; xix. 41), and was inhabited by Danites and men of Judah. Its site is recognized in the Tell of Sur'a, from whose summit Robinson had a fine and extensive view (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 153). For Eshtaol no probable conjecture has yet been offered. The "Camp of Dan" (cf. ch. xviii. 12) was a place between the two cities, both of which are located by the *Onomasticon* in the region north of Eleutheropolis. Eusebius in mentioning Eshtaol says, "Ἐνθεν ὤρμητο Σαμψών," thence Samson set out, which Jerome corrected into, "ubi mortuus est Samson," where Samson died. The "Camp of Dan," if it were not a regular military post, must at all events have had warlike recollections con-

¹ On other similar forms, cf. Selden, *De Diis Syris Synt.* li. 225.

² As little reason as there is to doubt the etymology of Hellodorus, because the author of the *Æthiopia*, Bishop

Hellodore of Tricca, calls himself a "descendant of Hellon," from the fact that he belonged to Emesa, the city of a celebrated temple of the sun (lib. x. at the close).

nected with its name and hill-top situation (cf. ch. i. 34). It was there that the passion for exploits against the Philistines first seized on Samson. The expression, *וַתְּהַלֵּל רִיחַ*, "the spirit began," manifestly answers to the *הֲרִיחַ יָחֵל*, "he shall begin," of ver. 5. The young man was first seized upon by the Spirit of God, *לְפַעֲמֵי*. The operation which this word *פַּעַם* expresses is not an organic work of faith, such as Gideon or Jephthah perform. It is an impulsive inspiration; the sudden ebullition of a spiritual force, which, as in the case of the Seer it manifests itself in words, in that of Samson breaks forth into action. But yet it is no demoniac paroxysm, nor the drunken madness

of a Bacchant or the frenzy of a rude Berserker, but the sober movement of the Spirit of God, which, while giving heroic power, also governed it. How little mythical the history is, is evinced by the fact that, according to the narrator, the place is still known where the young man first became conscious that he had another calling than to assist his father at home in the field. The Spirit of God thrusts him out into public activity. His father's house becomes too narrow for him. His public career begins. What that career is to be, is yet to be revealed to him. But he is driven out, and he goes. From the Camp of Dan he issues forth, a youthful hero, like Parcival, in quest of adventure. With what result, is related farther on.

The opening step of Samson's career: his unlawful desire to marry a daughter of the Philistines overruled by God for Israel's good.

CHAPTER XIV. 1-4.

- 1 And Samson went down to Timnath [Timnathah], and saw a woman in Timnath [Timnathah] of the daughters of the Philistines. And he came up, and told his father and his mother, and said, I have seen a woman in Timnath [Timnathah] of the daughters of the Philistines: now therefore get her for me to wife. Then [And] his father and his mother said unto him, *Is there* never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? And Samson said unto his father, Get her for me; for she pleaseth me well [is pleasing in my eyes]. But [And] his father and his mother knew not that it *was* of the Lord [Jehovah], that [for] he sought an occasion against [from] the Philistines: for at that time the Philistines had dominion [were lording it] over Israel.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. **And Samson went down to Timnath.** Timnath or Timnathah, the present Tibneh, situated to the southwest of Zorah, at the confluence of Wady Sumt with Wady Surâr (Ritter, xvi. 116; [Gage's Transl. iii. 241]), on the border of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 10), was assigned by Joshua to the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 43), but had fallen into the hands of the Philistines.

Ver. 2, 3. **Get her for me to wife.** The history of Samson abounds with instructive notices of the social life of the times. The women lead a free life, not shut up, as they are in the East of the present day. The stranger can see the beauty of the daughters of the land. But Samson cannot yet dispense with the permission of his parents. He is yet in their house, unmarried, a *בְּרוּר*. From the choice of Samson, and his mode of life, there comes to view, in the first place, the prevalent, though unlawful, admixture of Israelitish and heathen families and customs. But the barriers raised by difference of nationality are nevertheless manifest. The parents at first refuse their consent to Samson's choice; but they cannot resist his prayer. He is

their only son, — and such a son! full of strength and youthful promise, — therefore it gives them pain.¹

Ver. 4. **And his father and his mother knew not.** If the mother kept in her heart the saying that her son would begin to deliver Israel, his strength and gifts doubtless awakened many hopes within her. But his wish to marry a Philistine maiden, seemed to destroy every expectation. He who when in his mother's womb was already consecrated to be a Nazarite, desires to enter into covenant with those who have not even the consecration of circumcision, — and that against the law! He who was endowed to be a deliverer and champion of Israel against the national enemies, shall he become a friend of the tyrants, a member of one of their families? For the parents knew not, —

That this was of Jehovah, for it became an occasion of assailing the Philistines; and at that time the Philistines ruled over Israel. The parents could not but be painfully affected, for they knew not what the consequence would be. But although ignorant on this point, they nevertheless yielded. They unconsciously submit to the stronger spirit of Samson; and thus their indul-

¹ [KEIL: It is true that in Ex. xxxiv. 16 and Deut. vii. 3 f. only marriages with Canaanitish women are expressly forbidden; but the ground of the prohibition extended equally

to marriages with daughters of the Philistines. For the same reason, in Josh. xiii. 3, the Philistines also are reckoned among the Canaanites. — Tr.]

gence united with the unconscious longing of their son to bring about the fulfillment of what the angel had announced.

The career of Samson is an historical drama without a parallel. Its dark background is the national life out of which he emerges. Israel is under Philistine oppression, because of sin and consequent enervation. It is not without resentment against the enemy, but it lacks spirit. It prefers slavish peace to a freedom worth making sacrifices for. It hates the national enemies, but it holds illicit intercourse with them. Such a national life in itself can beget no heroes, nor use them when they exist.

The influence of this national life is evident in Samson himself. He has unequalled spirit, strength, and courage; but he is alone. The young man finds no sympathy, at which to kindle himself. There are no patriots in search of heroes. There is no national sorrow, that waits longingly for deliverance and a deliverer, and in consequence thereof recognizes him when he appears. On the contrary, luxury and sensuality prevail, eating away the heart of the rising generation; for national character also is wanting, by which, conscious of their power, Israel's youth might clearly recognize their proper goal. Samson too had perished in sensuality, which does not distinguish between friend and foe; but his genius has a seal that cannot be broken. The consecration on his head preserves in his soul an impulse that cannot miss its goal. The law of this consecration is freedom. For freedom's sake, it lends him strength and spirit. Hannibal's father made him when but a boy swear everlasting war against the Romans. Samson, as Nazarite from his birth, is borne onward, less consciously, but even more surely, to a hatred with which he is not acquainted, and to wrath and battle for the freedom of Israel.

Samson is without an army, without a congenial popular spirit, without sympathy and courage on the part of his countrymen,—not even Gideon's three hundred are with him; he has no teacher and spiritual leader; he is alone, and moreover exposed to every temptation to which gigantic strength and corporal beauty give rise; but in his consecration to God he has a guidance that does not lead astray. Hence, that by which others are fettered and subjected, becomes for him the means of attaining his destiny. The paths on which others go to destruction, for him become highways of victory and of strength. It is an act of national treason, when he takes a Philistine wife; and yet for him, it becomes the occasion for deeds in behalf of national freedom.

There is no historical drama in which the nobility and invincible destiny of a great personality, reveal themselves so luminously as in the life of Samson.

It is well known that in the history and fiction of all nations, as in the heroic poems of all ages, love for women has formed a chief motive for conflict and adventure. Even the circumstance which throws so great a charm over the lives and contests of the heroes to whom it appertains, that their love breaks through the confines of their own nation or party, and attaches itself to women who live within

the circle of the enemy, is constantly recurring. But in those narratives, as also in the Persian legend, where Rudabe, the mother of Rustem, is the daughter of her Iranian lover's hereditary foe, and as in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, in *Romeo and Juliet*, and in the dramas of Schiller,—love is the central point and principal motive. Political barriers, national hatreds, ancient passions, all must yield to love, whether it ends in joy or tragedy. How different is its position in the history of Samson! The antagonism between Israel and the Philistines is justified and commanded. Truth cannot intermix itself with idolatry. The overleaping by sensuality of the spiritual barriers between the two, is the cause of Israel's sunken condition. That love through which Samson desires the maiden of Timnah, can be no joyful goal. Hence, the relation of his inborn heroism to love shows itself to be very different from that which obtains in heathenism and romance. There, the exploits of heroism become the occasions of love; for Samson, romance becomes the occasion of heroism. There, love overleaps the lines that separate nationalities; in Samson's case, it becomes the occasion by which he becomes mindful of the separation. Elsewhere, weakness, sensuality, enjoyment, become the snares which bind the inflamed hero; but for Samson, they become only the occasion for rending asunder the fetters, and for understanding the purpose for which he is endowed with divine strength.

And at that time the Philistines ruled over Israel. The addition of this remark is by no means superfluous. It serves to indicate the background of all Samson's deeds. The mere fact that the Philistines ruled, demonstrated Israel's apostasy and punishment; that they continued to rule, was evidence of Israel's powerlessness and inability to repent. It was *because* they ruled, and Israel was without repentance, that Samson appears so different from Gideon and Jephthah. In the midst of the Philistine supremacy, he enters on his single-handed conflict with them. Notwithstanding that they ruled by means of Israel's own sin, the objective power of the divine law and spirit evinces itself in the hero-nature of Samson, almost against his own will.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[BUSH: "I wish," says an old divine, "that Manoah and his wife could speak so loud that all our Israel could hear them." By nothing is the heart of a pious parent more grieved than by the prospect of the unequal yoking of his children with profane or irreligious partners; for he knows that nothing is so likely to prove injurious to their spiritual interests, and subject them to heartrending trials. — BR. HALL: As it becomes not children to be forward in their choice, so parents may not be too peremptory in their denials. It is not safe for children to overrun parents in settling their affections; nor for parents (where the impediments are not very material) to come short of their children, when the affections are once settled: the one is disobedience; the other may be tyranny. — TR.]

Samson goes down to Timnah, with his parents, to speak with his bride-elect. On the way, he meets and tears a young lion.

CHAPTER XIV. 5-9.

- 5 Then went Samson [And Samson went] down, and his father and his mother, to Timnath [Timnathah], and [they] came to the vineyards of Timnath [Timnathah].
 6 and behold, a young lion roared against him [came to meet him, roaring]. And the Spirit of the Lord [Jehovah] came mightily [suddenly] upon him, and he rent him as he would have rent [as one rends] a kid, and *he had* nothing in his hand.
 7 but [and] he told not his father or his mother what he had done. And he went down, and talked with the woman; and she pleased Samson well [was pleasing in the eyes of Samson]. And after a time he returned to take her, and he turned aside to see the carcass of the lion: and behold, *there was* a swarm of bees and
 9 honey in the carcass of the lion. And he took thereof in his hands, and went on [,] eating [as he went], and came to his father and mother. and he gave them, and they did eat: but he told not them [them not] that he had taken the honey out of the carcass of the lion.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 5. And Samson went down, with his father and mother, to Timnathah. The parents give way; at all events, they now first go down, with Samson, to see the maiden, and ascertain more about her. The proper object of the journey appears from ver. 7, where we are told that Samson "talked with the woman, and she pleased him." Hitherto he had only *seen* her (ver. 1). His parents urge him to "speak with her," in order to convince himself of her character;¹ and he determines to do so. On this account, the statement of ver. 3 is repeated in ver. 7: "she pleased him" now, after speaking with her, as formerly after seeing her; he therefore persists in his suit, and appoints the time of his marriage. The hope of the parents that the woman, by her want of agreeableness and spirit, would discourage their son, is not realized. No such want seems to have existed, so far as he was concerned.

And a young lion came to meet him, roaring. Samson went to Timnathah to look for a wife, not to engage in a lion-hunt. The comparison of his lion-fight with that of Hercules in Nemea, is altogether superficial and uncritical; and the idea that his victory is to be regarded as the first of twelve exploits,² has no foundation either in his spirit or history. The Nemean victory, as I hope yet to show elsewhere, is the expression of a mythical symbolism, and is accordingly, to a certain extent, an epos complete in itself. Samson's conflict with the lion is an incidental occurrence. It was neither the object of his expedition originally, nor did it come to be its central point of interest afterwards. The chief difference between the two stories lies in the totally different vocations of the heroes: Hercules wrestles with beasts, conquers the hostility which, according to the Hellenic myth, inheres in Nature; Samson is a conqueror of men, a national hero who triumphs over the enemies of his people and their faith, a champion of freedom, whose strength is so great that he can well afford to ex-

pend a little portion of it in a passing encounter with a lion. Samson is not elected to take the field against lions and foxes, — that would never have given him a name in the history of Israel; but his strength and dexterity are great enough to enable him to make use of even lions and foxes, dead or alive, as means of his national conflict. Among his exploits, only the blows are reckoned, which he inflicted on the Philistines, — not the occasional means which he employed in their delivery. As little as David's royal vocation was rooted in the battles of his shepherd days with lions and bears, so little was Samson's destiny as a hero the outgrowth of his victory over the lion whom he did not seek, but who quite unexpectedly roared out against him. He had left his parents a little space, and when near the vine hills of Timnathah had entered into a wilderness skirting the road, when the monster rushed upon him.

Ver. 6. And the Spirit of Jehovah came upon him, וַתְּהַלֵּךְ רוּחַ יְהוָה. The peculiar force of וַתְּהַלֵּךְ is, that it expresses the fortunateness of an occurrence, its happening just at the right time. In the very moment of need, the "Spirit of Jehovah" came upon him. In five passages where the expression "Spirit of Jehovah" occurs (ch. iii. 10; vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 25, and here), the Chaldee translation renders it "spirit of heroic strength" (*geburah*); for God also is a *Gibbor*, a Hero, and the translator wishes in this way to distinguish between the spirit of prophecy, the spirit of divine speech, which was also a spirit of God (cf. e. g., the Targum on Num. xxiv. 2-xxvii. 11, and also 1 Sam. x. 6, etc., רוּחַ יְהוָה נְבִיאָה), and the spirit of heroic action. But the original, very justly, makes no distinction; for in the view of divine doctrine all that man does is referred to the Spirit-source. Nothing succeeds without God. Samson needs that moral strength which does not fear the lion. The might, not of his arms, but of his soul, was of the first importance. For couragesous undertakings, there is need of divine inspirations. Hence,

Cf. Danz, *Baptismus Proseljtorum*, § 26; Meuschen, *Nov. Test. in Talm.*, p. 263.

¹ Cf. Abarbanel in *locum*. The offense of such marriages, the later Jews, with reference to Samson and Solomon, sought to avoid by assuming that the heathen had caused their women to be converted to the true religion.

² This idea has been set forth with special plausibility by Bertheau, and is justly and ably combated by Kell.

the attack of Samson on the lion is here ascribed to an impulse of the Spirit of God, as well as Jephthah's resolution to attack Ammon in his own country (ch. xi. 29). And it is to be further noted, that in every case the expression is, not the Spirit of Elohim, but the Spirit of Jehovah; for it was He on whom Israel was to believe, and from whom, for his own glory and the salvation of Israel, proceeded the power which Samson possessed against the enemies who knew not Jehovah.

And he rent him. It was a terrible lion that came to meet him: a **קִישִׁיר**, a term especially used when the rapacious and bloodthirsty nature of the lion is to be indicated. Bochart explains the compound name **קִישִׁיר הַיְרִיבִית** very beautifully by means of **קִישִׁיר עֲרִיב**, especially here, where the fierceness of the lion is opposed to the weakness of a *hoedus*, kid of the goats. **קִישִׁיר** is equivalent to *σχιζω*, to rend asunder. As the lion comes rushing towards him, Samson awaits him, seizes him, and rends his jaws asunder. And this he did as easily as if it were a kid of the goats. For the remark, "as one rends a kid," does not imply that it was customary always to rend kids in this manner, but simply means that a kid could not have been more easily overcome than this powerful lion was. According to some ancient statements, Hercules choked the Nemean lion in his arms; and it is undoubtedly with reference to this that Josephus says of Samson also, that he strangled (*ἔσχευε*) the monster. According to a French romance, Iwain, the romantic hero of the Round Table, derived his epithet, "Knight of the Lion," from the fact that after a long struggle he had choked a lion: "il prist Lionian parmi la gorge as poinz . . . si l'estrangla." Cf. Holland, *Chretien de Troyes*, p. 161.

And he had nothing in his hand. He had gone forth to look for a wife, not expecting a battle. If, however, it be nevertheless surprising that a young man like Samson carried no weapons, we are to seek for the reason of it in the domination of the Philistines. Those tyrants suffered no weapons in the hands of the conquered, and hindered and prohibited the introduction of them and the traffic in them (cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 20). The suspicion of the enemy had found matter enough for its exercise, if young men like Samson had come armed into their cities. But even without arms, the heroic strength of Samson everywhere evinces itself; for not iron, but the Spirit, gives victory. Pausanias (vi. 5) tells of Polydamas, a hero of Scotussa in Elis, who lived about 400 B. C., that he overcame a great and strong lion on Olympus, without a weapon of any kind.

And he told not his father or his mother what he had done. It is certainly instructive to institute a comparison between Samson and the numerous lion-conquerors of history and tradition. For it reveals Samson's greatness of soul in a most significant way. To him, the victory over the lion is precisely *not* one of the twelve labors which in the Hellenic myths is glorified by tradition and art. He wears no lion's skin in consequence of it. He makes so little ado about it, that he does not even inform his parents of it, probably in order not to startle them at the thought of the danger to which he has been exposed. For, at that time, he could not yet have thought of his subsequent fanciful conceit. There is nothing un-

usual about his appearance and demeanor, when he again overtakes them. He exhibits neither excitement nor uncommon elation. The divine spirit that slumbered in him has just been active; but the deed he performed under its impulse appeared to him, as great deeds always do to great souls, to have nothing of a surprising character about it, but to be perfectly natural. Others are impressed to astonishment by what to such persons are but natural life utterances. What we call geniality, what in Samson appears as the result of divine consecration, cannot exhibit itself more beautifully. It is the fullness of spirit and strength in men, out of which exploit and heroism flow as streams flow from their sources. To this very day, it is only small spirits, albeit often in thick books, who watch like griffons over each little thought that occurs to them, fearing to lose the mirror in which they see themselves reflected, and the lion-skin with which proprietorship invests them. Of Samson's victory nothing had ever been heard, had it not furnished him with the means for indulging in a national rallery against the Philistines.

What subjects of ostentation these conflicts with lions have everywhere been. Neither the great Macedonian nor the Roman Emperors, could dispense with them. An Alexandrian poet procured for himself a life-long pension from the Emperor Hadrian, by showing him a flowering lotus sprung from the blood of a lion whom the Emperor had slain. (More definite references to this and following passages, as also discussions of them, will be contained in my *Hierozoicon*. Other material, being already found in Bochart and the older commentators (cf. Serarius *ad locum*), may here be passed over.) The extravagance of the later writers of romance, both eastern and western, was no longer content with common lion-encounters for their heroes. The Arabian Antar conquers a lion although the hero's feet are fettered. For Rustem and Wolfdieterich such exploits are performed even by their horses. It was only when the crusades put the knightly spirit to the test in the land of the lion, that Europeans experienced the historical terribleness of such conflicts. And few of them had the strength and resoluteness of Godfrey of Bouillon, who stood his ground against a bear, or of the bold and powerful Wicker von Schwaben, who, near Joppa, killed a great lion with the sword in his hand (Albert Aquensis, vii. 70; Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzuge*, ii. 109). Yet these men are not myths, because such deeds are ascribed to them; nor do we suspect only mythical echoes in the stories that are told of them.

The deed of Samson is executed with such ease and freedom, and represented with such simplicity and naturalness, that if the narrative were not historical, it would be impossible to account for its origin. And yet, according to some, it is a mythical reflection of the legend concerning Hercules. The theories of these critics have their false basis in the Hellenistic one-sidedness by which the relation, according to which the myth must receive its symbols from nature and history, is often quite reversed, so that historical life-utterances are attenuated into ideas and mythical plantations. It is as easy to show that every lion-conqueror, down to Gérard of our own days, — yea, that all menageries to the contrary notwithstanding, the lion himself must be declared mythical, as it is to prove that Samson's encounter with a lion, in a region where the animal was then indigenous, related without the least approach to ostentation, and per-

formed in the greatness of an unassuming spirit, cannot be historical.

Ver. 8. **And after a time he returned.** The betrothal had taken place, the wedding was to follow.¹ Samson and his parents descended the same road again. As the hero came to the spot where on their recent journey he turned off from the road, and had the adventure with the lion, the incident came again into his mind, and he turned aside once more, in order to see what had become of the dead lion. Then he found that a swarm of bees had settled themselves in the skeleton of the beast.

The swarm of bees is significantly spoken of as the *עֲוַת דְּבָרִים*, the congregation of bees. Commonly, *עֲוַת* designates the congregation of the Israelitish people, as regulated by the law. It is only on account of its wonderful social organization that a swarm of bees, but no other brute multitude,² was denoted by the same name.³ Horapollon, in his work on Hieroglyphics (lib. i. 62), informs us that when the Egyptians wished to picture the idea of a people of law (*παιθήνιον λαόν*), they did it by the figure of a bee.

The skeleton of the lion had been thoroughly dried up by the heat, for which process, as Oedmann⁴ long ago remarked, scarcely twenty-four hours are required in the East. In this case many days had intervened. That bees readily settle in situations like the present, long since freed from all offensive odors, is well known from what expositors have adduced from Bochart and others. The instance of the swarm found settled in the head of the slain Onesilaus, in Amathus, may also, familiar as it is, be alluded to (Herodot. v. 114). The opinion of the ancients, that bees originate out of the carcasses of steers, wasps out of those of asses, and other insects out of dead horses and mules, may perhaps have some connection with the observation of phenomena like that which here met Samson's eye (cf. Voss, *Idolatria*, lib. iv. p. 556, and others).

Bees must have a place of refuge from the weather. It has been observed, in recent times, that at present the bees of southern Palestine are smaller in size, and of a lighter yellow brown color than those of Germany (Ritter, xvi. 283).

The term *דְּבַשׁ*, honey, is connected with *דְּבִרָה*, bee (by an interchange of *r* and *s*). It is a remarkable fact, to which I have already directed attention in my Berlin *Wochenblatt*, 1863, that our German [and by consequence, our English] names for wax and honey are perfectly identical with the Semitic terms for the same objects, although in an inverted relation. The Hebrew *דְּבַשׁ* (pronounce: *dash*), honey, answers to the German *Wachs* (O. H. G. *wahs*), English, "wax;" and the Hebrew *דֹּגָן* (*donag*), wax, to the German *Honig* (*honey*), English, "honey;" and this is the only proper explanation to be given of the etymology of these German words.

Ver. 9. **And he took thereof.** The word *וָיָקַח*,

1 The assumption of earlier expositors, that an interval of a year must elapse between betrothal and marriage, is after all but an arbitrary one.

2 [The exception in Ps. lxxviii. 31 (30), is only apparent.

3 *עֲוַת אֲפִירִים*, "the congregation of bullocks," like the beast of the reed," is a metaphorical mode of designating a body of men. — Tr.]

according to my view, has nothing to do either with a signification "to tread," or with the idea of "seizing," "making one's self master of;" but has preserved its original meaning in the later *usus lingue* of the Mishna and Talmud, where it bears the signification "to draw out," as bread is drawn out of the oven. The examples given by Buxtorff are borrowed from the *Aruch* of R. Nathan (172 a), where they may be found still more plain. Of bread in the oven it is said, *וּרְדָה בַסֵּל*, "it is drawn out and put into the basket." R. Nathan also justly explains our passage by this signification. For Samson, in like manner, drew the honeycomb out of the hive, and put it on the palm of his hand (*בְּיָד*). Kimchi takes it in the same way (in his dictionary of roots, *sub voce*, near the close). Hence also, *מִרְדָּה*, *mirda*, is the oven-fork, with which things are drawn out of the fire, Latin *rutabulum*. It is easily seen that a widely diffused root comes to view here (comp. forms like *rutrum*, *rutellum*, from *eruo*, *erutum*, Greek *ρύω*, *ρύθηρ*, *ρυστάζω*, etc.).

He drew out the honey, and as he had no other vessel, took it on his hand, and refreshed himself with it in the heat of the day, as Jonathan strengthened himself with it after the battle (1 Sam. xiv. 29). He also gave to his parents, who likewise relished it; but neither did he now tell them whence he had taken it. It would have involved telling them the history of the encounter with the lion; and though they might not now have been terrified by it, they would doubtless have caused a great deal of talk about it.

Roskoff,⁵ in his book *Die Simsonssage und der Heraklesmythos*, 1860, p. 65, thinks that the circumstance of Samson's eating of honey taken from the lion's skeleton, is a proof that the rule by which the Nazarite was required to abstain from anything unclean had not yet received its later extension, and that consequently the Mosaic law was not yet in existence. We cannot regard this position as very well founded. For this reason, if no other, that the Book which is intimately acquainted with the Mosaic law, relates this act of Samson without the addition of any explanatory remark. And it has very good reason for adding no explanation; for the objection proceeds upon a view of Samson's Nazaritic character which is foreign to the Book, and greatly affects the proper understanding of his history. The truth is, the hero was not at all such a Nazarite as the sixth chapter of Numbers contemplates. The introduction to his history clearly shows that definite prescriptions concerning food and drink were given only to his mother; concerning himself,⁶ nothing more is said than that no razor is to come upon his head. It is only upon this latter obligation, as the history shows, that the strength of his Nazariteship depends. The Nazariteship, abstractly considered, is an image of the general priesthood. On Samson particularly there rests a glimmer of that gospel freedom, with reference to which the Apostle says to the disciples: "All things are

3 Hence also the Sept. *συναγωγή*.

4 *Vernichtete Samml. aus der Naturkunde*, vi. 135. Rosenmüller, *Morgenland*, No. 462.

5 On a general refutation of whom we cannot here enter. He agrees in his results, for the most part, with Bertheau and Ewald.

6 *Jerusalem Talmud*, "Nazir," cap. 1, Hal. 2, etc.

yours." From the consecration of his spirit, Samson has a typical strength by which to the pure all things are pure. Samson can do everything, and that, as the ancients explained of their Samson-Nazarite, without sin-offerings; only one thing he may not do,—desecrate this his consecration, sin against this spirit itself. But this his freedom is naturally held within bounds by his calling. It must have war against the Philistines for its cause and goal. The Apostle's meaning is, All things are yours, if ye be Christ's. Samson may do everything, when the honor of his God against the hereditary enemy is at stake. This freedom was given him, not that he might live riotously, as with Delilah—for which reason he fell—but only to do battle. Herein lies the key to the profound observation of the narrator, when the parents of Samson did not approve of his proposed marriage with the woman of Timnah: "They knew not that this was an occasion from God." The whole Samson was an occasion from God against the Philistines. It is therefore also with a profound purpose that the hero himself is not commanded to abstain from wine and unclean things. He is born, to a certain extent, in a state of pure consecration, in which for the ends of this consecration everything becomes pure to him. He continues to be the hero, even when he eats that which is unclean, and marries foreign women, which yet, according to ch. iii. 6, forms one of the causes of divine judgments; but he falls, when in divulging his secret he does that which, though not in itself forbidden, profanes his consecration.

Samson's character, in that spiritual freedom which makes war on the Philistines, is a type of the true Christian freedom,—so long as it does not consume itself.

It would therefore lead to useless hair-splitting, to inquire whether it was right in Samson to bring of the honey to his parents without telling them whence he had taken it. He brought it as an evidence of his childlike heart, and committed no wrong. It was a Talmudic question, whether the honey was unclean, although the rule enjoined on Samson's mother extended only to the time of her son's birth. He was silent about the history of the honey, in order to avoid boasting.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Samson is stronger than lions and more cunning than foxes. He must be this in order to conquer the Philistines. For there is no one to assist him. The Philistines have enervated, terrified, desecrated Israel. Israel, on their account,

has no more faith in its faith. It is afraid of the strength of its own spirit. Desirous of peace at any price, it has surrendered even its own sentiments and beliefs.

Beautiful, on this account, is the use which the ancient church made of Samson the Lion-slayer as a type of Christ. The rending lion is also an image of Satan, the destroyer of men. As Samson rends the lion's jaws asunder with his hands, so Christ tears to pieces the kingdom of Satan and death. Hence the old custom of putting the picture of Samson the Lion-conqueror on church doors. But that lion who goes about seeking to snatch us away from Christ is still ever terrible. The battle with him is still daily new. The victory, however, is sure, if only we believe in the conquest of the true Samson. But if we have the Spirit only on our tongues, and not in our souls, we shall never conquer like Him. Only faith will enable us to stand. But every victory flows with honey; and with it we refresh father and mother. Every new victory strengthens the old love.

STARKE: They who do the greatest works, make the least noise and boasting about them. Enmity and war are easily begun, but not so easily ended. The Philistines could readily make an enemy of Samson, but to make a friend of him was more difficult.—THE SAME: Christian, imitate, not Samson's deed, but his faith and obedience.—LISCO: Samson's life and deeds can be rightly judged only when viewed, not as those of a private person, but as the activity of a theocratic deliverer and judge.

[WORDSWORTH: "He told not his father or his mother," though they were not far from him at the time (ver. 5). So our Lord would not that any one should spread abroad his name. He said, "Tell no man" (Matt. viii. 4; xvi. 20). Hitherto, then, Samson, in his spiritual gifts, in his self-dedication to God, in his strength, courage, and victory, and in his meekness and humility, is an eminent type of Christ. But afterwards he degenerates, and becomes in many respects a *contrast* to Him. And thus, in comparing the type and the antitype, we have both encouragement and warning, especially as to the right use to be made of spiritual gifts, and as to the danger of their abuse.—BP. HALL: The mercies of God are ill bestowed upon us, if we cannot step aside to view the monuments of his deliverances; dangers may be at once past and forgotten. As Samson had not found his honeycomb, if he had not turned aside to see his lion, so we shall lose the comfort of God's benefits, if we do not renew our perils by meditation.—TR.]

Samson's wedding-feast. He proposes a riddle to his companions.

CHAPTER XIV. 10-14.

10 So [And] his father went down unto the woman: and Samson made there a
 11 feast; for so used [it is customary for] the young men to do. And it came to
 pass, when they saw him, that they brought [chose] thirty companions to be with
 12 him. And Samson said unto them, I will now put forth a riddle unto you: if ye
 can certainly [if ye indeed] declare it me within the seven days of the feast, and
 find it out, then I will give you thirty sheets [shirts]¹ and thirty change [changes]

13 of garments: But if ye cannot declare *it* me, then shall ye give me thirty sheets [shirts] and thirty change [changes] of garments. And they said unto him, Put 14 forth thy riddle, that we may hear it. And he said unto them, Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness. And they could not in three days expound the riddle.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 12. — קְדֵינִים. Dr. Cassel translates this word by the general term *Gewande*, garments. He apparently considers the only distinction between the קְדֵינִים and the תְּהַלְפֵת בְּקָדִים, to be that between common and more costly garments (see below). But the קְדֵינִים are probably under-garments, *tunicae*, shirts, made of a fine linen. The derivation of the word קְדֵינִים, and whether it be related to the Greek σῦδων (Sept.), can hardly be determined. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 10. **And his father went down unto the woman.** The whole narrative is full of naive delineations of manners and customs. The father's present visit to the maiden is in his son's behalf, and expresses the parental approbation of Samson's marriage engagement. That the parents of the bride were consulted about the marriage is not indicated in any way, although we know that the father was still living (cf. ch. xv. 6). Are we to suppose that among the Philistines an application to the parents was unnecessary? Did not Isaac, through Eliezer, make suit for Rebecca to her father? and Jacob to Laban? Was not the same custom current also among other, heathen nations? Is not the young woman in the nuptial song of Catullus (*Carmen*, xii. ver. 61) exhorted that it is the father and mother who must be obeyed? The Philistine women seem really to have enjoyed a position of great social freedom. They are seen on the street, and are visited by men, without being on that account regarded as "harlots."

And Samson made there a feast; for such is the custom of young men. He did not take her with him into his father's house,² after the marriage was settled, but remained in Timnah, and there gave the feast. Among the Philistines it was customary for the bridegroom (בְּרִיִּת) to arrange the banquet. At the wedding of Cana, also, described by St. John (ch. ii. 10), the bridegroom seems to have been the entertainer. But this was not the case when Laban gave his daughter to Jacob, or when Tobias married the daughter of Raguel (Tobit, viii. 19). In those instances, the parents of the bride give the feast.

Marriage feasts were much liked among all nations. When, in the *Odyssey* (iv. 3), Telemachus comes to king Menelaus, the latter is just celebrating the nuptial feasts of his children. Among the Romans, the name *repotia*³ was in use for the entertainments which (according to Festus) were given on the day after the marriage at the new husband's house (cf. Horace, *Sat.* ii. 60). Plutarch makes the question, Why even law-givers have appointed a certain degree of luxury to be observed in connection with such feasts, a subject of discussion in his *Symposium* (lib. iv. quæst. 3). Samson's marriage-celebration lasted seven days. The parents-in-law of Tobias, in their joy, appropriated fourteen days. But down to late times luxury and sensuality are more characteristic of such feasts

¹ *Quibus parere necesse est.*

² Because she was an alien. He does not impose upon his father's house that in which he allows himself. That would have been an insult to the law and customs of Israel.

than is compatible with their proper observance. Neither the spirit of Samson, nor the piety of Tobias fills and governs them, albeit in some instances the duration of those ancient celebrations may be rivaled. We hardly seem to have taken a long leap backward, when in the fourteenth century we hear it provided by the Ravensburg Regulation concerning weddings, that "the nuptial celebration shall only last till the next day, no longer" (Birlinger, *Volkstümliches*, ii. 399); or when, in 1643, the Würtzburg bishop, John Philip, orders that the custom of protracting banquets through three days be discontinued, "as a useless and hurtful expense" (Schaltjahr, i. 445). For even in our day, like excesses occur, wherever there is money and wantonness. So late as ten years ago, it was stated that in Swabia the feasting attendant upon a village wedding still frequently lasted from four to five days (Meier, *Schwab. Sagen*, p. 479).

Ver. 11. **And when they saw him, they chose thirty companions, who were with him.** A bridegroom is like a king's son. His wedding is his coronation. Hence, also, crown and chaplet are not wanting for the wedded pair. For the same reason they have also a following. These are ancient, universally diffused ideas, which it would lead us too far to collect together from all nations and languages. In comparatively recent times, the Jews have minutely traced the analogy of the bridegroom with the king, through all the customs pertaining to them respectively, even to the point of calling attention to the fact that קָהָן and מְלִיךָ have each three letters. (On the proofs that חָהָן וּרְמוֹה לַמֶּלֶךְ, compare the liturgical works, of which *Tania*, ed. Cremona, 1565, p. 130, and *Taschbaz*, of R. Meier of Rotenburg, p. 45, may here be especially cited.)

Accordingly, the בְּיָהֳרִים, "when they saw him," is to be so understood, that when Samson appeared, *i. e.* publicly, both at the time of the marriage, concerning the manner of which nothing is said, and during the seven festive days, it was always with a retinue of thirty companions, somewhat as in our day brides are still attended by suites of bridesmaids.

וַיִּקְרָא, and they chose. It was customary, no doubt, when a daughter or son of the city was married, for the bridegroom to provide himself with a retinue. As Samson was a stranger, his

³ "An after drinking." The Sept. renders מְשִׁבֵּה (ver. 10) by πότος, a drinking.

⁴ Cf. Jalkut, *Shophetim*, n. 70, p. 11 c.

bride and her father told him whom to invite, and therefore the writer says "they chose." The number of young men chosen was thirty. Samson's parents seem to have been in good circumstances, and hence the bridegroom appeared not without splendor, as the giver of a seven days' feast. That thirty was the unvarying number, cannot be maintained. The ancients had a philosophical number, which they called the "wedding," and which consisted of five or six. (Both chosen on account of their being formed from 2×3 and $2 + 3$, one even, the other odd.) But 5×6 is also = 30.¹ In later times, also, the Jews had many bridesmen. In Worms, their number had been restricted to eight. The later Jews called such a bridesman ששבוני, which term does not, however, come from the Syriac, as Sachs thought (*Beitrag*, i. 82), but is only the Hebraized form of sponsor (otherwise *ausper*, *paranymphtos*, cf. Matt. ix. 15). — The idea of Josephus, which Bertheau adopts, that the thirty young men were to watch Samson, is to be rejected. For, in the first place, nothing was as yet known concerning Samson that could render him so seriously suspected; and, in the next place, it is manifest from ver. 15, that they were invited on the part of the bridegroom himself.

Vers. 12, 13. I will put forth a riddle unto you. The custom of propounding riddles for amusement is very ancient. The acuteness which exercised itself therein, was, as it were, the counterpart of that which invented the language of figure, signs, and symbols. For it brought to light again the secrets which the latter had locked up. "In ancient times," says Plutarch, "the Greeks were already in the habit of propounding riddles to each other." It is related of the maiden Cleobuline, the daughter of a wise man, that she was so ingenious, as to play with riddles as if they were dice, propounding or solving them with equal ease. The banquet of the seven wise men, in Plutarch, shows the high estimation in which the diversion was held; and Cleodemus, the physician, who was unskillful at solving riddles, is not unaptly rebuked by Æsop, for holding such occupation to be suitable only for girls when engaged in knitting girdles and hoods, but not for intelligent men. Athenæus, also, in his work (pp. 453-459), cites large extracts from the book of Clearchus on riddles, and adds, "that the unraveling of such riddles is very similar to the pursuit of philosophy, and that therefore their solution, as a sign of wisdom, is held in favor, and deemed an appropriate mode of entertainment at table." We, however, pass by these examples from Clearchus, not only because they were already brought to the notice of expositors by Bochart, but especially because in the case of Samson's riddle the real stake at issue is higher than a garland for the winner, or the drinking of a forfeit-cup² by the loser. It evokes a stern conflict.

Then I will give you thirty garments (קדינים) and thirty changes of raiment (תלישת פנדים). With this explanation, the more recent expositors would probably agree. By a "change" of raiment we are to understand a dress of state — a

Sunday suit, as we would say — for which the every-day dress may be exchanged on festive occasions. The Targum, however, has another explanation, which deserves to be mentioned. Like the Septuagint and Josephus, it translates תלישת (changes) by אצטלית, στόλη; assuming thereby for תלישת, a signification which indeed it sometimes seems to have, namely, to fight, to wound (Sept. πατάσσειν, τιτρώσκειν). For στόλη is the classical term for a soldier's dress. In like manner, it translates קדינים by פלדרכים, i. e. *balteus*, the girdle or belt which the soldier buckled around his body (cf. 2 K. v. 23). — It was thus no small price that was put upon the solution of the riddle. But in other cases also it was probably not unusual for large sums to be staked. Thus, if we are to believe Dios, quoted by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 5, 3; cf. Jablonski, *Pantheon Ægypt.*, Proleg., p. cxiv), Solomon and Hiram lost a great deal of money to each other. Plutarch relates how that the Ethiopian king staked many cities and villages on a riddle propounded to Amasis, and would have won them, had not the philosophical Bias come to the aid of the Egyptian monarch. It was in consequence of solving a riddle that the legendary Persian hero was permitted to marry Rudabe, the mother of Rustem. According to ancient Scandinavian law, criminals could save themselves from death by means of a riddle (Olin Dalin, *Gesch. Schwedens*, German, i. 155). The same idea occurs in German riddle-books (Simrock, *Räthselbuch*, p. 463; Menzel, *d. Dichtung*, i. 427). — King Heidrik in Ridgotland had a severe war with Gester Blinde, king in Gothland. Finally, he challenged him to solve riddles. The latter invoked Odin, and conquered (Olin Dalin, i. 186).

Vers. 14. Out of the consumer came material for consumption, and out of the terrible came sweetness. The translator must take care not to destroy the ambiguity of the term אכל, consumer. For this reason, the rendering of De Wette and Arnheim, "vom Fresser kommt Frass" [from the feeder comes feed], is not good; for, on the one hand, Frass [feed, a term used only for the food of beasts]³ is not applicable to the honey which is meant, and on the other hand, human beings [do not feed, but] eat. Ewald's rendering, "aus dem Esser kam ein Essen" [out of the eater came an eating, i. e. something eatable], is unsuitable, because the lion, who is meant, is not an Esser, eater, nor yet as Bertheau renders, a Speiser [both terms being used of human beings only]. Equally erroneous is it to translate צר by "sour." For the antithesis between this word and קריתוק is here to be taken in a wider sense, so as to give rise to a second *equivoque*; for קריתוק means not only "sweet," but metaphorically also "pleasant," agreeable. The ingenuity of the riddle consists precisely in this, that the ambiguity both of its language and contents can be turned in every direction, and thus conceals the answer. It is like a knot whose right end cannot be found, — a figure

1 Cf. Plutarch, on the doctrine of the *Timæus* concerning the origin of souls.

2 [That is, a cup of unmixed wine, or of wine mixed with salt-water, to be emptied at one draught. See Smith's *Diet. Antiq.*, s. v. "Symposium." It will be remembered that the Greeks always mingled water with their wine. They considered it not only unhealthy, but barbarous, to

drink clear wine, which may suggest an explanation of the above-mentioned penalty. — Ta.]

3 [In German, the act of eating on the part of beasts is called *fressen*; on the part of human beings, *essen* or *speisen*. The nearest approach we have to this distinction in English is between *feeding* and *eating*. — Ta.]

from which the sense of the Hebrew **רִיב**, to propose a riddle, as also that of the Greek **γρίφος** (cf. **γρίπος**, the braided fishing net), is doubtless to be derived. The Gordian knot was likewise an emblematical riddle. Samson's problem distinguishes itself only by its peculiar ingenuity. It is short and simple, and its words are used in their natural signification (**לֶחֶם** is to consume, in general, without regard to the specific form or nature of the consumption, and **יָצַד** is terrible, as "the strong one," whether in a good or evil sense, always is). It is so clear as to be obscure. It is not properly liable to the objection, that it refers to an historical act which no one could know. The act is one which was natural in that country. Its turning-point, with reference to the riddle, was, not that it was an incident of Samson's personal history, but that its occurrence in general was not impossible.

The ingenuity of the riddle shows itself further in that it applies equally well both to an historical occurrence and a mere abstract conception. This was a characteristic of ancient popular riddles in general, and indicates their origin. Just as it was an art to represent historical facts symbolically by pictures (of which the modern rebus is an insipid

distortion), so it was an art out of such abstractions to disinter an historical fact. Most popular riddles call for the exercise of this art. The instance showing most likeness to the riddle proposed by Samson, is found in a story current in North Germany, and communicated by Müllenhoff (*Sagen*, p. 504): A man was condemned to death. His wife intercedes for him. The judges offer to let him go, if she can propose a riddle which they shall not be able to solve. The woman says: —

"As ik hin gung, as ik wedder kam,
Den Lebendigen ik uet den Doden nam.
Süss (Sechs) de giungen de Sæweten (den Siebenten) quitt,
Raet to, gy Herren, nu ist Tyt." 1

The woman had found the carcass of a horse by the way, and in it a bird's-nest, and in the nest six young birds. The six young ones she took with her, whereby these became quit of the seventh; and thus she had taken the living out of the dead. It went with the wise judges even as it did with the proud Philistines — they guessed nothing.

1 ["As I came along, I took the living out of the dead; six got quit of the seventh; guess away, my masters, now is the time." — Ta.]

The Philistines solve the riddle by means of treachery. Samson's anger and payment of the forfeit.

CHAPTER XIV. 15-20.

- 15 And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they said¹ unto Samson's wife, Entice [Persuade] thy husband, that he may declare unto us the riddle, lest we burn thee and thy father's house with fire: have ye called [invited] us to take that we
- 16 have [plunder us]? *is it not so?* And Samson's wife wept before him and said, Thou dost but hate me, and lovest me not: thou hast put forth a [the] riddle unto the children [sons] of my people, and hast not told *it* me. And he said unto her,
- 17 Behold, I have not told *it* my father nor my mother, and shall I tell *it* thee? And she wept before him the seven days, while their feast lasted [during which they had their feast]: and it came to pass on the seventh day, that he told her, because she lay sore upon him [pressed him hard]: and she told the riddle to the children [sons]
- 18 of her people. And the men of the city said unto him on the seventh day before the sun went down, What *is* sweeter than honey? and what *is* stronger than a lion? And he said unto them, If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not
- 19 found out my riddle. And the Spirit of the Lord [Jehovah] came upon him, and he went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them, and took their spoil [attire], and gave [the] change [changes] of garments unto them which expounded
- 20 the riddle. And his anger was kindled, and he went up to his father's house. But [And] Samson's wife was *given* to his companion, whom he had used as his friend [who had attended him].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 15. — **יִתְאָמְרוּ**. Dr. Cassel treats all that comes after the phrase, "and it came to pass on the seventh day," down to the same phrase in ver. 17, as parenthetic, and consequently renders **יִתְאָמְרוּ** by the pluperfect: "and they had said." Cf. below. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The æsthetic beauty and psychological truth which characterize the narrative notwithstanding

its compressed brevity, and which would be incomparable even though the narrative were not found in the Bible, and had not divine truth for its contents and object, can scarcely be adequately pointed

out, so manifoldly do they manifest themselves. The drama is represented with such historical life-likeness, and its development is so natural, that while no one could foresee why the wedding should give rise to a conflict, yet in the sequel it becomes manifest that its occurrence was unavoidable. Samson really loved the maiden of Timnah, and took the full measure of youthful delight in the nuptial banquet and festival; but it is impossible for an Israelite, as he is, to enter into any kind of close connection with the enemies and oppressors of his people, without getting into a conflict. It must never be supposed that covenants, even in the simplest relations of life, can be made with those who are opponents in principle and tyrants in disposition. No occasion is so slight, but it suffices to inflame the fires of antagonism. Samson is too genial of nature to be a far-seeing party man; but he deceived himself when he expected to find a covenant of love and fidelity in a Philistine family. The preventing cause lay not only in his opponents, but also in himself, in that he was always, even unconsciously, showing who he was. Everything appeared to be harmonious when he propounded the riddle. He did it in the most peaceful spirit, from the impulse of an active mind. But it immediately brought the hidden antagonism to light. For they to whom it was proposed for solution were Philistines. As such, they would at all events be put to shame, if they failed to solve it. At the same time, it is true, the nobility of Samson's disposition reveals itself, in contrast with the vulgar natures of the Philistines. He, for his part, risks thirty times the value of what, in case of failure, each of the thirty has to pay. This is the very reason why, in their covetousness, they accept the wager. The result was natural. They cannot solve the riddle, but neither are they willing to admit this. They are too vain to be humbled by an alien, but especially too covetous to endure a loss. They therefore turn to Samson's young wife. Had she not been a Philistine, they would not have dared to do this. But, as it is, they expect to find in her an ally against the Israelite, even though he be her husband. She seems indeed to have resisted for a while, — until they arouse both her fears and her vanity. Her fears, by the threat to burn her father's house over her head; her vanity, by hinting that probably the riddle was only put forth in order to plunder the guests. The latter suspicion she may have found especially intolerable, women being ever peculiarly sensitive to similar surmises of village slander-mongers. Perhaps, however, she merely invented these threatening speeches afterwards, in order to pacify Samson. For else, why did she not confess the truth to Samson? That alone would have ended the trouble. Either he would have felt himself strong enough to protect her, and to humble the miserable enemies, or he would have consented to the sacrifice of appearing to be vanquished. But she did not do this, just because she did not forget that she was a Philistine. Samson, she conjectured, would not allow himself to be humbled. She sought, therefore, to persuade him by means of that very antagonism for the sake of which she betrayed him. She complained, weeping, that he still treated her like her countrymen, and also kept from her that which he would not tell them. She desires to make it appear that her love has so entirely brought her over to his interests, that she ought not to be put on the same footing with her countrymen. This would have been the right relation. The wife may assist no party but that of

her husband. But she only dissembled, in order to betray. Finally, on the seventh day, — the sun was already declining, — she had so tormented the hero, that he told it to her. He had a heart not only great, but also tender, which at least succumbs to the prayers and tears of the wife whom he loves and holds to be true. The treachery is completed. The miserable Philistines act as if they had themselves found the solution, and claim the reward. Then a light goes up for Samson. He sees the whole contrast, — the incongruity and error of a covenant with Philistines. Before the treason of which he has been made the subject, the mists with which a seductive sensuality had obscured his vision are scattered. National wrath and national strength awake within him. His whole greatness reveals itself. He does not refuse the Philistines the promised reward. But the manner in which it is given, is full of contempt and humiliation. He throws to them the spoils of thirty slain Philistines. He leaves the woman, and returns to Israel. The conflict has begun, and Samson's true calling becomes manifest. He who wears the consecration of God on his head, cannot revel in the houses of Philistines.

Ver. 15. And it came to pass on the seventh day. More recent expositors have made no remarks on this difficult statement. To assume that the Philistines first applied themselves to the woman on the seventh day, is rendered impossible by ver. 17, which says that she wept before Samson "seven days." The LXX. therefore, read here, "on the fourth day," because ver. 14 states that for three days they were not able to find the solution. Considering how easily \daleth and \beth may be interchanged, the substitution of "seven" for "four" appears very likely. But the clearer it seems that the reading should be, "on the fourth day," the more surprising it is that the Masora retained "on the seventh day." The Masora, however, supposed the Sabbath to be meant by the seventh day, — an opinion also followed by some of the older expositors (cf. Serarius), but which cannot be correct.¹ For in ver. 17 a "seventh day" is again mentioned, which cannot, however, be another Sabbath; for as the first "seventh day" is, by the supposition, the fourth, so this second is the seventh, day of the wedding-feast. The reading "on the seventh day" can be retained, if the passage which begins immediately after it in ver. 15, and extends to the same phrase in ver. 17, be regarded as a sort of parenthesis. The writer was already on the point of stating that after they had ineffectually puzzled over it for three days, Samson on the seventh day told it to his wife, when it occurred to him first to interpose the statements of vers. 15-17, as showing the motives by which Samson was influenced. Accordingly, "on the seventh day," in ver. 17, only continues what the same words in ver. 15 had begun. The statement in the parenthesis that she wept before him "seven days," falls in with this view. The idea is, that from the time at which she began, she continued to torment him throughout the whole seven-day period of the feast. Throughout the whole week, therefore, instead of cheerful guests, Samson had sullen Philistine faces, and, instead of a happy wife, crocodile tears and reproaches.²

¹ Least correct of all would it be, with Lillenthal, to leave the words out because the Königsberg MSS. did not have them.

² [Dr. Cassel's explanation of this matter does not strike me favorably. It certainly fails to justify the remark of

Persuade thy husband, that he declare unto us the riddle. **פְּנֵהוּ**, persuade; most frequently, it is true, "befool," "entice by flattery." Very significant is the expression, "that he declare unto us the riddle." If he tells it to her, they intimate, he will have told it to them. For do not they and she constitute an "us?" She belongs to them, and must act accordingly, if she would not incur their enmity against herself and her house.

Have ye invited us to plunder us? is it not so? **הֲלֹא־יָרַדְתֶּם** is the kal infinitive with suffix, and is to be derived from **יָרַד**, to inherit, to get by conquest, to take into possession. The word is aptly chosen here. When Israel was taking possession of the land, **יָרַד** was a word in constant use. The Philistines mockingly ask whether they were invited that Israel, in the person of Samson, might "conquer," "inherit," their property. **לֹא־לָמַדְתִּי**, at the close, is an interrogative particle, like the Latin *ne*, used enclitically.

Ver. 16. Thou dost but hate me, **שָׂנֵאתִי**. Samson, she intimates, must look on her as one looks on a person who belongs to a hostile tribe, seeing that he conceals the solution of the riddle from her as well as from the other people of the city. The woman, pressed to decide between her people and Samson, inclines to the Philistines. A lesson for Samson and others like him.

Behold, I have not told it my father nor my mother. It is true, he deferred not to father and mother in the matter of his marriage, but not from want of reverence for them. They are his most beloved. To them he brings of the honey. (Very insipidly, Josephus adds here that he brought honey to the woman also.) And the woman, in the midst of her flatteries and tears, must endure to hear him say to her: Have I not told it to my parents, and shall I tell it to thee? To be sure, it would have been inexcusable to have put his parents — and such parents! — on the same level with a Philistine woman.

Ver. 18. Before the sun went down. Here also we have the poetical name **בְּלִילֵי־הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** (instead of the form **בְּלִילֵי־הַיּוֹם**), for the sun, cf. on ch. viii. 13.

Beautiful is the expression **בֹּאִי**, to come, for "to set." The sun comes home, as it were — comes into his house, like a bridegroom after his wedding. On the other hand, when the sun rises, the Hebrew says that he "goes forth" into activity, forth for victory like a hero.

Had ye not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle. The answer of the angry Samson is elegantly couched in the form of a proverb, full of spirit, as are all his sayings which have been preserved. It starts from the experience that buried treasures come to light,

ver. 17: "she wept before him seven days." The natural explanation seems to be this: As soon as the riddle was given, the young wife at once began to tease for its solution. Refusal both stimulated her curiosity and wounded her vanity, so that even before the end of the first day she had recourse to the argument of tears. Day by day she renewed the assault, but always ineffectually. Finally, on the seventh day she brings a new argument, furnished her by the guests. For the first three days of the festivities these had sought to solve the riddle in a legitimate way. Such appears to be the import of the remark in **ver. 14:** "and they could not in three days expound the riddle." What they did on the next three days is not stated. They

when the soil is turned by the plough. (Tages, the Roman Genius, was fabled to have been thus ploughed up.) But not every one knows where to draw the furrow. The Philistines would not have known it; but his heifer had shown them the way. The comparison is not very flattering to the traitors, but quite appropriate. For no merit accrues to the heifer when it ploughs the right furrow: it has been shown to it. So also the woman: she has solved nothing, but only played the traitor.

Ver. 19. And he went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them. Why to Ashkelon? Against the people of Timnah he could not turn his wrath. He had eaten with them, and he would not withdraw himself from the obligations he had assumed. But their conduct had awakened him to a sense of the great national contrast between them and Israel. At this moment he felt that Israel lay in the bands of servitude. Between his people and the Philistines no other treaty existed, than that which is made by the cowardly and the God-forsaken with their enemies. Israel endured servitude, because it had fallen away from its ancient spirit. It ventured no longer on resistance.

All this came home to Samson's mind at this moment. He determined to give a proof of Israelitish strength. Hence we read, "the Spirit of Jehovah came upon him," a remark always found where Israel manifests a determination to lift up heart and hand against the enemies of God. His relations would have advised him to collect money and buy the garments. It was a divine inspiration which moved him to pay by battle. Why did he go to Ashkelon? Because there were rich and valiant men there, whom it was worth while to attack and overcome. Probably it was a nuptial party, graced, as his own had been, with thirty attendant groom's-men, that he surprised. It was not done in the midst of peace. There was no peace between Philistines and Israel. He conquered the thirty Philistines (members, perhaps, as we have said, of a nuptial train) with the sword, as he vanquished his own retinue in a conflict of intellect. The fame of the wonderful young Israelite resounds through the land. No reprisals are made. The princes of the Philistines look on the occurrence as a private affair. But a silent quaking of conscience, such as seizes on tyrants when a fresh spirit stirs itself among the oppressed, contributed no doubt to the preservation of repose.

Took their attire, **חִלְצוּתָם**. *Chalitsah*

(**חִלְצוּתָם**) is the military equipment, of which the fallen are stripped, cf. 2 Sam. ii. 21. There, the Sept. renders it *πανοπλία*; here, *στόλη*. This supports the opinion of the Targum, adduced above, that the promise of Samson referred to military garments. For the *chaliphath* (changes of garments) which he paid, were doubtless part of the *chalitsah*, or military suits, which he took; so that Samson

may have remained inactive, trusting in some way to compass the solution at last, or they may have been already ploughing with Samson's heifer. But if the latter, they had not yet recourse to threats. On the last day of the feast, however, when they find that waiting has been as ineffective as working, and that the wife's inopportunities (of which they were probably cognizant, even though they did not stimulate them), have likewise accomplished nothing, they resort to threats against the wife. The latter thereupon becomes more urgent and tearful than ever, and gains her point. Compare Bertheau and Keil, who give essentially the same explanation. — Tr.]

did not first sell his booty, and then buy new garments. It is in harmony with the dramatic course of the action, that Samson flung to his treacherous friends, as the price of their deception, garments snatched from their own countrymen.

And he went up to his father's house. His wrath blazed up into a national flame against the Philistine brood. He turns his back upon them, and goes home. It seems to be his intention never to come back. How little they were worthy of him, is shown by the conduct of the woman, after his departure. That she may not be without a husband in consequence of her treason, she is rewarded with the hand of another man. One of the companions for whose sake she deceived Samson, marries her. To treason she adds infidelity. Meanness of disposition gives birth to everything that is bad. It can neither love nor be faithful; but least of all can it comprehend a man such as Samson was.

A survey of only that which chapter xiv. shows of Samson, should have excited the attention of those who find pleasure in comparing him with Hercules. While all the ancient statements about the Greek hero have value only as the vehicles of mythico-symbolical ideas, Samson appears in the midst of history, wearing the living hues of actual existence. Hercules, the more the later Greeks take him historically, the more he assumes the character of a coarse giant and glutton, who, averse to culture, kills his master; while Samson is at once portrayed as a genial man, of noble disposition. It were more feasible to institute a comparison between Samson and many traits in the character of Ulysses, were it not that in the latter, as in Greek heroes generally, there is wanting the pathos of the national champion, and that elevation of spirit which, in the case of Samson, breaks through the fetters of even his deepest sensuality. It is already a misapprehension when some would assign twelve exploits to Samson, seeing that his whole life is given for a testimony; but when his slaying of the thirty Philistines is counted as the

second (as *e. g.* by Bertheau), there is a want of understanding even of the Heraclian performances. These are a didactic poem; what is told of Samson, signifies an ethical deed. The deeds of Hercules have no mutual connection: those of Samson, ethico-historical in their nature, are conditioned one by the other. The succeeding history, related in chap. xv., connects itself with what has gone before.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[HENRY (on vers. 10, 12): It is no part of religion to go contrary to the innocent usages of the places where we live; nay, it is a reproach to religion, when those who profess it give just occasion to others to call them covetous, sneaking, and morose. A good man should strive to make himself, in the best sense, a good companion. — THE SAME: "If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, you had not found out my riddle." Satan, in his temptations, could not do us the mischief he does, if he did not plough with the heifer of our own corrupt nature. — THE SAME: "And he went up to his father's house." It were well for us, if the unkindness we meet with from the world, and our disappointments in it, had but this good effect upon us to oblige us by faith and prayer to return to our heavenly Father's house, and rest there. — THE SAME: "Samson's wife was given to his companion, whom he had used as his friend." See how little confidence is to be put in man, when those may prove our enemies whom we have used as our friends. — BR. HALL (on ver. 19): If we wonder to see thirty throats cut for their suits, we may easily know that this was but the occasion of that slaughter whereof the cause was their oppression and tyranny.

WORDSWORTH: At the marriage feast of Cana in Galilee, Christ manifested forth his glory (John ii. 11). But at this marriage in Timnath, Samson betrayed the first signs of moral weakness and degeneracy. — TH.]

Samson returns to visit his wife. Finding that she has been given to another, he avenges himself on the Philistines by firing their standing corn.

CHAPTER XV. 1-8.

- 1 But [And] it came to pass within a while after [after a while], in the time of wheat-harvest, that Samson visited his wife with a kid; and he said, I will go in to my wife into the chamber [the female apartment]. But her father would not suffer
- 2 him to go in. And her father said, I verily thought that thou hadst utterly hated her; therefore I gave her to thy companion: is not her younger sister fairer than
- 3 she? take her [be she thine], I pray thee, instead of her. And Samson said concerning [to] them, Now shall I be more [omit: more] blameless than [before] the
- 4 Philistines, though I do them a displeasure [do them evil]. And Samson went and caught three hundred foxes [jackals], and took fire-brands [torches], and turned
- 5 tail to tail, and put a fire-brand [torch] in the midst between two tails. And when he had set the brands [torches] on fire, he let them go [sent them off—*i. e.*, the animals] into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks, and also the standing corn, with the vineyards and olives [with the olive-gardens].
- 6 Then the Philistines said, Who hath done this? And they answered, Samson, the

son-in law of the Timnite, because he had taken [took] his wife, and given [gave] her to his companion. And the Philistines came up, and burnt her and her father 7 with fire. And Samson said unto them, Though ye have done this [If ye act thus], 8 yet will I [(I swear) that I will] be avenged of you, and after that I will cease. And he smote them hip [shank] and thigh with a great slaughter. And he went down and dwelt in the top [cleft] of the rock Etam.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 1, 2. And it came to pass after some time. Samson's disposition was too noble to cherish anger long: only small souls bear grudges. But great natures measure others by themselves. Because they have forgotten the wrong that was done them, they think that others are no longer mindful of the wrong they have done. Samson feels as if nothing had happened. Kindly-disposed as ever, he comes to visit his wife. His conciliatory feeling declares itself in the present of a kid which he brings. His wife, it says, has nothing to fear. Conscious of harmless intentions, he wishes to

enter her room (רָחֵץ is for the most part the inner apartment, where the women sleep). But this leads to the disclosure of how he has been treated. Her father does not allow him to enter, on the ground that she is no longer his wife, but another's. The injustice of the transaction thus disclosed was patent. For Samson's absence cannot have been long. He returned in the season of the wheat-harvest (mentioned on account of ver. 5), which fell perhaps in May. It is probable that in Palestine, as elsewhere, most weddings took place in the spring. Samson, at his departure, had not said that he would not return. His father-in-law excuses himself only by intimating that he thought he would not come back. The words of ver. 2 enable us almost to see the anxiety and fear with which the father seeks to exculpate himself before Samson, — whom he now knows better than formerly, — and under the influence of which he offers him his other daughter as indemnification. He cannot restore his wife for fear of the Philistines; and he fears him because of the injustice he has done him.

Ver. 3. And Samson said to them: This time I shall be blameless, etc. The greatness of his nature shows itself here also. To the fearful father he does no harm. Small heroism there would have been in that. He uses no violence — brings the man into no awkward relations with his countrymen. He remembers that his daughter has been his wife, love of whom has brought him there. Besides — and this again manifests the warrior of God in him — he speedily sinks all personal interests in the general interests of his people. At every conflict the consciousness of his divine vocation breaks forth. He turns his personal wrong into an occasion of a national exploit against the enemy of his people as a whole. The sign of consecration is upon his head in order to lead him on from small things to great, from things personal to those that are general, from objects of sense to things of the spirit, and to remind him of his call to be a hero for Israel against the Philistines.

1 It may be mentioned as an exegetical curiosity that earlier interpreters sought to explain the word *shulim* of wisps of straw. Cf. Stark, *Observ. Select.* (Lips. 1714) p. 127.

2 A great deal of debate was formerly had on the question of the greater or less difficulty involved in the capture

He said to them. To whom? To his own people — to his own family. Israel was utterly dispirited. The people did not feel deeply enough the disgrace in which they lived. Special grounds were wanting, in their view, to justify Samson's hostility against the Philistines. The Philistines were not harming them; why then attack them? Probably Samson's former exploit had been disapproved. He himself, they may have told him, had been to blame in the riddle-matter. None more law-abiding and careful than a slavish people that will make no sacrifices. Now, says Samson to them, have you still nothing to say? I have a cause; I have been undeniably wronged. It was the Philistines who forced my wife and her father to take the step they took. They did it because I am an Israelite. For what I now do against them I am not to be blamed. He thus takes advantage of the letter of personal rights in behalf of the spirit of general freedom. Since his people are insensible of their bondage, he makes his private affair the basis of a declaration of war.

Ver. 4. And he caught three hundred shulim (jackals, foxes). Samson found himself alone in his hostility against the Philistines. No one of his father's house followed him. He had not even three hundred men, like those that stood by Gideon. He turns, therefore, to the beasts of the forest for confederates. As bears come to the help of Elisha, so he, instead of three hundred soldiers, procures three hundred jackals,¹ and constitutes them his army against the national foe. It was an ancient and common war measure, still employed by the hostile tribes of the East, to set fire to the standing grain. The Lydian king Alyattes used this terrible means for twelve successive years against the Milesians (Herod. i. 17-19). It was the most telling damage that Samson could inflict on the Philistines. They had not stirred when he slew the thirty men. The living received no injury from that. But when the harvest disappears in flames, the calamity is felt far and wide. For this reason, Samson could not execute his work alone. The fire would have been more quickly perceived and more readily quenched; for he could begin only in one spot. He chose this measure, not only to show his strength and his warlike humor, but also to let the enemy see how much he was to be feared, albeit he stood alone. True it is, undoubtedly, that no other man would have found it an easy matter thus to catch and use three hundred jackals.² But what a fearful, running,³ and illimitable conflagration arose, when the three hundred animals, almost crazed by the burning torches that wrapped their tails in fire, sped through the standing grain to seek deliverance and freedom for themselves and — so to speak — for Samson. The fire not only spread of itself, but was carried

of the jackals. It was finally concluded that a good pair of mittens had rendered useful service. Oedmann, *Verm. Samml.*, ii. 32.

³ The Greek name of the jackal, *θώς*, is derived from *θώς*, nimble, swift, since they run very fast, faster than wolves. Benfey holds a different opinion (*Gram.* ii. 276).

by the pain-maddened animals ever deeper into the possessions of the Philistines. Three hundred burning torches ran, with the swiftness of the wind, in the dry season, through the waving fields, past the shocks, and up the mountain vine-yards,¹ with which at all times the fox is too well acquainted for the interests of the owner. In this blow Samson, ever ingenious, translated a widely diffused popular figure into terrible reality. The word **פָּרַח** is the general term for that class of animals of which the *canis aureus*, *alopex*, and *canis vulpes* are the species. It is thought that we must here think of the *canis aureus*, the jackal, inasmuch as this animal is found in those regions in large troops. All we can be certain of, is, that a member of the red fox family is intended, whose tail itself looks like a red burning torch or glowing coal.² For Grimm's remark (made in the year 1812, *d. Museum*, p. 393), that in the narrative of Reynard "the tail and its red color are indispensable," is indeed true. "The witness of foxes are their tails," is an old Arabic proverb (Diez, *Denkwürd. v. Asien*, ii. 88). The Greeks, for this reason, called the fox **λαμπροφίς**, bright, burning tail. Expositors have frequently directed attention to the statements of Ovid (*Fast.* iv. 681) concerning an ancient Roman custom, practiced in Carseoli, at the festival of the Cerealia, of letting go foxes, with burning torches tied to them, by means of which they were consumed. The idea of the ceremony was undoubtedly to present the fox, who, according to the story, once set the grain-fields on fire, as a propitiatory offering to ward off mildew,³ of which he is a type. The mildew is called *robigo*⁴ in Latin, Greek **ῥοσιβη**; both to be derived from the reddish color of the affection (Preller, *Röm. Myth.* p. 437). This is confirmed by the fact that **λαμπροφίς** was also the name for the glow worm. The Bœotians were not the only ones who, as Suidas mentions (cf. Bochart, lib. iii. xxii.), believed that fire could be kindled with the glow-worm; in Germany also tradition related that glow-worms carried coals into buildings (Wolf, *Deutsche Mythologie*, i. 233), just as by a similar figure the phrase, "to set the red cock on the roof" (*den rothen Hahn auf's Dach setzen*), was used to denote incendiarism.

It was a fearful reality into which the idea of the incendiary fox was converted by Samson.⁵ The Philistines were terrified.

Ver. 6. **And the Philistines said, Who hath done this?** They are informed of the author and the occasion of his wrath. They determine to avenge themselves, but choose a mode as cowardly as it was unjust. As in the former instance they left Samson's deed unpunished, so now they will have nothing to do with him. It would be impossible to show more delicately how tyrannous power becomes conciliatory and circumspect towards de-

pendents, as soon as a man of spirit appears among them. Instead of risking anything against him, they commit an outrage on the weak in order to pacify him. They fall upon the family of the wife of Samson, and burn father and daughter in their house. It was a sad fate. It was to avert the very same danger that the woman had betrayed Samson. It was on account of the Philistines that she was separated from him. And now these execute the cruel deed in order to pacify Samson's hostility. Such is the curse of treason. But the instruments of this fate were still more guilty than its victims. For did they not know that it was against themselves that Samson had directed his national vengeance? Had he been desirous of personal vengeance on his wife's family, could he not have inflicted it himself as well as they? If they intended to punish the recreant family for having deprived Samson of his wife, they certainly could not expect thereby to inflict pain on Samson? What a difference between them and him! The injured hero turns his vengeance against the powerful; and these take satisfaction on the weak. He elevates a personal conflict into a national challenge, which they lower into vengeance on individuals. He spares the house of the Timnite, although Philistines: they murder it, from cowardly circumspection, although it is the house of a countryman. He burns their fields in order to rouse them to battle, and they burn their brethren in order to pacify the enemy.

Ver. 7. **And Samson said to them, If ye act thus.** This cruel cowardice awakens Samson's utmost contempt and resentment. They seek to conciliate, but only provoke. They judge the hero by themselves when they think to have quieted him by such an abomination; and he smites them according to their deserts. The loss which he had suffered was not great; but what the Philistines do, becomes, to them, through his action, a source of misery. The words, "if ye act thus," express the full measure of his contempt. In ver. 3 he only spoke of "doing their evil" (damage); but now he says, I will not cease until "I have taken satisfaction on yourselves" (**אֶפְסָה בְּכֵם**). The cowardly Philistines afforded him an occasion for wrath and victory such as he had not hitherto possessed. For he must take advantage of such opportunities, on account of the torpor of his own people. He must estimate the loss of a faithless wife and a characterless Philistine father-in-law sufficiently high, in order to give free course to the national wrath against the pusillanimous foe.

Ver. 8. **And he smote them, shank and thigh, with a great slaughter.** What Philistines he smote is not stated; but it is to be supposed that he surprised those who burned the Timnite. These he attacked, man by man; and inflicted a "great defeat." For the words **גָּדְלוֹהֶם** are explan-

1 [Dr. Cassel renders **פָּרַח** (ver. 5) by "vine-yards." It is difficult to account for this, except upon the supposition of inadvertence. **פָּרַח** is in the construct state, and is used here in its general sense of garden, plantation. — Ta.]

2 It is worthy of remark that the Persian for jackal (*shaghal*) occurs also with the sense of *carbo* and *pruna*, glowing coal (cf. Vullers, *Pers. Lex.*, li. 433, 438), and that the Old High German *cholo*, a coal, seems to be the same word. Hence the terms *Bandfuchs*, *Kohlenfuchs*, *ronard charbonier*, *voipe carbonaja*.

3 [The German word is *kornbrand*, "corn-burn." — Ta.]

4 From *rufus*. Cograte names for the fox are found in

various dialects: Spanish, *raposo*; Portuguese, *rapozo*; Danish, *ræve*; Swedish, *raf*; in the Finnish tongues, *repe*, *rebbane* (cf. Pott, *Eym. Forsch.*, i. lxxxii.).

5 Speaking of Hannibal's stratagem of fastening fire-brands to the horns of two thousand cattle, Livy (xvii. 17) says: "*Hæc secus, quam silvas montibusque accensis, omnia circum virgulta ardere*" — The instance of the burning fox-tails from Roman customs, is remarkably paralleled by a Persian superstition. Whenever from want of rain the grain threatened to burn up, it was the practice to fasten combustible materials to the tail of a young bullock, and set them on fire. If the bullock thus treated ran over a hill, it was regarded a favorable sign. Cf. Richardson, *Abhandlungen über Sprachen etc. morgenländischer Völker*, p. 236.

atory of the proverbial expression שֹׁק עַל-יָרֵךְ, "shank and thigh." In the שֹׁק — the word is manifestly the same as the German *Schinke*, *Schenkel*, English, "shank" — the Hebrew saw a sensible representation of the strength of the body. "God," says the Psalmist (Ps. cxlvii. 10), "takes no pleasure in the שֹׁקֵי of a man." When oriental narrators wish to indicate a close battle-array, they say: "shank stood on shank" (cf. Diez, *Denkw. von Asien*, i. 133). Both Romans and Greeks employed forms of expression which imply that to break a person's loin, hip, and shank to pieces is equivalent to hewing him down completely (cf. *infringere lumbos, percutere femur, μήρους παρ᾽ ὄσσειν*). The shank is underneath the thigh. The proverbial phrase is therefore equivalent to: "he smote them upper leg and lower leg," i. e. completely; and the completeness of the defeat is yet more vividly expressed in that the writer says, שֹׁק עַל-יָרֵךְ (literally, "shank upon thigh"),

whereas the natural order is יָרֵךְ עַל-שֹׁק ("thigh upon shank"). He turned them upside down, and cut them to pieces. Bertheau's endeavor to explain the words by the Arabic expression, "he smote them shank-fashion," is not satisfactory, since this phrase seems rather to denote a man to man conflict. The explanation, "horseman and footman," given by the Targum, is worthy of notice, by reason of the knowledge of oriental languages which its authors may be supposed to have had. Marvelous are the explanations of many of the church fathers and elder expositors (cf. Serarius, *in loc.*). The LXX. translate verbally: *κνήμην ἐπὶ μηρῶν*; but only *κνήμη καὶ μηρός* is found in Greek authors (Plato, *Timæus*, 74 c).

And he went down and dwelt in the cleft of the rock Etam. After such a deed he deemed himself no longer safe in Zorah and its vicinity. He looked now for a determined attack from the enemy, and sought therefore a secure place for defense and refuge. He found it in a "cleft of the rock Etam." Opinions differ widely as to the position of this locality. Bertheau finds it in an Etam near Bethlehem (the Urtâs of Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 477), which seems to be too far east, while Keil looks for it too far south, in the vicinity of Khuwelifeh. Samson cannot have intended to withdraw altogether from further conflicts, his declaration, "after that I will cease," notwithstanding; for this referred only to his recompense of the abominable deed at Timnah. Nor can he have removed to too great a distance from his

home. Etam is a name which, from its significance, might naturally be of frequent occurrence, and which is very suitable for the abode of the lion-slayer and jackal-conqueror. It signifies "wild-beasts' lair;" for עֵיט is a ravenous beast. The name, which probably still answered to the reality, offered a guaranty for the sustenance of the hero who took up his dwelling there. From Deir Dubbân to Beit Jibrîn (Eleutheropolis) there are found remarkable rock-caverns, which in later times became places of refuge for Christians, and which even in very ancient times doubtless served as asylums for warriors and wild beasts. Their position is such that for Samson it could not have been better (cf. Ritter, xvi. 136, etc.). In the name Deir Dubbân — *dub, dob*, is a bear — a reminiscence of that of Etam might still be found.¹

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[HENRY: "Visited her with a kid." The value of the present was inconsiderable, but it was intended as a token of a reconciliation. . . . It was generous in Samson, as the party offended, and the superior relation, to whom therefore she was bound to make the first motion of reconciliation. When differences happen between near relations, let those be ever reckoned the wisest and the best, that are most forward to forgive and forget injuries, and most willing to stoop and yield for peace sake. — THE SAME: "I verily thought thou hadst utterly hated her." It will never bear us out in doing ill, to say, We thought others designed ill. — THE SAME (on ver. 6): See His hand in it to whom vengeance belongs! Those that deal treacherously, shall be spoiled and dealt treacherously with, and the Lord is known by these judgments which He executes; especially when, as here, He makes use of his people's enemies as instruments for revenging his people's quarrels one upon another. — BR. HALL: If the wife of Samson had not feared the fire for herself and her father's house, she had not betrayed her husband. . . . That evil which the wicked feared, meets them in their flight. How many, in a fear of poverty, seek to gain unconscionably, and die beggars! How many, to shun pain and danger, have yielded to evil, and in the long run have been met in the teeth with that mischief which they had hoped to have left behind them! — TR.]

¹ Keil (on Josh. xli. 15) inclines to locate the Cave of Adullam at Deir Dubbân.

The Philistines threaten war against Judah. The men of Judah, to save themselves, seek to deliver up Samson, who allows himself to be bound, but tears his bonds when brought in sight of the Philistines, and slays a thousand of the enemy.

CHAPTER XV. 9-20.

9 Then the Philistines went up, and pitched in [encamped against] Judah, and 10 spread themselves in Lehi. And the men of Judah said, Why are ye come up against us? And they answered, To bind [i. e., to capture] Samson are we come up, to 11 do to him as he hath done to us. Then three thousand men of Judah went [down]

to the top [cleft] of the rock Etam, and said to Samson, Knowest thou not that the Philistines *are* [omit: are] rulers [rule] over us? what *is* this *that* thou hast done unto us? And he said unto them, As they did unto me, so have I done unto them. And they said unto him, We are come down to bind thee, that we may deliver thee into the hand of the Philistines. And Samson said unto them, Swear unto me, that ye will not fall upon me yourselves. And they spake unto him, saying, No; but [for] we will bind thee fast [omit: fast], and deliver thee into their hand: but surely [omit: surely] we will not kill thee. And they bound him with two new cords, and brought him up from the rock. And when he came unto Lehi, the Philistines shouted against¹ him: and the Spirit of the Lord [Jehovah] came mightily [suddenly] upon him, and the cords that *were* upon his arms became as flax that was burnt with fire, and his bands loosed [melted] from off his hands. And he found a new [fresh] jaw-bone of an ass, and put forth his hand, and took it, and slew a thousand men therewith. And Samson said,²

With the jaw-bone of an ass
A mass, yea masses:
With the jaw-bone of an ass
I slew a thousand men.

And it came to pass when he had made an end of speaking, that he cast away the jaw-bone out of his hand, and [people] called that place Ramath-Lehi [Hill of the jaw-bone]. And he was sore athirst, and called on the Lord [Jehovah], and said, Thou hast given this great deliverance into [by] the hand of thy servant: and now shall I die for thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised? But [And] God clave an hollow place [in the mortar] that *was* in the jaw [in Lehi],³ and there came water thereout; and when he had drunk, [and he drank, and] his spirit came again, and he revived. Wherefore he [men] called the name thereof En-hakkore [Well of him that called], which *is* in Lehi unto this day. And he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 14. — לְקַרְאָו: "towards," rather than "against." The idea is that when the Philistines saw Samson coming, they set up shouts of exultation which "met him," so to speak, as he approached. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 16. — We place the amended rendering of this poetic utterance in the text, and for convenience' sake subjoin here that of the E. V.: —

With the jaw-bone of an ass,
Heaps upon heaps;
With the jaw of an ass
Have I slain a thousand men.

The unusual form הַמִּיָּר = הַמִּיָּר (found elsewhere, if at all, only in 1 Sam. xvi. 20), is manifestly chosen for the sake of a pun. It means a "heap;" but in order to reproduce the paronomasia as nearly as possible, we have substituted the word "mass," as suggested by Dr. Wordsworth, *in loc.* According to Kell, the expression, "a heap, two heaps," intimates that the victory was accomplished, not in one combat, but in several. But as the *magnitude* of the victory is evidently celebrated, rather than the process of its accomplishment, the dual is better regarded as designed to amplify and heighten the idea of the preceding singular: "a heap — yes, a pair of heaps!" — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 19. — בְּלֶחִי. The article occasions no difficulty, as it is frequently used with proper nouns, especially with names of places, rivers, etc.; see *Ges. Gram.* 109, 3, and especially Ewald, 277 c. Kell very properly observes, that if a tooth-socket in the ass's jaw-bone were intended, the expression would naturally be מִכְתֵּשׁ הַלֶּחִי or מִכְתֵּשׁ בְּלֶחִי, rather than מִכְתֵּשׁ אֲשֶׁר בְּלֶחִי. Wordsworth, speaking of the opinion that God clave the *rock*, objects "that the words are, 'God clave the mactesh,' which seems much more applicable to the mortar of the jaw than to a place in the rock." As if an ass had but one tooth to a jaw-bone! Bush is probably not far wrong when he suggests that "a fondness for multiplying miracles," may have had some influence over the renderings of "several of the ancient versions" at this place. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 9, 10. And the Philistines went up and encamped against Judah. Samson had foreseen that the Philistines would now seek vengeance on a larger scale, and had therefore provided himself with a place of security against both friend and foe. This time also, however, the enemy proceed not directly against him, but take the field against Israel. As on a former occasion, they seek satisfaction from those who were really innocent, and

who would gladly remain at peace. They announce that they have come to bind Samson, *i. e.*, to make him powerless to injure them. It is no sign of forbearance that they do not say, "We will kill him;" on the contrary, it appears from ch. xvi. that they entertained still more cruel designs. It was easy for Judah to perceive how cowardly was the hatred they cherished against Samson, and thence to infer what heroic deeds of conquest the victor might yet achieve; but the great tribe, once so powerful in action, lay helpless in the deepest

decay. It would not be possible to portray the slavish disposition of a people that has departed from God more strikingly, than is here done by the conduct of Judah.

Ver. 11. Then three thousand men of Judah went down to the cleft of the rock Etam. Judah never enjoyed such an opportunity to free itself from the yoke of the Philistines. It had a leader of incomparable strength and energy. The enemy had been smitten, and was apprehensive of further defeats. If it had risen now, and, ranged under Samson, undertaken a war of liberation in God's name, where was the station that the Philistines could have continued to hold? The heroic deeds of Joshua and Caleb would have been reenacted. The power of the Philistines would have been broken, perhaps forever. But what did Judah? Terrified by the threatening advance of the Philistines, coming to seek Samson, it has not even courage to say, "Go, and bind him yourselves." Three thousand armed men are quickly got together, not to avail themselves of Samson's leadership against the enemy, but—alas! for the cowards—to act as the enemy's tools, pledged to deliver the nation's hero into their hands. The Philistines, with malicious cunning, probably demanded this as the price of peace. For either Samson refuses to follow the men of Judah, and smites them, which would be gain to the Philistines, or he is taken and brought by them, in which case they will have heaped disgrace on both, and filled them with wrath toward each other. And in fact the number of the men who proceed to Etam, shows that they feel obliged, if need be, to use violence.

And they said to Samson, Knowest thou not, etc. No lost battle presents so sad a picture as do these three thousand armed men, with their complaint against Samson that he has provoked the Philistines, and their question, Knowest thou not that they rule over us? It was so easy to say to him: Up, Samson! they come to bind thee; come thou to free us from their bonds. But they cannot speak thus. Their heart is lost in idolatry. No one can raise himself to freedom, who has not first repented—for penitence is courage against self, and confession before others—and among the three thousand there are no three hundred who have not bowed to Baal. Samson's negotiation with them, although comprised in a few sentences, is worthy of admiration. After all, he had really fought only for them, and had attacked the oppressor of the nation. But he does not upbraid them with this.¹ Since they have not comprehended the fact that his own cause was the cause of the nation, he lays no stress on this, but shows them his personal right to engage in the war he had waged. The justification he sets up was such that they could not in honor turn against him. For he says:—

As they did unto me, so have I done unto them. Retaliation was a primitive oriental right, still sanctioned by the Koran.² To this right the Philistines had appealed in ver. 10: "We will do to Samson as he did to us." The men of Judah

¹ Milton rightly makes Samson say:—

"I, on th' other side,
Used no ambition to commend my deeds."

² *Sura*, 5, 53, which refers to Ex. xxi. 24, where, however, the law intends to limit retaliation by determining its measure. Compare the narrative in *Diez, Denkwürdigkeiten Asiens*, ii. 179.

³ The following translation of vers. 15-17, from a German book published in 1705, at Halle, may serve as a specimen of the exegesis which sometimes passed current:

do not undertake to decide upon the right of either party. They desire nothing but peace—with the Philistines. They would submit to them at any price. Any admission of Samson's right would have obligated them to stand by him. The fact is they came to serve not as judges but as tools of the Philistines. Whosoever is weak enough to accept such a mission, will not be brought to thought and reason by any exposition of right. Idolatry is ever blindness. Reason had vanished from the tribe. How else could it surrender such a man, or hope for peace from the Philistines after the hero whom they feared was in their possession? How can such slaves—in recent times also such conduct as theirs has been called peace-loving—expect to remain at peace?

Vers. 12, 13. We are come to bind thee, said the three thousand to the one courageous man. And never does Samson show himself greater than when he voluntarily allows himself to be bound. Against his countrymen he is powerless. With the blood of Israel he must not and will not stain himself. He makes but one condition, and that the least possible. No Judean hands must meditate his death. That condition alone would have sufficed to inform the men of Judah, had they been able to comprehend such heroism at all, that he consults only their feelings, because they are Israelites, but does not fear the Philistines.

Ver. 14. When he came unto Lehi, the shouts of the Philistines met him. What a spectacle! That cowardice can brazen hearts and faces until all sense of shame is lost, is shown by the memorable scene here depicted. Judah is not ashamed to drag its hero forward, bound with strong cords. It does not blush when the Philistines shout aloud at the spectacle. But this cowardly jubilation was soon to be turned into groans and flight. As the hero comes in sight of the enemy and hears their outcries, the Spirit of God comes upon him. His heart boils with indignation over the ignominy of his people. His strength kindles for resistless deeds. His cords fall off like tow seized by the fire. He is free, and his freedom is victory.

Vers. 15, 16. And he saw a fresh jaw-bone of an ass. The enemy is before him: therefore, forward! to battle! Any weapon is welcome. The jaw-bone of a recently fallen ass is at hand, not yet dried up, and therefore less easily broken.³ Before the enemy can think, perhaps before their shouts over the prisoner have ceased, he is free, armed, and dealing out deadly blows. The panic is as great as the triumph had been. There was nothing but flight and death for the wretched foe. There ensued a slaughter and victory so extraordinary, that Samson himself, in poetic ecstasy, cries out:—

With the jaw-bone of an ass
I slew two armies:
With the jaw-bone of an ass
I took vengeance on a thousand.

For in the clause *בְּלִי הַחֲמוֹר הַחֲמוֹר הַחֲמוֹר* the paronomasia is to be noted between *חֲמוֹר*, an

"Samson found a troop of lively soldiers, stretched forth his hand and commanded them, and led them against the Philistines. . . . And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the troops." Against such insipid protests arose at that time from all sides (cf. Starke, *Not. Select.*, p. 127), from Gebhardi (*De Maxilla Simsonis*, 1707) in Greifswald, Sidelmann (*De Maxilla*, etc., 1706) in Copenhagen, and in a little-known, but thorough refutation by Heine, of Berlin (*Dissert. Sacra*, p. 245).

ass, and **לְמַרְ**, a heap, which latter is here poetically used of an "army."

German tradition relates a similar deed of Walter of Aquitania. His enemies pursue him in the forest, while he and Hildegunde roast and eat a swine's back. He seizes the swine's bone, and throws it against the enemy with such violence that the latter loses his eye (*Wilkinasage*, translated by Hagen, i. 289, ch. lxxxvii.). In the Latin poem *Waltarius*, the hero tears out the shoulder-blade of a calf, and with it slays the robbers (Grimm and Schmeller, *Lateinsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, p. 109 f.). In both versions the fiction is unreasonable and tasteless, whereas the history of Samson is full of dramatic power and spirit. — The mystical sect of the Nasairians, in Syria, are said to venerate the jaw-bone of an ass, because an ass devoured the plant on which the original documents of their religion had been written (cf. Ritter, xvii. 97, 6).

Ver. 17. The name of the place was called Ramath-lechi (Hill of the Jaw-bone). To the height upon which Samson threw the jaw-bone, the tradition of an admiring people gave and preserved a name commemorative of that circumstance. The narrative evinces artistic delicacy in that it relates that Samson uttered his poetic words while he was still victoriously swinging the unusual weapon in his hand. The humiliation of the Philistines, formerly smitten by means of foxes, and now with the jaw-bone of an ass, was too deep to allow the historical recollection of it to perish. To seek another explanation of the name is quite unnecessary. It is undoubtedly true that mountainous peaks sometimes derive names from their forms, as, for instance, "Ass'-ears" (on the coast of Aden, cf. Ritter, xii. 675), or "Tooth" (1 Sam. xiv. 4), or "Throat," "Nose," and "Horn" (cf my *Thur. Ortsnamen*, ii. p. 47, n. 304); but the possibility of an historical explanation is not thereby diminished; for although peculiar names have sometimes given rise to historical legends, the above instances show that quite as often this is not the case. Lehi (properly, Lechi), as the name of a locality, does not elsewhere occur;¹ and a criticism which would make it the source of a history in which it has but an incidental significance, and which forms an organic part of the history of Samson as a whole, has lost all claim to be called criticism.

Ver. 18. And he was sore athirst, and called unto Jehovah. The exertion of the day was too great. The burning sun and the unusual excitement also contributed their part to exhaust the powerful man. But where was there any refreshment? He was alone, as always. The cowardly men of Judah had taken themselves off, in order not to be held responsible by the Philistines on the ground of participation in the conflict. Against the enemy he had that mediate divine help which came to him through his Nazarite consecration; but this was no protection against thirst. He turns, therefore, to God in prayer for direct deliverance.

¹ In 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, where some are disposed to find it in the form **לְחִיָּה** (by reading **לְחִיָּה**, i. e., **לְחִי** with ה local, cf. Thénius, *in loc.*, and Fürst, *Lex. s. vv.* **לְחִיָּה** and **לְחִי**), the **ל** is manifestly the prefix preposition, as appears from ver. 13. The Targum, it is true, distinguished between the two forms, and rendered the first by **לְחִיָּה**,

Thou hast given this great salvation by the hand of thy servant. These words illustrate and confirm the view we have thus far sought to develop of Samson's spiritual life. In his hours of lofty elevation of soul, when the Spirit of God impels him to great deeds in behalf of national freedom, he is fully conscious of the work to which he is called. Although he stands alone, the ends he pursues are not personal. And though his people sink so deeply into cowardice and weakness, as to deny him, yet all his powers are directed against the enemies of this people. Although he himself has scarcely escaped from their hands, and has no one to stand by his side, he nevertheless considers himself their leader and champion, in duty bound to vindicate the honor and glory of Israel against the Philistines. Properly speaking, no one was delivered in the conflict on Ramath-Lehi but himself; but he thanks God for "the great salvation given by the hand of thy servant." He finds this salvation in the humiliation experienced by the Philistines, and in the fact that he, as sole representative of the true Israel, has not been allowed to be put to shame. For with his fall, the last bulwark had been levelled. The shouts of the Philistines over his bonds were shouts of triumph over the faith of Israel and over Israel's God. Hence he can pray: "Thou hast just performed a great deed through me, by which the honor of the national name of the children of Israel has been rescued and exalted, let me not now die of thirst, and in that way fall into the hands of the uncircumcised." All benefit of the victory would be lost, if Samson were now to perish. The triumph of the cowardly enemy would be greater than ever, should they next see him as a helpless corpse. He speaks of them as "the uncircumcised" for the very purpose of expressing his consciousness that with him to fight, to conquer, and to fall, are not personal matters, but involve principles. He is none other than the Nazir of God, i. e., the consecrated warrior for God and his people Israel against the enemies of the divine covenant — the uncircumcised. His petition springs from the profound emotion into which the successive experiences of this day have plunged him. The greater his ardor in battle and joy in victory, the more painful is now the thought of losing the fruits of the advantage gained, for want of a little water. Here, too, what instruction we find! "What is man that thou art mindful of him." The mighty warrior, before whom thousands tremble, cannot conquer thirst, and must perish unless a fountain opens itself.

Ver. 19. And God clave the mortar that was in Lehi. At the place where Samson was, God clave a mortar-like cavity in the rock, from which water sprang, of which Samson drank, and refreshed himself. This spring was ever after named "Well of him that called;" for it was his salvation and second deliverance. The words at the close of our verse, "which (well) is in Lehi unto this day," to which those at the beginning of the verse correspond, "God clave the mortar that was in Lehi," put it beyond all doubt that the refer

the term which it regularly employs to express **בְּרֵךְ מַיָּם**; but Gesenius and others before him made a mistake when they took **לְחִיָּה** as the proper name of a locality. It was only a general term, *pagus*, village, which was translated into **עַרְ** (עִיר).

ence is to a mortar-like well-opening in the place Lehi, and that (as Keil very well remarked) the old, frequently reproduced exposition (approved also by Bertheau), which bids us think of "the socket of a tooth in the jaw-bone," is entirely erroneous. For from ver. 17, where Samson throws the jaw-bone away, nothing more is said about it, and the name Lehi refers only to the place; just as in ver. 9 the meaning is, not that the Philistines spread themselves about a real jaw bone, but about the place of this name. The well, it is said, "is in Lehi unto this day." The place derived its name, Ramath-lehi, from the battle of the jaw-bone; but the place was not the jaw-bone, which could not exist "unto this day." The calling forth of the well was a second deliverance, distinct from the first, which was won in battle. It occurred at Lehi, where Samson had conquered, in order that he might there also experience the vanity of all strength without God. The old opinion arose from the fact that, except in ver. 9, the ancient versions (the Sept.) everywhere translated the term Lehi, whereas it is a proper noun in ver. 19 as much as in ver. 9, as Bochart should have known precisely from the article, for it is used in all three instances, ver. 9 included. It is indeed true that later medical writers call the sockets of the double teeth *δυσμοι*, mortars; but, granted that a similar *usus loquendi* prevailed in the Bible, — of which we have no other evidence than this passage can give, — the use of the article would be surprising, because elsewhere (as in Zeph. i. 11) it points (in connection with the noun *מִכְרֵשׁ*) to a certain definite, mortar-like¹ locality. Mention might also be made of the cities in Phrygia and Cilicia that bore the name *Hobmos*. The true view was already held by Josephus, the Chaldee Targum, and, with peculiar clearness, by R. Levi ben Gerson. Perhaps it would receive further illustration from the locality which we may probably venture to fix upon for the event. For the question where the event took place is not unimportant. It must be assumed (cf. vers. 13, 14) that Etam and Lehi were not far distant from each other. Moreover, it is evident from the connection of the entire narrative, that the Philistines must have threatened especially that part of Judah which lay contiguous to the region whence Samson made his attacks. For this reason alone, the opinion of Van de Velde (adopted by Keil), who looks for it on the road from Tell Kewelfeh to Beer-sheba, appears improbable. On the other hand, the very ancient tradition which locates the Well of Lehi in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis, appears to me, notwithstanding all opposition, to be entirely probable. It was by a series of interesting observations and arguments that Robinson, Rödiger, and others, established the fact that Eleutheropolis and the modern Beit Jibrin, the Betogabra of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, are the same place (cf. Ritter, xvi. 139); but the hints of the Midrash might have led to the same conclusion, and even now afford additional instruction. To the peculiarities of the region belong the numerous cave-formations, which, by their more or less perfect artificial finish, prove themselves to have been the abodes of men

in ancient times. *חור* (*chor*) is a cavern, and the term *חורי* (Chorite, E. V. Horite) signifies troglodytes, people who dwell in caverns. Now, whenever the Chorite is spoken of, the Midrash explains by substituting Eleutheropolis.² It has not hitherto been discovered what circumstance induced the Romans to give this beautiful name to the place. But since the tradition of an heroic exploit (*תְּשׁוּעָה בְּרוּלָה*) was connected with the place, the Jewish inhabitants derived the name *בֵּית הַחֹרִי* or *עֵיר הַחֹרִי*, which it may have borne, not from *חור*, a cavern, but from *חור*, a freeman. "Bene Chorin," is the title assumed by those whom heroic feats have made free.³ The same idea leads the Midrash when it derives Eleutheropolis from *chirath*, freedom. The name Eleutheropolis was, in fact, only a translation of the ancient name, whose meaning the inhabitants had changed from "City of the Troglodyte" to "City of the Free," and is undeniably found in the Mishna and Talmud under the forms *בית חורין* and *בית הַחֹרִי*.⁴ If the inhabitants expound the present name Beit Jibrin as meaning "House of Gabriel," every one capable of forming a judgment in the case perceives at once that this became possible only with the prevalence of Islam in those regions. But as the name itself is older than Islam, and is apparently found in the Midrash (as *בֵּית גֹּבֶרִין*, Beth Goberin), the conjecture suggests itself that it is related to *גִּבּוֹר*, hero, *גִּבּוֹרָה*, heroism; which, if true, connects it once more with Samson's achievement. The "House of Heroism" answers entirely to the "House of Freedom." And it is at least not impossible that a change of etymological derivation, like that in the case of Chorite, occurred here also, namely, from *גִּבּוֹר*, a hole, to *גִּבּוֹר*, a hero. The expression *גִּבּוֹרָה*, in the sense of jaw-bone, occurs also.

The change of the "Troglodytes' City" into the "City of Heroes," demonstrates the existence of an old tradition, which, so far as the names (Freedom, Heroism) can explain anything, spoke of the hero who there became free. Springs are still found near the city. One in particular, near the Church of St. Anne, flows from the hard rock, is "fifty-two feet deep, and apparently ancient" (Rob. ii. 26). It is to be noted that Josephus makes Samson's fountain to spring out of a rock, and declares that its name was still known in his day. The Targum likewise says that God did split the rock (*שִׁפְץ*), and translates: "They called it 'the well that arose at the prayer of Samson,' and it exists in Lehi unto this day."

No other well than this [one near the church of St. Anne], can be intended by Jerome, when on passing Soch, he visits the Fountain of Samson (*Ep. ad Eust.*, 106, cd. Benedict. 86). The tradition continued steadfast until the time of Antoninus Martyr, who says (*circa* 600 A. D.): "We

¹ Including, doubtless, a comparison with the hard, rocky nature of a mortar.

² *Beresh. Rabba*, § 4.; p. 37 b. The right reading has been preserved by Aruch, *sub voce*. Our editions of the Midrash read *metropolis*, which only uncritical editors could have overlooked, since the explanation which follows indicates the true reading.

³ Cf. Buxtorff, *Lex*, p. 836. Israel calls itself by this name in the beautiful hymn *Pesach haggaṭhah*, with reference to the time when Messiah shall have made it free. It is true, at least, that He alone makes free.

⁴ On the consensaneous position of the place, cf. Zuns, in *Beaj. of Tulela*, ii. 435, note.

came into the city called Eliotropolis, where Samson, that most valiant man, slew a thousand men with a jaw-bone, out of which jaw-bone, at his prayer, water sprang forth, which fountain irrigates that place unto this day; and we were at the place where it rises." Traditions reaching so far beyond the age of Islam, are always worthy of attention, especially when they suit so well in their localities. For the distance from Eleutheropolis combines very well with the theatre of Samson's exploits hitherto, and confirms our assumption that Etam lay in the neighborhood of the present Deir Dubbân. When the Jews grounded the name "City of Freedom" on this tradition, they followed considerations not only beautiful, but also both ethically and historically correct.

It is unquestionably a remarkable feature in the narrative of the occurrence, that, while Samson prays to "Jehovah," the answer is ascribed to "Elohim:" "Elohim clave the mortar." Keil's explanation, that it is thereby intimated that God worked the miracle as Lord of nature, does not seem sufficient. For is not "Jehovah" the Creator of Nature? The Targum uses that name here. According to our view of the relations of the names Jehovah and Elohim in our Book, the latter appears not only when heathen gods are spoken of, but also when others than believing Israelites speak of God. Elohim is here used in order to intimate that non-Israelites also ascribed the wonderful fountain in Lehi to divine intervention. Not only Israel tells of it, how Jehovah clave it, but all admit that it is a work of Elohim.

Ver. 20. **And Samson judged Israel, in the days of the Philistines, twenty years.** In the introduction to the history of Samson (ch. xiii. 1), it is stated that the Philistines lorded it over Israel forty years. In ch. xiii. 5 it is said: "he shall begin to deliver Israel." Their entire downfall he did not accomplish. The blame of this rested not only with the people, of whom ch. xiii. does not say that they had repented, but, as ch. xvi. shows, also with Samson. But the twenty years during which he wrought are not filled out by the occurrences related. These only indicate what feats and dangers were necessary to qualify Samson for government in Israel. And it may well be supposed that after this the Philistines scarcely undertook to confront him. Doubtless, the tribe of Judah also, must after this last exploit have acknowledged his divine strength, and yielded him their confidence. He himself, in thirst and faintness, had learned that God alone gives strength and help; and this may have served for the moral elevation of the people also. Israel dwelt in security and peace for twenty years, through the consecration and deeds

of Samson. For this reason he stood among them as Judge. It was only the want of courage on Israel's part — due to its imperfect faith — and the excess of it on Samson's part, that plunged both alike into new distress and suffering.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[**BR. HALL:** The Philistines that had before ploughed with Samson's heifer, in the case of the riddle, are now ploughing a worse furrow with a heifer more his own. I am ashamed to hear these cowardly Jews say, Knowest thou not, etc. — **SCOTT:** Heartless professors of religion, who value the friendship and fear the frown of the world, and who are the slaves of sin and Satan, censure, hate, and betray those who call them to liberty in the service of God. To save themselves, in times of persecution, they often apostatize and turn betrayers and accusers of the brethren. — **BR. HALL:** Now these Jews, that might have let themselves loose from their own bondage, are binding their deliverer. — **HENRY:** Thus the Jews delivered up our Saviour, under pretense of a fear lest the Romans should come, and take away their place and nation. — **WORDSWORTH:** This conduct of the men of Judah, saying that the Philistines are their rulers, and delivering Samson to them, may be compared to that of the Jews, saying, "We have no king but Caesar" (John xix. 15), and delivering up Christ to the Romans.

WORDSWORTH (on Samson's victory): A greater miracle was wrought "in the time of wheat-harvest" (cf. ver. 1), namely, at the first [Christian] Pentecost, when three thousand were converted by the preaching of Peter and of the other Apostles, filled with the Spirit of God. — **BR. HALL:** This victory was not in the weapon, was not in the arm; it was in the Spirit of God, which moved the weapon in the arm. O God! if the means be weak, Thou art strong!

HENRY (on Samson's prayer): Past experiences of God's power and goodness, are excellent pleas in prayer for further mercy. "Lest the uncircumcised triumph, and so it redound to God's dishonor." The best pleas are those taken from God's glory. — **KITTO:** Not many would have had such strong persuasion of the Lord's providential care as would lead them to cry to Him for water to supply their personal wants in the like exigency.

HENRY (on En-hakkore): Many a spring of comfort God opens to his people which may fitly be called by this name: it is the "well of him that cried." — **TR.]**

Samson visits Gaza. The Philistines meditate his destruction; but he escapes at midnight, carrying the gate of the city away with him.

CHAPTER XVI. 1-3.

1 Then went Samson [And Samson went] to Gaza [Azzah], and saw there an
2 harlot, and went in unto her.¹ And it was told² the Gazites [Azzites], saying,
Samson is come hither. And they compassed him³ in, and laid wait for him all
night in the gate of the city, and were quiet all the night, saying, In the morning

3 when it is day we shall kill him.⁴ And Samson lay till midnight, and [he] arose at midnight, and took [laid hold of] the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts, and went away with them [pulled them up], bar and all, and put *them* upon his shoulders, and carried them up to the top of an [the] hill that *is* before Hebron.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. — **וַיָּבֵא אֵלֶיהָ**. Dr. Cassel, in accordance with his exposition (see below), renders, *und kam zu ihr*, "and came (went) to her." This rendering is certainly possible (cf. Gen. vi. 20; Ps. li. 1, etc.); but as the expression is a standing euphemism, the writer of Judges would scarcely have employed it in its more proper sense here, where the context would inevitably suggest the least favorable interpretation. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 2. — **וַיִּגְדַּל** (cf. Gen. xxii. 20) or **וַיִּאֱמָרָהּ**, has doubtless been dropped out of the text by some oversight of transcribers. The Sept., Targum, and other ancient versions, supply the deficiency, if indeed it existed in their day. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 2. — **וַיִּלְכְּבֵהוּ**: the accusative (cf. Eccles. ix. 14) object of this verb is to be disengaged from **לָו**, the object of the immediately following verb. So Bertheau and Kell. Dr. Cassel takes the word in the sense "to go about," to patrol, which would require the object **עִיר** (Isa. xxiii. 16) or **מַעְיָר** (Cant. iii. 3) to be expressed. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 2. — **עַד-אֹרֶן הַבֶּקֶר הַיְּהוֹרֵגְהוּ**: literally, "Until morning light! then we will kill him." That is, "Wait (or, with reference to the preceding **וַיִּהְיֶה שָׁמֶר**: Be quiet) until morning light," etc. Cf. 1 Sam. i. 22. **אֹרֶן** is the infinitive construct, cf. Ges. *Lez.* s. v. **עָרַד**, B, 2, b. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. And Samson went to 'Azzah. The heroic deeds of Samson have driven the Philistines back within their old boundary-lines. They no longer venture to come anywhere near him. He, however, with the fearlessness of genius, undertakes to visit them in their own fortified chief city. 'Azzah, the Gaza of the Greeks, was the most powerful border-city and capital of the Philistines. There, as in Gath and Ashdod, remnants of the Anakim are said to have remained (Josh. xi. 22). Concerning the etymology of the name **עַזְזָה** ('Azzah), different opinions have been expressed. Hitzig's derivation from **עַז**, "she-goat," has been justly called in question by Stark (*Gaza und die philist. Küste*, p. 46). But by the side of the view which, after the older authorities (from Jerome down) he adopts — which makes **עַזְזָה** to be "the strong, fortified city," in contrast with the open country, and appeals to such names as Rome and Valencia as analogous — I would place another, perhaps more accordant with the national spirit of the Philistines. The origin of the name must probably be sought in the worship of Mars-Typhon, the warlike Death-god. Movers has compared *Ἀζήσια*, the Træzæian name of Persephone, with **עַזְזָה** (*Phönizier*, i. 367). "Strong," in the true sense of the word, may be appropriately predicated of death; accordingly it is said in the "Song of Solomon" (ch. viii. 6): "Strong (**עַזְזָה**) as death is love." To the name *Ἀζήσια* (*Aze-sia*) not only el-Asa, the idol of the ancient Arabians (*Mars-Asis*) would correspond, but also and especially **עַזְזָה** (*Azazel*), to whom the Mosaic law sent the goat laden with the sins of the people. The name 'Azzah had its origin in the service of subterranean, typhonic deities, peculiar to the coasts of the Mediterranean sea. Although the Greeks called the city Gaza, it is nevertheless clear that the Indo-Germanic etymology of this word (*γάζα*), which signifies "public treasure," is not to be brought into comparison.

Samson comes not, alas! like the tribe of Judah

(ch. i. 18), to conquer the city. But it is a question whether the sensuality which at other times lulled his heroism to sleep, was also the occasion of his present visit to Gaza. The *cultus* of the Canaanitish nations, and the beauty of the Philistine women, were favorable to voluptuousness. Ancient expositors explained **וּזְנָה** to mean a female inn-keeper, a hostess. They were so far right, that the houses of harlots were those that stood open to all comers, including such strangers as had no relations of acquaintance and mutual hospitality with any one in the city. (Compare, in Latin, the transition into each other of *caupo* and *leno*, *caupona* and *lena*.) Hence, the Targum has everywhere (including Judg. xi. 1) translated **וּזְנָה** **פְּנֵי-דְקִרְוָתָא**, *i. e.*, "female innkeeper," *πανδόκεια*. On this account, the spies, also, whom Joshua sent out, and who were influenced by no sensual impulses, could quarter themselves nowhere in Jericho but in the house of a *zonah* (Josh. ii. 1). Samson did not come to Gaza for the purpose of visiting a harlot; for it is said that "he went thither, and saw there a *zonah*." But when he wished to remain there over night, there was nothing for him, the national enemy, but to abide with the *zonah*. This time the narrative gives no occasion to tax him with sensuality. We do not read, as in ver. 4, "and he loved her." His stay is spoken of in language not different from that employed with reference to the abode of the spies in the house of Rahab. The words, "he saw her," only indicate that when he saw a woman of her class, he knew where he could find shelter for the night. The purpose of his coming was to give the Philistines a new proof of his fearlessness, which was such that he did not shun to meet them in their own chief city.

Ver. 2. And when the 'Azzites were told, that Samson was come thither. He had been seen. It was probably towards evening when he entered the city. The houses in which the trade of a *zonah* was carried on, lay anciently and still lie on the walls of the city (Josh. ii. 15), not far from the gates. Although it is not stated whether the inhabitants knew where he was, it must be assumed that they did; for, being in the city, he

had no choice as to his place of abode. The king of Jericho commands Rahab to deliver up the spies; but the description here given of the way in which the 'Azzites set to work to catch the dreaded foe, is highly amusing and characteristic. The most direct way would have been to have attacked him in the house of the *zonah*; but that course they avoid. They propose to lie in wait for him when he comes out. Our author's use of the imperfects *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* and *וַיִּשְׁכַּח* is peculiar and interesting. That of which they speak, and say it must be done, as: "patrols must go about," and "bands must lie in wait all night at the gate," the graphic narrator relates as if it were actually done. They did nothing of the kind, however, but instead of patrolling and watching "all night," they were afraid, and kept quiet "all night" (*כָּל-הַלַּיְלָה*), used twice in order to hint at the contrast between counsel and action which they exhibited). They should doubtless have been on their legs throughout the night, but in fact they *וַיִּתְרַשְׁוּ*, kept themselves still, made no noise, and heard nothing, just as a timid householder, who is afraid of the burglar, feigns to be fast asleep, so as not to be obliged to hear the robbery going on. The gate, they say to each other, is firmly fastened, so that he cannot get out of the city, and to-morrow, at sunrise, we have certainly killed him (the narrator again represents the thing talked about as done, *וַיִּתְרַשְׁוּ*). "Ah yes, to-morrow!" To-morrow, only not to-day, is the language of all lazy people—and of the timorous as well.¹

Ver. 3. But Samson slept till midnight. He had been told that his presence in Gaza was known. How little fear he felt, appears from the fact that he slept till midnight. Then he arose, went calmly to the gate, and (as it was closed and barred) lifted out its posts, placed the doors on his shoulders, and tranquilly proceeded on his way home. Humor and strength characterized all his deeds. On this occasion, however, the mighty jest which he played off on the inhabitants of Gaza, was also the worst humiliation which he could inflict upon them. The gates of a place symbolized its civic and national strength, inasmuch as they represented ingress into it. Samson enacted literally, as it were, the promise made to Abraham: "Thy seed shall possess the gate of its enemies" (Gen. xxii. 17). The fact that Rebecca is dismissed with the same blessing (Gen. xxiv. 60): "May thy seed possess the gate of those who hate it!" indicates the popular diffusion of the idea that to take possession of an enemy's gate is to obtain a complete victory over him. Hence, in the East victorious princes have frequently literally carried away the gates of conquered cities (cf. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osman. Reichs*, i. 267). For the same reason, Almanson, when he took Compostella, caused the doors of the St. James' Church to be lifted out, and to be carried on the shoulders

of Christians, to Cordova, in sign of his victory (Ferrerias, *Gesch. von Spanien*, iii. 145). The same idea presents itself in North-German legends, when giants are represented as carrying away churches from their places, in order to show their hostility against Christianity (Schambach and Müller, *Nieders. Sagen*, pp. 150, 151).

But precisely because the removal of the gate of Gaza was expressive of the national humiliation of the Philistines before Israel — Israel having, as it were, in the person of its representative, taken their chief city by storm — it is necessary to take the statement that Samson carried the gate "up to the top of the mountain before (*עַל-פְּנֵי*) Hebron," in a more literal sense than Keil feels himself bound to do. Hebron was the centre and chief seat of the tribe of Judah. It was probably the abode of Samson also during the twenty years of his judgeship. Israel's triumph and the Philistines' ignominy were both most plainly expressed when the gate of Gaza was lying before Hebron; for it was found appropriate to carry the gates of the chief city of the enemy to the chief city of the conqueror, otherwise Hebron would not have been mentioned at all. As to the difficulty of carrying the gate so far as Hebron, it is unnecessary to waste a word upon it. He who wrenched the gate from its firm security, could also carry it to Hebron. Besides, as soon as he was in Judaea, he had time enough. In Hebron the evidences of the great hero's triumph and the Philistines' humiliation were probably exhibited long after the event took place. Even when nations seem least capable of doing great things, it is yet a cheering sign, promissory of better days, if they take pleasure in the great deeds of former times. Israel was in servitude for the very reason that it no longer knew the greatness of its ancestors (ch. ii. 10). Whoever takes pleasure in Samson, affords some ground to hope for freedom.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The ancient church used the gate of Gaza, as a type of the gates of hell destroyed by Christ. A modern art-critic, it is true, has remarked that most of the pictures which were supposed to be representations of Samson, carrying away the gates of Gaza, are not such, but represent the paralytic of the gospels, who took up his bed and walked (Martigny, *Dictionnaire*, p. 599). But the essential matter is, not the pictures, but the spirit. Gaza is, as it were, the stronghold of the enemy. Samson, who enters it, resembles Christ, who is laid in the grave. But the enemy cannot bind the living Word. He not only rises from the dead, but He deprives the fortress of its gates, so that it can no longer detain any who would be free. Only he remains a captive, in whom sin reigns, and passion is supreme — who would be free from Christ.

¹ [The above explanation of ver. 2 is more ingenious than satisfactory. The text does not speak of what the Philistines said ought to be done, but of what was done. It is true, that this view meets with the difficulty of explaining how Samson could carry off the gate, and the watchers be apparently none the wiser. The answer is probably that after the guards and liers-in-wait were posted,

these rendered sleepy by inaction (*וַיִּתְרַשְׁוּ*), and confident that Samson would not leave the *zonah* until morning, became "quiet" in a sense beyond that intended by the instructions they had received — in other words, allowed themselves to fall asleep. Cf. Bertheau and Kell. — Tr.]

Samson's fall. He loves a Philistine woman, and, confiding to her the secret of his strength, is betrayed into the hands of his enemies.

CHAPTER XVI. 4-20.

4 And it came to pass afterward [after this], that he loved a woman in the valley of
5 Sorek, whose name *was* Delilah. And the lords [princes] of the Philistines came
up unto her, and said unto her, Entice [Persuade] him, and see wherein his great
strength *lieth*, and by what *means* we may prevail against him, that we may bind him
6 *dred pieces* of silver. And Delilah said to Samson, Tell me, I pray thee, wherein
thy great strength *lieth*, and wherewith thou mightest be bound to afflict [subdue]
7 thee. And Samson said unto her, If they bind me with seven green withs [moist
cords],¹ that were never [have not been] dried, then shall I be weak, and be as an-
8 other [any other] man. Then the lords [princes] of the Philistines brought up to her
seven green withs [moist cords], which had not been dried, and she bound him
9 with them. (Now *there were* men lying in wait, abiding with her in the chamber.)²
And she said unto him, The Philistines *be* upon thee, Samson. And he brake the
withs [cords] as a thread of tow is broken when it toucheth [smelleth] the fire. So
10 his strength was not known. And Delilah said unto Samson, Behold, thou hast
mocked [deceived] me, and told me lies: now tell me, I pray thee, wherewith thou
11 mightest be bound. And he said unto her, If they bind me fast [omit: fast] with
new ropes that never were occupied [with which no work was ever done], then shall
12 I be weak, and be as another [any other] man. Delilah therefore took new ropes,
and bound him therewith, and said unto him, The Philistines *be* upon thee, Sam-
son. (And *there were* liars in wait abiding in the chamber.)² And he brake them
13 from off his arms like a thread. And Delilah said unto Samson, Hitherto thou hast
mocked [deceived] me, and told me lies: tell me wherewith thou mightest be bound.
14 And he said unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks of my head with [i. e., into]
the web [i. e., the warp]. And [she did so, and] she fastened *it* with the pin, and said
unto him, The Philistines *be* upon thee, Samson. And he awaked out of his sleep,
15 and went away with [pulled out] the pin of the beam [loom], and with [omit: with]
the web [or, warp]. And she said unto him, How canst thou say, I love thee, when
thine heart *is* not with me? Thou hast mocked [deceived] me these three times, and
16 hast not told me wherein thy great strength *lieth*. And it came to pass when she
pressed him daily with her words, and urged him, *so* that his soul was vexed unto
17 death; That he told her all his heart, and said unto her, There hath not come a
razor upon mine head; for I *have been* [*am*] a Nazarite unto God from my mother's
womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak,
18 and be like any [all] *other* man [men]. And when [omit: when] Delilah saw that
he had told her all his heart, [and] she sent and called for the lords [princes] of
the Philistines, saying, Come up this once, for he hath shewed me³ all his heart.
Then the lords [princes] of the Philistines came up unto her, and brought [the]
19 money in their hand. And she made him sleep upon her knees; and she called for
a man, and she caused him to shave [and she shaved]⁴ off the seven locks of his
20 head; and she began to afflict [subdue] him, and his strength went from him. And
she said, The Philistines *be* upon thee, Samson. And he awoke out of his sleep,
and said, I will go out as at other times before, and shake myself [free].⁵ And he
wist not that the Lord [Jehovah] was departed from him.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1] Ver. 7. — יִהְיֶינָה לְחַיִּים: literally, "moist cords or strings." קֶנֶד: "יִהְיֶינָה" means string, *e. g.*, of a bow, Pa. xi. 2; and in Arabic and Syriac both bow-string and guitar-string. Now since the יִהְיֶינָה are here distinguished from the עֲבֹתָיִם, ropes (ver. 11), the former must be understood of animal tendons or gut-strings." It is certainly in favor of this view that the יִהְיֶינָה are to be "moist," as also that it makes a strong and climactic distinction between יִהְיֶינָה and עֲבֹתָיִם. Compare the rendering of the LXX.: νευραῖς ὑγραῖς. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 9. — **וַיֵּשֶׁב הַלֹּךְ לְהָאֵרֶב לְהָאֵרֶב**: "and the lurker sat for her in the apartment." In itself considered, **וַיֵּשֶׁב** might be collective, as rendered by the E. V. (cf. ch. xx. 33); but, although other Philistines may have been near at hand, it would be difficult to conceal the presence in the room itself of more than one, and hence it would hardly be attempted. **לְהָאֵרֶב** is *dat. commoti*. The rendering, "with her," adopted also by Cassel (and De Wette), is not indeed impossible, but gives to **לְהָאֵרֶב** a meaning which it rarely has, and which is here less suitable. — Tr.]

8 Ver. 18. — The reading **וַיֵּשֶׁב** of the *keri* is evidently the correct one, notwithstanding Keil's remarks in favor of **וַיֵּשֶׁב**. [Keil would make the clause a remark inserted by the narrator: "for he had showed her (**וַיֵּשֶׁב**) all his heart." — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 19. — **וַתִּשְׁבַּח**: "and she shaved." The *piel* is not causative here; compare the *pual* in ver. 17. The E. V. seems to accept the interpretation of the Vulgate and Alex. Sept., which translate **וַתִּשְׁבַּח** by "barber." "The man" (**וַתִּשְׁבַּח** = **וַתִּשְׁבַּח**) is probably the Philistine who was on duty at the time as "lurker;" and Delilah calls on him, in order to have somebody near to defend her should Samson wake during the shearing process. Cf. Keil. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 20. — **וַיִּשְׁבַּח**: Dr. Cassel translates, *will mich ermannen*, "put on and assert my manhood." He supposes Samson to see the Philistines, and to express his determination to give them battle as heretofore (see below). But not to say that **וַיִּשְׁבַּח** will not bear this sense, it seems clear that the "other times" refer to the previous attempts of Delilah to master his secret. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 4. And it came to pass that he loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah. Let him who stands, take heed lest he fall. This is valid also for the powerful personality of Samson. It is true that the adventures, in which sensuality ensnared him, had hitherto been only occasions for acting as the hero of his people. But it is true also that his present love differs in many respects from that which he gave to the woman of Timnah. Then he was young, and for his people's sake needed natural occasions for war against the Philistines — to say nothing of the fact that at that time he sought lawful matrimony. Now, he has long been a man. His strength and greatness need no more demonstration. Delilah was not his wife: if not a "soul," she was still but a weaver-woman, whom he saw and loved. Moral dangers, like all dangers, may, in the providence of God, serve to give experience to a man, and afford him opportunities for victory; but to run into them, in the confidence of winning new victories, is not permitted, even to a Samson. The "Nazir of Elohim" is not to be measured by common rules: everything is lawful for him; but only so long as he does not desecrate by means of itself the strength with which he is endowed.

By giving the name of the place where, and of the woman whom, Samson loved, the narrator already foreshadows the temptation into which he placed himself. The Nachal (Valley of) Sorek is evidently named after a variety of the grape — in appearance almost stoneless, yet provided with a soft stone, and productive of a precious red wine (cf. Jer. ii. 21; Isa. v. 2) — which elsewhere gives the name Kischmi to an Arabian island (Ritter, xii. 452). Of the position of the Nachal Sorek we have no other tradition than that of Eusebius, who knew a place named Sorech (*al. l. Borech*), north of Eleutheropolis, in the vicinity of Zorah, the home of Samson. But this tradition can scarcely be accepted. For the place, judging from the connection of the narrative, cannot have been remote from Gaza (cf. ver. 21). Nay, even the immediate connection of our narrative with the previous occurrence in Gaza, points to the vicinity of the latter city. Moreover, it is to be supposed that precisely in the region indicated by Eusebius, all

Philistine supremacy was abrogated by the growing fear of Samson's activity as Judge. Nor is it difficult to see that the tradition followed by Eusebius, connects itself with the exegesis of ch. xiii. 25. It will therefore be an allowable conjecture, to assume as the theatre of the sad catastrophe which is now related, the present wretched village Simsim, whence the Wady (Nachal) Simsim, passed by the traveller on the way from Gaza to Ashkelon, where it debouches, derives its name (Ritter, xvi. 68). It is remarkable that another, albeit in this respect erroneous tradition, led astray by the name Askulan, Ashkelon, has identified this wady with the brook Esheol, which must indeed be sought near Hebron, but which likewise derived its name from the *grapes* of that region.

The name of the woman would not have been given by the narrator, had he not wished to intimate the same idea which R. Mair expressed (*Sota*, 9, 2; *Jalkut*, n. 70),¹ when he remarked, that even if Delilah had not been her name, she might nevertheless properly be so called, because **וַיִּדְלֶהָ** **אֵת כֹּוֹהָ**, "she debilitated his strength." The form **וַיִּדְלֶהָ** (from Chaldee **דלל**) has clearly also given rise to the name **Δαλιδά**, which is given to Delilah in the Septuagint and in many MSS. of Josephus, and which is therefore probably not a false reading. We meet also with a Greek female name **Δαλίς**, **δαλιδος**. The name Delilah reminds us readily of the onomatopoeic German word *ein-lullen* [English, to lull asleep], Greek **βαυκαλάω** (whence a proper name **Βαυκαλος**). Sensuality sings and lulls the manly strength of the hero to sleep. The voluptuous chiefs² of the Philistines know this full well, and therefore they say:

Ver. 5. Persuade him, and see wherein his great strength lieth. Samson was no giant, coarse and elephantine, like a Cyclops; otherwise, they would have been at no loss to explain his strength. The shoulders on which he bore the gate-doors of Gaza were not sixty ells apart, as in the figurative expression of the Talmud. He was regularly built, although we may conceive of him

¹ Cf. *Bamidbar Rabba*, § 9, p. 194 b.

² **וַיִּדְלֶהָ**, **וַיִּדְלֶהָ**: probably etymologically connected with the Greek *τίσαντος*. The Targum translates **וַיִּדְלֶהָ**.

and tall and stately; full of spirit, yet good-natured and kind, as the possessor of true divine genius always is.

But on this very account, because physically he did seem very different from themselves, and as they knew not the power of divine inspiration, they entertained the wide-spread superstition, still current in the East, that he had some occult means at his service, from which he derived his unusual strength. The expressions for amulets and charms for such and similar purposes, are still very numerous in the Persian and Arabic idioms. Rustem, according to the Iranian legend, could not have overcome Isfendiār, if he had not previously learned the charm which gave the latter his strength. Scandinavian mythology, also, puts Thor in possession of his highest strength, only when he puts on the girdle which assures it to him. Even in Germany, the superstition was prevalent until comparatively recent times, that persons had sometimes become "fearfully strong" through the use of demoniac flesh (Meier, *Schwäb. Sagen*, p. 111). In the year 1718 a person confessed that the devil had given him a receipt, in the possession of which he felt himself stronger than all other men (cf. Tharsander, *Schauplatz unger. Meinungen*, ii. 514 f.).

It was all important for the Philistines to learn Samson's charm, in order to render it powerless. They hear of his love for Delilah. They were aware that before this the hero had failed to withstand the cajoleries of the woman he loved. In both earlier and later times, the orientals were conversant with the dangers which often arise to even the greatest heroes and kings, from their weakness toward women. Tradition and poetry are full of it. In the apocryphal Esdras (I. ch. iv. 26 f.) we read: "Many have gone out of their wits for women, and have become slaves on account of them. Many have perished, and erred, and sinned, by reason of women." And the Turkish poet Hamidi says: "Brother, if thou comest to women, do not trust them. Women have deceived even prophets." Though this be true, all women are not thereby defamed. Traitors like Delilah are only those who are such as she was, just as the only lovers of treason are cowardly men, like the Philistines, who dare not meet greatness openly.

And we will give thee eleven hundred pieces of silver each. It is a very mean trade that is here driven with the affections of Samson. It is an instance so deterrent, that it might well move deeply and instruct both young and old. The woman of Timnah betrayed Samson either from fear or from Philistine zeal: this one sells him for money; and the Philistines with whom she trades are very careful in making their promises. It is not enough, they stipulate, that she ascertains the secret; it must be such that use can be made of it, and that with the particular specified result. This carefulness shows that the cold-blooded Philistines knew with whom they had to do. So much the sadder is it to see Samson lavish caresses on such a woman. The sum for which Delilah consents

1 The Targum speaks of 1,100 silver *silim* (סִלְעִין, from סֶלָה). On the relation of the sela to the shekel, cf. my "Jüdische Geschichte," in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, p. 30.

2 [Compare Jos., *Ant.* v. 8, 11 — Ta.]

3 [Dr. Cassel assumes all through the present discussion that Delilah was a Philistine woman. He is probably correct, cf. Smith's *Bible Dict.*, art. "Delilah." Wordsworth,

to sell the hero is not insignificant. Since each of the princes promises 1,100 shekels of silver, and since, according to Judg. iii. 3, the number of princes may be set down as five, the sum pledged amounted to 5,500 shekels, between 4,500 and 5,000 [Prussian] Reichsthaler [*i. e.*, between 3,000 and 3,500 dollars].¹—Had Curius, the Roman, been less niggardly towards Fulvia, his *scortum*, the Catilinian conspiracy might perhaps have been more successful (Sallust, *Catilina*, 23).

Vers. 6-9. If they bind me with seven fresh cords. Delilah accepts the offers held out by treason, and begins to insinuate herself into Samson's favor² by inquiries about his strength. But Samson does not tell her the truth. Why not? Because from that moment he would have been obliged to have nothing more to do with her. For her questions reminded him of the divine origin of his strength, which was not given for such a house, and which after a true answer could no longer be secure there. As soon as he told the truth, he must either depart or perish, separate from his charmer or suffer. The mediæval poetry in which heroes of superior origin live peaceably with women, but are obliged to separate from them as soon as these begin to inquire after their descent, represents the same thought in poetical garb. The wife's questions, however, in these fictions, are not put with reasonable intent. They nevertheless drive the man away (cf. my work: *Der Schwun*, p. 21, etc.).

Want of confidence and national fellowship³ do not permit Samson to give the true answer to Delilah. But if these be wanting, how can he consort with her, even leaving her questions out of view? That this is not impossible, is but too plain; but the explanation of it is unpleasing. Samson, in his sensual sports, lays no claims to morality, and the heroism, in which he feels himself secure, sleeps under the pleasing sensations of the play. He would continue to divert himself, and therefore prefers not to tell the truth. In the "seven cords," however, he already hints at the "seven locks" of his head. Here is the germ of his fall. He seeks to quiet Delilah by some sort of answer. Seven cords of animal tendons, not yet stretched (cf. Saalschütz, *Archäologie*, i. 141, note 8), are undoubtedly sufficient to render a strong man incapable of defending himself. It was an answer which Delilah might reasonably believe, while for himself it contained no danger; for who will put the cords on him, except by his own permission? Even when at a subsequent visit Delilah had the cords in readiness, and coaxed him to allow her to bind him with them, he could still consent to be passive. Had the Philistines actually attacked him, it would but have afforded him a desirable opportunity for an heroic feat. But the Philistines are careful, and keep at a distance until they see how the trial will end. When Delilah raises the cry of Philistines, Samson rends the cords asunder as so many threads of tow. He gave a proof of his strength, but gained no victory.

however, who regards her as "a light, venal woman of Samson's own tribe," makes a suggestion worthy of consideration on the other side. "Hence," he says (namely, she being an Israelite), "she professed love for Samson, when she said, 'The Philistines' (mine enemies as well as thine) 'are upon thee, Samson.' He was the more easily caught in the snare because he could not imagine that a woman of Israel would betray him." — Ta.]

That which the principle of evil here attempts against the hero, Scandinavian mythology, in the Edda, represents inversely. The "Ase" (demigods) are afraid of the "Wolf" (the representative of evil). They persuade him to allow himself to be bound, in order to show his strength. He tears asunder one chain after another, until he is bound by means of a singular cord, whose symbolical sense makes it the same as that under which Samson succumbs: for it is the cord of sensuality. — It is a distorted form of our narrative which we find in the Slavic story of the strong son, who rends the rope in pieces, but succumbs under the thin string, which cuts into his flesh.

Vers. 10-12. **If they bind me with new ropes with which no work was ever done.** Samson's contempt of the Philistines is so great, that he does not even become angry with Delilah, whose behavior nevertheless could not but appear suspicious to him. And she knows her power over him so well, that, after the ancient manner of women, she seeks to escape the reproaches which he might be expected to make against her, by anticipating them with her own against him. And that with all the brazen effrontery characteristic of women whose charms are great and whose hearts are bad. "I saw Apame," it is said in the apocryphal Esdras (I. ch. iv. 29 ff.), "taking the crown from the king's head, and striking him. If she laughs upon him, he laughs; if she is angry at him, he flatters her, that she may be reconciled to him." Delilah, with treason in her heart, dares to tax Samson with falsehood. But she uses this feigned sensitiveness and her crocodile tears to renew her attempts to gain his secret and her reward. Still he does not tell her the truth; but yet she makes an advance towards her end. It could not be otherwise. For although Samson's greatness only jests, it is nevertheless true that his godlike strength was not given for sport. The playfully received reproach that he had told her lies, drives him involuntarily a step nearer the truth which her demand profanes. Satan already draws his snares one stitch closer. For when he tells her that he can be bound by new cords "with which no work has been done," the added qualification is not an empty and meaningless one. He was already once bound with "new cords" (ch. xv. 13), and set himself free. But the cords "with which no work has yet been done," are an image of his strength; the hair of his head also is unprofaned — no razor has ever touched it. Strength and consecration were characteristic of the things yet uncontaminated by the uses and defilements of life. The vehicle on which the ark of God is transported must be drawn by animals never before yoked, and must itself be new. The Philistine diviners (1 Sam. vi. 7) know this; the law of Israel also recognizes the principle, in its requirement that the red heifer of purification shall be one upon whom yoke never came¹ (Num. xix. 2). Availing himself of this belief, Samson speaks of "new cords, which have never done service," in order by this suggestion of special strength in them, to make his answer more credible, while it at the same time gives a reflection of the truth with regard to himself.

But the treason does not yet succeed. The Philistine spy, who is present but concealed (רִגְלוֹ, in the inner apartment), must for the

second time depart, disappointed and gloomy. The cords fall from his arms like threads. It was for him but a pleasant pastime thus to give Delilah one more proof of his strength, hoping perhaps to deter her from further questioning. If he did believe this, it could only be in consequence of his magnificent confidence, which in the consciousness of strength verged toward weakness. But natures like Delilah's do not relax: avarice and vexation urge them on. In the Old-French romance of Merlin, that wise man says that such women are, "hameçons a prendre poissons en rivière, rôtis a prendre les oiseaux a la pipée, rasours tranchans et affilés."

Vers. 13, 14. **If thou weavest the seven locks of my head into the web.** He still conceals the truth; but also once more yields a step. The untruth constantly diminishes, the danger constantly increases. He thinks no longer of actual ropes; he speaks already of the locks of his head. Formerly, he hinted at them, under the figure of that which is untouched of labor, but named cords; now he names his hair, but does not yet speak of its untouched consecration. So organically does his own noble nature press him onward into the snares set for him by the reproaches and tears of the traitress. As soon as he determined either to tell the truth, or not to tell it, he must break with the traitorous tempter, and part from her; and if he does not do this, it is precisely his ordinary, noble impulse toward truth, which even in jest and in the face of treason he cannot deny, that drives him on to destruction.

Expositors find the answer of Samson very difficult to be understood, but needlessly. Delilah had in her apartment a weaver's loom, at which she worked. It was doubtless of the upright, primitive form. It is probable that the technical terms connected with the weaver's art in Egypt were also prevalent on the Phœnician coast. Weaving women have also been found depicted on Egyptian monuments. The word מַשְׁבֵּט signifies the web on the loom. Hesychius (cf. Schleusner, *Thes.* iii. 529) has a form μέσασπον, which is explained to mean "weaver's-beam." It is then added: "Some make it mean ἀντίον, others μεδάντων." The latter word is manifestly מַשְׁבֵּט, and the same as μεδάντων, which only the LXX. know, and is certainly not Greek, although ἀντίον occurs elsewhere.

The Targum represents it by מִשְׁבֵּטֵיהָ, which is evidently derived from the same technical expression. Delilah is to work the hair of Samson, who places himself near the loom, into her web as woof. This could only be done from above. Herodotus (ii. 35) informs us, that the Egyptians, unlike other nations, inserted the woof, not from below upward, but from above downward. Samson's locks were long enough to form a close and perfect web; for it is added that she also struck in the הַבֵּט, the batten, in order to show that it was

a regular piece of weaving. הַבֵּט is what Homer calls the κερκίς, staff, equivalent to our "batten." The Greek κερκίς, also, means a pin, nail, just as the Hebrew הַבֵּט does elsewhere. During the weaving, Samson had fallen asleep. Had he been unable to extricate his hair, he would at least have been unfree in his movements. But at the cry "Philistines!" he awakes. He gives one wrench, and the web tears, the batten shoots out, and the seven locks are free. They are called מַחְלֵי שָׂרֵת,

¹ Medieval superstition reproduces this also. Cloths are required for alchemical purposes which have been finished by "undefiled persons."

a word found only here. It comes from חֲלַף, not, however, from that which means "to change," but from the equivalent of $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega$, with which, consonant changes being taken into account, it is identical ($\text{חֲלַף} = \text{פִּלַח} = \text{פִּלַךְ} = \pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega$). The $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\iota$, locks, are seven, in accordance with the sacred number of perfection and consecration. Delilah finds herself deceived for the third time. The Philistines become impatient and dubious. No mention is made this third time of a spy, awaiting the issue of the trial. Even the second time, it is not stated, as at the first attempt, that the Philistines brought her the cords. The woman sees herself defrauded of her large gains, and turned into a laughing-stock besides. She therefore brings everything to bear to overcome the hero. She employs all her arts to torment him. He does not love her—has no heart for her—has deceived her: such is the gamut on which her tears and prayers are pitched. In point of fact, the threefold reproach is a threefold injustice. The three answers he has given, looked at carefully, form as it were an enigma, in which the truth lies concealed: in the first, the "seven;" in the second, the "consecration;" in the third, the "locks." He is really too great to lie; and therefore he falls a victim. Had he only lied thoroughly, lied once more, he had been free. The Philistines would not have returned; Delilah would have ceased. But Samson's history is a finished tragedy. He falls by reason of his greatness, which hinders him from avoiding the thrust of the serpent whom he has once suffered to approach his heel.

Samson's pliability has met with sufficiently frivolous apprehension. "Strong Samson," says Rousseau (*Emile*, ed. 1782, iii. p. 200), "was not so strong as Delilah." This is erroneous. It was because he was so strong and Delilah so weak, that he fell. He stumbled over an opponent who was too little to contend with. Rousseau compares him with Hercules in his relations to Omphale. This also is incorrect. That myth is nothing but a representation of the sun, who as hero descends into the lap of repose. It has no dramatic-historical interest. Omphale makes no demand of anything with which the prosperity and freedom of a nation are connected. Nor is it more correct to look for analogies among the tasks which, in tradition and poetry, are imposed on lover heroes by their mistresses. Those are mere trials of strength, without moral character. The historian of the Incas says, panegyrically, of Huayna Capac, one of the last monarchs of Peru (died 1525), that "he was never known to refuse a woman, of whatever age or degree she might be, any favor that she asked of him" (Prescott, *Peru*, i. 339, note). Samson had certainly refused Delilah, had he not been so great in his strength, so unique in his manifestation, so elevated above his time, so true even in evasion, so earnest in sport. The weakness of Pericles for Aspasia, even if not without influence on affairs of state, was not dramatic—for they mutually valued each other; but Samson's love is tragic, because the play in which in his greatness he indulges, causes his feet to slide on account of it.

¹ פִּלַח occurs only here; cf. ἀλαος, ἀλύσω. Similar is

* חֲלַף, hunger.

² In the Middle Ages it was believed that she had stupefied him by means of opium. This view transmitted itself even into the "Chronicon Engelhusii," in Leibnitz, *Script.*

Vers. 15, 16. And his soul was vexed unto death. If Samson remained, he must succumb. The national hero of Israel who cannot separate himself from a Philistine woman, must fall. In vain has he sought three times to put her off with a jest. The avarice and knavery of such women are not to be escaped from by witty turns. She knows that at last he cannot hide the truth from her. Precisely his greatness and fearlessness enable her to compass his destruction. He remains; and she does not cease her efforts, until at last he is wearied of her ceaseless teasing (חֲלַף לְדַלִּיָּה).¹

She bored him to death (וַתִּהְיֶה רֵרָא וַיִּשָּׂא) with tears and reproaches. He wished to have rest—and to remain; nothing was left, therefore, but to grant her wish. Such is the philosophy of many husbands who yield to women ambitious of rule. To be sure, they are their wives, before God and men, and the danger is not always so great as here. Samson, although he remains, finds himself so plagued, that in order to quiet Delilah, everything else is indifferent to him. He determines to tell her the true reason of his great strength. But will she not wish to test the truth of what he tells her? and will he not thereby lose his strength? He considers it not. But this strength which he puts in jeopardy, it is not his own possession? He does not reflect. It was given him for the freedom of his people against the Philistines. But he will tell her the truth, come what may, in order to have peace. Delilah had doubtless promised him not to abuse his secret. He believes her promise, if only he can silence her. He was wearied to death, so that his courage, the freshness of his mind, and his passion for victory were benumbed—and all that, when one step out of her house would have set him free! Abstinence unfolded his strength: Delilah in the Wine-Valley (*Nachal Sorek*) put it to sleep.² When he killed lions, he was full of happiness and relish for life: now, he is wearied unto death. In Timnah, his wife betrays him, and affords him an opportunity for a glorious victory: now, he betrays himself, and falls.

Ver. 17. If I be shaven, then my strength will go from me. Expositors, from the earliest ages down, have here made mention of the Greek myth of king Nisus of Megara, and have even regarded it as a disfigurement of what is stated here. But on closer inspection of the sources whence we derive our knowledge of the Greek myth, the greater part of the analogy which it seems to offer with our narrative falls away, and the idea from which it springs is seen to be very different. It is nowhere stated that Nisus would lose his dominion if his hair were shaved off; but only that on his gray head there grew a single purple hair, with which his fortune was connected (*Apollod.* xv. 2: *πορφυρέαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχα*; cf. *Ovid. Metam.* viii. 8: "*Splendidus (erinus) ostro inter honoratos medio de vertice cinos.*")³ It is true that his daughter betrayed him; but that was not his fault. Not he, but his daughter, was blinded by sensual love for the enemy. The principal idea, the weakness of Samson himself, is wholly unrepresented. Why only the purple hair

Rev. Brunsci. Illustr. Inscr. ii. 989: "Samson opio potatus," etc.

³ Cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 193: *purpureum crinem*. Virgil, *Ciris*, ver. 121: *Candida caryocis . . . et roseum medio fulgebant vertice crinis*. The "golden hairs" of Schwarz (*Urspr. der Mythol.* p. 144) are therefore to be corrected, as also Bertheau's "protecting hair."

contained this *fiducia magni regni*, we are not informed. But it must probably be explained by the assumption of some connection with the purple light of the Sun, and the vast knowledge which that deity was supposed to possess —, thus making it a pledge of wisdom rather than strength; for Nisus was no Hercules. This view is corroborated by the different turn given to the idea in popular traditions. For just as Christianity portrayed the devil as one who arrogates the power and appearance of the light, and presents himself as an angel of light, so popular conceptions have represented him with a cock's feather, as the symbol of light, and from a kindred point of view, have invented the charm of "golden devil's-hairs" to attain to universal knowledge (cf. my *Eddischen Studien*, p. 86). In all this there is no resemblance to the life-like, historical picture here drawn of Samson. Still, it cannot be denied that the Biblical narrative has apparently furnished the basis of many superstitious distortions, however coarse most of them may be. Among these the case of Apollonius of Tyana, whom Domitian caused to be shaved, is not to be reckoned, however; for that was probably only designed to inflict dishonor. But it is not delusive to find one of them in the opinion that magicians and witches were insensible to torture, until the hair had been shaven from the whole body — an opinion which led to many detestable proceedings, but was also speedily condemned by many (cf. Martin Delrio, *Disquis. Magicæ*, lib. v. § 9, pp. 764 f., ed. Cöln. 1679; Paulini (1709), *Philosoph. Luststunden*, ii. 169; Schedius, *De Diis Germanis* (1728), p. 388).

Ver. 18. **And Delilah saw that he had told her all his heart.** Old Jewish expositors say that she knew this because "words of truth are readily recognizable," and because she felt sure that he would not "take the name of God in vain." She followed up her discovery with proceedings sufficiently satanical. She at once sent to the Philistine chiefs to request them to visit her once more. This time he had undoubtedly opened his heart to her. She did not, however, intoxicate him, and proceed to her work, before they came. They must first bring the money with them. As for them, they soon made their appearance, and, concealed from Samson, awaited her call.

Ver. 19. **And his strength went from him.** As soon as the seven locks of his head had fallen, he ceased to possess the superhuman strength which had hitherto resided in him. But in the beginning of his history, in the annunciation of his birth and character to his parents, it is not intimated that by reason of the hair which no razor was to touch, he should possess such strength. Nor is it anywhere mentioned that Samson, the child, was already in possession of this giant strength, as soon as his hair had grown long. On the contrary, it is said, "And Jehovah blessed him." Had it been his long hair that made him so strong, there would have been no necessity for the Spirit of Jehovah to "come upon him," when he was about to perform some great deed for which the occasion presented itself. What sort of strength his long locks, as such, could give him, is clearly seen when nothing but God's intervening help saves him from perishing through thirst. The growth of the unshaven hair on the head of a Nazarite, was only a token of his consecration,

not the consecration itself. Similarly, the seven locks of Samson were only the sign of his strength, not the strength itself.¹ The strength of Samson depended, not on the external locks, but on the consecration of which they were the symbol. Hence, he needed God's help and Spirit, and received his strength not because of his long hair, but because of his vocation.² For God's nearness is granted not to all whose hair is long, but only to those devoted to his service. But just as in Israel he ceased to be a Nazarite who shaved his hair, so Samson's consecration departed from him when he removed its sign. When he failed to withstand Delilah, he surrendered not so much his hair, as his divine consecration. He denies his election to be a "Nazir of God," when he gives his hair to profanation. His consecration was broken, for he voluntarily allowed it to be profaned by the hands of the Philistine woman; his courage was broken, for he had done what he would not do; his joyousness was broken, when he yielded with half his heart, wearied, and in conflict with himself; his conscience was broken, and would not be drowned in the intoxication of Sorek-grapes; his manhood is broken, for he is no longer a whole man who, in a waking dream, betrays the sanctuary and glory of his life to the enemy: in a word, his strength is broken; and of all this, his fallen locks are not the cause, but the sign. The departure of his strength is not an externally caused, but an inwardly grounded moral result. Virgil says (*Æneid*, iv. 705) that the real life flame (*calor*) of the deceased Dido ceased to exist only with the severing of the hair from her head. This idea, raised into the sphere of moral truth, applies to Samson. His long hair was no amulet, conditioning the enjoyment of the Spirit of God — for without it the Spirit rested on Gideon and Jephthah, filling them with heroic virtue; but when, with a restless heart, he consciously threw himself and his people, for wine and love, into the power of the harlot, he became a broken hero. Since he himself says, and fully believes, that his strength is in his hair, and nevertheless gives himself up, it is evident that a breach has opened between his passions and his reason; and this breach made him a broken man. This moral rupture distinguishes Samson's fall from similar histories. The legend concerning Sheikh Shehabeddin, in the "Forty Viziers" (ed. Behrman, p. 25) is in many respects shaped after the catastrophe of Samson; but the arts by which he escapes from the Sultan who persecutes him, are those of magic. When a woman finally persuades him to betray his secret, it turns out that it consists only in certain external washings. All moral interest is wanting, both in the attack and in the defense. The Siegfried legend in the Nibelungen is more beautiful. The wounded part of the hero is also entirely external; but its betrayal is wrought by love, not by malice. Chriemhild, from love to her husband, becomes the discloser of his weakness, which a man betrays. In Slavic (cf. Wenzig, p. 190) and North German legends (cf. Mullenhoff, p. 406) magicians and strong persons do not carry their hearts about with them, but keep them wonderfully concealed. It is only by women's arts that opponents ascertain where it is. The primitive, moral ideas contained in these legends, are disfigured under the wrappings of childish distortions.

¹ Such is also the Roman Catholic representation found in Bergier, *Dict. Théologique*, p. 625: "La conservation de ses cheveux était la condition de ce privilège comme la marque

de son nazaréat, mais nullement la cause de sa force surnaturelle."

² Cf. *Ermidbar Rabba*, § 14. p. 214 d.

Ver. 20. **And she said, The Philistines are upon thee!** In previous trials, cords and weaver's loom had shown Delilah and her confederates the unimpaired condition of Samson's strength. This time, rendered confident by Delilah's word, the Philistine chiefs are themselves present. Samson rises, reeling, from sleep, sees the thick crowd, and, thinking that everything is as formerly, says: "I will go out to battle as at other times!" He suits the action to the word — but —

He wist not that Jehovah was departed from him. Appropriately does the narrator substitute "Jehovah" here for "strength," thus confirming what has been remarked above. The Spirit of strength, consecration to God, integrity of soul, the fullness of enthusiasm, the joyousness of the unbroken heart, were no longer his. This is already apparent from the fact that he did not know that God had left him. Whoever has God, knows it; whomsoever He has left, knows it not. When he was near his end, he could pray; but now, in his state of semi-intoxication and intellectual obscuration, he can neither fight as formerly, nor call on God, and so — he falls.

HOILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Samson was a Nazarite. He bore the sign of the general priesthood. The consecration of God was upon his head. It fired his will, gave his strength, and guided his error into the way of salvation. But when he profaned it, and in weakness allowed Delilah's unholy hand to touch it, he lost both strength and victory. God left him, because he held the honor of his God cheaper than his own pleasures. Because he gave up that which he knew was not his own, God left him in dishonor to find his way to penitence. He who could not withstand the allurements of a woman, even when they demanded the surrender of his vocation, was not worthy any more to withstand the enemy. His eyes, blinded by sensuality, saw not the treason: soon, blinded by the enemy, he should see neither sun, nor men, but only God. That done, he turned back, and God came back to him.

It is not a beautiful comparison which is sometimes instituted between Delilah and Judas the

traitor. For Samson was in fault, and Delilah was a Philistine. The woman is more excusable than the disciple who rose against his pure Master. But Samson is the type of all such children of men as know God, praise his grace, pray to Him, derive strength and love from Him, and yet fall. Sin is the ever present Delilah, who caused David, the Singer, to fall, and brought him to fearful repentance. Samson himself, rather than Delilah, was for a moment the traitor, who delivered the honor of his Lord to the insults of the enemy. Let no one think that he can safely enter danger. Pride goes before a fall. Self-confidence comes to a bad end; only confidence in God conducts through temptation. It is very proper to pray: Lord, lead me not into temptation; but very far from proper to enter into it of one's own free-will.

The lust of the eyes is not guiltless. It is the gate to the most carnal desires. Sin always tortures, even as Delilah tortured Samson. It is never wearied in its efforts to induce virtue to betray itself. Flee, if thou canst not withstand! To flee from sin is heroism. Had Samson but run away from Delilah, as a coward runs, he had surely smitten the Philistines. Every lapse into sin must be repented of. None of us have aught wherein to glory, but all stand in need of repentance. When Saul recognized his sin in having persecuted Jesus, he became blind. But soon he saw, like Samson, no one but his Saviour.

"Make me blind,
So I but see thee, Saviour kind."

STARKE: Even great and holy persons may fall into gross sins, if they do not watch over themselves. — THE SAME: To uncover our whole heart to God is our duty, but we are not bound to do it to our fellow-men. — THE SAME: In the members with which men sin against God, they are also usually punished by God. — GERLACH: Samson thinks to hold as his own, and to use as he pleases, that which was only lent to him, and of the borrowed nature of which his Nazarite distinction continually reminded him. It is thus that he prepares his deep fall for himself. — [WORDSWORTH: Samson replied to Delilah's temptations by three lies; Christ replied to the devil's temptation by three sayings from the Scripture of truth. — TR.]

Samson's end. He slays more Philistines in his death than he had done in life.

CHAPTER XVI. 21–31.

- 21 But [And] the Philistines took him, and put out his eyes, and brought him down to Gaza [Azzah], and bound him with fetters of brass;¹ and he did grind in the
22 prison-house. Howbeit the hair of his head began to grow again after² he was
23 shaven. Then [And] the lords [princes] of the Philistines gathered them [themselves] together, for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoice:
24 for they said, Our god hath delivered Samson our enemy into our hand. And when [omit: when] the people saw him, [and] they praised their god: for they said, Our god hath delivered into our hands our enemy, and the destroyer [devastator] of our
25 country [land]; which slew many of us [who multiplied our slain]. And it came to pass, when their hearts were merry, that they said, Call for [omit: for] Samson that he may make us sport.³ And they called for [omit: for] Samson out of the prison-house; and he made them sport: and they set him between the pillars.

theless, this infernal fury has been familiar to men in every land on which the sun shines.¹ The monuments of Nineveh show us a king, who with his lance puts out the eyes of his prisoners, as Nebuchadnezzar caused to be done to Zedekiah, the fallen king of Judah. There existed even different theories of this cruel art. Among the Persians, as Procopius informs us (in his *Persian Memorabilia*, i. 6), it was usual either to pour red-hot oil into the eyes, or to dig them out with red-hot needles. The latter mode is probably expressed by the Hebrew לִפְּזוֹ , to bore out the eye, *oculum effodere* (cf. my *Schamir*, p. 86). The terrible method of passing over the eye with a glowing iron, was not considered to be always effective, and left in many cases some slight power of enjoying the light (cf. Desguignes's *Gesch. der Hunnen*, iv. 93, etc.). The Middle Ages called it *abbacinare* (so the Italian still); for Christian nations have not kept themselves free from this abomination. It was practiced not only among the Byzantines (where Isaac Comnenus is a celebrated example), but also among the Franks (cf. Chilperich's laws, in Gregor. Turon., *Hist. Franc.*, vi. 46); likewise among the Normans, where, to be sure, Robert of Belesme (the Devil) did not content himself with it. German popular law also placed it among its penalties. In the sedition of Cologne (1074), it was, as Lambert relates, inflicted on his enemies by the ecclesiastical prince of the city. Reminiscences of it are preserved in the popular legends of North Germany. We may cite the story of the man who derived great strength by means of a blue band which he wore, and who, after a woman had betrayed him, was deprived of his eyes (Müllenhoff, p. 419).

The story which represents Belisarius, the great hero of Justinian's reign, as deprived of his eyes, and begging for oboli in the streets of Constantinople, is a fiction of later times; but it falls far short of the unspeakable misery actually endured by Samson. The consciousness of the treason of which he had been guilty towards God, and which had been so terribly practiced toward himself; the fall from a height so glorious and prosperous, into an indescribable dishonor; the impotence of the formerly victorious freeman, the blindness of one so sharp-witted, the chains on his consecrated body, the yells of triumph of the cowardly foe, — all this overwhelmed his soul so powerfully, that one less great than he had died of grief. And his people kept silence. But the Philistines still feared him, even in his blindness. They fettered him with iron chains, and made him turn a mill in the prison.² Deeper dishonor could not be inflicted. For the hero of divine freedom was made to perform the work of a slave. It is well known that in antiquity the work of grinding was done by slaves (Ex. xi. 5; xii. 29). The slaves thus employed were moreover considered the lowest,³ worth less money than any others, and as such found themselves in the worst situation (cf. Böckh, *Staatshaushalt der Athenen*, i. 95, ed: 2d). The depth of Samson's humiliation is as great as his former elevation. But in the midst of his untold sufferings, —

Vers. 22. **The hair of his head began to grow again.** With blinded eyes he began spiritually to see — fettered with chains he became free — under slavish labor he ripened for the freedom of God.

While he was yet prosperous, the person of Delilah interposed between his sight and his calling and duty for his people; now, though blind and within prison walls, he saw the power and greatness of his God. He recognized his error, and repented. The greatness of the fallen Samson consisted in this, that, like all noble natures in similar circumstances, he became greater and freer in the deepest suffering than he had been before.

Vers. 23, 24. **And the princes of the Philistines assembled themselves.** A general feast of thanksgiving and sacrifices was to be celebrated in Gaza. This shows that Gaza was at that time the leading Philistine city, and that Dagon, the fish-shaped god (דָּגוֹן , fish), was regarded by them as the embodiment of the religious antithesis between them and Israel. Dagon, the sea-god, as it were, who protects the cities on the coast, over against the God of Israel, who has won the main land. The celebration arranged by the Philistines, attended by all their tribes and princes, testifies to the unheard-of terror inspired by Samson. The circumstance that they express their joy in the form of thanksgivings and sacrifices to their god, is, in itself considered, singular, seeing that they well knew by what foul means the victory had been gained; but it is none the less instructive. Israel could learn from it that the Philistines regarded every victory over one of their number as at the same time an act of their deity, — being better in this respect than the Israelites, who continually forgot the great deeds of their God.

Vers. 25–27. **Call Samson that he may make us sport.** The Philistine thanksgiving was like themselves. Men may be known by their feasts. Here there was no thought of humility. Seriousness also is wanting, although they remind themselves of their losses. The truth is, repentance, most attractive in prosperity, is unknown to heathen. They praise their god, it is true, but they do not pray. They celebrate a popular festival, characterized by eating, drinking, and boasting. They were in high spirits over a victory for which they had not fought. Their joy reaches its acme when they send for Samson. He is brought in, chained like a bear. A people shows its worst side when it heaps mockery and insult on a defenseless foe. How would the Romans have treated Hannibal had they taken him prisoner? How was Jugurtha treated, when he was dragged into Rome in the triumph of Marius? But this Numidian fox was rendered insane over the disgrace inflicted upon him (Plut., *Vita Mar.*, 12). The blind lion of Israel, on the contrary, walks calmly on, already conscious of the restored consecration of God on his head. His appearance afforded the highest sport; and the circumstance that every Philistine could dare to touch and mock, and otherwise abuse the blind hero, raised their mirth to the highest pitch. But pride goes before a fall; and they did not yet sufficiently know the man whom they derided.

And they placed him between the pillars. Much has been written concerning the architectural style of the building in which the occurrence took place. Bertheau is not wrong in saying that it is impossible to come to any particular determination in this matter. It was not essential to our narrator's purpose to give an architectural de-

¹ If Herodotus is to be believed, the Scythians blinded every slave (iv. 2). Alexander Severus is reported to have said, that whenever he saw a bad judge he felt inclined to tear his eye out with his finger (Lampridius, 17; cf. Salmastius on the passage.)

² Later writers, in putting king Zedekiah at the same labor, intended doubtless to conform his fate to that of Samson (cf. Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, iii. 748, 2d edition).

³ 2 Which fact explains the anecdote in Ælian, *Varia Historia*, xiv. 18

scription. Nevertheless, his language affords the materials for an intelligible conception. The design of placing Samson between the pillars was evidently to enable all to see him; in other words, to put him in the midst of the assembly. Now, according to ancient conceptions, Heaven and Atlas are keepers of pillars; and whether they hold fast¹ both pillars, or with their shoulders themselves constitute the pillars, they cannot leave their places without causing the heavens to fall. This poetical view is also found in Job xxvi. 11, where the pillars of the heavens reel at God's reproof. Of this conception the temple-building at Gaza was a representation. Two mighty pillars supported the chief beams of the vast building. Round about the house there ran a gallery, where the populace found a place. This was called גָּלְרֵי, the same term which is applied to the flat roofs of oriental houses, which, properly speaking, are only open galleries, surrounded by trellis-work. These estrades or galleries cannot have been supported by the main pillars;² for in that case many would not have been able to see Samson. The hero would be visible to all, only if he stood in the lower space, between the pillars on which the house was supported, the gallery extending around the sides of the house, and fastened to them; and there is nothing at variance with this in his request to the lad to be allowed to lean upon the pillars. On closer inspection, our narrator tells much more than is at first apparent. Samson was evidently previously acquainted with the arrangement of the building. He knew, too, that he had been placed in the centre, or it may have been told him by the lad. There were other pillars: perhaps a portico extended around the building. But Samson requests expressly to be led to the principal pillars, "on which the house rests." The lower part of the house was filled with אֲנָשִׁים וְנָשִׁים, men and women of distinction, together with the princes, and was called גָּלְרֵי; the gallery (גָּלְרֵי) contained three thousand persons, אֲנָשִׁים וְנָשִׁים, i. e., the common people. That this gallery was in the house, that is, under the covering upborne by the pillars, and hence fell with the house, is evident from ver. 30, where we read that the "house fell" upon all "that were therein."

Ver. 28. **And Samson called unto Jehovah.** This shows that he had fully recovered himself. As soon as he can pray again, he is the hero again. The prayer he now offers is full of fervor and intensity, rising heavenward like smoke from the altar of incense. It is the deep and vast complaint which, after the awful experiences of the last days, grief and hope have caused to gather in his soul. He uses all the names of God with which he is acquainted, and confesses Him, in the darkness which surrounds him, more deeply and fervently than formerly when enjoying the light of the sun. And withal, his thoughts are beautifully arranged. For fervor excels all homiletical art. The prayer divides into three parts, and makes use of three names of God. Each part contains three nicely separated thoughts. He begins: "Lord (אֲדֹנָי) Jehovah (יְהוָה), remember me." In the midst of servitude, chained and fettered by the Philistines, who lord it over him, bring him in and send him out as they choose, his spirit calls

upon *Adonai*, the Lord who is in heaven. In the midst of Philistine jubilations over the victory of their idol, the seeming triumph of their Dagon, he calls on Jehovah, the great God of Israel, for He alone is the Lord. Alone and forsaken, surrounded by raging foes, he cries to God: "Do thou remember me." The word זָכַר is most frequently used of God's gracious mindfulness of any one, expressing itself in caring for him. It is with a heart full of penitence that he makes this petition. For formerly God had departed from him, and he had been deprived of God's care over him. If now God but takes thought of him, he will once more be received into divine favor.

And strengthen me, only this once, O God. "Strengthen me." He no longer puts his trust in himself, nor yet in his growing hair. The source of the consecration and strength which formerly adorned him, and for the return of which he pleads, is in God. For this reason, he invokes

God anew,—this time as אֱלֹהִים. *Elohim*, with the article, is the true, the only Elohim, namely, the God of Israel (cf. above, on ch. vi. 20 and 36; and on ch. viii. 3; xiii. 18). While all around him, the enemies praise their god as the victor (ver. 24), he prays to the God of Israel, that He, the real Elohim, the true strength, would strengthen him "yet this once." He does not ask to be the former Samson again. He has done with life. After such disgrace, he would not wish to return to it. Only for "this time," he prays for strength, which God gives and takes as He will, allowing no one to suppose, as Samson formerly did, that it is an inalienable possession, whether used or abused. In the third place, he declares the purpose for which he desires the strength:—

That I may yet once take vengeance on the Philistines, by reason of my two eyes. Is it right to pray thus? For Samson it is. For he was called to recompense the Philistines; his whole task was directed against the tyrants. He fell only because instead of avenging the wrongs of his people on their oppressors, he squandered his strength with the Philistine woman. If now he desires the restoration of his lost strength, he can lawfully do so only for the purpose for which it was originally given. To rend cords in pieces for sport was not his business, but to make the enemy acquainted with the power of the gracious God of Israel.

But may he then demand recompense for his "two eyes?" As Samson, he may. In his prayer, it is true, he did not plead his consecration as a "Nazarite of God;" in his humility he dares not use this plea, since a razor has passed over his head. But it was nevertheless on this account that he had his strength. It resided in him, not as man, but as Nazarite. It was not his, although he misused it; it was lent him, for his people, against the enemy. But now, his strength, even if fully restored, would avail him nothing. The loss of both his eyes rendered it useless. He could not, like a blind chieftain,—like Dandolo, the doge of Venice, and Ziska, the Bohemian,—lead his people to battle, for he is no chieftain, but a hero, who stands and fights alone. The loss of his eyes, therefore, closes his career. Blindness disables him from serving longer as the instrument of the God of Israel. Hence, he desires vengeance, not for

¹ As implied in the words: *ἔχει δὲ τὴν κίονα, Olyss.*, l. 63.
² As Stark thinks (*Gaza*, p. 332) "a poetic conception is for all that, by no means clear. Nor is it necessary to suppose

that the pillars were wooden posts. In a building of such size, they were most likely of stone.

the scorn, dishonor, chains and prison, to which he has been subjected, but only for his *two eyes*¹ — had they left him but one! The vengeance he seeks is not for himself, but for his people and the God who chose him.

His language, it is true, contains the contrast of *one recompense* (נקים אחד) for his *two eyes*. The explanation is that he can strike but one blow more; but that one, in his mind and within his reach, will suffice for both eyes. He will inflict this blow on the Philistines, who all around him praise the idol who gave them victory, whereas it was only his former mental blindness that caused his fall, and his present physical blindness that gives them their sense of security.

Three times he attempted to withstand Delilah — three times he played with his strength, — and fell. Now, he prayed three times, to the thrice-named God, the triunity of Jehovah, for understanding and strength.

Ver. 29. **And Samson took hold of the middle pillars.** He shows himself in all his old greatness again. For the first time he stood again in a crowd of Philistines, and at once began to think of battle. And notwithstanding the wretched condition in which he found himself, he fixed at once on the point where he intends to execute his deed. His blindness becomes a means of victory. He stands between the central pillars, on which the building rests, and between which the distance is not great. Being blind, it may be allowed him to take hold of them, in order to support himself by them. (That לָפַת may mean to take hold of, although found in that sense only here, is shown by the analogy of the Sanskrit *labbh*, Greek *λαμβάνειν*, *λαβείν*.) He presses them firmly with both arms, and says: —

Ver. 30. **Let me die with the Philistines.** The very conception of the deed is extraordinary. While the Philistines rejoice, drink, and mock, worse than Belshazzar, and fancy the blinded hero deeply humiliated and put to shame, he, on the contrary, is about to perform the deed of a giant, and stands among them in the capacity of a warrior about to enter battle, who only carries to commend his cause to God. It is true, he cannot do what he intends to do without losing his own life; but he lived only to conquer. Victory is more than life. To talk here of suicide is wholly unsuitable. He did not kill himself when plunged in the deepest dishonor. He is too great for cowardly suicide; for it is a species of flight, and heroes do not flee. No: the blinded man perceives that the present moment holds out an occasion for victory, and avails himself of it, notwithstanding that it must cost him his own life.² It is not as if he would have killed himself, had he escaped. He knows that if his deed be successful, he cannot escape. But he is also ready to die. He is reconciled with his God: his eyes have again seen Him who was his strength.

1 Consequently, I cannot follow the unsuitable exegesis which makes Samson ask to be avenged for *one* of his two eyes. That would be simple vindictiveness. The לָפַת in מִצְרֵי is comparative. He desires a vengeance greater than his two eyes, and taken on account of them. The Jewish exegesis only follows a special homiletical idea, which at bottom understands "two eyes."

2 Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, 1, 26: *Quid si enim hoc fecerunt non humanitas decepta sed divinitus jussa, nec errantes, sed obediētes, sicut de Samsone aliud nobis fas non est credere.*

The tragedy ends terribly. Laughter and shout and drunken revel are at their highest, when Samson bends the pillars with great force:³ they break, the building falls,⁴ — a terrific crash, and the temple is a vast sepulchre. O Dagon, where is thy victory? O Gaza, where is thy strength? Princes and priests, together, with cups at their lips, and mockery in their hearts, are crushed by the falling stone. With piercing cries, the vast crowds are pressed together. The galleries, with their burdens, precipitate themselves upon the heads of those below. Death was swifter than any rescue; the change from the sounds of rejoicing to groans and the rattle of death, terrible as the lightning. In the midst of them, great and joyous, stood the hero, and met his death. Not now with the bone of an ass, but with pillars of marble, had he conquered the foe. Dagon's temple, with its thousands, had been heaped up as his grave-mound. Since Samson must die, he could not have fallen greater. Traitors, tormentors, mockers, enemies, tyrants, all lay at his feet. The blind hero died as the great victor, who, in penitence and prayer, expiated, by suffering and death, the errors of which he had been guilty.

The history of Samson excels all poetry. The simple narrative of it is at the same time adorned with the highest art. Its fidelity and truth are testified to by the heart of every reader. Without magic arts, with only natural grief and death, it is nevertheless full of spiritual marvels.

But who furnished the report of the last hours of the hero's life? Who escaped, so as to set forth his praying and acting? It would seem as if this also were not left quite unhinted by the brief narrative.

A lad, an attendant (עֲבָד), leads him, when the Philistines call him in from the prison (ver. 26). It may be plausibly conjectured that this was no Philistine. It seems not improbable that Samson, the Judge, was followed into his prison by an attendant, whose fidelity continued unshaken. It enhanced the triumph of the Philistines to allow this. Upon this supposition, many points explain themselves. This attendant, then, may have furnished him with a description of the festive scene into the midst of which he was introduced, and informed him in what part of the building he was placed. From him he could also obtain guidance to the spot which he deemed it necessary to occupy. This attendant was in the secret of his prayer and purpose; and if we assume that he dismissed him before the catastrophe, we are at once enabled to explain how he could take up his peculiar position by the pillars without exciting attention. Thus the faithful follower escaped death, and quickly reported the event at home.

Ver. 31. **And his brethren and all his father's house came down.** This is the first hint we have of interest in Samson on the part of his brethren, and the house of his father. The haste, however, with which they proceeded to Gaza, and the great

³ The occurrence in Paus. vi. 9 is not well adapted to be brought into comparison.

⁴ The terrors of a similar calamity, although on a smaller scale, were experienced by King Henry, the son of Barbarossa, in 1183, when the pillars and floor of the "Probstei" at Erfurt, gave way. Many perished. Only the king and the bishop, who sat in a niche, escaped (cf. *Chron. Mont. S. rent*, under 1183, p. 48, ed. Mader). On the 21st of July, 1864, one of the granite pillars, which supported the dome of the Church of the Transfiguration, at St. Petersburg, broke. A frightful catastrophe ensued, as the church crumbled to pieces over the masses whom curiosity had drawn together.

fellowship in which they did it, speak well for them. They may have arrived soon enough to see the heap of ruins, with its countless dead bodies, just as it fell. They took Samson and carried him up in solemn funeral procession (such is probably the meaning of *וְהָיָה לְבַרְזַל*), to the burial-place of his father, who had not lived to see the sorrow of his great son.¹ The terrified Philistines permitted everything. Anguish and mourning reigned among them. Everything was in confusion — their princes were dead. And so the corpse of the hero who smote them more fearfully in death than in life, was borne in silent procession along their borders.

And he judged Israel twenty years. This statement is here repeated in order to intimate that Samson's official term had not come to a close before the events just related, but terminated with it.

Samson lived and died in conflict with the national enemies, the Philistines. The same fate has befallen his history and its exposition, from the time of Julian the imperial Philistine to that of many writers of the last centuries. It was especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that irreverence was too often called criticism, and that frivolous insipidity was considered free inquiry. The æsthetic vapidness which was in part banished from the field of classical and German literature, continued to nestle in the exegesis of the Old Testament.² Joh. Philipp Heine may indeed have been right in saying (*Dissertat. Sacrae*, p. 259), that the mockery at Samson's jaw-bone and foxes, had an ulterior object in view; but it was for the most part the Philistine-like, prosaic character which ordinarily marks genuine unbelief, that was unable to comprehend and rightly estimate the wonderful drama of Samson's life. An unfruitful comparison with Hercules was constantly iterated, although deeper insight clearly shows that, apart from the lion-conquest common to both, Hercules is of all Greek heroes the least suitable to be compared with Samson. The ingenuity of the earlier ecclesiastical teachers might, nevertheless, have led them to this comparison. But according to Piper (*Myth. der Christl. Kunst*, i. 131), primitive Christian art never represented even so much as the conflict of Samson with the lion; and later works of art connected Hercules with David as well as with Samson. Menzel (*Symbolik*, ii. 380), is of opinion that the representation of Samson, in the act of tearing open the jaws of the lion, over French and German church-doors of the Middle Ages, is an imitation of similar Mithras pictures. The representation of Samson with one foot on the lion, while with his hands he throttles him, typical in Byzantine pictures, is essentially the same conception (Schäfer, *Handbuch der Malerei*, p. 127). The noblest conception of him in modern poetry, is that of Milton's *Samson Agonistes*; but that drama treats only the end of Samson's life, and notwithstanding its lofty thoughts and Christian fervor disfigures the beautiful simplicity of Scripture by operatic additions. Händel's oratorio, *Samson* (performed for the first time in London, October 12, 1742), the text of which is by Milton, but not worthy of the great subject, is celebrated. The esteemed composer, Joachim Raff, intended to prepare a Samson opera; but whether it was ever per-

formed I do not know. At what a low ebb the appreciation of the Book of Judges and of Samson stood in the last century, is shown by Herder's dialogue (*Geist der Ebräisch. Poesie, Werke*, ii. 204), in which the poet endeavors indeed to elevate the narrative, but can only find its "most characteristically peculiar and beautiful features," in matters incidental to the main story.

It is not quite clear how the Roman Catholic legend made a physician of Samson;³ and it was certainly far from appropriate when a jurist of the seventeenth century (La Mothe leayer, died 1672) represented him as the model of a skeptical thinker.⁴ He is a type of the ancient people Israel itself (cf. the Introduction), which is everywhere victorious, so long as it preserves its consecration intact, but falls into servitude and bondage as soon as it profanes its own sacred character. The types of the ancient Church fathers, in which they compare the life and sufferings of Samson with Christ, are very ingenious; and the pure and elevated disposition they manifest therein, finding spirit because they seek it, is greatly to be admired. A wood-carving over the choir-chairs in the Maulbronn monastery represents Samson with long waving hair, riding on the lion, the symbol of death, whose jaws he tears apart; while, on the opposite side, the unicorn lies in the lap of the Virgin, — together symbolizing the birth and resurrection of Christ. For to him applies the saying of the Apostle (Heb. xi. 32, 33), that by faith he stopped the mouths of lions.

It is worthy of mention that while the names of the other Judges, Othniel, Ehud, Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, scarcely ever recur among the Jews, that of Samson was frequently used, both anciently and in modern times.

In the address of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 11), the name of a hero Bedan is inserted between Jerubbah and Jephthah, who can be none other than Samson. The reading *Bapax* of the LXX. is without any probability in its favor. Bedan is Ben Dan (literally, "Son of Dan"), i. e., "the Danite." The familiar use of this name in honor of the tribe, was undoubtedly connected with the blessing of Jacob on Dan, which after the life of Samson must have seemed to have special reference to him: "Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel." The primitive consciousness of the prophecy of Jacob reveals itself here; and nowhere could it be said with more profound significance than here, — "I wait for thy salvation, O Jehovah" (Gen. xlix. 18).

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

Samson, having found his God again, died as a hero. His brethren carried him into his father's grave. His victory was greater in death than in life.

Ancient expositors compare his death with that of Christ. But Samson gave up his life in order to cause his enemies to die: Christ in order to give them life. Samson died gladly because he had found his God again; in Christ God was never lost. It is, however, a good death, when one sees himself restored to communion with God. If the Christian, in the last brief hour of the cross, holds fast his faith, the thousand foes let loose against

¹ It is therefore only poetically that Milton represents Manoa as still alive at the time of Samson's catastrophe.

² In a writing against the Jews (Berlin, 1804), Samson's action is styled "*scheusslich*" (abominable).

³ If indeed Samson be meant. Cf. Raynaldi, *Tituli Cælitus Lugdunensis*, Works, viii. 571.

⁴ Cf. Bayle, *Dic. lit.* 253.

him by sin and temptation fall before him. When a Christian suffers, the representatives of evil place themselves round about him with laughter and mockery; and if he endures, his victory in death is greater than in life. Strong as Samson, was the weak woman Perpetua (in the second century); in the midst of tortures she said, "I know that I suffer, but I am a Christian." Thousands of martyrs have died as Samson died. They have conquered through the cross, and have heaped mountains of dishonor upon their enemies. But they were not all buried by their brethren. They found no places in their fathers' graves. Only He from whom nothing is hidden knows where they lie. At the last day they shall rise, and the eyes of them all shall be free from tears. Samson was alone; he also died alone. For his people he fought alone and suffered alone. After his death, the tribe of Judah raised itself again to faith. The remembrance of Samson preceded the deeds of David. Let no one fear to stand alone, whether in suffering or in conflict. The words of a faithful heart are not spoken in vain. The seed falls, not into the blue sky, but into God's living kingdom, and in its spring time will surely rise.

STARKE: The eyes of the mind are better than the eyes of the body. We can better spare the latter than the former. — THE SAME: For God and native land life itself is not to be accounted dear, but should gladly be surrendered; and he alone who does this is truly entitled to the name of a valiant hero. Thus, also, didst thou, O Saviour, our better Samson, conquer in dying. — GERLACH: Samson sported before the Philistines, not as one who, fallen from a merely human height, endeavors with smiling scorn to maintain his self-consciousness amid the downfall of the perishable things of this world, but deeply impressed with the vanity of everything that seeks to set itself up against the Lord — of "the vain war of the earthen pots against the rock" of which Luther speaks — and therefore seizing with faith on the renewed promises of divine grace. — THE SAME: He becomes thoroughly convinced that, mutilated in his face, he could never again live among men, exposed to the scorn of the enemies of the Lord, and that therefore his work is done; his play is turned into bitter earnestness, and while he falls and dies, he gains the greatest victory of his whole life.

PART THIRD.

THE conclusion of the Book, tracing the evils of the period, the decay of the priesthood, the self-will of individuals, and the prevalence of licentiousness, passion, and discord, to the absence of a fixed and permanent form of government.

FIRST SECTION.

THE HISTORY OF MICAH'S PRIVATE TEMPLE AND IMAGE-WORSHIP: SHOWING THE INDIVIDUAL ARBITRARINESS OF THE TIMES, AND ITS TENDENCY TO SUBVERT AND CORRUPT THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL.

Micah, a man of Mount Ephraim, sets up a private sanctuary and engages a wandering Levite to be his Priest.

CHAPTER XVII. 1-13.

- 1 And there was a man of Mount Ephraim, whose name was Micah [Micayehu].
- 2 And he said unto his mother, The eleven hundred *shekels* of silver that were taken from thee,¹ about which thou cursedst, and spakest of also in mine ears, behold, the silver is with me; I took it. And his mother said, Blessed be thou of the Lord
- 3 [Jehovah], my son. And when he had [And he] restored the eleven hundred *shekels* of silver to his mother. [and] his mother said, I had wholly dedicated² the silver unto the Lord [Jehovah] from my hand for my son, to make a graven image
- 4 and a molten image:³ now therefore I will restore it unto thee. Yet [And] he restored the money [silver] unto his mother; and his mother took two hundred *shekels* of silver, and gave them to the founder, who made thereof a graven image

5 and a molten image: and they were in the house of Micah [Micayehu]. And the man Micah had an house of gods [a "Beth Elohim," God's-house], and made an ephod, and teraphim, and consecrated [appointed] one of his sons, who [and he] became
 6 his priest. In those days *there* was no king in Israel, but every man did *that which*
 7 *was* right in his own eyes. And there was a young man out of Beth-lehem-judah of the family of Judah, who *was* a Levite, and he sojourned there [temporarily].
 8 And the man departed out of the city from [out of] Beth-lehem-judah, to sojourn where he could find a *place*: and he came to mount Ephraim to the house of
 9 Micah, as he journeyed. And Micah said unto him, Whence comest thou? And he said unto him, I *am* a Levite of Beth-lehem-judah, and I go to sojourn where I
 10 may find a *place*. And Micah said unto him, Dwell [Abide] with me, and be unto me a father and a priest, and I will give thee ten *shekels* of silver by the year, and
 11 a suit of apparel, and thy victuals. So the Levite went in. And the Levite was content [consented] to dwell with the man, and the young man was [became] unto
 12 him as one of his sons. And Micah consecrated [appointed] the Levite; and the
 13 young man became his priest, and was in the house of Micah. Then said Micah, Now know I that the Lord [Jehovah] will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to [seeing the Levite has become] *my* priest.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 2. — $\text{לְיָמֵי לְחֹרֵב לְבָנֵי מִיכָה}$. לְיָמֵי is the *dat. incommodi*. Strictly speaking, לְ simply marks some sort of relation, the exact nature of which must be otherwise determined. The present phrase, rendered as literally as possible, is: "which (sc. הַשֶּׁקֶל) was taken for thee," cf. our popular use of the same phrase, and the German, *welches dir genommen ward*. Ewald (who with characteristic self-confidence announces that he must leave the "silly absurdity" of the ordinary explanation of this passage "to those who do not hesitate to find their own folly in the Bible,") seems to take לְיָמֵי as the dative of the author: the money taken (received) by thee from my father. For he relates, quite in historical style, that a young man of Mount Ephraim, whose father probably died early, took the money which had been left to his mother into his own hands, in order by using to increase it (!); and that, followed by his mother's blessing, he was fortunate, and was about to restore the money to her, as became a dutiful son, when she made him a present of it in the shape of a handsome (*schmucken*) god, etc. The perfect וַיִּשְׁמַח , he says, is the perfect of volition (like וַיִּשְׂמַח , ver. 3): "I will take; it is my will to take." But if the Hebrew author meant to tell this story, he expressed himself very obscurely. The imprecatory oath, too, is thus left without explanation. And notwithstanding all Ewald's efforts in behalf of him, Micah is still in suspicious possession of the money ($\text{וַיִּשְׂמַח הַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה$), before he tells his mother that he will take it. Under such circumstances, the benediction which, according to Ewald, the mother pronounces on her son, might be more polite than free.—Tr.]

[2 Ver. 3. — $\text{וַיִּשְׂמַח הַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה}$. Render: "I verily dedicate." Although Dr. Cassel also translates here by the *pluperfect*, he explains it of the present, see below. On this use of the perfect cf. *Ges. Gram.* 125, 4. The word "wholly" of the E. V. is better omitted. The infin. absolute in this construction is intensive, not extensive. It does not assert the completeness of the consecration, but simply makes it prominent, as being the use to which she determines to put the money. Cf. *Ges.* 131, 3.—Tr.]

[3 Ver. 3. — $\text{וַיִּשְׂמַח הַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה}$. Dr. Cassel: *Bild und Gusswerk*, "image and cast-work"; i. e., an image of wood or stone covered with a thin coating of silver or gold, see below. This explanation, although concurred in by several critics, is not yet sufficiently certain to make it worth while to disfigure our English text by inserting it.—Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

After the story of Samson's heroic life and death, there follow in conclusion two narratives, of which the first embraces chaps. xvii. and xviii., the second chaps. xix.—xxi. Though not connected with each other either by time or place, they are nevertheless not mere accidental appendages to the preceding historical narrative, but essential parts of the well-considered organism of the entire Book, in consequence of which also they received the position in which we find them. The profound pragmatism of the Book (see Introduction, sect. 1) designs to show, that the heroic period of the Judges is full indeed of the wonders of God's compassion, but lacks that organic centralization and unity which only the kingly office, rightly instituted and rightly exercised, could afford. This want manifested itself even under the greatest Judges. The influence of the Judge extended, for the most part,

only over the individual tribes to which he belonged, while in others it was not seldom resisted; and, being wholly personal in its nature, disappeared from his house as soon as he died.

In chaps. xvii. and xviii. another lesson is brought forward, hints of which had already occurred in earlier parts of the Book. The *religious* central point of the nation, also, became unsettled. And this was the greater danger. The sanctuary at Shiloh, the law and covenant of God that were in the sacred ark, were the real pillars of Israel's nationality. The existence of this spiritual unity was brought out in the opening sentence of the Book: "And after the death of Joshua, the sons of Israel asked Jehovah." It had in dark times demonstrated itself to be the guaranty of national cohesion. The tribes were twelve, indeed, and their cities lay scattered from Beer-sheba to the sources of the Jordan; but there was but one sanctuary, where the God of Israel was inquired of. It ap-

peared, however, that the long-continued want of a closer political organization, threatened also the unity of the religious organism. For not only was the service of foreign idols introduced, threatening the nerve of popular strength and national freedom, but subjective superstition, also, and inconsiderate division, asserted themselves within the religious organization. This is shown by the story of Micah's sanctuary.

Ver. 1. **And there was a man of mount Ephraim, and his name was Micayehu.** Avarice, the Apostle tells us, is the root of all evil. Covetousness, like all sin, knows no shame. Its lustful eyes profane even that which is holy. The treasures of temples have ever excited the rapacity of savage enemies. The gifts of the pious convert houses of prayer into objects of envy. Faithful Israelites, who believed in Jehovah, went to Shiloh, in Ephraim, performed there their pious duties, inquired of God after truth, prayed, and brought their offerings for the honor and maintenance of the house of God. Among those who did this, was doubtless also the father of Micayehu. For that he confessed Jehovah, is evident from the name which he gave to his son: **מִיכָיְהוּ**, "who is like Jehovah." Such names are only given in homes where Jehovah is honored, at least in appearance. The mere fact, however, that persons are named "Theodore,"¹ "Nathaniel," "Theophilus," or other like names, gives no assurance that they are what their names declare them to be. The father of Micayehu must also have been rich; for he left his widow large sums of money. The latter, according to all appearances, was avaricious; and it was probably on this account that true faith in Jehovah took no root in her heart, although the name of Jehovah was often on her lips.

Vers. 2, 3. **Behold, here is the money; I took it.** The rich woman had been deprived of a large sum of money. Eleven hundred shekels, at that time, evidently represented a very considerable amount; large enough to be spoken of in "round figures." The woman was beside herself; her soul was in her money; and so she cursed the thief. Cursing is still a frightful oriental custom. It was regarded as an invocation of judgments from heaven. Hence, the dread of the effects of curses, in heathenism, arose not only from faith, but still more from superstition. The sin was indeed engaged in, but the curse was dreaded; just as other thieves do not refrain from stealing, but guard themselves anxiously against the police. To this must be added that parental curses were feared as the heaviest of all baas (among the Greeks cf. Nägelsbach, *Nachkom. Theol.*, p. 350). Sirach (iii. 9) still said in his day, that "the curse of a mother overturns the houses of children." Micah heard the awful imprecations of his mother's malediction, and shuddered. He could not say, "a causeless curse takes no effect" (Prov. xxvi. 2). He had taken the money, which was now charged with his mother's curses. With these he will not have it. "Here is your money back," he says; "I took it." As one shakes off rain, so he would

free himself of this curse-laden money. "It is thy son," he says, "and his house, whom thou hast cursed. Take the money—I do not wish it." His words, so far as we can see, express more of reproach than of consciousness of guilt. And the mother resembles those people of whom James says (ch. iii. 10): "Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing." She had cursed, in inconsiderate wrath, and without investigation, on account of her lost money. That being recovered, she will save her son from the effects of her malediction. As if blessing and curse were under human control, she exclaims: "Blessed be thou, my son, unto Jehovah."

The son was in any case wrong in taking the money secretly. The purpose for which he took it, seems to be indicated by the context and the speech of the mother. He wished it for the purpose which he afterwards carried out. This also explains sufficiently why he took it secretly: he probably did not believe that his mother would approve his design. For the preparation of *pesel* and *massekah*, an image and cast-work, for the purpose he had in view, was itself a theft, notwithstanding that it looked like an act of service to God. But it turned out differently. It was natural that his mother should ask for what purpose he had taken it; and he replies that he had destined it for Jehovah, to fit out a private sanctuary with an image and cast-work. The mother, in order to appease him, says: then do I consecrate it for Jehovah, from my hand for my son (the formula of dedication), that he may make an "image and cast-work;"² now therefore take the money. Hereupon there arises a genuine contest of superstition. He is now afraid of the curse-laden money. And she is in dread lest the frustration of the seemingly religious end for which her son intended to use it, should fall back upon herself. He has excused his theft with the word "Jehovah;" and she seeks to cover up her curse with it. Superstition thus shows itself to be the worst profanation, transmuting eternal truth into subjective personal interest.

Ver. 4. **And his mother took two hundred shekels of silver.** Micah had once more refused the money. He still fears the curse that it may bring with it. Thereupon the mother causes the "image and cast-work" to be made; applying, however, not 1,100 shekels, but only 200. This shows that it was only avarice, and not the fact that she had dedicated the money to religious purposes, that had inspired her curse. For even now she cannot part with more than 200 shekels out of the 1,100. On the other hand, it becomes evident that the purpose for which Micah took the money was the manufacture of the image; for it is set up "in his house," and he combines with it still other operations.

Ver. 5. **And he set up an ephod and teraphim.** These words give the key to the whole transaction, and even afford a clew to the time in which it took place. The paternal house of Micah, it appears, had not openly broken with the service of Jehovah. This is clear from both his and his mother's words (vers. 2, 3, 13). But their hearts

she took it upon herself to provide the image with the money in question, in order to deliver him from the curse. She can have come to this use of the money, only because he gave it as the object for which he took it. The mother applies only two hundred shekels; the opinion that the others were used by way of endowment is at least not indicated in the text.

¹ The priest who subsequently entered the service of Micah, was named "Jonathan," i. e., Theodore. See at ch. xviii. 30.

² Bertheau assumes that the mother devoted the money to this purpose, inasmuch as her son had already a *Beth Elohim*. But it was only the image that could make any house a "House of God." It is certainly more natural to suppose that, when he utterly refused to accept the money,

were not wholly with God. This is evident from her avarice and malediction. Theirs was not a house in which the Canaanitish Baal was sacrificed to; but neither was it one in which there was more of true religion than the form and name. In the house of Joash there stood, before Gideon destroyed it, an altar of Baal and an Asherah. That was not the case here. But selfishness and superstitious egoism are idolatrous in their nature and consequences, even when Jehovah, that is, the God of Israel, is still spoken of. What R. Juda Hallevi¹ says of Micah and others, applies especially to him: "He resembles a man who, while incestuously marrying his sister, should strictly observe the customary laws of marriage." He makes use of the name of God, but for that which is vanity (לְעֵינַי, Ex. xx. 7). "He made an ephod." The sin of which he was thus guilty, lay not in the ephod, but in the fact that he set it up. The ephod was designed for the lawful priesthood. The Urim and Thummim were intended for Israel's high-priests (Ex. xxviii. 30), in order that by means of them they might be the constant organ of objective divine wisdom for the whole people, at the place where they served before God. Hence, they neither could nor ought to serve the subjective interests of individual men or tribes, or be inquired of anywhere else than where the priest was who bore them on his heart. This fact also renders the meaning of Judg. viii. 27 clear, where it is related that after Gideon had set up an ephod with the golden booty obtained from the Midianites, all Israel went a-whoring after it, and found a snare in it. Gideon, it is true, served Jehovah sincerely and truly, and meant only that his ephod should serve as a reminder to the people of the wonderful deeds of God; but in setting it up, he nevertheless introduced a precedent which subjective superstition misused to its own hurt. For, inasmuch as he set it up in his own house, he gave occasion for others to think that they also might do the same in their houses. The deeds in consequence of which he instituted the ephod were soon lost sight of; and the eye was directed only to the money out of which it proceeded. It may be assumed that precisely for Micah Gideon's example proved a source of danger, — for which, however, the blame falls not on the hero, but on Micah. We thus obtain a clew to the time in which the event here related occurred. Micah was a man of Ephraim who lived not long after the days of Gideon. There was pride enough in Ephraim to arrogate to itself the right of doing what was done, however grandly and nobly, in the smaller tribe of Manassah. It is at all times the practice of paltry selfishness to dishonor the extraordinary actions of great men, by using them as cloaks for their own mean ends. Gideon destroyed the altar of Baal secretly, and for this purpose made use of his father's people and means without his father's knowledge. Micah probably excused himself by this example, when he secretly took his mother's money, in order to set up that which in his own interest he destined for God.

The anarchy of arbitrary individualism exhibits itself very strikingly here, in the fact that a mere common man (יְהוֹיָדָה, ver. 1), without name

or merit, has the presumption to do the same thing which Gideon, the Judge and Deliverer of Israel, had undertaken to do; and that he does it on the same mountains of Ephraim on which, at no great distance, in Shiloh, the ark of God and the lawful ephod were to be found. R. Nathan² thinks that the places were so near to each other, that the smoke from both sanctuaries might commingle, as it rose upward. A mere common man, who had nothing but money, presumed to found a sanctuary, with an ephod and a priest, and to pass this off as an oracle of Jehovah. The object he had in view can hardly have been any other than to ensnare the people who, in the pressure of their religious needs, sought for instruction, and brought votive offerings and gifts. For this purpose, the house which he founded must have been assimilated to the tabernacle; yet not so completely as to be attractive only to the thoroughly pious worshippers of Jehovah. For as these would not under any circumstances visit any sanctuary but that at Shiloh, Micah's house would then have failed of its purpose. It could be made attractive only by making it minister to the superstition of sensual worship, and by vesting this ministry in the forms of the service of Jehovah. Hence he speaks of consecration to Jehovah, but at the same time represents the latter by means of פְּסֶל וּמַצֵּבָה (an image and cast-work). He set up an ephod, and supplemented it with teraphim. He needed a priest; and in the absence of a Levite, he himself selects one of his sons for the office. Every part of his proceeding is thus marked by subjective arbitrariness, which under pious names concealed self-interest and superstition. The narrator strikingly points out this his sin, by means of a few delicate strokes. Hitherto the man had always been called Micayehu, distinctly bearing the name of Jehovah. But from ver. 5, where he sets up his sanctuary, onward, he is only spoken of as Micah. The name of God was not to be desecrated in him. And although Micah speaks of "Jehovah" (v. 13), his house is only called a *Beth Elohim*, — a name also given to the temples of heathen deities, — not *Beth Jehovah*, house of Jehovah. No description is given of what the goldsmith shaped out of the mother's two hundred pieces of money; but it is called פְּסֶל וּמַצֵּבָה, an image and cast-work. These words at the same time pronounce judgment against the sin that had been committed, for they are the technical expressions under which the law forbids the making of every kind of image-work for idolatrous purposes. The narrator has his eye doubtless on Deut. xxvii. 15: "Cursed (אֲרֻרָה) is the man that maketh פְּסֶל וּמַצֵּבָה, an abomination unto Jehovah, the work of the hands of the artificer." He intimates, assuredly, that the same man who stood in such dread of his mother's curse on the thief of her money, rendered himself obnoxious to the more awful curse of the divine law, when he desired, or at any rate accepted, such image-work. The form of the image cannot, however, be determined with certainty. The opinion that it represented a calf, is certainly not tenable. It is not true that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was ever or anywhere represented under

¹ *Kusari*, iv. 14, ed. Cassel, p. 335.

² The Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 103 b, calls the name of the place where Micah lived, בֵּית מִיכָה, and puts it at a distance of three מֵיל from Shiloh. So far as the name is con-

cerned, it appears to be only a name of reproach, with a reference to Deut. xxviii. 27; *Lev. xxi. 20*. In *Psachim* 117 a, the place seems to be named בְּבֵי [fletus, ploratus], probably in pursuance of a similar homiletical explanation.

the figure of a bull or calf. On the contrary, this figure was symbolical of a contrast, a national and historical contrast, with Jehovah. This appears both from the golden calf of the desert and from the history of Jeroboam.¹ To infer from the analogy of the latter, that Micah also cast a calf, would likewise be erroneous. For Micah's act has no national, but only a religious significance. He does not intend to set up a contrast to Jehovah, but only a superstitious syncretism with other sanctuaries. Had the image been a calf, the narrator would have taken occasion to say so; for that of itself, in its relation to the idolatry of the desert, would have indicated the nature of Micah's sin. Since it must be assumed that Micah intended to establish a sort of tabernacle, it is to be supposed that in his image-work also he carried out this imitation to the extreme of superstition.

In the tabernacle, on the כַּפֹּרֶת ["mercy-seat"] there were two cherubim, with outspread wings; and in Ex. xxv. 22, God says: "I will speak with thee from upon the *kapporeth* [mercy-seat], from between the two cherubim." Now, if Micah, while in general imitating this arrangement, transformed the cherubim into sphinx-like figures, such as were found in Egyptian temples, and symbolized (as Clem. Alex., *Strom.* lib. v. ch. 5, well explains,) the mysterious problems concerning the Deity, which received their solution at the hands of the priests, he would at the same time minister to the superstition of the time. And it was especially the establishment of an oracle that Micah had in view. The verb כָּצַק means to cut, to chisel, especially in wood, to carve; for the image,

כָּצַק , can be burnt (Deut. vii. 5, 25), or sawed

in pieces (Deut. xii. 3). הַכֶּסֶּבֶת is the coating of gold with which the image was covered (cf. Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 256, 2d edit.), and is therefore oftenest mentioned in connection with *pesel*, but frequently also without it. Such wooden images (called *ξόανα*, by the Greeks), says K. O. Müller (*Archäologie*, § 69), were adorned with chaplets and diadems, neck-chains, and ear-pendants. To this the lawgiver refers, when he says (Deut. vii. 25): "The images of their gods ye shall burn with fire; thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them." Beside the ephod Micah also made *teraphim*. This addition shows that he designed the ephod for divining purposes. The subject of the *teraphim* has hitherto remained enveloped in a great deal of obscurity. From Ezek. xxi. 26 (21), 2 Kgs. xxiii. 24, and Hos. iii. 4, (cf. also 1 Sam. xv. 23), it is certain that they were consulted, like oracles. They were shaped like human beings, see 1 Sam. xix. 13; and they were small, otherwise Rachel could not have concealed them (Gen. xxxi. 34). Antiquity conceived of every thing connected with divination as wrapped in darkness and mystery. The heathen oracle issued out of the depth and darkness in enigmatic language.

¹ Cf my treatise, *Jeroboam*, Erf. 1856. Unfortunately, Keil also thinks that this opinion is "scarcely to be doubted," although he adduces no grounds for it. For that the term כָּצַק , in Ex. xxxii. 4, is also followed by

הַכֶּסֶּבֶת , is as natural as it is that this latter word is always found whenever cast images are spoken of. Cf. Ex. xxxiv. 17. The error is so widespread that it has even found a place in the reply of Thomas (*Union, Kath. Kirche*, p. 40), to Stahl's book on "Union." [On this question of the

At Megara, there was an oracle of the goddess Night, represented as a high and closely veiled figure. The little *teraphim* also must have borne about them tokens of their mysterious nature.

We may venture to recognize them in the little shapes of Greek art, enveloped in a thick mantle and hat, who constantly accompany the figures of Æsculapius, the divining god of the healing art (where also the tablets usually appear, symbolical of the responses of the god. Müller, *Archäol.*, § 394, 1). Among the various names given to these attendant figures by the Greeks, is that of Telesphoros, end-bringing.² It is well known that oracles were most frequently consulted with reference to physical ailments. In Israel, also, in days of apostasy, idols were applied to for healing (2 Kgs. i. 2). The *teraphim*, accordingly, appear to represent oracles of healing. Their name, at all events, Trophonius³, approximates closely to that of Trophonius,³ for which also the Greek language affords no suitable etymology. Trophonius is the healing oracle, who delivered his responses in a dark chasm, and who, like Æsculapius, is represented with a serpent, from which he

probably derived his name (cf. הַרְמִי). The relationship of *teraphim* and "seraphim" is plain enough. The serpent-divination of Greece is manifestly of Asiatic origin. That the Israelites offered incense to the healing serpent erected by Moses, we learn from the history of Hezekiah, who destroyed it (2 Kgs. xviii. 4). The *teraphim*, then, explain themselves and some other matters, when we regard them as Telesphoroi, possessed of oracular healing attributes. Every passage in which they appear is in this way fully explained.

Ver. 6. In those days there was no king in Israel. There was no central civil authority, that could interpose against sin and its seductive arts. The sentence teaches that in Israel it was considered the office of the king, not to allow such arbitrariness and sin as those of Micah to assert themselves. It was regarded as a mark of anarchy, when, alongside of the sanctuary at Shiloh, a common man took it upon himself to seduce the people into superstition. It must, however, be said, that even though the worship of God in Shiloh was strong enough to face such dangers, it is nevertheless presumptively a sign of weakness in the contemporary ministers of that worship, that Micah had the courage to do as he did. The complaint of our verse is made, because in reality Micah sinned against the very foundations of the Mosaic faith and law. It is not the freedom which permitted a man to have a chapel of his own, that is lamented; but the license which enabled him to fit out an idol-temple, to establish an oracle, and arbitrarily to disfigure the genuine national cultus. For the rest, the utterance is one that could be made only when the kingly office was either expected to exhibit or had exhibited, its efficiency in protecting the law in its purity. It was possible only until the most flourishing point of Solomon's meaning of calf-idols in Israel, cf. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, art. "Calf." — Tr.]

² It is only by the gift of foretelling limit and end, from amid concealment and mystery, that the nature and symbol of the Telesphoroi can be explained; and only thus far can a connection between them and the sages of telesphoria, of which Böckh speaks, be allowed. It is only their connection with the *teraphim* that explains both these and them. This fact escaped both Preller (*Griech. Myth.*, i. 327) and Welcker (*Griech. Myth.*, ii. 740).

³ Whose connection with Serapis and Saraph is to be more minutely explained elsewhere.

reign, and probable only in the times when men were seeking a king to remedy the prevalent anarchy.

Vers. 7-12. **And there was a Levite.** Micah probably found that his sanctuary lacked consideration, because it had no priest. There were priests enough in Ephraim, to be sure; but it would seem that none of them were willing to serve him — which redounds to their honor. Assistance came to him, however, from another quarter. A young man, who according to rule was settled in Judah (כִּפְיֵי שְׂפֵרָה יְהוּדָה, cf. Josh. xxi. 4), became discontented at home, and took to travelling about, after the manner of a scholar in the Middle Ages. He stopped some time in Bethlechem, but left that place also; and on his way over the mountains of Ephraim, he came to Micah. The position of Micah's sanctuary must have been a favorable one, near the high-ways from south to north; for the Danites, who came from Eshtaol and Zorah, and the young Levite, who came from Bethlechem, passed by it. Micah, hearing that the Levite was unengaged, proposed to him to take service with himself. The proposition was made sufficiently inviting. The young man was to be honored as "a father" (אָב, *pater*), become a priest, and be placed in good circumstances. Vanity, and the offer of a good place led the young Levite astray, — and he was not the last who fell thus. He forgot who he was (see at ch. xviii. 30), and whom as Levite he ought to serve, and consented (יָצָא, cf. on ch. i. 27). Micah took him in with great joy; so that, even beyond his promises, he received him as "one of

his sons," — an expression which stands in suggestive contrast with Micah's promise to regard him "as a father." For the sake of money, the Levite submitted to be "consecrated, ordained," by an Ephraimite. (The words אֶרְרִירָבִי עֲבָדָה are a standing expression for to induct, to ordain. The expression is derived (as Ex. xxix. 33 compared with ver. 24 clearly shows), from the ceremony of laying the offerings required at the consecration of a priest upon his hands, עַל כַּפָּי, Ex. xxix. 24). At all events, Micah valued the Levitical dignity more highly than the Levite himself did. When the latter had entered his house, he exclaimed: —

Ver. 13. **Now know I that Jehovah will do me good, seeing the Levite has become my priest.** These words indicate most strikingly, the thorough self-deception of the man. He looks for blessings to Jehovah, against whom he has committed the mortal sin of image-worship. He expects these blessings on account of a Levite, who did wrong when he allowed himself to be hired. He who sets up ephod and teraphim for the enlightenment of others, has himself so little insight into the spirit of truth as not to perceive that in the falsehood of his entire establishment its downfall is already assured. Perhaps, he also found pleasure in the descent of his Levite (ch. xviii. 30), although it ought rather to have frightened him. But self-love blinds him, and his soiled conscience builds hopes on the name of a Levite, whose doings in his house challenged the judgments of God. "Now know I," he exclaims. He will soon learn how deceptive this knowing is.

The tribe of Dan, desirous of more room, despatches explorers. These, after spending a night near Micah's religious establishment, become aware of its existence, and consult its oracle. Proceeding, they find at Laish an inviting place, easy of conquest. They return home, and a colony of six hundred families is sent out.

CHAPTER XVIII. 1-13.

- 1 In those days *there was* no king in Israel: and in those days the tribe of the Danites sought them an inheritance to dwell in; for unto that day *all their* [no] inheritance¹ had not [omit: not] fallen unto them among the tribes of Israel.
- 2 And the children [sons] of Dan sent of their family five men from their coasts [of their whole number], men of valour, from Zorah, and from Eshtaol, to spy unto the land, and to search it; and they said unto them, Go, search the land: who when [and] they came to mount Ephraim, to [as far as] the house of Micah, [and] they
- 3 lodged there. When they *were* by the house of Micah, they knew the voice² of the young man the Levite: and they turned in thither, and said unto him, Who brought thee hither? and what makest [doest] thou in this *place*? and what hast
- 4 thou here? And he said unto them, Thus and thus dealeth Micah with me, and
- 5 hath [he] hired me, and I am [became] his priest. And they said unto him, Ask counsel, we pray thee, of God, that we may know whether our way which we go
- 6 shall be prosperous. And the priest said unto them, Go in peace: before the Lord
- 7 [Jehovah] *is* your way wherein ye go. Then the five men departed, and came to Laish, and saw the people that *were* therein, how they dwelt³ carelessly [securely],

after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure; and *there was* no magistrate [potentate] in the land, that might put *them* to shame [injure them] in *any* thing; and they *were* far from the Zidonians, and had no business with *any* man [had no
8 intercourse with other men]. And they came unto their brethren to Zorah and Eshtaol:
9 and their brethren said unto them, What *say* ye? And they said, Arise, that we may [and let us] go up against them: for we have seen the land, and behold, *it is* very good: and *are* ye still? be not slothful to go, *and* to enter [come] to possess
10 the land. When ye go, ye shall come unto a people secure, and to a large land: for God hath given it into your hands; a place where *there is* no want of any thing
11 that *is* in the earth [land]. And there went from thence of the family of the Danites, out of Zorah and out of Eshtaol, six hundred men appointed [girded] with
12 weapons of war. And they went up, and pitched [encamped] in Kirjath-jearim, in Judah: wherefore they called [call] that place Mahaneh-dan [Camp of Dan] unto
13 this day: behold, *it is* behind Kirjath-jearim. And they passed thence unto mount Ephraim, and came unto [as far as] the house of Micah.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. — בְּנִחְלָה properly means: "in the character of an inheritance, as an inheritance," cf. Num. xxvi. 53, etc. The nominative to לְאַחֲפָלָה is to be supplied from the thought of the preceding clause, either in the form of בְּנִחְלָה, or, better, in the more general form of אֶרֶץ, land. The writer probably intended to introduce the subject after the verb, but as he proceeded his attention was diverted by subordinate clauses, and so he ended with an anacoluthon. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 3. — קוֹל. Dr. Cassel renders "sound," see his explanation below. Keil and others understand it of dialectic pronunciation or other peculiarities of speech. Bertheau thinks that inasmuch as the envoys had to "turn aside" from their way in order to get to Micah's temple, they could not have been near enough to hear the Levite's voice or note his pronunciation. He therefore assumes that what they recognized was the "tidings" that were told them of the sanctuary near by. But why not take the words in the sense in which any man would naturally take them at the first reading? The Levite had been a wanderer; some one (or more) of the five envoys had met with him, and now recognizes his voice, as they lie encamped near by. The conversation that ensues when they meet with him is certainly exactly such as would be expected under such circumstances; and the account which Micah gives of his personal affairs (ver. 4), can scarcely be explained on any other supposition. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 7. — יוֹשְׁבֵי is predicate to אֶת־הָעָם, and as such ought to be masculine. The feminine is accounted for on the principle that the writer's imagination identifies the people with the city in which they live, and so speaks of them as feminine, cf. Ewald, *Lehrb.* 174 b; Green, *Gram.* 275, 2, b. The appositional masculine participles שָׁקְטָו וּבִטְּחוּ only show that this identification is no longer in the mind of the writer. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. In those days there was no king in Israel. This is repeated in order to intimate that the author does not approve of what he is about to relate concerning the Danites. Such a piratical expedition was possible only when there was no organic national authority to guard the public peace and watch over the enforcement of law. The kingly office is a guaranty of the safety of property and of the continuance of public peace, and does not permit adventurous expeditions, undertaken for the injury of others. These very evils, however, were prevalent in Germany, notwithstanding imperial rule; and that not only in the Middle Ages. It was a matter of great difficulty, in the fourteenth century, to bring about the formation of local peace-compacts; and even then they had inserted in them the clause of the Westphalian treaty of 1371, according to which a city or lord was only forbidden to engage in hostilities without a previous declaration of war. Even this principle would have condemned the Danites, it is true, but the organic government in the interests of peace and order which Israel understood by מְלִכּוּת, kingdom, royal dominion, had no existence in Germany, even until after the thirty years' war.

For that unto that day no inheritance had fallen unto them. These words do not express

the view of the narrator, but rehearse the complaint of the Danites, which was causeless however. Dan had certainly received an inheritance; and in proof of it is the fact that even at this time the tribe dwelt in the district of Zorah and Eshtaol. Its territory extended over Timnah and Ekron, as far as Joppa on the coast (*Josh.* xix. 41-46); but it had been crowded into the mountains by the Amorites (*Judg.* i. 34), and had failed to dispossess the Philistines of the plain along the sea-coast. On this account the tribe might indeed have too narrow bounds; but instead of enlarging their borders by making war on their heathen neighbors, they complained. If they had not been lacking in the true enthusiasm of faith in Jehovah, their onsets of irresistible prowess would not have failed to win the territory allotted to them. But it was easier, it must be allowed, to surprise undefended houses and lands, than to contend with the five princes of the Philistines, and their numerous armies. The words before us are only the subterfuge with which Dan defended the unusual resolution it had taken before the other tribes.

Ver. 2. And the sons of Dan sent of their family five men. Only in Israel was it an unusual thing to look about for other possessions than those which had been assigned. Among other nations, the reduction of a too numerous population by means of colonization, was a matter of frequent occurrence (cf. Movers, *Phönizier*, iii. 5, etc.). In

the case of Dan, however, the resolution to look about for new territory was not arrived at by a few adventurers, who unceremoniously cut themselves loose from their people, but by the whole community. The commissioners and envoys to whom the promotion of the scheme was entrusted, were elected from among the whole (מְבַרְרֵיהֶם) and were

not ordinary spies, but chosen men (אֲנָשֵׁי הַלַּיָּל), upon whom the matter naturally devolved. (Compare the Roman plan of appointing commissioners to supervise the establishment of a colony.) The express statement that they were told "Go, explore the land," is added, in order to relieve them from every appearance of having acted only on their own responsibility.

Vers. 3, 4. **There, near the house of Micah, they recognized the sound.** "There" (שָׁם),¹ i. e., in the vicinity of the "temple-house," which is here, in a special sense, called the "house of Micah."

When they were near this house (עַם-בֵּית), they heard the "sound (הוֹל) of the young Levite." This has been curiously enough understood of the voice of the Levite. But how could the Danites tell by the voice that it belonged to a Levite? The statement, however, becomes instructive, when we call to mind what is written in Ex. xxviii. 35. The Levite in Micah's House wore the priestly dress, which was provided with bells, in order "that their sound may be heard (בְּשִׁבְעַת הוֹלֵי) when he enters into and comes out of the Holy Place."

The Danites, having passed the night (לַיְלִיתָם), heard, in the morning, the bells of the officiating priest, and thus learned, to their astonishment, that there was a Levite there.

Vers. 5, 6. **Inquire, we pray thee, of God (Elohim).** The Danites, it is evident from all they do, are not steadfast in their faith in Jehovah. Hence, also, they find no fault with the Levite for having "hired" himself to Micah; nor do they hesitate, when they learn that he has an ephod and teraphim (ver. 14), to consult his oracle about the success of their undertaking; but that *Jehovah* was worshipped here, did not appear to them to be the case. The narrator indicates this very delicately, by making them say, "Inquire of Elohim," although the Levite, in the account he gave of himself, had used the name *Jehovah*, for to his service Micah's House was nominally devoted. The Levite's response is oracular, i. e., thoroughly ambiguous: "Go in peace: זָכַח יְהוָה דַּרְכֵיכֶם" is simply equivalent to *coram*; no such accessory idea as "favorable," lies in the words. "Your way is before Jehovah" — an answer unquestionably correct. The Danites probably explained it in a favorable sense, on account of the "go in peace" which preceded it.

Ver. 7. **And the five went, and came to Laish.** Since the city was afterwards called Dan, whose name and situation at one of the sources of the Jordan (and that not the spring at Baniás), was known in the time of Josephus, Robinson was doubtless right in saying (*B. R.* iii. 392), that "of the identity of its situation and that of Tell el-Kády there can be no question." Ritter (*xv.* 217) even communicates Wilson's observation, accord-

ing to which the name Dan, i. e., judge, survives by translation in Kády, the surname of the Tell Laish, however, lay "in the valley that leads to Beth-rehob" (ver. 28). This valley can scarcely be any other than the present Wady et-Teim, the great longitudinal valley which extends from the plain of Lake Húlch upward to Râsheiya. Through this valley and the Buka'a runs the direct road from the sources of the Jordan to Hamath (*Rob.* iii. 371). The spies of Moses explored the land as far as Rehob, where the road leads to Hamath (*Num.* xiii. 21). Rehob (prop. Rechoh) is a name suggested by topographical characteristics, and recurs therefore in various places. It always presupposes the presence of a plain or level surface.² It is to be noted that Scripture itself does not speak of either Dan or Laish, as situated at the sources of the Jordan. We may, nevertheless, venture the conjecture that this situation may be found indicated in the name Laish (לַיִשׁ).

Laish signifies a lion; and ancient, originally Egyptian, symbology, has made the lion the sign of flowing stream-sources. For as soon as the sun enters his sign in the zodiac, the sources of the Nile begin to rise. Hence, says Herapollo, the mouths of fountains are provided with the figures of lions. This also accounts for the statement of Pollux, that the lion is called κρηνοφύλαξ, "guardian of springs," and for the wide-extended usage of setting up figures of the lion near springs. The place of the source of the Orontes is named Lebewh, which also means lion. The river which rises near Baalbek-Heliopolis was called Leontes (at present Litány); and the lion himself, as Egyptian symbol, signified "House of the Sun." On the front-side of a building over the spring of Ain 'Anûb there are found figures of animals, considered to be either lions or dogs (Ritter, xvii. 676). The name Laish may be supposed to indicate in a similar manner the fountain, "one of the largest in the world," which leaps down in an "immense stream" from Tell el-Kády (*Rob.* iii. 390). We are reminded by it of the blessing of Moses (*Deut.* xxxiii. 22): "And of Dan he said,

Dan is a גֵּר אַרְיָה (lion's whelp); he leaps forth from Bashan." The attribute thus expressed corresponds, as it were, to that indicated in the name Laish. Leshem, the name under which the place appears in *Josh.* xix. 47, gives literal expression, perhaps, to the same idea which was figuratively indicated by Laish. The verb לָשַׁע, to break through (of a spring), to flow, belongs to an ancient and widely diffused root. Hence, as the source of the Jordan was called לַיִשׁ, so the warm springs near the Dead Sea were called לַיִשׁ, Leshan, changed afterwards into Callirrhœ (cf. *lehhan, Licus, Lech, Celtic, Leis, Lias*, and numerous similar river names).

Ver. 7. **There was no hereditary potentate in the land, to oppress them in any respect.** The observations of the five envoys are remarkable. They find the city, as a colony of Sidon, quietly devoted to industrial arts, after the manner of the mother city. It had not entered into relations for mutual protection with other cities, probably on the ground of its being a colony. That notwithstanding this, it could feel itself secure, and live without much warlike vigilance,

¹ [Our author, both in his version of the Hebrew text and here, transfers זָכַח from the end of one verse to the beginning of another, but without good reason. — Tr.]

² On Rehob, equivalent to Paltos, compare above, on *Judg.* 1. 31.

although Sidon was so far away, evinces the very peaceful condition of the Syria of that day. The envoys observe also, that "there is no **יֹרֵשׁ עָרָךְ** in the land." The expression is obscure by reason of its uncommonness. It seems to me, that it can only be understood in this way: The Danite envoys, during their stay in Laish, investigate particularly the ability of the city to defend itself. In this investigation they find not only that the people are engaged in peaceful industry (**שָׁקֵט**), while their natural allies are far away, but also that there is no **יֹרֵשׁ עָרָךְ**, i. e., no dynast or tyrant, in the land, with armed troops in his pay, ready for war. The presence of such a one would make it necessary to anticipate serious and ready resistance. Hence, the Persians, when they took possession of Ionia, deposed the tyrants and instituted popular governments everywhere (Herod. vi. 43).

Under the **יֹרֵשׁ עָרָךְ** of our passage, we are to understand what the Greeks called dynasts, hereditary despots, who exercised supreme control in the city. There is no thought here of a king or of suffetes, but of a tyrannical oppressor, who without consent of the inhabitants has become their master, and who surrounds himself with armed troops, in order, as instances in both Greek and Phœnician islands and cities sufficiently prove, to preserve the succession to this sort of government in his own family by means of force. In this explanation, **עָרָךְ** may either be taken as the object

after **יֹרֵשׁ**, in the sense of enforced supremacy, — in which case 1 Sam. ix. 17 may be compared, for **עָרָךְ** is indeed, both in letter and sense, the Latin *arcere*, and sometimes also equivalent to *coercere*: or it may be regarded as standing in subjective opposition to **יֹרֵשׁ**, and be compared with **יֹזֵר**

= **יֹזֵר**, lord, commander (cf. the Sanskrit *çira*), in the Aramaic names Nebuchadnezzar and Esarhaddon (cf. my *Ortsnamen*, i. 118). Since such a *Joresch-elser* wields his power by violence and without the consent of his subjects, it is not said that none such "reigns" in the land, but **אֵין יֹרֵשׁ עָרָךְ**, none such "injures, oppresses."¹ But for defense against attacks from without, such a ruler is undoubtedly well adapted, as may be seen in the instance of Polycrates. The envoys, therefore, are right, when they consider the absence of such a commander, where powerful friends are far away, and military activity is altogether wanting, as favorable to the success of an assailant.

Vers. 8-10. **And they said, Arise, and let us go up against them.** The narrative allows ancient manners to speak for themselves in a very delicate way. The five envoys, on their arrival at home, keep quiet, until they are asked, What have ye? Then, however, they are the ones who stimulate the irresolute and doubtful: "why are you silent? be not slothful **לֹא תִשְׁתָּהוּ, לְבֹא, לְלָכְרָה,**" for to go, to come, and to have what you desire, is one and the same thing. You will find an attrac-

tive country without defense, a large land, to which nothing (either of wealth or attractiveness) is wanting. This representation was not extravagant. Laish was situated in the valley, perhaps on the same spot afterwards occupied by the Daphne mentioned by Josephus; which name, in the Hellenistic period, was only given to attractively situated places. Accordingly, Josephus himself also speaks of his Daphne as a delicious place, rich in water-springs (*Wars*, iv. 1, 1). The tract of land in which it lay, is still called Ard Difneh, and is covered with glorious wheat-fields and noble old trees (Rob. iii. 394). The emigrating Messenians were in similar manner invited by Anaxilans of Rhegium to make themselves masters of Zankle in Sicily, being told that it was a blessed land, and in a fine part of the island (Paus. iv. 23). Seneca remarks (*Consolatio ad Helvian matrem*, cap. vi.), that many emigrants have been deceived by unmeasured praises of the fertile territory.

The envoys, in order to strengthen their people, add that "Elohim has given the land into their hands," referring probably to the response of the Levite's oracle.

Ver. 11. **And there broke up from thence six hundred men, girded with weapons of war.** Six hundred families either volunteered, or were selected. The number may correspond with ancient usage. Livy relates that the Romans, when engaged in a colonizing enterprise, in the year 197 before Christ, sent out three hundred families into each several city (xxxii. 29). The Danites, like Greek and Roman colonies, set out as if for war, with banners, arms, and means of subsistence (ver. 21). In a speech of Demosthenes it is said: *Ἐλάμβανον πεμπόμενοι ὄπλα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἐφόδια* (cf. Hermann, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, § 75, 2).

Ver. 12. **Wherefore that place is called "Camp of Dan," unto this day: behold, it is behind Kirjath-jearim.** The expedition was at that time an extraordinary event. It seemed to renew the old marches of Israel in the desert, for the conquest of Canaan. There doubtless existed notices concerning the various stations which they made on the journey. It seems, however, that only three of the stations are known to us. The first was the "Machaneh Dan," with which the first awakening of Samson to his life of heroism was connected (ch. xiii. 25). It lay between Zorah and Eshtaol, and was therefore doubtless the place of rendezvous for the expedition, which came for the most part from those cities (ver. 11, cf. ver. 2). This cannot be the same with the Machaneh Dan near Kirjath-jearim, in the tribe of Judah, of which mention is here made. The researches of Robinson enable us to locate the latter near the modern Kuryet el-'Enab, whence the high road appears to have gone over the mountains of Ephraim. The third is the sanctuary of Micah, where likewise the "camping-place of Dan" was probably long remembered. At all events, the remark, that since this expedition the name Machaneh Dan existed, shows that the event took place before the days of Samson (during which Dan appears also to have been in an enfeebled condition), and is therefore to be put between Gideon and Samson.

¹ [Keil's explanation of this passage is in all essential points very similar, except that he defines **יֹרֵשׁ עָרָךְ** as "one who seizes on power," and derives (rightly, no

doubt) **יֹרֵשׁ** from **יָרַשׁ** in the sense of seizing, and not as our author does, in the sense of "inheriting," or rather, perhaps, in both senses at the same time. — Tr.]

The Danites, on the way to Laish, pillage the sanctuary of Micah, and persuade his priest to go with them. Micah pursues, but finding the robbers too strong, turns back. The conquest and destruction of Laish, and the building of Dan.

CHAPTER XVIII. 14-31.

- 14 Then answered the five men that went to spy out the country of Laish, and said unto their brethren, Do ye know that there is in these houses an ephod, and teraphim, and a graven image, and a molten image? now therefore consider what ye
 15 have to do. And they turned thitherward, and came to the house of the young man the Levite, *even* unto [omit: unto] the house of Micah, and saluted him.
 16 And the six hundred men appointed [girded] with their weapons of war, which
 17 were of the children [sons] of Dan,¹ stood by the entering of the gate. And the five men that went to spy out the land went up, *and* came in thither [entered the "house"], *and* took the graven image, and the ephod, and the teraphim, and the molten image: and the priest stood in the entering of the gate with the six hundred men *that were* appointed [girded] with weapons of war. And these went [when these had gone] into Micah's house, and fetched the carved image, the ephod, and the teraphim, and the molten image. [.] Then [then] said the priest unto them, What do ye? And they said unto him, Hold thy peace, lay thine 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 unto the house of one man, or that thou be a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel? 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
 21 people. So they turned and departed, and put the little ones, and the cattle, and
 22 the carriage [baggage] before them. *And* when they were a good way from the house of Micah,² the men that *were* in the houses near to Micah's house were
 23 gathered together, and overtook the children [sons] of Dan. And they cried [called out] unto the children [sons] of Dan. And they turned their faces, and said unto Micah, What aileth [What is the matter with] thee, that thou comest
 24 with such a company? And he said, Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and ye are gone away: and what have I more? and what *is* this
 25 that ye say unto me, What aileth [is the matter with] thee? And the children [sons] of Dan said unto him, Let not thy voice be heard among us, lest angry fellows [men fierce of spirit] run [fall] upon thee, and thou lose [destroy] thy
 26 life, with [and] the lives of thy household [house]. And the children [sons] of Dan went their way: and when [omit: when] Micah saw that they *were* too strong for him [stronger than he], [and] he turned and went back unto his house.
 27 And they took *the things* which Micah had made, and the priest which he had, and came unto [upon] Laish, unto [upon] a people *that were* at [omit: that were at] quiet and secure: and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and burnt the city with fire. And *there was* no deliverer, because it [i e., the city,] *was* far from Zidon, and they had no business with *any* man [i e., no intercourse with other people]; and it [the city] was in the valley that *lieth* by [extends to] Beth-rehob. And they
 29 built a [the] city, and dwelt therein. And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father, who was born unto Israel: howbeit the name
 30 of the city *was* Laish at the first. And the children [sons] of Dan set up the graven image [for themselves]: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh [Moses], he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan until the day
 31 of the captivity of the land.³ And they set them up Micah's graven image which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 16. — אֵשֶׁר מִדָּנִי דָן. The unusual position of this clause, separated from the words to which it belongs, may be explained by supposing that at the end of the sentence it occurred to the author that his language might possibly be understood of six hundred men stationing themselves to guard the temple, and prohibit the approach of the Danites, and that he obviates this by adding the present clause. The E. V. places the words where according to the sense they belong. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 22. — הִקְדָּוּ הַרְחִיקוּ מִבֵּית מִיכָה: "they had just withdrawn from the house of Micah, when the men," etc. So Dr. Cassel, but not so well as the E. V. The verb הִרְחִיקוּ properly requires a complemental infinitive, לִלְכֹּת, cf. Ex. viii. 24, but is frequently also, as here, used without it. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 30. — Dr. Cassel adopts here the conjectural reading "ark" instead of "land;" and it certainly seems that if criticism is ever justified in resorting to conjecture, it is so in this passage. See the discussion below. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 14. Do ye know that there is in these houses an ephod, teraphim, and image and cast-work? The five men who had reconnoitered Laish, accompany the colony, and form the soul of the whole undertaking. This is manifestly not conceived and carried out in the spirit of the God of Israel. The Danites present us with a military expedition, reckless and violent, such as the history of migrations and conquests is full of. Their road leads them over the mountains, and past the House of Micah. What houses are those? ask the

Danites. And their guides inform them (וַיִּנְעֹנֵהוּ) for the question is only presupposed), that here there is a private sanctuary, fully provided with everything necessary to such an institution. No Roman colony was sent forth without the authority of taking auspices, or without an attendant *pullarius*. The Danite envoys had asked the priest concerning the mind of Elohim, and had communicated his favorable answer to their brethren. The need of an oracle of their own becomes strongly felt by these warriors, who take the field from wholly subjective motives. The people have not left their hereditary landed possessions in order to lose themselves in a strange land, but to preserve their tribe-consciousness. This consciousness was alive in them, however, only so far as its national character went. They remember Dan, their ancestor, but not Jehovah, their God. They were not unbelieving, but superstitious; and superstition is subjective. It desires to be helped by Elohim, but it has no penitence, so as to serve Jehovah. The Danites desire to have a deity of their own, to direct them by his responses; and think that they can steal him, as gold and property may be stolen. Before Jehovah they could not stand with the thoughts of robbery and death that fill their hearts; but in these houses, they hear, there is an image and cast-work, ephod and teraphim. They conclude to conquer for their future city its appropriate temple service also.

Ver. 15-20. And they came to the house of the young man the Levite, the house of Micah. The manner in which the robbery is accomplished is vividly and beautifully portrayed. The five leaders are, of course, acquainted with the Levite from their former visit. They were also acquainted with the situation. They go to him, and greet him. The priest recognizes them, and permits them, the five, to enter the sanctuary. He himself remains at the gate, where the six hundred, in their warlike array, have placed themselves, while the families, the cattle, and the rest of the train, are already moving off. The five, being alone in the temple, take all its treasures, image and image adornments, ephod and teraphim (another proof that the latter were small), and bring them forth (ver. 18), when the priest addresses them: "What do ye?" Even at this stage, the narrative does not conceal the lukewarmness of the priest. He was not watchful when the people came, sent no information of anything to Micah, and even now raised no alarm to prevent the theft

which he could not but know was in progress. He was just an hireling. Hence, when the five propose to him to be priest to them, a whole tribe, rather than to a mere individual, but in that case to keep still, and come along with the idols, without making a noise,—he accepts the offer with joy, takes the idols into his priestly hands, and is for security inclosed in the midst of the warriors. What a strange thing is superstition! This priest has first of all betrayed his God and his office for money, has by his name as priest led many astray, and now, from mere vanity, abandons his benefactor, who has treated him as a son (ch. xvii. 11), and leaves him in the lurch; and yet he is eagerly snatched up as something valuable, and it is considered a great point gained when such hands as his carry gods who allow themselves to be taken off by robbers, and to be honored and praised by traitors. It is worthy of notice, that, according to ver. 20, the priest when he joins the warriors, regains custody only of the "ephod, teraphim, and image:" the *massekah*, the ornament of the image, containing its gold value, the Danites do not trust out of their own hands.

Ver. 21-26. They had just departed from the house of Micah. The Danites show themselves well versed in the arts of freebooters. They assume that they may be pursued. Accordingly, they cause everything that cannot defend itself or is difficult of transportation, to proceed in advance of them. (The term קִבְרָה from קָבַד, heavy, must here undoubtedly be taken of what, like cattle, admits of only slow transportation; for many valuables the Danites can scarcely have had with them. Moreover—and this is important here—the meaning "valuable," in this word, is only a derivative one from "heavy.") Thus they march along—behind their children, sheep, and beasts of burden—ready for instant action. Meanwhile, information of the theft had reached Micah. About his sanctuary a little village had formed itself. The people are quickly collected. They pursue. But there was no Abraham here, who with three hundred and eighteen men smote great armies. Neither Abraham's faith, nor Abraham's good cause were here. The Danites, when they hear the outcries of the pursuers, act at first as if nothing had happened. But when by Micah's anger they perceive that he knows all, they—probably the five leaders—tell him that it were better for him to be quiet—he might otherwise lose more; for the people there, whom he sees, are fierce of disposition, and know no mercy. And Micah was obliged to yield to superior power. The narrative shows strikingly how men, when excited about their property, show their true faces. Micah, who has always talked of Jehovah, as he who did him good, now, forgetting himself entirely, calls out to the Danites: "Ye have taken the gods which I made." For, of course, only "gods" can be taken away, not Jehovah; and his right to them, is based on the fact that he made them. Strictly speaking, he cannot complain. He had taken, and

1 R. Judah Hallevi, *Kusari*, iv. 3, explains it to mean "retinue," such as comports with the honor of a king

others have taken from him. He had committed treason, and he has been forsaken. He sees now what sort of fortune the priest and idolatry brought him. That which Micah had set up to lead others astray, became the occasion in consequence of which he was robbed. He carried sorrow back with him into his house; his return was desolate, — without gold, but with the judgment of his conscience. If he was led thereby to repentance, we may be sure that he soon found the Eternal God again, who pardons sinners, even though they have fallen seven and seventy times.

Vers. 27-29. **And they called the name of the city Dan.** As the Messenians changed the name of the city Zankle into Messene, so the Joktanides, who migrated from Yemen into Central Arabia, gave their tribe name to the possessions they conquered, as is proved by the kingdom of the Ghasanides on the borders of Syria (cf. Ritter, xii. 86). It has been the general and constantly recurring usage of all migrating nations. The strange country was embellished with homelike names. It was the opinion of ancient thinkers, that, as Seneca wrote to his mother, the best consolation in exile and emigration was to take along what one had been accustomed to (*natura communis*), as also one's peculiar gift (*propria virtus*). The Danites did this. They held their ground in the new Dan, whose fame had wholly eclipsed that of the old home, had not *Samson* subsequently arisen in Zorah. But though the new Dan never overshadowed the old, the name certainly took firm root in the North, and in the expression "from Dan to Beer-sheba," indicated the northern extremity of the actual possessions of the twelve tribes, although the Mosaic boundaries, and sometimes (as under David) even temporary occupation, extended beyond this point.

Nevertheless, whenever the history of Israel was rightly apprehended, in its properly spiritual character, the usurpation of Laish was never approved or justified. It was an arbitrary breaking in upon the given order, and upon the claims of another tribe; for the new Dan settled itself in districts which formed part of the original territories of the Northern tribes, particularly of Naphtali (who, it is true, had also failed to drive out the inhabitants of Beth-anath, *i. e.*, Paneas, cf. ch. i. 33). The new possession was associated with no other memories than such as conflicted with the true service of God: it was dedicated with the idolatrous image of Micah, and it was destroyed with the Calf of Jeroboam.¹ The usurpation, it should be carefully observed, proceeded not from individuals, but from the common will of the whole tribe. The division of Manasseh was contemplated in the plan of the lawgiver; but the self-division of Dan was a sin against the organic constitution of the nation. Hence, when the emigrants, who speak of themselves as a "tribe" and "family" in Israel (ver. 19), succeed in grafting the tribe name, Dan,² on the conquered territory, although the larger part of the tribe remained behind, the result is, that, after the career of Samson, the name became wholly lost from its old home. Even in Samson's day, the Danites, as such, are no longer spoken of. The tribe Judah already attracts everything to itself. The very remembrance of the families of Dan perished, for which reason we find no lists of them in the Books of Chronicles, while the families of Simeon, whose possessions were also

inclosed by those of Judah, are nevertheless duly enumerated (1 Chron. iv. 24 ff.). By appropriating to himself that which did not belong to him, Dan lost even that which he had. It is on such spiritual grounds as these, that among the twelve tribes of the Apocalypse (ch. vii.), Dan finds no place. For of this tribe alone do we find such a notice as the following:

Vers. 30, 31. **And the sons of Dan set up the graven image for themselves; and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons, were priests to the tribe.** Even as late as the last century, expositors (as Lillenthal, *Commentat. Critica*, p. 192) have defended the reading Manasseh, despite its suspended \aleph , and found approval in so doing (cf. Ernesti, *Theol. Bibliothek*, 1771, p. 112). Whoever is able to form a conception of the exegetical scrupulousness of the Jewish transcribers, will readily perceive that if **משה** had not stood in the MSS., that reading could never have been introduced. The Talmudic teachers admit this (*Baba bathra*, 109 a), and ascribe the circumstance that Moses could have such a descendant, to his wife (cf. *Jalkut*, n. 72). Now, although it be touching to observe the reverential piety which could not bear to have the name of Moses connected with that of an idolatrous priest, and which, therefore, without altering the Hebrew text itself, as early as the time of the Talmudical

teachers, read the suspended \aleph in **בִּי־שֵׁה**, the preceding stands nevertheless in striking contrast with the admirable frankness of Biblical writers, who without regard to men state facts as they are, and direct the confidence of the faithful people, away from mortals, to the living God alone. The priest would not have been named at all, but for the wish to point out the contrast between his descent from the lawgiver who, in the name of God, condemned all idolatry as mortal sin, and his official position as priest at the shrine of an image. To this contrast alone, Jonathan owes it that his name was not forgotten. Sad, undoubtedly, beyond most similar cases, is this instance of degeneracy. But Scripture, which does not conceal the human weakness of even Moses himself, humbles herewith all vanity based on ancestors and descent. It avails nothing to be a descendant of Moses, if there be no personal worth; and the incomparable greatness and legal purity of the ancestor, give no guaranty that his descendants shall not become apostates. The fate of Moses, in this respect, was equally that of Abraham and Jacob, from whom Dan was descended. Many have called themselves children of Christ, who acted as Micah did. It is, no doubt, remarkable, that while Micah's priest was a descendant of Moses, he himself was an Ephraimite, consequently of the same tribe with Joshua. The priest is called Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, not as if he were the immediate son of Gershom, but as being descended from Moses through Gershom. The significance of the statement lies in the contrast between descendant and ancestor. It is this also that is made prominent by the Talmudists, when in connection with the change of Moses into Manasseh, they associate the latter name with the idolatrous king of Judah. Since Manasseh, the progenitor of the tribe of the

¹ Cf. Amos viii. 14, and Talmud, *Sabbat*, 67 b.

² And that not with the prefix "New" with which, for instance, Carthago Nova took the name of the mother city.

same name, was not a Levite, they could not think of him, as but for this we might suppose.¹

Until the day of the exile of the ark (land).

The words עֲדֵי־יָוִם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ have acquired extraordinary importance for the criticism of the Book of Judges. Had the passage been found less peculiarly adapted to prove the late composition of our Book, bringing it down to a time after the exile under Shalmaneser, the attention of critics would doubtless have been arrested by the singularity of the expression עֲדֵי גְלוֹת הָאָרֶץ, "unto the captivity of the land." For, properly speaking, there was no such thing as a "captivity of the land." A captivity of Jerusalem (Jer. i. 3), of Judah (Jer. xl. 1), of Samaria (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 28, מִשְׁפָּרוֹן), of Jehoiachin (2 Kgs. xxv. 27), of Cush (Isa. xx. 4), is indeed spoken of, for these are historical names, representative of historical nations that were carried into exile. But *erets*, land, is not an historical, but only a natural name. A "captivity of Canaan" would be intelligible, but not a "captivity of the land." Moreover, there were no other "captivities" than those of Israel and Judah. Now, since only the former could be intended, and since a definition of time is to be given, we should expect to find it definitely connected either with Samaria or Israel (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 23, וַיִּגַּל יְשׁוּעָאֵל; cf. 2 Kgs. xv. 29; xviii. 11). Nor does the verb הִגְלָה, to take into exile or captivity, or its cognate nouns, ever occur in connection with אֶרֶץ (land) alone, while in 2 Kgs. xxiv. 15 we find the entirely intelligible expression: וַיִּגַּל אֶת אֵילֵי הָאָרֶץ, "he carried away the nobles of the land."

The linguistic improbability of the assumption that the narrator wrote הָאָרֶץ, the land, is reinforced by even stronger historical considerations. In the first place, there would arise an irremovable contradiction between vers. 30 and 31, if according to the one the cultus of the image at Dan continued until the exile of Israel, while according to the other it endured only to—say the death of Eli. For Bertheau's endeavor to show that no such contradiction arises, cannot stand examination. The descendants of Jonathan are spoken of, not as having been priests in general, but most definitely as having served the פֶּסֶל, image, of the tribe of Dan. For this reason, the setting up of the image (וַיִּקְרָא) and the appointment to its priesthood, are first spoken of,

¹ [Keil has the following note on this subject: "The Talmud remarks, *Baba bathra*, f. 109 b: *An Gersom filius Menassis fuit, et non potius Mosis? sicut scriptum est: Filii Mosis fuerunt Gersom et Elieser* (1 Chron. xxiii. 14), *sed propterea quod fecit opera Menassis* (the idolatrous son of Hezekiah, 2 Kgs. xxi.), *appendit eum scriptura familiae Menassis*. On this *Rabba bar Channa* observes: *prophetam* (i. e., the author of the Book of Judges) *studio noluisse Gersomum appellare filium Mosis quia ignominiosum fuisset id Mosis, habuisse filium impium, sed vocat eum filium Menassis, litera tamen כ sursum elevata, in signum eam adesse vel abesse posse, et sit filius בְּיָמָיו*

Menassis vel מִנְשֵׁה Mosis; Menassis, studio et imitatione impietatis, Mosis, prosopisa. Cf. Buxtorff, *Theor.* p. 171. Later Rabbins say the same thing. R. Tanchum calls the writing מִנְשֵׁה with כ suspended, א תַּקִּין כּוֹפְרִים,

in ver. 30, while its permanent preservation and maintenance (וַיִּשְׁמְרֵהָ) are set forth in ver. 31. This was already seen by Jewish expositors, who were not influenced by what Bertheau calls "pet ideas" of modern times. R. Jesua says: "The exile of Sanherib, cannot be meant; for the time during which the House of God was at Shiloh is spoken of. It must also be considered quite improbable that this separatistic idolatrous worship in Dan should have been allowed to exist unmolested during the time of Samuel, David, and Solomon. The story of Micah's image is introduced with the words, "in those days there was no king in Israel," in order to explain the possibility of such an occurrence. Could the author have written thus, if the history of the kings, from Jeroboam to Manasseh, had already been before him? And was not David just such a king as there was not in the time of Micah? Read the history of the first years of Solomon, the eighth chapter of the first Book of Kings among others, and consider whether it seem possible to receive the existence at that time of a separate idolatrous worship in Dan, with a priestly family of its own. And, certainly, if such a worship had still existed when Jeroboam cut himself loose from the house of David, he would not have found it necessary to institute in that very place the new cultus of the calf. Not upon him, would the burden of this sin have rested in that case (cf. 1 Kgs. xiv. 16). Nor, if in his time there had been a family of Levitical priests in Dan, would he have needed to look for others, "who were not of the sons of Levi" (1 Kgs. xii. 31).

If that has here been briefly² stated be duly considered, it will be felt to be necessary to substitute הָאָרֶץ, the ark of the covenant, for הָאָרֶץ, the land. This departure from the letter of Scripture is demanded by true reverence for its spirit. It is no wonder, therefore, that even the positive expositors among the Jews maintained that הָאָרֶץ must be explained as הָאָרֶץ, although naturally they do not *speak* of another reading. Thus Kimchi: *חזא יום שגלה הארון*. Abarbanel takes it in a similar manner.³ It was probably under the influence of similar considerations that Houbigant conjecturally read הָאָרֶץ, to which Bleek (*Einleitung*, p. 347) and Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 258, 2d ed.) are likewise strongly inclined. The conjecture is so clear and easy, that the refusal to entertain it may well be met with the saying, "the letter killeth." The statement intended to be

and speaks of בן משה as *Kethibh*, and of מנשה, *ben Moshesh* is certainly the original reading, albeit the reading *ben Menassisheth* is also very old, seeing that it was read by the Targum, the Peshito, and the Septuagint, although in a few codices of the latter the reading *uov Mowisē* is still found, cf. Kennic. *Dissert. Gener. in V. T.* § 21. Jerome also has *filius Moysi*. — Tr.]

² For much of it was long since strongly brought forward (cf. Keil *in loco*). [Keil, it may be proper to remark, does not propose to change the reading, but quotes approvingly Hengstenberg's explanation of it, as indicated in the following words: "The historian considers the whole land as carried away into captivity in its sanctuary, which, as it were, formed its kernel and essence" (*Pent.* i. 191, Ryland's ed.). — Tr.]

³ *אבל אצרו על הזמן שבו גלה הארון*, ed. Lips. p. 67.

made is, that the priests in Dan served at the shrine of the idol until the exile of the ark. It is precisely the Book of Samuel, in which the capture of the ark is related, that uses the word כָּבוֹד more frequently than any other historical book. The wife of the slain priest cries out, while she gives birth to a child, and dies: $\text{כָּבוֹד קָבַר יְיָ}$, "gone is glory from Israel" (1 Sam. iv. 21); and hence, the son whom she bore was called "Ichabod: where is the glory." The very same word is here used. Now, the removal of the ark, and the death of the sons of Eli, were matters of extraordinary importance, not for the people only, but more especially for the priests. Their pride and sinfulness had been previously delineated by the narrative. They had thought, without repentance, to conquer with the sacred ark. The humiliation touched them with peculiar force. Eli dies from dismay; his sons are slain by the enemy; the ark of the covenant, the precious jewel of the priestly charge, falls into the hands of the heathen. The moral degeneracy of the priestly family is already indicated in the election of Samuel. He, too, was an Ephraimite, but one of a different stamp from Micah. Now, however, the whole fabric of priestly pride falls into ruins, and under the leadership of Samuel, the era of repentance begins. It is only when all this is taken into consideration, that the parallelism of vers. 30 and 31 stands out in unexpected light. Jonathan and his descendants, sons of Levi and of Moses, continued to officiate as priests in Dan, until the ark went into exile. After this great national calamity, a reformation ensued, including both the head and the members. The priests were terrified, and repented; their vainglorious assumption that wherever they were there the worship of God was also, was thoroughly overthrown, and they retired from the theatre of their evil doing. For this reason it is said of Jonathan and his successors, that "they were priests $\text{בְּיָמֵי הַגָּלוּת}$, until the exile of the ark." And as in ver. 30 the duration of their priestly activity corresponds with the time that intervened until the fall of the ark, so in ver. 31, the

1 The great significance of the exile of the ark of the covenant, was still fully felt when Ps. lxxviii. was written, compare vers. 60 and 61: "He rejected the tabernacle of Shiloh," and "He delivered his strength (glory) into captivity." The whole bearing of the psalm forbids the supposi-

tion of a sanctuary in Shiloh until the Assyrian period (Deltzsch, on Ps. lxxviii. 60 ff.).

2 This is also clearly proved by ch. xx. 27: "And the sons of Israel inquired of Jehovah; for the ark of the covenant of God was there in those days."

idolrous House of Micah stands in contrast with the House of the true God in Shiloh. The same point of time is indicated in both verses. For with the removal of the ark, the significance of Shiloh ceased. Where the ark was, there God could be inquired of.² With the fall of the ark, the priests in Dan ceased; when the true sanctuary in Shiloh was broken up, the spurious sanctuary of Micah also was no longer esteemed. The lesson conveyed is, that if the true spirit of devotion to Jehovah had been preserved in connection with Shiloh and the ark of the covenant, such things as were done by Micah and in Dan would have been morally impossible. The priesthood must suffer and repent, before idolatry could be removed. It is true, that while the House of Micah was formerly spoken of as a *Beth Elohim*, a term applicable to every heathen temple as well, the House at Shiloh is here called *Beth ha-Elohim*, House of the true and real God; but it is nevertheless very significant that it is not called *Beth Jehovah*. During Shiloh's existence, the glory of the Levites had become greatly tarnished. The descendants of Aaron—as witness the sons of Eli—had desecrated their office; the descendants of Moses served the idol in Dan. But when with the fall of the ark the time of repentance had come for the priests of Aaron's tribe, the sin of the children of Moses also came to an end. Repentance leads the children back to their fathers.

In this way, the necessity of finding in our text a reference to the removal of the ark demonstrates itself both externally and internally. The fact that this exposition is not found indicated in the Masora, is to be explained from the fidelity with which every letter was preserved, but especially from the circumstance that during the exile of the people, the minds of the writers and readers of the ancient manuscripts were naturally full of that sad event, while the historical fact of the exile of the ark of the covenant belonged to the hoary past. In exile, Israel read and found this fate on every page. To their thoughts, "the land," which they had left, was ever present. The banished reads "home," in every thing.

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2 This is also clearly proved by ch. xx. 27: "And the sons of Israel inquired of Jehovah; for the ark of the covenant of God was there in those days."

SECOND SECTION.

THE STORY OF THE INFAMOUS DEED PERPETRATED AT GIBEAH, AND ITS TERRIBLE CONSEQUENCES:
ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION OF THE EVILS THAT RESULT WHEN "EVERY MAN DOES
WHAT IS GOOD IN HIS OWN EYES."

A Levite, whose concubine has left him, goes to her father's house, and persuades her to return. On their journey home, they enter Gibeah to pass the night there, but are inhospitably left in the market-place, until an Ephraimite resident of the city takes them home.

CHAPTER XIX. 1-21.

1 And it came to pass in those days, when *there was* no king in Israel, that there was a certain Levite sojourning on the side [in the hinder parts] of mount Ephraim, 2 who took to him a concubine out of Beth-lehem-judah. And his concubine played the whore against him,¹ and went away from him unto her father's house to Beth-lehem judah, and was there [some time (namely).] four whole [omit: whole] 3 months. And her husband arose, and went after her, to speak friendly unto her, and to bring her again,² having his servant with him, and a couple of asses: and she brought him into her father's house: and when the father of the damsel saw 4 him, he rejoiced to meet him. And his father-in-law, the damsel's father, retained him; and he abode with him three days: so they did eat and drink, and lodged 5 there. And it came to pass on the fourth day, when [that] they arose early in the morning, that [and] he rose up to depart: and the damsel's father said unto his son-in-law, Comfort [Strengthen] thine heart with a morsel of bread, and afterward go 6 your way. And they sat down, and did eat and drink both of them together: for [and] the damsel's father had [omit: had] said unto the man, Be content, I pray 7 thee, and tarry all [pass the] night, and let thine heart be merry. And when the man rose up to depart, his father-in-law urged him: therefore he [turned and] 8 lodged there again. And he arose early in the morning on the fifth day to depart: and the damsel's father said, Comfort [Strengthen] thine heart, I pray thee. And they tarried³ until afternoon [until the day declined], and they did eat both of 9 them. And when the man rose up to depart, he, and his concubine, and his servant, his father-in-law, the damsel's father, said unto him, Behold now, the day draweth toward evening, I pray you tarry all [pass the] night: [and again:] behold, the day groweth to an end [declines], lodge here, that [and let] thine heart may [omit: may] be merry; and to-morrow [you shall] get you early on your way, 10 that thou mayest go home [and thou shalt go to thy tent]. But the man would not tarry that night, but he rose up and departed, and came over against Jebus, which is Jerusalem: and *there were* with him two asses saddled, his concubine also was 11 with him. And when they were by Jebus, the day was far spent; and the servant said unto his master, Come, I pray thee, and let us turn in into this city of the 12 Jebusites, and lodge in it. And his master said unto him, We will not turn aside hither⁴ into the city of a stranger, that is not of the children [sons] of Israel; 13 we will pass over to [as far as] Gibeah. And he said unto his servant, Come,⁵ [forward:] and let us draw near to one of these [the sc. neighboring] places [.] to lodge 14 all [and pass the] night, [omit: ,] in Gibeah, or in Ramah. And they passed on and went their way; and the sun went down upon them *when they were* by Gibeah, 15 which *belongeth* to Benjamin. And they turned aside thither, to go in and to lodge in Gibeah: and when he went in, he sat him down in a street [the open space] of 16 the city: for [and] *there was* no man that took them into his house to lodging. And behold, there came an old man from his work out of the field at even, which *was* also [and the man was] of mount Ephraim; and he sojourned in Gibeah; but the

17 men of the place were Benjamites. And when [omit: when] he had [omit: had] lifted up his eyes, he [and] saw a [the] wayfaring man in the street [open space] 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 Beth-lehem-judah toward the [hinder] side of mount Ephraim; from thence *am* I: and I went to Beth-lehem-judah, but *I am now* going to the house of the Lord [Jehovah];⁶ and there is no man that
 19 receiveth me to house. Yet there is [we have] both straw and provender for our asses; and there is [we have] bread and wine also for me, and for thy handmaid, and for the young man *which is* with thy servants: *there is* no want of any thing.
 20 And the old man said, Peace *be* with thee; howsoever [only], *let* all thy wants *lie*
 21 upon me; only lodge not in the street [open space]. So he brought him into his house, and gave provender unto the asses: and they washed their feet, and did eat and drink.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 2. — הַתִּזְנָה עָלָיו. Dr. Cassel renders: *Und es gelüstete seinem Nebenweib über ihn hinaus*; which may possibly be good interpretation, but cannot be admitted as translation. The Sept. and Vulg. do not render the phrase at all, while the Chaldee softens it down to "she despised him." Hence, it has been thought that the present reading of the Hebrew text is wrong; but the fact that the Peshito has it, and that the other ancient versions do not agree in their rendering, shows that the diversity arose from a sense of incongruity between what was affirmed of the woman and the efforts of the Levite to recover her. עָלָיו is "against him." — Tr.]

2 Ver. 3. — The *keri* לְהַשִּׁיבָהּ is evidently the more appropriate reading, as Studer and Bertheau have conceded. [In the *kethibh*, לְהַשִּׁיבוּ, the suffix refers to the preceding לֵב: "to cause her heart to return." i. e., to turn again to her husband. Compare Keil, who deems the *keri* a "needless correction." — Ta.]

3 Ver. 8. — הַתְּמַהְמָהוּ. Older Jewish expositors, as Abarbanel and Meir Obernick, very properly take this, not as imperative, but as 3d per. perf. It is against the sense to make the father say: "Delay till it become evening." Ver. 9 also is against this. On the word, see ch. iii. 26. Beza has correctly: *cunctati sunt*.

[4 Ver. 12.—The "hither" of the E. V. seems to be intended as a rendering of הָהֵן, which, however, belongs to the next clause. הָהֵן must be taken with אֵשֶׁר, in the sense שָׁם . . . אֵשֶׁר, "where." "It is true" (says Bertheau), "that הָהֵן does not elsewhere occur in this construction with אֵשֶׁר, but this is the only suitable way of taking it here, for it cannot be the plur. fem. pronoun, and must therefore mean 'there.'" The proper rendering of the verse, then, would be: "We will not turn aside into the city of the stranger, where there are none of the sons of Israel." The E. V. leaves it doubtful whether "that" refers to "city" or to "stranger." Dr. Cassel refers it to the latter, and ignores הָהֵן altogether. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 13. — לְךָ is for לְכָה, the imperative of הֲלַךְ, with He paragogic. — לִכְנֹה is the 1st per. plur. perfect, contracted from לִכְנֹה. — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 18. — וְאֶת־בַּיִת יְהוָה אֲנִי הֹלֵךְ. The meaning of this clause is obscure. The Sept. renders as if it read יְהוָה אֲנִי הֹלֵךְ instead of בַּיִת יְהוָה: I am going to my house. The Targum, Peshito, Vulgate, and among moderns, Bertheau, De Wette, Bunsen (the two latter in their versions), take אֶת־בַּיִת יְהוָה as the accusative, and render as the E. V. Others, as Studer, Keil, and our author, take אֶת as a preposition, in the sense "with," "at," or "by": "I walk by (or, in) the House of Jehovah," i. e., I perform priestly service in connection with the sanctuary. This gives a good sense (cf. the commentary below), but the mode of expressing it seems singular. On the other hand, there is no compulsory evidence in favor of this and against the other rendering. The sanctuary being at Shiloh, there is so far as the site of this place is known) no conflict between the Levite's first statement that he is going to the "hinder parts" (a necessarily indefinite expression) of the mountains of Ephraim, and his subsequent supplementary statement that he is going to the "House of Jehovah." Keil's objection that אֶת הֵלֵךְ does not mean to go to a place, but to pass through it (cf. Deut. i. 19; Isa. i. 10. etc.), cannot be considered decisive. Since the "through" does not lie in the אֶת, it proves only that the accusative may indicate either the place to which, or that through which, one goes. It is true, that the place to which one goes, is usually put in the accusative without אֶת, either with or without הַ local: but as אֶת was constantly used with the definite accusative, and had withal so entirely lost all meaning of its own, it is certainly quite conceivable that it might almost unconsciously slip from the pen in a place where ordinarily common usage did not employ it. And since, as already remarked, the idea of "through" does not lie in אֶת, it may well be asked whether the instances referred to by Keil are not exceptions to common usage quite as much as the present phrase. Upon the whole, we are inclined to adopt the rendering of the E. V. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. When there was no king in Israel. The following narrative has, indeed, as was al-

ready remarked, no special connection, either chronological or local, with the history related in chaps. xvii. and xviii.; but it none the less affords, in conjunction with that history, occasion for a

series of observations which testify, in a highly instructive manner, of the organic idea which pervades the whole Book. We shall attempt to indicate them at the close of the narrative. "There was no king in Israel:" this alone it was that made the occurrences of both chaps. xvii. and xviii., and chaps. xix.-xxi. possible. In the present history also, a Levite is involved. The decay of the priesthood is here also indicated. From the connection it is sufficiently clear that the conduct of the Levite who, living in the northern part of the mountains of Ephraim, procures himself a concubine out of Bethlechem — probably for no other reason than that, as Josephus rightly conjectures, he was smitten with her beauty, — is not approved. From the fact that the residence of the Levite is here spoken of as being in the "hinder parts" of the mountains, by which the northern parts are to be understood, no reliable inference can be drawn as to the locality of the writer; for the Levite himself uses the same expression (ver. 18). Since the Levite took a concubine (לְוִי־אִשָּׁה), it must be assumed that he already had a wife. Else why did he not make this woman his wife? For other grounds, such as have been conjectured, find no support in the narrative. Precisely here lies the blot upon the character of the priest, which the narrative hints at. The word לְוִי־אִשָּׁה is both etymologically and in sense identical with the Greek and Roman *πάλλαξ*, *pellex*, *παλλακίς*; but Benfey's derivation cannot be received. The sense "concubine," which the word has, may perhaps be explained from לְוִי. Among the ancient Greeks also the taking of a concubine was not considered exactly blame-worthy, but Laertes refrained from touching Eurycleia for "fear of the anger of his wife" (*Odys.* i. 434). The sequel shows that the Levite had done better if he had not taken a concubine. A concubine also was the ruin of Gideon's family (ch. viii. 31).

Ver. 2. **And the concubine lusted after others beside himself.** The concubine was unchastely disposed. This is only a stronger expression for what the moderns mean when with palliative extenuation they say: "She did not love her husband." Her sensuality was not satisfied with the Levite. In this way the narrator explains the ground of her leaving him. The correctness of לְוִי־אִשָּׁה was frequently doubted in former days, but only because the connection of the entire narrative was misapprehended. לְוִי is to play the harlot, not only in act, but also in disposition and spirit (cf. *μοιχεύειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, Matt. v. 28): hence used also of idolatry. In the added לְוִי־אִשָּׁה, "over him," it is delicately indicated that she did not so act as to be put away by him, but that she was of such a disposition as to be unwilling to live with him. That she left him without his consent can have had its ground only in her concupiscence, which the narrator intentionally designates by the term לְוִי־אִשָּׁה, in order to blame the Levite for yet running after such a woman.¹ For it is written, Lev. xxi. 7: "A לְוִי־אִשָּׁה, harlot, and one pol-

1 [The German is: *über ihn*. The sentence seems to mean that if the woman had actually committed adultery, the fact would have been expressed by לְוִי־אִשָּׁה alone, but that since her sin existed only in disposition, the לְוִי־אִשָּׁה

luted, they shall not take to wife." Although this passage speaks only of the sons of Aaron, it applies nevertheless to all who, as the Levite says of himself, "walk in the house of Jehovah" (ver. 18).

And she was there some time (about) four months. She had perhaps gone away under pretext of visiting her parents, and did not come back. The לְוִי־אִשָּׁה before the more definite statement of time, expresses the Latin *circiter*. As she had already remained away some four months, it looked as if she would not return to her husband's house at all; wherefore the Levite set out to persuade her to come back. He should not have done this, since she was such as that it was said of her:

לְוִי־אִשָּׁה. Her father, for his part, ought to have sent her back; for the Levite had undoubtedly not failed to pay him a morning-gift (cf. Ex. xxii. 15), the remembrance of which, and the fear that if his daughter did not go back with her husband he might be called upon to return it, had probably no little influence in producing the friendliness with which he received him. Such was also the ancient Homeric custom, as illustrated in the instance of Hephaistos, who having proved the infidelity of his spouse, demands back the gifts with which he had presented her father (*Odys.* viii. 318).

Ver. 3. **And her husband arose and went after her.** The Levite, however, desires only the woman, not any money. Hence it is said that he went after her in order to speak "to her heart." And he shows it by bringing two asses with him, — one of them for her use. It never occurs to him to think that her father may perhaps provide her with one. Only after the daughter has again become friendly to him, does he allow her to lead him to her father. The uncommon hospitality which the latter extends to the Levite, has, it must be allowed, a peculiar by-taste to it. No doubt, it is apologetic in its design, and expressive of a wish for reconciliation. This is clearly enough expressed in the acts of eating and drinking together. But the urgency with which after three days he presses the Levite to remain, although the latter is desirous of returning home, is not sanctioned by the delicate laws of ancient hospitality. The incident illustrates the beauty of the words which Menelaus addresses to Telemachus who desires to go home (*Odys.* xv. 69): "I will not detain thee here; for I also am angry with a host who through troublesome friendship offers troublesome enmity, for order is best in everything. Equally bad are both he who hastens the guest who would stay, and he who detains him who would go" (cf. Nägelsbach, *Hom. Theol.* p. 256). The injuriousness of exaggerated hospitality is here also put in instructive contrast with the utter absence of it, which it fell to the lot of the Levite soon to experience.

Ver. 4-9. **And his father-in-law detained him.** The carnal nature of the Levite manifested itself here also. Soon after the reconciliation, he wished to depart again; but he yields, and spends three days in eating and drinking. On the fourth morning, he will go; but his host urges him first to take a "morsel of bread." He might nevertheless have set out on his journey; but "they ate

was added to indicate this. But how our author conceives this to be indicated by the preposition and suffix, does not appear. — Tr.]

² Other Jews, as advanced by Starke and others, according to which this journey of the Levite redounds to his praise, do not appear to have any support in the text.

and drank," and it became evening. He proposed indeed to go, but turned about and remained. On the fifth morning, everything is ready for a start. But refreshments are first taken at the request of the host: they "both ate," and thus spent the day until the evening approached. No right-minded Levite manifests himself here. We hear of nothing but eating and drinking. It reflects no honor on a man who "walks in the house of God," that he runs after a concubine, and cannot resist a good table.

When, however, at last he sets out, late in the afternoon, his conscience appears to urge him forward, and to make him ashamed of having remained so long. Perhaps he has no time to spare, if with his servant and animals, he is to rest at home on the Sabbath. For if we may suppose that the reconciliation took place on the Sabbath, the first three days of feasting would fall on our Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday: the "fourth day" of ver. 5 would be Wednesday, and the "fifth day" our Thursday; and he might think it possible to reach home before the next evening. But in that case no time was to be lost. His experience is that of all weak and vacillating people: first, unnecessary delay, and then overstrained hurry.

The delineation of these scenes, which repeat themselves so frequently in life, is notwithstanding its brevity, full of vivacity and beauty. The guests continually rise at early daybreak (בִּבְרֹחַ); but the evening still finds them in the same place. The host is unwearied in encouragements "to refresh the heart" (וַיִּטֵּב לִבָּם, כִּי עָד לִבָּם);¹ but the "refreshing" continues until "the day declines." Verses 8 and 9 especially give a striking picture of irresolution and dilatoriness. They permit us to follow the various stages of the day that were thus dissipated. With breakfast they lingered along (הִתְמַהְמַהוּ) until הַמָּוֶת הַיּוֹם; say after noon. While they prepare themselves anew to take their departure, time passes, and the host begs them to remain, "for the day draweth toward evening;" and after a little more lingering — for this idea must be interposed before הַמָּוֶת הַיּוֹם — he is able to urge, "spend the night, for the day declines."

It is unmistakably clear that the fither-in-law meant it well with the Levite, when, according to general popular usage, he overwhelmed him with food and drink and pressing invitations; but it is incumbent on Levites especially, not to be too much taken up with such matters. It is better that they make it evident, that in case of necessity they are quite content with a *path lechem*, a morsel of bread.

Vers. 10 ff. But the man would not tarry that

¹ כִּי עָד. In this unusual form an imperative of courteous respect is probably indicated.

² It does not by any means follow from this, however, that the city at that time did not yet bear the name Jerusalem. The place was still a Jebusite city; and that fact is here made prominent in order to explain why the Levite would not turn in thither.

³ [This identification of Gibeah with Jeba does not appear to be tenable; for it makes it incomprehensible how the Levite could come to Gibeah before he came to Ramah, as the narrative manifestly implies that he did. Kell also most strangely speaks here of Gibeah as being Jeba, although on Josh. xviii. 28, he identifies it with Tullei el Fül, a high hill

night. At last — but now unseasonably, for the night is at hand — he is firm in his resolution to depart. The sun is already rapidly declining, when he comes past Jerusalem, at that time still called Jebus,² for the tribe of Benjamin had not yet conquered it (ch. i. 21). He will not turn in thither, although advised to do so by his servant, because he has "two saddled asses and his concubine with him," — the repetition of which statement is thus explained, — and the city belongs not to Israel. In other words, he fears lest in Jebus the rights of hospitality might be violated, and himself be plundered. He hastens forward, therefore, in order to reach one of the Israelitish cities farther on, Gibeah, perhaps, or Ramah. He succeeds only in reaching the former. Darkness had set in: it was unavoidably necessary to stay there over night. It will soon be seen that it would have been better if he had not suffered himself to be detained in the morning, and that he could not have done worse if he had turned into the heathen city.

Vers. 15-21. And no man took them to his house. Gibeah (the present Jeba, Geba),³ lies an hour from Ramah (at present er-Râm), about two and a half hours from Jerusalem,⁴ and towards four hours from Bethlehem. It belonged to Benjamin. Strangers disposed themselves on the open space or square of the city (רֶחֶב, platea), whence according to ancient usage the residents took them to their own homes. *Jelian* relates (*Var. Hist.* iv. 1), that the Lucanians went so far as to make the man who did not show hospitality to the stranger entering the city at sunset, liable to legal punishment. But here in Israel, where love toward the stranger was enjoined by the law (*Deut.* x. 19), and where Job exclaims: "The stranger did not lodge in the street" (ch. xxxi. 32), no one invited the traveller to the shelter of his roof.

This inhospitable disposition was characteristic only of the inhabitants of this city; for a man of Ephraim, who resided in Gibeah, did not share it. When he, an old man, came from the field, and saw that a stranger had already made preparations to pass the night in the open air, he went to him with hospitable intent. That he first asks, Whence art thou? and whither goest thou? is only the result of his astonishment that anybody should purpose to pass the night in Gibeah out of doors. For the city had probably a bad name in the neighboring region, so that, when possible, it was shunned by travellers. Hence the question, Whence comest thou, that thou hast turned in here for the night?

My walk in life is at the house of Jehovah. The narrator has hitherto spoken of the Levite only as "the man." The character of a Levite did not show itself in him. But now, in his answer to the aged Ephraimite, the Levite himself makes mention of his order. I come, he says,

about midway between Jerusalem and er-Rim. This place, fixed upon by Robinson (*B. R.* i. 577), and after him by Ritter (cf. Gage's transl. iv. 219), and many others, is undoubtedly the site of the ancient Gibeah (cf. Smith's *Bib. Dict.* s. v. "Gibeah"). The distance of Gibeah from Jerusalem given by Josephus (compare the next note) agrees with this; for the distance of Tullei el Fül from Jerusalem is about two-thirds that of Bethlehem (while Jeba is much farther, cf. Dr. Cassel's "two hours and a half"). Jeba is the Geba of Scripture (*Rob.* i. 440; *Bib. Dict.* s. v. "Geba"). — Ta.]

⁴ Josephus has stated the distance at twenty stadia, while from Bethlehem to Jerusalem he reckons thirty stadia.

from Bethlehem, but reside behind the mountains. The purpose for which he went to Bethlehem, he does not communicate; but, on the other hand, he does take occasion to state that he is a Levite (Josephus). He expresses this paraphrastically, by saying that "he walks in the house of God," namely, as a servant of God. He chooses this form of expression in order to invite hospitality, and to place the refusal of it in its worst light. A man who is at home in the House of God, no one here receives into his house. But one degeneracy follows in the wake of another. When Levites are so weak as he has shown himself, the virtues of others cannot continue strong. The dignity of which it now occurs to him to speak, he himself should have respected heretofore. The explanation of *וְאָנֹכִי הֹלֵךְ יְהוָה בֵּית יְהוָה אֲנִי הֹלֵךְ*, as if it meant, "and I am going to the house of Jeho-

vah," is not only philologically difficult, but on account of the sense, impossible.¹ Whither he goes, he has already said, namely, to the rear part of the mountains; he wishes now to say who he is; that he enjoys the dignity of walking "*with* (i. e., *in*) the house of Jehovah," as its servant. He is very anxious to obtain shelter, for the prospect of spending the night in an inhospitable city without a roof over him, could not but fill him with apprehensions. The same cause prevented him from continuing his journey. Hence the humble request to the aged householder to take him in. He has everything necessary with him,—his entertainer shall be at no expense. He speaks of himself as his "servant," and of the woman as "thy handmaid." The old man gladly complies with the ancient hospitable usage, according to which animals are fed *first*, and the wants of men are attended to afterwards.

¹ This also removes the supposition that the Levite was from Shiloh. This is not to be assumed, since it is not stated. The above words give no more information concerning the

birth-place of the Levite, than is conveyed in the general statement that he was a Levite.

The wicked deed of the Gibeathites, and the measure taken by the Levite to invoke the judgment of the nation on the perpetrators.

CHAPTER XIX. 22–30.

- 22 Now as they were making their hearts merry, behold, the men of the city, certain [omit: certain] sons of Belial [worthless fellows], beset the house round about, and beat at the door, and spake to the master of the house, the old man, saying, Bring forth the man that came into thine 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. nay, I pray you, do not so wickedly; seeing that this man is
- 24 come into mine house, do not this folly. Behold, *here is* my daughter, a maiden [virgin], and his concubine; them I will bring out now, and humble ye them, and do with them what seemeth good unto you: but unto this man do not so vile a thing
- 25 [as the matter of this folly]. But the men would not hearken to him: so the man took his concubine, and brought her forth unto them; and they knew her, and abused her all the night until the morning: and when the day began to spring, they
- 26 let her go. Then came the woman in the dawning of the day, and fell down at
- 27 the door of the man's house where her lord was, [and lay there] till it was light. And her lord rose up in the morning, and opened the doors of the house, and went out to go his way: and behold, the woman his concubine was fallen down at the door
- 28 of the house, and her hands were upon the threshold. And he said unto her, Up, and let us be going. But none answered. Then the man took her up upon an
- 29 [the] ass, and the man rose up, and gat him unto his place. And when he was come into his house, he took a knife, and laid hold on his concubine, and divided her, together with [according to] her bones, into twelve pieces, and sent her into
- 30 all the coasts [country] of Israel. And it was so, that all that saw it, said,¹ There was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children [sons] of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt unto this day: consider of it, take advice, and speak *your minds*.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[¹ Ver. 30. — "The perfects *וַיִּחַד*, *וַיִּחַד*, ver. 30, do not stand for the imperfects with *vav* consecutive, *וַיִּחַד*, *וַיִּחַד*, as Illitzig, Bertheau, and others suppose, but are *perfecta consequentia*, expressive of the result which

the Levite expects from his action. It is only necessary to supply a לְהַבִּיחַ before לְהַרְוֶהוּ , which in lively narration or agitated discourse is frequently omitted (cf. e. g. Ex. viii. 5 with Judg. vii. 2). The narrator uses the perfects, instead of the imperfects with simple ו , usual in clauses expressive of design, *quia quod futurum esse praevidebat tanquam factum animo suo observabatur* (Rosenmüller). The Levite's expectation that the moral indignation of all the tribes will be roused against such wickedness, and will lead them to resolve on punishment, is thus represented not as a doubtful conjecture, but as the confident anticipation of a certainly ensuing fact" (Keil). It is impossible to imitate this exactly in English, but the better rendering of the passage would be: "sent her into all the territory of Israel, saying [or, as we would say, thinking] it shall be that that all who see shall say, There was no such deed done or seen," etc. Chapter xx. shows, as Keil remarks, that the Levite was right in his anticipations. Dr. Cassel translates as the E. V. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 22 ff. The narrator is aware that he has to relate a history similar to the one that occurred in Sodom in the days of Lot; for at suitable points his language takes the same turns of expression (cf. Gen. xix. 5, 7, 8). Lot was only a resident in Sodom, just as here the aged Ephraimite is in Gibeah. He, like the latter, had invited the guests to his house. The Sodomites surrounded the house, and demanded the surrender of the strangers, as the Gibeathites do here. Lot proposes to bring forth his daughters, and the aged host of our history makes the same proposition. The dissimilarities, it is true, are equally conspicuous. The guests of Lot were angels, who frustrated all sinful designs: here, the entertainer receives but an imperfect Levite. Although the aged host cannot be compared with the hospitable nephew of Abraham, it must be admitted that he acts like a good Israelite. The men of Gibeah were personally sinners even beyond those of Sodom, for they had a God who does not tolerate such abominations. But their sin was the outbreaking of individual depravity; in Sodom it was the fruit of the national life. Hence, both were punished according to their guilt. Benjamin perished almost; Sodom was wholly destroyed. In Sodom all sinned, from the youth to the gray head (Gen. xix. 4): in Gibeah, the criminals were "sons of wickedness,"

who, however, by being called אֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר , "men of the city," are shown to belong to the higher classes, which circumstance also accounts for their unchecked attainment of such great proficiency in evil. This nightly vagabondizing of wanton youth was but too well known to antiquity, even in Roman times, when Roman emperors took part in it. Here, however, unholy, idolatrous usages seem also to have come into play, according to which strangers were abused for purposes of sensuality, as, contrariwise, in the service of the Syrian Goddess natives were given up to the stranger. It was a night-riot, which began with sundown and ceased with the morning. Hence, the Levite probably remained unmolested until night had fully set in, and could depart unhindered when the day broke.

It was at all events a fearful crime in Israel. The Mosaic law punished it with death (Lev. xx. 13; cf. ch. xviii. 22, etc.). Even the infringement of the rights of hospitality was in Hesiod's opinion, which was followed by the later Greeks, a crime of equal magnitude with adultery or the defilement of a father's bed (Nägelsbach, *Nachkom. Theol.* 252 f.). The aged host was, therefore, right

1 He imitates the example of Lot. Therein lies his excuse. He seeks to prevent one sin, and commits another without knowing whether he can prevent the first.

2 This act of his also testifies to the degeneracy of the Levitical body. He has not moral strength enough to die in order to preserve himself from defilement, and hence thinks himself obliged to surrender his concubine. His own head, therefore, shares in the guilt of the crime done on the woman.

in speaking of the matter as a רָצוֹחַ , an abominable crime. But the savage Benjamites are no more willing to hear reason than the men of Sodom were. Their violent thundering at the door (מִרְוּתָם), and their language (cf. Gen. xix. 9), afforded sufficient occasion to the host to fear that they would soon break into the house itself. He is most especially concerned to shield the Levite, for in this direction lay the chief crime. Hence, no requisition is made upon the servant to give himself up for his master — for that would not have changed the nature of the crime, — but the host, like Lot, offers them women,¹ his own daughter being one. But he is not called upon to make this sacrifice: the Benjamites will not have his daughter; for she is no stranger, and belongs to their neighbor. It is especially to this offer of his daughter that the opening words of ver. 25 apply: "they would not hearken." Hereupon the Levite takes his resolution, and leads forth his concubine. Her beauty pacifies the violent wantons; but she herself falls a victim to their horrible lusts. The beastly treatment she receives deprives her of life. What an awful lesson! The same woman, whose sensuality was heretofore unsatisfied, is now killed by excess of illicit intercourse. The Levite who, notwithstanding her wanton disposition, runs after her, is now obliged to give her up to others.² She who would not live for him, must now die for him. — In Christendom, also, similar horrors have occurred. Who could bear to write the history of licentiousness! At the close of the fourteenth century a Thuringian knight abducted a maiden. Placing her on his horse behind himself, he intended to reach Erfurt the same evening before the closing of the city-gates. He failed, and was compelled to seek shelter with the maiden in the hospital situated outside of the city. The inmates, when they saw the beautiful woman, murdered the knight, and abused her until she died. The crime being discovered, the house was burned down, together with the criminals (Falkenstein, *Hist. von Erfurt*, p. 277).

Vers. 29 f. And he came into his house. It must have been a fearful night for the Levite, knowing that his concubine was in the power of the wanton mob, and it was a terrible morning when he found her dead on the threshold of the house. He had risen early, and made better haste to get away from the house of his host than he had done to leave that of his father-in-law, in order to avoid a meeting with the inhabitants.³ His journey was a sad one; for his second ass carried

3 [He probably gave up all idea of recovering his concubine, as being hopeless. So Bertheau and Keil. He may have entertained plans for rescuing her in some more effective way. There is at all events nothing in the text that justifies us to suppose that he went on his way, "as if he did not once think what had become of his unhappy companion," and was "reminded of her only by stumbling upon her lifeless corpse," as Bush rather wildly comments — Tr.]

the lifeless body of the dishonored woman. Filled with these horrors, perpetrated against him in Israel, he appeals to all the people of Israel. He cuts the corpse into twelve pieces, and sends them out in every direction. Expositors have one after another spoken here of Lucian's narrative (in *Toraris*) of the Scythian custom of sitting on the hide: "if any man is injured by another, and is unable to revenge himself, he sacrifices an ox, cuts up the flesh, and dresses it; then spreading the skin on the ground, he sits down on it, etc. Whoever pleases then comes, takes a part of the flesh, and placing his right foot on the hide, makes a solemn promise to assist him to the utmost of his abilities." It must be said that there is no analogy whatever between this usage and the act of the Levite. The Scythian usage is the symbolical formula of an oath, by which all who take part in it promise to unite themselves into one body with the supplicant. But such is not the idea in our passage, nor yet in 1 Sam. xi. 7. Saul sends out the pieces of the divided oxen with the threatening message, that thus it shall be done to the oxen of every one who does not take the field after him. The Levite has no right to do anything of this kind. He issues no threat which he himself can execute. Nor does he place Israel under oath¹ to avenge his wrong. But he shows the nation what is possible within its borders, and what may happen to any one in Israel as well as it has happened to himself. Hence, he sends not a divided ox, but

¹ It might be thought that an analogy is afforded by the singular oath on the sacrificial pieces of a boar, a ram, and a bull, which Demosthenes mentions as taken by the accuser

the divided woman. Saul threatens that the oxen of those who do not follow him, shall be cut to pieces. The Levite intimates that unless such practices are abolished in Israel, the same fate may befall any woman. He points to the anarchy which breaks out in Israel, when the rights of hospitality are no longer respected, and the rights of the householder no longer secure, and when heathen abominations like those of Sodom are practiced in the land.² The woman cut in pieces speaks more loudly than any other language could do. Of course, a message accompanied the pieces of the body, the contents of which are given in verse 30. Every one who saw must say that anything like this had not occurred in Israel since the nation dwelt in Canaan. It closed with the words: "Take the matter to heart, advise, and speak."

Doubtless, the divided body spake loudly to all the tribes of Israel. But it spoke not of repentance, but only of the necessity of taking prudent measures against the recurrence of similar outrages, of which any one might himself become the victim. And yet the thing needed was not merely the removal of the abomination which was manifest, but the conversion of the heart, whose hidden wickedness had produced the abomination. The Levite points to the sins that had been committed; but does he also confess the share he himself had in them, and in the guilt that attached to them? The same self-righteousness is revealed by the whole people, as is shown by ch. xx.

in cases of murder (*adv. Aristocratem*, p. 642); but here also none exists.

² This sense is also contained in the words of the Levite in ch. xx. 6.

The tribes of Israel, convened at Mizpah, resolve to punish the outrage committed at Gibeah. They call on the tribe of Benjamin to deliver up the guilty, but are met with a refusal.

CHAPTER XX. 1-13.

- 1 Then all the children [sons] of Israel went out, and the congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, with [and] the land of
- 2 Gilead, unto the Lord [Jehovah] in Mizpeh [Mizpah]. And the chief [chiefs] of all the people, *even* of all the tribes of Israel, presented themselves in the assembly of the people of God, [which assembly numbered] four hundred thousand footmen
- 3 that drew sword.¹ (Now the children [sons] of Benjamin heard that the children [sons] of Israel were gone up to Mizpeh). Then said the children [sons] of Israel,
- 4 Tell us, how was [happened] this wickedness? And [the man,] the Levite, the husband of the woman that was slain, answered and said, I came into [unto]
- 5 Gibeah that *belongeth* to Benjamin, I and my concubine, to lodge. And the men [lords] of Gibeah rose against me, and beset the house round about upon me by night, *and* thought to have slain me: and my concubine have they forced [humbled],
- 6 that she is dead [that she died]. And I took my concubine, and cut her in pieces, and sent her throughout all the country of the inheritance of Israel: for they have
- 7 committed lewdness and folly in Israel. Behold, ye *are* all children [sons] of Israel;
- 8 give here your advice and counsel. And all the people arose as one man, saying, We will not any *of us* go to his tent, neither will we any *of us* turn into
- 9 his house: But now this *shall be* the thing which we will do to Gibeah: *we will go*

10 *up* by lot against it; ² And we will take ten men of an hundred throughout all the tribes of Israel, and an hundred of a thousand, and a thousand out of ten thousand, to fetch victual for the people, that they may do, when they come to Gibeah of Benjamin, according to all the folly that they have wrought in Israel.³ So all the men of Israel were gathered against the city, knit together as one man. And the tribes of Israel sent men through [into] all the tribe [tribes] of Benjamin, saying, What wickedness *is* this that is [was] done among you? Now therefore deliver *us* the men, the children of Belial [worthless fellows], which *are* in Gibeah, that we may put them to death, and put away evil from Israel. But the children [sons] of Benjamin would not hearken to the voice of their brethren the children [sons] of Israel.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 2. — Dr. Cassel renders this verse as follows: "And the heads of the whole people, out of all the tribes of Israel, formed themselves into a Congregation of the People of God, which [sc. people] furnished four hundred thousand men (namely) footmen, practiced with the sword." The E. V. is better; only, to make it unequivocally clear, it needs some such interpolation as we have suggested in the text. — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 9. — Dr. Cassel translates: "And now in the matter which we do against Gibeah, (proceed we) against it according to the lot." This does not differ essentially from the E. V., but is noted here as explaining what the author means by saying that the words "which we do against Gibeah" are parenthetical (see below). Bertheau and Keil explain: "This is the thing we will do against Gibeah: against it with the lot!" "The words גִּבְעָה בְּלוֹטָהּ," says Keil, "contain the resolution taken with reference to the sinful city, and are characterized by the enigmatical brevity of judicial sentences, and are to be explained by the proceedings prescribed by the Mosaic law against the Canaanites. The Canaanites were to be destroyed, and their land was then to be divided among the Israelites by lot. Accordingly, to proceed with the lot against Gibeah, is to proceed with it as with the cities of the Canaanites, to conquer and burn it, and to divide its territory by lot." One argument advanced in favor of this (the view of the Peshito: "we will cast the lot over it!") and against the current view (that of the LXX), that the latter leaves the judgment itself unexpressed, and passes at once to a subordinate point which has reference only to the execution of the judgment, has no great force. For is not the judgment sufficiently expressed in גִּבְעָה בְּלוֹטָהּ, "against it!"? The other, however, that according to ver. 10, as ordinarily understood, the lot decides, not who shall go against Gibeah, but who shall act as purveyors for the army, it is difficult to meet, except by rendering ver. 10 as Dr. Cassel does. Compare the next note. — Ta.]

[3 Ver. 10. — Dr. Cassel's rendering is as follows: (ver. 9 b) "proceed we against it according to the lot; (ver. 10:) and take ten men of a hundred out of all the tribes of Israel, and a hundred of a thousand, and a thousand of ten thousand, to take to themselves provisions for the host, and when they come to Gibeah of Benjamin to do according to all the abomination which it wrought in Israel (i. e., to inflict just retribution)." The only difficulty in this rendering is the expression "to take provisions for the host" (lit. people), which strikes one as an unnatural way of saying, "to take provisions for themselves." But this difficulty is less serious than that which arises if we adopt the common rendering, and explain (as we must do in that case) ver. 9 as Bertheau and Keil do (cf. preceding note). For the fact that before proceeding to extremities, demand is made for the surrender of the guilty, is incompatible with a prior determination to "cast the lot" over Gibeah, to say nothing of the fact that such a consecration of territory belonging to Benjamin, as this is supposed to imply, would have been in glaring conflict with one of the most important laws of the nation, that which rendered land an inalienable possession, first in the family, then in the tribe. On the other hand, it certainly seems as if 40,000 men must have been deemed sufficient to meet the 25,700 of Benjamin (ver. 15); and the statement of ver. 17, where the 400,000 of Israel are set over against the 25,700 of Benjamin, may be explained by supposing that the narrator, being about to relate the terrible losses on the national side in the first two engagements, wishes to remind the reader of the reserved strength from which the beaten army could draw reinforcements. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 1, 2. And the chiefs of all the people formed themselves into a congregation of the People of God. The consciousness of an organic community is as yet fully alive in Israel. All the tribes were horrified at the crime in Benjamin. The necessity of conferring together is felt everywhere, from the north to the south. The natural representatives of the people (cf. on ch. i. 1) hasten to Mizpah, "to Jehovah," that is to say, at the invitation of the high-priest in the name of Jehovah, against whose holy law the crime was directed. For it may be assumed that whenever a popular movement, which has Jehovah for its centre, is spoken of, while no human personage as that of a Judge, is named, the priesthood was still the leading spiritual power. An קָהָל, congregation, assem-

bled itself, וַתִּקְהָל; or rather, was convoked, for קָהָל is the Greek *καλέω*, old Latin *calare* (i. e., *curia calabra*). It was formed of the heads¹ of the people who constituted themselves a "Congregation of the People of God."² (וַתִּקְהָל), from קָהָל = קָהָל, *constituere*). It is not by way of tautology that the narrator says: "the whole people, all the tribes;" for the fact is to be made prominent that, except Benjamin, not one tribe was wanting. The addition: "four hundred thousand men," explains why only the "heads" constitute the "congregation," namely, because the "People of God," as a whole, was too numerous. The number is mentioned with reference to ver. 10. Israel is still the warlike people which took possession of Canaan. The number of its sword-prae-

¹ קָהָל, the pinnacle, or highest point of a building, and thence transferred to the heads of the people, *summi*. The word is philologically identical with the Latin *pinna* as *caput propugnaculi*.

² The regular designation, for which modern nations have substituted the less spiritual and noble terms "parliament," "meeting," "chamber," "house." [How could they otherwise, seeing they are not theocracies? — Ta.]

ticed warriors is the measure of its greatness. Those who assemble themselves here about "Jehovah," are the heads of a community of warriors (*ecclesia militans*.)

Ver. 3. **And the sons of Benjamin heard that an assembly of the tribes took place in Mizpah.** This Mizpah is probably the same as that which in Samuel's time also was the national gathering place (1 Sam. vii. 5), and which is regarded as represented by the Neby Samwil of the present day,¹ in the western part of the Benjamite territory. The Levite, the narrator informed us, divided his unhappy concubine into twelve parts, and sent them throughout all Israel. We must agree, therefore, with the Jewish expositors, who maintain that he sent a part to Benjamin also. It must likewise be assumed that Benjamin was invited to the council at Mizpah, both on account of the sense of national community which characterized the period, and because the assembly was summoned at a place within the borders of Benjamin. The tribe already manifested its partisan feeling in favor of Gibeah, when it "heard," indeed, of what was going on, but neither sent representatives to the assembly, nor gave any token whatever of indignation at the deed, or of desire to exculpate itself.

Vers. 4-7. **And the man, the Levite, made answer.** When the assembly proceeded to investigate the facts, the accuser only appeared; the accused were wanting. The speech of the Levite is remarkable in more respects than one. Of the aged Ephraimite who took him into his house, he makes no mention; for in order to a right judgment of the matter it is not necessary to consider whose guest he was, but that his right to hospitality has been violated. Hence he says, "they rose against me" (פָּלַי); and, "they surrounded the house, עָלַי, on my account." The men in Gibeah had no designs against his host; he alone was the object of their attack. Nor does he speak of individuals in Gibeah, but of the "lords of Gibeah," as if the whole city were guilty; which inasmuch as it had not prevented the excess, was indeed true. His accusation, "they thought to murder me," is not literally in accordance with their intentions, because he is ashamed to speak of the matter by its right name. Moreover, the crime intended was worse than death, and submission to it punishable with disgrace and death. But he does not say that he himself delivered his concubine up into their hands, that they

might treat her according to their lusts, instead of himself. And finally, he does not represent the violent deed as directed against an individual, but tells the assembled tribes that he cut the woman in pieces, and sent her throughout the whole country, because, as we already remarked above, it was a crime against all Israel. "Behold, all of you are sons of Israel." Without delay, he desires, that here and now, they consult, and that they separate not before they have formed a resolve. He fears lest otherwise the impression of the moment might wear off, and the crime be left unpunished.

Vers. 8 ff. **And all the people arose.** The people comprehend this, and unanimously proceed to action. Not one tribe shall be entrusted with the execution of the common resolve, but all shall take part in it, in order that the labor and odium may not fall on any one exclusively. The words

אֲשֶׁר נִעְשָׂה לְבִנְיָמִן, ver. 9, are to be regarded as parenthetical. The sense is that the executive army is to be selected out of the tribes, not by votes, but according to the lot. It is thought that the tenth part of Israel, or forty thousand men, will suffice; for these, who belong to all Israel, since they were raised out of the whole, provisions and equipments are to be supplied. This is looked to, in order that Israel may need no sustenance from Benjamin, while desolating its territory in war.

The words לְקַחְתָּ בְּיָדָהּ לְעַם, remind us of ch. vii. 8, where we have וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת-יְדֵיהֶם הָעָם, and make it probable that there also לָקְחָם should be read.

The expression, ver. 11, "and all the men of Israel were gathered together as one man חִבְרִים," is to be understood of the army, which, forty thousand men strong, was gathered from all Israel as if no tribe distinctions existed. It was precisely in this perfect national unity and unanimity, that Israel sought its right to take the step it had in view. From the consciousness of this national character of the army, proceeded the effort to induce Benjamin to surrender the guilty, before the final resort to extreme measures. In the statement that "they sent into all the tribes of Benjamin," the expression, "tribes of Benjamin," forming as it were an antithesis to the "tribes of Israel," is peculiar. Properly speaking, there could not be "tribes" within a "tribe"; but since Benjamin formed an opposition camp, his "families" might be so named.

nevertheless only "heard" of it, is met by Mr. Grove (Smith's *Bible Dict.*, s. v. "Mizpah") by the apparently no less difficult supposition that the Mizpah of the present passage is to be located beyond the Jordan. — Ta.]

1 [So Dr. Robinson, *B. R.* i. 460. Dean Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.* p. 212), claims Nebi-Samuel for the "high place" of Gibeon, and transfers Mizpah to Scopus (p. 222). The difficulty arising from the fact that in either case the assembly was held within the territorial limits of Benjamin, who

The war against Benjamin. The armies of Israel are twice smitten. The divine promise of victory.

CHAPTER XX. 14-28.

14 But [And] the children [sons] of Benjamin gathered themselves together out of the cities unto Gibeah, to go out to battle against [with] the children [sons] of 15 Israel. And the children [sons] of Benjamin were numbered at that time out of

the cities twenty and six thousand men that drew sword, beside the inhabitants
 16 of Gibeah, which were numbered seven hundred chosen men. Among all this
 people *there were* seven hundred chosen men left-handed; every one could sling
 17 stones at an hair-breadth, and not miss.¹ And the men of Israel, beside Benjamin,
 were numbered four hundred thousand men that drew sword: all these *were* men
 18 of war. And the children [sons] of Israel arose, and went up to the house of God
 [Beth-el], and asked counsel of God, and said, Which of us shall go up² first to
 the battle against [with] the children [sons] of Benjamin? And the Lord [Jehovah]
 19 vah] said, Judah *shall go up* first. And the children [sons] of Israel rose up in
 20 the morning, and encamped against Gibeah. And the men of Israel went out to
 battle against [with] Benjamin; and the men of Israel put themselves in array to
 21 fight against [with] them at Gibeah. And the children [sons] of Benjamin came
 [went] forth out of Gibeah, and destroyed [killed] down to the ground of the Isra-
 22 elites that day twenty and two thousand men. And [But] the people, the men of
 Israel, encouraged themselves [took courage], and set their battle again in array
 23 in the place where they put themselves in array the first day. (And the children
 [sons] of Israel went up and wept before the Lord [Jehovah] until even, and
 asked counsel of the Lord [Jehovah], saying, Shall I go up [advance] again to
 battle against [with] the children [sons] of Benjamin my brother? And the Lord
 24 [Jehovah] said, Go up against him.) And the children [sons] of Israel came near
 25 against the children [sons] of Benjamin the second day. And Benjamin went
 forth against them out of Gibeah the second day, and destroyed [killed] down to the
 ground of the children [sons] of Israel again eighteen thousand men; all these
 26 drew the sword. Then all the children [sons] of Israel, and all the people, went
 up, and came unto the house of God [Beth-el], and wept, and sat there before the
 Lord [Jehovah], and fasted that day until even, and offered burnt-offerings and
 27 peace-offerings before the Lord [Jehovah]. And the children [sons] of Israel
 inquired of the Lord [Jehovah], (for the ark of the covenant of God *was* there in
 28 those days, And Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, stood before it in
 those days,) saying, Shall I yet again go out to battle against [with] the children
 [sons] of Benjamin my brother, or shall I cease? And the Lord [Jehovah] said,
 Go up; for to-morrow I will deliver them into thine hand.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 Ver. 16. — לֹא־יָשָׁךְ , from נָשָׁךְ , to miss, whence לֹא־יָשָׁךְ , a miss, failure, sin. The Greek *ἀμαρτία* is explained in a similar way (cf. Ernesti, *die Theorie vom Ursprung der Sünde*, p. 10, where the reference to our passage, however, must not be suffered to mislead, as if the substantive לֹא־יָשָׁךְ were read).

[2 Ver. 18. — $\text{מִי־יָשָׁךְ־עִמָּנוּ}$: "Who shall go up for us." Compare "Textual and Grammatical," note 2, on ch. i. 1.—Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

The tribe of Benjamin refuses to confess its guilt, and to surrender the guilty. Defiant and warlike of spirit, it prefers to run the risks of war. It builds its hopes on the unwieldiness of the national organization, on differences of opinion, on partisan sympathies in its favor, and on the lack of inclination to war, especially to a war waged against a brother-tribe. It hopes, therefore, notwithstanding the great preponderance of force on the other side, to maintain its ground. And it is certain that by reason of the divisions of great confederacies (like the German), many a small government has often maintained itself in defiance and resistance. Thus also in antiquity, the Phœnic town of Crissa, having injured Delphi and therewith wronged the national sanctuary of the Greeks, and being charged with other moral delinquencies,¹ thought nevertheless to be able to de-

1 Compare Dunker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, iv. 38, who however leans towards the side of Crissa as against the priesthood of Delphi.

fend itself against the executionary army of the Amphictyonic Council. And it succeeded in a degree. The war, waged against the unaided city by the Thessalians, Athenians, and Sicyonians, assisted by the wisdom of Solon, lasted ten years. It was ended at last by an oracular response and a stratagem of war, as in the case of the war with Benjamin (Paus. x. 37). John Frederick the Intermediate, of Gotha, likewise, expected to be able to maintain himself on his Gibeah, the Grimmenstein, in order to protect Grumbach, despite all his sins, against the ban of the German Empire: but, like Benjamin, he had to succumb before his brethren (of Saxony. Cf. Beck, *Gesch. Joh. Fried. des Mittleren*, i. 518). A similar war was that waged by the States of North America, in which the South defended itself like Benjamin, and with even greater success, albeit that the motives of the conflict were less manifest than they were at Gibeah.

Benjamin, however, would certainly have given up all thought of resistance, if the singular exposition were correct, which makes all the 400,000

men of Israel to proceed against Gibeah of Benjamin. This tribe numbered 26,700 men fit for military service. That the whole of this force is at once brought into the field is a matter easily explained, seeing they are about to enter on a desperate war. But that all the 400,000 men of all Israel appeared within the limited district of Gibeah, is both in itself and strategically improbable. The renewed mention of this number in ver. 17, is only designed to point out the enormous superiority of Israel in the means of war; just as to indicate the superior strength of Prussia over Denmark, it has doubtless happened that persons have spoken of the 500,000 men at the command of the Prussian state. But it surely could not occur that those 500,000 should all be sent against Schleswig. Nor is there anything in our narrative to require a different conclusion with reference to the 400,000 of Israel. On the contrary, we have, as above explained, the definite statement that 40,000 men were chosen for the war against Benjamin, which still left the advantage of numbers with the national army. The expositors, in considering ver. 9, have overlooked the fact that the purpose for which the lot was used is fully described in ver. 10; that the mere business of procuring provisions was not of such a nature as to demand such exactness of statement; that further, **לְקִשּׁוֹת** stands perfectly parallel with **לְקָרְבָּה**

and **לְבוֹאֵם לְגִבְעָה**, and that therefore the tenth part was levied for the purpose of executing judgment on Benjamin. It is also well known that the expression "sons of Israel," in ver. 19, stands not only for all the tribes, but is used in all the war narratives we have hitherto considered, of single tribes as well. Should it be objected, that especially according to Biblical narratives, the defeat of great armies by small ones is not an unheard of thing, it must be admitted that this is indeed true. But whenever this occurred in Biblical narratives, the victors had the cause of God and of truth on their side. And whenever that was the case—and it may perhaps be assumed to have been the case in the battle of Marathon also—the victory was of so decisive a character as to admit of no comparison with the ultimately useless successes of Benjamin. Gibeah means "height;" and victory remained with the Benjamites, as long as they kept their position on the elevated points. But what specially proves that the narrator views the army of Israel as composed of 40,000 men, is the circumstance that in the first engagement 22,000, and in the second, 18,000, together exactly 40,000, were put *hors de combat*. He mentions this to show that the assurance which Israel felt that a tenth part of its forces were enough to settle with Benjamin, was not justified in the event. Properly speaking, they are only ten tribes who confront Benjamin; and 40,000 are the tenth part of their available military strength: it costs, therefore, the military capacity of what, in a certain sense, is a tribe, before a tribe like Benjamin succumbs. The losses indicate, as we shall point out farther on, that Israel's cause in this war was by no means a perfectly pure one.

Ver. 14–17. **And the sons of Benjamin gathered themselves together out of their districts unto Gibeah.** Expositors have taken offense here at the word **הָרְיִיבִים**, as if the Benjamites had only lived in cities; but the narrator designs to state that the fighting men of Benjamin assembled themselves from all the regions assigned to

the tribe at Gibeah, as a fixed point of rendezvous, and at the same time for the purpose of protecting this city, as the special object of attack, against the other tribes. The number, also, here given of the tribe, 26,700, appeared to many not to harmonize with the subsequent enumeration of 25,700 men (vers. 35, 47). But it would have been surprising, indeed, if after two engagements, in which the enemy lost 40,000 men, none of Benjamin's men had been found wanting. Accordingly, the corrections suggested even as anciently as the Septuagint and Josephus, are less credible than this natural difference between the beginning and the end of the war. Of the 26,700, only 700 belonged to Gibeah, — a statement which is made for the purpose of testifying to the strong sense of community, through which the whole tribe takes up the cause of these few. The connection of ver. 16 with the preceding is perfectly clear. It states expressly that in the entire host (**כָּל הָעָם**), there were 700 left-handed persons (cf. on these at ch. iii. 15), who were skillful slingers. This number has nothing to do with the 700 of ver. 15. Since the Benjamites defended themselves from the heights, the far-throwing slingers were of special value. They were slingers, perhaps, because they were left handed. According to the *Cyropædia*, Cyrus caused all who were incapable of bearing other arms to exercise themselves in slinging. The Persians were fond of using slingers (Brisson, p. 658). The friend of the younger Cyrus, Mithridates, had four hundred slingers, "exceedingly light and active" (*Anab.* iii. 3, 6). The Rhodian slingers threw leaden plummetts to a great distance. The Achæans struck any part of the body at which they aimed.¹ That skill in slinging was not confined to Benjamin, is evident from David's victory over Goliath. What a terrible weapon the sling could be, is demonstrated by the narrative of Livy concerning the Balearians, who hurled such a quantity of stones, like thickest hail showers, on the approaching Carthaginian fleet, as to prevent them from casting anchor (xxviii. 37).

Ver. 18. **And the sons of Israel arose, and went up to Bethel, and inquired of God** (**שָׁאֲלוּ אֱלֹהִים**). It is *Jehovah* who answers, but their inquiry was addressed to *Elohim*. It is no wonder that they suffered a defeat. For they approach God without sorrow because they are obliged to fight against a brother tribe, without repentance for their own sins, and without sacrifices. It is thus that heathen inquire of their *Elohim*, just as oracles were consulted from a desire to know the future. Nor do they ask whether they should advance, whether they shall conquer—that they regard as certain—but who shall first attack. The answer was: "Judah shall go up first." It conforms in scope to their inquiry. They have not inquired concerning victory; hence, the answer contains nothing to inform them on this head. Had any other tribe but Judah been named, that might have been interpreted into an assurance of victory; for Judah always marched at the head (cf. on ch. i. 2). Judah's leading on the present occasion is, therefore, only in accordance with the common rule. The divine response abstains from giving any information beyond what the inquiry called for. This circumstance might have been a warning to them, had they been less

¹ Livy (xxxviii. 29) describes their slingers quite fully: *Non capita solum hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destitissent oris.*

certain. But does not the inquiry and its answer countenance the opinion that all the troops of all the tribes (400,000 men) were encamped before Gibeah? But in that case, we would have to suppose, in accordance with the analogy of ch. i. 2, that Judah began the conflict alone, which is against the whole narrative. On the contrary, the question rather serves to show that the 40,000 represented all Israel on a decimated scale; that they were not chosen according to tribes, but by the lot, out of the whole people. Consequently, the internal relations of this army differed from what they would have been, had the selection been according to tribes. Hence arose the question: Who shall take the lead in *this army*? God replies: "Judah, — as always"; and leaves every other question undetermined.

Vers. 19 ff. And the men of Israel arrayed themselves for battle with them at Gibeah (גִּבְעָה), they formed a מַעֲרָקָה, an *acies*, cf. on ch. vi. 26), but the untrustworthy character of their generalship demonstrates itself thereby. Without a definite plan of attack and of the war, they dispose themselves before the city, and hope thereby to terrify the threatened tribe. But the latter falls upon them, and institutes a great destruction among them. The text says: וַיִּשְׁחָרְפוּ בְּיַשְׁרָאֵל. The word שְׁחָרַף is not only to kill, but also to wound, and to disable for war.

It is to be assumed, as a matter of course, although it is not stated, that after this first engagement, and again after the second, some time elapsed before a renewal of hostilities took place. It was unnecessary to state a fact that lay in the nature of the case. The troops were reinforced after the first defeat, although no thought was as yet entertained of adopting a different battle-plan, by which the enemy might be drawn away from his favorable position on the height. They determined, however, not to await an attack this time, as formerly, but to make one (וַיִּתְרַבּוּ, vers. 24);

for this is the meaning of תְּרַבּ (to advance at a rapid march), when used of movements in war. But, more important still, they begin to lose their self-righteous assurance. They go to Bethel, and weep there. They see how lamentable it is, to fight against their brethren, and lose thousands of lives in such a war. They begin to doubt whether their cause be a good one; and hence they inquire not now of an Elohim, after the manner of the heathen, but of their Elohim, Jehovah. The answer says: "Go up," but gives no promise of victory. In this way, the battle is renewed, — not on the next day after the former, but for the second time. They still fail to conquer Gibeah: the attack is repulsed, and the loss, though not as great as before, is yet terribly large.

The divine reply, "Go up," was not a deception of the people, but was grounded in the sad necessity of chastizing both parts of the warring nation.

1 [How came the ark to be at Bethel, if the one national sanctuary was at Shiloh? Hengstenberg (Keil also) replies that it was brought from Shiloh to Bethel during the war.

Had the answer been, "Go not up," Israel would have abandoned the war, and Benjamin would have been hardened in the pride of successful resistance. Israel, on the other hand, by going up and experiencing defeat, would again be brought nearer to the right spirit, which alone insures victory in Israel. Accordingly, in ver. 26 this spirit manifests itself. Proceeding to Bethel, they no longer merely weep there, and lament over the calamity of waging war on their brethren at such fearful sacrifices, but they abide in prayer and fasting. It is a sign of the penitence which they feel on account of their own sins. Hitherto, they had fought against Benjamin under a feeling of their own superior virtue, as if among their opponents there had been only sinners, among themselves none but Israelites without guile. Theirs was an exhibition of Pharisaism, which modern history also carries on all its pages, in which there is much to be read of "moral indignation," but very little of "righteous self-knowledge" and repentance. Through the command of Lev. xxiii. 26-32, concerning the day of atonement, on which all nourishment was to be withheld from the body, fasting became in Israel the sign of confession of sin and repentance. The word נָצַב occurs here for the first time: in the Books of Samuel it is the ordinary term. The great victory of Samuel over the Philistines is also preceded by a fast (1 Sam. vii. 6). The signification of the word resembles that of

(וַעֲבִירָהּ, a fast, from נָצַב (Lev. xxiii. 27: וַעֲבִירָהּ) *oppressit, domuit*, and is etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dam, daṃān, domānī*, to tame. The Sanskrit *prājā*, to fast, is in like manner explained as meaning "to restrain one's self" (cf. Benfey, *Gr. Gram.* ii. 202). — Israel now performs what it had formerly neglected: it brings burnt-offerings and peace-offerings — the burnt-offerings as penitential offerings for the past, as in ch. vi. 26 ff; the peace offerings as votive offerings with reference to the future (Lev. vii. 16). The Jewish expositors have a beautiful explanation. They derive שְׁלָמִים from שָׁלוֹם, peace. The last word of the law concerning sacrifices in Lev. vii. is שְׁלָמִים (ver. 37); and peace, say they, is the close of every holy life (cf. my *Irene*, p. 37.)

In vers. 27 and 28, the words: "for the ark . . . those days," form a parenthetical intercalation, which, as we shall point out below, is of importance in determining the time to which the events belong. After repentance and sacrifices, Israel inquires now for the third time of the Urim and Thummim; and now only, when they who inquire are in the right frame of mind, and receive a full and favorable reply, is the statement inserted that the ark of the covenant was at Bethel,¹ and that Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, was the high-priest. And now the answer is not simply "Go up," but conveys the assurance, "to-morrow will I give victory into thine hand."

For his arguments, see *Pentateuch*, ii. 37-39, Ryland's edition. For our author's explanation, see the "Concluding Note," on p. 259. — Ta.]

The men of Israel recommence hostilities. By feigned flight they draw the Benjamites away from Gibeah, which thereupon falls into their hands and is destroyed, together with nearly the whole tribe.

CHAPTER XX. 29-48.

29 30 And Israel set liers in wait round about Gibeah. And the children [sons] of Israel went up against the children [sons] of Benjamin on the third day, and put themselves in array against Gibeah, as at other times. And the children [sons] of Benjamin went out against the people, *and* were [thus] drawn away from the city; and they began to smite of the people, *and* kill,¹ as at other times, in the highways, of which one goeth up to the house of God [Beth-el], and the other to Gibeah in the field, about thirty men of Israel. And the children [sons] of Benjamin said, They *are* smitten down [omit: down] before us, as at the first. But the children [sons] of Israel said, Let us flee, and draw them from the city unto the highways.

33 And all the men of Israel rose up out of their place, and put themselves in array at Baal-tamar: and the liers in wait of Israel came forth [also] out of their places [place], *even* out of the meadows [naked fields]² of Gibeah. And there [they] came against³ Gibeah ten thousand chosen men out of all Israel, and the battle [there] was sore: but they [*i. e.* the Benjamites] knew not that evil *was* near them. And the Lord [Jehovah] smote Benjamin before Israel: and the children [sons] of Israel destroyed of the Benjamites that day twenty and five thousand and an hundred men: all these drew the sword.

36 So [Now] the children [sons] of Benjamin saw that they [the sons of Israel] were smitten:⁴ for the men of Israel gave place to the Benjamites, because they trusted unto the liers in wait which they had set beside [against] Gibeah. And the liers in wait hasted, and rushed upon Gibeah; and the liers in wait drew *themselves* along,⁵ and smote all the city with the edge of the sword. Now there was [omit: there was] an [the] appointed sign between the men of Israel and the liers in wait [was], that they should make a great flame [cloud — *lit. elevation, rising*] with [of] smoke rise up⁶ out of the city. But when [omit: when] the men of Israel retired in the battle, [and] Benjamin began to smite *and* kill of the men of Israel about thirty persons: for they said, Surely they are smitten down [omit: down] before us, as *in* the first battle. And when the flame [cloud — *cf. ver. 38*] began to arise up out of the city with [omit: with] a pillar of smoke, the Benjamites looked behind them, and behold, the flame [whole] of the city ascended up [in flames, or smoke] to heaven. And when [omit: when] the men of Israel turned again, [and] the men of Benjamin were amazed [confounded]: for they saw that evil was come upon them. Therefore they turned *their backs* before the men of Israel unto the way of the wilderness; but the battle overtook [or, pursued after] them; and *them* which *came* out of the cities they destroyed in the midst of them.⁷ Thus [omit: Thus] they [They] inclosed the Benjamites round about, *and* chased them, *and* trode them down with ease [at their place of rest,] over against [as far as before] Gibeah toward the sun-rising [on the east].⁸ And there fell of Benjamin eighteen thousand men; all these *were* men of valour. And they turned and fled toward the wilderness unto the rock of Rimmon: and they gleaned of them in the highways five thousand men; and pursued hard after them unto Gidom, and slew two thousand men [more] of them. So that all which fell that day of Benjamin were twenty and five thousand men that drew the sword; all these *were* men of valour. But six hundred men turned and fled to the wilderness unto the rock Rimmon, and abode in the rock Rimmon four months. And the men of Israel turned again upon [returned unto] the children [sons] of Benjamin, and smote them with the edge of the sword, as well the men of *every* city,⁹ as the beast [cattle], and all that came to hand [was found]: also they set on fire all the cities that they came to [that were found].

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 31. — וַיִּחְלוּ לְהַפֹּת מִהָעַם חֲלָלִים: "and they began to smite of the people, slain;" i. e., they smote so that the smitten became slain. חֲלָלִים is the accusative of closer definition. Dr. Cassel takes it as nom. native: "They began to smite, (so that,) as at the former times, slain of the people were [i. e., lay] on the highways, of which one," etc. Similarly in ver. 39.—Ta.]

[2 Ver. 33. — מִעֵרָה. Dr. Cassel: *Ébisse*, "nakedness;" cf. his remarks below. The Peshito read מִעֵרָה, a cave; the LXX. in Cod. Alex., and the Vulgate, מִמְּעַרְב, "from the west." Fürst (in his Lexicon) defines מִעֵרָה as "forest," and derives it from a conjectural root עָרָה III., to sprout thickly, to which he also assigns the participle in Ps. xxxvii. 35. Kell seeks to remove the difficulty of connecting the ambushade with an open, treeless plain, by remarking that "the words of the text do not require us to suppose that the forestless region was the place of hiding, but may be so understood as to affirm that the ambushade, having broken up from its hiding-place, advanced against the city from the forestless region." But he has failed to notice that the participle מִנִּיחַ speaks precisely of the "breaking forth," and leaves the idea of "advancing on the city" entirely unexpressed.—Ta.]

[3 Ver. 34. — וַיָּבֹאוּ מִמֶּנָּה לְבַעֲזָה. "from before Gibeah." Dr. Cassel, like the E. V., has "against." Bertheau says: "The ambushade, consisting of ten thousand chosen men, came 'from straight before' Gibeah; whither they came, is not stated, but from the connection it appears that they attacked the Benjamites, who were fighting at some distance from the city, in the rear." Kell adopts the same explanation. But it is manifest from vers. 37, 38, and especially vers. 40 and 41, that Bertheau and Kell are wrong, and the E. V. and our author right.—Ta.]

[4 Ver. 36. — וַיִּירֹאוּ בְנֵי־בְנִימִן פִּי נַפְסֵם. With this verse, a new and more detailed account of the conflict begins. So Bertheau, Kell, and Bunsen, as well as our author. To indicate this to the eye, we have introduced a new paragraph division into the text. Bertheau and Bunsen agree with our author that the subject of נַפְסֵם is "the sons of Israel." According to Kell, "the sons of Benjamin saw that they were smitten, and that the men of Israel only gave way before them because they depended on the ambushade which they had laid against Gibeah. They became aware of this when the ambushade fell on their rear." But this is inconsistent with ver. 37, and certainly with ver. 40. Ver. 36 is a restatement of ver. 32, introductory to the detailed account that now follows.—Ta.]

[5 Ver. 37. — וַיִּמְשֵׁהוּ. Dr. Cassel translates: "and the ambushade overpowered and smote the whole city;" and adds in a foot-note: "In the sense of Job xxiv. 22: מִשֵּׂה אֲבִירִים בְּכֹחוֹ." But there the word probably means "to hold fast, to preserve," cf. Delitzsch in *locum*. It seems better to take it here in the sense "to march, advance," cf. ch. iv. 6.—Ta.]

[6 Ver. 38. — חָרַב לְהַעֲלוֹתָם. The first of these words being taken as the apocoped hiphil imperative, a mixture of the direct with the indirect address arises from the suffix of the third person in the second word. Dr. Cassel avoids this by declaring חָרַב to be an apocoped infinitive (see below); but it is better to admit the existence of a grammatical inaccuracy.—Ta.]

[7 Ver. 42. — וַאֲשֶׁר מִהָעָרִים מִשְׁחִיתֵיהֶם אָרוּ בְרוּכֹו. Dr. Cassel translates: "and they of the cities (through which Benjamin came) destroyed them in the midst of them." Compare the exegetical remarks. KELL: "The words מִהָעָרִים מִשְׁחִיתֵיהֶם can only be an appositional explanation of the suffix in הִדְּ בִּיקְרָהוּ, in the sense: Benjamin, namely, they who out of the cities of Benjamin had come to the aid of Gibeah (cf. vers. 14 ff, i. e., all Benjamites. The following וַיִּי מִשְׁחִיתֵיהֶם is a circumstantial clause illustrative of the preceding חָרַב: 'in that they (the men of Israel) destroyed him (Benjamin) in the midst of it.' The singular suffix in בְרוּכֹו, refers not to Benjamin—for that yields no tolerable sense—but to the preceding הַדֶּרֶךְ הַמְּדָבָר: 'in the midst of the way to the desert.'"

[8 Ver. 43. — This verse continues the description begun in ver. 42, by means of an animated *constructio asymdeta*. בְּתָרוּ אֶת־בְּנִימִן, they surrounded Benjamin (by throwing out bodies of men on his flanks); הִרְדִּיףהוּ, pursued after him; מְנַחֵה הִדְרִיכָהוּ, fell upon and trode him down at his resting-place (that is, when, exhausted, he halted to take breath—מְנַחֵהוּ, accusative of place); and this pursuit and slaughter continued until the pursuers, who started from some distance north of Gibeah (ver. 31), had come south "as far as before Gibeah on its eastern side." There the remnant of the pursued found means to turn northward again, ver. 45; and were again pursued as far as Gidon (a place evidently somewhere between east of Gibeah and Rimmon). Compare our author's remarks below, which, however, indicate a slightly different conception on some points.—Ta.]

[9 Ver. 48. — מִעִיר מָתָם. Dr. Cassel renders: "everything of the city, to the cattle and whatever else was found;" and adds the following note: "Many MSS., and the more recent expositors, point מָתָם, men, and yet it cannot be said that with בְּהִמָּה, this forms an altogether suitable antithesis, inasmuch as it still fails to express the idea that everything was put under the ban of destruction. The pointing מָתָם finds support in Josh. viii. 24; x. 20, where similar destructions עֲרֵהָם are spoken of."—Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 29 ff. From the determined purpose of the ten tribes to prosecute the war, Benjamin should have taken occasion to yield. Since Israel continued firm, notwithstanding severe losses, it might have concluded that it was impossible to resist permanently. It might also have observed that another spirit animated this second war, and that Israel had become thoroughly in earnest to complete the work it had taken in hand. Another interval of time had manifestly passed by. After the dissolution of the first army, Israel had to levy a new one (illustrative examples of this may be found in the North American Union war). Accordingly, the first engagements are spoken of together, as the "former" or the "first" war (vers. 32 and 39). The tribes of Israel now first conclude to use strategic arts. This circumstance incidentally affords data which enable us to obtain a somewhat clearer idea of the theatre of the war. Gibeah lay high; the attack of the Israelites came from the direction of Bethel, *i. e.*, from the North-west. Two highways are mentioned, along which the sons of Benjamin advanced to meet the assailants—one leading to Bethel, the other to "Gibeah-in-the-Field" (a Lower, or Field-Gibeah in contrast with the Higher, or Mountain-Gibeah). The Israelites allure the Benjamites, rendered unwary by former successes, farther and farther away from the heights and the city. It is expressly said that Benjamin went out "to meet them" (לְקָרְאָה, ver. 31). They offer scarcely any resistance, but retreat, constantly followed by Benjamin, who already sees the triumphs of the first two battle days reenacted (ver. 32). Not until they have reached Baal Tamar,¹ doubtless at a suitable distance from Gibeah, do they halt, and wait for the prearranged signal from other divisions who lay in ambush, and who were to attack the city as soon as the Benjamites should leave it. The place from which the city is thus suddenly attacked, is called מַעְרֵה־נֶבֶב (ver. 33).

The Masora has pointed מַעְרֵה, evidently deriving the word from מַעְרָה, to be naked, and intending to express by it, as Raschi also explains, the "nakedness" of Gibeah, *i. e.*, its accessible part. The Targum renders it by מַיִשָּׁר; the same term by which it constantly renders מַעְרָה, so that possibly it may have read מַעְרָה־נֶבֶב.² It might then be understood of the point where the hill slopes down to the plain, and thus becomes more accessible. The simplest way would be to point so as to read מַעְרָה, a cave, as the Septuagint also seems to do: Μααργεβα (instead of Μαπαργεβέ). North of the present Jeba, with which our Gibeah is held to be identical, runs the Wady es-Suweinit. It comes from Beitin and el-Bireh, to the North-west, and, after passing Jeba, runs between high precipices, in one of which is a large cavern called Jaiyah (Rob. i. 441).

Vers. 34, 35. And they came against Gibeah, ten thousands men. We now first learn the nu-

¹ Movers (*Phönizier*, i. 661) proposes to explain this name of a place by means of the Phœnician Tamyrus, Zeus Demarus. Raschi, on the other hand, connected it with the district of Jericho.

² This is supported by the Syriac-Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella, which has מַעְרָה־נֶבֶב, which gives us a rendering of ἀπὸ δυσμῶν (Rüdman, p. 179).

merical strength of the ambuscade, the placing of which was stated in ver. 29. It is scarcely necessary to point out that we have here another fact going to show the improbability of a besieging army of 400,000, who could have surrounded the whole of Gibeah on all sides. Verses 34 and 35, while telling about the ambuscade, take occasion briefly to indicate the result of the whole war, according to what, as Keil justly observes, is a characteristic practice of Hebrew historiography. This is followed, vers. 36 ff., by the more detailed account derived from ancient notes. Nor is there any discrepancy between ver. 35, which states that there fell 25,100 men of Benjamin, and ver. 46, which gives the number at 25,000. The latter is only the sum total of the three round numbers of vers. 44 and 45, namely, 18,000 + 5,000 + 2,000; and the great fidelity of the report shows itself in the fact that since the hundred over 25,000 is not divided between the round sums, it is also not included in the sum total, although according to ver. 35 its inclusion was only a matter of course. The artifice employed by the Israelites against the Benjamites, was in a different way also used against Shechem by Abimelech. Similar stratagems, practiced by Scipio, Hannibal, and others, are collected by Frontinus (*Stratagematicon*, lib. iii. cap. 10). Scipio besieged a city in Sardinia, feigned to take to flight before the besieged, and when they thoughtlessly followed him, *per eos, quos in proximo occultaverat, oppidum invasit*.

Ver. 36. For the sons of Benjamin had thought that they were smitten. The "they" of this sentence refers to the Israelites, as appears from the succeeding words. The verse is a recapitulation of verse 32, and is therefore to be rendered by the pluperfect: "they had seen or thought." They actually had seen, that the sons of Israel allowed themselves to be smitten.

Ver. 38. And the appointed sign between the men of Israel and the liers in wait was, that they should cause a great cloud of smoke to rise up out of the city. The form הָרָב (הָרָב) is explained by the phrase הָרָבָה (הָרָבָה), Ps. li. 4, where the *keri* has הָרָב. For not the imperative only, but precisely the infinitive, which forms it (both הָרָבָה), is also apocopated into הָרָב, and takes in consequence the adverbial signification, "strongly," "very," "fully." The word is quite essential to the full understanding of the sentence. The men of the ambuscade are to cause a great pillar of smoke, like that of a burning city, to ascend, such as could not fail to be visible at a distance, and could not be mistaken. Bertheau must have overlooked this, when he proposed to remove the word out of the text.³

Vers. 42 ff. And the inhabitants of the cities destroyed them in the midst of them. The men of Benjamin fled; and in flight passed through the cities that lay in their course. Thereupon the inhabitants of these cities also arise, and slay the fugitives in their midst. The same thing occurs in all wars, when disorganized, fugitive troops must pass through the enemy's land.⁴ Other expla-

³ On the very ancient false reading ב. הָרָב, found in some Hebrew MSS. and in the LXX., cf. Keil. Paul of Tella has given a similar rendering in his Syriac version (Rüdman, p. 180).

⁴ [But on this occasion the fugitives do not pass through the enemy's land. From first to last, whether fighting or

nations, such as have been given from time immemorial, do not appear to harmonize with the connection and the language. The clause cannot refer to those who burned the city; for how could they be called "אֲשֶׁר מְהַרְרִים"? Equally incomprehensible is the reason for using this expression, and the בְּרוּכוֹ connected with it, if Bertheau's explanation, which Keil has mostly followed, be adopted; for the pursuit and inclosure are first delineated in ver. 43. The explanation of Le Clerc appears to me to come nearest the sense: *Cum confugerunt Benjaminite ad urbes aliorum Israelitarum, ab eis occidebantur*. Only, this must not be understood of a systematic application for refuge on the part of the Benjamites; but of the natural phenomenon that against a pursued and smitten foe everything rises up. The narrator evidently points in this way to the embittered feelings against Benjamin which everywhere prevailed. In proportion to Benjamin's former overbearing haughtiness, is his present experience of misery. Not only is the hostile army continually at his heels, but he meets with enemies everywhere. Only the wilderness, which he endeavors to reach by fleeing in an eastern and northeastern direction toward the Jordan, promises safety. But before he arrives there, divisions of his men are cut off and

fleeing, Benjamin moves on his own soil within his own boundaries; and this fact makes our author's explanation

surrounded (בְּתֵיבָה, ver. 43). The pursuit is unceasing (this is the sense of הֲרִיפוּהוּ מִנְּחֻדָּה, "they chase his pest," hence probably the hiphil); he scarcely thinks to be able to take breath for a moment, before they are behind him again: in this way he is driven until he finds himself within the limits of the wilderness east of Gibeath. Finally, still pursued as far as an unknown place called Gidom, a remnant of his shattered hosts finds an asylum in the rock Rimmon, northeast of Gibeath and below Ophra, for the modern Rimmón, lying high, on a rocky Tell, on the north side of the great Wady el-'Asas, is held to be the rock Rimmon of our narrative (Rob. iii. 290; ii. 440).

Six hundred men of the whole tribe saved themselves on that rock. All the rest fell slain by the hands of brethren. They owed their safety to the eagerness of their pursuers to turn back, and destroy everything belonging to Benjamin, cities, houses, and herds. The cities are put under the ban and burned, like Jericho and other cities of the enemy. The Israelites are even more severe in their treatment of Benjamin, than the Pythia was toward the hostile Crissa, which was to be "warred on by day and by night and be made desolate, and whose inhabitants were to become slaves." But grief and regret did not fail to come.

of the last clause of ver. 42 impossible. Cf. note 7 under "Textual and Grammatical." — Ta.]

Israel bewails the desolation of Benjamin, and takes measures to preserve the tribe from extinction. Twelve thousand men are sent to punish Jabesh-Gilead for not joining in the war against Benjamin, and to take their daughters for wives for the remaining Benjamites.

CHAPTER XXI. 1-14.

- 1 Now the men of Israel had sworn in Mizpeh [Mizpah], saying, There shall not
- 2 any of us give his daughter unto Benjamin to wife. And the people came to the
- house of God [Beth-el], and abode [sat] there till even before God, and lifted up
- 3 their voices, and wept sore; And said, O Lord [Jehovah,] God of Israel, why is
- this come to pass in Israel, that there should be to-day one tribe lacking in Israel?
- 4 And it came to pass on the morrow, that the people rose early, and built there an
- 5 altar, and offered burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings. And the children [sons] of
- Israel said, Who *is there* among all the tribes of Israel that came not up with [in]
- the congregation unto the Lord [Jehovah]? For they had made a great oath con-
- cerning him that came not up to the Lord [Jehovah] to Mizpeh, saying, He shall
- 6 surely be put to death. And the children [sons] of Israel repented them for Ben-
- 7 jamin their brother, and said, There is one tribe cut off from Israel this day. How
- shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing we have sworn by the Lord [Je-
- 8 hovah], that we will not give them of our daughters to wives? And they said,
- What one *is there* of the tribes of Israel that came not up to Mizpeh to the Lord
- [Jehovah]? and behold, there came none to the camp from Jabesh-gilead to the
- 9 assembly. For the people were numbered [mustered], and behold *there were none*
- 10 of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead there. And the congregation sent thither twelve
- thousand men of the valiantest, and commanded them, saying, Go and smite the
- inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead with the edge of the sword, with the women and the
- 11 children. And this *is* the thing that ye shall do, Ye shall utterly destroy every
- 12 male, and every woman that hath lain by man. And they found among the inhab-

itants of Jabesh-gilead four hundred young [women,] virgins[,] that had known no man by lying with any male: and they brought them unto the camp to Shiloh, 13 which *is* in the land of Canaan. And the whole congregation sent *some* to speak to the children [sons] of Benjamin that *were* in the rock Rimmon, and to call 14 peaceably unto them [and offered (lit. called) peace to them]. And Benjamin came again [returned] at that time; and they gave them wives [the women] which they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh-gilead: and yet so they sufficed them not [but they found not for them so many].¹

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

1 Ver. 14. — וְלֹא־מָצְאוּ לָהֶם בָּן. Here, as in Ex. x. 14, בָּן means *tot*; and, in general, it answers to *tantus*, *tactis*, *tot*, where to "so" we add the appropriate adjective.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Vers. 1-4. Now the men of Israel had sworn in Mizpah. Our author now informs us, by way of supplementing the preceding narrative, of two oaths taken by the congregation at the beginning of the war. All Israel promised, man by man (hence the expression אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ, that they would not give their daughters as wives to any men of Benjamin. They abrogated the *connubium* (the right of intermarriage) with the tribe. They determined to treat Benjamin as a heathen people, or as heathen nations, in the absence of special treaties (*επιγαμία*), were accustomed to look upon each other. There were instances of heathen tribes who did not at all intermix. Such cases were found among Germanic tribes also, until Christianity had fully conquered them. It was the church that brought East-Goths and West-Goths, Anglo-Saxons and Britons, Franks and Romans, to look upon each other as tribes of one Israel. Very great, therefore, must have been the indignation of the collective Israel, when they thus, as it were, cast Benjamin out of their marriage covenant. The Romans once (335 B. C.) punished certain rebellious Latin tribes by depriving them of the privileges of *connubia*, *commercium*, et *concilia* (Liv. viii. 14). The Latins were subject tribes: Benjamin, a brother-tribe with equal rights. It might be thought that such a resolve was of itself sufficient to punish Benjamin for its immorality. But is it not probable that in that case, the tribe, through its stubbornness, would have sunk altogether into heathenism? It must be admitted, however, that double punishment was too severe. For it was to punish the guilty, not to destroy a tribe, that Israel had taken the field. This they now perceive — but too late — after their passionate exasperation has subsided. They now sit before the altar of God in Bethel, weeping over the calamity that has taken place. The consequences of their unmeasured severity are now perceived. To what purpose this utter destruction by the sword of everything that pertained to the brother tribe? When Benjamin took to flight, would it not have sufficed then once more to demand of him the surrender of the guilty? Would he still have resisted, when, helpless, he sought the wilderness for refuge? To what purpose the slaughter of the flying? the indiscriminate use of sword and fagot in the cities? Israel has cause for weeping; for it feels the horrors of civil war. Humanity and kindness are frightened away when brethren war with brethren. The worst and most detestable crimes are committed against nations by themselves, under the influence of foolish self-deception,

when they fall victims to internal strife. The exasperation of the feelings puts moral causes entirely out of sight. Leaders, says Tacitus, are then less valued than soldiers (*Hist.* ii. 29, 6: "*civilibus bellis plus militibus, quam ducibus licere*"). Israel may bewail itself before God, but it cannot accuse its leaders. The Urim and Thummim approved the punishment of Benjamin, but not the oaths and cruelty with which it was accompanied. However, if Israel in this war furnishes an illustrative instance of the results to which defiant obstinacy (on the side of Benjamin), and fanatical, self-exasperating zeal (on the side of the ten tribes), may lead, it is also instructive to note that it knows that such doings must be repented of. It builds an altar, and, as before the war, brings burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, the first expressive of penitence for the past, the other of vows for the future.

Vers. 5 ff. For they had made a great oath concerning whoever came not up to Jehovah to Mizpah, saying, He shall surely be put to death. Israel here also again clearly shows in its history, what every man may observe in his own experience: that repentance and vows, with reference to past precipitate sin, have scarcely been expressed, before the same thing is done again, and frequently with the same blind zeal which was just before lamented. At that time, when indignation at the outrage in Gibeah filled all hearts, an oath was also taken that every city in Israel that did not send its messengers to the national assembly, consequently took no part in the general proceeding against Benjamin, which was the cause of God, should be devoted to destruction. Such a city was considered to make itself, to a certain extent, an ally of Benjamin, and to be not sufficiently disturbed by the outrageous misdeed, to give assurance that it did not half approve of it. Amid the terrible events of the war, it had been neglected to ascertain whether all cities had sent messengers; it is only now, when the question how to help Benjamin up again without violating the oath, is considered, that the absence of messengers from Jabesh-Gilead is brought to light. And what is it proposed to do? To deal with that city as they have just lamented to have dealt with Benjamin. In order to restore broken Benjamin, another and in any view far less guilty city is now to be crushed. The reconciliation of breaches made by wrath is to be made by means of wrath. The people lament that they have sworn an untimely oath, and instead of penitently seeking to be absolved from it before God, undertake to make it good by executing another, equally hard and severe, and that after "Jehovah" has smitten the rebellious (ch. xx. 35), and peace has been re-

stored. Jabesh-Gilead was a valiant city, full of men of courage, as all Gileadites were. According to Eusebius, it lay six miles from Pella. Robinson searched for its site along the Wady which still bears the name Yâbis, and thought it probably that now occupied by some ruins, and called ed-Deir (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 319). The city must have been one of importance in Gilead. This is indicated by the fact that the Ammonite king Nahash selects it as his point of attack (1 Sam. xi.). In the history of Jephthah its name does not occur. When king Saul hears of the danger threatened the city by Nahash, he cuts a yoke of oxen into pieces, which he sends throughout all Israel with a summons to march to the relief of Jabesh-Gilead, and obtains a splendid victory. These historical notices suggest some noteworthy connections. Against Jabesh the Israelites now undertake the execution of a severe vow, in order to assist Benjamin. At a later date, Saul of Benjamin collects Israel around him, in order to deliver Jabesh. Jabesh does not come when summoned against Benjamin, by the pieces of the slain woman. Under Saul, Benjamin summons the whole people for Jabesh, by the pieces of a sacrificial animal.

Israel sends 12,000 valiant warriors against Jabesh-Gilead—a duly proportioned number, if 40,000 proceeded against Benjamin. The commander of these troops is instructed to destroy everything in Jabesh, except the virgin women, who are to be brought away, in order to be given to Benjamin. It may be assumed, however, that these instructions are to be so taken as that the army was to compel Jabesh to deliver up its virgin daughters as an expiation for its guilt, under threat of being proceeded with, in case of refusal, according to its proper deserts.¹ For it is not stated that the destruction was carried out; and, on the other hand, under Saul, Jabesh is again, to all appearances, the chief city of Gilead. The four

¹ The Athenian Ionians, according to Herodotus (i. 146), stole Carian women for themselves, and killed their fathers. Hence, he says, the Milesian custom which did not permit women to eat with their husbands, or to call them by their names.

hundred virgins are then, so to speak, the expiatory sacrifice for the guilty in Gilead. As such, and because the Gileadites were forced to surrender them, they could be given to Benjamin, notwithstanding the oath, which contemplated a voluntary giving. The words in ver. 14, "which they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh-Gilead," do not imply that the others were actually killed, but indicate that these were those who in any event were to be permitted to live for the sake of Benjamin, and who by their life—not as frequently among the heathen, by their death—helped to preserve the existence both of the Gileadites, from whom they were taken, and of the Benjamites, to whom they were given.² Inasmuch as they were preserved alive when it was possible to kill them, they were no longer considered to be such as ought not to be given to Benjamin. How instructive is all this! Israel will not break its oath, but evades it after all! If Gilead had deserved death, then its virgin women could not be allowed to live. If these may be saved alive, why should the children die? The Gileadites may not give their daughters voluntarily, but do not the Israelites give them for them? The surrender of these maidens is indeed a violent solution of the dilemma in which Israel finds itself, but the solution is only formal, not natural. The Greeks also, in cases of oaths thoughtlessly made, whose performance was maliciously insisted on, had recourse to formal exegesis, which avoided the real execution (cf. Herod. iv. 154; Nägelsbach, *Nachkom. Theol.*, p. 244). For the sake of kindness to Benjamin, Israel here thought itself justified in adopting a similar course; for in order not to weaken the sanctity of oaths, they evaded that which they had sworn by a formal compliance. They soon found occasion to repeat the process; for the four hundred Gileaditish maidens were not sufficient.

² [Unfortunately, this exegesis has not a particle of support in the text. To use a favorite phrase of the Germans on such occasions, it is entirely *aus der Luft gegriffen*. — Ta.]

A second expedient to supply the Benjamites with wives: they are instructed to carry off the maidens in attendance at one of the feasts held periodically in Shiloh.

CHAPTER XXI. 15-25.

15 And the people repented them for Benjamin, because that the Lord [Jehovah]
 16 had made a breach in the tribes of Israel. Then [And] the elders of the congregation said, How shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing the women are
 17 destroyed out of Benjamin? And they said, *There must be* an inheritance for them
 18 that be escaped of Benjamin,¹ that a tribe be not destroyed out of Israel. How-
 19 beit, we may not give them wives of our daughters: for the children [sons] of
 19 Israel have sworn, saying, Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin. Then they
 said, Behold, *there is* a feast of the Lord [Jehovah] in Shiloh yearly [,] *in a place*
 [omit: in a place] which [namely, Shiloh] is on the north side of Beth-el, on the east
 side of the highway that goeth up from Beth-el to Shechem, and on the south of
 20 Lebonah. Therefore, they commanded the children [sons] of Benjamin, saying, Go,

- 21 and lie in wait in the vineyards; And see, and behold, if [when] the daughters of Shiloh come out to dance in dances, then come ye out of the vineyards, and catch you every man his wife of the daughters of Shiloh, and go to the land of Benjamin.
- 22 And it shall be, when their fathers or their brethren come unto us to complain [contend], that we will say unto them, Be favourable unto them for our sakes [Give us them kindly]: because we reserved [took] not to [omit: to] each man his wife in the war;² for ye did not give unto them at this time,³ that ye should be
- 23 guilty. And the children [sons] of Benjamin did so, and took *them* wives, according to their number, of them that danced, whom they caught: and they went and
- 24 returned unto their inheritance, and repaired the cities, and dwelt in them. And the children [sons] of Israel departed thence at that time, every man to his tribe and to his family, and they went out from thence every man to his inheritance.
- 25 In those days *there was* no king in Israel: every man did *that which was* right in his own eyes.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 17. — יָמֵן לְבַיִטָּה לְבִן יִמִן. Dr. Cassel renders: "A portion of escape yet remains for Benjamin," *i. e.*, a means of delivering the tribe from extinction. This agrees well with the context, but is expressed somewhat singularly. Keil: "'Possession of the saved shall be for Benjamin,' *i. e.*, the territory of the tribe of Benjamin shall continue to be a separate possession for those Benjamites who have escaped the general slaughter." But this is not only incongruous with the context, but puts a meaning into the words which, as they stand, they cannot have. It seems to me that the better interpretation is as follows: In ver. 15, the people lament that a tribe is broken off. Thereupon the elders meet for consultation. It is agreed that the only thing needed to avert the catastrophe, lamented by the people as if it had already taken place, is a supply of wives. "There is a possession of escaped to Benjamin," say the elders (ver. 17), "and a tribe will not be destroyed out of Israel" (as the people lament). "We, it is true, cannot give them our daughters (ver. 18), but behold there is a feast in Shiloh" (ver. 19). — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 22. — בְּמִלְחָמָהּ. Our author translates: *als Kriegsbeute, i. e.*, as captives of war, cf. the exegetical remarks below. It seems better to refer the word to "the war" against Jabesh-Gilead. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 22. — פָּעַרְתָּ תְּהַשְׁמֵנוּ. The word פָּעַרְתָּ, rendered "at this time" by the E. V., belongs to the last clause of the verse. The two clauses together are well rendered by Dr. Cassel: "for you have not given them to them, in which case (פָּעַרְתָּ) you would be guilty." He adds in a foot-note: "פָּעַרְתָּ as in eh. xiii. 23; 'in which case he would not have caused us to hear things like these.'" Bertheau refers also to Num. xxiii. 23. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 15 ff. The fact that the number of maidens obtained at Jabesh-Gilead proved insufficient, furnishes the occasion of another consultation, instituted by the "elders of the congregation" (ver. 16), in order not to let the tribe of Benjamin die out. Finally, they hit on one last piece of deliverance (רִשְׁתָּ פְּלִיטָה) that is yet left them: they conclude to point out to the Benjamites a method by which they may *seize* for themselves those wives, which Israel, by reason of its oath, cannot give them. The inhabitants of Jabesh, likewise, did not give their daughters; they were forcibly taken from them, and turned over as booty to the sons of Benjamin.

Shiloh was the scene of a periodically recurring feast, at which the maidens assembled from all regions, and executed dances in certain fixed places. For the sake of these places, and to enable the Benjamites to reach the proper locality without exciting particular attention, an exact description of the situation of Shiloh¹ is added.² For that it is not gone into for the sake of Shiloh itself, is evident from the fact that such descriptions are not elsewhere customary. The Benjamites are

told of the vine-hills that enclose the dancing-places. There they are to wait, concealed in the thickets, until the maidens come forth; when they are to rush upon them, seize each a wife, and return with them, along the well-known roads, southward over Rimmon, to their territory, now again peaceably held by them. The Benjamites appear to have directed attention to the consequences of such an exploit, and the ill-will of fathers and brothers likely to be engendered by it. But the elders of the congregation quiet their apprehensions, and say:—

Ver. 22 ff. **When their fathers or their brethren come unto us to contend.** Verse 22 also has experienced the most singular expositions. The Syriac and Arabic versions have substituted לְהִרְחִיב לְהִרְחִיב, wherein Studer proposes to follow them. Others, as Bertheau, deem it necessary to leave out the words פְּבִלְחָמָהּ . . . לָא. Keil thinks that the words express the sense of the Benjamites, as if they had uttered them. And yet the matter is clear. The Benjamites, having recent experience of the consequences of lawlessness, are apprehensive of new troubles, in consequence of the proposed seizure. The elders quiet

¹ The description may still be recognized, since Robinson seems to have discovered Shiloh in Sellûn, and Lebonah in Lubban. The description of Shiloh as "Shiloh which is in the land of Canaan" (ver. 12), is more peculiar. This was only the full name of the place, cf. Josh. xxi. 2, and xiii. 9, where it is named in the same way. Cf. *Luzdunum Batavorum*.

² [Better Keil: "The exact description of the situation of Shiloh serves to show that it was peculiarly adapted for the execution of the advice given to the Benjamites, who, after seizing the maidens, could easily escape into their territory by the highway leading from Bethel to Shechem, without being apprehended by the citizens of Shiloh." — Tr.]

their fears, and say: No doubt, the fathers or brothers will come and contend warmly; and with us, for it will be manifest that we have given the occasion. Without this, you, the tribe of Benjamin, would not now have dared to do this thing. They will reproach us with having brought them under the curse of having violated their oath, inasmuch as you have obtained their daughters. Then shall we say to them (the fathers): Be quiet and gentle; give the maidens kindly to us. You know that we did not take them in war, as booty, as for instance, at Jabesh. We have indeed allowed them to be taken (for which no grudge is to be held against Benjamin); but in peace, not for injury; and as you did not give them, no guilt attaches to you. What else could we do to provide wives for Benjamin, without involving ourselves in the curse of a broken oath? We therefore allowed your daughters to be seized, but not as captives of war. Your daughters have gone to them involuntarily; and no curse can come on you, since you did not give them to them. The emphasis of the sentence lies on this very word לֹא־חָרַבְתִּים . Since we permitted them to be taken, there can be no thought of disgrace and war, or of insult. Therefore, do not contend; for why should there be contention where there is no war. The "elders" will ask forgiveness for themselves, on the ground that they meant it well with the seizure (לֹא־בַּמִּלְחָמָה), not in war; and fathers and brothers, whose wrath against Benjamin has now subsided, will all be satisfied, as soon as they are convinced that what has been done does not render them liable to the curse which lights on oath-breakers. For the oath that had been taken was latterly the chief hindrance in the way of reconciliation with Benjamin.

The Benjamites, thus encouraged, and made to feel secure against bad consequences, actually execute the proposed exploit, and with the wives thus won return happy to their renovated inheritance. Roman history, it is well known, has a celebrated occurrence of a similar nature in the rape of the Sabine women. A few analogous features are undoubtedly observable therein. The tribes of Italy refuse to enter into marriage treaties with the Romans; and the latter feared the destruction of their scarcely founded state. The Sabine rape occurred in the fourth month of Rome (Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14); and four months Benjamin had been sitting in the rock Rimmon. Benjamin received only maidens (vers. 12, 21); and only maidens likewise did the Romans seize (Plut. *l. c.*; Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 478). It was also a feast for which the Sabine women appeared in Rome, albeit not as active participants. In Israel, it has been thoughtfully conjectured, the dancing maidens perhaps celebrated the memory of Miriam's festive chorus of timbrel-striking maidens, when Israel had safely passed through the Red Sea. The Romans celebrated the consualia on the anniversary of the rape of the Sabine maidens, and conceived the observance sacred to the sea-god. In like manner, the animal that symbolized Mars, the god whom Romulus chiefly served at Rome, was the wolf, whom also his worshippers did not disgrace. Benjamin is compared with a wolf, and the word חִלְזָר , used of the seizure of the virgins (ver. 21), is afterwards applied as characterizing the wolf.¹

Schwegler (*Röm. Gesch.* i. 469) declares that the rape of the Sabines is a myth, sprung from the conception of marriage as a robbery.² But it is precisely in this story that the seizure of women is contrasted, as a thing improper in itself, with the regular marriages of the other tribes. The idea of the narrative is rather to show the impossibility of maintaining laws prohibiting intermarriage between different tribes. It contained the lesson that the marriage connections of men overleap the historical divisions of tribes and families, and that just as the ship converts the separating sea into an highway of fellowship (*Neptunus Equestris*, for the sea is a steed), so *connubium*, the practice of intermarriage, is the commingling of different tribes. *Consualia* are, therefore, *conjugalia*; *Consus* is *Conjux*; the veiling and concealment connected with his festivals, corresponds to the concealment of the married (*nubere, connubium*), and the sacrifice of a mule corresponded to the wish, that although the union was one of heterogeneous elements, analogous to that from which the animal sprang, it might nevertheless not be marked by the barrenness of which he was a symbol.

But all this is yet more clearly taught by Benjamin's seizure of the maidens of Shiloh. Israel is the type of an organic nationality with different tribes. Should it attempt to abolish the practice of intermarriage, the result must be, either the forcible taking of women, or the death of a member of the living whole. In peace the Benjamites regain what they had lost in war. An ambuscade almost annihilated them; by an ambuscade they now win new life. Then Israel lay breathing forth wrath, in desolate wadys, in order to inflict barrenness; now, Benjamin lies among fertile vine-hills, in order to procure a blessing. It is frightful to think of Benjamin dissolving in flames, and his women and maidens falling by the inexorable sword; so that it must be acknowledged a grateful change when we can picture to ourselves the Benjamites hurrying away with their kidnapped prizes. But the seeming act of war was yet not without its terrors and tears, as suddenly the timbrels ceased to sound, and daughters screamed, and mothers wept. It was an image of war sufficient of itself to mark the horribleness of civil war. The narrative is given for the purpose of pointing out into what irregularities a people naturally falls when it lacks the organic unity of one general regimen. It closes with the words, which might form the superscription of the entire Book: "There was no king in Israel, and every man could do what seemed right in his own eyes."

CONCLUDING NOTE.—The time in which the occurrence at Gibeah and the events that grew out of it took place, it is not difficult to ascertain. Everything points back to the time in which the memories and traditions of Israel's military fellowship under Joshua were yet living and fresh. It is the period concerning which it is said, Josh. xxiv. 31, and Judg. ii. 7: "And the people served Jehovah all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of Jehovah, which he did for Israel."

It is also evident from the narrative that God was still zealously served. Counsel was sought from

mother must be robbed of her child because she loves it: The narrative in question exhibits the necessity of robbery, because the stranger does not meet with love.

¹ Cf. the Targum on Ezek. xxii. 27, and my *Gold. Thron. Salomonis*, p. 164.

² The usages, also, of which he makes mention, as, for instance, the Spartan, have a different meaning. The

the Urin and Thummin. The people wept and fasted before God. They brought burnt-sacrifices and peace-offerings. Of idolatry, there is not a trace. Union with heathen women is held inconceivable. All Israel still feels itself under a military organization such as obtained under Moses and Joshua. In all probability, no great length of time had elapsed since military operations for the conquest of the land had come to a stand-still. From Judg. i. 22-26, it may be seen what great importance was attached to the conquest of Bethel. When the house of Joseph, in whose territory Shiloh and the estate of the high-priest lay (Josh. xxiv. 33), went up against Bethel, "Jehovah was with them." It is probable that from that time until into the days of the events that have just been related, the ark of the covenant was at Bethel, and that that place was the centre of military actions. The ark must, however, have been removed before the end of the Benjamite war; for when peace is restored, it is found in Shiloh. Its stay at Bethel cannot have been long, for there is there no permanent altar (ch. xxi. 4). The maidens of Jabesh, also, are not brought to Bethel, but to Shiloh (ch. xxi. 12). The exodus from Egypt is still in living remembrance (ch. xix. 30). Just as after the death of Joshua, the order was, "Judah first" (ch. i. 1), so it is now (ch. xx. 18). Nothing is visible as yet of the partial efforts of single tribes. All this is most clearly deducible from the fact that Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and the grandson of Aaron, stands at the head of the sanctuary (ch. xx. 28). He was yet one of those who had seen the great works of Jehovah. Eleazar, his father, had died after Joshua. Until he himself died, Israel's religious condition was doubtless such as is described in ch. ii. 7. Moreover, his name and character suggest the inference that the events just treated of, are immediately connected with the preceding great age. It was Phinehas whose moral zeal incited him to slay the sinning Israelite in the territory of Moab, for which act he was praised as having "turned away the wrath of God" (Num. xxv. 7-12). To him, therefore, the moral indignation of Israel over the criminal outrage of Benjamin, is doubtless to be especially attributed. He had been selected by Moses to accompany a hostile expedition against Midian by which Israel had been seduced into heathen practices (Num. xxxi. 6). This expedition numbered twelve thousand men, — one thousand from each tribe. The expedition against Jabesh-Gilead was organized in a similar manner. If this type of priestly zeal for faith and purity of morals stood at the head of Israel, the whole war against Benjamin, at least so far as its motives are concerned, becomes plain. Before this, a similar war against the two and a half transjordanic tribes had almost occurred. These tribes, as we are told in Josh. xxii, had built themselves an altar: the sons of Israel this side the Jordan thought that it was intended for idolatrous purposes. They came together in Shiloh, and resolved to proceed against the supposed apostates. But first an embassy was sent, at whose head Phinehas again stood (ver. 13). The address which he made to them is altogether in the spirit of the action determined on against Benjamin.

But it is precisely this last named occurrence that enables us to characterize yet more narrowly the catastrophe related in chaps. xx. and xxi., and to comprehend the design with which it stands, not at the beginning, but at the close of the Book, and alongside of the history of Micah. It is not

stated that a solemn embassy, like that in Josh. xxii. 19 ff., was sent to Benjamin, to set his sin before him in the spirit of kindness. Everything is indeed done according to the forms of the law and under priestly instruction, but with such assured consciousness of power, and with such carnal fanaticism, that the zeal is not pleasing, and is finally attended by lamentable consequences. The moral motive of the war against Benjamin is certainly to be praised; but the blind rage in victory is of the flesh. The crime of Benjamin was horrible; but the unity, determination, and perseverance which Israel manifests against this tribe, end in a fanaticism which at last forgot that the war was waged only because Benjamin was a brother, and that he was treated worse than national enemies had ever been. This is the lesson which the narrator designs to teach by placing this narrative at the close of his Book. He censures what his narrative contained, for both at its beginning and at its close he says: "there was no king in those days."

In the next place, he furnishes an opportunity to compare the tribes of Dan and Benjamin with each other, in their characters, their deeds, and their fortunes. Both were preëminently warlike. But this valor, to what did they turn it? Why was not Dan as bold against the Philistines as against peaceful Laish? or why did not Benjamin turn his martial spirit against Jebus, a place of such importance to him? Dan founds an idolatrous worship in order not to lose his tribe-consciousness; and Benjamin defends a crime by way of resenting the interference of other tribes. Dan's offense, however, is justly deemed more heinous than that of Benjamin; for it committed a spiritual sin against the Spirit of the eternal God, while Benjamin protected a terrible, indeed, but yet only *fleshly* crime. The difference shows itself also in the consequences. It is true that both Benjamin and Dan lose their proper importance. The cities and territories of both are taken by Judah. But the hero who comes out of Dan, Samson, is none of theirs who practice idolatry in the north. His fame did not redound to their honor. But out of Benjamin arose, after this, more than one glorious deliverer. When he was yet but a remnant, Ehud rose up in the midst of him to be a deliverer. Saul and Jonathan — the first king and his royal son — were Benjamites.

This being so, the narrator allows the reproach to fall on Israel of having acted so differently with respect to Dan and Benjamin. In the face of deeds like those of Micah and Dan, it remained inactive, neither warned nor took any other measure, although the sins were mortal in their nature; whereas it nearly destroyed Benjamin. And even before these occurrences in Benjamin, where was this united strength, when, in disregard of the law, heathen people, as the prophet tells them in ch. ii., were left to pursue their own modes of life and idol service!

It was this that drew the punishment after it. Had the external unity been in possession of its earlier internal strength, not only would the victory over Benjamin have been gained more quickly, but the servitude under foreign foes would not have come so soon. The observance of external forms, the customary prayer, the usual routine of worship in war and peace, are of no avail, unless animated by living faith.

Israel felt that one tribe was lacking to protect its eastern flank on the Jordan, when Moab invaded the country. True, it was a Benjamite,

Ehud, who delivered the country from the tyrant, but it was only by the help of Ephraim (ch. iii. 27) that he gained the complete victory. His own tribe were too few in numbers. Even Saul was still conscious that he came from the smallest tribe of Israel (1 Sam. ix. 21), although under him Israel already felt that "there was a king in the land."

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The Book closes with two highly significant narratives. In connection with what has gone before, they demonstrate the insufficiency of the existing national organization. Even under the great heroes, national unity, in the full sense of the word, did no longer exist. Deborah complains of the indifference of the tribes to the common weal. Gideon experiences the envy of Ephraim, which under Jephthah breaks out into bloody hostility. Samson stood alone, whom his own people themselves propose to hand over to the enemy. The Judgeship affords no guaranty of national unity. With this, there is wanting also concentrated discipline against sin. Sin, therefore, can do what it will. There is a lack of authority. Hence, the Book of Judges forms the introduction to the Books of the Kings. Both concluding narratives show what the consequences are when the law loses its force, when faith grows weak, when apostasy breaks loose, and subjective arbitrariness asserts itself. The first sketches more particularly the decay of nationality, as exhibited in the arbitrariness of the individual; the second, the disorders that result from the passionate procedures of the whole nation. The arbitrariness revealed by the first, concerns spiritual matters; that by the second, is fleshly in its nature. The first shows that against the service of God anything may be done with impunity: the second, that for fleshly sins blood is made to flow in streams. In both cases, indeed, sin punishes itself; but it broke forth, because every one did what he would. Moral decay always shows itself first in the priestly order. In both narratives, the frivolity of a Levite is a principal cause of the lamentable results that ensue. This opens the way to subjective arbitrariness of every kind, which superstition uses to its own advantage. Micah builds a private sanctuary, and under priestly forms sets up idolatry. He was punished for his sin, by being made to experience the thing he had done. He committed a robbery on the spirit of Israelitish law, and he was robbed, by Dan, of all he had applied to this purpose. As he had done, so it was done to him. The arbitrariness which he had exercised, was pleasing to others also. The priest who had sold himself to him, departed when he found a better buyer. The insubordination allowed the individual, because there was no one vested with general authority, permitted also a tribe to leave its appointed territory. One tribe (Dan), strong enough to rob the weaker, but with not enough spirit to win the land assigned it from the Philistines, removes into a distant region, and destroys a peaceable city. Robbery and murder are followed by permanent idolatry under the priestly charge of a descendant of Moses.

From all this we may see what the consequences

¹ [The following "Homiletical and Practical" paragraphs are based on the whole of "Part Third" of the Book, from chap xvii to xxi. inclusive. As will be seen, it was im-

would be were Christianity to become wholly inactive in the state. Persons, who deem themselves virtuous, suppose that the religion of a living God is by no means absolutely necessary for social life. But as soon as religion falls into decay, and before its influence ceases altogether, the moral supports of society fall to pieces. When the ministers of the Word begin to regard good positions more than truth, ruin is at hand. Venality is followed by its evil consequences, although he who is ready to sell himself know enough of the language of the day to conceal it. A Christian must serve no idols. The more surely, therefore, is it a sign of decay, when he makes a business of serving superstition.

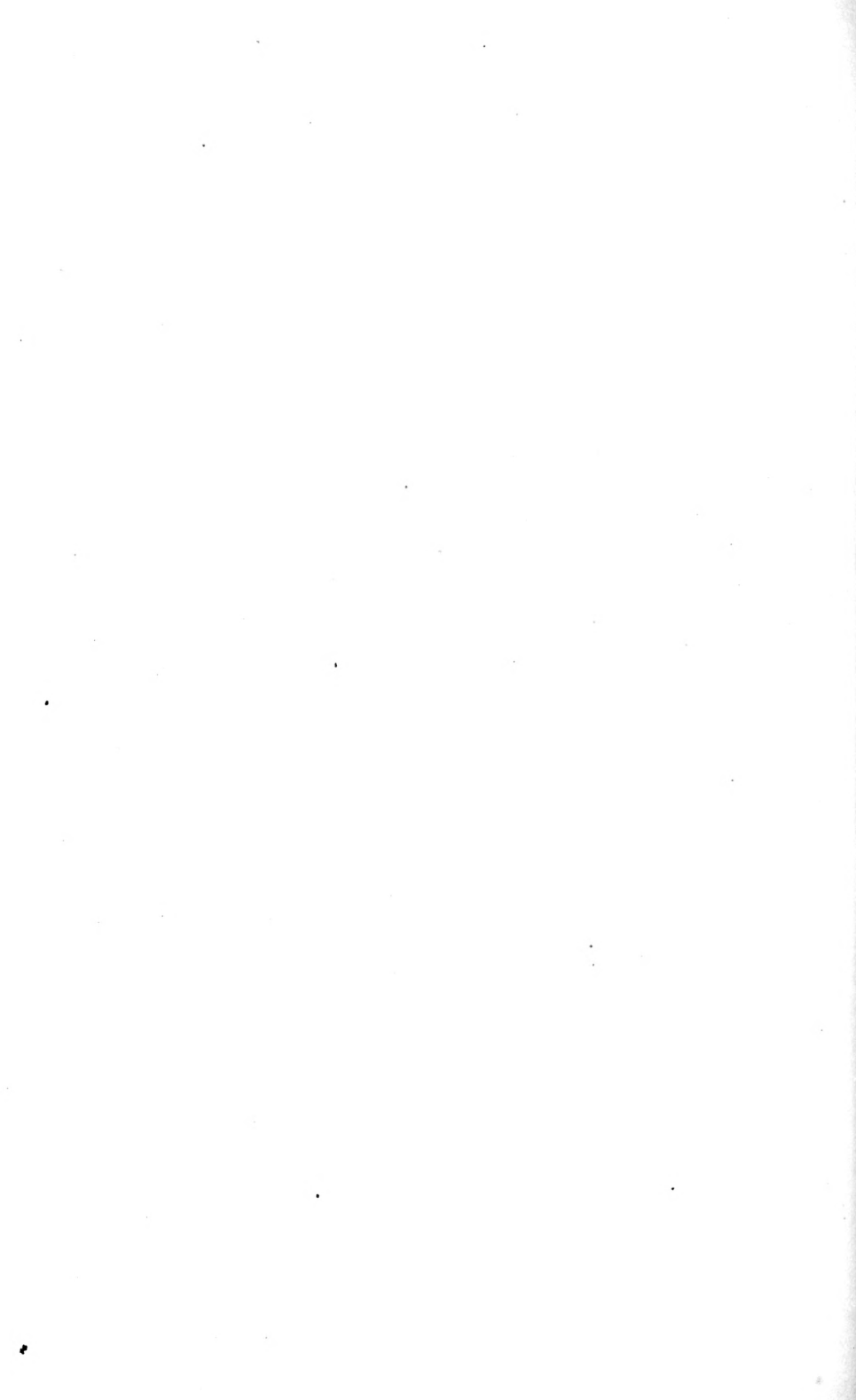
STARKE: The creature is to be applied for God's honor, but not in honoring him. Arbitrariness in parts, leads to arbitrariness in the whole. If the foundation-stone, piety, be removed, then the tribes, like stones of a building, fall apart. The fear of God is the beginning of all wisdom, and also the protector of all peace.

ON CHAPS. XIX.—XXI.—When the command of God is no longer in the heart, priests become carnal, and their flocks lawless. As the Levite runs after a concubine, so the people of Gibeah seek the indulgence of bestial lusts. Who will imitate the morals of a master, who rejects God's sacred command. If in Gibeah the law of Jehovah is dishonored with impunity, how can it be expected that they will show obedience toward their brethren? Israel is indignant at the sins of Benjamin, but does it turn away from its own? Virtuous indignation is not difficult, but careful self-examination is more necessary. The rod may undertake to maintain supremacy, but only truth can succeed in doing it. Civil war arises not from political, but from moral dangers. The love of peace will begin as soon as self-righteousness ceases. Seb. Schmidt observes: "The best way of conciliating an enemy is to do him good." But kind deeds towards an enemy spring only from love, which is a daughter of repentance. The severest judges of morals often know least of this love. Love is most needed when it becomes necessary to punish. Israel began to grieve bitterly when Benjamin was almost destroyed. Men recognize only when too late, what the root was in the beginning. Lewdness strangles compassion. Carnal zeal consumes consideration. Self-righteousness irritates the minds of men. Only at the altar of God, through the pious priest, does peace come into being.

GERLACH: In all this it becomes manifest what Israel might have been and continued to be, if it had clung faithfully to the Lord and his commandments, and had preserved its covenant with the Lord, and by that very means its national purity, unimpaired.—**THE SAME:** The people, drawing near to God in the presentation of expiatory burnt-offerings, sought in these offerings to remove the breach between the holiness of the Lord and their own sinfulness; and in the sacred meals that followed the offering, to obtain the assurance of the assistance of divine grace as they went forth into the holy war.

Only where the gospel is heard and followed, is there peace. For that reason, the Lord, our Saviour, says to all his disciples: Peace be with you!

practicable to place them under the several parts of the text to which they refer, according to the plan pursued in the other parts of the volume (cf. the note on p. 19).—**TR.]**



THE
BOOK OF RUTH.

BY
PAULUS CASSEL, D. D.,

PROFESSOR IN BERLIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, WITH ADDITIONS,

BY
P. H. STEENSTRA,

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE IN THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL
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THE BOOK OF RUTH.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Contents and Aim.*

THE little Book of Ruth, the exposition of which usually follows that of the Book of Judges, consists of only eighty-five verses; but these inclose a garden of roses, as fragrant and full of mystic calyxes, as those which the modern traveller still finds blooming and twining about the solitary ruins of Israel and Moab, this side the Jordan and beyond. The significance and beauty of the brief narrative cannot be highly enough estimated, whether regard be had to the thought which fills it, the historical value which marks it, or the pure and charming form in which it is set forth. It will be necessary rightly to seize its fundamental idea, in order to treat to advantage the other historical questions which present themselves with reference to the time of its composition and place in the canon of the Old Covenant.

An ancient Israelitish family of Bethlehem fell into misery. They had left their native country in a time of distress, in order to save themselves from participating in it. But in the stranger's land, in Moab, a harder fate alights upon them. Death carries off father and sons; the mother remains behind, childless and widowed. True, she has daughters-in-law; but these are without offspring, and — Moabitesses, aliens, not without fault chosen to be wives of her sons. Naomi's situation is as bad as it can be. In Moab she cannot remain; sorrowfully she returns to Bethlehem. Her house is desolated; upon herself, rests the hand of God. But in the midst of despair, a consolation arises for her. Ruth, her Moabitish daughter-in-law, remains with her, — no dissuasion of her mother-in-law restrains her. She gives up everything, native land and paternal home, yea, even the hope of better fortunes, continues faithful to her love for Naomi, and goes with her to her God and her people, — but in tears, poverty, and bereavement.

Naomi arrives at Bethlehem, but no one helps, no one comforts her. Ruth alone becomes her support, — she labors, she begs for her. Her piety, however, does not remain unknown. The kindnesses done to these women by Boaz, on whose fields Ruth had been gleaning, originated solely in the man's admiration of the pious love of Ruth, although it is true that he was a kinsman of Naomi. Ruth the noble man blesses, because she has taken refuge under the wings of God in Israel. She reinstates her mother-in-law in the good-will of her relatives. She overcomes the prejudices of Israel against the stranger. The rights of an Israelitish wife fall to her lot. But it is only on account of *her* love and purity that the blessing of Boaz fulfills itself. For her mother's sake she enters once more on a hard and dillicult road. But thereby the sorrow of Naomi is at last lifted away. Boaz fulfills to Ruth the law of Israel, and marries her. From the Moabitess springs the son, of whom David, the king of Israel, who rose from among the flocks of Bethlehem to be a hero and a prophet, is the celebrated grandson.

With good reason the book is not called "Naomi," or "Boaz," or "the Descent of David," but "Ruth." For she is the central point of the whole narrative. Her love is the groundwork of the history it relates. That she became the ancestress of David was only the reward of her virtue. The idea to be set forth, and which gives such great significance to the little book, is, the power of love, as conquering all national contrarities, hostilities, and prejudices.

It is not a story of romantic love between man and woman, but of the reverential love of a widow for the mother of her deceased husband. The love portrayed in the character of Ruth is of the purest, most unselfish, most extraordinary kind. It is for the sake of this love, to

indicate its nature, that the strength which leaves father and mother, and accepts the God of Israel, is delineated. For Naomi can be thus loved of Ruth only because the latter has some intuitive perception of the higher life of the God of Israel in her mother-in-law.

The Jewish narrative, therefore, does not only, with unselfish uprightiness, set forth the overpowering depth of affection of a Moabitess; it teaches also that such love is valid before God, without respect of race, that through it Ruth is more deeply implanted into the kingdom of the true Israel than are natural children — consequently the women say to Naomi, that Ruth is better for her than seven sons — and that the blessing of God was poured out in superabundant measure on Ruth, although a foreigner, because she had confessed the God of Israel in love and from love.

The narrative displays no hatred toward foreigners, gives no prominence to the keen discriminations of the Mosaic law against them, notwithstanding that they form the background of the story; does not blame the really well-disposed Orpah, although she turns back; has not a word of reprehension for the anonymous relative who refuses to marry Ruth; but in contrast to these facts, it causes the brightness of the blessing that lights on Ruth to become known. Orpah is forgotten, the name of the superstitious kinsman unknown, but Ruth — is the grandmother of David.

The Book was not written for the glorification of the king; for how, according to human views, could he be flattered by such a descent! But the fact of David's descent from Ruth, demonstrates and glorifies the praise of such as act as she did. It is a book of praise of true love and virtue; a book of reconciliation for those alien nations who betake themselves under the wings of the living God. In Boaz and Ruth, Israel and the Gentiles are, as it were, personified. In order to come under the wings of Israel, nothing is needed but the love and faith of Ruth. From these, and not from legal descent according to the flesh, do the might and glory of the kingdom of God proceed. The Book, it is often said, with its contents, stands at the portal of the history of David; according to its spirit, it stands, like the Psalms, at the gates of the Gospel. And this not only on account of the genealogy of Christ in the latter, which carries us back to David and Boaz, but because of the spirit which informs the doctrine of our Book, that the greatest king of Israel sprang from the reconciliation of Israel and the Gentiles, from the marriage of Boaz and Ruth in the confession of Jehovah.

§ 2. *Time of Composition.*

It is precisely the free and loving spirit with which Ruth is depicted, the Moabitess set forth as the ancestress of David for the instruction and joy of the reader, that enables us, on somewhat closer inspection, to determine, with considerable definiteness, the time in which alone the book can have been written. It is to be observed that the Books of Samuel say nothing of the descent of David from Ruth. Without the little book now under consideration, this fact would be entirely unknown to us. For the Book of Chronicles also, although it names Boaz as the ancestor of David in such a way that it were easy to believe that use was made of the last verses of Ruth, passes over the name of Ruth in utter silence.

That our Book cannot have been written after Solomon, is evident from 1 Kgs. xi. 1, where the king is blamed for having taken many foreign wives of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Zidon, and Heth, "nations concerning which Jehovah said to the sons of Israel, Ye shall not go in to them, neither shall they come in unto you." It is not for the honor of Rehoboam that the historian relates that his mother was Naamah, an Ammonitess (1 Kgs. xiv. 21). Nor is it without design that the (second) Book of Chronicles, ch. xxiv. 26 (the passage is wanting in Kings) informs us that the mother* of one of the murderers of King Joash was a Moabitess, of the other an Ammonitess. Ezra says (ch. x. 10): "Ye have transgressed, and have taken strange wives;" and the names of those who were to separate from their wives were noted down. Nehemiah (ch. xiii. 1 ff.) went so far as to execute strictly the law that "no Ammonite or Moabite should come into the congregation of God forever." These negative data are sufficient of themselves to refute the opinion that the book written in praise of a Moabitess who did enter into the congregation of God, was perhaps composed in the times after Solomon, or during the exile, or when the spirit of Ezra or Nehemiah was in the ascendant. It is especially clear that it cannot have been written in the Exile, for in that situation Israel maintained the sharpest separation between itself and the Gentiles¹ (cf. Esth.

¹ The Mishna (*Jebamoth*, ii. 5) decided that a Levirate marriage cannot be demanded by a brother-in-law, if he be the son of a slave woman or of a foreigner.

iii. 8). The Book, moreover, exhibits a homelike, peaceful coloring inconsistent with that time of expatriation and distress. It cannot even be assigned to the reign of Solomon; for in that case the genealogy at the close would hardly have failed to add: "And David begat Solomon."

But there are not wanting positive grounds which make it highly probable that the Book originated in the time of David, and while he occupied the throne, — circumstances which add their own instruction to that of the Book. It must indeed be admitted that our information concerning the great revolution brought about in Israel by the achievements, spirit, and reign of David, is very meagre and fragmentary. But it is also true that too little attention has been paid to the fact that the new occupant of the throne at Jerusalem was not merely a hero, but a creative genius, whom singular sufferings and experiences had thoroughly tried, and in whom the full heart of Israel beat powerfully and grandly, although he appears not without the human coloring of his age. From the very opening of his public career in the combat with Goliath, and ever after, he displays, as no one else did, the enthusiastic strength of faith and the immovable religious convictions of a true Israelite; and yet it was he, driven into exile through Saul's distrust, who more than any other hero or prince, before or after, came into peculiar contact with alien nations. It was doubtless due, in part at least, to the recollection that his great-grandmother was a Moabitess, that he went to the king of Moab and said, "Let my father and my mother, I pray thee, come forth and be with you, till I know what God will do to me" (1 Sam. xxii. 3). Accordingly, he causes his father and mother to emigrate to the same country whither Elimlech and his family had gone. And they remained in Moab until David was master of Jerusalem. So also, at a later time, he remembers that the king of Ammon had formerly shown him kindness (2 Sam. x. 2). While he was hiding in the cave of Adullam, all sorts of wild and warlike people collected about him, of whom he formed his band of heroes and afterwards his body-guard. Their names Kerethi and Pelethi (2 Sam. viii. 18, etc.) sufficiently indicate their foreign origin. He abode a long time in the Philistine city of Gath (1 Sam. xxvii.); and there bands of brave men attached themselves so entirely to him, that they continued faithful to him even in his last great distress, brought upon him by Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 18). But everywhere he bore aloft the banner of his God and people. Whoever followed him, entered not merely into his personal interests, but also into those of Israel (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 10, etc.). Through the glory and heroism of his history, aided by the preparatory influence of Saul's achievements, the heathen, who till then continued to reside among Israel, were undoubtedly for the most part amalgamated with Israel, so that the intellectual preponderance of Israel, reinforced by military superiority, suppressed idolatry and extended the acknowledgment of Jehovah.

We are reminded here especially of Uriah, who fell a victim to David's unlawful passions. This man, a hero and distinguished personage in Israel, was a Hittite or descendant of Heth (2 Sam. xi. 3). From his widow, that is, from an Israelitish woman once married to a Hittite, sprang king Solomon, just as David descended from a Moabitish woman, the widow of an Israelite. Nor is Uriah the only foreigner among David's distinguished warriors; the list includes also an Ammonite named Zelek (2 Sam. xxiii. 37). It is remarkable, also, that David deposits the ark of God in the house of a Gittite, that is, a man who originated in Gath, a city of the Philistines. He was called Obed Edom, thus bearing the same name with David's grandfather, the son of Ruth.¹ His surname Edom also betrays his alien origin. The ark of God was three months in his dwelling, and God blessed him and his house.

Yet more noteworthy is the fact that in the saddest hours of David's life, when his favorite son, Absalom, and the chief men of Israel fell away from him, only such as had turned from among alien nations to Israel and its God remained true to him. He himself had the same experience which Naomi had with Ruth; they who loved him dared everything for him and with him. An Ammonite supplies him with provisions in his flight (2 Sam. xvii. 27). Especially prominent is Hushai the Archite,² the companion of David, who in the hour of distress adheres to him, and renders him most important service at the court of Absalom, in

¹ In the Levirate marriage of Ruth the symbolism of the shoe was employed. Obed Edom was the son of such a marriage. It is precisely with reference to Edom that the figurative expression: "I cast my shoe upon it," twice occurs in the Psalms (ix. and cviii.). The Book of Chronicles first calls Obed Edom a Levite. Errors, however, such as those into which expositors fell concerning Kenaz (cf. *Com.* on Judges, ch. i. 16), must here also be avoided.

² Of Arke, in Phœnicia. Cf. *Movers, Palæstina*, II. i. 115.

thwarting the intrigues of the apostate Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv. 32 ff.). Touching is the fidelity of Ittai, the man of Gath. The king says to him (2 Sam. xv. 19 ff.): "Wherefore goest thou also with us? return to thy place, and abide with the king, for thou art a stranger. If thou art banished, go to thy native place.¹ Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee go up and down with us? seeing I go whither I may; return thou, and take back thy brethren: mercy and truth be with thee!" David, the fleeing king, who in his old age must leave his capital, speaks like Naomi. The answer of Ittai shows that he, like Ruth, has turned to the God of Israel: "As Jehovah liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether in death or life, even there also will thy servant be." Never again, in the history of the ancient Israel, do such relations come to view. Under their influence, and therefore during the reign of David, the composition of a book which commemorates the truth and love of a Gentile, was perfectly natural. It is a signature of the spirit, more active in Israel than at any other time, which recognized faith in God as the kernel of the kingdom of God, and saw that not only natural, but also spiritual Israelites could become its children. It must not be overlooked that it is especially in the Psalms that the relations of the Gentiles to the kingdom of God are unfolded. Take as specimens of many similar passages, these two: "Thou makest me the head of the nations; a people that I knew not, serves me" (Ps. xviii. 43).² "All the families of the nations shall bow down before thee; for the kingdom is Jehovah's, and he rules among the nations" (Ps. xxii. 27, 28).³

To point out definitely the years of David's reign during which the Book was written, will hardly be possible. But it is not improbable that it was done when he stood on the summit of his glory and enjoyed peace on all sides. At that time, a contemplative view of the king's history, in which so many men of alien origin had distinguished themselves by wonderful fidelity, gave rise to our Book. It may be assumed that its narrative concerning David's excellent ancestress influenced the bearing of the king's faithful Gentile subjects, as manifested in the catastrophe of Absalom. It is a genuine historical characteristic of the reign of David, that it, and not the Psalter merely, is Messianic. It is informed by the idea of universality bounded only by the acknowledgment of Jehovah. It brought about closer connections between Israel and the Gentiles, which continued to exist in the reign of Solomon. The fall of this king, toward the close of his reign, consists in the very fact that he no longer subjected these connections to the domination of the God of Israel, but suffered his own faith and morals to be overcome by heathen influences. Solomon would not have been to blame for taking wives of Moab and Ammon, if these, like Ruth, had confessed Jehovah; his fall consisted in his taking heathen wives, who withdrew him from the pure service of God. The Messianic idea was distorted, consequently obliterated and for a long time lost, and only restored by the vision of the prophets.

Nothing of importance can be urged against assigning the origin of our Book to this period, almost the only time in which it can have been written. The arguments which Bertheau, after Ewald and other earlier critics, founds on linguistic peculiarities, are not at all conclusive, and are sufficiently met by Keil's counter-remarks (*Einleit.* § 137). The more unusual expressions are due to the peculiarities of the matter, and are also to be met with elsewhere. The narrative exhibits life in its popular aspect, and probably makes use of popular forms of speech which to us seem Chaldaizing. This very circumstance attests the antiquity of the Book. A book of similar character, written in the Exile, would no longer possess the manifold idioms peculiar to original forms and views of life. Considering the small number of literary productions that have come down to us from the several earlier centuries of Hebrew history, and our ignorance of the places of their composition and the dialect of their writers, it is manifest that any attempts to fix the time in which any work was written by means of a few grammatical peculiarities alone, must always be exceedingly problematical. In the present case, however, the contents of the Book itself contradict the conclusion to which such a method of argumentation has led. For these speak decidedly against an exilic, and in favor of a Palestinian origin, in a peaceful, and indeed a definitely limited period. Critics have paid only too little continuous attention to these contents, and hence were led to overestimate sundry externalities of the Book.

1 [This is Dr. Cassel's own rendering of the difficult words וְגַם-נִגְלָה אֵתָהּ לְמַהֲוֹמָהּ.—Tr.]

2 This Psalm, at least, is admitted by Olshausen also to be Davidic. *Psalmen*, p. 98.

3 The history of this Psalm might alone testify to a higher antiquity than modern criticism will allow it. *Delitzsch says (Die Psalmen, p. 194):* "It is a Davidic Psalm, of the time during which its author was persecuted by Saul."

§ 3. *Position in the Canon.*

The position which Jewish tradition assigned to our Book in the Canon, may likewise be due to the spirit of its contents. The Septuagint, it is true, attached it closely to the Book of Judges, as if it were but an appendix of that work,¹ and was followed therein by Josephus and the Christian Fathers who were for the most part dependent on that version. Possibly, the desire to make the number of books equal to the number of letters in the alphabet may have contributed to this result; for even in later times the supposed coincidence was invested with symbolical significance. Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Canticles could not be so directly attached to another book, there being none specially devoted to the history of Solomon, while Ruth and Lamentations could readily be joined to other writings. But it cannot have been for liturgical purposes merely, that the Canon of the Palestinian Jews, as appears from the Talmud, corroborated by manuscripts and traditions, considers Ruth as well as Lamentations as a separate work, and never unites it with Judges. If the little work be viewed simply as a genealogical narrative introductory to the history of David, then, indeed, its proper place is between Judges and the Books of Samuel. But since this is not its true character, since it sets forth a higher idea, of which the birth of David is but the crown and confirmation, an independent position was rightly assigned to it. The Messianic doctrine contained in it invested it with greater importance. Now, from the fact that the Jews continued the Book in this separate and independent position, although they saw that the followers of Christ viewed him as the descendant of Ruth, it may be inferred that in the Palestinian canon Ruth held, even before the birth of our Lord, the same position as at present. It harmonizes well with this, that from primitive times the Book was read during the Feast of Weeks. For this cannot have been done simply because a harvest scene occurs in it.² The practice must rather be connected with a belief that Ruth prefigures the entrance of the heathen into the kingdom of God, and with the idea that the Feast of Weeks was a celebration of the giving of the law on Sinai, which law, as the Midrash explains, was given to *all nations*, only it was not accepted by them. The Feast of Weeks, we know, corresponded to the Christian Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost was poured out, according to the words of Joel, on all flesh, and the Gospel was preached to all the world.

Undoubtedly, however, the Book of Ruth offers an interesting parallel to that of Judges. While the latter exhibits the military history of Israel, the former introduces us to the peaceful private life of the people. We hear no trumpet-blasts or pæans of triumph, only the rustling of the sickles among the grain stalks salutes our ears. We find ourselves transported into the rural family life of Israel. Not the warrior or king, but the farmer and householder find their prototypes here.³ The little book relates a narrative of social village life, and within its brief compass exhibits the profoundest sorrow, the noblest love, and all the attractiveness of an Israelitish life of faith. Naomi and Boaz are not painted in the same colors as Deborah and Gideon. But the love of Ruth and Orpah can only have grown up in the household of Naomi. Israel's fathers and husbands must have so lived as to enchain even after their death the hearts of foreign and childless widows. With what nobility and moral beauty the faithful in Israel were adorned, is seen in Boaz. The whole picture is surmounted by a calm, clear sky. The reader finds himself now in the open field, now on the road, and anon among the assembly of citizens at the gate. The unadorned narrative shows such art in grouping, preserves such moderation, causes the finest lessons to shine through so gently, and withal displays such great vivacity, that the aesthetics of the little work alone yield an important testimony to its origin. It can have arisen only under surroundings such as those it describes. It breathes an air of freedom and peace wholly inconsistent with the unrest

1 [Subjoined it without a separate title. The Jewish canon places it in the third class of O. T. books, the Kethubim or Hagiographa. Its place in this class is variable; the Talmud and some MSS. give it the first, but most MSS. the fifth place. Cf. Wright, *Book of Ruth*, introd. § xl. 4. — Tr.]

2 The reasons for this usage given by Raschi and others, are, in their final consequences, undoubtedly tantamount to the proclamation of the kingdom of God among the nations. Cf. Heidenheim, *Machsor Schebnoth*, 1811, p. 106, note.

3 [Wordsworth (contrasting the Book of Ruth with that of Judges): The Book of Ruth is like some beautiful landscape of Claude, with its soft mellow hues of quiet eventide, and the peaceful expanse of its calm lake, placed side by side with some stern picture of Salvator Rosa, exhibiting the shock of armies and the storm of war; and receiving more beauty from the *chiaro-oscuro* of the contrast. Or, if we may adopt another comparison, derived from classical literature, the Book of Ruth, coming next after the Book of Judges (which he regards as its proper place), is like a transition from the dark, terrific scenes of a tragedy of Æschylus, to the fresh and beautiful landscapes of some pastoral Idyl of Theocritus, transporting us to the rural Thalyia, or harvest-home, under the shade of elms and poplars, on the banks of the Halls (*Idyl* vii. 1, 8), or to the flowery meadows and sheepwalks on those of the Arethusa or Anapus (*Idyl* l. 68, 117; vii. 151). — Tr.]

and servitude of the Exile. Indeed, one is tempted to believe that the author must have lived in Bethlehem itself. He loves to indicate, with untutored art, the peculiarities of speech which obtain among his *dramatis personæ*. He makes his rustics talk in rustic fashion,¹ while yet, when Boaz speaks on elevated subjects, the language rises to the level of the theme.

§ 4. *Time of the History.*

The time in which the occurrences themselves took place, can hardly be more closely determined. Boaz was the great-grandfather of David. For it is not to be supposed that between Boaz and Obed, or Obed and Jesse, other names have fallen out. A wider remove of Ruth from David contradicts the thought and doctrine of the Book. The view that Boaz may have been a contemporary of Gideon² is without anything to support it. The Book suggests not a hint of war; and although it speaks of famine in the land, there is not the least indication that it was a result of hostile devastations. Much rather does ch. i. 6 (cf. the Comment.) suggest elemental causes. The ancient opinion, found in Josephus, which places the occurrences of our Book in the time of Eli, has certainly much greater probability in its favor, since the later years of Boaz and the life of Obed may be conceived as running parallel with the life of Eli, and that of Samuel with Jesse. It is also remarked below that an attitude of mutual hostility between Israel and the Philistines, may explain why Elimelech emigrated to Moab.

Some expositors (Ewald, Bertheau) have found that the author of our Book maintains a specially "learned bearing," because in ch. iv. he gives information concerning certain old customs, and have inferred from it that he must have written at a late period. But he has only done, in the simplest manner, what it is the duty of every narrator to do, namely, explain and give information on points in need of it. He gives a picture of popular life; in which he no more excuses himself from drawing the pursuit of the humble gleaner than the transactions at the gate of the city. Perhaps nothing testifies more clearly for the antiquity of the Book than ch. iv. The Mosaic law speaks of the pulling off of the shoe only in the particular case in which a widow, being refused marriage by her deceased husband's brother, is authorized to subject the offender to this action as a sign of disgrace. But this was only a special application of a more general symbolical idea connected with the shoe, and explanatory of its earlier use in transactions of exchange and redemption generally.³ Now, it was just because the Mosaic law prescribed the use of the shoe only in the case just mentioned, that it ceased to be used on other occasions. Consequently, it was precisely during the better observance of the law under Samuel, Saul, and David, that its use as the general symbol of transfer of rights or property had become obsolete. That which takes place at the gate of Bethlehem is no such transaction as is described in Deut. xxv. 7 ff. The unknown kinsman does not regard it as such. It has reference solely to the redemption of the landed property. Nor is Ruth present. Had the Book been written in the Exile, when the letter of the law had become impressed upon the people, an explanation of this absence would not have been wanting, just as Josephus conceives it necessary to add, quite in opposition to the narrative, that Ruth having been sent for by Boaz, the whole levirate process was performed according to legal prescription. In our author's time the recollection of the usages he describes, was

¹ A fact which clearly manifests itself in the so-called Chaldaisms. Compare, for instance, the conversation of Naomi with her daughters, ch. i., that of Boaz with Ruth, ch. ii., etc. Cf. Keil, *Einleitung*, § 137, note 2.

² [Among later writers who favor this opinion, Hengstenberg may be mentioned, who urges that if the famine had resulted from bad harvests, it must also have extended to the neighboring land of Moab, and points out how well the ten years' sojourn in Moab agrees with the seven years' oppression by the Midianites, for "some years must necessarily have elapsed till the land could recover from its effects, and again present that flourishing state of cultivation in which Naomi found it on her return" (*Dissert. on Pent.*, ii. 92, note, Ryland's translation). Bertheau (*Com.* p. 234) replies that the time of Gideon is inconsistent with the genealogy of ch. iv. 21, 22, which affords the only certain data for determining the question. He places the history in the latter part of the time of the Judges, or somewhere in the earlier part of the Philistine domination over Israel. Keil in his *Einleitung*, § 137, note 1 (2d edit., 1859) agrees with Bertheau, and fixes on the time shortly before Eli; but in his commentary (publ. 1863) adopts the view of Hengstenberg, and although he thinks it not impossible that the genealogy is incomplete, so that Obed may have been the grandfather of Jesse, yet endeavors to show that even on the supposition that it is complete, Obed may have been born in the last years of Gideon. But he appears to forget that the combination of the famine with the Midianite devastations requires Obed to be born, not in the last, but in the earlier years of Gideon; for the impression left by the narrative is that the union of Ruth with Boaz took place not very long after the return from Moab (cf. ch. i. 22 b). Now, supposing that the emigration occurred in the fifth year of the Midianite oppression, the return, ten years afterwards, would fall in the 8th year of Gideon. But from say the 10th year of Gideon to the birth of David is according to Keil's own reckoning, a period of 127 years, somewhat too long to be spanned by means of one intervening birth. According to Dr. Cassel's chronology (cf. *Introd.* to Judges, § 4) the interval would be thirty years longer. — Ta.]

³ Cf. the Commentary on chs. iii. and iv.

fresher; the usages themselves having disappeared but a few generations before. Nor is this notice of obsolete customs peculiar to the Book of Ruth. Other O. T. books make similar explanations. Thus, the author of the Books of Samuel observes that "formerly" prophets were called "seers" (1 Sam. ix. 9); and the author of the Book of Judges frequently gives the earlier names of cities of which he has occasion to speak.

§ 5. *Translations and Commentaries.*

The translation of our Book in the Septuagint bears a verbal character. The relation of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 9) evinces his efforts to bring the statements of the Biblical accounts into harmony with the prescription of the law as observed in his time, and not to allow the virtues of Israel to be too much eclipsed by those of foreigners. The Chaldee translation, the Targum, being intended for the public instruction of the people, follows the same course yet more decidedly. It carries back into the ancient times of Ruth a good deal of later apprehension and exposition. Its interpolations may be found collected, for the most part, in the Midrash *Ruth Rabba*,¹ which, on its part, has chiefly drawn from the Gemara of Jerusalem and older Midrashim. The Babylonian Talmud gives expositions of detached passages of Ruth: *Berachoth*, 7; *Sabbat*, 113; *Jebamoth*, 47; *Nasir*, 23; *Babakama*, 30; *Bababathra*, 91; *Sanhedrin*, 19. There is another collection of Rabbinical interpretations in *Jalkut Simeoni*, tom. ii. ed. Venez. n. 596 ff.

Interesting philological explanations on the Chaldee version of the Targum are given in the rare book: *Perush hamiloth*, Krakau, 1540-44. The most important commentaries of mediæval Jewish scholars, are those of Raschi and Ibn Ezra. The commentary of Solomon ben Melech was published by Joh. Ben. Carpzov, in the *Collegium Rabbinico Biblicum in librum Ruth*, Lips. 1703, and republished by Reland.

The earlier Christian theology accorded little special treatment to the Book of Ruth. Casiodorus (*De Divinis Lectionibus*, cap. 1) says: "Ancient expositions I have nowhere been able to find. I have however persuaded the pious presbyter Bellator to write explanations, and he has said much in praise of this woman and others in two books." But of the work of this Bellator nothing is known, cf. Serarius, p. 680, ch. 8. In later ages, the expositors, older and more recent, of the Book of Judges, are also to be consulted on Ruth. Most prominent among these are the commentaries of RUPERT V. DEUTZ, SANCTIUS, Serarius, Grotius, Clericus, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Bertheau, and Keil.²

For special treatment of the Book of Ruth, the following are to be named: Christ. Aug. Heumann, *Pœcile*, tom. i. 180, and ii. 383; J. W. Weinrich, *Hist. und theol. Betrachtungen gelehrter Dinge*, p. 237, etc.; Joh. Jac. Rambach, *Notæ liberiores in libellum Ruthæ ex. rec. J. H. Michaelis in liberior. adnot. in Hagiographos*, tom. ii. Halæ, 1720. The *Collegium* of Carpsov has already been mentioned.

The Book was translated [into German] and explained by Dereser, Frankfort, 1806, and by von Riegler, Würzburg, 1812. Compare Umbreit on the spirit and design of the Book, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1834, ii. In 1856 appeared: Metzger, *Liber Ruth ex hebr. in lat. versus perpetuæque interpret. illustr.* Tub. 4.

Useful especially for teachers of Hebrew is: *The Book of Ruth in Hebrew, with a critically revised Text, various Readings, including a new collation of twenty-eight Hebrew MSS., and a grammatical and critical Commentary; to which is appended the Chaldee Targum*, etc., by Charles H. H. Wright, M. A., British Chaplain at Dresden. Leipzig, 1864.

[Wordsworth's Commentary mentioned in the Introduction to Judges contains notes on Ruth also. *A Comment on Ruth*, by Thomas Fuller, D. D., London, 1868 (originally published in 1654), is a homiletical production, abounding in striking thoughts quaintly expressed. It only extends, however, to the end of ch. ii. *The Rich Kinsman, or History of Ruth*, by S. H. Tyng, D. D., N. Y. — TR.]

§ 6. *Homiletical Introduction.*³

The Book of Ruth is one of the smallest in the O. T., but abounds in material for homiletical instruction. It was admitted into the canon of Holy Scriptures not merely on

¹ Cf. Zuns, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 265.

² Cf. also Wolff, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, ii. 78; iv. 18.

³ [Here, as in Judges, the author appended his "Homiletical Hints" in a body at the close of the Commentary. For the sake of convenience as well as uniformity, they have here also been distributed and placed in immediate connection

account of its ultimate aim and issue, but also for the instructiveness of the narrative in itself. The O. T. points everywhere through *history* to completion, even as Christ himself says: I am the *Way* and the Truth, the Alpha and Omega.

The Book of Ruth does not preach by means of mighty deeds of war inspired by faith, like those of Gideon and Samson, but by acts of love, which demand no less strength of soul. God can be praised not only with timbrels and trumpets, but also in quietness and silence. There is a heroism of faith in the family, at the sick-bed, and in grief for those we love, which is not inferior to that of Barak. Jephthah found it easier to triumph over Ammon than to subdue his sorrow on account of his daughter. It is often easier to die for the faith, than in the midst of men to live for it.

The Book tells of no prophetic woman like Deborah. But it tells of women whose hearts were capable of pure love, and such love is always prophetic. The fires which rouse a nation to enthusiasm glowed in Deborah; but in the women of our book burned the gentle flames of the household hearth, which distress and desertion cannot quench. The Book of Judges tells of a prophetess who was strong as a man; the Book of Ruth of a man who was tender as a woman.

No psalms lift up their lofty strains in the Book of Ruth. The scene of its history is not laid in the temple where the harp of God resounds, — its central figure is neither king nor poet. But the whole Psalter was born of suffering and love in God, like as David, the psalmist, descended from Ruth. A people must first have families in whom God is manifested forth by love and truth, before inspired singers can rise up from it to tune their harps with power. By the side of Sarah and Rebecca stands the retiring woman, who as Dante says (*Parad.* xxxii. 11), was

"Ancestress of the singer, who for dole
Of the misdeed said, *Miserere mei.*"

Our Book contains no stern denunciations nor sorrowing lamentations over Israel, its people, princes, and priests; but deeply impressive, penetrating to the heart, is the instance it gives of suffering, love, and victory. It proposes not, like Daniel, to unveil the destinies of nations and the world; but at its close appears the Son of David into whose Godhood all history empties as the rivers into the ocean. No miracles occur in it like that of the three men in the fiery oven; but it tells of three believing ones, who in the glowing heat of suffering and temptation, were found strong and true.

with the sections of the text out of which they grow. The opening paragraphs, as applying to the whole Book, are here inserted. The "Hints" proper are arranged by Dr. Cassel under heads which, being suggestive in themselves, are here subjoined: I. Naomi the Beloved. II. Ruth the Loving: 1. The confessor of the true religion; 2. The woman of action; 3. The difficult suit. III. Boaz the Well-doer: 1. The lauded proprietor; 2. The professor of religion; 3. The man of action; 4. The blessing. — **TR.**]

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

VERSES 1-6.

Distress in a Foreign Land.

- 1 Now [And] it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled [judged], that there was a famine in the land. And a certain [omit: certain] man of Beth-lehem-judah went to sojourn in the country [territories¹] of Moab, he, and his wife, and
2 his two sons. And the name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife Naomi [Noomi],² and the name of his two sons Mahlon and Chilion, Ephrathites of Beth-lehem-judah. And they came into the country [territories] of Moab, and con-
3 tinued [lit. were, i. e., abode] there. And Elimelech Naomi's husband died; and she
4 was left, and her two sons. And they took them wives of the women of Moab [Moabitish wives]; the name of the one was Orpah, and the name of the other
5 Ruth: and they dwelled there about ten years. And Mahlon and Chilion died also both of them;³ and the woman was left [behind]⁴ of her two sons and her husband.
6 Then she arose with her daughters-in-law, that she might return [and returned] from the country [territories] of Moab: for she had heard in the country [territory] of Moab how [omit: how] that the Lord [Jehovah] had visited his people in giving [to give] them bread.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. — Prop. fields, plains. The form שְׂדֵי is variously explained. Bertheau regards it as another mode of writing שָׂדֶה, which occurs in ver. 6 of this chapter, and in ch. iv. 3, and according to Wright is in many MSS. found here also. The original ך of nouns derived from לָחֵם stems frequently reappears before suffixes (Ges. Gr. 93, 9, Rem.), and Berth. thinks that the same change is occasioned by the close connection of the word with the following genitive (cf. Ges. 89, 1). Ewald also takes שְׂדֵי to be singular, but derives it from the ancient form שְׂדֵי, the construct of which might be שְׂדֵי after the analogy of הַי const. יַחַד, יַי const. יַי, etc. But שְׂדֵי is not found in Ruth, unless it be in the disguise of the construct, while שָׂדֶה occurs not less than nine times. Better, therefore, with Gesenius, Fürst, and others, take שְׂדֵי as plural construct of שָׂדֶה. Kell proposes to make שְׂדֵי plural const. of שְׂדֵי, pl. שְׂדֵי (which however is not found anywhere); for what reason does not appear, unless it be that the plural of שָׂדֶה is usually feminine, whereas שְׂדֵי is masc. But such irregularities are not uncommon; see Green, Gr. 200, c. The interchange of the singular and plural is readily accounted for from the meaning of the word, which, according to the more or less definite conception in the mind of the writer at the moment, may represent the territory as one great field or as made up of many smaller fields. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 2. — נְנוּמִי: Noomi, as the name should be written. Sept. Νουμι; Vulg. Noemi. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 5. — Better: "Then died they two also, Mahlon and Chilion." — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 5. — הַיָּסָרָה: not, "was left from, i. e. was bereaved of," as Wright (with the Vulgate) interprets, — on the ground that the מִן changes the simple meaning of the verb as found in ver. 3. מִן has its proper partitive meaning, and points out the whole of which Naomi is now the only part left, cf. Deut. iii. 11; Neh. i. 2, 3. The enumeration of the whole is so far incomplete that it does not expressly include Naomi herself. In ver. 3 the verb is used without מִן because there is there no direct reference to the whole, but only the statement that at the death of her husband, she and her sons were left behind. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. And it came to pass in the days when the judges judged. Nothing more defi-

nite is hereby expressed than that the occurrence about to be related took place in the time when there was yet no king in Israel. In those days there was no governor armed with imperative

authority, who could help and discipline the whole people. Everybody did what he would, and helped himself in whatever way he thought best. Part of the tribe of Dan forsook the land in a body, because they were no longer pleased with it, and had no mind to overcome the remaining enemies; and Elimelech, an individual citizen, abandoned his home when the times became bad.

There was a famine in the land. No rain fell, and the crops did not prosper. Notwithstanding good and diligent cultivation, with which that at present observed in those parts is not to be compared, no harvests were reaped from those extensive grain-bearing plains which in good years produce abundant supplies.¹ In such seasons of scarcity, southern Palestine naturally resorted to importations from Egypt, as the history of Joseph has already shown. The increased prices, however, necessarily resulting from a failure of the home crops, pressed with two-fold weight on the less affluent among the people. And if, by hostilities on the part of the Philistines, or for any other reason, they were also cut off from the granaries of Egypt, nothing remained but to look for supplies to eastern countries. Even ancient Rome suffered famine whenever its connections with Egypt were interrupted, an occurrence which sometimes, as under Vespasian (Tacit. iii. 48, 5), involved serious political consequences.

The famine extended to the most fertile parts of the land, for it visited Bethlehem. The very name, "House of Bread," bespeaks a good and fertile district. Even yet, notwithstanding poor cultivation, its soil is fruitful in olives, pomegranates, almonds, figs, and grapes (Ritter, xvi. 287 [Gage's transl. iii. 341]). The region was "remarkably well watered in comparison with other parts of Palestine."² On this account, the name Ephrathah, applied to Bethlehem and the country around it, is perhaps to be explained as referring to the fruitfulness insured by its waters.³

And a man went. The man left Bethlehem with his family in the time of famine, in order, during its continuance, to sojourn in the fertile territories of Moab, on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, whither the calamity did not extend. For this the Jewish expositors rightly blame him. He left his neighbors and relatives in distress, in order to live in the land of the enemy; forsook his home, in order to reside as a stranger in Moab. If what he did was right, all Bethlehem should have done the same! The case stood very different, when Abraham for a like reason went to Egypt (Gen. xii. 10); for Abraham went with all his house, left no one behind, and was everywhere a stranger. But Isaac is already forbidden from adopting the same method of relief (Gen. xxvi. 2), and Jacob removes to Egypt, not on account of the famine, but because his lost Joseph has been found again. But this man undertakes, by his own strength and in selfish segregation from his fellows, to change the orderings of divine providence. The famine was ordained as a chastening discipline; but instead of repenting, he seeks to evade it by

going to a foreign land. Whether this can be done, the ensuing narrative is about to show.

Ver. 2. And the name of the man was Elimelech. His family was of importance in the tribe of Judah (cf. chaps. ii. and iii.), well known in Bethlehem (ch. i. 19 ff.; iv. 1 ff.), and by no means poor (ch. i. 21). The names of its members may be held to testify to the same effect. In accordance with the spirit of Israelitish life, they may be supposed to reflect those obvious peculiarities which popular discernment remarked in the persons of those who bore them. The man is named Elimelech, "my God is King." All names compounded with "melech," king, with which we are acquainted, Abimelech, Ahimelech, etc., are borne by distinguished persons. Now, it was precisely in contest with a king of Moab, Eglon, that Israel had experienced that God is king; and yet, here an Elimelech withdraws himself from the favor of God in order to live in Moab! His wife's name was Naomi, "the lovely, gracious one." The name unquestionably corresponded to the character. Whoever is loved as she was, and that by daughters-in-law, is most certainly worthy of love. As to the names of the sons, Mahlon and Chilion, the derivations which make them signify "sickly" and "pining," suggested perhaps by their subsequent fate, are undoubtedly erroneous. For, surely, they bore them already when in Bethlehem, after leaving which they continued in life over ten years in Moab. It is much more likely that by these names, bestowed at birth, the parents expressed the feeling that these sons were their "joy" and "ornament." Mahlon (properly Machlon) may then be derived from מַחֹל, *machol*, "circled-ance," Greek *choros*. Comp. 1 Kgs. iv. 31, where Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, are called sons of Machol; and in Greek, *Choregis* or *Chorokles*, from *choros*. In like manner, Chilion⁴ (or rather Kilion), may, like כַּלִּיָּה, *kallah*, a bride, be referred to כֶּלֶל, to crown. The name would thus signify *coronatus*, just as *kallah* (bride) signifies a *coronata*. It is particularly stated that they are "Ephrathites" of Bethlehem-judah. Ephrathah was the ancient name of Bethlehem and the region around it. Accordingly, Ephrathites are *natives* of the city, persons properly belonging to the tribe of Judah, not mere residents in Bethlehem from other tribes (cf. Judg. xvii. 7).⁵ So David also, by a use of the word in obvious accord with this passage, is spoken of as the son of an Ephrathite of Bethlehem-judah (1 Sam. xvii. 12); and the prophet, when he announces Him who in the future is to come out of Bethlehem, expressly speaks of Bethlehem-Ephrathah (Micah v. 1). For the same reason, the full name Bethlehem-judah is constantly used, in order to prevent any confusion with Bethlehem in Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15; cf. Com. on Judg. xii. 8), and also to make it impossible to think of Ephrathites of the tribe of Ephraim.

Vers. 3-5. And Elimelech died. Probably not long after his arrival in Moab. This appears

¹ Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xlii. 458) states, on the authority of Burkhardt, that in Nejd, in Arabia, similar famines recur at intervals of from ten to fifteen years.

² Which even Benjamin of Tudela (Asher's edit. p. 40) particularly notices.

³ אֶפְרַתָּה, אֶפְרַתָּה, from פְּרָה to bear, sc. fruit, cf. פְּרַת, Phrath, in its Greek form Euphrates, an אֶפְרַתָּה as it were.

⁴ Sept. Χελαίων, Josephus Χελλίων. The magnificence of the names might rather seem to contrast with the unhappy issue. For Elimelech Josephus puts Abimelech, probably also in consequence of some allegorical exposition.

⁵ Some of the older Jewish teachers not inappropriately render "Ephratim" by εὐφρατίστας, high-born, or *Palatini* (*Ruth Rabba*, 29, etc.).

not only from the connecting "and": "they came to Moab, were there, and Elimelech died" (cf. the Com. on Judg. i. 1), but may also be inferred from the circumstance that the sons did not marry while he was yet living.

The death of the father is the beginning of the sad catastrophe; but notwithstanding its occurrence the sons are unwilling to return. On the contrary, they proceed, in violation of the Mosaic law, to take Moabitish wives (cf. Com. on Judg. iii. 6 f.). That such marriages fall within the prohibition of Deut. vii. 3 is not to be doubted. The restrictions of that passage apply to all who serve false gods, and the idolatry of Ammon and Moab is as strongly abominated as any other. That Moab and Ammon are not expressly named in the passage, is owing to the fact that it speaks with reference to the country on this side of the Jordan. In other passages, the worship and fellowship of Moab are rejected in the same way as those of the other nations (cf. Judg. x. 6). The question is not what name a people bears, but what its religion and worship are. No doubt, however, the old Jewish expositors are right when they maintain that the law which forbids the entrance of an Ammonite or Moabite into the congregation of Jehovah, even to the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 3), does not bear on the case of Ruth. For this can apply only to men, who from their sex are enabled to act independently, not to women, who are selected and taken. A woman founded no family in Israel, but was taken into one. For that reason, also, there is no connection whatever between this law and that in Deut. vii. 2 ff. Israel was forbidden to take wives for their sons from among the neighboring nations, not because these entered into the congregation or founded strange families, but because marriage is a covenant, and involves the danger of becoming mixed up with idolatry.

Inapplicable, likewise, to the present case is the passage in Deut. xxi. 10 ff., adduced by Le Clerc in defense of Naomi's sons. Doubtless, the fact that a woman was a captive taken in war gave marriage with her an altogether different character. In that case all the presuppositions which underlie the enactment in Deut. vii. were wanting. The woman, moreover, must first bewail her kindred as dead, before she is allowed to be married. But Ruth and Orpah were not captives. Marriage with them was in all respects such as Deut. vii. provided against. Nor does the narrative seek to hide the sin of the young men.¹ It is precisely, as we shall see, the most striking beauty of the thought of our Book, that the wrong which has been done is overcome, and turned into a stepping-stone to a great end. The Midrash makes a daughter of king Egion out of Ruth. Her heart at least is noble and royal as any king's daughter could be, and her exterior was doubtless such as to correspond with it.

The name of the one was Orpah, and the name of the other Ruth. The designation of girls by names borrowed from pleasing animals or

¹ The Targum justly brings it into full relief. [It paraphrases: "and they transgressed the command of the Lord, and took foreign wives from among the daughters of Moab."] The answers of Le Clerc are misunderstandings, which have been repeated down to Bertheau. Rambach's excuses for the brothers are already offered by older Roman Catholic expositors. "But," says one of these (cf. Serarius, p. 680), "why make excuses for them? for Scripture does in no way represent them as holy men."

² [רָוַח] is usually regarded as a contraction either of

flowers is common to all nations. The conjecture that Orpah, or Orpha, as the LXX. pronounce it, like Ophra, signifies a hind, is therefore undoubtedly in accordance with Moabitish usage. A comparison might apparently be made with *cerua*, Celtic *carr* (cf. Benfey, ii. 174). The name of Ruth would gain in interest, if the derivation which I propose, were approved. Singularly enough the name of the *rose* is not mentioned in the Scriptures, although this flower to this day adorns the ruins of the holy land with wondrous beauty. The Mishna and Talmud speak of it under its Greek name, *ρόδον* (cf. my *Rose und Nachtigall*, p. 19). Now it seems to me that in

רָוַח we have the ancient form of the word *ρόδον*, *rosa*, undoubtedly derived from the *redness* of the flower, *ῥουβρός*, *rutilus*, Sanskrit *rudh-ira*, Gothic *rauds* (Benfey, ii. 125). That even the so-called Semitic and classical languages have many words and roots in common, especially such as denote common objects, as colors, animals, plants, is manifest from numerous instances, as *e. g.* *ἄφρός*, *albus*, לָוֶן. At all events, the thought of Ruth as the Moabitish Rose is in itself, apart from the philological probability, too attractive to refrain from giving expression to the conjecture.²

And they dwelt there about ten years. The selection of such maidens as the sequel shows Ruth and Orpah to be, and the peaceful relations which must have existed between all parties concerned, may perhaps be allowed to reduce the offense of Naomi's sons against the marriage law to its mildest form. But the distance at which they keep themselves from their native land and people when these are in distress, in order to find happiness and rest for themselves elsewhere, does not prove productive of blessings. The lot that befalls them is very sad. The father, who feared lest he should not be able to live at home, had scarcely reached the strangers' land before he died. The sons founded their houses in Moab, and Moab became their grave. They were probably determined not to return home before the famine was over; and when it was over, they themselves were no more. The father had emigrated in order to have more and to secure his family; and now his widow had neither husband, nor sons, nor property. Mahlon and Chilion had died childless; "joy" and "ornament" had given way to mourning and the signs of bereavement — Naomi stood alone in a foreign land. Then she arose with her daughters-in-law.

Ver. 6. For Jehovah had visited his people to give them bread. Believing Israel sees the government of God in everything. Everything comes from Him and is designed to discipline and instruct mankind. In Deut. xxviii. 47, 48, it is written that in case Israel shall apostatize from God and cease to serve Him, it shall serve its enemies, and that in hunger and thirst, in nakedness and want. That the famine which had at this time befallen Bethlehem was the consequence of one of those military tyrannies which, as the Book

רָוַח, vision, appearance, or better, of רְעוּת female friend. The explanation of רָוַח as *hind*, rests on the supposition that it is the same with רָוַח, the two middle letters being transposed. Gesenius derives it from the Arabic 'Orphan, a mane; cf. the Heb. לְרֵךְ, neck. "It may, however, be more suitable," says Wright, "as the name of a female, to regard it as identical with the Arabic 'Orphan in the sense of liberality." — Tr.]

of Judges relates, chastised the people, there is not the least indication. But a chastisement it certainly was, even though this is not asserted. And doubtless, the people, as it usually did under such circumstances, turned with penitence and prayer to its God. Then the years of famine came to an end. God remembered his people. It is a judgment of God when He allows men to go their own ways and help themselves in their necessities and sufferings (cf. the *ἑρεπιδών*, Acts, xvii. 30); but in his mercy He remembers them, as he remembered Israel in Egypt (Ex. ii. 24). The word

רָחַם here used, occurs repeatedly for such a return of divine remembrance. God remembered

(רָחַם) Sarah, silently mourning over her childlessness (Gen. xxi. 1). After Moses had performed wonders before Israel in Egypt, the people believed, and when they heard that God had observed (רָחַם) the sufferings of the people, and had looked upon their affliction, they bowed down and worshipped (Ex. iv. 31).

From the turn of the language that God "remembered" to "give bread" to his people, more particularly to Bethlehem, the "House of Bread," it may properly be inferred that the famine was not the result of war, but of drought.

NOTE ON BETHLEHEM AND THE GRAVE OF RACHEL. "No one," says Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 471), has ever doubted, I believe, that the present Beit Lahm, 'House of Flesh,' of the Arabs, is identical with the ancient Bethlehem, 'House of Bread,' of the Jews. The present distance of two hours from Jerusalem corresponds very exactly to the six Roman miles of antiquity." Schubert justly calls it the most attractive and significant of all the world's birthplaces.

This Bethlehem, where Rachel died, where Boaz married Ruth, where David was born, and Jesus Christ entered the world, is to-day, as Ritter remarks, a little city or village "hardly worthy of mention on its own account, having scarcely a single noteworthy characteristic, except the unchanging carpet of green, and the beautiful sky from which once the glory of the Lord shone round about the shepherds."

Bethlehem lies two short hours south of Jerusalem, on two moderate-sized hills, on whose northern and eastern declivities the dwelling-houses of the place are built. It is bounded on the south by the Wady et Taamirah. During the reign of the emperor Justinian it flourished greatly for a season, which, however, did not prove long. Its present inhabitants are mostly Christians. They are a strong and energetic race. During the Middle Ages, warlike feuds seem to have given the place a better title to be called Bethlachem, House of War, than Bethlehem.

Toward the west, there is a succession of irregular hills and valleys as far as the chapel over Rachel's sepulchre. The Jews considered this as an especially sacred spot.¹ The monument is described by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Palestine somewhere between A. D. 1160 and 1173, as consisting of "eleven stones, according to the number of the sons of Jacob, with a cupola resting

on four pillars over them; and all passing Jews write their names on the stones of the monument" (ed. Asher, p. 40). The Jewish traveller Petachia (circa A. D. 1175-80), writes as follows: "Eleven stones lie on the grave of Rachel, according to the eleven tribes, for Benjamin was only born as his mother died. The stones are of marble; and the stone of Jacob, also marble, covers all the others, and is very large, so that it requires many persons to move it." This induces the author to add the following legend: "The monks who live a mile away, once took the stone from the grave, and deposited it by their church; but the next morning they saw it again at the grave as before" (ed. Carmoly, p. 97).

The author of *Jichus ha Abot* gives a description of the cupola as it was in his time (cf. Hottinger, *Cippi Hebraici*, p. 33, Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, etc., p. 436). The Arabian traveller Edrisi (about A. D. 1150; ed. Jaubert, i. 345) and another anonymous writer (*Fundgruben des Orients*, ii. 135; Carmoly, p. 457) also speak of it.

Buckingham's description (A. D. 1816) is as follows: "We entered it on the south side by an aperture through which it was difficult to crawl, as it has no doorway, and found on the inside a square mass of masonry in the centre, built up from the floor nearly to the roof, and of such a size as to leave barely a narrow passage for walking around it. It is plastered with white stucco on the outer surface, and is sufficiently large and high to enclose within it any ancient pillar that might have been found on the grave of Rachel. Around the interior face of the walls is an arched recess on each side, and over every part of the stucco are written and engraved a profusion of names, in Hebrew, Arabic, and Roman characters." (Cf. *Palestine*, i. 336.)

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL:

"A man of Bethlehem-judah went to sojourn in Moab." Because there is famine at home, the family of Elimelech migrate to a foreign country. They alone think that the distress cannot be borne. Instead of crying to God and trusting in Him, along with their brethren, in Bethlehem, they proceed to an enemy's land, where heathen worship false gods. Their emigration testifies to a decrease in their faith. Here it is not, as in the case of Abraham, Go to a land that I will show thee; but it must rather be said, They went to a land that God had rejected. The result was such as might have been expected. God did not bless their departure, and therefore their entrance brought no joy. They sought to avoid one affliction, and fell into a heavier. The men escaped famine, but death overtook them. They had not trusted God's love at home, and so his judgments smote them abroad.

Results like these should also be contemplated by many who undertake to emigrate in our days. Not many go as Abraham went to Canaan, or as Jacob went to Egypt; the majority follow in the steps of Elimelech.

Continue in thy land, and support thyself honestly. "To many" — says a book called *Sabbatliche Erinnerungen*, — "it may be a necessity to leave their native land, for the relations of life are

1 [They do still. Dr. Hackett, who visited the tomb in 1852, says: "The Jews, as would be expected, regard the spot with peculiar interest. One of them filled a bag with earth collected near the tomb, and gave it to one of my travelling companions to bring home with him to this country, as a present to a brother of the Jew residing here."

See *Scripture Illustrations*, Boston, 1855, p. 102, where a small engraving of the present exterior of the sepulchre is also given. — Tr.]

2 [Compare the Introduction, Sect. 6, for some general Homiletical Hints on the whole Book. — Tr.]

manifold and often strange; but most of those who in these days seize the pilgrim-staff, are not driven by distress. It is not hunger after bread, or want of work that urges them, but hunger after gain, and the want of life in God."¹

STARKE: Dearth and famine are a great plague, and we have good reason to pray with reference to them, "Good Lord, deliver us!"

It is true, indeed, that Elimelech emigrated to a heathen land, where the living God was not acknowledged, while emigrants of the present day go for the most part to lands where churches are already in existence. But, on the other hand, Elimelech, notwithstanding his unbelieving flight, became after all no Moabite. The emigrant's grand concern should be not to have the spirit of a Moabite when he leaves his native land. Many have ended much more sadly than Elimelech, and have left no name behind. Elimelech's kindred was yet visited with blessings, because the faithful, believing spirit of an Israelitish woman, Naomi, worked in his household.

STARKE: Husband and wife should continue true to each other, in love and in sorrow, in good and evil days.

"And the name of his wife was Naomi." Naomi means, "pleasant, lovely." As her name, so her character. Her name was the mirror of her nature. And truly, names ought not to be borne in vain. [FULLER: Names are given to men and women, not only to distinguish them from each other, but also, — 1. To stir them up to verify the meanings and significations of their names. Wherefore let every Obadiah strive to be a "servant of God," every Nathaniel to be "a gift of God," Onesimus to be "profitable," every Roger "quiet and peaceable" (?), Robert "famous for counsel" (?), and William "a help and defense" to many. 2. To incite them to imitate the virtues of those worthy persons who formerly have been bearers and owners of their names. Let all Abrahams be faithful, Isaacs quiet, Jacobs painful, Josephs chaste; every Lewis, pious; Edward, confessor of the true faith; William, conqueror over his own corruptions. Let them also carefully avoid those sins for which the bearers of the names stand branded to posterity. Let every Jonah beware of frowardness, Thomas of distrustfulness, etc. If there be two of our names, one exceedingly good, the other notoriously evil, let us decline the vices of the one, and practice the virtues of the other. Let every Judas not follow Judas Iscariot, who betrayed our Saviour,

but Judas the brother of James, the writer of the General Epistle; each Demetrius not follow him in the Acts who made silver shrines for Diana, but Demetrius, 3 John, ver. 12, who had "a good report of all men;" every Ignatius not imitate Ignatius Loyola, the lame father of blind obedience, but Ignatius, the worthy martyr in the primitive church. And if it should chance, through the indiscretion of parents and godfathers, that a bad name should be imposed on any, O let not "folly" be "with" them, because Nabal is their name. . . . In the days of Queen Elizabeth, there was a royal ship called "The Revenge," which, having maintained a long fight against a fleet of Spaniards (wherein eight hundred great shot were discharged against her), was at last fain to yield; but no sooner were her men gone out of her, and two hundred fresh Spaniards come into her, but she suddenly sunk them and herself; and so "The Revenge" was revenged. Shall lifeless pieces of wood answer the names which men impose upon them, and shall not reasonable souls do the same? — Tr.]

[Br. HALL: Betwixt the reign of the judges, Israel was plagued with tyranny; and while some of them reigned, with famine. Seldom did that rebellious people want somewhat to humble them. One rod is not enough for a stubborn child.

FULLER: The prodigal child complained, "How many hired servants of my father have had bread enough, and I die for hunger!" So here we see that the uncircumcized Moabites, God's slaves and vassals, had plenty of store, whilst Israel, God's children (but his prodigal children, which by their sins had displeased their Heavenly Father), were pinched with penury.

THE SAME: Let us not abuse strangers, and make a prey of them, but rather let us be courteous unto them, lest the barbarians condemn us, who so courteously entreated St. Paul, with his shipwrecked companions, and the Moabites in my text, who suffered Elimelech, when he came into the land, to continue there.

THE SAME: "And Elimelech died." I have seldom seen a tree thrive that hath been transplanted when it was old.

THE SAME: "And she was left, and her two sons." Here we see how mercifully God dealt with Naomi, in that He quenched not all the sparks of her comfort at once, but though He took away the stock, He left her the stems. Indeed, afterwards He took them away also; but first He provided her with a gracious daughter-in-law. — Tr.]

¹ [Without questioning the correctness of the foregoing remarks, it may nevertheless serve a good purpose to call attention to the following sentences from Dr. Thos. Fuller (1654), which read to-day suggest the great need of that caution in "application" which they also exemplify: "Now if any do demand of me my opinion concerning our brethren which of late left this kingdom to advance a plantation in New England; surely I think, as St. Paul said concerning virgins, he had 'received no commandment from the Lord;' so I cannot find any just warrant to encourage men to undertake this removal; but think rather the counsel

best that king Josiah prescribed to Amaziah, 'Tarry at home.' Yet as for those that are already gone, far be it from us to conceive them to be such to whom we may not say, 'God speed,' as it is in 2 John verse 10; but let us pity them, and pray for them; for sure they have no need of our mocks, which I am afraid have too much of their own miseries. I conclude therefore of the two Englands, what our Saviour saith of the two wines, Luke v. 39: 'No man having tasted of the old presently desireth the new: for he saith, The old is better.' — Tr.]

VERSES 7-18.

Faithfulness until Death.

7 Wherefore [And] she went forth out of the place where she was, and her two daughters-in-law with her;¹ and they [already] went on the way to return unto the land of Judah. And Naomi said [Then said Naomi] unto her two daughters-in-law, Go, return each to her mother's house: the Lord [Jehovah] deal kindly with you.² as ye have dealt with the dead, and with me. The Lord [Jehovah] grant you that ye may find³ rest [a resting-place], each of you in the house of her husband. Then she kissed them; and they lifted up their voice, and wept. And they said unto her, Surely⁴ we will return with thee unto thy people. And Naomi said, Turn again [Return], my daughters: why will ye go with me? are there yet any more sons in my womb, that they may be your husbands? Turn again [Return], my daughters, go your way [omit: your way]; for I am too old to have [to belong (again)] an husband. If [Even if] I should say,⁵ I have hope, if I should have [should belong] to an husband also to-night, and should also bear sons; would ye [then]⁶ tarry for them [omit: for them] till they were grown? would ye stay for them [would you then shut yourselves up] from having husbands [in order⁷ (after all) not to belong to a husband]? nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes [it is much more bitter to me than to you],⁸ that [since] the hand of the Lord [Jehovah] is gone out against me. And they lifted up their voice, and wept again.⁹ And Orpah kissed her mother-in-law [and turned back]; but Ruth clave unto her. And she [Naomi] said, Behold, thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people, and unto her gods [God]:¹⁰ return thou [also] after thy sister-in-law. And Ruth said, Entreat [Urge] me not to leave thee, or [and] to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest [abidest], I will lodge [abide]: thy people shall be [is] my people, and thy God my God: Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord [Jehovah] do so to me, and more also, if¹¹ ought but death part thee and me. When [And when] she saw that she was steadfastly minded to go with her, then she left speaking unto [ceased to dissuade] her.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 7. — From this verse, and the preceding (cf. also ver. 10), it appears plain, as Bertheau remarks, that not only Naomi, but also both her daughters-in-law, set out with the intention of going to Judah. It may be true that Naomi, determined from the start that they must not carry out this intention, "looked upon them as only bearing her company for a while before parting" (Dr. Cassel, below); but it seems at least as likely that in the struggle between duty and inclination, she did not finally reach this conclusion until the moment that she attempted to give it effect. The **לְשׂוּבָה** is of course strictly applicable only to Naomi. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 8. — **יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם חֶסֶד**: lit. Jehovah do kindness with you. On the form **יַעֲשֶׂה** as optative, cf. Ges. 127, 3, b. Although the shortened form **יַעֲשֶׂה** is more usual, its substitution by the Keri is unnecessary. In **עִמָּכֶם** the suffix is masc., although referring to women, cf. also **עִיְיָרִים** in the next member of the clause. Similar departures from strict grammatical propriety occur in vers. 9, 11, 13, 19, 22, ch. iv. 11. Gesenius regards them as originally colloquial inaccuracies, which afterwards passed into books, § 121, 6, Rem. 1. All but two (vers. 19, 22) of those in our Book are actually found in conversations.

[3 Ver. 9. — **וּמְצִאתֶן**, imperat. *scriptio defect.* for **וּמְצִאתֶינן**. On the construction, cf. Ges. 130, 1. The imperat. is only a stronger jussive, hence easily connected with it. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 10. — **כִּי**: Dr. Cassel first supplies: "We will not turn back," and then renders **כִּי** by *denn*, "for," cf. Ges. Lex. s. v. **כִּי**, B. 3, b. In that case, however (after the implied negation), *sondern*, "but," would be better than "for." But it is best taken like **כִּי** in N. T. before words directly quoted, cf. Lex. l. c. B. 1, b. Keil's remark, that "**כִּי** before words in direct discourse serves to strengthen, being almost equal to an assurance," is certainly not true in all cases, cf. 1 Sam. x. 19; 1 Kgs. xi. 22. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 12. — **כִּי אֲמַרְתִּי**: **כִּי** is causal, and introduces another but closely connected reason (the first, also introduced by **כִּי**, being given in the preceding clause) why they should return, cf. Isa. vi. 5; Ps. xxii. 12. In English, we should represent this **כִּי — כִּי** by "for—and." **כִּי אֲמַרְתִּי**, **כִּי יִרְוֶה אֲמַרְתִּי**, and **לִכְדֹּתִי** are all conditional perfects,

with the conditional particle omitted, as in Ps. lxxix. 33; ciii. 16; Amos iii. 8, etc. Cf. Ew. 357 b. In English we might imitate the sentence thus: "For (let us suppose) I say, I have hope; I have a husband; I have children; will you," etc.]

[6 Ver. 13. — וְהָיָה is the fem. suffix הָיָה , used as a neuter (cf. Ges. 107, 3), with prep. לְ and the interrogative $\text{הֲ$: "under these circumstances," or briefly "then," as inserted in the text after Dr. Cassel. The word in this sense is not unusual in Chaldee, cf. Dan. ii. 6, 9, 24; Ezra v. 12. In Hebrew it is found again at Job xxx. 24. As it occurs here in the colloquy of Naomi with her daughters, it is probably to be regarded as a word current in the language of daily life. See Keil, *Introd.* to O. T. § 137, 2. The rendering of the E. V. (after Sept., Vulg., etc.), "for them," is very improbable, both on account of the position of the word, the emphasis being clearly on "wait," and also because of its fem. suffix. — Ta.]

[7 Ver. 13. — לֹבְלֵתִי , lit. "to not," Dr. Cassel, *um*. לֹבְלֵתִי expresses negative design, as לִמְעַן positive. The necessary result is here represented as designed, cf. the use of *iva*, Win. 53, 10, 6. — Ta.]

[8 Ver. 13. — $\text{כִּי־מְרִיבִי מְאֹד מִיָּדְךָ}$: Dr. Cassel interprets rather than renders: "for I am much worse off than you, since against me," etc. Substantially the same rendering is given by Keil, De Wette, Wright, Wordsworth, etc. "So Sept., which has ὡς ἔρηξ ὑμᾶς , not ὡς ἔρηξ ὑμῶν , and so Syr. and Arabic" (Wordsworth). Berthieu, like E. V. takes מִיָּדְךָ = on your account, for your sake. The objection that this would require עָלֶיְכֶם instead of מִיָּדְךָ (cf. 2 Sam. i. 26), does not hold, cf. Prov. v. 18; Eccles. ii. 10, etc. But the other rendering yields a better sense. מִיָּדְךָ may be adjective, noun, or verb, viz. 3 sing. perf. of מָרַר , used impersonally. — Tr.]

[9 Ver. 14. — עוֹד : Dr. Cassel — "exceedingly." But there is no good reason to change the English "again," referring to ver. 9. — Ta.]

[10 Ver. 15. — אֱלֹהֵיהֶם : Sept. and Vulg. render by the plural, "gods." Luther has the sing., and so Dr. Cassel. The reference is apparently to the national deity — "her people and her god" — namely, Chemosh (Num. xxi. 29): hence, the sing. is to be preferred. It seems almost superfluous to observe that Naomi's words do not necessarily contain any recognition of the Moabitish deity, or indicate (as Wright suggests) that "she was possibly led astray by the false idea that Jehovah was only the God of Israel." Was Jephthah, then, similarly led astray (cf. Judg. xi. 24, 27)? — Tr.]

[11 Ver. 17. — כִּי is not "if" (אִם , 1 Sam. iii. 17, etc.), but "that," cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 44; 1 Kgs. ii. 23. וַיִּשְׁבַּעְתִּי ; "I swear," or some such expression, is understood, cf. Gen. xxii. 16. The E. V. might be corrected by leaving כִּי untranslated, and rendering: "only death shall part thee and me." The Hebrew, instead of invoking a definite judgment or calamity on himself, in case he breaks his oath, simply says כֹּה , which with the addition "and more too," is perhaps more awful to the imagination because it is not definite. — On the article with "death," cf. Ges. 109, Rem. l. c. — Ta.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 7. **And she went forth out of the place.** The place is not named, nor is it necessary. The Israelitish family had after all not become naturalized in it. No one asks Naomi to stay. No one accompanies her, save her two daughters-in-law, the youthful widows of her too early faded sons.

And they already went on the way. Until then Naomi had looked on her daughters-in-law as only bearing her company for a while before parting. But being now far from their place of residence, on the highway from Moab to Judah, she stops, and bids them return.

Ver. 8. **Jehovah deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead and with me.** A scene now begins of unequalled tenderness and amiableness. We get a look into a family-life that may serve as a model for all. It is an honor to the deceased sons, Mahlon and Chilion, that they made such a selection of wives; but they must also have been worthy of the enduring love they awakened, notwithstanding that there were no children to strengthen the bonds of affection. The attachment of the Moabitish women, Ruth and Orpah, to their new family, must be grounded in psychological facts, with a knowledge of which exegesis cannot dispense. The Moabitish women had entered into an Israelitish house, and had breathed the beneficent atmosphere of a family of Judah. Marriage and family life form the real mirror of religious belief and worship. Hence, the apostle, in his sublime manner, arranges the relations of husband and wife by referring to the love of Christ for his church (Ephes. v. 22 ff.). Ancient Israel,

therefore, distinguished itself from the inhabitants of Canaan, not merely by the name of its God, but by its life at home in the family, by faithfulness and love to wife and child. Purity and morality in marriage were the necessary results of faith in the only, living God, as much as a life of unchaste and sensual pleasures belonged to the abominations of idolatry among the Ammonites and Moabites. Among the worst sins into which Israel fell in the desert, was the whoredom with the daughters of Moab in the service of Baal-Peor (Num. xxv.); by executing summary and terrible punishment on which, Phinehas the priest won for himself an enduring blessing. The Mosaic law does not contain special and extended instructions as to the treatment of wife and child. But the command, "thou shalt not commit adultery," stands among the Sinaitic Ten as the reflection of that other which says, "thou shalt have no other gods." An affectionate, moral family life had become an Israelitish characteristic through the influence of the Israelitish faith, as is evident already in patriarchal times from the instances of Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah. But it showed itself still more brightly in Israel as a nation, living by the side of other tribes in Canaan, since monogamy had become its natural and prevailing practice. Every profounder apprehension of domestic relations, brought about by man's consciousness of God, affects the wife especially. She experiences most deeply the beneficence of a life sanctified by the law of God. Her happiness and her love, indissolubly connected, depend upon the moral education of the man she follows. Ruth and Orpah felt the impression of the higher moral-

ity which, in contrast with the Moabitish home, pervaded every Israelitish household. It is not necessary to conceive of Mahlon and Chilion as men of eminence in this respect; but they held fast to their family traditions, according to which the wife occupied a position of tenderness, protected by love and solicitude. They did not act in entire accordance with the law when they married Moabitish wives; but neither did they unite with them in the idolatry of Baal-Peor. Although they may not have been specially pious and god-fearing men, their national mode of home and married life nevertheless contrasted with that of Moab, and all the more strongly because they lived in the midst of Moab. Both the young women, acquainted with the fate of Moabitish marriages, felt themselves gratefully attracted to the Israelitish house into which they entered. They had not accepted the law and the God of Israel; but they requited the kind and tender treatment they received with equally self-sacrificing love. That Naomi can acknowledge this, after having observed them through ten years of married life, what a picture of peace and happiness does it suggest! The women had not only heard the religion of Jehovah confessed in Moab (cf. the expression: *Jehovah deal kindly with you*, etc.), but they had seen the expression of it in the life. What they have done and are yet ready to do, is the consequence thereof. For national divisions, we here see, are overcome rather by the preaching of the life than by the verbal proclamation of doctrine.

Naomi praises not only the love which Ruth and Orpah have manifested toward their husbands, but also that which they have shown towards herself, the mother-in-law. And this is yet more noteworthy. Ancients and moderns unite in complaints of the unhappy relations between daughters and mothers-in-law. Plutarch, treating of the duties of married persons, relates that in Leptis, in Africa, it was customary for the bride on the day after the wedding to send to the bridegroom's mother to ask for a pot, which the latter refuses, pretending that she has none, in order that the young wife may speedily become acquainted with the stepmotherly disposition of her mother-in-law, and be less easily provoked when subsequently more serious troubles arise.¹ In Terence (*Heccyra*, ii. 1, 4), Laches laments "that all mothers-in-law have ever hated their daughters-in-law" (*uno animo omnes socrus oderunt nurus*).² Juvenal, in his satire against women (vi. 231), says, in a rather coarse way, that matrimonial peace is inconceivable so long as the mother-in-law lives (*desperanda salva concordia socru*). Old German popular sayings faithfully reproduce the ancient maxims: "*Die Swiger ne weiss, dass sie Snur gewessen*" (the mother-in-law has forgotten that she was ever a daughter-in-law);³ "*Die beste Swiger ist die, auf deren Rock die Gänse weiden*" (the best mother-in-law is one on whose gown the geese feed, i. e. who is dead).

The family life of Naomi with her daughters-in-law affords no trace whatever of such sad experiences. They mutually love each other—both during the lives of the husbands and after their decease,—although they belong to different tribes. The praise for this naturally belongs largely to

¹ Cf. Jerome, *adv. Jovinian*, lib. i. 48, p. 317, and *Comment. ad Michæam*, on ch. vii. p. 519 (ed. Migne, vi. p. 1221).

² Pliny, in his *Panegy. Trajani*, cap. 84, says; "quo quidem admirabilis existimandum est, quod mulieribus

the mother, whose kind and genial soul evidently answered to her beautiful name. Thus much may also be gathered from her further conversation with her daughters. But the unhappy relations between daughter and mother-in-law, elsewhere usual, must in general have been unknown in Israel. Otherwise the prophet could not represent it as a sign of the extremest social ruin that, as the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother, so the daughter-in-law rises up against the mother-in-law (Mic. vii. 6); a passage to which Christ alludes when he speaks of the effects to be brought about in social life by his gospel (Matt. x. 35).

Vers. 9, 10. **Jehovah grant you that you may find a safe place.** If he be truly worthy of love who amid his own sorrow still thinks of the welfare of others, then, surely, Naomi is worthy of love. She has been called upon to part with all that was dear to her, with husband and children. She stands quite alone in her advanced age. But even yet all partings are not over. She thinks that now also she must no longer allow herself to be accompanied by Orpah and Ruth. Both the daughters-in-law are yet young; should she take them with her into her uncertain lot! She has not the presumption to forget their future in thoughts about her own; nor the vanity to think that the widows of her sons should not marry again. The position of a single woman in antiquity was an unhappy one. It was altogether customary for youthful widows to marry again. Only a husband's house is the true asylum for a woman. There she finds protection, safety, and honor. That is the idea of the *menuchah*, the rest, which Naomi wishes that Jehovah may give each of them in the house of another husband. It is impossible to imagine a more beautiful expression of the end of marriage to a woman. The possession of a *menuchah*, an asylum of honor and freedom, is the highest happiness; the want of it, a terrible misfortune. Among other evils, Israel is told that in the event of disobedience it shall have no *menuchah* (Deut. xxviii. 65).⁴ The holy land, if it be possessed in faith, is, as it were, the earthly house to which Israel has come, like a wife to the house of her husband. "Hitherto," says Moses, Deut. xii. 9, "you have not yet come unto the *menuchah* which Jehovah your God gives you." The desert had no place of rest, properly speaking; it was only the way, not the goal. Solomon was the first who could praise God for the complete gift of *menuchah* to his people (1 Kgs. viii. 56). It is true, Israel's highest *menuchah* is God, Jehovah himself and his redemption. He is the true goal of life. Says the prophet (Isa. xi. 10): "And it shall come to pass in that day: the Root of Jesse—to him shall the nations repair, and his *menuchah* is glory." And, hence, Christ also says, Matth. xi. 29: "Learn of me, that I am meek and lowly in heart, and you shall find rest (*ἀνάπαυσιν, menuchah*) for your souls."

Such a *menuchah* Orpah and Ruth had enjoyed in the homes of their husbands; and they are, as it were, vocationless, if they find not another. It was in the natural course of ancient social life that they should marry again among the people to whom they belonged. Naomi thinks it wrong for duabus in una domo, parique fortuna, nullum certamen nulla contentio est."

³ Similar ideas are treated of in his peculiar way, by Abraham a Sancta Clara, in *Judas, der Erzscheim*, v. p. 15.

⁴ The word in the passage referred to is *manoach*, which, however, differs only in form, cf. ch. iii. 1.—[E.]

her to take them away from that people. Turn back, she says; may the blessing of the God of Israel be with you even in the midst of Moab! May He grant you rest in the house of a new husband! And she kisses them, as the signal of parting (cf. ver. 14), — but a loud weeping arises. Naomi finds it hard to be obliged to leave these last dear friends whom she has become accustomed to regard as daughters. Orpah and Ruth are unwilling to turn back, unwilling to let the loved Naomi proceed alone on her solitary way through life. "We go with thee," they say, "to thy people."

Vers. 11-13. **And Naomi said: Have I then yet sons in my womb?** It is by means of two considerations that Naomi seeks to persuade her daughters-in-law to return: first, she holds out to them the prospect of new family connections in Moab; and, secondly, she shows them that all hope of renewed married happiness is ended if they go with her. The surprising delicacy with which this is done, is such as to show clearly how truly a religious love educates and refines. The ultimate cause of the grief occasioned by the necessity of impending separation, lies after all solely in the fact that Ruth and Orpah are Moabitesses. Naomi could not bear to tell them that if they, as daughters of Moab, went with her to Israel, they would find themselves in a less hospitable situation than they had hitherto enjoyed. She is too tender to remind these good children of the fact that Israel does not sanction connections with Moab. On this account, she had already suggested (ver. 8), with special emphasis, that they should return to Moab, each to her *mother's* house, thus putting the natural Moabitish mother over against herself, the Israelitish mother-in-law. She would thereby intimate to them, as delicately and indirectly as possible, that they could hope for nothing in Israel except what she herself could give; that they could enter into her house, indeed, but not into Israel's national life. Naomi's speech in vers. 12, 13, is a climactic utterance of grief, which often says so many really unnecessary things, in order to conceal others which it dares not say. Orpah and Ruth are themselves aware of all that Naomi says to them in these verses. In wishing to go with her, they cannot possibly have a thought of building hopes on sons yet to be born to Naomi by another marriage. But — and this is what Naomi would make them feel — any other hope than this vain one, they as Moabitish women could not have in Israel. If I myself — she gives them to understand — could yet have sons, I would take you with me. My home would then be your home too. To me you are dear as daughters-in-law, whether in

1 The climax of grief shows itself in the climax of impossibilities adduced to show that she can have no other sons for Ruth and Orpah. In the first place she says, I am too old; but if I were not, I have no husband. But even if I had a husband, and brought forth children this very night, two of them, and they sons, would you wait till they were grown up, and shut yourselves in until they were marriageable! The word סָגַר , here used in the sense of shutting one's self in, does not occur again in Scripture, and receives its explanation only from its use in this sense in the later Hebrew. This meaning, however, is evidently very ancient. It is connected with סָגַר , garden, the παράδεισος , which was closed in, hedged in. Ruth and Orpah would have had to look upon themselves as brides of the supposed sons of Naomi, and must therefore have been shut in. With this the explanation of the word סָגַר itself stands connected. *Kallah* means bride and daughter-in-law (as newly-married wife), in the same way as the Greek

Israel or in Moab, but other prospect have you none. Here where everything turns on love, the fulfiller of every law, Naomi does not think of the legal provisions with respect to levirate marriages; but she heaps up the improbabilities against her being able to furnish husbands to her daughters-in-law in Israel, in order in this veiled manner to indicate that this was nevertheless the only possible ground of hope for them in Israel.

For I am worse off than you are. It is very painful for Naomi to let them go, for she is entirely alone. But she cannot answer it to take them with her, seeing she can offer them no new home. Undoubtedly, she is in a worse situation than that of the young women. For them there is yet a possible future among their people. Naomi has buried her happiness in a distant grave. For her there is no future. The last of those dear to her, she herself must tear away from her heart. "Jehovah's hand," she says, "went forth against me." She is soon to experience that his mercy is not yet exhausted.

Ver. 14. **But Ruth clave unto her.** Orpah suffers herself to be persuaded, and goes; but Ruth remains, and will not leave her. The result of Naomi's tears is, that Orpah takes leave of her, and that Ruth clings to her only the more closely. The hopelessness of the future, on which the mother had dilated, leads Orpah back to Moab, but suffers Ruth to go with her to Israel. All that Naomi had said, her solitariness, poverty, sorrow, only served to attach her more firmly. Orpah too was attached and well disposed; but still, with eyes of love, although she had them, she yet saw herself, while Ruth saw only the beloved one. It might be said with a certain degree of truth, that the same cause induced Orpah to go and Ruth to remain, the fact, namely, that Naomi had no longer either son or husband. The one wished to become a wife again, the other to remain a daughter. Few among the natural children of men are as kind and good as Orpah; but a love like that of Ruth has scarcely entered the thoughts of poets. Antigone dies for love of her brother; but the life which awaited Ruth was more painful than death. Alcecis sacrifices herself for her husband, and Sigure (in the *Parvial* of Wolfram v. Eschenbach) persistently continues in a solitary cell, with the corpse of her lover whom she had driven into battle, until she dies; but Ruth goes to a foreign land and chooses poverty, not for a husband or a lover, but for the mother of him who long since was torn away from her. She refuses to leave her for the very reason that she is poor, old, and childless. Naomi, having lost her sons, shall not on

$\nu\mu\phi\eta$ (cf. Matt. x. 35, as also the rendering of the LXX. and the German *Beute*, Grimm, *Wörterb.* ii. 322). The Greek $\nu\mu\phi\eta$ explains itself from the Latin *nubere*, to cover, to veil. The bride already covered herself, like the wife, withdrew herself from the eyes of men, and was shut up. The goddesses themselves were originally called $\nu\mu\phi\alpha\iota$ probably because they were conceived of as rendered invisible by the nature-covering of tree and fountain. The use of $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\phi\circ\varsigma$, for sister-in-law, by the LXX. in ver. 15, is peculiar, and doubtless intended to mean "the other, second, the sister-daughter-in-law," rather than "sister-in-law." In classic authors it does not occur; for in $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\phi\circ\varsigma$, the $\sigma\upsilon\gamma$ refers to $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\circ\varsigma$. The Hebrew bride derives her name from the garland with which it was customary to crown both bride and bridegroom (cf. Mader, *de Coronis*, Helms. 1922, p. 35, etc.). The symbolism of the word contains profound poetical ideas. It represents a shutting in, it is true; but by flowers, — a shutting up unto perfection and coronation.

that account lose her daughters also. Rather than leave her to suffer alone, Ruth will starve with, or beg for her. Here is love for the dead and the living, surpassing that of Alcestis and Sigurene. That Ruth does for her mother-in-law, what as the highest filial love the poet invents for Antigone, when he represents her as not leaving her blind father, is in actual life almost unexampled. Nor would it be easy to find an instance of a deeper conflict than that which love had to sustain on this occasion. The foundation of it was laid when Elimelech left his people in order not to share their woes. It was rendered inevitable, when, against the law of Israel, his sons took wives of the daughters of Moab. It broke out when the men died. Their love for their Israelitish husbands had made the women strangers in their native land; and the love of Naomi for her Moabitish daughters made her doubly childless in Israel. Nationality, laws, and custom, were about to separate mother- and daughters-in-law. But as love had united them, so also love alone has power to solve the conflict, but only such a love as Ruth's. Orpah escapes the struggle by returning to Moab; Ruth ends it by going with Naomi.

Ver. 15. **Thy sister-in-law returned home to her people and to her God.** In these remarkable words lies the key to the understanding of vers. 11-13. Her daughters had said to her (ver. 10), "We will go with thee to *thy people*." It grieves Naomi to be obliged to tell them, with all possible tenderness, that in the sense in which they mean it, this is altogether impossible. It was necessary to intimate to them that a deeper than merely national distinction compels their present parting: that what her sons had done in Moab, was not customary in Israel; that her personal love for them was indeed so great, that she would gladly give them other sons, if she had them, but that the *people* of Israel was separated from all other nations by the God of Israel. Orpah understood this. Strong as her affection for Naomi was, her natural desire for another resting-place in a husband's house was yet stronger; and as she could not hope for this in Israel, she took leave and went back. For the same reason, Naomi now speaks more plainly to Ruth: thy sister-in-law returned home to her people and to her God. It is not that we belong to different nations, but that we worship different Gods, that separates us here at the gates of Israel.

Vers. 16, 17. **And Ruth said, Thy people is my people, and thy God my God.** Naomi's house, her character and life, have won for her the love of her daughters-in-law. Ruth cleaves to her and will not leave her, although poverty and misery await her. For love to her she proposes to give up not only home and family, but also all the heart-joys that might there yet be hers. She cleaves to her thus, although she is of Israel. Naomi and her house have made Israel also appear lovely in the eyes of Ruth. Who would not wish to go to a people whose sole known representatives were so amiable as Naomi and her family! In Moab, the young women had not been made aware that one cannot be united to Israel without acknowledging Israel's God, for they had entered the marriage relation with sons of Israel without entering into covenant with their God. Now, however, they learn, from Naomi's intimations, that that which Mahlon and Chilion had done, was against the custom of Israel. The discovery instantly manifests itself in different effects on Orpah and Ruth. Orpah is repelled, because she thinks

only of the bridal she might lose. Ruth is attracted; for if that which distinguishes this people which she already loves be its God, then she loves that God also. In Naomi she loves both people and God. Ruth's love is true love: it cleaves to Naomi not for advantages, but on account of her virtues and amiability. Ruth desires to be one with her for life. She will not let her be alone, wherever she may be. What Naomi has, she also will have, her people and her God. And this she expresses at once, so clearly and decidedly, that in ver. 17 she swears by Jehovah, the God of Israel. The Jewish expositors, after the example of the Targum, suppose a dialogue to have taken place in which Naomi has first explained to Ruth the difficulties connected with faith in the God of Israel. All this, however, should be considered merely as a didactic anticipation of her subsequent experiences. In our narrative, the confession of Ruth, "thy God is my God," is the highest stage of that devotion which she yields to Naomi for life. She has vowed that nothing shall separate her love from its object; for whatever could separate it, would make it imperfect. But since the God of Israel is the true ground of all the love which she felt for her Israelitish friends, it follows that her confession of Him is the keystone of her vow. It is at the same time the true solution of the conflict into which persons who mutually loved each other had fallen. It rectifies the error committed by her husband when he took the Moabitish woman notwithstanding her relation to the idol of Moab. The unity of the spirit has been attained, which not only shows true love, but even in memory reconciles what was amiss in the past. For Naomi's grief was so great, not only because she had lost her sons, but also because the daughters-in-law which she had must be given up, and she be left alone. And as love enforced the separation, so love also became the cord drawing to a yet closer union. If Naomi believed herself fallen out of the favor of God on Moab's account, she could derive comfort from Ruth who for her sake entered into the people of God.

Ver. 18. **And when she saw that she was firmly resolved.** Older expositors have imagined that Naomi's efforts to persuade her daughters-in-law to return homeward, were not altogether seriously meant. She only wished to test them. They take this view in order to free Naomi from the reproach of being too little anxious to introduce her daughters into Israel and the true faith (Rambach: *Querunt hic interpretes an recte fecerit Noonia, etc.*).¹ But this whole exposition is a dogmatic anachronism. Naomi could entertain no thoughts of missionary work as understood in modern times, and for that she is not to be reproached. The great love on which the blessing of the whole narrative rests, shows itself precisely in this, that Naomi and her daughters-in-law were persons of different nationality and religion. This contrast — which a marriage of ten years has only affectionately covered up — it is, that also engenders the conflict of separation. During more than ten years the marriage of Naomi's sons to Moabitesses was and continued to be wrong in principle, although, in the happy issue of their choice, its unlawfulness was lost sight of. What she had not done then in the spring-tide of their happiness, Naomi could not think of doing now. Her generous love shows itself now rather in dissuading her daughters-in-law

¹ "Sed alii tamen Hebræi pariter ac Christiani interpretes Nooniam a reatu liberant, et non serio sed tentandi animo id egisse statuunt." — Rambach, p. 743.

from going with her to Israel. For they surely would have gone along, if their deceased husbands, instead of remaining in Moab, had returned to Israel. But their death had in reality dissolved every external bond with Naomi. No doubt, Naomi now feels the grief which the unlawful actions of her husband and sons have entailed. Had her daughters-in-law been of Israel, there would naturally be no necessity of her returning solitary and forsaken. She feels that "the hand of Jehovah is against her." How indelicate would it be now, nay how unbecoming the sacredness of the relations involved, if Naomi, at this moment, when she is herself poor, and with no prospect in the future, were to propose to her daughters-in-law to leave not merely the land but also the god of Moab, that thus they might accompany her. If she had ever wished, at this moment she would scarcely dare, to do it. It is one of the symptoms of the conflict, that she could not do it. The appearance of self interest would have cast a blot on the purity of their mutual love. Naomi might now feel or believe what she had never before thought of, — she could do nothing but dissuade. Anything else would have rudely destroyed the grace and elevation of the whole beautiful scene. The great difference between Orpah and Ruth shows itself in the very fact that the one yields to the dissuasion, the other withstands. Ruth had the tenderly sensitive heart to understand that Naomi must dissuade; and to all Naomi's unuttered reasons for feeling obliged to dissuade, she answers with her vow. Naomi dissuades on the ground that she is poor, — "where thou abidest, I will abide," is the answer; that she is about to live among another people, — "thy people is my people;" that she worships another God, — "thy God is my God;" that she has no husband for her, — "only death shall part me from thee." Under no other circumstances could the conflict have found an end so beautiful. Naomi must dissuade in order that Ruth might freely, under no pressure but that of her own love, accept Israel's God and people. Only after this is done, and she holds firmly to her decision, does Naomi consent and "cease to dissuade her."

NOTE TO VERSE 8: "*Jehovah deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead and with me.*" The love which unites husband and wife in marriage, reconciles the contrasts inherent in difference of nationality, makes peace, gives a good conscience, and leaves a blessed memory. Christian families, too, will do well to look upon the good understanding existing between Naomi and her daughters-in-law as an example to be followed. It originated in the right love of the wives for their husbands, and of the mother for her sons. A right love rejoices in the happiness of its objects, even though derived through others. The jealousy of mothers toward their children-in-law, and of wives toward their husbands' parents does not spring from love.

A pleasing instance of right relations with a mother-in-law comes to light in the gospel history. Jesus enters into the house of Peter, whose mother-in-law lies sick of a fever. Request is immediately made in her behalf, and He, always full of love ready to flow forth in miracles wherever He sees love, heals her (Matth. viii. 14 ff. and paral.). The term *πυρεπά*, used in this account by the gospels, is also employed by the Sept. with reference to Naomi.

Origen has a remarkable passage, thoroughly worthy of his noble spirit (cf. on Job, Lib. i.):

"Blessed is Ruth who so clung to her aged mother-in-law that she would not leave her until death. For this reason, Scripture indeed has justly extolled her; but God has benefited her forever. But He will judge, and in the resurrection condemn, all those wicked and ungodly daughters-in-law who deal out abuse and wrong to their parents-in-law, unmindful of the fact that they gave life and sustenance to their husbands. . . . If, therefore, thou lovest thy husband, O wife, then love them also who gave him being, and thus brought up a son for themselves and a husband for thee. Seek not to divide the son from his father or mother! Seek not to bring the son to despise or father or mother, lest thou fall into the condemnation of the Lord in the day of awful inquest and judgment."

But these excellent words never found the right echo. Even Jerome says: *prope modum naturale est, ut nurus socrum ut socrus oderit nurum.* And yet it never was the case where Christian virtue was actually alive.

Monica, the mother of Augustine, had to endure not a little from her mother-in-law. The latter supported Monica's disobedient maid-servants against their mistress. She allowed them to bring her all sorts of evil reports about her. Her daughter-in-law she daily chided and provoked. But Monica met her with such complaisant love, quiet obedience, and amiable patience, as to conquer the irritable mother-in-law, so that she became, and continued to be to the last, the friend and protectress of her daughter-in-law. No wonder that from such a heart there sprang the faith and spirit of a man like Augustine (cf. Barthel, *Monica*, p. 31).

Not only the history, but also the traditions and the poetry, of the Middle Ages, frequently depict the sufferings of daughters-in-law, inflicted on them by the mothers of their husbands. As part of the "swan-legends" of the lower Rhine, we have the peculiar story of Matabruna, the bad wife of the king of Lillefort, who persecuted and tormented her pious and believing daughter-in-law Beatrix, until at last the latter, by God's help, came off victorious (cf. Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen*, p. 175; also my treatise on the *Schwan*, p. 24).

Herimann Boerhaave's step-mother having died, the universally celebrated physician wrote as follows: "All the skill with which God has endowed me I applied, and spent whole half-nights in considering her disease, in order to prolong her life, — but all in vain. . . . But I weep too, as often as the thought occurs to me that now I shall have no more opportunity to show her my love, veneration, and gratitude; and I should be altogether inconsolable, if, since my coming of age, I had been even once guilty of disrespect or ingratitude toward her."

It may hence be seen how deeply-grounded in the nature of things it is, that in German [and if in German, then in English too. — Tr.] *glauben* [to believe] and *lieben* [to love] are really of the same root. In Gothic, *liubs* means, "dear, beloved"; *liuban*, "to be beloved." With this, the likewise Gothic *laubjan, gaulaubjan*, "to believe," is connected. In the version of Ulfilas, even *δαπλς*, hope, is at Rom. xv. 13 translated by *lubains*. And in truth: Faith, Love, Hope, these three are one; and the greatest of them is Love.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

"*Jehovah deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead and with me.*" Naomi's husband

was dead. Her sons had married Moabitesses, and had died childless. Usually, and sometimes even in "believing" families, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law are not on the best of terms. But Naomi, although in Moab, enjoyed such love in the house of her sons, that her daughters-in-law did not leave her, but went with her, and that Ruth, for her sake, left native land, parents, and property. She won love because she was Naomi, "pleasant." She cherished no vanity, sought no strife, and did not wish to rule; hence she had peace and love.

STARKE: "Piety, wherever found, has the power to win the hearts of people. It is able to diffuse joy even among those who do not believe."

Naomi was pleasant and pious. She illustrated the saying of the apostle Peter (1 Epis. iii. 1): "that, if any obey not the word, they may also without the word be won by the conversation of the wives." By her conduct she preached the God of Israel, "in a meek and quiet spirit," in the midst of Moab; and hence the love which she won rebounded to the praise of Israel, and became a silent preaching of the truth to unbelievers.

STARKE: "As long as the Church is called Naomi, there is no lack of adherents; but when she appears as Mara, and is signed with the cross of Christ, many go back."

"And Ruth said, Thy people is my people, and thy God my God." Ruth is a prophecy, than which none could be more beautiful and engaging, of the entrance of the heathen world into the kingdom of God. She comes forth out of Moab, an idolatrous people, full of wantonness and sin, and is herself so tender and pure. In a land where dissolute sensuality formed one of the elements of idol worship, a woman appears, as wife and daughter, chaste as the rose of spring, and unsurpassed in these relations by any other character in Holy Writ. Without living in Israel, she is first elevated, then won, by the life of Israel, as displayed in a foreign land. Amid surrounding enmity and jealousy toward Israel, she is capable of being formed and attracted through love.

It is an undeniable fact that women have at all times entered more deeply than men into the higher moral spirit of the fellowship with God mediated by Christ. Women, especially, feel that marriage is a divinely instituted and sacred union. Their hearts teach them to know the value of the great treasure and consolation which faith in the living God gives to them especially. Ruth's confession of God and his people originated in the home of her married life. It sprang from the love with which she was permitted to embrace Israelites. It was because in these persons she loved the confessors of Jehovah, that her feelings had a moral power which never decays.

An ancient church teacher says: "Had she not been inspired, she had not said what she said, or done what she did. For what is she chiefly praised? For her love to the people of Israel or her innocence, for her obedience or her faith? For her love to the people of Israel. For had she desired marriage only as a means of pleasure, she would rather have sought to obtain one of the young men. But as she sought not sensual gratification, but the satisfaction of conscience, she chose a holy family rather than youthful age."

How great a lesson is here for the church considered in its missionary character! The conduct

of one Israelitish woman in a foreign land, was able to call forth a love and a confession of God, like that of Ruth. How imperative, then, the duty of Christians at home, and how easy of execution, to win Jews and other unbelievers. For love is the fountain of faith. It is written, Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart. The Jews must learn to love Christ in the Christian, and the Christian in Christ. Love removes all prejudices, divisions, and sad remembrances. Ruth loves a woman, and is thereby led to the God whom that woman confesses. Must not men love, if they would be loved? Only love opens the fountain of faith, but faith sanctifies and confirms love.

PASCAL: "The heart has reasons which the reason does not comprehend. This is seen in a thousand things. It is the heart that feels God, not the reason. Hence, that is the more perfect faith which feels God in the heart."

Ruth is not only the type of a convert, but also a teacher of those who seek to convert others. For she shows that converts are made, not by words, but by the life, not by disputations, but by love, not by the legerdemain of a sentimental sermon, but by the faithful discharge of the duties of life. She teaches also by what she gives up,—people, home, parents, customs,—and all from love. She has had a taste of an Israelitish heart and household. Whoever has tasted Christ, can never again live without him,—can never leave him who loves all, suffered for all, weeps with all, and redeems all. If Jews and heathen taste him, this is effected, not through external institutions, through dead works, but through prayer, which fills the lives of Christians with its sweetness. To the fanatical, the disputations, the canting, the selfish, the avaricious,—and also to the characterless and slavish,—who would say: thy people is my people, thy God is my God?

"Where thou abidest, I will abide; where thou diest, I will die." Ruth is not only enrolled among the feminine worthies of Israel, with Sarah, Rebecca, Leah and Rachel, but heathenism itself throughout its vast extent cannot show a single woman who is her equal in love. For hers is a love outliving the grave, and sustained by no fleshly relationship, for when her husband was dead no living person, mutually dear, existed to connect her with Naomi. Neither self-interest, nor hope, nor vanity, mix themselves up with this love. It is a purely moral and spiritual love, of which no other instance is on record. It is in fact the love of those whom God by his mercy has won for himself, and who love God in their brethren. It is the evangelical love of the Apostles, who loved Greeks and Franks, Persians and Scythians, as their own flesh and blood. Such love as this followed the steps of our Lord, and tarried where he was. Confession, martyrdom, prayer, and every brotherly thought or deed, spring from the love of the converted heart. The more heartily the soul cries out to Christ himself, Thy people is my people, and thy God my God, the more fervently burns this love.

ZINZENDORF: I speak because I believe; I love, because many sins are forgiven me.

SAILER: Lead men through love to love. For love cultivates and preserves the true and the good by doctrine, life, prayer, watchfulness, and by a thousand other inventions of its inexhaustible genius.

VERSES 19-22.

Sorrow and Repentance.

- 19 So they two went until they came to Beth-lehem. And it came to pass, when they were come to Beth-lehem, that all the city was moved¹ about them, and they said,²
 20 Is this Naomi? And she said unto them, Call me not Naomi, call me Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me [Lath inflicted bitter sorrow upon me].
 21 I went out full, and the Lord [Jehovah] hath brought me home again empty: why then call ye me Naomi, seeing the Lord [Jehovah] hath testified against me, and the
 22 Almighty hath afflicted me? So Naomi returned, and Ruth the Moabitess her daughter-in-law with her, which returned out of the country [territories] of Moab:³ and they came to Beth-lehem in the beginning of barley-harvest.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[¹ Ver. 19. — תהוהו Niphal imperf. of הוהו, cf. Ges. 67, Rem. 5; 22, 1. So Ges., Berth., Ewald, etc. Kell, Fürst, etc., consider it Niph. imperf. of הוהו. — Tr.]

[² Ver. 19. — ותאמרנה: fem. plural (cf. עליהן, etc. in ver. 20) Not exactly, *dicabantque mulieres*, as the Vulg. has it; the population of the city are the subject of the verb, but in a matter of this kind women would naturally be so prominent as to lead the narrator insensibly to use the feminine. Perhaps Naomi arrived at an hour of the day when the labors of the field left none but women in the city. — Tr.]

[³ Ver. 22. — ורעה משהי מואב: Dr. Cassel translates the whole clause thus: "And so Naomi was returned home, and Ruth, the Moabitess, her daughter-in-law, with her, [who accompanied her] after [or on, cf. the Com. below] her departure from the fields of Moab." This rendering, is, of course, intentionally free, and is designed to indicate that what seems an unnecessary remark, really adds to the sense, namely, that Ruth was the (only) one that came to Naomi, that came with her from Moab. But this seems rather forced. As the same expression occurs, at ch. iv. 3, in connection with Naomi, it may be supposed that it became customary to speak of Naomi and Ruth as "the returned from Moab," or as we should say, popularly, "the returned Moabites." In that case, it would be best (with Berth.) to take ורעה (accented in the text as 3d fem. perf., with the art. as relative, cf. Ges. 100, 24 paragr.), as the fem. participle. The epithet would be applied to Ruth by virtue of her connection with Naomi, cf. ver. 7. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 19. **So they two went.** Naomi said nothing more. She ceased to dissuade. She allowed Ruth to go with her, and the latter was as good as her words. She actually accompanied her mother-in-law; and so it came to pass, that Naomi did not return home alone, that is to say, entirely forsaken and helpless.

The whole city was moved about them. Naomi's return was an uncommon occurrence. The city, and especially the women, were thrown into a peaceable uproar. Everybody ran, told the news, and wondered. For more than ten years had passed since she had left Bethlehem. Then there had doubtless been talk enough, as Naomi went away with her husband, in far different and better circumstances. It may be taken for granted that even then her character had awakened sympathy and affection in Bethlehem. Her husband, we know, belonged to a prominent family of the city. All this renders it natural that the news that Naomi had returned to Bethlehem, poor and sorrowful, spread like wildfire, and created what to her was an unpleasant sensation.¹ "Is that Naomi!" is the universal exclamation.

Ver. 20. **Call me not Naomi, call me Mara.** Undoubtedly, the general astonishment over such a return, gave rise to many reflections which a woman especially would feel deeply. Not merely the external comparison of "then" and "now," but also the motives of the former departure are

brought to mind. Then, Naomi's life and circumstances corresponded with the amiable and joyous name she bore. Now, she were better named Mara, the bitter, sorrowful one. It is evident that names were still preserved with conscious reference to their meaning, Naomi manifestly intends, by these and the following words, to inform the inhabitants of Bethlehem of her fortunes. I am no longer the old Naomi; for what of happiness I possessed, I have lost. I have no more anything that is pleasant about me: my life, like a salty, bitter spring, is without flavor or relish.

For the Almighty (Shaddai) hath inflicted bitter sorrow upon me. Why *Shaddai*? The use of this divine surname must here also be connected with its pregnant, proper signification. The explanation which must necessarily be given to it, is not consistent with its derivation from שדד, which always appears in a bad sense. What this explanation is, will become apparent when the passages are considered in which the name is first, and with emphasis, employed. We select, therefore, those of Genesis, in which book the name *Shaddai* occurs more frequently than in any other except Job, and always as designative of the gracious, fertile God, by whom the propagation of mankind is guaranteed. Thus, it is assumed by God in Gen. xvii. 1 ff. where he says to Abram, "I make thee exceedingly fruitful, — to a father of a multitude of nations," etc. So likewise, it occurs Gen. xxviii. 3: "El Shaddai will bless thee and

¹ The Midrash makes the scene still more dramatic by the explanation, that the concourse of the inhabitants was

occasioned by the fact that the first wife of Boaz had that very day been carried to her grave (cf. *Ruth Rabba*, 31, d).

make thee fruitful." Gen. xxxv. 11: "I am El Shaddai, be fruitful, and multiply." Gen. xlviii. 3: "El Shaddai appeared unto me—and said, Behold, I make thee fruitful and multiply thee." Gen. xlix. 25: "Shaddai shall bless thee—with blessings of the breasts (שָׁדַיִם) and of the womb."

For the same reason it is used at Gen. xliii. 14, where the fate of the children of Jacob is in question. This gracious God, the source of fruitfulness and life, gives his blessing to his chosen saints, but from sinners, and from those whom He tries, He takes away what to others He gives. Hence the frequent use of the name in Job, who is chastened in his children, cf. chap. viii. 3: "Will Shaddai pervert justice? If thy children sinned against Him, He gave them over into the hand of their transgressors." And in this sense Naomi also uses the name Shaddai, in speaking of her misery. For the death of her husband and her sons has rendered her family desolate and unfruitful. The word must therefore unquestionably be referred to a root שָׁדַד, still in use in Arabic, in the sense "to water, to fertilize." For that all fertility comes from water, by which aridity is removed and thirst assuaged, is a deeply rooted conception, especially in oriental antiquity. Numerous mythical pictures of heathenism represent their heroes as conquering drought and unfruitfulness by liberating the rain and the streams. The name of the Indian god Indra is derived from *Ind = und*, to flow, and is therefore equivalent to "the rain-giver," who frees the clouds so that they can dispense their showers (cf. E. Meier, *Ind. Liederb.*, p. 147 f.). The true Rain-giver, the dispenser and increaser of fertility, of the earth and among beasts and men, is the living, personal God, as Shaddai. The root

שָׁדַד must also explain שָׁדַד, *mamma*, properly the fountain of rain and blessings for man and beast, as Gellius (xii. 1) calls it, *fontem sanctissimum corporis*, and the bringer up of the human race. Hence we are enabled to recognize the wide-spread philological root to which *shaddah*, to water, *shad* (Aram *tad*), *mamma*, belong; for it is connected with the Sanskrit *dhe*, Greek *θησαι*, Gothic *dad-djan* (Old German, *tutta*, etc., cf. Benfey, *Gr. Gram.* ii. 270), in all which forms the idea of giving drink, suckling, is present. From the Greek word, the name of the goddess Thetis is derived, as "Nurse of the Human Race" (cf. Welcher, *Gr. Mythol.*, i. 618). That Artemis of Ephesus was represented as a *multimamma*, is known not only from antique sculptures, but also from the writings of the church fathers; cf. the words of Jerome (in *Proem Ep. Pauli ad Ephes.*): *omnium bestiarum et viventium esse nutricem mentiuntur*. Naomi was rightly named when, with a flourishing family, she went to Moab—but now Shaddai, who gave the blessing, has taken it away.

Ver. 21. I went out full, and Jehovah hath brought me home again empty. Full of family happiness, of joy in her sons, and of hope of a cheerful old age surrounded by children and children's children; but empty now of all these, without possessions and without hope. A penitent feeling pervades her lamentation. I went away

notwithstanding my fullness, and because I went full, do I return empty. For this reason she says: "I went away, and Jehovah has brought me home again." I went because it was my will to go, not God's; now, God's judgment has sent me back. With that one word she gives vent to her sorrow that in those times of famine she forsook her people, although she herself was happy. What an evil thing it is to follow one's own will, when that will is not directed by the commandments of God! Man goes, but God brings home. But beside this penitential feeling, there is another feature indicative of Naomi's beautiful character, which must not be overlooked. She says, I went, *me* hath God afflicted; not, *We* went—my husband took me with him,—after all, I only followed as in duty bound. She utters not a breath of accusation against Elimelech or of excuse for herself. Properly speaking, the fault did lay with her husband and sons. They were the originators of the undertaking that ended so disastrously; but of this she has no memory. She neither accuses, nor yet does she commiserate and bewail them. Of the evils which they experienced, she does not speak. I went, and *me* has God brought home again, empty and bereft of husband and child. Therefore, she repeats, call me not Naomi! That name, when she hears it, suggests the entire contrast between what she was and what she now is.

For Jehovah hath testified against me,

עָנָה בִי. The internal connection with the preceding thoughts confirms the correctness of the Masoretic pointing. The reading of the LXX., "he humbled me," was justly departed from, for it is only a paraphrase of the sense.¹ That which Bertheau considers to be the difficulty of the passage, that it makes God to testify against a person, while elsewhere only men bear testimony, is precisely the special thought of Naomi: "I went," she says, "and God has testified that this going was a sin. Through the issue of my emigration God has testified that its inception was not rooted in Him, but in ourselves." It is a peculiarity of piety that it ascribes the issue of all the affairs of life to God. "Was it right or not, that I (namely, Elimelech and she) went away to Moab?" Men might be in doubt about it. But the end, she says, bears witness against us, who followed our own inclinations. God testified against her, for "Shaddai hath afflicted me." In other words, in that God, as Shaddai, made sorrow my portion, He testified against me. The two clauses, יהוה

עָנָה בִי, and שָׁדַד הִרְעֵלִי, are not so much parallel as mutually explanatory. In the loss of my children and family, says Naomi, I perceive that He "declares me guilty," as the Targum also excellently renders עָנָה בִי. At the same time, the meaning of Shaddai comes here again clearly to view. For it is *He* who inflicts sorrow upon her, only in that her children are taken from her. That which God, as Shaddai, the giver of fruitfulness, did to her when he caused her sons to wither away, proves that God testifies against her. הִרְעֵלִי is here used just as it is in Josh. xxiv. 20:

This general idea, he thinks, is then determined by what follows, so as to mean: "Jehovah has worked against me." On עָנָה בִי, in the sense, to testify against, cf. Ex. xx 16; 2 Sam. i. 16; Is. iii. 9; etc. Bertheau's objection seems to be sufficiently met above.—Tr.]

1 [And, therefore, hardly to be called a "reading." That the LXX. read עָנָה בִי, as some have thought, is hardly possible, as that word could not be suitably construed with בִּי. For the same reason Bertheau takes עָנָה בִּי in the sense "to bestow labor on anything," cf. Eccles. i. 13.

"If ye forsake Jehovah—he will do you hurt (הָרַע לָכֶם) and utterly destroy you."

Ver. 22. So Naomi returned and Ruth with her. The curiosity of the inhabitants of Bethlehem is satisfied; they have also heard the history of Ruth; but with this their sympathy has likewise come to an end. Naomi was poor and God-forsaken,—at least according to the pious and penitential feeling of the good woman herself. How natural, that in her native place, too, she should stand alone. But Ruth was with her. She had continued firm on the road, and she remained faithful in Bethlehem. Since there also no one assisted her mother-in-law, she continued to be her only stay and the sole sharer of her lot. Her presence is once more expressly indicated: "and Ruth, the Moabitess, with her, on her departure from the fields of Moab." No one was with her but Ruth, — who made the journey from Moab with her, in order to take care of her mother-in-law. What had become of Naomi, if Ruth, like Orpah, had forsaken her! She had sunk into poverty and humiliation more bitter than death. It is true, she too, with her husband, had left Israel in times of distress. But for this she could not be held responsible, although her generous spirit accused herself and no one else. On the other hand, she had been sufficiently punished, and had confessed her guilt. But in Bethlehem poor Naomi was made to feel that she now bore the name of Mara. Only Ruth had respect to neither before nor after. She reflected on neither happy nor sorrowful days. As she had loved in prosperity, so she remained true in adversity. Naomi, in her native place and among kindred, in Israel, had been alone and in want, had not the stranger, the widow of her son, accompanied her from her distant land. While such love was hers, Naomi was not yet wholly miserable; for God has respect to such fidelity.

And they came to Bethlehem in the beginning of barley-harvest. Consequently, in the beginning of the harvest season in general. This statement is made in order to intimate that the help of God did not tarry long. The harvest itself afforded the opportunity to prepare consolation and reward for both women in their highest need.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

"Call me not Naomi, but Mara." Naomi does not conceal her condition when she reaches her native place. Usually, the natural man, even as a beggar, still desires to shine. She has lost everything; and what she had gained, the companionship of Ruth, is not yet able to console her. Her very love fills her with anxiety for this daughter. Recollections are very bitter, and the future is full of care. It is, however, only because she is empty of all joys, that she wishes to be called Mara. But it was made evident even in her misery that whatever she had lost, she had found the grace of God;

for then too she was not only named, but truly was; Naomi. Nor will one who in sorrow does not cease to be lovely, retain the name of Mara. Pope Gregory the Great, when praised (by Leander) replied: "Call me not Naomi, i. e. beautiful, but call me Mara, since I am full of bitter grief. For I am no more the same person you knew: outwardly I have advanced, inwardly I have fallen. And I fear to be among those of whom it is said: Thou castedst them down when they were lifted up. For when one is lifted up, he is cast down; he advances in honors and falls in morals."

THOMAS A KEMPIS: "It is good at times to be in distress; for it reminds us that we are in exile."

BENJEL: "If God have loved thee, thou canst have had no lack of trouble."

"For Shaddai hath afflicted me." Naomi did not go to Moab of her own accord, for she followed her husband. Her stay also in the strange land was prolonged only because her sons had married there. After their death, although poor and empty, she returned home again, albeit she had but little to hope for. And yet in the judgment she perceives only her own guilt. Her loving heart takes all God's judgments on itself. The more she loved, the more ready she was to repent. Being a Naomi, she did not accuse those she loved. The sign of true love is unselfishness, which ascribes ills to self, blessings to others. As long as she was in misery, she took the anger of God upon herself; but as soon as she perceived the favor of God, she praised Him as the God who showed kindness to the living and the dead.

[FULLER: "And all the city was moved," etc. See here, Naomi was formerly a woman of good quality and fashion, of good rank and repute: otherwise her return in poverty had not been so generally taken notice of. Shrubs may be grubbed to the ground, and none miss them; but every one marks the felling of a cedar. Grovelling cottages may be evened to the earth, and none observe them; but every traveller takes notice of the fall of a steeple. Let this comfort those to whom God hath given small possessions. Should He visit them with poverty, and take from them that little they have, yet their grief and shame would be the less: they should not have so many fingers pointed at them, so many eyes staring on them, so many words spoken of them; they might lurk in obscurity: it must be a Naomi, a person of eminency and estate, whose poverty must move a whole city.—THE SAME: "Seeing the Lord hath testified against me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me." Who then is able to hold out suit with God in the court of heaven! For God himself is both judge and witness, and also the executor and inflicter of punishments.

BR. HALL: Ten years have turned Naomi into Mara. What assurance is there of these earthly things whereof one hour may strip us? What man can say of the years to come, thus will I be? —Tr.]

CHAPTER SECOND.

VERSE 1.

The Relative.

1 AND Naomi had [in Bethlehem] a kinsman [lit. acquaintance,] of her husband's, a mighty man of wealth [a valiant hero], of the family of Elimelech; and his name was Boaz.

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Before relating the wonderful deliverance through a kinsman, by which faithfulness and love are rewarded, the writer first informs us briefly of the existence of the person who is chosen to effect this deliverance. Hitherto the acting persons have been only women, both of them loving and excellent; now, the portrait of a man is drawn, who is the model of an Israelite, as family-head and as landlord, in war and in peace.

Naomi had a kinsman. The expression for this is **קִינָם**. In our texts, it is true, it is pointed **מִיָּדַע**, with **מִוֶּדַע**, as Keri, in the margin. But **מִוֶּדַע** occurs only once more (Prov. vii. 4), and there also we must probably read **מִיָּדַע**. The reading **מִוֶּדַע** was preferred by the Masora only on account of the fem. **מִוֶּדַעַת**, which occurs at

ch. iii. 2. The participle **קִינָם** is of more frequent occurrence, cf. Ps. lv. 14. Hitherto, Naomi could say, as does the Psalmist (lxxxviii. 9): "Thou hast put my kinsmen (**קִינָיִם**) far from me." Compare also ver. 19 of the same psalm, where it stands

in parallelism with **אֲהָב** lover, and **רֵעַ** companion. She has likewise experienced what is written Ps. xxxi. 12, cf. Job xix. 14. Literally, to be sure, the word means only an "acquaintance;" but it expresses more than we mean by that term. The man was not a very near relative, but one "known" to the family, as belonging to it. It was an acquaintance valid within the family lines; hence the word signifies as much as *familiaris*. It is used in a noteworthy connection at 2 Kgs. x. 11, where Jehu slays all the great men, the **מִיָּדָעִים**, and the priests of Ahab, — *i. e.* everybody that adhered to him, whether from family connection or interest. The Latin *notus* may occasionally approximate to the idea of the Hebrew term even more closely than the Greek *γνώριμος*; not so much, however, in Catull. lxxix. 4 (*si trita notorum basia repererit*), as in Liv. iii. 44, where, with reference to the violence done to Virginia, is said: *notus gratia (patris et sponsi) turbam indignitas rei virgini conūdiat*.

The fact is emphasized that Boaz was only a **קִינָם**. This not only explains a certain remote-

ness of Naomi from him, but it makes the piety, which notwithstanding the distance (manifest also from ch. iii. 12) of the relationship, performs what the narrative goes on to relate, more conspicuously great than it would appear if, according to an unfounded conjecture of Jewish expositors, he were held to be the son of Elimelech's brother.

A valiant hero. These words are applied to Boaz in no other sense than to Gideon (Judg. vi. 12), Jephthah (xi. 1), and others, and have no reference to his wealth and property. He was a strong and able man in Israel, in war and in peace. Probably he had distinguished himself in conflicts of Israel against enemies, perhaps against Moab. The ancestor of David is, as the Midrash (*Ruth* 31, d) remarks, rightly thus described. His name, Boaz (**בֹּעַז**), is to be explained by reference to the name of one of the pillars erected by Solomon, and called Boaz, while the other was named Jachin (cf. my *Gold. Thron Salomo's*, p. 45). It is not a

compound of **בֹּ** **עַז**, but a contraction of **בְּיָעַז**, "son of strength, of enduring vigor." The signification *alacritas* (Ges., Keil, etc.), would hardly be applicable to the pillar.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

The same characteristic is ascribed to Boaz as to Gideon, and to David. But concerning his warlike deeds nothing is related. In Israel, however, there was no valor, properly so called, except such as sprang from the acknowledgment of the living God. The word is not applied to wild battle-rage, but to moral strength, which valiantly repels distress and dishonor, as Abraham drew the sword for his country against foreign oppressors. Boaz was a hero in war through his virtue in peace. And this virtue comes so clearly to view in the Book of Ruth, that the narrator could justly add: he was a brave man. For morally brave he shows himself in every relation: 1. as landlord; 2. as confessor of God; 3. as man of action; and hence he receives the reward both of him who dispenses blessings and of him who receives them.

[FULLER: "This first verse presents us with two remarkable things: 1. Poor Naomi was allied to powerful Boaz. 2. Boaz was both a powerful man and a godly man." — Tr.]

VERSES 2-17.

The Reward of Faithfulness begins.

2 And Ruth the Moabitess said unto Naomi, Let me now go to the field, and glean ears of corn¹ after *him* in whose sight I shall find grace. And she said unto her,
 3 Go, my daughter. And she went, and came, and gleaned in the field after the reapers: and her hap was to light on a [the] part of the field² *belonging* unto Boaz,
 4 who *was* of the kindred [family] of Elimelech. And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said unto the reapers, The Lord [Jehovah] *be* with you: and they
 5 answered him, The Lord [Jehovah] bless thee. Then said Boaz [And Boaz said]
 6 unto his servant that was set over the reapers, Whose damsel *is* this? And the servant that was set over the reapers answered and said, It *is* the³ Moabitish damsel that came back with Naomi out of the country [territories] of Moab: And she said, I pray you [thee], let me glean and [I will] gather after the reapers among the sheaves: so she came, and hath continued even from the morning until now,
 8 that⁴ she tarried a little in the house. Then said Boaz [And Boaz said] unto Ruth, Hearst thou not, my daughter? Go not to glean in another field, neither go from
 9 hence, but abide here fast by my maidens: *Let* thine eyes *be* on the field that they do reap, and go thou [fearlessly] after them: have I not charged the young men that they shall not touch [molest] thee? and when thou art athirst,⁵ go unto the vessels,
 10 and drink of *that* which the young men have drawn. Then she fell on her face, and bowed herself to the ground, and said unto him, Why have I found grace in thine eyes, that thou shouldst take knowledge [friendly notice] of me, seeing I *am* a stranger?
 11 And Boaz answered and said unto her, It hath fully been shewed me, all that thou hast done unto thy mother-in-law since the death of thine husband: and *how* thou hast left thy father and thy mother, and the land of thy nativity, and art come
 12 unto a people which thou knewest not heretofore. The Lord [Jehovah] recompense thy work, and a full [complete] reward be given thee of the Lord [Jehovah]
 13 God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust [seek refuge]. Then she said, Let me find favour⁶ in thy sight, my lord: for that thou hast comforted me, and for that thou hast spoken friendly unto [to the heart of] thine handmaid, though
 14 I be not like unto one of thy handmaidens. And Boaz said unto her, At meal-time⁷ come thou hither, and eat of the bread, and dip thy morsel in the vinegar. And she sat beside the reapers: and he reached her parched *corn*, and she did eat, and was
 15 sufficed [satisfied], and left [over]. And when she was risen up to glean, Boaz commanded his young men, saying, Let her glean even among [between] the sheaves,
 16 and reproach her not: And let fall [pull out]⁸ also *some* of [from] the handfulls [bundles] of purpose for her, and leave *them* [it], that she may glean *them* [it], and rebuke her not. So she gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that she had gleaned: and it was about an ephah of barley.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 2. — וְגִלְתָּ בְּשֵׂבִלֵים lit. "and glean, among the ears." The construction is exactly parallel to that in ver. 7; i. e. וְגִלְתָּ is used absolutely, without an accus., as frequently in our Book and elsewhere. The idea is, Let me gather (sc. some ears) among those that are left lying in the field by the harvesters. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 3. — חֵצְיֵת הַשָּׂדֶה: "the field-portion," i. e. that part of the grain-fields about Bethlehem that belonged to Boaz. "Though gardens and vineyards are usually surrounded by a stone wall or hedge of prickly pear, the grain fields, on the contrary, though they belong to different proprietors, are not separated by any inclosure from each other. The boundary between them is indicated by heaps of small stones, or sometimes by single upright stones placed at intervals of a rod or more from each other" (Hackett, *Illustr. of Scripture*, p. 167). In בְּהַרְבֵּי מִקְרָהָּ lit. "her hap happened," מִקְרָהָּ is the subject of בְּהַרְבֵּי, cf. Eccles. ii. 14. חֵצְיֵת הַשָּׂדֶה is the accus. of place, cf. Gen. 118, 1. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 6. — Or: "She is a Moabitish maiden, who came back with Naomi from," etc. This supposes that מִמּוֹבָבִית is, as the accentuation makes it, and against which nothing is to be said here, the third fem. perfect, cf. the note on ch. i. 22. Thus taken, the answer does not assume that Boaz is acquainted with the return of Naomi. The E. V. may, however, be justified by taking מִמּוֹבָבִית as a participle, cf. Gen. 111, 2, a. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 7.—וְהָ is joined by Dr. Cassei to וְעַד-הַיּוֹם, as adv. of time (so also Gesenius and Fürst, cf. *Lexica*, s. v.): "and until now her resting (cf. below) in the house was little." But this unnecessarily disturbs the accentuation. Better translate: "this her sitting in the house (וּבֵיתָהּ, accus. of place) is but for a little" (מְעַט, adv. or accus. of time). וְהָ שְׂבָתָהּ is an Aramæizing of the more regular Hebrew הִנְיָה שְׂבָתָהּ, cf. Ew. 293, b, and the *Lexica*, s. v. וְהָ.—On וְהָשִׁיבָהּ, in the preceding clause, see Ges. 126, 6. Ruth says: Pray, permit me to glean, and and (in consequence of this permission) I will gather, etc.—Tr.]

[5 Ver. 9.—וְצִמְצַם, from צִמְצַם, but inflected as if from a form צִמָּה, cf. Ges. 75, Rem. 21, c. On the use of the word as perfect, cf. on ch. i. 12. On the perfects וְהִלַּכְתָּ and וְשָׁרִיתִי, Ges. 126, Rem. 1; and on the imperf. וְשָׁרִיתִי, Ges. 127, 4, b. מִמָּשָׁר is rendered "out of which" by Bertheau and Kell (because water-drawing was ordinarily done by women?); but in that case the more natural position of וְשָׁרִיתִי would be after הַיְצִיעִים, thus: and out of what the young men draw (drink), drink thou (too).—Tr.]

[6 Ver. 13.—וְנָמְנָהּ: optative. "To take it as present indicat.: I find favor, as is done by Le Clerc and Bertheau, is not in accordance with the modesty of humility which Ruth manifests in the following words" (Kell). Nor is the word expressive of a permanent state or condition, which would justify the imperfect indicative, as is the case with the וְהִנְיָהּ of the next clause, cf. Ges. 127, 2.—Tr.]

[7 Ver. 14.—According to the accentuation of the Masorites, these words belong to the preceding clause: "And Boaz said to her at the time of eating, Come hither," etc. וְשֵׁי, from קָבַשׁ, an anomalous form for קָבַשׁ, as קָבַשׁ, Josh. iii. 9; 1 Sam. xiv. 38. The second accent, merca, is here, as in other instances (Gen. xxviii. 2; Num. xvii. 23, etc.) used instead of metheg.—לָהּ without mappik as in Num. xxxii. 42; Zech. v. 11.—Tr.]

8 Ver. 16.—וְלִפְתָּשֶׁלֶבַע. The use of שָׁלַל in the sense "to draw out" is only a return to the original meaning of the word. It is the same word as σάλασ, which also originally meant to draw out, for it was from the drawing off or stripping of their armor from the slain that it obtained the signification "to make booty, to plunder." [On the use of the infin. const. for the absol. see Ges. 131, 4, Rem. 2.—Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 2. **And Ruth, the Moabitess, said to Naomi.** Naomi was manifestly in need. No one seemed to help her, nor had she the heart to ask. It is but too clear now that her lot would have been a dismal one, if at her return Ruth had not faithfully clung to her. But this young woman's fidelity shows itself now also. As the barley-harvest is in progress, she offers to go to the field and ask for permission to glean. It was no easy offer. Ruth was probably ignorant of those provisions of the Israelitish law according to which the gleanings of the harvest-field and even a forgotten sheaf were to be left to the poor and the stranger, the widow and the orphan (cf. Lev. xxiii. 22; Deut. xxiv. 19). At least, she did not seem to expect the observance of such a custom; for she hoped to obtain permission to glean from the possible kindness of some proprietor. But at best, what a miserable task for the once happy and prosperous widow! Possibly to see herself treated as a beggar, harshly addressed or even personally maltreated by rude reapers! To pass the day in heat and distress, in order at evening, hungry and weary, to bring home a little barley! For this then she had left paternal house and land, in order in deepest misery to be perchance yet also abused as a foreigner! But the love she cherishes, makes everything easy to her. It not only gives utterance to good words, but it carries them into practice. She forgets everything, in order now to remember her filial duty to Naomi. And Naomi accepts her offer.

Go, my daughter. Until now, she has only silently endured every expression of Ruth's self-sacrifice. She had indeed ceased to dissuade her from going with her, but she had also refrained from encouraging her. Ruth might even now, after having reached Bethlehem, experienced the poverty of her mother-in-law, and tasted the sense of strangeness in Israel, have returned to Moab. But the meekness with which, instead of this,

she asks permission to encounter toil and misery for her, overcomes in Naomi too every ulterior consideration. Such a request could no longer be silently accepted; nor could it be refused. Naomi permits her to glean in the harvest-field. Nor was it an easy thing for the mother to give this consent. The remarkable characters of both women come here also nobly to view. Ruth, who has given up everything, is humble as a dutiful child, and asks for permission to give up more. Naomi, who in her highest need would accept nothing from Ruth, in order not to involve her in the same distress, — who retains her maternal authority in circumstances of want in which people generally would deem this impossible, — has no other reward for Ruth's self-sacrificing disposition than that she is ready to accept its efforts for herself.

Ver. 3. **And she lighted providentially on the field of Boaz.** More literally: "And her lot met her on the field of Boaz." (וַיִּקְרָא, fut. apoc.

from וְקָרָא, וְקָרָא, *occurrere*.) Ruth, as a stranger in Bethlehem, knew neither persons nor properties. She might have chanced on fields of strange and unfriendly owners. Providence so ordered it, that without knowing it, she entered the field of one who was of the family of Elimelech, and therefore also a distant relative of her deceased husband.

Ver. 4 ff. **And behold Boaz came from Bethlehem.** A finer picture of rural harvest-scenes is nowhere extant. We hear, as it were, the rustling of the reapers' sickles.¹ Behind them are the women, binding the cut grain (ver. 8). The overseer's presence promotes industry and order (ver. 5). In case of thirst, there stand the water-vessels at no great distance. The fields surround the country-house with its various outbuildings, where the weary may find a moment's rest and refreshment.

¹ Cf. HOMER, *Il.* xviii. 550, in the description of the shield of Achilles: "On it he also graved a field thick with grain; and there with sharp sickles reapers piled their task."

At meal-time, the laborers are supplied (as at the present day, cf. Rob. ii. 50), with roasted grain¹ and bread.² The latter they dip in a refreshing drink, consisting of vinegar and water, with perhaps some oil mixed in it.³

But rural life has not in itself that paradisaic happiness which Virgil contrasts so enthusiastically with the luxuriant and slavish life of Rome. It may perhaps be true that a country population is more patient of labor and more readily contented with small means (" *patiens operam exiguoque adsueta juvenus*," — *Georg.* ii. 472); but it is only when a pious and godfearing spirit rules in the hearts of proprietor and dependents that it is good to live amid the quiet scenes and rewardful toil of the country. Only then, too, is the poet's word applicable: "the chaste dwelling preserves virtue" (*casta pudicitiam servat domus*).

An example of such a country life meets us here in the good times of Israel. Boaz himself, when the day has considerably advanced, comes to look after his people in the field. His greeting is, "Jehovah be with you!" Their answer, "Jehovah bless thee!" Nor is this, in his mouth, merely a customary form: the reality of his piety is manifest from his life and works. Hence, also, as the master, so the servant. The overseer knows the benignity of his master, and imitates it. This appears as soon as Boaz comes and notices the strange maiden. That he does this at once, is only a new feature in the rural picture. On the fields of Boaz, the poor were not hindered in their legal privilege of gleaning. But the proprietor knows not only his work-people, but the needy also. Ruth he had never yet seen. It may be supposed also that her modest and reserved bearing served at once to mark her. She who had so long been mistress herself, had not the look of those who have grown bold in beggary. Such a one as she was must have sufficiently manifested her superiority over the female servants by the natural charm and grace of her presence, even though she dressed in the same style and engaged in similar toil. She could not fail to surprise Boaz, as he surveyed his people and their labor. He turns to his overseer with the natural inquiry, "Whose is this damsel?" It was in accordance with national custom to ask, not, "Who is this damsel?" — for that was of comparatively little importance, — but, "Whence is she? how comes she here? to what estate does she belong?" With the overseer's answer begins the beautiful delineation of the two principal persons of the narrative in their first

meeting. The overseer knew Ruth; and it was not necessary to tell Boaz much about her, since the return of Naomi had been much talked of. But it is honorable to him that he at once recommends her by praising her diligence. Since morning she had not ceased to glean, — had scarcely rested a little in the house.⁴ This praise of her diligence included praise of the propriety and reserve of her demeanor. She was very unlike other gleaners. Those were apt to chatter and do many other things beside that for which they came.

Ver. 8. **And Boaz said to Ruth, Go not to glean in another field.** The interest of Boaz, who had already heard of the Moabitess, especially as Naomi was at least something more to him than an entire stranger, — a fact either unknown to the overseer, or which, like a good and sagacious servant, he discreetly passed over, — could not but increase by reason of the praise bestowed on Ruth. He therefore went to her, to speak with her personally. In the case of another maiden of whom he had heard similar good reports, he would have given a few favorable directions concerning her to his overseer. But here he was met by various peculiar considerations. Was it Naomi, the widow of a relative of his, who was forced to lay claim to the widow's rights in the harvest-fields of Israel, or was it the Moabitess, who, for having attached herself with all her heart to Israel, now commanded the favor of the Israelite? Both these thoughts are at work in the noble mind of Boaz. He recognizes the existence of a certain relationship, the benefit of which is due to Ruth. It is not a common maid-servant who stands before him. Had he been actuated by the spirit of modern sentimentality, he would probably have been ashamed of her. He would have offered her a piece of money, and sent her away, that it might not become known that this Moabitish beggar is his relative! He would at all events not have allowed her to go on gleaning! But according to the ancient delicate and religious view, he cannot act thus. Nothing has been asked of him; consequently, he has no right to wound the self-respect of others. The privilege of gleaning belongs of right to the widow and the stranger. It is not well that she needs it; but needing it, he cannot hinder her from using it. Even while he admits her relationship, he can only support her in this right, and enlarge its advantages. And this is what he does. Ruth had modestly gleaned at a distance from the reapers and binders.⁵ He calls her nearer, and says: "Go not to glean in another field." In

¹ [The following remarks on parched corn are from Dr. Thomson's *The Land and the Book* (ii. 510): "It is made thus: a quantity of the best ears, not too ripe, are plucked with the stalks attached. These are tied into small parcels, a blazing fire is kindled with dry grass and thorn bushes, and the corn-heads are held in it until the chaff is mostly burned off. The grain is thus sufficiently roasted to be eaten, and it is a favorite article all over the country. When travelling in harvest-time, my muleteers have very often thus prepared parched corn in the evenings after the tent has been pitched. Nor is the gathering of these green ears for parching ever regarded as stealing. After it has been roasted, it is rubbed out in the hand and eaten as there is occasion." — T.]

² Which they probably consumed under the shade of beautiful trees, as in Goethe's picture (*Herm. u. Doroth.*): "It (a tree of which he is speaking) was visible far and wide: under it the reapers were accustomed to enjoy their noonday meal."

³ In describing his servitude in Egypt, M. Heberer says (Rosenmüller, *Morgenland*, iii. 68): "It is truly incredible how the biscuit, eaten with vinegar and oil, strengthens the

weary and exhausted system and restores its powers." The drink of the Roman soldiers, called *posca*, consisted of water and vinegar. Hadrian, to encourage his troops, used it himself (Spartian. *Vit. Hadr.* ch. x). Of a different nature is the food which in Virgil (*Ecl.* ii. 10) is prepared for the reapers (*rapida feris messoribus æstu*) and others, with garlic and thyme. Some other learned observations see in Serarius, *Quæst.* xxiv. p. 738.

⁴ שְׁבֵתָהּ הַבֵּיתָהּ. The allusion can only be to a field-building, since otherwise her sitting in it could not be known to the laborers. And as the "sitting" forms a contrast with her laboring, it must be taken in the sense of "resting." In the Sept. rendering *ἐν ἀγρῷ*, *ἀγρὸς*, stands for a building in the field, *villa*, *castra* in *agro*.

⁵ There is a difference when, according to ver. 7, she gleaned near the sheaves, after the reapers, אֶת־הַבְּרִים, and when, in ver. 15, she is allowed to glean "between the sheaves," בֵּין הַבְּרִים, among the reapers

these words he acknowledges the first degree of the interest to which his relationship binds him. Both for her sake — for would she everywhere have such favorable opportunities to glean as he gave her? — and also for his own! That which is a benefit to her, is also seemly with respect to himself as related to her, in order that Elimelech's daughter-in-law may not wander from field to field like one utterly helpless.

Nor go from hence, but keep here, with my maidens. He has called her to him where he stands, near the reapers. Only on this supposition are these words intelligible. Immediately behind the reapers, came the maidens who bound the grain. The gleaner who was allowed to approach nearest the latter, had the best opportunity. Ruth had hitherto kept back, which perhaps allowed others to anticipate her and take away the best. Boaz bids her come close up to the binders, and to stay there.¹ He allows her to glean indeed, but he makes her gleaning more productive.

Ver. 9. Keep thine eyes on the field that they reap, and go after them, etc. He takes care not only to provide her an abundant gleanings, but also to ensure the safety of her person. He is not dealing with a gleaner of the common class. Close by the reapers is no doubt a good place for finding ears, but it involves also the possibility of rude treatment. Her appearance may have been such as would not unlikely provoke the coarse jests with which such peasant laborers were perhaps in the habit of assailing women. She would prefer, therefore, as he foresees, to keep herself back, rather than work in their immediate neighborhood. Be not concerned, he says: I have already given charge that no one touch thee.² Act without fear; and when thou thirstest, go boldly and drink.

Ver. 10. Then she fell on her face, etc. It may be clearly seen here, that only such as can exercise love, understand how to receive it. No one is humbler than he who truly gives from love — of that Ruth is a proof; and for that reason, humility never shows itself more beautiful, than when love receives. Ruth had made the greatest sacrifices, although no one had a right to expect them from her, and is withal so unassuming, as not to look for anything from others. Most people in her place would have made the first favor shown them, the occasion for saying that in truth they were not at all used to such work. Their thanks would have been combined with complaints and accusing insinuations about the distress in which they found themselves, although they had exchanged the people and God of Moab for those of Israel. Ruth's love did not spring from selfishness, and hence did not give birth to any proud self-consciousness. Instead of a sigh that she who had said, "thy people is my people, thy God my God," could scarcely by weary toil procure sustenance in Israel, she utters her humble thanks to Boaz: How is it that I, a stranger, obtain such favor!

¹ The words לֹא-תֵעָבְרִי מִזֶּה [on the form תֵּעָבְרִי, cf. Ges. 47, Rem. 1] would be a useless repetition, if they did not express the idea that she is not to leave the place where she now stands before him (and whether he probably caused her to be called), as being favorable to her success.

² [Dr. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 510, explains the charge of Boaz to the reapers in almost the same language as our author, and adds: "Such precautions are not out of place at this day. The reapers are gathered from all parts of the country, and largely from the ruder class, and, living far from home, throw off all restraint, and give free license to their tongues, if nothing more." — Tr.]

Instead of taking it as a matter of course that Boaz should especially regard (רֵיבִי) her, being a stranger, she is so unassuming as to deem this very fact an enhancement of his kindness.

Ver. 11. And Boaz said, It hath been told me, etc. The answer which Boaz gives, is not simply that of the landed proprietor, but of the Israelite. He speaks out of the abundance of the faith of Israel. We feel that he acts as he does from a sense of his duty as an Israelite. The Jewish expositors have identified Boaz with Izbaz the judge (Judg. xii. 8), because the latter also was of Bethlehem — manifestly the northern Bethlehem, however, and not that of Judah (cf. the Comment. on Judges). But in enunciating such opinions, they have their eyes more on the spirit than on the historical facts. They only felt themselves bound to point out that, since Boaz, like other Judges, is said to have been a "valiant hero," and is evidently rich and highly esteemed, he must also have exercised the functions of the judge. Literally, this cannot be maintained; for, had it been the case, our Book would not have been silent on the subject. But during the so-called period of the Judges, there were certainly other able men in Israel than the heroes mentioned in the Book of Judges, who filled the office of judge in their cities (cf. Com. on Judg. ii. 16); and Boaz would certainly furnish us with a beautiful likeness of one of these. In his words, at least, there is undeniably the breathing of a pious, national consciousness, such as becomes an Israelitish family-head and hero in the presence of a recent proselyte to his faith and people.

All that thou hast done unto thy mother-in-law, etc. The words of Boaz here clearly state what, in accordance with the delicacy of ancient narration, was not expressly said above. Ruth has nowhere hinted that she was showing kindness to her mother-in-law in going with her to Israel. All she said, was, "I will not leave thee." When Naomi arrives at Bethlehem, and everybody is eager with curiosity, the lamentations in which she breaks out are indeed recorded, but not the words in which she praised her daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, she fully appreciated what Ruth did for her. This was the very reason why she at first refused to accept her sacrifice. Afterwards, however, she gratefully recounted her obligations to her daughter-in-law, but, as discreet minds are wont to do, behind her back. Boaz could have derived his knowledge only from narrations proceeding from Naomi herself.

The merit which Boaz imputes to Ruth is of a twofold nature. Induced by affection, she has left the highest possessions of life. She was no orphan, she was not homeless; she had what she needed, but left all, and that for something unknown, the value of which she was not able to estimate. "Thou camest," he says, "to a people which yesterday³ and the day before yesterday (*i. e.*

³ It is remarkable that this belongs to the same root with נָכְרִי, "stranger," which also occurs in the address of Ruth.

In the Hiph. הִבִּיר, and the adject. form נָכְרִי, the two offshoots of the radical signification appear in juxtaposition to each other, as in the German *unterscheiden* (to distinguish) and *ausscheiden* (to separate).

⁴ תְּמוּל is an abbreviation of תְּמוּלֵי. The explanation becomes clearer by comparison with other languages. The Greek *χθής* (*ēchthēs*), the Latin *heri* (*Aesternus*), and the German *gestern* (Goth. *gistra*), may all be recognized

formerly) thou didst not know." How? had she not known her family, Naomi, and her own husband, who were of Israel? But this family lived in Moab, where Israel's law was not in force. The national usages and institutions which had been impressed upon Israel by Israel's God, she did not know. And notwithstanding this, she had said, "Thy people is my people, thy God my God."

Ver. 12. **Jehovah recompense thy work.** As Boaz praises a double merit in Ruth, so he gives a double form to his wish for her. First he says, generally, "Jehovah recompense thy work." Independently of Naomi's connection with Israel, Ruth's love for her mother-in-law, for whose sake she has left parents and native land, deserves the reward of God. But she came to Israel with Naomi, and for her sake has trustfully connected herself with a people whose laws she did not know, and whose character she has only seen mirrored forth in her husband and his mother. For this love and trust may Jehovah, the God of Israel, as he expressly adds, reward thee! Jehovah is known in Israel. Whoever accepts him, may build on Him. He covers with his wings, him who confides in Him and sets his hopes on Him (Ps. xci. 1 ff.), Ruth has come trustfully expecting to be able to live in Israel with Naomi. She has brought nothing with her; has left everything. They have come, both poor; and have scarcely what is necessary to sustain life. Nevertheless, for her love's sake, she dared to make the God of Israel her God. Like Abraham, leaving all, she went abroad. And as to Abraham God said, "I am thy great reward" (Gen. xv. 1), so Boaz wishes that God may be to her a full reward. A "full reward," abundant as her love, so that she shall miss nothing, but recover all; and so that in her it may be seen, how those are entertained who shelter themselves beneath His wings. Boaz does not discourse as one would speak to a Moabitish beggar. Having heard who she is, he looks upon her with eyes full of joy over her pious actions. He speaks to her as a priest and prophet. And since he spoke from the enthusiasm of piety, and she was deserving, his words found fulfillment. She received a reward which was not only full, but which completed and wholly filled her, all of which is implied in the words **וְשָׁלַח וְשָׁלַח**.

Ver. 13 ff. **May I find favor in thy sight; for thou hast comforted me.** The impression of the words of Boaz must have been very grateful to the humble mind of Ruth. It was the first sunbeam that broke through the grief and tears of many weeks. Hitherto, she had tasted only parting sorrow. She had suffered at the grave of her husband, suffered on the way from the land which held the dwelling of her parents, and her sufferings were not yet at an end when she reached Israel. There she had hitherto suffered from the sense of loneliness. Everybody talked of her as the "Moabitess." She was poor to beggary. Now, for the first time, she is addressed about the God of Israel and his grace, and hears the voice of blessing from one of that people with members of which she has endured so much. The full import of his words her humble heart does not presume to appropriate. But the kindness and benevolence of the speaker's voice,

in the Sanskrit *hjas* (Benf. II. 208). *Jas* (in *hjas*) is, "the day," and the *h* is the demonstrative article pointing backward, cf. Lat. *ille*; so that *hjas*, and the other cognate forms, signify, "that day," i. e. "the former day." The formation of **אֶתְמוּל** is analogous. **מול** (מול) is equivalent

is for her like the sound of a bubbling spring in the desert to the thirsty. I have long been sad, she intends to say; thou hast comforted me. I look for no reward; but thou hast spoken to the heart of thy servant, that was full of grief and anguish. Her phraseology also indicates her sincere humility. "May I find favor in thy sight," she says, by way of humble introduction to her grateful acknowledgment of the comfort he has imparted to her. It is a formula expressive of the reverence she feels for Boaz. She invokes his favor, that she may tell him how his words have refreshed her. Whoever has, like her, left everything, in order to live in Israel, will feel that the highest and best utterance she could make, when for the first time she tasted the kindness of Israel, was gratitude for the comfort experienced. A word of love comes on a loving heart like hers, long afflicted by sorrow, like morning dews on a thirsty field.

And yet I am not as one of thy handmaidens.¹ No one can speak so well and beautifully as an unassuming person. Ruth manifests no consciousness of having done anything special. Boaz she thinks is doubtless equally kind and good to all his people. So much the more is it her part to be grateful that he has also been kind to her, who does not, as they, belong to his household, nor even to his people. It might be thought strange that Boaz says nothing to her of his relationship to her husband. But if he thought of it, he purposely kept silent about it. He showed her kindness, not because she was distantly related to him, but solely because of her excellence. In the case of one like Ruth, he needed not the remembrance of kinship to stir him up to take interest in her. It was not as the widow of his kinsman that he distinguished her with special favor, but as one who had taken refuge under the wings of Israel's God. Ruth likewise did not know what Boaz was to her husband's family; nor had she wasted a word to make him aware that she had ever been more than a maid-servant, which, had she done, might have brought their relationship to speech.

The answer of Ruth raised her still higher in the esteem of Boaz. He is not satisfied with the provisions already made in her behalf. He bids her join in the common meal, and helps her to a portion of everything on hand. Nor is he satisfied to let her have merely a common gleanings. He orders that now and then some ears be intentionally drawn out of the "bundles" and left for her to gather up. This last injunction he gives to the workmen themselves, not merely to the overseer.

It is interesting also to notice the different expressions in which he forbids any rude treatment of Ruth by the workpeople. Above, in ver. 9, he told them not to "touch" her. In ver. 15, where she receives permission also to glean *between* the sheaves, he tells them not to "shame" her, in other words, to say things to her that would make her blush, whether they referred to her nationality or to the special favor by which she was directed to glean close behind the reapers. In ver. 16, finally, having ordered the people even to pull ears out of the bundles for her, he charges them not to "speak harshly" to her (**לֹא תִּשְׁפָּן**), or to scold her, on account of the extra trouble which this order might occasion

to "former," while **אֵתְמוּל**, as pronoun, "that," indicates the defined former day, yesterday.

¹ [KEIL: "With this clause she restricts the expression 'thy handmaid,' which she has just used: 'thou hast spoken to the heart of thy handmaid.' " — Tr.]

sion them. It is necessary to distinguish carefully between עֲמֻרָה and יְבֵרָה.* The former is the sheaf, already bound by the maid-servants, and lying on the ground; the latter,¹ is the bundle as "taken up" and still held in the arm, *manipulus*.

Amid all the unusual favors bestowed on her, Ruth does not cease for a moment to be herself. Boaz reached or caused to be reached to her an abundance of roasted ears. She eats and is satisfied—this is stated in order to indicate the abundant supply; the remainder she carefully takes up to carry home. She never thinks only of herself. After the meal,—at which it is appropriate² to suppose Boaz to be present,—gleaning is an easier task than before his coming; she finds ears in plenty, but not on that account does she cease the sooner. She gleans till evening, takes the pains, too, to beat out what she has gathered, and carries home a plentiful harvest, almost an ephah. It is impossible to ascertain the quantity, still less its weight, exactly, but it was considerable, say fifty-five pounds.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

"Let me go to the field and glean ears of corn."

Ruth manifested her confession of the God of Israel not merely by words: she testifies her love also by deeds. She is inclined to work for Naomi as well as to live with her. She not only learned to pray to God with her, but she will also beg for her among men. Accordingly, Naomi, in her poverty, is not maintained by the friends of her family, but by the love of her proselyte daughter-in-law. What Ruth had never done in Moab,—the hard service of begging at the hands of men, and of gleaning in the hot days of harvest-time in the midst of vulgar surroundings,—that she freely offers to do in Israel. As proselyte she felt herself compelled to what as heathen she had never had need of. Had a sister Moabitess met her in this employment, and inquired what it was that could urge her to it, she would have answered her as Elger von Hohenstein did his brother, who finding him, away from his castle and its life of ease, engaged in taking care of the poor, exclaimed, "Alas, my brother, what are you doing? what distress compels you to this?" "Sir brother mine," was the answer, "distress compels me not; but the love of Christ my Lord constrains me."

Here also Ruth is the great type of all true conversion in the history of the Christian Church. While Pharisees and priests were too dull to recognize the light of Christ, the apostles whom he had won to himself, constrained by love, labored for their nation, and were willing to be banished and to suffer, if only they might win some. While in Southern Europe, in the old cities of the Roman Empire, the love of Christians had become cold, the new-won proselytes from Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and German heathendom went forth, and in the heat of conflict and suffering, gleaned rich harvests for their Lord in the North and East.

Enough has never been done in the way of seeking to win and train converts by the force of exam-

ple and doctrine. Of example, indeed, they have often seen too much. Everything that has ever been done for them, and which is sometimes made matter of disguised boasting, is not equal to what a single proselyte, burning with love for the kingdom of his Lord, has suffered and accomplished.

STARKE: "To begin a good work is glorious; but to continue in it, notwithstanding all inducements to apostasy, is godly."

True love can never fail in its purpose, although success may tarry long. Ruth had been married ten years in Moab, before she could say, "Thy God is my God." But *now* only a few harvest-days elapsed, and the favor of God, exerting itself through a genuine Israelite, overspread her. Failure always has its ground in the spirit of the purpose. If that spirit be love rooted in God, as in Ruth, it will not be disappointed. Hence, the surest sign of love is gentle and thankful patience.

CURYSOSTOM: "Observe that what happened to Ruth is analogous with what happened to us. For she was a stranger, and had fallen into the extremest distress; but Boaz, when he saw her, neither despised her poverty, nor contemned the lowliness of her family. So Christ took up the Church, and chose the stranger, who lacked the most necessary possessions, for his bride. But as Ruth would never have attained to such a union, had she not previously left her parents and given up people, home, and kindred, so the Church also does not become dear and deserving in the eyes of her Bridegroom, until she has left her ancestral (heathen) morals and customs."

"Boaz came from Bethlehem and said unto the reapers," etc. A true believer is also the best employer. He greets them, "Jehovah be with you!" They answer, "Jehovah bless thee!" Living faith in God is the best bond between master and workman, preventing a wrongful use of power on the one side, and presumptuous insubordination on the other. Not as if the servants of Boaz were free from the rude manners so generally characteristic of their class; but the just demeanor of their master, refined by humility, controlled them. Where a pious and brave spirit like that of Boaz pervades the community, social questions and crises do not arise. For external laws can never restrain the inward cravings of the natural man. But where the landed proprietor, in his relations to his people, is governed by other principles than those of self-interest, and cares also for their moral and religious development; where, further, the laborer understands that an increase in wages is not necessarily an increase of peace and happiness; where, in a word, the consciousness of an omnipresent God regulates the uprightness and care of the one, and the honesty and devotion of the other, there no artificial solutions of conflicts between capital and labor will be required. Boaz lives in God, and therefore knows what duties of faith and love are obligatory upon him.

STARKE: "If God be with work-people, and if they are reverently mindful of his omnipresence, they will be preserved from idleness and unfaithfulness, and restrained from all sorts of frivolous and

1 But neither are יְבֵרָה (עֲמֻרָה) and עֲמֻרָה (ver. 14), both of which words occur only here in Hebrew, to be referred to the same radical signification, as has been done, [e. g. by Fürst (in *Lex.*), who renders ver. 14: "and they bound together for her parched ears of corn (in bundles);"] and declares the meaning "to reach out," after the Targ.

אֲשֵׁיט, to be merely conjectural. — Tr.] The one comes

from a root which means "to give," the other from one which means "to take." The first is cognate with the Arabic *dhabatha*, to take, to lay hold of with the hand, hence a "handful," *manipulus* (cf. *Il. xi. 69*). The other is to be compared with the Greek *δαρ-άνη*, expense, "out-give," cf. *διδομαι*, Sanskrit *dadami*, *dare*.

2 [And necessary, too, if we follow the Masoretic accentuation, according to which Boaz himself calls Ruth at meal-time: "Come hither." Cf. note under the text. — Tr.]

offensive babble; and such labor draws after it God's especial blessing."

"*Jehovah, the God of Israel, give thee a complete reward.*" Boaz finds that Ruth has come to glean on his field. He had not yet seen, but had heard of her. But now, seeing her diligence, but also her neediness, he yet does not speak to her as a rich man to one on whom he bestows an alms, nor as one relative to another, but, before all else, as an Israelite to one who has come to shelter herself under the wings of Israel's God. The Israelitish proprietor speaks like a priest of Jehovah. Before all his people, he blesses her in her confession of his God. He announces to her prophetically the reward of her love. And his word was fulfilled, for, as a church-father expresses it, "every believer, in spirit and in truth, is a prophet." Boaz presents a beautiful contrast with Ruth; with him, love comes of faith. The chief and special reason why he does good to her, is, that she is a guest in Israel, a dove under Jehovah's protection, — that

love has made her a believer. His religion has the uppermost place in his soul. It gives birth to his works — it makes him conscious of his duty as an Israelite. It gives him also that delicacy of perception which enables him to sympathize with the anxiety, lonesomeness, and isolation, which attend an entrance into a new land, among a new people. Only a genuine believer is truly discreet. Refinement of the heart springs only of faith. There may be a lack of courtly manners; but the most elevated style of intercourse with men, and the truest politeness, are the natural outgrowth of a disposition permeated with the humility of the gospel of truth.

STARKE: "This also is given to pious souls by God, that being devoted to him, he often secretly, and even without their becoming aware of it, impels them to this or that good action." THE SAME: "A meritorious person may well enough be informed that his merits, or whatever there be worthy of praise and love about him, are recognized and properly estimated."

VERSES 18-23.

The Beginning of the Blessing.

- 18 And she took it up, and went [came] into the city: and her mother-in-law saw¹ what she had gleaned: and she brought forth, and gave to her that she had reserved
 19 [left over] after she was sufficed [satisfied]. And her mother-in-law said unto her, Where hast thou gleaned to-day? and where wroughtest² thou? blessed be he that did take knowledge [friendly notice] of thee. And she shewed her mother-in-law with whom she had wrought, and said, The man's name with whom I wrought to-day
 20 is Boaz. And Naomi said unto her daughter-in-law, Blessed be he of the Lord [Jehovah], who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead.³ And Naomi said unto her, The man is near of kin [related, lit. near, i. e. near, not in comparison with other relatives, but with men in general] unto us, one of our next kinsmen [one of our
 21 redeemers]. And Ruth the Moabitess said, He said unto me also,⁴ Thou shalt keep
 22 fast by my young men [by my people], until they have ended all my harvest. And Naomi said unto Ruth her daughter-in-law. *It is good, my daughter, that thou go out*
 23 [only] with his maidens, that they meet [maltreat] thee not in any other field. So she kept fast by the maidens of Boaz to glean unto the end of barley-harvest and of wheat-harvest; and dwelt [and then she abode, remained] with her mother-in-law.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 18. — **וַתֵּרָא** **וַתֵּרָא**]: Wright points the first word as Hiph., **וַתֵּרָא**, "and she showed." "So we prefer to read, following the Vulg., Syr., and Arab. It is rather harsh with the ordinary punctuation to make **וַתֵּרָא** the nom. to **וַתֵּרָא** (so pointed by the majority of MSS.), when Ruth is the subject of all the verbs that precede and of those that follow immediately after. Two of Kennicott and De Rossi's MSS. read **וַתֵּרָא-וַתֵּרָא**, which would seem to imply a reading **וַתֵּרָא**; but while two of my own MSS. have the reading **וַתֵּרָא-וַתֵּרָא**, either by first or second hand, the verb is pointed as ordinarily, **וַתֵּרָא**." The absence of **וַתֵּרָא** does not prove that **וַתֵּרָא** is not an accus., cf. Ges. 117, 2. — Ta.]

[2 Ver. 19. — **עָשִׂיתָ**: used absolutely for "to labor," as in Prov. xxx. 13; Job xxiii. 9. Dr. Cassel translates: "und woher hast du (dies) geschafft," i. e. "and where (woher, whence, freely for wo, where) didst thou procure (**עָשִׂיתָ**, acquire, make, cf. Gen. xxxi. 1; 2 Sam. xv. 1), this?" But, 1, in this sense the verb could hardly be left without an object; and, 2, the word must have the same sense here in the question which it has in the answer in the next clause. Wright prefers to render "where hast thou stayed," i. e. spent the time, **עָרַב** being understood (cf. Eccles. vi. 12 and the phrase **πρωτὴν χρόνον**, Acts xv. 33). But when the talk is of gleaning, it is certainly more natural for Ruth to say, "the man with whom (on whose fields) I worked to-day is Boaz," than "the man with whom I spent my time to-day,"

etc. Wright says that "Gesenius in the *Lex. Man.* prefers this rendering." It is not impossible that Ges. may have varied in different editions; but he has no such preference in the sixth edit. of his German *Handwörterbuch*, nor in Robinson's transl. of his *Lat. Lex. Man.* — In אָהָרָה, the force of הָ local is lost, as in אָהָרָה = אָהָרָה, אָהָרָה = אָהָרָה. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 20. — וְהָיָה חַיִּים וְהָיָה מֵתִים. "with reference to the living and the dead." Accusatives of the objects to which the kindness is done, cf. Ges. 139, 2. "The verb עָזַב is here construed with a double accusative; for if אָהָרָה were used as a preposition, it would have to be מֵתִים as we find מֵתִים in Gen. xxiv. 27" (Keil). — מֵתִים according to Ges. (*Lex. s. v.* מֵתִים and מֵתִים) is a sg. noun, מֵתִים, with the plur. suff. of first person = "our second goel." But as no such word is found elsewhere, and as there is no real difficulty in the way, the form in the text is to be taken as script. defect. for מֵתִים, and rendered "one of (on מֵתִים in this sense, cf. Ges. 154, 3, c) our redeemers." — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 21. — גַּם: not "even so, i. e. may he be blessed, as you have said" (Wright), which with the following "for (עַל) he said to me," etc., would make but a mercenary amen to Naomi's prayer, to say nothing of the fact that by the intervention of another clause the prayer is too far away; but, "also!" as we say, "more! I have not told you all; for he said," etc., cf. Ges. 155, 2, a. — On the periphrastic genitives of the verse, cf. Ges. 115, 1 — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 18 f. **And her mother-in-law saw what she had gleaned.** Naomi looked with astonishment at the large quantity brought home by Ruth; and her amazement increased when Ruth in addition produced and gave her the remains of her dinner. To this astonishment she gives utterance by asking, "Where hast thou been? in whose fields canst thou have been at work?" Piety, however, does more than indulge in curiosity simply. The natural heart would have rejoiced, received, enjoyed, and inquired just as Naomi did, but without with no thought except of self. She, on the contrary, before her inquiries are answered, induced simply by the abundance of the gifts and the manifest happiness of Ruth, blesses the giver. For this she needs not to know who he is. Whoever treated Ruth kindly and loaded her with presents, must have designed to indicate his appreciation of her lot and her virtues. He must know what Ruth has done, seeing he manifested so much solicitude for her, a Moabitess. "Blessed be he who has taken special notice¹ of thee!" It had been a hard thing for her to send Ruth out for such work. The man who has treated her dear child so kindly that she comes home, not only enriched with presents, but also cheerful and happy, deserves a blessing, and that before she knows anything more. This done, Ruth has opportunity to relate the particulars of her good fortune, and finally gives the name of the man who has befriended her, namely, Boaz. She could not know what a consolation and joy the utterance of this name conveyed to Naomi.

Ver. 20. **Blessed be he of Jehovah, who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead.** This peculiar exclamation of Naomi on hearing the name of Boaz is undoubtedly worthy of more careful attention than it has hitherto received. Light is thrown upon it by a passage in the history of Abraham. Eliezer has come to Aram, to procure a wife for Isaac from among Abraham's kindred. He is aware of the great importance which his master attaches to his mission. Arrived at the well outside of the city of his destination, he prays that Jehovah would so "order" it (תִּקְדָּשׁ, Gen. xxiv. 12), that he may there meet with the one appointed to answer the wishes of his master. And, in fact, it turns out

that the affable maiden who draws water for himself and his camels, is Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, Abraham's nephew. The desired "ordering" has been vouchsafed, and the astonished Eliezer exclaims, "Blessed be Jehovah . . . who hath not left off his kindness," etc. (עָזַב לֹא עָזַב), precisely the same expression as in our passage).

A similar providence has happened to Ruth (וְיָקָר מִקֶּרֶב, ver. 3). Without knowing what field to select, she lights on that of Boaz. Without knowing who he is, she is favored by him. Naomi recognizes God's hand in this, even more profoundly than Eliezer did. It is to be remembered that above (ch. i. 13, 20, etc.) she has repeatedly lamented that God's hand is against her, that God has inflicted sorrow upon her. She has indicated that in her view this fate comes upon her because she—or properly her husband and sons, although she does not say this—went to Moab. In the wonderful providence which made Ruth find a friend in Boaz, the rich relative of her husband, she feels herself justified to find an indication that God is once more gracious to her, and has not left off his kindness. If now it was through the fault of her dear departed ones that she had hitherto experienced distress, then it also follows that, since God's goodness again manifests itself so conspicuously, his anger against those must likewise be come to an end. For that reason, she speaks of his kindness not only to the living but also to the dead. For these had died through the same sin which had brought suffering on herself. Hence, God's help to her in her suffering, is a manifestation of his unwearied grace toward both the living and the dead.

But it is certainly proper to find a yet farther meaning in these words. Independently of the special history of the family of Elimelech, this utterance of Naomi concerning God's kindness to the living and the dead, must have its absolute and general application. Indeed, it must be assumed that in using it, Naomi only applied a generally employed formula to her special case. When one says of God that "He does not leave off his kindness," he thereby praises him as the God of pardoning love; as the God who, though He tarry long, hears at last, and does not leave the penitent forsaken. In this shorter form, the expression was appropriate in the above-mentioned passage from Abraham's history. For Eliezer is in perplexity, and knows not well how to perform his task. But

1 מִבְּיָרָה: the same word used by Ruth in expressing her gratitude to Boaz (ver. 10): לְהַבְרִיחַ.

it was especially appropriate in the mouth of Naomi, who had thought herself wholly forsaken of God. And hence, it would seem natural to think that if the saying had not already been current in a fixed form, Naomi would have contented herself with saying, "Jehovah who hath not left off his kindness toward us," or "toward the widow and the poor," etc. The kindness of God "toward the living and the dead," is the most general form of which the saying is susceptible. Now, that God does not leave off his kindness toward the living, is evident to believers from the history of every individual human being, of Israel, and of the world in general (Ps. liii. 4). The very existence of the world testifies of mercy that never ceases, of love that is never embittered. But wherein is his "kindness toward the dead" manifested? If these words do not presuppose the immortality of the soul, as an article of Israelitish faith, what meaning can they have? Although Naomi, reassured by the benevolent actions of Boaz, may regain confidence in God's mercy toward her-self, she surely cannot speak of them as kindness to the dead, if the dead have no longer any being. In that case, the actions of Boaz, however viewed, are and continue to be kindness to the living only. God could indeed release the living from the consequences of the guilt of the dead; but when in one and the same mercy He is said to show kindness to the latter as well as to the former, this can have its ground only in the presupposition that the grave ends but this earthly state of existence. Bertheau and Keil both explain, in the same words, that God, "by his care for the widows, showed himself merciful to the husband and sons even after their death." But how can mercy be shown to such as exist no longer? It would never occur to any one to speak or think of that as a mercy to the dead, which, in whatever light it be put, is just mercy to the living, and nothing more. No; we have in this exclamation of Naomi a significant indication of the consciousness of the immortality of the soul which existed in Israel. It had its natural basis in that very mercy of God which does not cease. In this mercy the history of Israel in the world and in the domain of the spirit originated and lives. The Sadduceic doctrine was raised on no other foundation than an Epicurean negation of history. On the enduring mercy of God toward the living and the dead, rests our Saviour's great answer (Matth. xxii. 32): "God is not a God of the dead, but of the living."

Ver. 21 f. **The man is related to us.** Naomi, observing the astonishment of Ruth at her exclamation, explains the reason of it. (The "redeemer," **גֹּאֵל** will be treated of farther on.) That Ruth had been directed to the field of a blood-relative, seemed to her a sufficiently great mercy. For from all that Ruth had told her, it was evident that she was there well and securely situated. The fear lest Ruth might meet with rude treatment in the harvest-fields, must have been one of Naomi's chief anxieties. Ruth, having learned who Boaz is, now adds, as if she now understood the reason of it, what is not expressly brought out in the foregoing conversation, namely, that Boaz had given her

permission to keep with his people (**בְּעַמִּי**) during the whole harvest-season. And it testifies again of the loving solicitude with which Naomi, like a tender mother, thinks for Ruth, that, as soon as she hears the latter repeat the words of Boaz about keeping with his **עַמִּי** (people, *mase.*¹), she at once rejoins: "Good, my daughter, go with his maidens (**בְּעַרְוֹתַי**), that they injure thee not in any other field." She has in all this as yet no other thoughts than those of joy and gratitude toward God, that He has so ordered it as to direct Ruth to a relative on whose estate she can glean safely and profitably through the entire harvest, and thus provide the sustenance of both for a whole year. The great question, how to live, was by this providential intervention answered. The fear of want was dissipated and that without insult or shame. While all other means of help failed Naomi, she was first comforted by the love of her daughter-in-law, then upheld by her self-sacrifice, and finally saved from want by the fame of her virtues. Amid the sorrows that befall her in Moab, Naomi, as she herself acknowledged, was not altogether free from blame, for she too had gone thither; only Ruth of all the family had nothing to repent of; and it was through her that God now showed that He had not left off his kindness to the living and the dead.

Ver. 23. **So she kept fast by the maidens of Boaz unto the end of the harvest.** It is manifestly not without design that it is added concerning Ruth, that she continued with the maidens throughout the harvest-season. Her diligence did not relax from what it was the first day, although she now knew more than then. Her demeanor was modest and unassuming as ever, so that she returned to the field not otherwise than as she had left it. Her eyes were on the field; and to provide for her mother-in-law continued to be her only solicitude. Boaz had opportunity enough to observe this. He daily saw her gentle and virtuous conduct. Externally and internally, she was no longer a stranger to him. He doubtless found opportunities to show her favors. After an acquaintance so long and hearty, the narrative of chap. iii. is happily introduced.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

[*"Blessed be he that took kindly notice of thee."* FULLER: "Learn we from hence, upon the sight of a good deed, to bless the doer thereof, though by name unknown unto us. And let us take heed that we do not recant and recall our prayers, after that we come to the knowledge of his name; as some do, who, when they see a laudable work, willingly commend the doer of it; but after they come to know the author's name (especially if they be prepossessed with a private spleen against him), they fall then to derogate and detract from the action, quarrelling with it as done out of ostentation, or some other sinister end."

BR. HALL: "If the rich can exchange their alms with the poor for blessings, they have no cause to complain of an ill bargain."

1 [In the Pentateuch **עַמִּי** is used, in every instance except one (Deut. xxii. 19), where the later language would write **בְּעַמִּי**, cf. **הָעַמִּי** for **הָעַמִּי**. Gesenius and Fürst take the plural here in the same way, as used for the feminine; but both Boaz (ver. 3) and Naomi (ver. 22) use the

fem. form, which seems to show that at that time the distinction of gender was no longer neglected. **עַמִּי** is here, as in Job i. 19, to be taken as including both sexes; there in the sense of "young people," here in that of "servants." — TR.]

"*Kindness to the dead.*" The following remarks, though based on an interpretation which Dr. Cassel decidedly, and in so far as it assumes to be exhaustive, probably justly rejects, may nevertheless suggest a very true and useful line of thought. Its entire exclusion by our author is certainly an error. Nothing is more natural or universal than the feeling that kindness done to those left behind by the dead is kindness done to the dead themselves; but it may well be asked whether this feeling is rooted in anything else than the conviction, natural and instinctive, or otherwise, of the continued existence of the soul after

death. FULLER: "To the dead. Art thou, then, a widower, who desirest to do mercy to thy dead wife; or a widow, to thy dead husband; or a child, to thy deceased parent? I will tell thee how thou mayest express thyself courteous. Hath thy wife, thy husband, or thy parent, any brother, or kinsman, or friends surviving? Be courteous to them; and, in so doing, thy favors shall redound to the dead. Though old Barzillai be incapable of thy favors, let young Chimham taste of thy kindness. Though the dead cannot, need not have thy mercy, yet may they receive thy kindness by a proxy, — by their friends that still are living." — TR.]

CHAPTER THIRD.

VERSES 1-6.

Obedience in Innocence.

1 Then [And] Naomi her mother-in-law said unto her, My daughter, shall I not seek
2 rest [a resting-place] for thee, that it may be well with thee? And now *is* not
Boaz of our kindred [*sc.* our acquaintance, *i. e.* relative], with whose maidens thou
3 wast? Behold, he winnoweth barley to-night in the threshing floor. Wa-h thyself
therefore, and anoint thee, and put¹ thy [best] raiment upon thee, and get thee
4 down to the floor: *but* make not thyself known unto [suffer not thyself to be per-
ceived by] the man, until he shall have done eating and drinking. And it shall
be when he lieth down, that thou shalt mark the place where he shall lie, and thou
shalt go in, and uncover [the place at] his feet, and lay thee down; and he will tell
5 thee what thou shalt do. And she said unto her, All that thou sayest unto me² I
6 will do. And she went down unto the floor, and did according to all that her moth-
er-in-law bade her.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 3. — On וְהִנָּחְתְּ and וְהִנָּחְתְּ, cf. Ges. 59, l. c. They are older forms of the second per. fem., and there is no occasion to substitute the *keri* for them. Another instance occurs in ver. 4. — TR.]

[2 Ver. 5. — וְהִנָּחְתְּ, supplied by the Masorites, is unnecessary, cf. ver. 11 (where, however, Wright also inserts it on the authority of versions and some MSS.). The same remark is applicable to the case in ver. 17. So Bertheau and Kell. Dr. Cassel omits it here, but retains it in ver. 17. — TR.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. Shall I not seek a resting-place for thee? The peculiar proceeding which these words introduce, may appear somewhat surprising when viewed from the standpoint of modern social life and relations. At all events, this explains why its psychological significance has not yet been properly appreciated. But the narrative of the fortunes of Ruth is so deeply embedded in the characteristic life of Israel, that in order to appreciate its full beauty, it is indispensable to enter thoroughly into the spirit of that life. Perhaps no history teaches more clearly than this, that when love and trust, in their childlike and therefore divine strength, first suffer and then conquer, there is a presentation in actual history of that which the highest works of the imagination present only in idea.

That which made the fate of the daughter of Jephthah so sad, was that she never found a

"resting-place" in the house of a husband. With regard to woman, marriage was viewed as the natural fulfillment of her calling, without which her life was helpless and defenseless, as that of a people without a God. Hence the prayer of Naomi, when about to part from her daughters-in-law, that they may find "rest" in the house of a husband. Orpah returns because she fears never to find it in Israel. Ruth goes with her, because she places her love for Naomi above all other considerations. Then, indeed, the hearts of them all were filled with sorrow. But since then God's mercy has again become manifest. New hope has dawned upon their tears. What a beautiful and happy contrast presents itself now! The same mother-in-law who formerly, in her self-forgetfulness, bade her daughters-in-law return to Moab and find resting-places for themselves, is now in a position, self-forgetful as ever, to seek for Ruth the Moabitess a place in Israel, where it may be well with her. And what was the force that brought about

this beautiful revolution? The love of Ruth which seeks not her own, the faithfulness of Naomi which deserved such love.

The understanding of what chap. iii. relates will be chiefly facilitated by a comparison with the beginning of chap. ii. While the women are in distress, it is Ruth who takes the initiative; now, when hope grows large, it is Naomi. When hardship was to be endured, the mother submitted her will to the daughter, — for Ruth was not sent to glean, she went of her own accord; now, when the endeavor is to secure the joy and happiness held out in prospect, the daughter yields in all things to the direction of the mother. The thought of labor for the mother originates with the daughter; but it is the mother who forms plans of happiness for the daughter. On both occasions, Ruth undertakes a mission. The first time she sets out, a stranger, without a definite place in view, and dressed in the garb of toil and mourning; the second time, with a definite plan, encouraged by the former success, and decked in holiday attire. And yet the second undertaking was not less hard than the first. Humiliation which she had to fear on the first, might also befall her on the second. Indeed, anything that might have befallen her on her first expedition, had not God ordered her goings, would have been far less wounding to her, the foreign and needy woman, than that which on this second expedition might pierce her sensitive heart. The first undertaking was more sorrowful, the second more delicate. At the first she could act openly, at the second only secretly. Then the worst risk she ran was to suffer hunger, now her honor is at stake. The faithfulness of Naomi which she then showed was not greater than the obedience which she now manifests.

And yet Naomi is as little to be reproached for sending Ruth on this second mission, as she was for accepting her proposal to go on the first. On the contrary, her course rather shows that she did not bear her name, or had won such love among strangers, for nothing.

Neither journey of Ruth, taken with the approbation of Naomi, can be measured by modern measuring-rules. They are not attempts at speculative adventure. In both cases, what was done was in accordance with unimpeachable rights afforded by Israelitish law and custom.

When Ruth went to the field to glean, she only asked a right guaranteed to the widowed and the poor. To deny her the privilege of gleaning would have been to deprive her of her right; to injure or put her to shame in the exercise of it, would have been to diminish it. True, the liberal treatment she received from Boaz was no longer a right to be claimed, but the expression of good-will and kindness. Naomi recognized in this the providential arrangement of God. And it is precisely this also that gives courage to Ruth to claim for herself and for Naomi the second right to which she is entitled.

It was an ancient law in Israel, sanctioned by the Mosaic legislation (Deut. xxv. 5), that when a man died without issue, his brother was bound to

marry his widow. This is a right of the woman. She can demand it of him, and if he refuses, put him openly to shame. How early and deeply this usage was rooted in Israel, may be seen from Gen. xxxviii., where the death of Onan is ascribed to his refusal to marry the widow Tamar. The significance of this usage is clear. It is also found among other nations, although distorted and rendered impure. It rests on the historical feeling of the nations, which leads them to attach importance to the preservation not only of the national spirit, but also of the national body, by propagation. In the first psalm, the pious man is compared with a tree whose leaf never withers. And the tree is, in fact, the image best adapted to explain the reason of the usage in question. It is not without reason that the founder of a people is called its *stammvater* [stem-father, trunk-father, cf. the Heb.

terms שֵׁבֶט and עֵצָה shoot, sprout, branch, used for "tribe." — Tr.]. United about this common trunk, the ancient peoples distinguished themselves nationally (from *nasci*) very sharply from those who were not his off-shoots.¹ The different families are the branches of this tree. But the head of a family is in his turn a stem, putting forth boughs, as a tree puts forth branches.

The withering of the tree is the image of death. As no branch in the tree, so no member in the family, should perish. Now, the nation lives in its families. Hence, if a man dies without children, it is as if a branch withered in the tree. To remedy this, a new branch is, as it were, engrafted on the tree. This is done when the brother marries the widow, and regards the son she bears as heir to the name and possessions of the deceased husband. But what if there be no brother? Is the name then to be after all extinguished and the branch to be forever wanting? The law, as given in Deut. xxv. 5 ff., does not indeed declare it, but it is an inference in accordance with its spirit, that in that case the obligation passes over to the nearest relatives of the deceased. Every family — such is manifestly the idea of the usage — must take care that no member in it dies out. What the brother is to the brother, that, when he has no brother, his more distant blood-relatives must be. The letter of the law, it is true, did not command this; but, as the narrative of our Book shows, the spirit of that usage which the law sanctioned, required it. Naomi, by way of explaining to her daughter-in-law her joy over the way in which God had ordered her steps, says, Boaz is related (בִּרְיָהּ, like *propinquus*) to us, he belongs to our *godim* (אֱלֹהֵינוּ). The word *god* (אֱלֹהִים), to which *god* belongs, is philologically and in its original signification one and the same with the Greek *λύω*, "to loose."² It is not to be ascribed to the same root with the similarly sounding בָּצַע, although it is true that, owing to the well-known interchange of *h* and *z*, it sometimes occurs instead of it.³ The latter word means, "to pollute;" and is related to the former

¹ The sensual abuse into which the practice of levirate marriage is said to have fallen among the Nairs of Malabar, has extinguished the family proper among them. All are blood-relatives. They are a tree without branches. The correction of many of the views of Böhlen, *altes Indien*, ii. 142, however much they need it, cannot here be undertaken.

² Fürst (*Concordantia*, s. v. אֱלֹהִים) has truly remarked

that אֱלֹהִים was lengthened from אֱלֹהִים, as אֱלֹהִים from אֱלֹהִים. This אֱלֹהִים, originally related to both λύω and λυο, has retained its *g*, which in the ancient languages has been frequently thrown off. The copious discussion of Bentley, *Gr. Gram.* ii. 119-124, should be compared.

³ The few instances, Isa. lix. 3, lxiii. 3, Zeph. v. 1, Mal. i. 7, 12, Lam. iv. 14, in which אֱלֹהִים — 1. q. אֱלֹהִים written

as the Latin *luc*, pollute (cf. *lutum*, *polluo*), to the Greek $\lambda\upsilon\omega$, "to loose." The correspondence of the ideas "to redeem" and "to loose," in their external relationship, testifies, both in Hebrew and in Indo-germanic, to their internal mutual connection. The idea currently attached in Israel to the term *gaal*, "to loose," is everywhere definitely determined by the conception of the people as an historical organism. By this it was defined mainly as a "redeeming" [*einlösen*, "inloosing," from *ein*, "in," and *lösen*, "to loose;" i. e. a loosing of that which has been bound, by means of which it is brought back into its original position (e. g. a captive into his home, a slave into his freedom) or ownership (e. g. a piece of land, a promissory note, etc.). — Tr.]¹ According to the social philosophy of the Mosaic law, no member of the national organism was to perish, no branch of the tree was to wither. Whatever had been dislocated by natural events was to be re-set; whatever had been alienated must be redeemed. This applied, as an example in our Book itself teaches, to lands as well as to persons; and the duty of redemption rested, as within the nation, so within the families into which the nation branched out. No one could redeem anything for a family, who did not belong to it by blood-relationship. Hence also the transition of the idea of *goel* into that of blood-relative was perfectly natural. Properly speaking, there could be no redeemer who was not a blood-relative. The meaning of the word is profoundly set forth in the various grand historical unfoldings of its idea. For every redemption [*einlösung*, "inloosing,"] has always been a setting free [*lösung*, "loosing"], albeit not always without security. The Greek $\lambda\upsilon\omega$ also passes over into the idea of "setting free," "releasing." Dionysos, in his character as one of the spring-season, is called *Lysios*, the Liberator. The Liberator of Israel is God. He frees out of and from servitude. For that reason, the Messiah who delivers Israel is especially called *Goel*. When he appears, he will come as Israel's blood-relation and brother, as Christ was. The dismal counterpart of the *goel* as redeemer and deliverer, is the *goel* as blood-avenger. He owes his origin to the opinion, which slowly and painfully disappeared in Israel,² but which is still partially prevalent in the East, and inspires many current superstitions, that the blood of the slain cannot be put to rest and liberated, until his murderer has been killed. The duty of this blood-revenge rests upon the blood-relatives, not only on the brother, strictly so called, but on the nearest relative, whoever he may be. So far this terrible usage becomes instructive with reference to the beneficent national custom which made it the duty of the blood-relative not to let the house of his kinsman die out; for this also was a blood-redemption, not unto death, however, but unto happiness and peace. The *goel* was no judge — as

with an **N** — occurs in the sense "to pollute," should not have been placed under $\lambda\upsilon\omega$, "to loose," in the concordance [cf. Fürst]. No one would identify *luc* (*polluo*) with $\lambda\upsilon\omega$ in that way.

1 Our *lösen*, "to loose," also, has in M. H. Germ. the sense of *einlösen*, "to redeem," "to ransom," sc. a pledge, land, etc. It occurs in this sense in poets and documents, especially Low German, cf. Riedel, *Col*, Brand, i. 2, 207: "van den drozeten dat land losete." In another document Herr Heinrich von Mecklenburg is to "*ledigen und lösen (einlösen) alle hus und stede und de land*;" cf. Kröcher, *Urkundenbuch zur Gesch. des Geschlechts*, i. 172; also, i. 143, etc.

also the greatest *Goel* came not to judge the world — but a comforter, a dispenser of life and love.

Ver. 2. **Is not Boaz of our kindred?** By these words Naomi explains to Ruth the right she has to engage in the undertaking she is about to recommend. His relationship gives her a right to apply to him for a performance of its duties. It is not to be thought singular that, if Ruth had this right of marriage, the first motion toward its fulfillment did not come from Boaz. In the first place, it was in accordance with ancient usage to leave the assertion of a right with its possessor. It was not the duty of a landowner, for example, to go after the poor, and make them glean; but it was his duty not to forbid them, when they came. In the next place, however, we learn farther on that Boaz was not the nearest relative. The objection which Ruth in her humility might find in her Moabitish nationality, or which she might entertain even without reference to that fact, is met by Naomi in the words: "with whose maidens thou wast." She thus reminds Ruth that Boaz, so far from slighting her on account of her nationality, has distinguished her, and put her on perfect equality with his Israelitish work-people.

Behold, he winnoweth barley to-night in the threshing-floor.³ This remark shows that since Ruth's participation in the harvest of Boaz, Naomi must have come into closer connection with her relative. She is minutely informed of what he does and where he is. We must also suppose that it had not escaped her how much kindness Boaz had shown to Ruth. She could not but feel sure that the claim which Ruth was to prefer, would not be addressed to a hard and unsympathetic heart. On the other hand, it was natural to think that although Boaz was an elderly man, Ruth must be heartily attached to him. It was he, whose kindness fell like a first beam of light on her sadness. Such an impression, after scenes and moods like those through which Ruth had passed, is never lost. She went forth on her first undertaking at the beginning of barley-harvest; she enters on the second, when the barley is winnowed on the threshing-floor. Between the two there lies an interval of time sufficient to explain how Naomi could have the courage and the information necessary to send her daughter on such an errand.

Ver. 3 ff. **But let not thyself be perceived by the man.** Ruth was directed to pay special attention to the adornment of her person, to which, to this extent at least, she had since the death of her husband been a stranger. She is to lay aside the weeds of mourning and the garments of toil, and after bathing and anointing, don the festive garb; for the expedition on which she goes is of a joyous, bridal nature. All this, however, is not done in order to win Boaz by external beauty; for she is specially cautioned against allowing him to see her by day. But why this caution? Boaz was

² My observations in my treatise on "*den armen Heinrich*," will hereafter, D. V., be further elaborated. Cf. the article of J. G. Hoffmann on *Buotrache*, in the *Hallischen Enzykl.*

³ [Winnowing is done by tossing the mingled grain and chaff up into the air, when the chaff is blown away to a distance, while the heavier grain falls straight down. Hence, the evening and early night when a cool wind frequently arises after hot, sultry days (cf. Gen. iii. 8), was taken advantage of by Boaz for this work. For "to-night," the Targum has, "in the night wind." On threshing and threshing-floors, cf. Rob. i. 550; Thomson, ii. 314 ff. — Tr.]

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

a believing Israelite, and therefore also a man of strict morals. It would have perplexed and displeased him to think that anybody else had seen Ruth, and might suspect both her and himself of an illicit meeting on the solitary threshing-floor. He would have scarcely listened to her, but removed her at once. The purpose for which she came had also an appropriate symbolism, which any previous meeting would have disturbed. By whatever means, Naomi knew that this night — for it was in the night that Ruth was to present her petition — Boaz was to be alone on the threshing-floor. The floor, albeit not entirely closed in, may have been partially surrounded by some sort of fencing, by means of which Ruth could conceal herself until the proper time, and within which Boaz ate and drank. Most probably the grain-heaps themselves formed the natural boundaries, between which, accordingly, Boaz also betook himself to repose.

Ver. 6. And did according to all that her mother-in-law bade her. Ruth was to do something a little beyond what the prudence and delicacy of a woman ordinarily permitted. For that reason, it is expressly repeated that she did as her mother-in-law directed her. She was justly confident that the latter would order nothing that could injure her. True love, such as Ruth cherished for Naomi, always includes perfect obedience. It was not in Ruth that the thought of a new marriage had originated. Her heart had no other thought than to serve Naomi like a dutiful child. But Naomi, equally self-forgetful, busied herself with plans for a "resting-place for her child." She, too, thought not of herself only, but of Ruth. She had undoubtedly done all that was in her power by way of preparation, before she directed Ruth to take the decisive step. From that step she could not save her, for custom devolved it on her. It is the beauty of the present instance, that this custom compelled Ruth to nothing that was against her will. For although she acted in a matter regulated by law, it was not settled in this case that Boaz was the right man. So much the more essential was it that, by Ruth's personal action, the perfect freedom and inclination of the woman should be manifested. The greater the stress that was laid on this by the whole synobolical proceeding, the more significant is the remark that Ruth "did everything, as her mother-in-law commanded her."

"Go down to the threshing-floor." Love speaks only of duties, not of rights. Ruth offered to go to the field and glean; but of the right of redemption which she had, she said nothing. She thought of the duties that devolve on the poor, but not of her right to marriage. In going to Boaz, she manifested the obedience of love, the most diligent of all love's performances. It is much to toil for a loved one, to humble one's self, to give up everything, and to forget the past; but the hardest thing for a woman is to conquer the fears of feminine delicacy, to quiet the apprehensions of the heart, and that not by boldly transgressing moral law, but by virtue. Ruth's visit to Boaz in the night was harder for her, than it is for a young girl to leave home and enter service. Her obedience in this matter was the utmost sacrifice she could make. She risked her womanly feelings; and that to a virtuous woman is more than to risk life. She claimed a right, to claim which was more painful than the heaviest duties. But her self-forgetful love pours an auroral glow of divine purity over everything. Her love was not the sensual love of romances. She loved Naomi, her mother; and in order to procure honor and love in Israel for this mother, and to save the name of her deceased husband from extinction, she does what only a chaste woman, inspired by the obedience of love dare do, and what the polluted eyes of impure souls never understand. Vanity and self-interest had found but a slight trial in her undertaking. To virtue and ancient patriarchal manners, the visit of Ruth to Boaz was the utmost of womanly endurance. It was harder for Ruth to don her best attire for this purpose, than to go about in her working clothes. For virtue would rather put on sackcloth and ashes, than the garments of a joy which may easily be misconceived. It is more of a martyrdom to face the possibility of appearing as a sinner, than to suffer punishment for the sake of virtue. But the chaste love of obedience succeeds in everything. Ruth conquers, and is neither seen nor misapprehended. She receives the crown of love and faith.

SAILER: Galleries of beautiful pictures are precious; but virtuous young men and maidens are more precious than all the picture-galleries of the world.

STARKE: The bride of Christ is pleasing to her Bridegroom only when anointed with the Spirit, and clothed in the garments of salvation.

VERSES 7-18.

Innocence and Piety.

- 7 And when Boaz had eaten and drunk, and his heart was merry [cheerful], he went to lie down at the end of the heap of corn [-sheaves]: and she came softly,¹
 8 and uncovered [the place at] his feet, and laid her down. And it came to pass at midnight, that the man was afraid [startled], and turned himself [bent himself over]:
 9 and behold, a woman lay at his feet. And he said, Who art thou? And she answered, I am Ruth thine handmaid: spread therefore thy skirt [wings]² over thine
 10 handmaid; for thou art a near kinsman [a redeemer]. And he said, Blessed be thou of the Lord [Jehovah], my daughter: for thou hast shewed more kindness in the

latter end than at the beginning,⁸ inasmuch as thou followedest not [didst not go after] young men, whether poor or rich. And now, my daughter, fear not; I will do to thee all that thou requirest [sayest]: for all the city [gate] of my people doth know that thou *art* a virtuous [brave]⁴ woman. And now it is true⁵ that I *am thy* near kinsman [a redeemer]: howbeit there is a kinsman [redeemer] nearer than I. Tarry⁶ this [to] night, and it shall be in the morning, *that* if he will perform unto thee the part of a kinsman [redeemer; *iii.* if he will redeem thee], well; let him do the kinsman's part [let him redeem]: but if he will not do the part of a kinsman to thee [shall not be inclined to redeem thee], then will I do the part of a kinsman to thee [then will I redeem thee], as the Lord [Jehovah] liveth: lie down until the morning. And she lay at his feet until the morning: and she rose up before⁷ one [a man] could know another [recognize his friend]. And [For] he said, Let it not be known that a [the] woman came into the floor. Also he said, Bring the vail [mantle]⁸ that *thou hast* upon thee, and hold it. And when she held it, he measured six *measures* of barley, and laid *it* on her: and she [he]⁹ went into the city. And when [omit: when] she came to her mother-in-law, [and] she [*i. e.* the mother-in-law] said, Who *art* thou, my daughter? and she told her all that the man had done to her. And she said, These six *measures* of barley gave he me; for he said to me, Go not empty unto thy mother-in law. Then said she, Sit still [Remain quiet], my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the man will not be in [omit: be in] rest until he have finished the thing this day.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 7. — בְּלַיְתָּהּ : not "secretly" (Keil), which would be superfluous here; but as in Judg. iv. 21, "quietly," "softly," so as not to wake the sleeper — in a muffled manner, cf. *Lex.* s. v. לַיְתָּהּ. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 9 — כַּנְּפֵיהָ must be regarded as dual, with the suffix defect. written (Ges. 91, 2, Rem. 1); for as the word does not stand in pause, the seghol cannot be a mere lengthened sheva (Ges. 29, 4, b). The Masoretic tradition, therefore, understands "wings" here, and not "skirt," or "coverlet," in which sense the word is always used in the singular. The covering wing is a favorite emblem of protection in the psalms and elsewhere, and is here far more beautiful and suggestive than "skirt" or "coverlet," even though the translation of the metaphor into the language of action did carry with it an actual spreading of the skirt over one, cf. the commentary. The rendering "wings" is also adopted by Bertheau, Keil, Wright, etc. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 10. — Dr. Cassel: *du hast deine Liebe, die spätere, noch schöner gemacht, als die erste*; or, as Dr. Wordsworth very happily, as well as literally renders: "thou hast bettered (הַיִּטְבִּיבְתָּ) thy latter loving kindness above the former." The comparison is not as to quantity, but as to quality. — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 11. — אִשְׁתַּת חַיִל : lit. "a woman of strength." Dr. Cassel here renders it (with DeWette) by *wackres Weib*, brave, valiant woman, while he afterwards (see foot-note on p. 43) substitutes *braves Weib*, *i. e.* good, excellent woman (so also Keil). Others: "capable woman." All these renderings, including that of the E. V. (which is not to be taken in the restricted sense of "chaste," but in that of its Latin original), agree much better than they seem to do. They are all embraced in חַיִל, which is here manifestly used of moral strength, cf. Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 10. A morally strong person is brave and good, capable in the noblest sense; in a word virtuous, possessed both of virtue and of virtues. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 12. — "פִּי" before אֲמַנְנֶנְךָ, in order to strengthen the assurance: 'and now, truly indeed,' cf. Job xxxvi. 4. Beside the Kethibh אֵן פִּי, we have here, as in 2 Sam. xiii. 33, xv. 21; Jer. xxxix. 12, the Keri פִּי. After the asseverating אֲמַנְנֶנְךָ, פִּי occurs in Job xii. 2, as elsewhere after an oath, Gen. xxii. 16 f.; 2 Kgs. iii. 14: but אֵן פִּי occurs also in such a position, 2 Sam. xv. 21 (Kethibh); 2 Kgs. v. 20; Jer. li. 14, cf. Ew. 356 b.; and there is therefore no ground for preferring the easier reading of the Keri, especially as אֵן פִּי excludes from the assurance the opposite of what forms its object yet more decidedly than the simple פִּי, thus: truly, indeed, only a goel am I = truly, I am certainly a goel — I am that and nothing else." (Bertheau.) Keil also thinks that the meaning of אֵן פִּי is to be explained from its use in the sense of *nisi*, cf. *Lex.* — Tr.]

6 Ver. 13. — לִיָּי. The MSS. have here either a large ל or a large ג. The Masora parva remarks that the Oriental (*i. e.* Babylonian) Jews, especially preserve the large ל. Many conjectures as to the meaning of the large letter are clearly wide of the mark. The ground of such *majuscula* is undoubtedly to be sought in the purpose of ancient transcribers (as Le Clerc rightly intimates), to direct the attention of the reader to facts or thoughts which to them appeared especially noteworthy. Thus in Eccles. vii. 1, where the first letter of גִּיּוֹב is a *majuscula*. The value of a good name impressed itself here. So also in Eccles. xii. 13, where the ד in כִּלְיָהּ is written large. The fidelity of later transcribers, unwilling to obliterate any, even subjective marks, has preserved such peculiarities. With doctrine or any special exegesis, these letters have nothing to do. Thus, in Esth. i. 6, the transcriber, wishing to direct attention to the splendor

of the royal banquet, the description of which begins with **וְחָגַר**, wrote **וְחָגַר** large. And so in our passage, it seemed important to the pious transcriber (as Buxtorf not without reason indicates), to call the reader's attention to the language and moral conduct of Boaz.

7 Ver. 14. — Instead of the usual **וְחָגַר**, we have here, and only here, **וְחָגַר** in Kethibh. The pointing **וְחָגַר** was occasioned by the endeavor to derive the word from a specifically Hebrew root. I hold the form **וְחָגַר**, **וְחָגַר**, to be itself original. Comparative philology satisfactorily explains the word. It belongs to *πρῖν, πρώτος, primus, parantia*, Goth. *fruma* (as **וְחָגַר** belongs to *purus*, **וְחָגַר** to *paries*, etc.), and is not at all to be explained from the Hebrew. The Midrash (*Ruth Rabba* 34 d.) has also noted the reading **וְחָגַר**, and in its usual way explains the added **ו** of six hours, which Ruth spent in the threshing-floor. [According to Bertheau **וְחָגַר** is a later Aramaic form for the old, genuine Heb. **וְחָגַר**, and is by Aram. analogy to be pronounced **וְחָגַר**. Not likely; as **וְחָגַר** is not found in Aram. Fürst derives it from **וְחָגַר** (**וְחָגַר**, an unused root, meaning "to wait") with the termination **וְחָגַר** = **וְחָגַר**. Ewald seems to regard **וְחָגַר** as a shortened (?) form of **וְחָגַר**, which he derives from **וְחָגַר**, an unused root, meaning "to be fresh," cf. *Lehrb.* 337 c. — Tr.]

[8 Ver. 15. — **וְחָגַר** (*וְחָגַר*, as it is written in most MSS., is the second per. sg. fem. imperat. of **וְחָגַר**, to give, cf. Ges. 63, 3, Rem. 2. The reading **וְחָגַר**, found in some MSS. is either for **וְחָגַר** (i. e. the hiph. inf. const. of **וְחָגַר** used imperatively, like an infin. absol.), or better for **וְחָגַר**, second fem. Imper., cf. Green, *Gram.*

164, 2. — On the **וְחָגַר**, Wright quotes the following explanation from Schroeder, *De Vest. Mul. Heb.*: "Quia adeo ampla erant veterum pallia, ut pars in humerum rejiceretur, altera brachio subduceretur, Rutha, prehendens aliquam partem ejus sinu oblatas a Boaso fruges excepit. Imo aliam vestem quam *pallium* ne admittere quidem ipse textus videtur. Nam ex verbis **וְחָגַר**, *da vestem quæ est super te*, haud obscure colligitur, vestem intelligendam esse totum corpus tegentem; quoniam alias pro genio linguæ Hebraeae, specialius membrum corporis cui illa applicata fuisset, expressis potius verbis fuisset nominatum. Accedit quod aliud quodecumque tegumentum, nonnisi uni corporis parti, v. g. capiti, distinctum, ad usum, quem volebat Boasus, fuisset ineptum. Neque insolitum id veteribus fuit, ut in sinu vestimenti exterioris aliquid deportarent." — Tr.]

[9 Ver. 15. — **וְחָגַר**, "and he went." Wright proposes to read **וְחָגַר**, "and she went," on the ground that many MSS. have this reading, and that there seems to be no reason why Boaz should go to the city at so early an hour. The MS. authority, however, loses all its force when the strong probability is considered that the reading is only a conjectural emendation. Wright's other ground is by no means decisive. The simple idea is, that Boaz, after he had dismissed Ruth, also went to the city, probably to his house, whence afterwards he "went up" (**וְחָגַר**, expressive of the reverence with which the mind regards the place of judgment, cf. Deut. xvii. 8), to the gate, ch. iv. 1. So Kell; but cf. Dr. Cassel on ch. iv. 1. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 7. **And Boaz ate and drank, and was cheerful.** It illustrates the simplicity of ancient patriarchal times and manners, that Boaz, the wealthy proprietor of a great estate, himself keeps watch on his threshing-floor, works till late, and then betakes himself to rest in the solitude of the open field.¹ It is clear that he did not do this every day; for the well-informed Naomi says, "to-night he winnows barley." It is probable that this night he relieved his overseer. The remark, that "his heart was cheerful," is not added without a reason. It is not, however, intended to indicate that this was why Ruth was directed to present her petition after he had eaten and drunk. It is true, indeed, that it was a current and probably well-founded maxim among the ancients that requests should not be made of great men before, but after eating (cf. Esth. vii. 3), they being then more kindly disposed. But Ruth made no use of this post-prandial benevolence, for she allowed Boaz to betake himself to rest before she approached him. These words are rather designed to point out the danger encountered by Ruth on the one hand, and the virtue of Boaz on the other.

¹ [The same practice is still continued in Palestine, cf. Rob. ii. 83; Thomson, ii. 511. Its design is, of course, to keep the grain from being stolen. Thomson says, that "it is not unusual for husband, wife, and all the family to encamp at the threshing-floors, and remain until the harvest is over." — Tr.]

Ver. 8. **And it came to pass at midnight,** etc. Boaz had laid himself down; it had become dark. Thereupon Ruth had come, and had laid herself softly down at his feet, drawing over herself a part of the cover under which he lay. The simple narrative paints most beautifully. It was midnight, when, perhaps, by a movement of his foot, bringing it in contact with the person of Ruth, he was startled out of his sleep. He bends himself forward² in order to see what it is he touches, and lo, a woman lies at his feet! He says, Who art thou? and she answers:

Ver. 9. **I am Ruth thine handmaid; spread thy wings over thy handmaid, for thou art a redeemer.** Ruth had been sent to demand the fulfillment of an ancient right. This right, peculiar as it was, had its symbol, under which it was claimed. We are made acquainted with it by the words addressed by Ruth to Boaz, and by her action in drawing an end of his coverlet over herself. The words are not contained in the instructions of Naomi to Ruth, as to what she is to do; but the action taught her, necessarily presupposes them. Marriage is a resting-place. The wife finds rest under the protection of her husband, as Israel finds it under the overshadowing wing of Jehovah

² **וְחָגַר**, as it is said of Sampson, Judg. xvi. 29, that he bent over the pillars, **וְחָגַר**.

Even until the latest times, the figurative representation of God as the loving Bridegroom of his people, continues, instructively and sublimely, to run through Scripture and tradition. Christ says (Matt. xxiii. 37): "How often would I have gathered you, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings." Israel has rest (*menuehah*) when God spreads out his wings over them. The psalmist prays to be covered by the shadow of Jehovah's wings. Boaz says to Ruth (chap. ii. 12): "May thy reward be complete, since thou hast come to take refuge under the wings of Jehovah, the God of Israel." That which Ruth there did with respect to the God of Boaz, she now asks to be permitted to do with respect to Boaz himself. The husband gives "rest" to his wife by spreading out his wings over her. For this reason the covering of his bed, under which he took the wife, was designated by the beautiful term, "wing" (cf. Dent. xxiii. 1 [E. V. xxii. 30], etc.). Very attractive is the use of this expression, with figurative application to God, in Ezekiel, when Jehovah, speaking through the prophet, says (ch. xvi. 8): "Behold, thy time was the time of love; and I spread out my wing over thee, and covered thy nakedness, . . . and entered into a covenant with thee." As the chicken takes refuge under the wings of the hen, so Ruth hid herself under a corner of the coverlet of Boaz. It was the symbol of the right which she had come to claim. "Spread out thy wings over thy handmaid; for thou art a redeemer (*goel*)." It is because he is a blood-relative that she can make this demand. Hence, she does not say, I am Ruth, the Moabitess; but, I am Ruth, thy handmaid. Here, where she lays claim to an Israelitish right, she drops all remembrance of Moab. And has he not himself received and treated her as an Israelitish maiden?

Undoubtedly this symbolical method of claiming the most delicate of all rights, presupposes manners of patriarchal simplicity and virtue. The confidence of the woman reposes itself on the honor of the man. The method, however, was one which could not easily be brought into operation. For every foreknowledge or pre-intimation of it would have torn the veil of silence and secrecy from the modesty of the claimant. But when it was once put into operation, the petition preferred could not be denied without disgrace either to the woman or the man. Hence, we may be sure that Naomi did not send her daughter-in-law on this errand without the fullest confidence that it would prove successful. For it is certain that to all other difficulties, this peculiar one was added in the present case: namely, that Boaz, as Ruth herself says, was indeed a *goel*, but not the *goel*. The answer of Boaz, also, suggests the surmise that such a claim was not wholly unexpected by him. Not that he had an understanding with Naomi, in consequence of which he was alone on the threshing-floor; for the fact that he was startled out of his sleep, shows that the night visit was altogether unlooked for. But the thought that at some time the claim of Ruth to the rights of blood-relationship might be addressed to himself, may not have been strange to him. Even this conjecture, however, of what might possibly or probably take place, could not be used to relieve Ruth of the necessity of manifesting her own free will by means of the symbolical proceeding. The ancient usage spoke a discreet language, with which not even a certain mutual understanding would have dispensed. For the rest, how truly the action of Ruth, far from clouding her womanly delicacy, was a new evidence of

the nobility, purity, and genuine love that ruled her, is unequivocally testified to by the answer of Boaz.

Ver. 10. **Blessed be thou of Jehovah, my daughter! Thou hast made thy latter kindness even more beautiful than the former.** This answer also opens to our view the simple, unassuming soul of Boaz, whose modesty and sincere heartiness are truly admirable. He makes no complaint of being disturbed in the night, nor of the too great importunateness, as another might have deemed it, with which the request is made. On the one hand, he entertains no thought of abusing the confidence of the woman, nor on the other does he play the modern conservator of virtue, who loudly blames another because he distrusts himself. He has only words of divine benediction for the blameless woman, so attractive in her naive humility. He knows how to value her act in its purely objective character, apart from every consideration of its relation to himself, as only a heart trained by the word of God could do. He blesses Ruth, whom like a father he addresses as "my daughter," because he found her present kindness yet nobler and more beautiful than the former. But how is that to be understood? Ruth's former kindness approved itself, when, after the death of her husband, she left parents and home in order to console and take care of her mother-in-law, unmoved by the certainty of misery and humiliation in a foreign land. What does she now? Young, comely, and favorably known, she might before this have looked out a husband according to her wish, rich or poor, from among the young men of Israel. Did she do it? By no means; she subordinates every such possibility to her mother-in-law and the usages of Israel. Instead of preferring the love of a young man, as were natural, — says Boaz, — thou comest to assert thy right with one more advanced in life, solely because he is a *goel*. Thou askest him for the protection of his wings, in order that a blood-relative may again raise up a name for thy husband and mother-in-law in Israel. In this, also, thou offerest thine own heart and happiness as a sacrifice of love to thy family! It is indeed possible that as Boaz intimates, Ruth's present act of kindness was even a severer test of her love than the earlier. For those, done in the time of sorrow and mourning, were for that very reason easier than this, rendered at a time when perhaps a new life and fresh joy had been offered her. But the modesty of Boaz was too great. It is doubtless correct to think of him as a contemporary of Elimelech, and consequently no longer young. But in ancient as in modern times, a woman like Ruth will find a more engaging "rest" with a man like Boaz than she would find among thousands of young men.

Ver. 11. **And now, my daughter, fear not.** Trembling with excitement, Ruth had done as she had been directed; and in the darkness of the night, the tremulous tones of her voice had informed Boaz of her anxiety. What he had hitherto said, contained no decision, but only praise. She, however, trembles for the answer to her prayer, on which so much depended. Hence, he says, again addressing her by the kindly name of daughter, "fear not." As above he invoked on her, in Jehovah's name, a full reward, because, led by love to Israel, she had trustfully come to take refuge under the wings of Israel's God, so he will not deny her who has come to himself to ask for the protection of his "resting-place." Her Moabitish nationality can offer no obstacle, since he has already

commended her to the blessing of Jehovah. She has shown no Moabitish morals. There exists no ground whatever for denying her the rights of Israel. For the whole gate of my people knows that thou art a brave woman. In the words "my people," he hints at the sole reason on which a refusal could base itself. But there is no Israelite among us in Bethlehem, who does not know how good thou art.¹ Whatever thou hast a right to claim, can be unhesitatingly done for thee, for thou art loved by all.

Ver. 12. But yet there is a redeemer nearer than I.² These words teach us that what Ruth demanded was an actual objective right, which belonged to her. Although Boaz perhaps surmised that, apart from the consideration of her right, she applied with special confidence to himself for the boon desired, he modestly and considerably decides only on the question of her formal right. Her proceeding receives its unimpeachable justification only when putting aside every personal inclination, it simply regards the matter of right. Thy claim, he says, cannot be gainsaid; but I am not the one to whom it is to be directed in the first instance. There is another, who is more nearly related to Elimelech. But he does not leave her a moment in doubt, whether this be not an excuse for refusing her petition. If that other person prove not able to fulfill his duty, then he himself will do it. This he confirms with an oath by the living God. Nor will she be required to repeat the proceeding of this night. A noble, womanly heart — this is what his tenderness implies — does not dare to undertake such a mission more than once. He himself will prosecute the matter. The symbolic act with which she came to him, addressed itself not so much to him, individually, as through him to the whole family. Perhaps he knew very well that Naomi had for good reasons sent Ruth to his threshing-floor, — that the other relative would not be able to act as redeemer; but it is best for both Ruth and himself that due regard be had to formal right.

Ver. 13. Abide here to-night; lie down until the morning. He repeats the same injunction twice. He cannot send her away in the darkness of night; nor is he afraid to let her remain. She, for her part, hears his words, and obeys, with equal confidence. But she is only to remain till earliest dawn. Before it was possible to recognize each other clearly,³ both were up; that it might not be known that the woman came into the floor.⁴ By an early departure, he hopes that Ruth may escape meeting with any one, who might put injurious suspicions into circulation. He undoubtedly speaks of "the woman," with special

emphasis. It would have been very unpleasant to Boaz to have people connect himself with any woman in a suspicious way; but scandalous rumors of this kind, with Ruth for their object, would have been exceedingly injurious. To say nothing of the fact that an undeserved stain would have been fixed on the good name of Ruth, it would have rendered it very difficult for him to prosecute her claims in Bethlehem.⁵

But as she is about to go, he bids her first spread out her cloak or shawl, into which he empties six measures of barley,⁶ to be carried home to her mother-in-law. What is his intention in this act? That, as he says, she "come not empty to her mother-in-law." A mere sign of his friendly disposition, it cannot have been; for Ruth will tell her all that he has said. He must have had other reasons for not wishing her to go away empty. If notwithstanding every precaution, Ruth was recognized when she returned from the threshing-floor, her appearance, laden with grain, would be less suspicious, than if she were met dressed up as a fine lady. Thus laden, it was usual to see her come from the fields of Boaz. Thus, the last occasion of possible suspicion was cut off. Still, the whole significance of the proceeding is not exhausted with this. Decided stress is laid on the fact that he gave her six measures of barley. When Ruth comes home, and Naomi asks, "Who art thou, my daughter," *i. e.* "how comest thou? as one whose claim has been acknowledged, or otherwise?" she informs her mother-in-law of all that Boaz said, and expressly adds, what the reader has already been informed of, and what if only the liberality of the giver came into consideration, Naomi could see without being told: "these six measures of barley gave he me." She evidently deems it important that Naomi should know, that he gave her just six measures of grain. The old Jewish expositors have made all sorts of allegorical attempts with this "six." They are undoubtedly so far right, that apart from the friendly custom of sending visitors away enriched with gifts for their families, Boaz, on this occasion, meant to give a hint to Naomi of the result of Ruth's application. This result was, that in any event Ruth would obtain a "resting-place." The number six is the symbol of labor and service, which is followed by seven, the time of rest. Whoever has served six years, is released in the seventh. Naomi receives what she may take as an intimation that the time has come, when after long labor she must let Ruth go out free. The day of rest is at hand.

Ver. 18. And she said, Remain quiet [cf. Gen. xxxviii. 11], my daughter. Ruth is to remain at home, like an affianced bride. From both words

1 "All know that thou art a good woman." The LXX., with singular literariness, render אֵת הַיָּהוָה בְּיָמֶיךָ by γυνή δυνάμεως.

2 The Mishnah (*Ruth Rabba*, p. 34 b), which would fain hold fast to the letter of the law, which speaks only of the brother as *goel*, thinks that the name of the nearer relative was Tob (cf. ver. 13). As if Boaz had intended to say: "If Tob will redeem thee, let him redeem." But Ibn Ezra already found this unsuitable, and ch. iv. makes it wholly impossible.

3 The Talmud (*Berachoth*, p. 9 a) teaches how to measure the break of day. The Mishna had decided day-break to begin when it becomes possible to distinguish between white and blue; R. Mair, when a wolf and a dog — R. Akiba, when an ass and a wild ass — could be distinguished. "But others said, when one sees and recognizes another person at the distance of four *elis*."

4 [WRIGHT: "These words express Boaz's opinion, which he had previously intimated to Ruth; for the use of the

article (the *i. e.* this woman) forbids us to suppose that they were actually addressed to Ruth. The Targumist, probably influenced by this reason, and considering it unlikely that Boaz should have been alone in the threshing-floor, renders: "and Boaz said to his young men," etc. — Tr.]

5 The Mishna (*Jebamoth*, li. 8) determined that one suspected of previous intercourse with a foreigner, even though she were a convert, was not allowed to perform the duty of levirate marriage.

6 The measure is not given; the expression is simply: "six of barley." It made a considerable load, for he had to put it on her. The allegorical interpretation of the Mishnah (in the *Targum*) brings out six descendants of Ruth, namely, David, Daniel, "the companions" (Dan. i. 6) and "the king, Mosaic" *Ruth Rabba*, p. 34 a, counts eight descendants with six prominent characteristics. In this case, Hezekiah and Josiah are added to the others already named.

and actions of Boaz, Naomi perceives that he will not rest, until he makes good his promise. This very day will decide the issue of the matter. And whatever that issue may be, it will not be without a blessing. "The man will not rest, until he have provided for thee a resting-place."

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

"And now, my daughter, fear not; I will do to thee all that thou sayest." The faith of Boaz is such as leads to action. He not only instructs, by his prophetic words to Ruth (ch. ii. 12), and by the pious spirit that breathes in his intercourse with his servants; he not only gives, moved by sympathy sprung from faith; he not only enters into the necessities and anxieties of Ruth; but he has also a clean heart, in which no impure thought arises, and stands as firm in the hour of temptation and secrecy as when the eyes of all Bethlehem are upon him. He is an Israelite not only before man, but also before God alone. And it was because he did not forget, what man is naturally so prone to forget, that God sees him, that he is so mindful of his duty. Hypocrites, when alone, are different from what they appear in company; Israelites like Boaz feel and act in the presence of the all-knowing God alone, not otherwise than they would if all the stars of heaven and all the creatures of earth could testify against them. Boaz showed an active faith when he gave no place to temptation. Pious and offenseless as he was when Ruth came to claim the right of the poor, he is equally so now when she

asks for her right of redemption. Then the question was only about a few ears of grain, now it involves his own person and estate. Then he was kind in the presence of Ruth's humility, now he is humble in the presence of her claim to be righted. Then he forgot herself in the fact that she had left the land of Moab; now he forgets that she had ever owned another law than that of Israel. Then his tender delicacy made Ruth assured of her safety in his fields; now that same delicacy understands that since she has come to him, the right she claims must be fulfilled. He might have released himself by the letter of the law to which she appeals,—there was a nearer relative; but his faith is an active faith. The question was one of right, not of ingenious play with the letter. The claimant must be satisfied; and he does what he promised to do. Freely and purely, full of that love which is the characteristic of faith, he keeps himself and keeps his word. People speak of a man's "word of honor;" it were more correct to speak of "the word of a Christian," "the word of a confessor of God." For only the Christian does not walk in the crooked ways of intrigue and false advocates.

STARKE: "Christian, behold the kindness and gentleness of Boaz! Will it then be possible that God, when thou art in need, will send thee empty away? Never! his generous hand is never closed. Only open Him thy heart, and divine gifts flow in upon thee, without any action on thy part."

THE SAME: "A Christian must be upright in word and deed."

CHAPTER FOURTH.

VERSES 1-12.

The Israelite without Guile.

- 1 Then went Boaz [And Boaz went] up to the gate, and sat him down there: and behold, the kinsman [redeemer] of whom Boaz spake ¹ came [pas-ed] by; unto whom he said, Ho, such a one! turn aside, sit down here. And he turned aside, and sat
- 2 down. And he took ten men of the elders of the city, and said, Sit ye down here.
- 3 And they sat down. And he said unto the kinsman [redeemer], Naomi, that is come again out of the country [territory] of Moab, selleth [sold] a parcel of land
- 4 [the field-portion], which *was* our brother Elimelech's: And I thought to advertise thee [determined to inform thee ²], saying, Buy *it* before the inhabitants [the sitters, *i. e.* those present ³], and before the elders of my people. If thou wilt redeem *it*, redeem *it*; but if thou ⁴ wilt not redeem *it*, then tell me, that I may know: for *there is* none to redeem *it* besides thee; and I *am* after thee. And he said, I will redeem *it*.
- 5 Then said Boaz, What day thou buyest ⁵ the field of the hand of Naomi, thou must buy [thou buyest] *it* also of Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of the dead, to raise up
- 6 the name of the dead upon his inheritance. And the kinsman [redeemer] said, I cannot redeem *it* for myself, lest I mar [injure] mine own inheritance: redeem thou my right [my redemption, *i. e.* that which it is my right or duty to redeem] to myself; for I cannot redeem *it*. Now this *was* the manner [custom] in former time in Israel concerning [in cases of] redeeming and concerning [in cases of ex-] changing, for to confirm all things [every matter]; a man plucked off his shoe, and gave *it* to his
- 8 neighbour: and this *was* a [omit: a] testimony ⁶ in Israel. Therefore [And] the kinsman [redeemer] said unto Boaz, Buy *it* for thee. So [And] he drew off his

- 9 shoe. And Boaz said unto the elders, and unto all the people, *Ye are* witnesses this day, that I have bought all that *was* Elimelech's, and all that *was* Chilion's and 10 Mahlon's, of the hand of Naomi. Moreover, Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, have I purchased [acquired]* to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren, and from the gate of his place: *ye are* witnesses this day. And all the people that *were* in the gate, and the elders, said, *We are* witnesses. The Lord [Jehovah] make the woman that is come [that cometh] into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel: and do thou worthily [i.e. make thou 12 strength] in Ephrathah and be famous [and get a name] in Beth-lehem: And let thine house be like the house of Pharez [Perets, Perez], whom Tamar bare unto Judah, of the seed which the Lord [Jehovah] shall give thee of this young woman.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 1. — Sc. "to Ruth," ch. iii. 12. אֶת־רֹּחַ is the accus. after הִבְרֵר, cf. Gen. xix. 21; xxiii. 16. — On the forms סִבְרָה and לִבְרָה, cf. Ges. 48, 5; 72, Rem. 3; 69, 3, 2; on לִבְרָה, 72, Rem. 4. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 4. — Lit. "And I said, I will uncover thine ear," i. e. I determined to inform thee. אֶת־אָזְנוֹ, is the same in sense as the fuller אֶת־אָזְנוֹ בְּלִבִּי, Gen. xvii. 17, etc., cf. Ex. ii. 14, etc. It might be supposed to refer to what Boaz said to Ruth, ch. iii. 12 f.; but as Ruth is not spoken of until the next verse, this is less likely. The expression "to uncover the ear," originated in the practice of removing the hair that hangs over the ear, for the purpose of whispering a secret to a person. In general it means to communicate anything confidentially, but is here used in the wider sense of imparting information. The suffix of the second per. in אֶת־אָזְנוֹ is perhaps best explained by regarding the whole clause after אֶת־אָזְנוֹ as mentally uttered by Boaz, while considering how to proceed in the matter of Ruth. In this consideration, the nearer kinsman was present to his mind, and to him he addressed the conclusion, which he now only rehearses, "I will inform thee," etc. — Tr.]

[3 Ver. 4. — So Dr. Cassel. Kell: "Many translate הַיֹּשְׁבִים by 'inhabitants,' sc. those of Bethlehem. But although according to ver. 9, a goodly number of the people, besides the elders, were present, this can scarcely be conceived to have been the case with the inhabitants of Bethlehem generally, so as to meet the requirement of הַיֹּשְׁבִים. Nor would the inhabitants have been named before, but as in ver. 9, after, the elders as principal witnesses [but cf. ver. 11]. For these reasons אֶת־אָזְנוֹ is to be taken in the sense 'to sit,' and הַיֹּשְׁבִים is to be understood of the same persons who form the subject of הַיֹּשְׁבִים in ver. 2, the elders. The following הַיֹּשְׁבִים אֶת־אָזְנוֹ is to be taken explicatively: before those who sit here, even before the elders of my people." — Tr.]

[4 Ver. 4. — The *Text. Recept.* reads אֶת־אָזְנוֹ, third per., concerning which Kell remarks, that "it strikes one as singular, since one expects the second person, אֶת־אָזְנוֹ, which is not only read by the LXX., but also by a number of MSS., and seems to be required by the context. It is true, the common reading may (with Sebastian Schmidt, Carpov, and others) be defended, by assuming that in uttering this word Boaz turned to the elders, and so spoke of the redeemer as of a third person: 'if he, the redeemer here, will not redeem;' but as this is immediately followed by a resumption of the direct address, this supposition — to our mind at least — seems very artificial." — The substitution by the Keri אֶת־אָזְנוֹ for אֶת־אָזְנוֹ is not necessary, cf. Ges. 127, 3 b. — Tr.]

[5 Ver. 5. — הַיֹּשְׁבִים. Kell: "According to sense and connection, this form must be the second per. masc.; the ם at the end was either added by a slip of the pen, or it arose from an original ם, so that we must read either הַיֹּשְׁבִים (with the Keri) without an accusative, or, with an accusative, הַיֹּשְׁבִים, 'thou buyest it.'" — Tr.]

[6 Ver. 7. — הַיֹּשְׁבִים. Gesenius and Fürst define this word here as "custom having the force of law," "attested usage." Dr. Cassel's rendering, *Weisthum*, is probably intended to convey the same idea (cf. Hoffmann's *Wörterb.*). But it seems better to take the word here in its proper sense of "attestation," as in E. V. So the ancient versions, Bertheau, Kell, etc. Cf. the root אָזַר. — Tr.]

[7 Ver. 10. — The Heb. הִבְרֵר is less specific than our word "purchase." It means to obtain, to acquire; which may be done in a variety of ways. The rendering "purchased" is unfortunate in this particular case, as it tends to convey the erroneous idea that Ruth was treated as a chattel, or at least as a sort of *adscripta gleba*. The same word is used also in vers. 4, 5, and 9, where there is no particular objection to represent it in English by "buy," although "acquire" would be preferable for the sake of uniformity. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 1. And Boaz went up to the gate, and seated himself there. Very early, even before Ruth with her burden of barley had yet started for home (ch. iii. 15), Boaz, energetic in deed as he was kind in word, took the way to Bethlehem. It

was necessary to set out so early, in order to be sure of reaching the gate before the person with whom he wished to speak, and who like himself was probably in the habit of coming to the city from the country. The gate, it is well known, was the place where judicial business was transacted and markets were held (Deut. xxi. 19 ff.; cf. Ps.

exxvii. 5). This is still the case in the East. In Zach. viii. 16, the prophet says: "Judge truth and the judgment of peace in your gates;" on which Jerome (ed. Migne, vi. p. 1474) remarks: "It is asked, why among the Jews the gate was the place for administering justice. The judges sat in the gates that the country-people might not be compelled to enter the cities and suffer detriment. Sitting there, they could hear the townsmen and country-people as they left or entered the city; and each man, his business finished, could return at once to his own house." At the gate was the proper *forum*; and it is certainly more satisfactory than all other explanations of the Latin word, to derive it, notwithstanding the later central situation of the place to which it was applied, from the archaic *fora*, gate, whence *foras*, cf. *biforis*, *septiforis*.

Certain Some-one, come and seat thyself. We have here the whole course of an ancient legal procedure before us, with its usages and forms. The fact that Boaz sat at the gate, plainly declared that he sought a judicial decision. When the person for whom he waited made his appearance, he made no delay to seat himself as requested, for the language addressed to him was a formal judicial summons. His name is not mentioned. *Peloni almoni* is a formula like our German N. N. [used as in English we now generally use a simple — or "blank." — Tr.] In former times, it was customary among us, in legal documents, to use in the same way names that were very common, such as Hans, etc. (cf. my *Erf. Bilder u. Brünche*, p. 29). The underlying idea of *Peloni almoni* is a different one from that of *δῆῶνα* (cf. Matth. xxvi. 18) or *quidam*. It intimates that the name is unknown and hidden. It conveys the idea of *anonymus*, in every sense of the word. There is an ancient explanation to the effect that the name of the first *goel* is not given, because he was unwilling to raise up a name for his deceased relative. This is the reason, probably, why the LXX. here have *κρυφίε*, "hidden one." Without maintaining this, but even supposing that the narrator omitted the name merely because he did not know it, it remains none the less an instructive fact that he who was so anxious for the preservation of his own inheritance, is now not even known by name.

Ver. 2. He took ten men of the elders of the city. That the number of elders in any city was not necessarily limited to ten, may be inferred from Judg. viii. 14; but ten were sufficient to form a college of witnesses. In post-biblical times it was a maxim that an assembly for religious worship (*עֲדָתָא*, "congregation"), must consist of ten persons (cf. the Jerus. *Targum* on Ex. xii. 4); but the attempt of the Mishna (*Sanhedrin*, i. 6) to ground this biblically on the supposed fact that the ten faithless spies are spoken of as a congregation (Num. xiv. 27), can hardly be deemed satisfactory. The custom, however, of selecting exactly ten men for such service as was here required, was so old and well-established among the Jews, that the term *עֲדָתָא*, "number," by itself, meant ten persons.

יְהוֹאֵל. It is only necessary to refer to the Commentaries of Bertheau and Keil, to perceive in what respects I have deemed it needful to depart from their expositions of this passage. Benary (*de Hebraeorum Leviratu*, Berlin, 1835, p. 23 ff.), following Jewish example, has made Boaz a nephew, and the *Peloni* a brother, of Elimelech. But no great stress is to be laid on this tradition. *אֲחִי*, brother, as our passage itself shows, is often used where the relationship is more distant than that which exists between

Others, it is true, as we learn further on, had assembled about the two relatives; but the ten elders formed, so to speak, the necessary official witnesses.

Ver. 3. The inheritance of our brother¹ Elimelech, Naomi has sold. The expositors, with one consent, demand by what right Naomi could sell the inheritance of Elimelech, since the Mosaic law contains nothing to indicate that it considered the widow as the rightful heir of her deceased husband. But this view of the law is incorrect.² The whole system of leviratical marriage presupposes that the title of the deceased husband's property vests in the widow. When a man dies childless, leaving a widow, the brother of the deceased is to marry her, in order "that the first-born may enter upon the name of the dead," *i. e.* that the name of the dead may continue to be connected with the *inheritance* which he has left behind, for in no other sense can the expression "to raise up the name of one" have any meaning in Israel; and, accordingly, in ver. 5 the words of the law, "to raise up the name of the dead," are supplemented by the addition, "upon his inheritance." But in case the brother-in-law refused to marry the widow, and consequently refused to raise up the name of his brother, he thereby also gave up all right to enter on the inheritance of his brother. The duty and the right were indissolubly connected. The law would have been illusory, if the brother, notwithstanding his refusal to marry the widow, had obtained the inheritance. In that case, possession remained with the widow, who, albeit childless, carried within herself, so to speak, the embryonic right of the heir. Of the symbolical act of drawing off the shoe, we shall speak farther on. But it is to be noted here that when the widow drew off the shoe of the recusant brother-in-law, she thereby declared that he must withdraw his foot from the possessions of his brother.

Naomi was a widow. But although she herself says (ch. i. 12) that she is too old to become a wife, even this fact gives no right to her property to any blood-relative, without marriage. Undoubtedly, the name of her husband would vanish from his estate as soon as she died; but until then it remained upon it, and Naomi had the same right and power to dispose of the property as the law gave to the husband himself. Now, in Lev. xxv. 25, we read: "If thy brother become impoverished and sell his possession, let his nearest blood-relative (*יִצְחָקוֹ הַקָּרִיב*) come to him, and redeem that which his brother sold." This contingency was here actually come to pass. Naomi had become impoverished, — she had sold. The name of Elimelech was still on the property; consequently the law demanded its redemption, and directed this demand to the nearest blood-relative. It is on the basis of this prescription, that Boaz begins his negotiation with the unnamed kinsman, in the interest of Naomi.

The sale of the land had hitherto not been mentioned. Nothing was said about it in the conversation between Ruth and Boaz on the threshing-floor. The fact that Boaz knew of it, confirms the

sons of the same parent. Blood-relatives, and even friends, are also "brothers." The very law, by which the usage now under consideration is sanctioned, uses the term in a wider sense, Deut. xxxv. 5 (cf. Hengst. *Pentateuch*, ii. 83 ff., Ryland's ed.).

² Compare the later determinations in the Mishna (*Jebamoth*, 4, 3), the spirit of which, at least, confirms what is said in the text. Both Rabbinical schools admit that a wife can sell.

surmise that before Ruth came to him with her great request, he and Naomi had already had some communication with each other. These communications, having reference to the sale of the land, and the necessity of its redemption according to law, may be regarded as having ultimately led to the proposition made by Naomi in ch. iii. 1. Naomi advanced from the redemption of the land to that of the widow, just as Boaz does here in his negotiation with the nearer kinsman.

Ver. 4. **Buy it before these who sit here, and before the elders of my people.** Boaz had said to Ruth, that he would ask the nearest kinsman whether he "will redeem thee; and if not, then will I redeem thee." But this is not the way in which he opens his address to the man. He does not mention the name of Ruth at first. He desires of him apparently only the redemption of the land. This testifies to the uncommon delicacy of legal proceedings at that time, as conducted by pious and believing persons. The cause is entirely saved from appearing as if Boaz had begun it only in behalf of the woman. Nor does Boaz put the nearer kinsman under any constraint; for he says at once: "If thou wilt not redeem it, then will I, for I come next." He admonishes the other of the duty imposed on him by the law, by the recognition of his own; while, on the other hand, he facilitates the other's decision, by intimating his readiness to render the service demanded, if the other should prefer to be excused. He says nothing of Ruth's connection with the matter. He leaves it to the kinsman himself to take the open and generally known relations between Naomi and Ruth into consideration, and to shape his answer accordingly. His address is gentle, noble, and discreet. It brings no complaint that the kinsman as nearest relative has not troubled himself about the matter in hand. It asks nothing of the other, that he is not willing to do himself. It is sufficiently discreet to wait and see how far the other will limit his duty. And withal, the interest and decision with which he urges the matter to a conclusion, make the transaction a forcible example to the people, teaching them to make the law a living spirit, and openly to acknowledge the duties which it imposes.

And he said, **I will redeem.** The kinsman, therefore, acknowledges the right of Naomi to sell, and also his own duty to redeem. But he thinks only of the land. He answers the question of Boaz only according to the literal import of its terms. By saying, "I will redeem," he declares his readiness to buy back the land left by Elimelech, but his words do not indicate whether he is conscious of the further duties therewith connected. Boaz may have expected that he would make further inquiry concerning them; but as he did not do this, Boaz could not rest contented with the brief reply, "I will redeem," seeing that he was chiefly solicitous about the future of Ruth, and that the duty to redeem not only the land but also the widow must be expressly acknowledged before all who were present. Hence he says farther:

Ver. 5. **In the day that thou buyest the field of Naomi, thou buyest it also of Ruth the Moabitess, . . . to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance.** With these words, the law of entailment as recognized in Israel, becomes perfectly clear. Elimelech had left sons, who, had they lived, would have been the

proper heirs. But they died. Now, if Ruth had not come from Moab with Naomi, Naomi would have been the sole possessor of the land. Having no means to cultivate it, she could have sold it, and the blood-relative could have bought it back without taking upon himself levirate duties, since her age rendered it improbable that they would answer the purpose for which they were instituted. But Ruth did come; and having entered into the Israelitish community, she also possesses Israelitish rights. She is, consequently, the heiress of Mahlon; and no one can redeem her inheritance, without at the same time providing for the continuance of the name of the dead. In her case, considerations like those which applied to Naomi, have no existence. Her husband Mahlon, whether he were the younger or the older brother, was an heir. Since Orpah remained in Moab, the claims of Chilion as heir, were also transferred to the estate of his brother. Separate possessions of their own, the sons of Elimelech probably had not, as long as they lived in Israel. Consequently, the land was the joint possession of Naomi and Ruth. And just because Ruth was part proprietress, the obligation existed not to let the names of Elimelech and Mahlon perish. The inheritance alone could not, therefore, be redeemed, as the anonymous relative proposed to do.

Ver. 6. **And the redeemer said, I cannot redeem it for myself, lest I injure mine own inheritance.** Thus far the kinsman has accurately acknowledged his duty as prescribed by the Mosaic law. He is ready to redeem the land. Nor does he challenge the right of Ruth, as wife of the deceased Mahlon. Why then does he think that the performance of levirate duty to her will damage his own inheritance? For although accepted even by the most recent expositors, the idea that he is influenced by the thought that the land which he is to buy with his own money will one day belong not to himself, but to his son by Ruth, has no great probability. There is something forced in an exegesis that makes a father regard it as a personal detriment and injury when his own son enters upon an inheritance. Nor could the kinsman justify himself with a ground so external, before the assembly present. No; as he has hitherto not failed to honor the requirements of the law, it is to be assumed that he deems his present refusal also to be not in contravention of its provisions. Boaz here expressly speaks of Ruth as the "Moabitess." It must be her Moabitish nationality that forms the ground, such as it is, of the kinsman's refusal. Elimelech's misfortunes had been popularly ascribed to his emigration to Moab; the death of Chilion and Mahlon to their marriage with Moabitish women. This it was that had endangered their inheritance. The *goel* fears a similar fate.¹ He thinks that he ought not to take into his house a woman, marriage with whom has already been visited with the extinguishment of a family in Israel. To him, the law against intermarriage with Moabites, does not appear to be suspended in favor of Ruth. He is unwilling to endanger his own family and inheritance; and as Ruth is a Moabitess, he holds it possible to decline what in any other case he would deem an imperative duty.

The man appears to be superstitious, and devoted to the letter of the law. He sees only its formal decisions, not the love that animates it. He fears; but love knows no fear. From anxious fears, come no nearer to it. Cf. Selden, *Uxor Hebraea*, lib. 1. cap. 9.

¹ This view of the reason of the refusal is also indicated by the Midrash (*Ruth Rabba*, 35 a). Le Clerc is very far from the right understanding. Other opinions, to which he

regard to the lower, he overlooks the higher duty. He thinks of Moab; whereas Ruth has taken refuge under the wings of the God of Israel. He does not comprehend the difference of the conditions under which Mahlon once married her, and those under which he is now called upon to act toward her. He knows not how to distinguish times and spirits. The legal severity which he would bring to bear on the noble woman, recoils on himself. He is unwilling to endanger his name and inheritance, and — history does not even know his name. While the guilt of Elimelech and his sons is removed through the love of Ruth, so that their name survives, his lovelessness toward Ruth is visited by namelessness.¹ What a priceless lesson is hereby taught! What an honor does it award to love, and what a punishment does it hold out to the superstitious Pharisee!

Ver. 7 f. **Formerly,**² in cases of redemption and exchange, a man pulled off his shoe and gave it to the other. The symbolism of the shoe, as it existed in Israel and among other nations, has been so wretchedly misunderstood and perverted, especially in the books of a man whose distorted and dishonest compilations will be injurious to many (Nork's *Mythol. der Volkssagen*, p. 459, etc.), that it will be worth the trouble to explain it, at least in outline.

The shoe is the symbol, first, of motion and wandering; secondly, of rest and possession. The following may serve to illustrate the first of these significations: When Israel is directed to eat the Passover in a state of readiness for instant departure, among other specific injunctions, is this: "your shoes on your feet" (Ex. xii. 11). With reference to the wanderings through the desert, it is said: "thy shoe did not grow old" (Deut. xxix. 4 (5)), etc.³ The wanderings of the gods form a singular feature of the old heathenism, in its search after God. The fact of their passage was often supposed to be attested by the footprints they left behind; but in Chemmis in Egypt, a blessing ensued (as Herodotus tells us, ii. 91) whenever the gigantic shoe of Perseus was seen. It was not the shoe, but the god, who brought the blessing. Heathendom, especially Germanic heathendom, continued to search and wander even after death. The dead, when buried, were provided with an *helskó*, or shoe, for the journey they had to make (Grimm, *Myth.* 795). Even until comparatively recent times, there were popular legends concerning deceased persons who lament that they received no shoe (Stöber, *Elsassische Sagen*, p. 34). In certain districts, any last token of respect shown the dead is, perhaps to this very day, called "the dead-man's shoe." The sorrowful idea expressed in the practice was that the dead must be helped on in his last journey. Simrock's explanation concerning good works is entirely erroneous (*Myth.* 154). The passage of Pope Gregory on Ex. xii. 11, means something altogether different. Gregory intends there to refer to the example of pious persons who have gone before. The Christian Church opposed, rather than favored, the heathen usage.

¹ The Greeks also spoke of an *oikos anónymos genómenos*, in case a family died out without leaving heirs to its name, Cf. *Isocrates*, xix. 35.

² **נָשַׁל**. Formerly it was customary to pull off the shoe on every occasion of exchange or barter; now, *i. e.* at the time when the writer of our Book lived, it was done only in the special case contemplated in Deut. xxv. 7 ff., and then it was removed not by the man himself, but by the

Of cognate and yet very different signification are certain passages of the Talmud and the Midrash (Jerus. Talmud, *Kelajim*, § 9, p. 23, b; *Midrash Rabba*, § 100, p. 88 a), where the aged teacher desires that when he is buried sandals may be fastened to his feet, in order that he may be able to follow after the Messiah as soon as He comes.

Luther gave utterance to the saying: "Tie a pair of sandals to his door, and let them be called 'Surge et ambula.'" Hence also the still current popular superstition of throwing the shoe on New Year's day, the alighting of which with its toe pointing outward, is considered to be indicative of departure (cf. my *Weihnachten*, p. 273).

The shoe was the symbol, secondly, of rest and possession. With the shoe one trod the earth, whence on holy ground it must be pulled off; over it, one had complete control, and hence it symbolized the power of the possessor over his possession. In the Psalms (lx. 10 (8); cviii. 10 (9)), God casts his shoe over Edom. Rosenmüller (*Morgenland*, n. 483) has already directed attention to the practice of the Abyssinian Emperor, who throws his shoe over that which he desires to have. That which in ecclesiastical architecture is called *Marienschuh*⁴ points to nothing else than the dominion ascribed by the mediæval church to the mother of God. The custom of kissing the pope's slipper, likewise refers to his dominion. The idea of the old Scandinavian legend, according to which, at the last day the wolf finally submits to Widar, who sets his shoe upon him, is that of the victory of the new earth over the old wicked enemy.

The shoe symbolized a possession which one actually had, and could tread with his feet, at pleasure. Whoever entered into this possession conjointly with another, put his foot into the same shoe, as in old German law was done by an adopted child and the wife (Grimm, *Rechtswörterb.* p. 155). Hence, when in our passage the *goel* pulled off his shoe and gave it to Boaz, he therewith surrendered to him all claims to the right of possession which would have been his had he fulfilled its conditions. Nor has that use of the shoe, of which the law speaks, in connection with the levitical institute, any different meaning. The widow, whose brother-in-law refuses to marry her, is authorized to pull off his shoe, and to spit in his face. His house, henceforth, is "the house of him that hath had his shoe pulled off." Had he performed his duty, he would have set his shoe upon the inheritance of his brother (including wife and estate) as his own. But having contemned this, he undergoes the shame of having his shoe drawn off by the widow. The shame of this consisted in the fact that he must submit to it at the hands of the woman. A man might pull off his own shoe, and hand it to another, without suffering degradation. This was done in every instance of exchange. It was but the exercise of his manly right. But when the shoe was taken from him, he was, as it were, declared destitute of every capacity and right toward the widow symbolized by the shoe, and in this consisted the disgrace.

Now, although in our passage, strictly speaking,

woman. The present case does not fall under the latter head (Cf. the *Introd.* p. 8).

³ [Wordsworth: The returning prodigal in the gospel has shoes put on his feet (Luke xv. 22); he is reinstated in the last inheritance. We, when reconciled to God in Christ, have our "feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace" (Eph. vi. 15). — Ta.]

⁴ [*Marienschuh*, "Our Lady's slipper." A sculptured representation of the flower or plant usually called "Lady's slipper." — Ta.]

a similar case to that contemplated by the law in Deut. xxv. 7 ff. occurs — for the kinsman refuses to marry Ruth — yet the ceremony of the kinsman's delivering his shoe to Boaz was significant only of his simple, voluntary renunciation of his rights. On the one hand, Ruth was not his sister-in-law; and although custom, in accordance with the spirit of the Mosaic law, acknowledged the duty even in cases of more distant relationship, the letter of the law did not reach him. On the other hand, — and this was undoubtedly a point of real weight, — his refusal to marry Ruth was itself based on regard for the law, albeit narrow and unspiritual; for from his readiness to redeem the land, it is but fair to infer that he would have been equally ready to do his duty by her, had she been an Israelitess. Inasmuch, therefore, as he thinks it possible to separate the redemption of the land from that of the woman, he comes off more honorably than would under ordinary circumstances have been the case. His language refers explicitly only to the estate, which had the effect of lessening the dishonor done to Ruth, especially as Boaz declares himself ready to take his place. Finally, according to ch. iii. 18, Ruth was not present at the negotiation, the representation of Josephus to the contrary notwithstanding.¹

Ver. 9 f. And Boaz said, Ye are witnesses this day that I have acquired (do acquire), etc. The kinsman having drawn off his shoe, in token of his renunciation of his rights as nearest *goel*, Boaz arose, and declared, fully and formally, that he acquires everything that belonged to Elimelech, and (as is now expressed at full length) everything that belonged to Chilion and Mahlon. He acquires it from Naomi; but as he cannot acquire it without also marrying the wife of Mahlon, as Ruth is here for the first time called, — for which reason he made special mention of the possession of the sons, — he adds that he takes her “to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, in order that his name be not cut off from among his brethren, and from the gate of his place.” In these words, he thoroughly, albeit indirectly, refuted the motive by which the anonymous kinsman was actuated in his refusal. When the name of a brother is to be rescued from oblivion among his own people, all scruples vanish. The fulfillment of a duty so pious, lifts a man up beyond the reach of fear. Boaz apprehends no damage to his own inheritance; but hopes rather, while taking Ruth under his wings, to repair the evil which the migration to Moab has inflicted upon the house of Elimelech. This pious magnanimity, this humble acceptance of duty, this readiness to act where the nearer kinsman hesitates, and this true insight of faith, which looked not at the birthplace of Ruth, but at what she had done for Israel and now was in Israel, and thus dissolved all superstitious fear in the divine wisdom of love, win for him also the approbation of all present. The public voice spoke well of Ruth; all knew how loving, virtuous, and self-sacrificing she was (cf. ch. ii. 11; iii. 11). Hence, not only the elders who had been summoned as witnesses, but also all the people, unitedly invoked the blessing of God upon him.

Ver. 11. Jehovah make the woman that cometh into thy house, like Rachel and Leah, which two did build the house of Israel. From Rachel and Leah came the tribes of Israel. As these built the house of Jacob, so, say the people, may Ruth build thy house. The extent of the general delight, may be measured by the fact that it wishes for Ruth the Moabitess a blessing equal to that of the wives of Jacob who were Israelitesses. The Jewish expositors point out that Rachel stands before Leah, although younger and less blessed with children, and although the tribe of Judah, and Bethlehem with it, descended from Leah. It is probable that the whole sentence was already at that time, the usual formula of blessing in Israelitish marriages. However that may be, the traditions of Israel made Rachel more prominent than Leah. Rachel was Jacob's first and best beloved. Rachel took away her father's idol images. As she suffered many sorrows up to her death, so the prophet represents her as weeping bitterly after death for her children (Jer. xxxi. 15; Matth. ii. 18). It was Rachel, too, who after she had been long unfruitful, as Ruth in Moab, had brought forth most of those sons in whom Jacob was most highly blessed. But the people desire not merely that many children may adorn her house; they proceed: *עֲשֵׂהָ חַיִּים*, may she make, produce, strength, ability, heroism.² They wish that sons may be born, who, like Boaz, shall be heroes of strength (cf. ch. ii. 1), so that “great names” may proceed out of Bethlehem.³ The blessing was most abundantly fulfilled.

Ver. 12. And be thy house like the house of Perez. After the general comes the special wish, which in this instance is of peculiar importance. Boaz was descended from Perez, and Perez was the son of Tamar. Now, although the history of Tamar (Gen. xxxviii.) is not as pure as that of Ruth, it yet contained features which might have served as precedents to Boaz. Tamar's first two husbands had died on account of their sins, and Judah, their father, would not give her the third, “lest he also die as his brethren.” This was the same motive as that which must have influenced the nearer kinsman. The very fact that he had this history before him, confirms the conclusion we have already reached concerning the grounds of his refusal. Tamar suffered injustice, her right being withheld from her. The same thing happened to Ruth. No one thought of her rights, until she laid claim to them. Tamar did the same, albeit not in the pure and graceful manner adopted by Ruth. Nevertheless, Judah, when he found himself outwitted by her, said: “She is more righteous than I,” thus acknowledging his injustice. Boaz had not been guilty of any such injustice; but he felt it his duty, in behalf of the members of his family, to see that that which had hitherto been neglected was neglected no longer. His proceeding involved an admission that Ruth had not received what was her rightful due in Israel. The confession of injustice draws after it a blessing; especially here in the case of Boaz, whose kind and noble conduct is beyond all praise.

¹ Although, singularly enough, Grotius has adopted it. On the manner in which the law against the recusant *goel* was executed in the times of the second temple, cf. the Mishna, *Jebamoth*, cap. xii.

² [It is perhaps superfluous to remark, that our author intends this as an interpretation, not as a translation. His translation is bracketed in the text. — Ta.]

³ These great names, as sprung from Boaz, would of course redound to his honor. To be nameless is to be fameless, as is illustrated in the *Peloni*. The Greeks also used ἀνόμοτος as the opposite of κλέος, i. e. in the sense of fameless, like *בְּלִי שֵׁם*. Cf. Schleissner, *Lxx.* on the LXX., i. 315.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

"Ye are witnesses this day that I take Ruth the Moabitess to be my wife." What a noble pair confront each other in the persons of Ruth and Boaz! They are types for all times of the mutual relations of man and woman. The remark of Pascal, that the Old Testament contains the images of future joy, is here especially applicable. Ruth acts to the utmost of her power out of love: Boaz is a man of unfeigned faith. Ruth takes voluntary duties upon herself from love to Naomi: Boaz meets these duties in the spirit of obedience to the commands of God. Ruth, moved by love, dares to risk the delicate reserve of woman; and Boaz offsets her deed by a delicacy of faith which would comply, if it were but to avoid wounding, and gives all, in order to satisfy. He promises everything, if only he may relieve Ruth from fear. Ruth followed into

poverty from love; and Boaz, though rich, regards only the duty prescribed by faith. Ruth was ignorant of the prejudices that stood in her way; Boaz knew and overcame them. Ruth thought she had a right to claim; Boaz was under no obligation, and yet acted. The nearest redeemer retreated, most probably because Ruth was a Moabitess; Boaz says, "Ye are witnesses that I take the Moabitess to wife." An ancient church-father says: "Boaz, in accordance with the meritoriousness of his faith received Ruth for his wife, in order that from so sanctified a marriage a royal race might be born. For Boaz, well advanced in years, received his wife, not for himself, but for God; not to fulfill the desires of the flesh, but to fulfill the righteousness of the law, in order to raise up a seed for his relative. He was inflamed more by conscience than by passion; he was old by years, but youthful by faith, — and for this perhaps he was called, Boaz — 'in him is virtue.'"

VERSES 13-22.

The Completion of the Blessing.

- 13 So Boaz took Ruth, and she was [became] his wife: and when [omit: when] he went in unto her, [and] the Lord [Jehovah] gave her conception, and she bare a
14 son. And the women said unto Naomi, Blessed *be* the Lord [Jehovah], which hath not left thee this day without a kinsman [redeemer], that his name may be [and may
15 his name be] famous in Israel. And he shall [may he] be unto thee a restorer of *thy* life [soul], and a nourisher [support]¹ of thine old age: for thy daughter-in-law,
16 which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons, hath borne him. And
17 Naomi took the child, and laid it in her bosom, and became nurse unto it. And the women her neighbors gave it a name, saying, There is a son born to Naomi; and they called his name Obed: he *is* the father of Jesse, the father of David.
18, 19 Now these are the generations of Pharez: Pharez begat Hezron, and Hezron
20 begat Ram, and Ram begat Aminadab, and Aminadab begat Nahshon, and
21 Nahshon begat Salmon [Salmah],² and Salmon begat Boaz, and Boaz begat
22 Obed, and Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David.

TEXTUAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

[1 Ver. 15. — Lit. "and may he support thine old age." On the form of פִּלְפֵּל (from פָּהַל), cf. Ges. 55, 4; on its construction after הָיָה, which here however has the force of the jussive (optative) through its connection with the preceding verb, Ges. 132, 3, Rem. 1. — On the forms הָיָה וְהָיָה and הָיָה וְהָיָה, cf. Ges. 59, Rem. 3. — Tr.]

[2 Ver. 20. — Salmah (שַׁלְמָה or שַׁלְמָה, 1 Chron. ii. 11) appears in ver. 21 as Salmon, which many MSS. read here also. Originally, the name was probably used indiscriminately either with the termination שֶׁלֶם or שֶׁלֶם. — Tr.]

EXEGETICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

Ver. 13. **And she brought forth a son.** With this happy event the last shadows disappear from the checkered lives of the two women. The fears of superstition are shown to have been groundless. Sorrow in Moab has been changed into happiness in Israel. The reward of love has begun, and Jehovah mercifully owns the daughter of Moab, who has left home and native land for his people's sake. Great are the joys which surround the cradle of the child

of such parents as Boaz and Ruth. The father of Nero is said to have made the terrible exclamation: "What shall come of a son who has me for his father and Agrippina for his mother!" But here, where love had been married to piety, humility to heroism, innocence to believing insight, everybody must look for a future of blessings. A child of Ruth and Boaz had no need of goddesses and fairies to come to its cradle, in order, according to popular legends, to bring wealth and good wishes. The blessing of the Almighty God, who looks not at the

person, but at the heart, has spread out its wings over the child.

Ver. 14. And the women said unto Naomi. What a difference between the beginning and the end of Naomi's life in Israel since her return! When she came back, poor and lonely, where were the women and neighbors, who ought to have comforted, supported, and stood by her in her necessity? Nothing is heard of them. Nobody was with her but Ruth. But now they appear with their good wishes for Naomi and praises to God; for adversity has vanished. Ruth is no longer the poor gleaner, who painfully gathers a living for her mother, but the happy wife of Boaz. A new name has been raised up for the inheritance of Elimelech.

Who hath not left a redeemer to be wanting to thee this day. It is one of the peculiar beauties of our narrative that its last words are almost wholly devoted to Naomi (vers. 14-18). And justly so; for it was Naomi who by her exemplary life in Moab had been the instructress of Ruth. For her sake, the noble woman had come to Israel. Upon her, affliction had fallen most severely (ch. i. 13), bereaving her of both husband and children. Against her, the hand of Jehovah had gone forth, so that she bade acquaintances to call her, not Naomi, but Mara. Moreover, a heart-union existed between herself and Ruth, such as is not often to be found between even natural mother and daughter. The happiness of Ruth would have been her happiness also, even if no national usages and habits had come in to make it such. How tender and delicate is the feeling which these usages and habits set forth, of the sacred and indissoluble character of the marriage bond. And yet modern self-conceit—that, and not Christian self-knowledge—perpetually talks of the inferiority of woman's position under the old covenant! Boaz had married Ruth, as a blood-relative of her former husband, in order to raise up the name of the latter upon his inheritance. The childless widow did not, as happens so often among us, leave the family of her deceased husband, as if she had never become a member of it. The blood-relative obtains a son by her, and the birth of this son becomes an occasion for congratulations to the mother of the former husband. The child borne by Ruth to Boaz as a blood-relative, although not the nearest, of Naomi's husband, is called by the women the *goel* of Naomi, and they praise God that he has not left Naomi without him. There is, no doubt, a legal ground for this. For the child inherits the estate of Elimelech, because its mother was formerly the wife of his son, and with this estate the life of Naomi also is connected. Not Boaz, who has redeemed the inheritance, but the child for whom he redeemed it, is the real *goel* of Naomi—the person, that is, in whom her sinking house again raises itself; for he is the son of her son's wife, albeit by another husband. He is the grandson of her family, though not of her blood. Ruth's *goel* was Boaz, but Naomi's the son of Ruth; for Ruth lives in the house of Boaz, but Naomi in that of the child, which belongs to him by virtue of his birth from Ruth. These are practical definitions of the levitical law; but how thoroughly moral the views on which they rest! how close the sympathy and brotherhood they seek to establish, and how indissoluble the marriage covenant which they presuppose!

Undoubtedly, the most moral law can become torpid, and receive only an external fulfillment or even be evaded. Laws are living and active among a people only so long as the spirit that gave them being continues to live. The conduct of the un-

known blood-relative has sufficiently shown, that the law alone could have afforded no help to Ruth and Naomi. The whole history of Naomi in Israel, after her return from Moab and up to the intervention of Boaz, testifies to the inability of the letter of the law to avert misery and distress. Boaz followed, not the letter of the law, but its spirit; and hence did more than the letter demanded. In the persons of those with whom our narrative is mainly concerned, the doctrine verifies itself that there is no law so strong as the law of love. It is this doctrine which the women also have come to recognize when they say to Naomi:—

Ver. 15. For thy daughter-in-law, who loveth thee, and who is better to thee than seven sons, hath borne him. The child, say the women, shall refresh thy soul,—the soul נַפְשִׁי, *animus*, of Naomi was bowed down with sorrow, the child will restore (הִשִּׁיב) her courage,—and support thy old age; and this, they add, not because the law makes him heir to the estate of his mother's family, but because Ruth has borne him. The revivification of Naomi's happiness through the birth of this child, was more securely guaranteed by the love of Ruth, than by friendship and blood-relationship. True, Naomi herself is childless; but seven sons could not have done for her what Ruth did. The women acknowledge now how far short the legal friendship of Israel towards Naomi has fallen, in comparison with the self-sacrifice of the daughter of Moab. And thus there comes to view here so much the more plainly, the doctrine—in its higher sense prophetic, under the old covenant—that love, living, active, self-forgetful, self-sacrificing love, transcends all law and family considerations. Christ announces the same doctrine in its highest form, when he says: "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Matt. xii. 50). Ruth's love for Naomi takes the place of physical descent. It engrafs her child, as it were, into the heart of Naomi. In itself the child is only the grandson of her family and estate; on account of Ruth's love, it becomes to her a veritable grandchild of love, nearer to her heart than if a daughter of her own had given birth to it. The power of pure and self-forgetful love, such as Ruth had entertained, could not be more beautifully delineated.

Ver. 16. And she became foster-mother to it. She took it into her lap, like an actual grandmother. She formed the child in Israelitish life and customs. She became to it what Mordecai was to Esther, an instructress in the law and Israelitish culture. The son of Ruth became to her an actual grandchild of love. For this reason the female neighbors give him a name whose signification is equivalent to Naomi's son.

Ver. 17. They called his name, Obed. There are several noteworthy points connected with this. The female neighbors, in order to give pleasure to Naomi, give the child a name. But beside this, he doubtless received a name from his parents, probably one that belonged to the family. But that given by the women continued to be his usual name, and by it he was inserted into the family genealogy. Consequently, the idea enunciated in it must have been specially characteristic. The text says: "They gave him a name, namely, a *son* is born to Naomi;" and hence they called him Obed. Now, whether the name Obed be explained as servant of God or servant of Naomi, the sense in either

case remains insipid.¹ What the women mean is, not that the child is the servant of Naomi, but that he is to her as a son.² If the words of ver. 17 are to have a plain sense; nay, if the preservation of just that name which the female neighbors gave him is to have an explanation, the name Obed must in some way express the idea of the word "son." For in this name "son," given with reference to Naomi, there is contained the idea that the sin which lay at the base of her evil fortune had been atoned for. She who lost the children of her own body, had now a son in the spirit of true love. It is true, that from the philological stores extant in the Bible, the explanation of Obed in the sense of "son" is not possible; but it may be done by the assistance of other languages. It is sufficiently clear that Obed is to be connected with the Greek *παῖδρον* (*país, paídōs*), Latin *putus*, Sanskrit *पुत्रा, putra*, Persian *puser*.³

The circumstance that Obed was used in the sense of "son," justifies the conjecture that in the Hebrew of that day there were various foreign words in use, probably introduced through Aramaic influences, without postulating a closer contact of the so-called Semitic with the Indo-germanic tongues than is usually assumed.

He is the father of Jesse, the father of David. In these words the doctrine of the whole Book reaches its point of culmination. They point out the completion of the blessing pronounced on Ruth by Boaz. The name of the superstitious kinsman, who thought that marriage with the Moabitess would endanger his inheritance, is forgotten; but from Boaz descends the Hero (*גִּבּוֹר הַיְלָל*), the King of Poets, DAVID, the Prophet, and type of the Messiah. From him Christ comes through the promise, even as Obed was the son of Naomi through the love of Ruth.⁴ The doctrine of the whole narrative is expressed in the words of the Apostle, "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

NOTE. — Verses 18-22 are an addition from the genealogical tables of the House of David. The chronological question involved in them must be considered in connection with the other analogous data, for which reason we refer here to 1 Chron. ii. 8 ff.

HOMILETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

"*Naomi took the child.*" Whoever was once capable of true love, preserves its power forever after. Throughout her history, until the close of the narrative, Naomi's name is truly descriptive of her character. Her love is the cause of the bless-

1 The subterfuge of Le Clerc, who proposes to read *אִבְד*, in the sense of "unfortunate, poor one," with reference to the poverty once suffered by Ruth, is entirely wrong, to say nothing of the fact that the word itself does not have the sense which he assigns to it.

2 [But is not the emphasis to be laid on "to Naomi" rather than on "son?" It is true, that analogy leads us to expect the name to contain specifically the same idea expressed by the women (cf. however Gen. xxix. 32); but it must also be admitted (with Berth.) that Obed in the sense of "one that serves," sc. Naomi, harmonizes well with the words in ver. 15: "May he be to thee a soul-restorer, and a support of thine old age." — Tr.]

3 As regards the *עֶבֶד*, its value (best compared perhaps with a *spiritus asper*) is exactly the same as in *עֶלֶץ* to be compared with *letari* and *letus*, *עַמְלָא* with *moliri*, *עִמְקָא* with *μῆκος*, etc.

ing that finally ensues, for by it she won love. It sustained her in suffering, — it prompted her to action in behalf of her daughter-in-law. Now in the end she enjoys its blessing, and becomes the loving foster-mother of the child of her who was better to her than seven sons.

Naomi is everywhere an image of the Church of Christ, which wins, confesses, and fosters through love. Men whose natural hearts are hostile to her, become her obedient children. When there is apostasy and misery in the church, it is for priests and preachers to repent, as Naomi did, and not to excuse themselves. If they really have the spirit of love, they cannot but feel that they have to blame themselves first of all. When the church does not make converts among heathen and Jews, the attempt to lay the guilt of this judgment on them, and to excuse ourselves, is a sign of a hard heart. Alas! God alone knows what heavy loads of guilty responsibility rest on the church for having herself given the impulse by which thousands were kept from coming to the Saviour. And how greatly she sins, when she does not rightly foster those who do come, exhibiting neither love, nor wisdom, nor faith in her treatment of them, — that too will one day be made manifest. Impatience is not in love; and a little money does not make amends for the coldness of consummate self-righteousness. They are children, who are laid in the lap of the church, — children according to the spirit, that is to say real children, who, by God's grace, bring a greater blessing to the church than seven sons according to the flesh.

PASCAL: "Two laws are sufficient to regulate the whole Christian Church more completely than all political law could do: love to God, and love to one's neighbor."

"*They said, there is a son born to Naomi, and called his name Obed; he is the father of Jesse, the father of David.*" Boaz predicted a blessing for Ruth, and the faith through which he did it was rewarded by his being made a sharer in it. All he did was to utter a word of prophecy, prompted by his faith in the grace of his God, and lo, he was made the progenitor of David, the prophet! He who firmly relies on the love of God, is always a seer. Boaz had faith enough to bring about, in due time, the fulfillment of his own benediction, and became the ancestor of Him in whom all the prophecies of David are fulfilled. Of Boaz himself no warrior deeds are known, and yet the greatest of Israel's heroes, the conqueror of Goliath,⁵ sprang from him. He conquered himself, and on that account became the ancestor of Him who triumphed over sin and death. Similarly, Ruth had

4 The reference of Grotius to the traditionary history of Oerisia, who became the mother of Servius Tullius, is very unfortunate. Oerisia was a slave. Her story has no ethical background. The legends concerning her were only designed to glorify the derivation of the king. Cf. Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 375 (2d edit.).

5 It is on the ground of this contrast that Jewish tradition homiletically advanced the idea that Goliath descended from Orpah, who returned to Moab, as David from Ruth. The early teachers of the church were acquainted with this tradition, and Prudentius even introduced it into his poem, *Hamartigenia*, ver. 782: —

"Sed pristinus Orphe
Fanorum ritus preputia barbara suasit
Malle, et semiferi stirpem nutrire Golim.
Ruth, dum per stipulas agresti amburitur aestu
Fulera Booz meruit, castoque adscita cubili
Christigenam secunda domum, Davidica regna
Edidit atque deo mortales miscuit ortus."

nothing but a heart full of love, and yet to her, once a daughter of Moab, there was given what neither Deborah nor Jael obtained, — to become the mother of Him by whom all the nations are redeemed.

JEROME (ON IS. xvi. 1): "O Moab! out of thee shall come forth the unspotted Lamb, which bears the sins of the world, and rules over the whole earth! From the rock of the wilderness, i. e. from Ruth, widowed by the death of her husband, Boaz

derived Obed . . . and from David came Christ."

GERLACH: "Thus the coming of the great King is prepared for, upon whom the Lord had determined to confirm the dominion over his people for evermore; and the converted Moabitess, who entered as a worthy member into the commonwealth of the people of God, became the mother of David and of Christ."

The Jewish tradition which makes Ruth a descendant of Eglon, the Moabitish king who oppressed Israel as a punishment for its sins, contains an allegory worthy of notice. The daughter of the oppressor, becomes the mother of the Liberator, the Redeemer out of the House of David. According to the Jewish expositors the name Ruth is derived from a root which signifies to give drink, to assuage thirst (*Berachoth*, 7 a); and from her, say they, David came, who with his songs and psalms supplied the wants of those who thirst after God. And from David, we may add, came the Saviour who gave to the Samaritan woman when she thirsted, of that fountain which springs up unto everlasting life.

The ancient church selected the sixteenth of July as the day on which to commemorate Ruth.¹ The reason for this is probably to be found in the following considerations: In Deut. xxiii. 3, it is said: "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of Jehovah; even to their tenth generation they shall not enter." This was supposed to have been fulfilled in Ruth. In the genealogy of the Gospel according to Matthew, Boaz, through whom Ruth was received into the congregation of Jehovah, is the tenth from Abraham. But it was the Lord and Saviour, whose day Abraham saw, and who according to the flesh descended from Ruth, who first took away the curse from Moab also. This was announced by Isaiah, when in addressing Moab, he says (ch. xvi. 5): "In mercy shall a throne be prepared, that one sit upon it in truth, in the tabernacle of David, and judge, and seek judgment, and hasten righteousness." Now, as the ancient church set apart the sixth of July for Isaiah, because he prophesied of Christ, who suffered on the sixth day of the week, and whose incarnation was celebrated on the sixth of January, it fixed the anniversary of Ruth ten days later, on the sixteenth of July. Thus her name and the number of her day are symbolical of prophecy and grace. But ten days farther on, the twenty-sixth, is the day of Anna, whom tradition makes to be the mother of the Virgin Mary. Thus the name of Ruth stood ten days after the prophecy and ten days before its approaching fulfillment, equally distant from him who prophesied of the Virgin and from her who was the Virgin's mother. The Moabitish stranger finds herself in the middle between the seer who beheld the wilderness of Moab become fruitful, and the nearest ancestress of Him who delivers Moab and all the world from barrenness and thirst.

Pictorially, the ancient church represented Ruth with a sheaf in her hand. As was natural, she was always conceived as youthful. She might be represented with a rose, in accordance with what may be the meaning of her name (see on ch. i. 4). The Rose of Bethlehem was the ancestress of the Rose of Jesse (Mary), whom ancient pictures represent sitting in a rosebush. Both rose and sheaf are symbols of the truth that though love may sow in tears, it will through God's compassion reap in joy.

¹ Cf. my article in the *Berl. Wochenblatt*, 1863, Num. 32



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