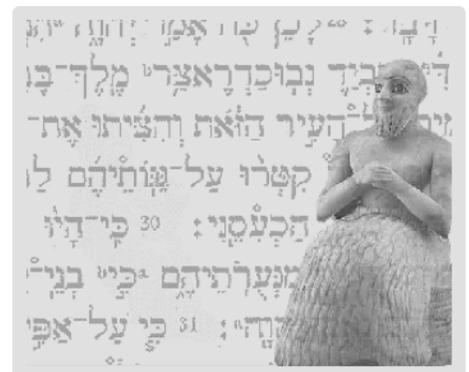


Textual Analogies and Their Ramifications for a Diachronic Analysis of 1 Samuel 13:1–14:46 and Judges 6:1–8:35

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TEXTUAL ANALOGIES AND THEIR RAMIFICATIONS FOR A DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF 1 SAMUEL 13:1–14:46 AND JUDGES 6:1–8:35

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The compelling topical, conceptual, and linguistic analogies exhibited by two narratives—Saul’s first military engagement with the Philistines at Michmash (1 Sam 13:1–14:46) and Gideon’s war against the Midianites (Judg 6–8)—spark the question of what fuels the textual connections between them. My approach inquires whether the strong analogies between these narratives—the descriptions of the campaigns and armies, the motif of YHWH’s war, the purposeful shaping of the protagonists, and shared locutions—attest to direct dependence between parallel traditions or whether they are the outcome of a shared literary convention¹ or literary genre² that largely dictated form and content and the use of certain literary expressions.

Many scholars have addressed the question of what criteria evidence direct dependence between narratives and its direction.³

* I wish to thank Professor Marc Brettler for reading a previous version of this paper and for his instructive comments.

¹ Termed “type-scenes” by R. Alter (*The Art of Biblical Narrative* [New York: Basic Books, 1981], 50–60, 96), he borrowed this term from Homeric studies. Alter exemplifies his approach by analyzing four betrothal narratives: Gen 24:10–61, 29:1–30; Exod 2:15–21; and Ruth 2. See also J.G. Williams, “The Beautiful and the Barren: Conventions in Biblical Type-Scenes,” *JOT* 17 (1980), 107–19.

² For example, stories of appointment, or barren women who give birth, or YHWH’s war.

³ M. Garsiel, *The First Book of Samuel. A Literary Study of Comparative Structures, Analogies and Parallels* (Ramat Gan: Revivim, 1985), 25; Y. Amit, “The Use of Analogy in the Study of the Book of Judges,” in M. Augustin and K.D. Schunck (eds.), “*Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden*”: *Collected Communications to the XIIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament* (BEATAJ, 13; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1988), 387–94; Y. Zakovitch, *Through the Looking Glass. Reflection Stories in the Bible* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1995). These scholars caution against

Overt, explicit connections between protagonists, situations, and events—as in Joab’s recollection of Abimelech’s death at Thebez (2 Sam 11:21), which draws a direct analogy between the death of Uriah at Rabbah and that of Abimelech at Thebez⁴—are rare in biblical narrative.⁵ Biblical analogies are rather, on the whole, hidden, implicit, or allusive, and it is up to the reader to realize them fully.⁶

Among the criteria proposed by various scholars for establishing literary dependence I note, and rely on, the following:⁷ first,

“paralleomania,” a term coined by Samuel Sandmel (“Parallelomania,” *JBL* 81 [1962], 1–13) to express scholarly over-eagerness to identify parallels. A similar reading emerges from J.M. Leonard, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case,” *JBL* 127 (2008), 241–65. For additional discussions of intertextuality, the related terminology, and methods for determining relationships between biblical texts, see M. Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy. Ezekiel’s Use of the Holiness Code* (LHBOTS, 507; New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 47–75; B.D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture. Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 6–31; and D. Carr, “The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies: Actual and Potential,” in Martti Nissinen (ed.), *Congress Volume: Helsinki 2010* (VTSup, 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 505–35. For other attempts to establish clear-cut criteria for determining whether analogies between biblical traditions (or phenomena) and ancient Near Eastern parallels are indicative of dependence, see M. Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies* (AOAT, 227; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 7–81, 81–112, 155–59; J.H. Tigay, “On Evaluating Claims of Literary Borrowing,” in M.E. Cohen, D.C. Snell, and D.B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1993), 250–55.

⁴ See H. Shalom-Guy, “Three-Way Intertextuality: Some Reflections of Abimelech’s Death at Thebez in Biblical Narrative,” *JSOT* 34 (2010), 419–32.

⁵ See Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 21–22; Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 21–22; Y. Zakovitch, *Inner-biblical and Extra-biblical Midrash and the Relationship between Them* (Hebrew; Aron Sefarim Yehudi; Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2009), 15.

⁶ See M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative. Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Indiana Literary Biblical Series; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 220; Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 21–23; Y. Zakovitch, *An Introduction to Inner-Biblical Interpretation* (Hebrew; Even Yehudah: Reches, 1992); Y. Amit, *Hidden Polemics in Biblical Narrative* (trans. J. Chipman; BibInt, 25; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁷ Many scholars have discussed the issue of dependence between texts. See the comprehensive discussion by Leonard (“Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions”), where he suggests eight criteria for identification of textual allusions and five basic questions that assist determination of the direction of the affinity, many of which overlap the criteria suggested here. See also Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 47–75, who points at tools for evaluating textual criteria for determining directionality of dependence, but limits his treatment to formal parallels (locutions) between Lev 17–26 and Ezekiel;

the existence of broad, shared analogies in different spheres: these may encompass structure, content, language, style, and other narrative building blocks, such as the shaping of the protagonists.⁸ However, a salient aspect of any argument for direct dependence and its direction relies not only on shared features, but also on differences, and their underlying rationale;⁹ second, unique features, including plot elements, as well as rare or unusual words and expressions.¹⁰ However, the presence of many, varied types of analogies between texts does not suffice to establish direct dependence between traditions, as certain common features may stem from a shared topic or genre. In addition, shared or close language in two traditions can similarly be attributed to their author's use of known idioms, from biblical or other literatures.¹¹ Accordingly, the presence of unique features within the context of the analogies shared by these literary traditions¹²—such as parallel plot construction, rare words and expressions,¹³ or unusual forms—carries great weight in determining dependence.

In cases where it appears that, based on these criteria, there is direct dependence between two literary traditions, additional criteria assist determination of its direction; namely, which tradition served as a building block for the other. One criterion, which is

and D. Carr, "Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34, 11–26 and Its Parallels," in M. Köckert and E. Blum (eds.), *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10* (Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie, 18; Gütersloh: Kaiser, 2001), 107–40 (esp. 109–11), who proposes criteria for determining whether a text is earlier or later than its closest parallel.

⁸ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 23–26; Amit, "Analogy," 388; Zakovitch, *Through the Looking Glass*, 13; F. Polak, *Biblical Narrative. Aspects of Art and Design* (Hebrew; 2nd revised ed.; Biblical Encyclopedia Library, 11; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1999), 192; Tigay, "Claims of Literary Borrowing," 255; Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 245.

⁹ See Sternberg, *Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 365–66; Amit, "Analogy," 387; Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 17–18, 22–23. On the importance of differences and not just analogies between literary traditions in establishing dependence, see Malul, *Comparative Method*, 82, 158–59.

¹⁰ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 26; Amit, "Analogy," 388–89; Zakovitch, *Through the Looking Glass*, 13. For a recent treatment, see Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 245. Leonard, however, focuses on shared language (words and expressions) and not on additional components of the narrative, as suggested here. For the importance of unique features in determining affinities between biblical traditions and their ancient Near Eastern parallels, see Malul, *Comparative Method*, 93–97, 157–58.

¹¹ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 26–27.

¹² See n. 10 above.

¹³ For examples of the use of rare words, see F. Rosenzweig, "Das Formgeheimnis der biblischen Erzählung," in *Kleinere Schriften* (Berlin: Schocken, 1937), 167–81 (172–76).

pertinent here, is different levels of integration of analogous features: “natural” as opposed to “clumsy.”¹⁴ The presence of such a blind motif, “an element that . . . assumes knowledge of an earlier tradition, recalls it in summary fashion, and goes on to use this assumed knowledge in the service of the particular argument of which it is now part”¹⁵ seems in this case to indicate that the parallel text to which the blind motif alludes is the earlier tradition.¹⁶

Another feature that contributes to determination of borrowing is the presence of conceptual refinement, or shifts in the world of beliefs. If one parallel evidences refinement of a conception as compared to another, for example, this is not only a possible indication of a later date,¹⁷ but also that it perhaps seeks to engage in a polemic with the earlier conception, albeit allusively.¹⁸

These suggested criteria are, however, by no means absolute; nor do they necessarily appear in every instance where we identify analogies between texts.¹⁹ Moreover, not every reader will find the arguments for dependence or its direction equally convincing. I suggest that ultimately it is the aggregation of evidence, the conjunction of various thematic, structural, and linguistic criteria, among others, which testifies to the direction of dependence.²⁰

The starting point for this consideration is a comparative analysis of the main analogies (and differences) between the story of Gideon’s campaign against Midian and Saul and Jonathan’s war with the Philistines, which can be assigned to four core categories: the description of the war and the military forces, the concept of YHWH’s war, the shaping of the protagonists, and shared language.²¹

¹⁴ Y. Zakovitch, *The Life of Samson (Judges 13–16). A Critical-Literary Analysis* (Hebrew; Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), 56–57. Garsiel (*First Book of Samuel*, 27) demonstrates that the clumsiness reflected by the use of the language **וישלונו** alongside **וישלוהו** and the superfluity of **אין מיסם** and **ובבור** in Jer 38:6 indicate reliance on building blocks from Gen 37:23–24.

¹⁵ See S. Boorer, *The Promise of the Land as Oath. A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch* (BZAW, 205; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 305; M. Brettler, “The Book of Judges: Literature as Politics,” *JBL* 108 (1989), 395–418 (411).

¹⁶ Boorer, *Oath*, 106.

¹⁷ Zakovitch, *Life of Samson*, 56–57. See also Carr, “Method,” 111; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 60–61.

¹⁸ See n. 6 above.

¹⁹ Thus, for example, there is no conceptual refinement in the narratives considered here.

²⁰ For a similar conclusion, see Leonard, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions,” 264.

²¹ This examination is restricted to the relationship between these two narratives and does not treat the broader question of the diachronic relationship between the books of Judges and Samuel. For the place of Judges and Samuel in the Deuteronomistic History, see p. 23 and n. 92 below.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR AND THE PARTICIPATING FORCES

The narratives in question share many topical and linguistic features related to their descriptions of war:

1. Summoning to war: In each narrative the Israelite leader sounds a horn (תק"ע בשופר) and the warriors rally to him (נועקים אחריו) (Judg 6:34–35; 1 Sam 13:3–4).²²
2. Hyperbolic metaphor underscores the numerical superiority of the enemy forces: as numerous as the sands on the seashore (החול אשר על שפת הים)—Judg 7:12; 1 Sam 13:5).²³ Also stressed is the enemy's strength,²⁴ albeit through different means: in the context of the campaign against Midian we find, in addition to the sands of the seashore, a comparison to locusts (cf. Judg 6:5, 7:12).²⁵
3. The narratives use the language of להיאסף and לחנות to describe the enemy's preparations for war (Judg 6:33; 1 Sam 13:5; cf. vv. 11, 16).²⁶
4. The Israelite response to oppression. Both narratives mention caves (מערות) among the hiding places chosen by the Israelites (איש ישראל; בני ישראל) for fear of the enemy (Judg 6:2; 1 Sam 13:6).²⁷
5. Reduction of troops. In both stories we find a reduction in the number of the Israelite troops to several hundred (albeit for different reasons). Gideon's army, which

²² Cf. Judg 3:27; 2 Sam 20:2. See R.W. Klein, *1 Samuel* (2nd ed.; WBC, 10; Nashville: Nelson, 2008), 125.

²³ Cf. Josh 11:4; 2 Sam 17:11. This metaphor usually appears in the promises to, and blessing of, the patriarchs to describe the future propagation of their descendants, alongside other metaphors (Gen 22:17, 32:13). See B.G. Webb, *The Book of Judges* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 245; A.G. Auld, *I & II Samuel. A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 140.

²⁴ In describing the Philistine forces Saul faced (1 Sam 13:5) the MT reads "thirty thousand." Many scholars regard this number, which also appears in LXX MS B, as hyperbolic as compared to other biblical armies (see Exod 14:7; Judg 4:3) and prefer the version "three thousand" that appears in the Lucian recension and in *Peshitta*. See, e.g., P.K. McCarter, *1 Samuel* (AB, 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 226; S. Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel* (Hebrew; Mikra le'yisra'el; Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1996), 176.

²⁵ On the damage, both agricultural and economic, caused by locusts and its literary manifestations in the Bible (Joel 1:2–12; Exod 10:12–15) and in ancient mideastern sources, see J.L. Crenshaw, *Joel. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 24C; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 91–94.

²⁶ Cf. Josh 10:5; 1 Sam 17:1, 2.

²⁷ See Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 139.

started out with thirty-two thousand men (Judg 7:3) was reduced at divine command and in line with the tests devised to a mere three hundred (vv. 2–8). Saul’s chosen troops, his standing army, numbered three thousand: two-thirds under his direct command and one-third under that of his son (1 Sam 13:2). This number was reduced however, by the desertion of the warriors (v. 11), “who crossed the Jordan, [to] the territory of Gad and Gilead” (v. 7) instead of remaining with Saul at Gilgal, leaving Saul with only six hundred warriors (v. 15b).²⁸

6. Dispatching of the warriors to their homes. In the preparatory stages of the campaigns, we find a description of the leader dispatching warriors to their homes, using the locution: שלח איש לאוהליו (sent each to his tent[s]—Judg 7:8; 1 Sam 13:2).²⁹ In Judges, this occurs after the reduction in Gideon’s troops; in First Samuel after Saul chooses his picked troops early in the story of the campaign.
7. Scouting the enemy camp before initiating battle is another feature that appears in both narratives. In each, the leader scouts the outskirts of the enemy camp, accompanied by his arms bearer, and hears a prediction of his future victory enunciated by a member of the enemy troops.³⁰ While Gideon and his arms bearer Purah are reconnoitering the enemy camp at divine command (Judg 7:9–11), Gideon overhears a Midianite telling his companion of his dream of a לחם שעורים (צליל)³¹

²⁸ M. Garsiel, “The Battle of Mikhmarsh: A Historical-Literary Study (1 Sam 13–14),” in U. Simon and M. Goshen-Gottstein (eds.), *Studies in Bible and Exegesis. Arie Toeg in Memoriam* (Hebrew; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1980), 15–50 (46); idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 91; S. Bar-Efrat, *2 Samuel* (Hebrew; Mikra leiyisra’el; Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1996), 178, 179; U. Simon, “Shaul ve-yonatan: Shteit darkhe manhigut,” in N. Ilan (ed.), *A Good Eye. Dialogue and Polemic in Jewish Culture, A Jubilee Book in Honor of Tova Ilan* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1999), 433–62, esp. 444–46.

²⁹ Similar expressions include שלח לאהל (Josh 22:7; 2 Chr 7:10); איש נס/נסו/וינסו איש לאוהליו (1 Sam 4:10; 2 Sam 18:17; 20:1, 22) and לאוהליו (1 Sam 4:10; 2 Sam 18:17, 19:9; 2 Chr 25:27). This precise collocation appears only in these two narratives.

³⁰ Garsiel, “Battle of Mikhmarsh,” 46; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 96; Y. Zakovitch, *The Concept of the Miracle in the Bible* (trans. Shmuel Himelstein; Broadcast University Series; Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defence, 1991), 114–16; idem, “Mi-ma’akhal yetse ha-okhel: al halom ve-shivro,” in *Migvan de’ot ve-hashbkafot be-tarbut yisrael* 5 (1995) 35–42 (35).

³¹ “A round loaf of barley bread” is one translation (AB, 6D). For a comprehensive discussion of the explanations proposed for this word, see A. Tal (Rosenthal), “צליל לחם שעורים,” in E. Carmon (ed.), *Heger veiyun. Studies in Judaism* (Hebrew; Haifa: University of Haifa, 1996), 103–6. For

whirling through the Midianite camp that made a tent collapse—and its interpretation: “That can only mean the sword of the Israelite Gideon son of Joash. God is delivering Midian and the entire camp into his hands” (v. 14). Gideon interprets these events as a divinely inspired sign of his expected victory over Midian to which he responds by prostrating himself (v. 15a).³²

In the case of Jonathan and his arms bearer scouting the Philistine outpost, Jonathan takes the initiative. Before their discovery by the Philistines, Jonathan sets a condition as a means of ascertaining whether or not God will deliver the enemy into his hand: “If they say to us, ‘Wait until we get to you,’ then we’ll stay where we are” (1 Sam 14:9). “But if they say, ‘Come up to us,’ then we will go up, for the Lord is delivering them into our hands” (v. 10). In the continuation of the narrative, the second condition is fulfilled (vv. 11–12).

8. Call for an attack on the enemy. After receiving signs that predict their victory, each of the leaders calls for an attack on the enemy, adding the rationale **כי נתן ה' אלוהים / אה** **ביד** (for the Lord has given the camp of Midian into your hands [Judg 7:15]; for the Lord has given them into the hand of Israel [1 Sam 14:12]) that expresses faith in God as a divine force that brings victory.³³ The phrase used here, **נתן ביד**, is, however, not unique to these stories. Frequent in the Gideon cycle (see Judg 6:1; 7:2, 7, 9, 14, 15; 8:3, 7),³⁴ this language is also found elsewhere in the book of Judges (1:2, 2:14, 13:1, 15:12) and in other biblical books (Deut 1:27; 2 Sam 5:19; 2 Kgs 3:10, 13); it also occurs twice more in the Michmash narrative (1 Sam 14:10, 37).

more recent treatments, see Webb, *Judges*, 245; J.M. Sasson, *Judges 1–12. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 6D; New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014), 353.

³² For the relationship between the dream and its explanation, including the polysemous nature of the dream’s components, see Y. Zakovitch, “I Will Utter Riddles from Ancient Times”. *Riddles and Dream-riddles in Biblical Narrative* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2005), 28–31.

³³ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 91–92; Zakovitch, “Mi-ma’akhal yetse ha-okhel,” 35.

³⁴ The expression **ה' אלהים נתן ביד/בכף** (Judg 7:2, 14, 15; 8:3, 7, among others) makes a significant contribution to the shaping of Gideon’s day as one of divine rule and of Gideon himself as God’s chosen messenger. See Y. Amit, *The Book of Judges. The Art of Editing* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; Biblical Interpretation Series, 38; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 96–99; H. Shalom-Guy, *The Gideon Cycle through the Mirror of Its Literary Parallels* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv: Resling, 2013), 71.

9. Defeat of the enemy. Despite outstanding numerical superiority, in each context the enemy suffers a resounding defeat caused by an uproar in its camp, here described using a phrase unique to these two narratives: **חרב איש ברעהו** (every man's sword turned against his fellow; see the discussion below).³⁵ In Judg 7:22 we find: **וישם ה' את חרב איש ברעהו ובכל המחנה** (The Lord *turned every man's sword against his fellow*, throughout the camp); 1 Sam 14:20 states: **והנה היתה חרב איש ברעהו מהומה גדולה מאוד** (*Every man's sword turned against his fellow—a very great commotion*).³⁶
10. Exhaustion and hunger of the troops. Both stories underscore the exhaustion (and hunger) of the troops while chasing the enemy,³⁷ using the root **עי"ף** to describe their condition. In Judges, the three hundred warriors who accompany Gideon to engage the Midianite camp in Transjordan are described as **עיפים ורדפים**³⁸ (exhausted yet pursuing—8:4). Gideon's request to the people of Succoth and Penuel for bread for his troops makes reference to their exhaustion: **תנו נא ככרות לחם לעם אשר ברגלי כי עיפים הם** (Please give some loaves of bread to the people who follow me as they are exhausted—8:5). At Michmash, a warrior describes the exhaustion of the troops in a similar fashion: **ויעף העם** (the people are exhausted—1 Sam 14:28) and the narrator adds: **ויעף העם מאוד** (and the people were very exhausted—v. 31). In this story, the resulting hunger was the outcome of Saul's oath that prohibited the soldiers engaged in pursuit of the enemy to eat before evening (v. 24).
11. Additional parties join in the pursuit of the retreating army. In both stories, other parties, including the Ephraimites, enter into the pursuit after the enemy later in the scene (Judg 7:23–25; 1 Sam 14:20–22);³⁹ however, the role

³⁵ Zakovitch, *Riddles*, 106–7.

³⁶ Sasson (*Judges*, 355) notes that a similar tactic of God entering the fray and turning one against the other appears in 1 Sam 14:20.

³⁷ Garsiel, “Battle of Mikhmarsh,” 46; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 91–92.

³⁸ J. A. Soggin (*Judges. A Commentary* [trans. J.S. Bowden; OTL; London: SCM, 1981], 149) and Y. Amit (*Judges. Introduction and Commentary* [Hebrew; Mikra le'isra'el; Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1999], 149) prefer the version **עיפים ורעבים** reflected in the LXX and the *Peshitta* because it explains Gideon's request: “Please give some loaves of bread to the men who are following me” (Judg 8:5). R.G. Boling (*Judges. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* [AB, 6A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975], 154–55) prefers the MT because the roots **עיף** and **רדף** are also paired in v. 5. Both Webb (*Judges*, 252) and Sasson (*Judges*, 360) retain the MT version **עיפים ורדפים**.

³⁹ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 91–92; Simon, “Shaul ve-yonatan,” 449; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 137.

of the Ephraimites receives greater emphasis in the story of the anti-Midianite campaign in Judges (Judg 7:24–25, 8:1–3; 1 Sam 14:22).

B. THE CONCEPT OF YHWH'S WAR⁴⁰

Both stories manifest a similar conception regarding the relationship between the divine and human roles in achieving victory. It is divine intervention that grants victory over its enemy to the Israelite camp.⁴¹ Using similar locutions, both narratives uphold the

⁴⁰ As suggested by J. Vermeulen (“‘Sacral War’ and ‘Divine Warrior’ in Ancient Israel: Its Reception and the Present State of the Question,” in J. Leisen and P.C. Beentjes (eds.), *Visions of Peace and Tales of War* [Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook, 2010; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010], 1–34 [1–2]), the biblical term YHWH’s war (‘מלחמה לה’ or מלחמת ה’) is preferable to “holy war.” Found in the Bible (Num 21:14; 1 Sam 18:17, 28:28; cf. Exod 17:16; 1 Sam 17:47), these terms do not evoke the contemporary associations of “holy war.”

⁴¹ The term “holy war” is associated with G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (trans. M.J. Dawn; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991 [1951]), who constructed an ideal image of “holy war” as a popular institution linked to the Israelite amphictyony in the pre-monarchic period. In the 1970s scholars began to question and modify von Rad’s until then prevailing stance. See, e.g., R. Smend (*Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation. Reflections upon Israel’s Earliest History* [trans. from the 2nd ed. by M.G. Rogers; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1970]) and F. Stolz (*Jahwes und Israels Kriege. Kriegstheorien und Kriegersfabrungen im Glauben des alten Israel* [ATANT, 60; Zürich: TVZ, 1972]). Other suggested modifications of von Rad are grounded in study of ancient Near Eastern texts. See, e.g., J. Heintz’s comparative study (“Oracles prophétiques et ‘guerre sainte’ selon les archives royales de Mari et l’Ancient Testament,” in *Congress Volume Rome 1968* [VTSup, 17; Leiden: Brill, 1969], 112–38), and M. Guichard, “Les aspects religieux de la guerre à Mari,” *RA* 93 (1999), 27–48, which showed no distinction there between ordinary and holy war, a conclusion supported by examination of the neo-Assyrian annals. See M. Weippert, “‘Heilige Krieg’ in Israel und Assyrien: Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rad Konzept des ‘Heiligen Kreiges im alten Israel,’” *ZAW* 84 (1972), 460–93; repr. Weippert, *Jahwe und die anderen Götter* (FAT, 18; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 71–97. For a survey of the changing approaches to this topic, see G.H. Jones, “‘Holy War’ or ‘Yahweh War?’” *VT* 25 (1975), 642–58; C. Batch, *La guerre et les rites de guerre dans le judaïsme du deuxième Temple* (JSJSup, 93; Leiden: Brill, 2005), esp. 19–38; R. Schmitt, *Der “Heilige Krieg” im Pentateuch und im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk. Studien zur Forschungs-, Rezeptions- und Religionsgeschichte von Krieg und Bann im Alten Testament* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011), 1–50. Vermylen (“‘Sacral War,’” 26–27) stresses the role of the Deuteronomistic school in elaborating a theology of war, which minimized military action and insisted on YHWH’s deeds. On the shaping of holy war in Judges, see Amit, *Judges. Art of Editing*, 46–52; for Chronicles, see S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. A. Barber; BEATAJ, 9; Frankfurt: Lang, 1989), 125–32. See also R. Kasher, “Yeshu‘at yehoshaphat,” *Bet Mikra* 31 (1986), 242–51, esp. 242–43.

notion that the defeat of the many by the few, of the strong by the weak, demonstrates that divine assistance, not human military strength, determines the outcome of war.⁴² A definitive manifestation of this notion appears in Exod 14:14: “The Lord will battle for you; you hold your peace!” (see also 1 Sam 17:47; 2 Chr 20:15–17).

This motif receives similar articulation in both narratives.⁴³ The role of God’s hand in the war with the Midianites is underscored first of all by the reduction of Gideon’s army to three hundred warriors at divine command and in line with the tests devised, lest the Israelites claim victory: ויאמר ה' אל גדעון רב העם אשר אתך מתתי את מדין בידם פן יתפאר עלי ישראל לאמר ידי הושיעה לי (The Lord said to Gideon, “You have *too many* troops with you for Me to deliver Midian into their hands; Israel might claim for themselves the glory due to Me, thinking, ‘Our own hand *has brought us victory*’ ” [7:2]). Second, the description highlights the passivity of Gideon’s troops, who surround the camp with torches in their left hands and ram’s horns in their right, leaving only their mouths unencumbered to shout “A sword for the Lord and for Gideon!” (Judg 7:20; cf. 7:18). The massive divine role in the unfolding of the events is summed up in the unique phrase: “The Lord turned every man’s sword against his fellow, throughout the camp” (v. 22).⁴⁴

A similar conception comes to the fore in Jonathan’s announcement: כי אין לה' מעצור להושיע ברב או במעט (“for nothing prevents the Lord from winning a victory by many or by few” [1 Sam 14:6]) and in the subsequent attack by Jonathan on the Philistine outpost, accompanied only by his arms bearer (v. 14). This attack yields impressive results: the swift killing of some twenty men in a contained area⁴⁵ and within a brief timespan (14:4)—and the sowing of fear among the Philistines (v. 15). The fear engendered by this attack and its successful outcome are portrayed as confirming Jonathan’s statement regarding divine power to effect victory.

⁴² Garsiel, “Battle of Mikhmarsh,” 46; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 92–93.

⁴³ See Klein, *1 Samuel*, 133, 135, 136.

⁴⁴ Amit, *Judges. Art of Editing*, 51; idem, *Judges. Introduction and Commentary*, 142; E. Assis, *Self-Interest or Communal Interest. The Stories of Three Leaders in the Book of Judges* (Hebrew; Yahadut Kan ve-Akhshav; Tel Aviv: Yediot Ahronot, 2006), 52–53; Webb, *Judges*, 249.

⁴⁵ כבחצי מענה צמד שדה. This phrase apparently refers to the amount of land a pair of oxen can plow in a day (cf. Isa 5:10). See, e.g., M.Z. Segal, *Sifre Shmuel* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1956), 105; Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel*, 184. Some scholars prefer the LXX’s version ἐν βολίσι καὶ ἐν πετροβόλοις καὶ ἐν κόχλαξι τοῦ πεδίου “with darts and crude flint weapons” that refers to the weapons used by Jonathan and his arms bearer. See McCarter (*1 Samuel*, 236) who emends the verse by moving this phrase to the end of v. 13, as does Klein (*1 Samuel*, 132). See also Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 149.

C. THE SHAPING OF THE PROTAGONISTS AND THEIR DEEDS

Another avenue of comparison between these narratives lies in how each shapes the protagonists and their deeds. I especially note the existence of implicit analogies and distinctions between Gideon and Jonathan, Gideon and Saul, and Saul and Jonathan.

Gideon and Jonathan. A close comparison of the figures of Gideon and Jonathan not only reveals analogies above and beyond those inhering in the military situation just outlined, but differences as well. Thus, both scout the outskirts of the enemy camp with their arms bearers before the battle: in Gideon's case, this is in response to a divine command (Judg 7:9, 13); whereas Jonathan initiates this step (1 Sam 14:1). Moreover, before going into battle, each tests divine willingness to deliver the enemy into his hands. However, notwithstanding the divine assertion that he will defeat Midian (Judg 6:14, 16) Gideon feels impelled to turn to God with a request for two signs with the fleece (Judg 6:36–40); Jonathan, being uncertain of God's intent, does not request a sign but describes two possibilities, of which the realization of one will signal that salvation in battle is at hand (1 Sam 14:9).⁴⁶ The signs also differ in nature. Gideon tests God by requesting signs that deviate from natural law; even expressing concern that he may have overstepped the bounds in testing God by requesting a second sign:⁴⁷ "Do not be angry with me if I speak just once more. Let me make just one more test with the fleece" (Judg 6:39).⁴⁸

While reconnoitering the enemy camp, both hear an encouraging message that predicts their victory over the enemy. And, both are prepared to engage in battle against massive odds: this reflects their trust in God, despite the numerical inferiority of their forces.⁴⁹ Gideon, however, goes to war with three hundred warriors at divine command, whereas Jonathan initiates an almost solo attack on the Philistine outpost.

Gideon and Jonathan alike evidence, through their remarks and deeds, their awareness that "an army marches on its stomach."⁵⁰ Gideon turns to the people of Succoth and Penuel to provision his warriors (Judg 8:5, 8); they, doubting his ability to defeat the enemy, refuse to do so (vv. 6, 8). In the Michmash narrative one warrior attributes the troops' exhaustion to Saul's oath forbid-

⁴⁶ Zakovitch, *Miracle*, 114–16.

⁴⁷ J. Licht, *Testing in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Post-Biblical Judaism* (Hebrew; Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 35–36; Zakovitch, *Miracle*, 114–16; Webb, *Judges*, 238–39; Sasson, *Judges*, 348–49, 350.

⁴⁸ Cf. Abraham's plea to God in his final effort to save Sodom: "And he said, 'Let not my Lord be angry if I speak but this last time'" (Gen 18:32; cf. 18:30).

⁴⁹ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 91–92.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 92–93.

ding the people to eat “before night falls” (1 Sam 14:24). Jonathan, who was not present when his father uttered this oath, eats some honey (v. 27) and criticizes his father for forcing this oath on the people, also stressing that, had the people eaten from the enemy spoils, an even greater victory could have been achieved (vv. 29–30).⁵¹ To this we must add the implicit criticism voiced by the narrator in juxtaposing Jonathan’s remarks to the description of how, because of their fatigue, the people stopped chasing the Philistines, fell on the spoils, slaughtered oxen and sheep and even ate them with the blood (vv. 22–35).⁵² This contrastive portrayal of Jonathan and Gideon casts Jonathan’s behavior in a more favorable light than Gideon’s, as evincing Jonathan’s greater trust in, and reliance on, God.

Gideon and Saul. The inversive, mirror-image Gideon-Saul comparison amplifies the negative aspects of Saul’s personality and his weaknesses as a leader. Thus, if Gideon attacked the enemy with three hundred warriors, creating commotion in the enemy camp and forcing a retreat, Saul, on the other hand, refrained from attacking the enemy camp with double the number of warriors (1 Sam 14:2).⁵³ Also, if Gideon is portrayed as someone who submits to divine commands, as prominently manifested in the many instances shaped in the literary pattern of command-obedience (Judg 6:25–26; 7:3, 4–6, 9–11, among others), Saul is portrayed as failing to heed divine instruction when he ignores Samuel’s instructions, offering sacrifices before the latter’s arrival (1 Sam 10:8; 13:8–12, 13–14).⁵⁴ If Gideon requests of God, and receives, many signs that manifest the divine choice of Gideon and divine support in overcoming the Midianite crisis, Saul, on the other hand, who has a priest with an ephod at his disposal (1 Sam 14:3), fails time and again to inquire of God.⁵⁵ Even when Saul summons the Ark of God during the commotion in the Philistine camp (14:18),⁵⁶ he

⁵¹ The negation in the clause **כִּי עָתָה לֹא רִבְתָּה מִכָּה בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים** (1 Sam 14:30b) is problematic. Some read it as expressing surprise (Rashi, Radak, and in their wake, Segal [*Sifre Shmuel*, 109]). Others emend and delete the word **לֹא** as in the LXX MS B (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 246). Apparently, we should read **הֲלֵא**, on the assumption that haplography caused the initial *heb* to be dropped, as Bar-Efrat (*1 Samuel*, 187) suggests.

⁵² The criticism of Saul’s oath emerges more strongly in the LXX’s version of v. 24, which opens with an extra phrase: “And Saul committed a great trespass of ignorance in that day.” See Garsiel, “Battle of Mikhmarsh,” 34; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 92–93. McCarter (*I Samuel*, 243, 245–46) prefers this version.

⁵³ Garsiel, “Battle of Mikhmarsh,” 33; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 92.

⁵⁴ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 85–87; Simon, “Shaul ve-yanatan,” 445–46.

⁵⁵ Garsiel, “Battle of Mikhmarsh,” 35; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 92–93.

⁵⁶ The LXX (MSS B and L) here reads **ἐφούδ** (*ephod*). This appears to be closer to the original version of the verse, as assumed by H.P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh:

backs down when the confusion intensifies (v. 19). In the continuation of the story, when Saul prepares to chase the Philistines, the priest reminds him to inquire of God, but Saul remains unanswered on doing so (v. 37).⁵⁷ The lack of a response to Saul's desperate cry for divine support is underscored in the narrative of the final battle in which Saul meets his death (1 Sam 28).

The two also differ with respect to feeding their troops. Gideon, as noted, shows awareness of the importance of provisioning his troops, and punishes the residents of Succoth and Penuel for their refusal to do so. Saul, on the other hand, binds the troops pursuing the enemy with an oath that forbids them to taste food until evening (1 Sam 14:24).⁵⁸

Another difference relates to the monarchy. In the wake of his victory over the Midianites, the Israelites offer Gideon dynastic rule: "Rule over us—you, your son, and your grandson as well" (Judg 8:22). Saul, on the other hand, is apprised in this narrative that, because of his failure to obey God, he is being stripped of kingship (1 Sam 13:13–14). These inverted images of Saul and Gideon demonstrate Saul's unworthiness for the monarchy.

Saul and Jonathan. Also inherent in these narratives is a striking contrastive portrayal of Saul and Jonathan, which comes to the fore against the backdrop of my earlier comparison of Gideon and Jonathan: Saul refuses to attack the enemy camp with his six hundred warriors, whereas Jonathan attacks the outpost accompanied only by his arms bearer. Saul fails to obey the divine command, whereas Jonathan attacks the enemy based on divine sanction alone. Saul, who is accompanied by an ephod-wearing priest, fails time and again to inquire of God, whereas Jonathan inquires of God and is answered. Saul leaves the troops hungry by dint of his oath, and Jonathan criticizes this oath.⁵⁹ Again, like the inverted

T&T Clark, 1899), 111; C.F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London: Rivingtons, 1920), 242; H.W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. A Commentary* (trans. J. Bowden; OTL; London: SCM, 1964), 113; Segal, *Sifre Shmuel*, 106–7; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 237; and Klein, *1 Samuel*, 132. This assumption is grounded in the fact that nowhere else is the Ark used to inquire of God, and the association of the word *προσάγαγε τὸ (השיגה)* with the ephod in other contexts (1 Sam 23:9, 30:7). On the difficulty of deciding between the two variants, see Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 150–51.

⁵⁷ Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 86–87; Simon, "Shaul ve-yonatan," 453–54 and n. 18.

⁵⁸ Garsiel, "Battle of Mikhmarsh," 34; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 87–88, 92–93.

⁵⁹ For a contrastive comparison of Saul and Jonathan in the Michmash narrative, see D. Jobling, "Saul's Fall and Jonathan's Rise: Tradition and Redaction in 1 Sam. 14:1–46," *JBL* 95 (1976), 367–76, esp. 369–71; Garsiel, "Battle of Mikhmarsh," 32–35; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 85–87; Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel*, 173–74; Simon, "Shaul ve-yonatan," 443–57; Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 147–48, 158.

mirror-images of Saul and Gideon, this portrayal heightens the negative framing of Saul and his deeds.

D. SHARED LANGUAGE

Another analogous feature shared by both narratives is the presence of many general expressions, as seen above. Of the expressions outlined in Table 1 below, only **חַרְבַּי אִישׁ בְּרֵעֵהוּ** is unique; the others are general locutions, many of which are frequent in other biblical war narratives, as seen from Table 1 below.⁶⁰ However, the aggregated weight of shared locutions is significant and it is doubtful that it is solely the result of the use by each author of the fairly large and varied traditional pool of such formulae.⁶¹ Because these locutions are shared with other biblical narratives, I rely on the presence of a unique expression in both, alongside the accumulation of additional evidence, to determine the direction of influence, as discussed in the following section.

⁶⁰ For a detailed comparative list of the language in both narratives, see Garsiel, “Battle of Mikhmarsh,” 48–49; idem, *First Book of Samuel*, 88–90. see also J. Blenkinsopp, “Jonathan’s Sacrilege: 1 Sam. 14, 1–46: A Study in Literary History,” *CBQ* 26 (1964), 423–29. For additional discussion of some of the locutions in the table, see nn. 22 (תִּקְ"עַ בְּשׁוֹפָר זֶע"ק), 23 (שִׁל"ח אִישׁ לְאַהֲלֵיוֹ), 26 (כַּחֲלוֹ אֲשֶׁר עַל שִׁפְתַי הֵימָּה), and pp. 17–18 (חַרְבֵי).
⁶¹ As stressed by Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 91.

Table 1

	Shared locutions	Judges 6:1–8:28	1 Samuel 13–14	Other biblical war narratives
Unique locution	חרב איש ברעהו	7:22	14:20	∅
Locutions shared by other biblical war narratives	תק"ע בשופר · · · זע"ק/צע"ק (נפעל) אחרי	6:34–35	13:3–4	∅
	תק"ע בשופר	6:34; 7:18[א2], 19, 20, 22	13:3	Judg 3:27; 2 Sam 18:16; 20:1, 22
	זע"ק/צע"ק (נפעל)	6:34–35; 7:23, 24	13:4; 14:20	Josh 8:16; Judg 10:17; 12:1; 2 Kgs 3:21. Appears with the identical meaning in <i>hif'il</i> : Judg 4:10, 13; 2 Sam 20:4, 5
	רב ויש"ע (הפעיל)	7:2	14:6	∅
	רב			Josh 11:4; 17:15, 17; 2 Sam 15:12
	יש"ע	6:14, 15, 36; 7:2, 7; 8:22	14:6, 23, 39, 45 ⁶²	Josh 10:6; Judg 12:2, 3; 1 Sam 23:2, 5, and elsewhere
	כחול אשר על שפת הים	7:12	13:5	Josh 11:4; 2 Sam 17:11.
	אס"ף (נפעל) וחנ"ה	6:33	13:5	Josh 10:5; 1 Sam 17:1,2;
	אס"ף (נפעל)	6:33	13:5, 11	Josh 10:5; 1 Sam 17:1, 2; 2 Sam 17:11; 23:9 and elsewhere

⁶² The MT version of v. 47 *ירשיע* is problematic if interpreted as deriving from *יש"ע חיל* because this meaning does not fit the context: . . . *ויצל ויצל* (v. 48). Based on the LXX and 4QSam^a versions, some commentators substitute a root from *ירשיע*, whether in *hif'il* (*יושיע*) or passive (*יושע*). See, e.g., Hertzberg, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 118–19; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 254, who argues that the MT version is a deliberate, tendentious corruption; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 131, 133 n. c; Auld, *1 & II Samuel*, 160, 162 n. 47c. Other commentators back the MT and explicate *ירשיע* as punished; *עשה שפטים* (cf. 1 Kgs 8:32), punitive measures against the nations mentioned. See Segal, *Sifre Shmuel*, 116; Bar Efrat, *1 Samuel*, 192.

	חנ"ה	6:4	13:5	1Sam 4:1; 2 Sam 23:13; 1 Kgs 16:16, and elsewhere
	חר"ד	7:1, 3; 8:12	13:7, 14:15 [3 times]	1 Sam 28:5; 2 Sam 17:2.
	נו"ס	7:21, 8:12	14:22	Josh 8:20; 10:11; 1Sam 4:10; 2 Sam 10:14, and elsewhere.
	נב"ה	8:11	13:3, 4; 14:14, 31	Josh 8:21, 22, 24; 1 Sam 23:5; 2 Kgs 3:24, 25, and elsewhere
	עי"ף	8:4, 5	14:28, 31	2 Sam 16:14, 17:29, 21:15
	על"ה	6:3	13:5	Josh 8:3, 11; 10:5; 2 Sam 2:1; 23:9, and elsewhere
	שלח איש לאוהליו	7:8	13:2	שלח לאהל Cf. Josh 22:7 איש לאהֲלִיו 1 Sam 4:10; 2 Sam 18:17; 20:1, 22 נס/נסו/וינסו/איש לאהֲלִיו 1 Sam 4:10; 2 Sam 18:17, 19:9)
	ה' אלוהים נתן ביד	6:1, 7:2, 9, 14, 15; 8:3, 7	14:10, 12, 37	Judg 1:2, 2:14, 3:27, 15:12; 2 Sam 5:19; 2 Kgs 3:10, 13 and elsewhere

DETERMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NARRATIVES

Some scholars assert that their belonging to the literary genre of military campaigns, more specifically, “holy or divine war,” dictated the form and content of these narratives, as well as the use of specific language.⁶³ I maintain that, taken in conjunction, the many analogies—in content, plot, character portrayal, wording, and even a unique phrase—adduce a strong connection between these

⁶³ For an exemplification of the approach attributing analogies to the genre of “holy war,” see Blenkinsopp, “Jonathan’s Sacrilege,” 423–49, who notes the shared topical, linguistic, and metric analogies between the story of the war at Michmash and other war narratives in Joshua, Judges, and Samuel.

texts.⁶⁴ I further argue for direct dependence between these two narratives and its direction: that the Gideon narrative formed a building block for the Michmash narrative.⁶⁵

Several arguments support this claim of direct dependence and its direction:

1) The unique phrase **חרב איש ברעהו**: as noted above, in determining direct dependence between narratives, great weight must be assigned to the appearance of a singular phrase in these stories alone.

2) The use made of the root **חר"ד**, which has ramifications not just for determining dependence but also its direction. Here I rely on the above-mentioned criterion of different levels of integration of analogous features, distinguishing between a context in which its use appears “natural” and that in which it seems less anchored. In the story of the reduction of Gideon’s troops (Judg 7:1–8) the root **חר"ד** appears alongside the synonymous **איר"א**⁶⁶ as a hidden name-midrash for Ein Harod, the place where Gideon encamped with his troops: “Gideon—and all the troops with him encamped above *Ein Harod* . . . Let anyone who is *scared and anxious* (**מי ירא וחודר**) turn back” (Judg 7:1–3).⁶⁷ This use of **חרד** in Judg 7:3 appears to be a deliberate choice over the **ורד לבב**, the fourth condition in the Deuteronomic exemptions from warfare (Deut 20:5–8), found in the text on which he built his description, that calls for the fearful to return to their homes: “Is there anyone scared and disheartened (**הירא ורד הלבב**)? Let him go back to his home” (v. 8). It appears likely that the toponym Ein Harod played a role in the choice of this word and that the use of **חר"ד** is therefore firmly anchored in the Gideon narrative. On the other hand, the four appearances of the root **חר"ד** in the Michmash narrative (1 Sam 13:7, 14:15 [3 times]) seem less anchored in the text there and probably stem from the influence of Judges. Moreover, another

⁶⁴ Leonard, “Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions,” 246 (criteria 1–3).

⁶⁵ As Garsiel also posits. See Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 79–80, 91. Garsiel’s study notes the abundant analogies between the Saul narrative and the stories of Gideon, Abimelech, and Jephthah. He presupposes that the analogies indicate that the book of Samuel used Judges, without considering the theoretical possibility of different directions, such as that story *x* builds on story *y* alone. Nor does he relate to the additional criteria and arguments for direct dependence and its direction treated here.

⁶⁶ On the phenomenon of synonymous words and roots in name-midrashim, see Y. Zakovitch, “The Synonymous Word and Synonymous Name in Name-Midrashim” (Hebrew), *Shnaton* 2 (1977), 100–15. The appearance of the root **כר"ת**, a synonym of **גד"ע**, as an implicit name midrash for the name Gideon in Judg 6:25–32 exemplifies this phenomenon.

⁶⁷ The use of **איר"א** is perhaps a name-midrash for Gibeath-moreh, where the Midianites camped (Judg 7:1). See M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names. A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (trans. P. Hackett; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1991), 150–51, 192–94.

verse in the Saul cycle may also reflect use of Judg 7:3 (and not Deut 20:8). I refer to 1 Sam 28:5, where the same pair of roots appears to describe Saul's fear upon seeing the Philistine camp: **וירא ויחרד לבו מאד** ("when Saul saw the Philistine force, he was scared and his heart trembled").⁶⁸

3) The shaping of the protagonists and their actions in the Michmash narrative. In shaping the figure of Jonathan the author used a pattern frequently found in many biblical stories: the creation of assimilation between figures fulfilling similar roles in the history of the people and its culture, as manifested in the transfer of motifs from one figure to another, which enhances the initial, existing resemblance between the figures and the events in different stories.⁶⁹ With respect to the shaping of the figure of Saul the author employed another common pattern, a dissimilative portrait based on a familiar story.⁷⁰

This not only suggests that the author of the Michmash narrative used the Gideon cycle, but also allows us to conjecture as to his underlying motivation. The complex use of the figure of Gideon and his actions in shaping the portrayal of the protagonists in the Michmash narrative was intended to highlight and enhance the contrast between them. The analogies drawn between Gideon and Jonathan, alongside the differences that distinguish between them, aim to place Jonathan in a favorable light, whereas the dissimilation of Saul to Gideon underscores negative aspects of Saul's personality and his weaknesses as a leader, his unfitness for the monarchy.⁷¹ Accordingly, it is less probable that the figures of Saul and Jonathan in the Michmash narrative served as the basis for shaping the narrative of Gideon's anti-Midianite campaign.

The assumption that the contrastive portrait of Saul as opposed to Jonathan and Gideon was intended to justify Saul's removal from the monarchy is also supported by the explicit statement found in the story of the conflict between Samuel and Saul at Gilgal, where the stated rationale for Saul's removal from the mon-

⁶⁸ Garsiel, *Biblical Names*, 150–51.

⁶⁹ Y. Zakovitch, "Assimilation in Biblical Narratives," in J.H. Tigay (ed.), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 175–96; E.L. Greenstein, "The Formation of the Biblical Narrative Corpus," *AJS Review* 15/1 (1990), 165–75. See, for example, the assimilation between Joshua and Moses (*ibid.*, 172), or between Elijah and Moses (see Y. Zakovitch, "'A Still Small Voice'" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 51 [1981–82], 329–46; Greenstein, "Biblical Narrative Corpus," 171–72), or between Jeroboam and Aaron (see H. Shalom-Guy, "Jeroboam's Reform and the Episode of the Golden Calf" [Hebrew], *Shnaton* 16 [2006], 15–27).

⁷⁰ For example, the shaping of the figure of Ruth in contrast to the episode of Lot's daughters (Gen 19:30–38). See Y. Zakovitch, *Ruth. Introduction and Commentary* (Hebrew; Mikra le'yisra'el; Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1990), 24–26.

⁷¹ Jobling, "Saul's Fall and Jonathan's Rise," 367–76.

archy is his failure to obey God (1 Sam 13:7b–15a).⁷² Other traditions in First Samuel also highlight negative aspects of Saul’s personality and mainly his weaknesses as a leader in order to justify his removal from the monarchy. The parallel tradition in 1 Sam 15, which attributes the stripping of kingship from Saul to his deeds during the battle against Amalek (1 Sam 15),⁷³ alongside other traditions found in the Saul cycle, attest a similar viewpoint; for example, the description of Saul being chosen by lot (1 Sam 10:19b–21) which is assimilated to the description of the capture of Achan who violated the proscription against taking booty (Josh 7),⁷⁴ or the tradition of the anointment of David in the house of Jesse (1 Sam 16).⁷⁵

Moreover, the distinctions drawn between the similar figures of Gideon and Jonathan, which casts Jonathan more positively than Gideon, reveals yet another conceptual foundation of the Michmash narrative. The underlying purpose of the shaping of

⁷² For proposals regarding the source of these verses, see pp. 24–27 below.

⁷³ On the analogy between 1 Sam 13:7b–15a and 1 Sam 15, see, e.g., Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 105–7; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 123–24; Bar Efrat, *1 Samuel*, 195. For various views of the relationship between the parallel traditions, see McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 270–71 n. 4; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 123–24; D.T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 387–88; W. Dietrich, *1 Samuel 13:1–14:46* (BKAT, 8.2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2011), 7–8, 44; idem, “The Layer Model of the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Samuel,” in C. Edenburg and J. Pakkala (eds.), *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History* (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 39–66 (47–48, 58–60). The nature and scope of the similarities between them indicate, as argued by I. Katz (*Between Two Kings: Narrative Doublets in the Book of Samuel* [Hebrew; Tel Aviv: Resling, 2015], 41–47), that there is a direct affinity between the two stories and they are not separate, independent stories. The story recounted in ch. 15, with its explicit statement, aims to underscore the message conveyed by ch. 13 regarding Saul’s removal from the monarchy.

⁷⁴ See, e.g., Y. Zakovitch, “The Pattern of the Numerical Sequence Three-Four in the Bible” (Hebrew; Ph. D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1977), 132–39; Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, 82–83. On the other hand, W. Dietrich (“Achans Diebstahl [Jos 7]: Eine Kriminalgeschichte aus frühpersischer Zeit,” in F. Hartenstein and M. Pietsch [eds.], “*Sieben Augen auf einem Stein*”: Studien zur Literatur des Zweiten Tempels. Festschrift für Ina Willi-plein zum 65. Geburtstag [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2007], 57–67; idem, “Layer Model,” 57–58, maintains that the author-redactor of DtrN (the latest Deuteronomistic editorial layer in Joshua–Kings), acted in a sophisticated fashion and created a fictional “crime story” in which the story of Achan’s crime of taking booty, discovered through lots, is modeled on 1 Sam 10:10–21 and not the opposite. This in order that the person who reads 1 Sam 10:20–21 after Josh 7:14–18 will think that another criminal has been revealed by the casting of divine lots.

⁷⁵ Y. Zakovitch, *David: From Shepherd to Messiah* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1995), 41–42.

Jonathan and his actions was not just to place Saul in a negative light but also to criticize certain aspects of Gideon's personality and actions during his anti-Midianite campaign: his lack of confidence in divine support and the testing of God with the fleece, in particular. Note that the hidden censure of Gideon and his actions reflected by the Michmash narrative can to some extent be interpreted as an amplification of what is already manifested in some units of the Gideon cycle in Judg 6:1–8:28. Some of the stories in the cycle portray Gideon's day as one of divine rule and Gideon as God's chosen, faithful messenger.⁷⁶ Other units, however, view Gideon and his actions critically.⁷⁷

COMPARISON OF THE NARRATIVES: ADDITIONAL RAMIFICATIONS

Further consideration of the location of the analogies between the narratives of the anti-Philistine campaign at Michmash and the anti-Midianite campaign shows them to be concentrated in the units found in Judg 6:1–8:28.⁷⁸ This sheds light on the formation of the Gideon cycle.

In its present form, the Gideon cycle exemplifies an attempt to link the different stories into a cohesive one whose axis is Gideon's biography. The cycle opens with the background to Gideon's period and his struggle against the Midianites (6:1–6) and

⁷⁶ For example, on his appointment Gideon receives an angelic revelation in whose wake he erects an altar to God (Judg 6:11–24); he destroys the altar of Baal and erects an altar to God instead (6:25–32). The spirit of God, which indicates divine choice of a savior and which is his prime mover, “enveloped Gideon” (6:34) and immediately exercises its influence: Gideon summons Aviezer to battle against Midian and warriors from other tribes subsequently join in (6:34–35). He receives many signs that function similarly to manifest divine choice of Gideon and the accompanying divine support that brings the Midianite crisis to a resolution. The battle slogans, “For the Lord and for Gideon” (7:18), “a sword for the Lord and for Gideon” (7:20), and the expressions regarding God delivering the enemy into their hands, uttered by various figures (7:2, 14) and Gideon himself (7:15; 8:3, 7), contribute significantly to the portrayal of Gideon's day as one of divine rule and of Gideon as its chosen representative.

⁷⁷ Inherent criticism is reflected in the recounting of the many signs requested by Gideon at different stages of his mission, which reflect his hesitation and doubts (6:17, 36–40), of which the final test, that of the fleece, contains elements of testing God. See, e.g., J.C. Exum, “The Center Cannot Hold: Thematic and Textual Instabilities in Judges,” *CBQ* 52 (1990), 410–31 (417–18); R.H. O'Connell, *The Rhetoric of the Book of Judges* (VTSup, 63; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 150, 160; D.I. Block, *Judges-Ruth* (NAC, 6; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 272–73; G.T.K. Wong, *Compositional Strategy of the Book of Judges. An Inductive, Rhetorical Study* (VTSup, 111; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 158–60.

⁷⁸ As illustrated by Table 1, which summarizes the shared language between the stories.

ends, like other stories in Judges, by noting the subjugation of the enemy and the ensuing number of years of peace (8:28).⁷⁹ Other stories were inserted between these opening and closing units: the preparations for war with Midian, and the war and its aftermath, while retaining a sequential development of events as follows: Gideon's appointment as savior (6:11–24); military preparations (6:33–35); signs with the fleece (6:36–40); reduction of Gideon's forces (7:1–8); the Midianite's dream and its interpretation (7:9–15a); description of Gideon's anti-Midianite campaign (7:15b–23); Gideon's altercation with the people of Sukkot and Penuel (8:4–17); the interrogation and execution of Zebah and Zalmunna (8:18–21).

At a later stage, various additions were made to the Gideon cycle. Scholars are divided as to their extent.⁸⁰ I identify these additions as follows: divine admonition by a “man-prophet” (6:7–10);⁸¹ Gideon's struggle against Baal worship (6:25–32);⁸² Gideon's confrontation of the Ephraimites (7:24–8:3);⁸³ offer of dynastic leadership to Gideon (8:22–23);⁸⁴ the episode of the ephod (8:24–27);⁸⁵

⁷⁹ See Judg 3:11, 30; 5:31. Indeed, many commentators view Judg 8:28 as the end of the Gideon cycle. See, e.g., K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* (KHC, 7; Freiburg i.Br.: Mohr Siebeck, 1897), 68–69; G.F. Moore, *Judges* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895), 233, 238; C.F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London: Rivingtons, 1918), 184; Soggin, *Judges*, 160; Amit, *Judges. Introduction and Commentary*, 156; Webb, *Judges*, 219, 221; Sasson, *Judges*, 358.

⁸⁰ For a discussion, see Shalom-Guy, *Gideon Cycle*, 245–51.

⁸¹ This rebuke, which creates suspension between the stage of the cry (6:6) and that of deliverance (6:11ff.), was added in order to provide answers to Gideon's unanswered questions in the story of his appointment (6:11–24) and to justify the Midianite oppression as a punishment for the Israelites' sins. See A. Rofé, “The Biblical Text in Light of Historical-Literary Criticism: The Reproach of the Prophet-Man in Judg 6:7–10 and 4QJudg^a” (Hebrew), *Beer-Sheva* 18 (2005), 33–44 (42–43); Y. Zakovitch, “And You Shall Tell Your Son . . .”. *The Concept of the Exodus in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1991), 49; M. Anbar, *Joshua and the Covenant at Shechem (Jos. 24:1–28)* (Hebrew; Biblical Encyclopaedia Library, 17; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1999), 95; Shalom-Guy, *Gideon Cycle*, 48–55.

⁸² This story was added after the rebuke and in its wake. It describes the Baal worship by Gideon's townspeople as fulfilling the accusation made in the prophetic admonishment—worship of the autochthonous gods (6:10)—and takes a similar stance. See Shalom-Guy, *Gideon Cycle*, 39–47.

⁸³ The story preserves a tradition of the killing of the Midianite leaders that differs from, and does not depend on, what is recounted in Judg 8:4–21. This tradition resonates in Isa 10:26: כַּמֶּכֶת מִדִּין בְּצוֹר עוֹרֵב. Added because of the shared topic of both stories, its insertion created topical and chronological difficulties in the narrative sequence, as many scholars have noted.

⁸⁴ This story is evidently a secondary addition to the Gideon cycle whose purpose was to criticize the institution of monarchy, as many scholars propose. See, e.g., J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (trans. J.S. Black and A. Menzies; Edinburgh: Black, 1885),

two redactional connective units, including the second conclusion of the Gideon cycle (8:29–32, 8:33–35); the Abimelech pericope (9:1–57).

Several of these additions, such as the Abimelech pericope (Judg 9) are related to the portrayal of negative aspects of the monarchy and the dangers of dynastic rule.⁸⁶ In turn, the insertion of this pericope attracted other additions whose purpose was to anchor it in its context: this includes two redactional sections: 8:29–32, which recounts events concerning Gideon and his house that impact on the understanding of the plot of the Abimelech pericope; and 8:33–35, which characterizes the period following Gideon's death as a sinful one and belongs to the redactional framework of the stories of the Major Judges (Judg 3:7–16:31).⁸⁷ Others, like the episode of the ephod, which serves to justify the bitter end of Gideon's house, continue the critical line taken toward Gideon and his actions in the cycle.⁸⁸ Note that the building blocks from Judges in the Michmash narrative in 1 Samuel are clustered in Judg 6:1–8:28, namely, in the early stratum of the Gideon cycle

239 n. 1, 248–56, 411, 425; and in his wake, Moore, *Judges*, 230; Burney, *Judges*, 183–84, 235; Boling, *Judges*, 161; Soggin, *Judges*, 158–59, 160, among others. Other scholars see this unit as reflecting the spirit of the age preceding the founding of the monarchy. See, e.g., M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (trans. P.R. Ackroyd; London: Black, 1958), 164–65; J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (London: SCM, 1962), 158. For a discussion of this issue, see Amit, *Judges. Introduction and Commentary*, 153–54. The antimonarchic stance found in this story and the topical and linguistic analogies between it and the Abimelech pericope perhaps indicate that they had the same author.

⁸⁵ Its author shapes it as a grave sin on Gideon's part by drawing comparisons to the sin of the golden calf (Exod 32). For a discussion of this issue, see Shalom-Guy, *Gideon Cycle*, 185–203. I differ from the prevailing conjecture that only the second half of v. 27 ([.לְמוֹקֵשׁ.] וַיִּזְנוּ) is a late addition. See, e.g., Moore, *Judges*, 231, 233; Burney, *Judges*, 183–84; Amit, *Judges. Introduction and Commentary*, 155.

⁸⁶ Many scholars claim that the Abimelech pericope was added to the cycle of judge-saviors at a later stage. See, e.g., K. Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau* (Giessen: Ricker, 1890), 119–22; Moore, *Judges*, 234–35; Burney, *Judges*, 268; Amit, *Judges. Art of Editing*, 99–103.

⁸⁷ The fragmentary, jumbled nature of the unit containing vv. 29–35 has given rise to a variety of conjectures regarding the origin, date, and scope of its components and the reasons for their incorporation. See Budde, *Buch der Richter*, 68–69. He maintains that v. 29 originally followed 8:3, and that vv. 30–32 are the introduction by R^p to the Abimelech pericope, whereas vv. 33–35 are an addition by R^d. Others have followed in his wake; see, e.g., Moore, *Judges*, 233–34. See also Burney, *Judges*, 263 who argues that v. 29 preceded the story of the ephod (8:24–27). Amit (*Judges. Art of Editing*, 100–3; *Judges. Introduction and Commentary*, 161) argues that the entire unit (vv. 29–35) serves as an expositional introduction to the Abimelech pericope. See also Webb, *Judges*, 266–68.

⁸⁸ See n. 77 above.

without the above-mentioned additions. This not only supports the conjectured early form of the cycle but also elucidates the nature and extent of the additions to the cycle.

A comparative consideration of the story of the war against the Philistines at Michmash and that of Gideon against the Midianites, and of the supposition that elements from the Gideon narrative served as building blocks for the Michmash one, has the ability to shed light on the formation of Michmash narrative (1 Sam 13:1–14:46). In its present form, the Michmash narrative describes in detail the first battle between Saul and the Philistines within a framework that sums up Saul’s reign (1 Sam 13:1, 14:47–52). The verse that opens the story: “Saul was a year old when he began to reign and two years he reigned over Israel” (13:1) resembles similar collocations that note the age of the king on his accession to the throne and the number of years he reigned, which mark a new era,⁸⁹ but the verse is puzzling. It appears that numbers are missing from each half of the verse: “Saul was [---] years old when he began to reign and two and twenty years [(?), or some similar number] he reigned over Israel.”⁹⁰ After all, Saul could not have been a year old when he started his reign; on the other hand, “the construction שתי שנים is a *hapax*; everywhere else it says . . . שנתים.”⁹¹ In the LXX (MSS A, B), the entire verse is missing. Worded in a typically Deuteronomistic formula,⁹² this opening of the story of Saul from

⁸⁹ See, e.g., David (2 Sam 5:4); Ishbosheth son of Saul (2 Sam 2:10) and often in Kings: Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:21), Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:42), Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:17), among others. See M. Haran, *The Biblical Collection* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2003), 2:190 n. 6, 286; Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 103; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 124; Dietrich, *1 Samuel 13:1–14:46*, 3; idem, “The Layer Model,” 53; R.D. Nelson, “The Deuteronomistic Historian in Samuel: The Man behind the Green Curtain,” in Edenburgh and Pakkala (eds.), *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists?*, 17–38 (26).

⁹⁰ Haran, *Biblical Collection*, 2:190 n. 6.

⁹¹ A. Ehrlich, *Mikra Ki-Pshuto*, vol. 2: *Prose Books* (repr. New York: Ktav, 1969), 126.

⁹² See, e.g., Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 103; Haran, *Biblical Collection*, 2:190 n. 6, 286; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 124; Dietrich, *1 Samuel 13:1–14:46*, 26; idem, “The Layer Model,” 53; Nelson, *The Deuteronomistic Historian*, 26. Signs of Deuteronomistic reworking are evident in Samuel, but as is well known, this reworking is not as prominent as in the other books comprising the Deuteronomistic History. For varied perspectives on the place of Samuel in the DH, see the recent collection of articles in C. Edenburgh and J. Pakkala (eds.), *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*, esp. Edenburgh and Pakkala, “Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists,” 1–16; A. Lemaire, “Vers L’histoire de la Rédaction des Livres des Rois,” *ZAW* 98 (1986), 221–36. See also Haran, *Biblical Collection*, 2:253–59. Other verses in the Michmash narrative are identified by commentators and scholars as either entirely or partially Deuteronomistic. In a comparison made by Dietrich (“The Layer Model,” 46) between his approach and that of T. Veijola (*Die ewige Dynastie. David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung*

the beginning of his reign places him on the monarchic continuum to the destruction of Jerusalem. At the end of the story we find a summary of Saul's reign that includes details of his military campaigns and his family (14:47–52).

The story of Saul's campaign against the Philistines at Michmash (13:2–14:46) contains several units: Saul raises a standing army and Jonathan's initiation of the rebellion against the Philistines (13:2–4); the gathering of the Philistines to make war on the Israelites and its outcome (13:5–7a); the conflict between Samuel and Saul at Gilgal (13:7b–15a); the raids on the Israelite border (13:15b–18); Israelite military inferiority as compared to the Philistines (13:19–22); a Philistine force makes for the Michmash pass (13:23); Jonathan decides to attack the Philistine outpost (14:1–7); the sign (14:8–10); the initial blow and fear of God that ensues (14:11–16); Saul notes the absence of Jonathan (and his arms bearer) from the camp (14:17–19); Saul and the people attack the Philistines (14:20–23); Saul's oath, which is broken by Jonathan (14:24–30); the people consume blood (14:31–35); God does not answer Saul (14:36–37); the investigation and singling out of Jonathan according to lots (14:38–43); the troops save Jonathan (14:44–46).

This detail indicates the incorporation of a variety of subjects into the war narrative; nonetheless, the general impression is one of a single narrative in which events unfold sequentially.⁹³ The story of the conflict between Samuel and Saul at Gilgal (13:7b–15a), however, undermines this impression. It breaks the narrative sequence of Saul's campaign against the Philistines and also exhibits incongruities with the broader context. Saul's removal from the monarchy is not part of the expected continuation of the narrative sequence of Saul's wars against the Philistines: Samuel is not mentioned elsewhere except for 13:8–15; the mention in 8a (and v. 11) refers to Samuel's instructions in ch. 10:8, where Saul is instructed to wait at Gilgal until Samuel's arrival. However, there Saul is a youth who still lives in his father's house; here he is the king of

[Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977]), we find that they consider the Deuteronomistic Work (Joshua-Kings) to exhibit three layers of redaction: DtrH(istorian) of the mid-exilic period; DtrP(rophet) from the late exilic period, and DtrN(omist), from the early post-exilic period. This can be demonstrated in our text. Both scholars attribute 1 Sam 13:1 to DtrH and 13:13–14 to DtrN: Veijola in their entirety; Dietrich partially (13ba, 14bβ). The conclusion of the story (14:47–51) is attributed by Veijola to DtrH and by Dietrich to DtrP (but only partially, 48aβb).

⁹³ This is a characteristic of biblical story cycles: the different literary units create a sequential narrative that suggests continuity of events. This differs from the plot sequence in a story, novella, or novel. See Z. Weisman, *From Jacob to Israel. The Cycle of Jacob's Stories and Its Incorporation within the History of the Patriarchs* (Hebrew; Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 43–44; Shalom-Guy, *Gideon Cycle*, 13–14.

Israel and has a grown son; and the timetable does not fit—seven days from when Saul finished his journey at Samuel’s command in 10:2ff., whereas in chs. 13–14 the assumption is that the war took place long after Saul returned from seeking his father’s asses.⁹⁴

Proponents of the documentary hypothesis attribute these inconsistencies to the joining of sources.⁹⁵ Others view this unit as a secondary addition placed in this context because of 10:8, where Saul is commanded to go to Gilgal and wait there for Samuel for seven days, and perhaps in wake of 13:4b, “all the people rallied to Saul at Gilgal.”⁹⁶ In contrast, some commentators view the episode at Gilgal as an organic part of the narrative.⁹⁷

Consideration of the language shared by Judg 6–8 and 1 Sam 13–14 evinces an intriguing finding: the Gilgal episode shares only two expressions with the verses that relate to the anti-Philistine campaign. These expressions, which are not unique to these narratives, are found in other war narratives, and also in other sections of the Michmash story: one is חָרַד (13:7b; cf. 14:15 [3 times]); the other אָסִיף (13:11; cf. 13:5).⁹⁸ This finding can be explained as grounded in the different topic of this episode—a conflict between Samuel and Saul that ends with an announcement of Saul’s removal from the monarchy—with the war against the Philistines serving as a backdrop.

It is possible, however, to suggest another explanation: this episode, in its current form, reflects a different, later reworking than the Michmash narrative which used building blocks from Gideon’s anti-Midianite campaign. This reworking, which also exhibits incongruities with the surrounding narrative, is concentrated in 1 Sam 13:13–14. I base this proposal on the following arguments:

⁹⁴ Also, the shift from Geba/Gibeah (v. 3) to Gilgal (v. 7b; cf. v. 4b) and then back to Gibeah (v. 15b–16) is clumsy.

⁹⁵ They identify different sources in this passage and attribute these verses to a source separate from the main story, which parallels the narrative in 1 Sam 15. See, e.g., Budde, *Bücher Richter und Samuel*, 191–92, 204–8; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 93–95.

⁹⁶ As already noted by J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuch und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testament* (4th ed.; Berlin: Reimer, 1967), 245; Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 105; H.J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973), 251–52; F. Stolz, *Das Erste und zweite Buch Samuel* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981), 82A; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 228, 230 (who sees the interpolation as part of the prophetic reworking of the book); Klein, *1 Samuel*, 123–24, 127; E.A. Knauf, “Samuel among the Prophets: ‘Prophetic Redactions’ in Samuel,” in Edenburg and Pakkala (eds.), *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists?*, 149–70 (158 and n. 35); Dietrich, *1 Samuel 13:1–14:46*, 8, 34–36. Segal (*Sifre Shmuel*, [introduction] 19–20, 96) assumes, in line with his premise, that this unit originally came from a source on the history of Saul and was added by the historian of Samuel.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., Tsumura, *First Book of Samuel*, 340–49. See also n. 99 below.

⁹⁸ See Table 1.

1. The shift from an emphasis on Saul's obedience to Samuel in the larger unit to a stress on Saul's obedience to God in vv. 13–14. Saul's lack of obedience to God is repeated twice by Samuel at the beginning and the end of vv. 13–14: "You acted foolishly in not keeping the commandments that the LORD your God laid upon you! . . . you did not abide by what the LORD had commanded you." This statement is not the "natural" continuation of the preceding units devoted to the conflict between Samuel and Saul. The words of the narrator in 13:8—"He waited seven days, the time that Samuel [had set]"—allude to Samuel's instructions in 10:8: "Wait seven days until I come to you and instruct you what you are to do next," and stress that Saul fulfilled Samuel's instruction: he waited seven days. As Saul states: "you had not come at the appointed time" (13:11).⁹⁹ It is not entirely clear, however, what constituted Saul's lack of obedience; after all, he did wait seven days (v. 8).¹⁰⁰ This transfer from lack of obedience to Samuel to lack of obedience to God indicates that vv. 13–14 are an addition to this context.¹⁰¹

2. The dissimilation constructed by the author of the Michmash narrative between Saul and the figures of Jonathan and Gideon in order to highlight negative aspects of Saul's personality, especially his weaknesses as the intended leader, were aimed at justifying Saul's removal from the monarchy. It appears that, for the author of the addition, this inherent message did not suffice and he wished to explicitly proclaim not just Saul's removal from the monarchy but also the divine choice of a worthy substitute. In addition, he provides a clear-cut reason for the removal: Saul's failure to obey the divine commands.¹⁰² The rationale and the appearance of Deuteronomistic locutions at its beginning and end—**לֹא שָׁמְרַת אֶת מִצְוֹת ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר צִוְּךָ . . . כִּי לֹא שָׁמְרַת אֶת אֲשֶׁר צִוְּךָ**

⁹⁹ Tsumura (*First Book of Samuel*, 340–49) argues that the date set by Samuel in 13:8 (and 11) is not the one set by him in 10:8, but rather a date on the established cultic calendar (see e.g., Exod 9:5, 23:15; Lev 23:2).

¹⁰⁰ Some scholars argue that Saul did not wait until the end of the seventh day; others that he ignored Samuel's instructions to wait for his arrival, when he would instruct him what to do (10:8). See Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel*, 178.

¹⁰¹ For the conceptual-literary school from which vv. 13–14 emerged, see n. 92 above and nn. 102–103 below.

¹⁰² As Dietrich notes (*1 Samuel 13:1–14:46*, 4; idem, "The Layer Model," 58–59). He argues that in the earlier tradition (which he attributes to a court scribe) Samuel is troubled by Saul's lack of obedience. According to Dietrich (p. 58), an early post-exilic Deuteronomistic author (DtrN) inserted two short interpolations intended to reveal the real meaning of Saul's behavior: namely, he did not keep the divine commandment (1 Sam 13:13b β , 14b β). This tendency is strongly manifested in 1 Sam 15, which stresses what was not underscored in our story regarding Saul's unfitness for the monarchy and his removal. See n. 73 above.

'ה (vv. 13–14),¹⁰³ reveal the identity of the circle to which the author of the addition belonged.

Some commentators view the episode of the consumption of blood (14:31–35) as an addition to the story, an interpolation between the story of Jonathan's sin of eating honey and that of the disagreement between Saul and the people regarding his punishment, further noting that Jonathan is not at all involved in this story of eating blood.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, it appears that, in its current form, this episode fits the story. Its author sought to provide another example of the negative outcome of Saul's hasty oath: hunger caused the people to consume meat with blood at the moment that night fell and the fast ended. This is another manifestation of the condemnation of Saul in the story.¹⁰⁵ However, it appears that the two phrases that underscore the warriors' exhaustion due to hunger, one spoken by a warrior (v. 28) and the other by the narrator (v. 31) which supports the first statement, are additions to the text under the influence of Gideon's anti-Midianite campaign.¹⁰⁶

In conclusion, this comparative consideration of 1 Sam 13:1–14:46 and Judg 6:1–8:35 showed how examination of analogies and differences between biblical narratives and their nature can serve as a tool for uncovering direct dependence, its direction, and its purpose. First of all, as demonstrated here, my argument of direct dependence between the Gideon and the Michmash narratives is grounded in the presence of many, varied analogies between the Gideon and the Michmash narratives that go beyond their belonging to the genre of war, YHWH's war in particular, and on the presence of a unique shared expression in both. Support for my argument for the direction of dependence, namely, that the Gideon

¹⁰³ See M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 336; Nelson, *Deuteronomistic Historian*, 27. For other appearances of these locutions, see שמר מצוה (Deut 11:13, 13:5; Josh 22:5; 1 Kgs 3:14, 6:12, 8:58, 61 among others); לֹא שָׁמַר אֶת אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה ה' (1 Kgs 11:10). Although not unique to Deuteronomy, the phrase ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ (אֱלֹהֵיכֶם) appears there some three hundred times and can be considered typical of it. See A. Rofé, *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Carmel, 2006), 46.

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., McCarter, *I Samuel*, 249, where he suggests that the details of this episode originally belonged to a different tradition (on Saul's first altar to God?), as suggested by Jobling, "Saul's Fall and Jonathan's Rise," 373.

¹⁰⁵ As McCarter, who issues a caveat as to the proposal outlined in the previous note, admits (*I Samuel*, 249). See Klein, *1 Samuel*, 134.

¹⁰⁶ Some commentators view the words of the warrior as a gloss that entered the text, which foreshadows v. 31. See, e.g., J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuels untersucht von Julius Wellhausen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1871), 92; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 138. McCarter (*I Samuel*, 246), as opposed to others (Klein, *1 Samuel*, 138; Tsumura, *First Book of Samuel*, 373; Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 153 note b), claims that this question cannot be decided. See also Dietrich, *1 Samuel 13:1–14:46*, 92 n. 91.

story served as a building block for the Michmash narrative, also comes from the use of Gideon as a foil for the assimilative and dissimilative portrayals of the protagonists at Michmash, and the anchoring of the root **ח"ד** in the Gideon narrative. Finally, a basic criterion in the comparison of parallel texts is the rationale for the differences between one text and its parallel: in this instance the purpose served by the Saul narrative's use of the Gideon narrative as a building block is to place Jonathan in a positive light and ultimately to criticize Saul and to justify his removal from the monarchy. This comparison not only revealed the direct dependence between the narrative of Saul's anti-Philistine campaign at Michmash and Gideon's anti-Midianite campaign but also illuminated the early stages in the formation of the Gideon cycle which focused on description of the war against Midian.

This analysis also has the ability to elucidate the growth of the Michmash narrative. The unit found in 1 Sam 13:7b–15a is evidently a different reworking, later than that of the Michmash narrative which made extensive use of building blocks from the story of Gideon's anti-Midianite campaign. The purpose of this reworking, focused in 13:13–14, was to place additional emphasis on the removal of Saul from the monarchy and on the divine choice of “a man after His own heart” as ruler and its rationale: Saul's failure to obey the divine commandments. The locutions found in these verses are indicative of the Deuteronomistic identity of the school to which its author belonged. As seen here, study of textual analogies therefore has ramifications that go beyond determination of dependence and can significantly contribute to a broader diachronic analysis of texts.