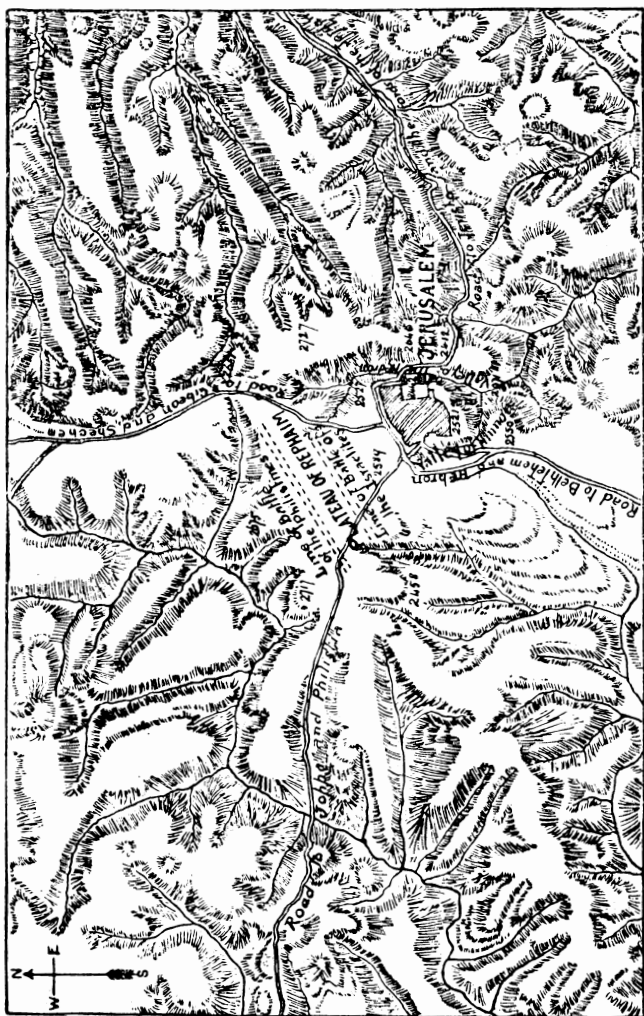


DAVID THE KING



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF REPHAIM.

[Frontispiece.]

DAVID THE KING

A HISTORICAL INQUIRY

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE
FRENCH BY LUCY HOTZ

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PREFACE



OUR ideas about David are to a certain extent conventional. Everybody has made for himself a picture of the Psalmist king, and has put into it some of his own prejudices and personality. We have French Davids, English and German ones, Davids who believe and Davids without faith, Jewish Davids, Davids Catholic and Protestant, Davids of the eighteenth and of the nineteenth centuries, all deviating from the original in a marked degree, each placed against a background in accordance with the accustomed surroundings of the painter.

My wish has been to reinstate the hero of the Biblical epic in his own times and environment, or at least to make the attempt.

My task, after all an ungrateful one—the multitude is never pleased with those who endeavour to row

against the stream of its convictions — has been rendered easier by a long experience of the East and by direct contact with its inhabitants. When one shares the life of the people, opportunities arise for looking right into their hearts and for learning their true sentiments. No doubt the thirty centuries that divide us from David are a long space of time ; but the Bible is a book which the tribes are still writing. One learns to read it by living in their midst. Such and such a celebrated sheikh of Khuzistan or Syria might be mistaken for Saul or for Joab, a certain ulema or mushtahid reminds one of Zadok or Abiathar ; this chief of Dervishes reincarnates Gad or Nathan, that woman might have been Bathsheba. To the immutability of the landscape, of customs, of civilisation, almost of the language and of beliefs, correspond an immutability of ideas, just as a mould that never changes always produces the same cast. In such a case, the obstacle to a really historic reconstruction lies rather in the neglect of certain phenomena than in their interpretation.

It is thus that, in many respects, the history of Samuel, of Saul, and of David at the moment when they were thrown together by circumstances would have been traced with less accuracy, and the picture of Israelite society at the time of David would

have been incomplete, had I not been able to assign to the prophet world the rank which it already held there, and above all to estimate its influence, by the manner in which it was exercised. The latest researches in the study of nervous diseases and the precise details given in the Bible, have happily enabled me to penetrate into a region formerly closed, to settle certain disputed questions, and to fill important gaps.

It will be no matter of surprise if the figure of the sovereign, put back into a society whose moral standard seems low indeed, rises higher in proportion as the plane of comparison is lowered ; if its features look different because they have been drawn from the life by an unprejudiced historian instead of by one who has looked too much into his inner self and has suffered philosophical speculations to influence him. It is not only the disciple of Samuel whose physiognomy will be modified. Samuel, Saul and the heroine of the celebrated drama which culminated in the death of Uriah, the birth and elevation of Solomon will of necessity appear in a new light.

With regard to a more special subject, a study of the texts and of the different places mentioned in it, following upon my works on besieging and fortification in the Ancient East, has enabled me to reproduce the state of the art of war before and after

David's reign and to give to the victor of Rephaim the position which he deserves in the front rank of famous captains.

The two campaigns and the final battle where the Philistines, completely crushed, saw the end of their power, will be discussed at length. It was a unique, an amazing passage of arms, although it has never before been properly appreciated.

I ought perhaps to have strengthened certain features, to have intensified certain tones; but for that it would have been necessary to enter into the domain of exegesis pure and simple; and I have preferred to rely upon established facts rather than to engage in controversy and to begin myself to theorise. Nevertheless, as in the centre of every pearl, there lies at the bottom of every legend an initial nucleus of formation; I have endeavoured to extract this particle of truth whenever it could be made to yield interesting details or useful information. And again, this is only by exception and such exceptions are always pointed out. With this view, the two principal sources by whose aid the Books of Samuel were composed have been made use of, as one or the other of them seemed to approach more closely to the truth, or to furnish details which appeared to be historical and interesting.

For the ineffable name of God, I have adopted

the form Jehovah, accepted since the seventeenth century. This pronunciation of the sacred tetragram is certainly wrong, but none is known to be certainly right ; and it has the advantage over the new ones of being the most usual. I have followed the same rule for proper names, retaining well-known forms even when they are inaccurate. Those who are interested in the real transcriptions will find them in every index ; other readers will forgive me saving their eyes and memory a useless fatigue, and for addressing myself to their intellect alone.

MARCEL DIEULAFOY.

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DAVID THE KING



I

Sketch of the Twelve Tribes—Slow Rise of Judah—Triumph
of Judah

DAVID was born in Beth-lehem, a small town in Judah, towards the middle of the eleventh century B.C. No heavenly signs, no cataclysms announced his advent; no legends sprang up around his cradle.

We learn from tradition that he was the son of Jesse, the grandson of Obed, and the great-grandson of Boaz and of Ruth, a Moabitish woman.¹ We are

¹ Ruth iv. 17, 21, 22; 1 Chron. ii. 12-15; Matt. i. 5. According to certain commentators the Book of Ruth is no authority. But there is no reason for doubting the information given in the last verses (17 to 22), especially as it adds nothing to the glory of David. In the Gospel of S. Matthew, Boaz is spoken of as the son of Rahab (Matt. i. 5). It is difficult to understand the desire to identify the mother of Boaz with the harlot of Jericho who rendered certain services to the Judæans during the conquest of the Promised Land. (Josh. ii. ; vi. 16, 17). No passage in the Old Testament authorises this hypothesis, and the careful comparison of the dates of the two

also told that he had seven brothers, older than himself,¹ and two sisters;² but the birthplace, and even the name, of his mother are unknown. Elsewhere it is said that in his youth he used to take care of his father's sheep.³ In connexion with the scanty indications afforded by the Books of Samuel and of Ruth, this detail shows that his family was of humble estate.

The elevation of the son of Jesse was thus not favoured either by riches or by the fame of ancient descent. His genius, Samuel's protection, the choice of Saul, were the factors of his great fortunes. But the causes of the establishment of the monarchy and the reasons which determined the Hebrews to confide the hereditary power to a member of the tribe of Judah, were not entirely owing to events contemporary with David; centuries past had a con-

Rahabs seems moreover to contradict it. Nevertheless it is certain that it was in order to wipe out the blot which they presumed existed in the genealogy of David and of Christ, that S. Paul and S. James have endeavoured to exalt a woman who was in point of fact a courtesan, a dissembler, and a traitress to her own people (S. Paul, Ep. to the Heb. xi. 31; and S. James ii. 25).

¹ 1 Sam. xvi. 6-10, and xvii. 12. The Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. ii. 13-15) gives only six brothers to David. This is the result of a confusion.

² Zeruiah and Abigail. The first was the mother of Joab, of Abishai and of Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 13, 18; iii. 30, 39; 1 Chron. ii. 16), and the second was the mother of Amasa (2 Sam. xvii. 25; 1 Chron. ii. 16, 17). The name of Zeruiah's husband is not known. By some neglect quite contrary to custom, and doubtless arising from Zeruiah's exalted rank, it is always her own name that is coupled in the Bible with those of her children.

³ 1 Sam. xvi. 11, 19. Compare with the offerings sent by Jesse to Saul and to his eldest son's officers (1 Sam. xvi. 20; xvii. 18).

siderable share in producing them. Just as kingship was the offspring of a long and disastrous experience of the patriarchal system, the selection of the royal tribe was a political phenomenon with roots penetrating the deep recesses of the past.

Researches with regard to the choice and establishment of the Judæan dynasty would be more conclusive could we go back to the early days of Israel and follow his sons in the different phases of their life. Unfortunately the first chapters of the Bible, very sparing of details in the first instance, have been changed and mutilated, and are often allegorical. Nevertheless, a few fragments, whose primitive form can be traced in spite of the "patine" of ages and additions of a later date, give some general indications of the relative importance of the tribes during the pastoral period and afford valuable help in the investigation of those distant times. Among this number are: the genealogy of the twelve ancestors from whom the tribes took their names, the census taken of the tribes,¹ the song of Deborah, the blessings of Jacob and of Moses.

The result of the comparison and accordance of these passages seems to show that the Judæans, subordinate to four more powerful tribes—those of Joseph, of Reuben, of Simeon and of Levi, for a long time occupied an insignificant position. But while the

¹ The numbers given of the combatants in each tribe must be considered as only approximate. It was a question rather of general calculations than of exact figures.

descendants of Reuben, of Simeon and of Levi decline, those of Judah become more powerful and multiply, as the three numberings of the tribes appear to prove. At the time of the Exodus, they follow closely upon the children of Joseph. Great wars take place, the conquest of the promised land is accomplished, and the Judæans continue their progress. In the marches they head the army,¹ during the halts they occupy the right wing,² when the trumpets sound the alarm they are the first to strike their tents.³ On the return of the spies sent into the land of Canaan, notwithstanding the murmurs of the other tribes, they advocate the crossing of the Jordan; and their resolute will imposes itself upon the factious.⁴ One feels that they are preparing to dispute the first place.

The division of the Promised Land allows us to classify the tribes once more in order of importance.⁵ The drawing of lots mentioned in the Bible is a pious fiction; fate spoke in the name of Jehovah. The truth is that the tribes took in their turns the share which suited them best. The most powerful was bound to have first choice, and each in turn, from the

¹ Numb. ii. 9; x. 13, 14.

² They were on the eastern wing (Numb. ii. 3) and as the army was advancing from the south to the north, it is really the right wing that is in question. The children of Joseph formed the left wing (Numb. ii. 18).

³ Numb. x. 13, 14.

⁴ Numb. xiii. 31, 32; xiv. 6-9; Josh. xiv. 7, 8.

⁵ Whatever may be the date assigned to the edition of this passage See below, p. 6, &c.

strong to the weak, chose the best out of the remaining portions. The Book of Joshua adds that the Judæans had the honours of the division. Even before consulting the Lord, the people recognised their right to occupy in the Land of Canaan whichever region pleased them best.¹ The historical value of this tradition has been disputed. But at any rate the importance of the portion assigned to the Judæans a portion so large that they could cede part of it to Simeon,² and perhaps even the beginning of the book of Judges, bear witness to their prestige, their authority, and their strength.

"After the death of Joshua, the children of Israel asked of the Lord, saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first, to fight against them? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered the land into his hand."³

According to the Bible, Joseph, who had acquired the privileges of the first-born of Israel, Joseph, from whom sprang Joshua, the chief of the invading army,⁴ had to bow to Judah, and could only obtain the second lot. Then came Benjamin, Simeon who enjoyed the protection of Judah; Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, Dan, Reuben, Gad, and Levi.⁵

The settling down of the tribes on their apportioned inheritance put an end to the great evolutions of the pastoral age. Apart from a few exceptions and some passing accidents, the relative power and destiny of

¹ Josh. xiv. and xv.

² Josh. xix. 1-9.

³ Judg. i. 1, 2.

⁴ Numb. xiii. 9; Judg. ii. 9; v. 14.

⁵ Josh. xvi., xvii., xviii., xix.

each tribe seem from that moment to be bound up with the share which it has obtained. Certain particulars in the history of the Judges and the general descriptions of the tribes in the song of Deborah and the blessings of Jacob and of Moses indicate this, and show by contrast that the slow and continuous effort which brought the fourth son of Jacob to the front was still going on.

The tribe of Benjamin, established to the north of Judah, is valiant, turbulent and redoubtable. It furnishes the skilled archers and the best soldiers of Israel. Gibeah, its capital, which will later on witness the birth of Saul, becomes a strong place and a haunt of the lawless.¹ Its thick walls and its fighting men inspire such confidence among the Hebrews, that on solemn occasions the deputies of the tribes assemble at Mizpeh in its neighbourhood and under its protection.² Nevertheless Benjamin cannot drive away the enemies remaining in the very heart of its inheritance, such as the Jebusites in Jerusalem, or the Philistines in Michmas and in Geba.³

Simeon becomes absorbed in Judah.⁴ In the time of the last Judges it no longer exists as a separate tribe.⁵

¹ Judg. xix. 14, &c. ; xx. 4, &c.

² Josh. xviii. 26 ; xx. 1, 3 ; 1 Sam. vii. 16 ; xvii.

³ The Geba here mentioned is not the same as the acropolis of the Benjamites. Many towns built on heights took from their situation the name of Gibeah or Geba (Josh. xv. 63 ; Judg. i. 21 ; 1 Sam. x. 5 ; xiii. 2, 3, 5, 16, 23).

⁴ Judg. i. 3, 4, 17.

⁵ This is at least what may be inferred from the blessing of Moses. Simeon is not mentioned there.

Zebulun and Issachar, settled towards the north, produce Judges of no particular notoriety: Tola and Elon.¹

Naphtali guards the northern marches and gives birth to Barak,² who, under the orders of Deborah leads the forces of his tribe and those of Zebulun, at the battle of Megiddo.³

It is the mission of the tribe of Asher, like that of its two neighbours Naphtali and Zebulun, to grow at the expense of Phœnicia. All three are lacking in the spirit of adventure, but they get hold of the roads which lead from Tyre and Sidon into Egypt, Arabia, and Chaldæa. By a sort of tacit compromise they leave them open to foreign trade, and in return obtain permission to occupy a zone of Phœnician territory under the title of colonists. The towns of Kitron, of Nahalol in Zebulun, of Acco, of Aphik, of Rehob in Asher, of Beth-shemesh and of Beth-anath in Naphtali, thus become common to the Israelites and to their neighbours in the west.⁴

The verses devoted to Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Asher in the blessings of Jacob and Moses depict the comfort and peace enjoyed by the younger sons of Leah and of the concubines ever since, commanded by Deborah, they had overcome the Canaanites who overran their inheritance.

Dan, made famous by Shamgar and by Samson,⁵

¹ Judg. x. 1, 2; xii. 11, &c.

² Judg. iv. 6, &c.

³ Judg. iv. and v.

⁴ Judg. i. 30-33.

⁵ Judg. iii. 31; xiii.-xvi.

but continually harassed by the Philistines and the Amorites of the west,¹ finds a refuge at the extreme north of Naphtali on the southern slope of Mount Hermon, and in order to settle there subjugates the Sidonian colony of Laish.² The territory thus abandoned in the south is at once occupied by Judah.

The tribe of Reuben, which had played such a prominent part in the confederation,³ remains on the left bank of the Jordan. It is devoured by internal disputes,⁴ it declines, and falls at last to the lowest rank.⁵

The fate of the other tribes settled in the land of Gilead is very different. Cut off by the Jordan and the Dead Sea from the country on the other side, always at war with Ammon and Moab, they grow soldierlike and prosperous, and distinguish themselves brilliantly under their own judges, Jephthah and Jair.⁶ The blessing of Jacob and even more clearly that of Moses, assigning as they do an important place to one of these tribes, that of Gad, agree with history and form a valuable supplement to it. They explain how these disinherited ones triumphed in time over the children of Joseph,⁷ how they helped Ish-bosheth, the son of Saul, to recover his sovereignty over the Philistines,⁸ and how they

¹ Judg. i. 34 ; xiv., xv., xviii. 1.

³ Gen. xxix. 32 ; xlix. 3.

⁵ Deut. xxxiii. 6.

⁷ Judg. xii. 1-6.

² Judg. xviii. 7-29.

⁴ Judg. v. 15.

⁶ Judg. x. 3 ; xi., xii.

⁸ 2 Sam. ii. 9.

were able to support David against the rebellious Absalom.¹

The Levites have found their own line. After having put themselves under the protection of Joshua, they remain the allies of Ephraim, and in spite of the jealousies which they excite, and of the disgrace which pursues them,² they obtain a great empire over the souls of men. Under Eli³ they even arrive at the chief magistracy. But their political strength is not equal to their moral influence, and their authority is of too recent a date to be strong and well established.

In fact, only Ephraim and Judah remain conspicuous; for the tribe of Manasseh, notwithstanding the successes of Gideon⁴ and the ambitious designs of Abimelech,⁵ Manasseh, which will one day see realised in Samaria its judges' visions of royalty, has for a long time past been subject to the tribe of Ephraim.⁶

¹ 2 Sam. xvii. 22, 24, 27-29.

² See note L in Appendix.

³ Samuel seems to have belonged to the tribe of Levi. He was descended from Kohath, a son of Levi, whose family had for a long time past been settled in the land of Ephraim, and whose children recruited the ranks of the acolytes of the Cohen or chief of the priests at Shiloh (Exod. vi. 16, 18; Josh. xxi. 4, 5, 10, 20, 21, 26; 1 Chron. vi. 1, 2, 16, 22, 23, 26, 27, 33, 34, 61, 66). Although very early made a member of a college of prophets (1 Sam. iii. 1-20), he also occupied, under Eli, a subordinate position in the priesthood (1 Sam. i. 27, 28; ii. 11, 18, 19, 21; iii. 1, 3, 5, 15).

⁴ Judg. vi. 11, &c.; vii., viii.

⁵ Judg. ix.

⁶ Gideon's saying is well known: "Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?" (a town belonging to Manasseh, Judg. vi. 11 and 34). This superiority of Ephraim was a result of the integrity of the tribe; Manasseh was cut in two by the Jordan.

Out of Ephraim sprang many of the leaders of Israel. Joshua, Deborah, Tola, Abdon, Eli, Samuel,¹ are all more or less connected with this tribe. The most famous sanctuaries are found in its territory. Shechem² marks the spot from which the Almighty showed the Promised Land to the Patriarch Abraham. Beth-el³ recalls to memory the first altar raised in honour of Jehovah. Shiloh, sanctified by the "tabernacle of the congregation," becomes a place of general assembly, and the religious capital of Israel.⁴ It does not lose this advantage until after the disastrous battle of Aphek where the sons of Eli are killed and the Ark is captured by the Philistines. At Nob, the priests consult the ephod,⁵ which has been taken there since the loss of the Ark.⁶ And finally, Naioth possesses a college of prophets.⁷ The priests and the prophets thus seem to have incorporated themselves with Ephraim, which, jealous of its prerogatives, is often up in arms against the other tribes.⁸ But while fighting without profit against their brethren, the men of Ephraim tolerate strangers in the heart of their dominions. They abandon the mountain of

¹ Numb. xiii. 9; Judg. ii. 9; v. 14; iv. 4, 5; x. 1; xii. 13, &c.

² Gen. xii. 6, 7. For the great celebrity of Shechem, see Gen. xxxiii. 19, 20, and Josh. xxi. 21; xxiv. 32.

³ Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3, 4; xvi. 12; Judg. i. 22.

⁴ Josh. xviii. 1, 9, 10; xix. 51; xxi. 2; xxii. 12; Judg. xviii. 31; xx. 18; xxi. 19, &c.; 1 Sam. i. 3. For Shiloh, see also below, p. 24, n. 1.

⁵ See below for the ephod and the Ark, p. 180-188, and notes K and L.

⁶ 1 Sam. xxi., xxii. 9, &c.; xxiii. 6.

⁷ 1 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 22, &c.

⁸ Judg. ix., xii., xx., xxi.

Beth-el¹ to the Philistines, and then, at first through weakness, and afterwards for fear of losing the advantages of their alliance, they allow the Egyptians and the Canaanites to keep Gezer, Beth-shean, Taanach, Dor, Ibleam, and Megiddo,² that open door into their territory, that enforced halting place on the road from Egypt into Syria.

The tribe of Judah is not so brilliant as that of Ephraim, its legendary past is more modest, its sons have never sought for power; but alone among its brethren, Judah never ceases to grow. It conquers the south of the Promised Land. It extends its inheritance, drives away or subjects to its yoke the ancient masters of the soil,³ and ends by absorbing the descendants of Simeon and those of Dan remaining in the neighbourhood. In time it becomes so powerful that it disdains the other tribes, and isolates itself in its strength, forming a clearly marked division.⁴ When the lightning that heralds the storm

¹ 1 Sam. xiii. 2.

² Josh. xvi. 10; xvii. 11-13; Judg. i. 27-29.

³ Judg. i. 4-19.

⁴ Judah takes part in none of the great coalitions presided over by the Judges. Deborah (Judg. iv. v.), Gideon (Judg. vii. 23; vii. 1), Jephthah (Judg. xi. xii.), Samson (Judg. xv. 10-14), have never numbered any Judaeans among their troops. It is only when menaced that they take up arms. Judah is introduced into the song of Deborah by the Vulgate owing to an error; and in fact, except for a few verses (Judg. i. 2-10, 17-19; iii. 5-11), and some insignificant passages (Judg. x. 9; xv. 9-12; xvii. 7; xix. 1), this tribe is not spoken of in the Book of Judges. The tribes of the centre and of the north already excluded Judah from the clan of Israel, just as it became the rule to do after the schism. It is thus that even in the inscription of Mesa, the names of Judah and of Jerusalem are missing.

illuminates the horizon, all look to Judah for help. But it needs a disaster to make its children draw their heavy sword, and grave crimes to force them to chastise. Then they deliver Israel out of the hands of Chushan-rishathaim, King of Mesopotamia,¹ or again, they march against the Benjamites guilty of having violated and done to death the wife of a Levite; lay siege to Gibeah, their capital, and bury the crime beneath the ruins of the criminals' den.² By following their advance, and by taking into account their tendency to autonomy, one can already foresee that they will leave far behind them the other sons of Jacob; and that no political transformation will be durable unless they form its pivot. But one more effort, but a few years more, and Judah shall represent the whole of the chosen people, and in the language of men its name shall be substituted for that of Israel.

¹ Othniel led the army of the Israelites in this expedition (Judg. iii. 9-11). Under the pretext that Othniel might signify "Lion of God" and Caleb "Dog of God," certain historians have classed these two personages in the category of legendary heroes. The reason for this is purely one of sentiment. According to the Bible Othniel was the son of Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb, who had distinguished himself at the end of the Exodus (Numb. xiii. 31; Josh. xiv. 6-14). For Othniel see also below p. 33, n. 6.

² Judg. xx. 18. The taking of Gibeah dates from the time of Phinehas, son of that Cohen Eleazar of whom mention is so often made in the history of the Conquest. Eleazar, who dies a few years after Joshua, was supposed to be the son of Aaron. It seems, according to these data, that the siege of the capital of Benjamin took place about half a century after the occupation of the Land of Canaan.

"Judah, thee shall thy brethren praise ;
 Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies,
 Thy father's sons¹ shall bow down before thee.

Judah is a lion's whelp ;
 From the prey, my son, thou art gone up ;
 He stooped down, he crouched as a lion,
 And as a lioness ; who shall rouse him up ?

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
 Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet,
 Until Shiloh come (*i.e.* the pacification of the country is
 complete),
 And unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be."²

¹ Or rather "thy mother's sons," &c. Judah is the last of the sons of Leah, and is the fourth son of Jacob. The three eldest, sons of Leah, like himself, and to whom the Bible alludes, are Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. It seems, according to this passage, which agrees perfectly with the information given in the Book of Numbers, that at some time or other, but long before the period of the Judges, the three tribes represented by the three elder sons of Jacob had been the most powerful in the confederation. The great change which had come about in the relative order of the power of the tribes is shown by this verse.

² These are the celebrated lines which have given rise to so many controversies and polemics. Some read, "Until Shiloh (the peacemaker) come," and see in it an allusion to the Christ born of the house of David. Others understand by "the peacemaker," David himself, and conclude from that, going from the detail to the whole, that the blessing is of the date of the sovereign to whom the prophecy applies. In point of fact the word translated "the peacemaker" might just as well mean the pacification. This simple change gives quite another sense to the verse. There is no more question of a prophecy, but only of a sort of promise.

"Judah shall fight (retain the ruler's staff) until the complete pacification of the Land of Canaan, and the unification of the tribes."

Thus understood, and whether giving a promise or expressing a desire, this phrase does not necessarily imply the coming to the throne of the son of Jesse, and might very well date back, especially if one puts it into the mouth of a Judæan, to a period much earlier than the reign of David.

DAVID THE KING

Binding his foal unto the vine,
And his ass's colt unto the choice vine ;
He hath washed his garments in wine,
And his vesture in the blood of grapes

His eyes shall be red with wine,
And his teeth white as milk." ¹

¹ Gen. xlix.

II

Israel under the Judges—The Patriarchal System—The Judges —The Prophets

AT the same time that the tribe of Judah was preparing to take the lead among its brethren, we can trace in the history of the last Judges, the manifestation of a slow but continuous expansion of the moral sense of the people of Israel.

The sentiments of individual protection and of the administration of justice by the state had developed themselves. The Benjamites and the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead had experienced bitter proofs of this.¹ The germ of patriotism existed in the common love for the Promised Land.² One could feel that the tribes were seeking to draw tighter the loosened bonds which united them, such as language, race, and above all the belief in a heavenly protector, infinite as time, infinite as space, creator of worlds and of living beings ; who thought for his people,

¹ See above, p. 12, n. 2, and Judg. xxi. 8-12.

² 2 Sam. x. 12 ; xx. 19.