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## ARTICLE II.

GILEAD AND BASHAN; OR, THE PRÆ-MOSAIC  
MANASSITE CONQUEST. ✓

BY THE REV. HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

It is a curious question, Why should the *cause célèbre* of the Zelophehad heiresses crop up in the tribe of Manasseh and in its eastern branch just where we find it? And one wider and no less curious, Why should Manasseh have had an eastern branch, any more than Ephraim or Judah? We find that heiress-question emerging in Numbers xxvii., just after the numbering of the Tribes. They demand "a possession," a "possession of inheritance" (ver. 4, 7); and the direction given (ver. 7) is, "Thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them." And this at once becomes (ver. 11) the basis of "a statute of judgment," "If a man die," etc. (ver. 8), precisely similar in form to laws found in Lev. xv. 2, 19; xxiv. 15, *et al.*<sup>1</sup>

This aptly illustrates the *genesis* of laws out of cases decided, and justifies the process exemplified in the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA for October, 1896, "The Great Pentateuchal Difficulty Met"; and since in the *Churchman*, March, 1897,—that, viz., of translating a judgment back into its facts of origin, and taking these as indicating a social system then existing. It was shown in that October number that a "judgment" in the original sense of the term does

<sup>1</sup>The A. V. renders the conditional clause in such statutes sometimes by "if," sometimes by "when"; but the same Hebrew particle ׀ is represented in either case.

not presuppose a law existing, but emanates from the judge as a decision *pro re nata*, which a divine *afflatus* is believed to communicate to him at the moment. Now I take it that the phrase "a statute of judgment" means a statute founded on a judgment, and recognized as having either a general character, or at least a governing power over other similar cases. Such was the character of this famous decision. It becomes a "statute *unto the b'ne Israel*"; and I may add, retrospectively to the argument traced in the October number, that the "judgments" therein dealt with presumably either, in like manner, became "statutes," or were committed to writing with a view to their becoming such.

With the fact of the question emerging at this particular time, viz., after the latter of the two "numberings," and of its arising in the tribe of Manasseh, is to be connected the fact of the unparalleled increase in the total of that tribe, as compared with the same at the earlier census (Num. i. 35; xxvi. 34). The grand total of all the tribes shows a slight decrease, and amongst those particular tribes, other than Manasseh, which had increased, the greatest proportionate increase is found in Benjamin; which, however, does not reach twenty-nine per cent. In Manasseh, on the contrary, we find an increase of over sixty-three per cent. I do not mean that this vast increment gave direct occasion to a disputed heritage, but that they both result from the same antecedents. Those antecedents form the then most recent event in the Mosaic history—the conquest and annexation of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og. In that conquest I shall try to show that the tribe of Manasseh had—what has hitherto been unsuspected by critics—a præ-Mosaic share. Out of this springs the curious and hitherto unexplained fact that, whereas Moses is, at once after that conquest, beset by a request from the two pre-eminently pastoral tribes, Dan and Reuben *only*, to obtain

an immediate settlement there (and that request is under conditions at once conceded, expressly on the grounds of their having "much cattle," Num. xxxii. 4, 16, 24; Deut. iii. 19); in that concession is included the half-tribe of Manasseh without any such reason urged, without even any petition from its leaders, and seemingly without any explicit explanation afterwards. The request comes from two tribes, the concession is awarded to two and a half, and parallel to this we trace the enormous increase in the tribal total of Manasseh; and then, on the top of all this, comes the question of the Zelophehad heiresses. More curiously yet, we find among the items of the Joshuan settlement one which (Josh. xix. 34) indicates a detached portion of the tribe of Judah as settled "on or by Jordan toward the sunrising." All these hang from the same thread, and that thread it is my present object to trace.

Into the details of the Manassite allotment (Josh. xvii. 2-9), which would lead us into purely local minutiae, we need not now enter. But the two questions above stated are closely connected, and the first important point is to notice that the "inheritance of their fathers" is spoken of as though it were actually in existence,—not future nor contingent,—but a present vacancy waiting to be filled. The formal delimitation of their landed estate may possibly be reserved until the general allotment in Joshua xvii., but in the Gilead-Hepher line<sup>1</sup> that estate stood undoubtedly vested. That there was some clearly established title, so familiar, at the time of Moses' action of assigning "Gilead to Machir" (Deut. iii. 15), that to record it was superfluous, seems certain from the matter-of-course way in which half Manasseh is thrown in with Reuben and Gad in Num. xxxii. 33. Only the condition of armed service in the western wars under Joshua is imposed on all alike.

What then could the Manassite title to eastern territory

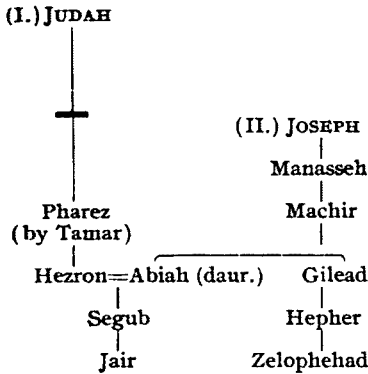
<sup>1</sup> See the tables following on pp. 33, 37.

be founded on? Possibly on præ-Mosaic conquests; and then the closing section of Numbers xxxii. (ver. 39-42) contains not a record of any special share of the persons mentioned in the then recent (Sihon-Og) campaigns, but one of earlier Manassite achievements in the same region. In showing the probability of this being so, I am constrained to appeal to the early genealogies, including those of First Chronicles. But I use them chiefly to show the affinity of the two houses of Judah and Joseph, on which turns an important question of detail, affecting this larger one of the period to which these Manassite conquests belong. It is here proper to remark, that we cannot rely on these genealogies as giving *all* the actual links, nor, therefore, as covering by the links given the whole interval of time between the head of the line and the last descendant named in the register. Lord A. C. Hervey<sup>1</sup> notices that "Just as, in the very first division into tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim were numbered with their uncles, as if they had been sons instead of grandsons, so afterwards, the names of persons belonging to different generations would often stand side by side, as heads of families or houses, and be called the sons of their common ancestor." It follows, that "the sequence of generations may represent the succession to such or such an inheritance of headship of tribe or family, rather than the relationship of father and son;" and further, "that great caution is necessary in using them as measures of time, though they are invaluable for this purpose whenever we can be sure that they are complete."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly it is not uncommon for descendants in any degree to be called, especially where tribal interest only is concerned, "sons" of the first head of their tribe. Thus the "sons of Gilead" in Num. xxvi. 30 appear as "male children of Manasseh" (the original tribal head and Gilead's father) in Josh. xvii. 2, being, in fact, grandsons, or

<sup>1</sup> Dict. of Bible (2d ed.), i. p. 1144a.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

nephews, or possibly great-grandsons. The standpoint of a genealogical compiler of a tribe at any period seems to have been to take the number of greater tribal houses (cf. the phrase "the house of a father"<sup>1</sup> used for such in Num. xxv. 14, A. V. mar.) existing *de facto* at the time; and to reckon each head of such house as the "son" of the tribal patriarch; but how far each might in fact be distant from him in the line of descent remains often doubtful.<sup>2</sup> Thus the "sons of Gilead," each with his "family," in Num. xxvi. 30-32, may include more remote relationships. The lines of descent here specially concerned are two, and

the alliance which they contracted had important consequences. The juniority of Joseph is here indicated by his being placed in a lower line, and the relation (in time) of Pharez to Judah, as virtually that of a grandson, by the longer line between them and the short line across it. Somewhat similar is the time relation of Segub to Hezron, who married Abiah when he was sixty years old, after two earlier wives, one being then deceased. Thus Jair is virtually in the sixth generation from Judah.



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The line of Judah, as regards the completeness of successive links, is here the best attested of the two, being found partly in Gen. xlvi. 12; see also xxxviii. 27-30; Num. xxvi.

<sup>1</sup>See the standing formula in Numbers "by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers"; see Num. i. *scpius*; in Num. xxvi. the standing formula is shorter, the phrase of the text occurs, however, in verse 2.

<sup>2</sup>See the articles "Becher" and "Beriah," Dict. of Bible (2d ed.), i., as examples of such uncertainty.

19-21, more fully in Ruth iv. 18, and 1 Chron. ii. 3 foll. Notice also that in the cases of Pharez and Segub, the maternity is known as well as the father's side. (See especially, for particular points, 1 Chron. ii. 18, 19, 21, 24.) The line of Manasseh from Joseph is found in Num. xxvi. 29-33, and 1 Chron. vii. 14-19, as also allusively in Josh. xvii. 1-3. But no one, I think, can read the account in 1 Chron. vii. without a sense of confusion and incompleteness; as a parallel to which may be adduced the confused state of the companion pedigree from Ephraim in the same chapter, verse 20 foll., the entanglement arising from which is discussed under SHUTHELAH in the Bible Dictionary.<sup>1</sup> Nor is that from Benjamin in a much more hopeful state, in which "Huppim and Shuppim" (whose sister appears to have been the wife of Machir ben-Manasseh) alternate as the sons (under somewhat varied forms of names) of Benjamin in Gen. xlvi. 21; Num. xxvi. 39, and as his great-grandsons in 1 Chron. vii. 12; while in the next chapter (viii. 1-5) they appear as his grandsons! Amidst such confusion it is difficult to formulate a conjecture which can carry preponderant probability.

Before I venture one, I will mention the chief doubts which beset this Manassite pedigree in 1 Chron. vii. It is doubtful whether (1) the sons of Manasseh named in verse 14 were of one mother or of two; (2) whether the "wife" whom one of these sons, viz. Machir, "took of Huppim and Shuppim" in verse 15<sup>2</sup> (whose own place in their pedigree is most doubtful, as shown above) was their sister or any other relative; (3) whether the person "whose<sup>3</sup> sister's

<sup>1</sup> 1st ed., iii. p. 1304.

<sup>2</sup> A further doubt is started by our finding that in the Peshito Syriac version of 1 Chron. vii. 15 this princess, Mââcâh, is made to be not Machir's wife, but his mother.

<sup>3</sup> The only thing certain is, that it was a male; the pron. suffix to "sister" being sing. masc., as shown in R. V. mar.

name was Maacah" was Machir or Gilead; (4) It is doubtful how the gap which follows evidently next after that last statement, before ". . . . and the name of the second was Zelophehad"—for there is no "first" to lead up to and explain that "second"—should be filled up. More singular than all is the indirect way in which the name of "Gilead" is brought in—one quite different from any of the usual formulations. We are told that Manasseh's concubine "bare Machir the father of Gilead," and at the end of verse 17, after a number of sons, grandsons, etc., apparently of *Machir*, have been enumerated, the chronicler informs us, "These were the sons of Gilead." Of course rhetorically this, by way of magnifying Gilead as the real hero of the house, is very effective. But who would suspect rhetoric to lurk among the dry twigs of a family-tree? This, at any rate, shows us the measure of the sense to be attached to the word "sons" in this record of family names, with which compare in Judges xi. 1, "Gilead begat Jephthah."

Nor is the mass of doubt relieved appreciably when we turn to Num. xxvii. 29-33.<sup>1</sup> There we find the clear descent in the first three links, as in First Chronicles, "Manasseh, Machir, Gilead." But next, Asriel, who in First Chronicles (as Ashriel) is the son of Manasseh, appears as the third among six, all "sons of Gilead," of whom the last is Hopher, who has one son Zelophehad, who, as in 1 Chron. vii., has daughters only. Take next the statements of Josh. xvii. 1-4, and there we find the hero of the house is not Gilead, but Machir—"because he was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan" (ver. 1); there too the same six heads of families, all given in Numbers as sons of Gilead' are "the male children of Manasseh ben-Joseph"—all set down, that is, to the first head of the tribe (ver. 2). In the context, however (ver. 3), this is explained

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also xxvii. 1 and xxxvi. 1.



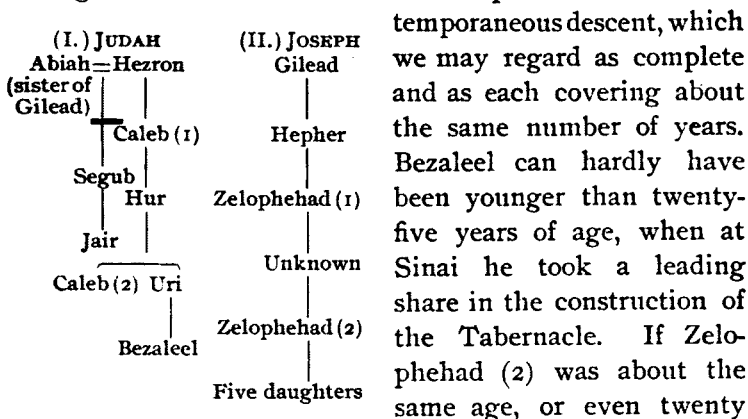
by tracing the descent of Zelophehad through Hopher, just as in Numbers, with the names of his daughters following, as there. Joshua, in fact, repeats Numbers, but glorifies Machir; while neither relieves the doubts left open by 1 Chron. vii.

It is, further, remarkable that only in this passage of the chronicler do we find such a phrase as "whose . . . name was," and "the name of the second was . . .," and again "she called his name . . .," I mean, *without* any special reason for the name being added. On the contrary, very emphatic, and even pathetic, are the reasons given for the names of Jabez (1 Chron. iv. 9) and of Beriah (1 Chron. vii. 22). Everywhere else we have merely the fact of the person being called so-and-so, without the fact of "the name" being thus objectively presented. The names so objected are nearly all significant in Hebrew, and probably all in that or some cognate language. Most curiously so is Zelophehad, evidently a compound, and probably meaning, "Shadow of [perhaps in the sense of "shelter from"<sup>1</sup>] terror"; but what were the reasons for so singular a designation is a widely open question. It is of course easy to imagine that some crisis of alarm in the fortunes of a young settlement far from the supports of home may have called it forth. But names once given tend to recur in a family line; as that of Jair in this very family (Num. xxxii. 41; Judg. x. 3); and Benjamin appears in 1 Chron. vii. 6, 10 with a grandson of his own name. I suggest then that, in 1 Chron. vii. 15, "The name of the second was Zelophehad," the word "the second" (*hashênî*) has somehow got into the wrong place, and that what the text, when entire, conveyed, was the fact that there was a "second" of the name, with probably an intervening link or links between the two, and that this second was the father of the five daughters on whose account the question of inheritance

<sup>1</sup>See Isa. iv. 6; xxv. 4; xxxii. 2; Jer. xlvi. 45; Ps. xvii. 8, *et al.*

was raised. Assuming this, we should have seven links between Joseph and these heiresses, i.e., they would be the eighth in descent from him.

This supposed hiatus in, or confusion of, the text of 1 Chron. vii. 15, which has given us one Zelophehad instead of two, may be compared with the fact that the two Calebs, between whom a generation intervened, are confounded in ii. 49.<sup>1</sup> The first Caleb (or Chelubai) is (1 Chron. ii. 9, 18) a son of the Hezron who became late in life the father of Segub. Thus we should have two parallel lines of con-



years younger, he might easily have had five daughters of whom the elder ones would be marriageable by the Sihon-Og conquest. But if we make them the daughters of Zelophehad (1), they would certainly then be aged women, and have been married long before. They expressly state, "Our father died in the wilderness" but "not . . . in the company of Korah" (Num. xxvii. 3). He therefore came forth out of Egypt. We may assume that the elder Zelophehad (1) had returned from the land of Gilead to Egypt, perhaps under the Amorite pressure. Disappear-

<sup>1</sup> Of course it is open to any one to suggest that the first Caleb may also have had a daughter named Achsah. But probability seems in favor of the heiress of Judg. i. 12-15 (cf. Josh. xv. 16, 17) being intended.

ing thus from the eastern line and region, he would be lost to its record, and would easily be confounded with Zelophthead (2). Again, Jair, although virtually in the third age from Hezron, could not have been young enough in the last year of the Wandering to start on a victorious career in that year. Placed as I have set them, Jair, if already settled in Bashan, with the influence of his great-uncle Gilead to second him, might, as a youthful warrior, easily compass his feat of arms during the period of Moses' early life, or of his exile in Midian. Nobah we cannot fix for lack of *data*; but to deem him a contemporary and tribesman of Jair would best fit what we know.

Yet more cogent is the name Gilead as common to the Manassite prince, heir to Machir the renowned warrior, and to the region in which he settled. If on the older historical theory that Manassite line shared the oppression in Egypt and marched out at the Exodus, and merely took part in the Sihon-Og campaign with the rest of Israel, how can we account for the region taking the name of a Manassite prince long ago dead and buried in Egypt? But suppose Machir, Joseph's heir by adoption, to have led a victorious settlement north-eastward from the Egyptian frontier, with all his grandfather's Egyptian influence to second him, we see at once why his eldest son should share the name of the region which he first won by conquest<sup>1</sup>; and why that name should embody, with a slight dialectic deflection, the *gal'ced*,<sup>2</sup> or "heap of witness," of Jacob's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. iv. 17, where Cain calls "the name of the city" which "he builded," after "the name of his son, Enoch."

<sup>2</sup> The name "Mount Gilead" in verses 21, 23 is easily accounted for as given "by anticipation," the fact being that the sacred writer knew of no other older name for it. The names גִּלְעָד and גִּלְעָר only differ in their vowel-points; but the latter in this, the earliest passage where it occurs, has the article הַ prefixed. This might, unpointed, be as easily read the "Mount of the Witness-heap" (cf. ver. 47), הַר הַגִּלְעָד. In Josh. xvii. 1 Machir is called אָבִי הַגִּלְעָד, "father of the Gilead." But as the latter of

memorable covenant with Laban in Gen. xxxi. 45 foll. For the facts of Jacob's life would surely be most clearly preserved and most dearly treasured in the line of Joseph's descendants. Joseph would have witnessed as a boy the whole scene at the *gal'eed*. He reached Egypt young enough to imbibe its culture and habits of record. His mental powers were far beyond those of his brethren, and his profound personal faith in the promise (Gen. i. 25) would prompt him to preserve the facts, and impress them upon Machir, whom he adopted (ver. 23).

And here a word in reference to this, his eldest grandson, may be opportune. Can any one read Josh. xvii. 1, especially in the Hebrew, without the conviction that the warlike heroism of a *person* is meant to be emphasized there? Literally rendered it stands, ". . . For Machir [was the lot], first-born of Manasseh, father of the Gilead; for HE [emphatic pronoun] was a man of war," (the same term as is repeatedly applied to David<sup>1</sup>) "and [=therefore] to HIM was the Gilead and the Bashan." To take this as merely denoting the valor of his posterity, called by their eponym collectively, as fighting under Moses' direction, is to mulct the phrases of all their expressiveness. It must denote the warlike achievement of an individual. And when we grasp this, the question is virtually settled. Nor indeed would the statement that the posterity of Machir "had the Gilead and the Bashan" territory, suit the facts; for the tribal territories of Reuben and Gad were carved out

two nouns in regimen takes the article, where due in English to the former, this may be correctly rendered, as in A. V. and R. V., "the father of Gilead" (the person). It may, however, mean "first settler of Gilead" (the region); for this sense of "father" is often found in Hebrew, as indeed in English. But, if taken thus, it will be even more apparent that the *personal* Machir, not Machir as a mere eponymous appellative for his descendants, is intended in Josh. xvii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> See 1 Sam. xvi. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 8; 1 Chron. xxviii, 3; also to Goliath, 1 Sam. xvii. 33.

of and deducted from them. But take the whole as of a personal Machir, and no such deduction need be made—the facts fit the statement absolutely. Not indeed that we need suppose that the whole areas known, say at the period of the settlement by Moses, as “Gilead” and “Bashan,” had been previously won and held by Machir and his sons; but merely that, so far as those areas had been previously won and held, the achievement was Manassite.

A few other isolated texts will be found to confirm the view above suggested. Thus in Josh. xiii. 29–31, Moses' allotment to “the half tribe of Manasseh,” after defining its area with chief cities, we read *not* “this was the inheritance of the b'ne-Manasseh after their families,” which is the usual formula of conclusion (see xv. 12; xvi. 8; xviii. 28; xix. 8, *et al.*), but (A. V.) “*were pertaining* unto the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, even to the one-half of the children of Machir by their families;” or (R. V.), “were for the children of Machir,” etc. The verbs “were pertaining” and “were,” respectively, have no Hebrew equivalent. But the way in which the Hebrew puts it, “*lib'ne Machir*”<sup>1</sup> merely, especially when coupled with the double mention of Machir's name, seems to denote a possession belonging in some other sense than by mere allotment at the time, and probably by title of earlier conquest.

Again, in Josh. xix. 34 we find a mysterious “Judah-upon-Jordan” as the eastward boundary of Naphtali.<sup>2</sup> This has long puzzled commentators. If it lay east of Jordan and high north, it may be easily explained by the marriage

<sup>1</sup> This preposition *li* or *le*, thus prefixed, often denotes “belonging to;” as, in 1 Chron. vii. 15, Machir took a wife *belonging to* Huppim, i. e., the sister, or the like, of Huppim.

<sup>2</sup> It should be observed that the mention of this spot does not occur in the enumeration of towns, etc., allotted to Judah as a tribe, given before in chapter xv., but in the delimitation of that of Naphtali, a remote northern tribe; of any affinity of which with Judah nothing whatever is recorded.

of Hezron of Judah with Machir's daughter, supposed to imply a settlement from Judah in the region which Machir won. It was natural that so important a union should be territorially represented; and Jair, the fruit of it in a later generation, would thus find a local basis on each side of his parentage for his further conquest. It is of course supposable that Hezron himself may have migrated to the Bashan region; at any rate, Jair's being found prosecuting victories afterward on the spot, suggests that Segub, Jair's father, the Manassite princess' son, was born there, and that the Judah-Manassite dynasty was some three generations old, when Og, who doubtless had greatly shorn it of its splendor, was overthrown.

Yet further, a daughter of Machir and sister of Gilead is mentioned (1 Chron. vii. 17, 18) as "the queen regnant" (so render *Hammoleketh*,<sup>1</sup> treated by A. V. and R. V. as a proper name). Where she reigned is not precisely stated. Can we conceive her as reigning in Goshen among the House of Israel there? That seems inconsistent with all known facts. But as the leading lady of a great dynasty newly settled by conquest east of Jordan,—perhaps the very one whom Hezron of Judah married, and therefore grandmother of Jair, the victor of the then future,—she would have ample scope for her influence. This all falls in with the dominance of Egypt, during perhaps the whole century last but one before the Exodus, throughout this whole region, now fully established in detail by the Tel-el-Amarna tablets.<sup>2</sup> Nor need we doubt that its imperial in-

<sup>1</sup> See Dict. of Bible, s. v., which compares *Hammelek* of Jer. xxxvi. 26; xxxviii 6. Abiezer, from whom (if not another of the name) Gideon was descended, was a son of hers.

<sup>2</sup> In Major Conder's Tel-el-Amarna tablets the first section (p. 11 foll.) relates to "the Hittite invasion of Damascus," with a mention of Bashan (p. 28) as a tract overrun by their advance. This may have been the movement which resulted on the monarchies of Sihon and of Og, by which the "Hayoth-Jair" of Bashan (Deut. iii. 14) would be lost to the Manassites until Moses' conquest.

fluence, and perhaps its material resources, would be ready to second the ambitions of the House of Joseph, whose Egyptian *prestige* would not yet be exhausted. We read in Petrie's Egypt (i. p. 315) of the Pharaoh's messengers as attacked by certain chiefs in the neighborhood of Bashan; again (p. 275), a letter found among the Amarna Tablets is from "the Governor of Ziri-Basani [the plain of Bashan] to the king of Egypt"; and (p. 304) Golan, under the form of Kalunni, appears to have been within the earliest sphere of Egyptian influence. For "Golan in Bashan of the Manassites," see Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8. Probably the periods covered by Tahutmes III. and IV. (1481-1414 B.C.) would coincide with these facts of Manassite expansion.<sup>1</sup>

This ascendancy of Egypt in the region between Nile and Euphrates would make, while it lasted, intercourse easy between the main stock of the House of Joseph in Goshen and its eastern branch. When that ascendancy failed, the latter would be cut off from the former, and left unsupported to bear the brunt of the Amorite enemy. Losing touch of Egypt and having to struggle unaided for its life, that eastern branch might easily lose also the thread of record and wander off the track of continuity. That is probably why that continuity is now but dimly visible in a vestige still uneffaced here and there. Meanwhile the king and dynasty which had patronized the House of Joseph vanished, and the curtain of the oppression and the affliction fell upon the home center on which the eastern branch had relied for support. Then comes to the front the Deliverer, the exodus is accomplished, the wandering is over, and on the threshold of the land of promise the long-lost branch is restored to the parent stem.

<sup>1</sup> See Records of the Past (New Series), ii. 57 foll.; iii. 55 foll., also Petrie's Egypt, i. p. 250 foll., from which the date above is taken. Other chronologists have placed it some seventy years or more earlier.

The impression derived indeed from those Amarna tablets is, that the Amenôphis dynasty relied largely upon its foreign empire and its alliances and connections near to and beyond the Euphrates; and that it received the first serious shock from the Hittites, with the Amorites as their allies, breaking in upon this northeastern extension, and so cutting it loose from these extern supports. Another passage, obscurely betraying early Manassite settlement, is 1 Chron. v. 23, where, after narrating the settlements and conquests of Reuben and of Gad (ver. 9-17), and after grouping both these (ver. 18) with "half the tribe of Manasseh," just in the same mechanical unity, without reason assigned, as in Num. xxxii. 33, the chronicler, having repeated the exploit against the Hagarenes, which, at first Reuben's (ver. 10), is now made common to these three tribal units (ver. 19-22) jointly, seems to sum up with a statement which brings us down to "the captivity." This done, why should he return to the "half-tribe of Manasseh" with the perfectly otiose statement (ver. 23) that "they dwelt in the land"? I believe that he had old documents before him here, the sense of which, that that half-tribe "*had settled* in the land," i.e., previously to the other two, he failed to grasp, but which he reproduces with mechanical fidelity.

And now I revert to Num. xxxii. 39, and try to restore in the same sense what I believe to be the true text. That which we find now is, "And the children of Machir ben-Manasseh went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorite which was in it." Here the verb "went" is plural, "took" is made plural by pointing only, but "dispossessed" is singular. Note then verse 40, "And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir ben-Manasseh; and he dwelt there." I suggest that "the children of" (*b'ne*) has got into the wrong place, that the verbs were originally *all* singular, and all but one bear a pluperfect meaning. Render there-



fore thus, "And Machir ben-Manasseh *had* gone to Gilead and taken it and dispossessed," etc. "And Moses gave Gilead to the sons (*lib'nê*) of Machir ben-Manasseh; *for*<sup>1</sup> he *had* settled there." Observe that verses 41, 42 name *single* victors only, Jair and Nobah, which suggests that verse 39 did the same, by naming Machir as the first of the three. But long before the text was finally redacted the whole tradition of a præ-Mosaic conquest east of Jordan had been probably for ages lost. We can explain indeed why it was early lost. The trans-Jordanic tribes were the first to disappear from the map of Israel's heritage. Their early conquest was fatal to them, involving the seeds of their early decay and effacement.

Machir was born of an "Aramean concubine" (1 Chron. vii. 14; LXX. of Gen. xlvi. 20). The name Maacah, identical with that of the Syrian region, and doubtless originally denoting a native of it, appears more than once in the scanty record as that of a wife and mother in the Manassite line.<sup>2</sup> We may infer a custom of free intermarriage with the idolatrous tribes, which indeed there was neither law nor custom, thus early, to prohibit;<sup>3</sup> and this, by the way, explains the sensitiveness of the home-tribes when, on the departure of the eastern brethren over Jordan, these reared the "great altar" of Josh. xxii. 10, and accounts in particular for the allusion to "the iniquity of Peor" in verse 17. That reference is to the sin into which the Moabitish women had led Israel in Numbers xxv. It explains also the warning of Joshua (Josh. xxiii. 12) against "making mar-

<sup>1</sup>The use of *ve-* prefixed, in a wide range of conjunctive meanings, including "for" causative, is recognized by all lexicographers,

<sup>2</sup>1 Chron. ii. 48; vii. 15, 16; the mother of Absalom, a Geshurite Syrian, also bears the same name (2 Sam. iii. 3). One Maacah referred to in the text would seem to be a Benjamite, but the passage is too confused and corrupt to affirm this as certain.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph's wife was Egyptian (Gen. xli. 45). Thus the Manassite would be a highly mixed race, a fact which, on the principle of heredity, will account for a good deal.

riages with" heathen races. Into this snare the half-tribe had already fallen, and the evil tradition propagated itself most probably in the other eastern tribes. In accordance with this we read (Ezra ii. 61-62; Neh. vii. 63-64) that, on the Return, certain priestly families had intermarried with "daughters of Barzillai," the eastern magnate of David's time, and had lost their genealogies, being tribally reckoned to Manasseh, which involved the loss of their priestly *status*. Their effacement from the priesthood is typical of that of their tribe, with the other eastern tribes, from the area of olden possession and early conquest.

And now I revert to an older passage, to the curious Song of the *Môsh'lim* ("they that speak in proverbs," A. V.) in Num. xxi. 27 foll., which so curiously begins with the exultation of Sihon the Amorite over Moab, and ends with that of Israel over Sihon himself. The last portion springs naturally out of the then recent victory. But how to account for the Amorite's pæan being preserved, is the difficulty. Total extermination of Sihon and his people is what the record tells (Deut. ii. 34). Therefore it could not be from them that the victors could learn it. To think that the vanquished Moabites would have treasured up their victor's song of victory over them, and passed it on to the Israelites, of whom they had a fear and a jealousy (Num. xxii. 4), is of course absurd. But if there was a Manassite settlement on the spot, which had witnessed the crushing defeat of Moab, and heard the song on the victorious Amorites' lips, the whole difficulty vanishes.

And here I am inclined to add one or two references to the Deuteronomic laws. It has often been urged against the law of "the landmark" and the curse against whoso "removes" it (Deut. xix. 14, xxvii. 17), and especially in regard to the phrase, "which they of old time have set in thine inheritance," that such a law couched in such language implies the long-settled habits of land in traditional

possession, and therefore is inconsistent with the outlook of a legislation for lands yet to be won. But suppose the Manassites resuming their heritage, now of some ages standing, from which they had been temporarily expelled by Amorite victors, and with all the old landmarks still *in situ*, and we have exactly the situation of all others to call for such a law. For the twofold shocks of conquest, the one reversing the other, would open a wide door to unscrupulous encroachment of the powerful upon the weak, and directly tempt all parties to ignore what the storms of war might seem to have swept away and the rights of victory to have superseded. Here then the Moses of Deuteronomy stands amply vindicated.

The same, or nearly so, may be said of the law forbidding usury (Deut. xxiii. 19-20) between brother Israelites, but allowing it towards aliens, against which a similar objection has been raised. The situation is that of nearly one-third of the nation newly and suddenly settled by conquest, while the remainder has its heritage yet to win. All of the available capital of this remainder might be employed by the newly settled portion; while the alien races with whom Israel had newly become acquainted, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, offered a similar field for loans with interest; of which Eastern Manasseh, having the advantage of earlier possession and domestication on the spot, might readily avail themselves. Thus, if a law of usury was ever necessary, it would be now.

Nor should we omit to notice some obscure words in Jacob's blessing on his best beloved son in Gen. xlix. 22 foll., where the word rendered "branches" is literally "daughters," and the verb agreeing, viz. "run," is singular. For this latter, Gesenius renders *s. v.* "*reach* (over the wall)." Here, "as for his daughters, one of them reaches over," etc., would be more exact.<sup>1</sup> The above stated connection

<sup>1</sup> I am of course aware of the Hebrew idiom, by which a feminine sing-

of the Manassite Abiah of 1 Chron. ii. 21-24 with Hezron of Judah, especially if identical, as suggested, with the "Hammoleketh (queen regnant)" of vii. 18, would give Jacob's presage a significance at once emphatic and precise. Of course the word "daughters" is strictly figurative, but is not therefore barred from finding expression in the thing figured. The warlike turn of the further imagery (ver. 23-24) "archers . . . bow," etc., further favors this (although other interpretations are not wanting),—a presage of Joseph's grandson being the warlike Machir.

Again, in Deut. iii. 14, "Jair ben-Manasseh took all the belt of Argob unto the coast of the Geshurite and Maacathite, and called them after his own name Bashan-Havoth-Jair unto this day." This marks an advance in chorographic precision on the more general statement of Num. xxxii. 41, the outline of distance being, as it were, filled up by nearer view or closer study while the actual allotment was going on. And here I should prefer to render "Jair . . . *had* taken . . . *had* called," as before, and to read "Havoth-Jair of Bashan," by a simple change of order in the words. The Havoth-Jair were lost to the Manassites through the inroads of the Geshurites and Syrians<sup>1</sup> (1 Chron. ii. 23). At what time this took place is uncertain; but no doubt later than Solomon's time. The Jair of Judg. x. 3-5, a Gileadite and a Judge of Israel, with his thirty sons and thirty cities, was presumably of the same house; and in these cities probably the original "twenty-three" of 1 Chron. ii. 22 were included. The "threescore cities" of 1 Chron. ii. 23 evidently also included Kenath and others, and formed the total of the cities of Bashan (1 Kings iv. 13). Originally clusters of kraals or hovels,

ular verb agrees with a plural subject of things without life. But *bānūth* "daughters," although figuratively used, yet is a personal image, and here, I conceive, figures a person or persons.

<sup>1</sup> See the correct version in R. V., that of A. V. being there erroneous.

we may assume that they rose in the scale of size, wealth, etc., but retained the name (really *Hhavvoth-Jair*) as our own "Tower hamlets."

The conquests of Sihon and Og must have narrowed or absorbed the Machir-Jair territory. But we further realize these latter's anterior settlement in Num. xxxii. 34 foll. The Gadites and Reubenites there "build" (perhaps *re-build*, after havoc of war) certain cities. We have no such thing told of the Manassites; but what instead?—their conquests recited. How unmeaning this, if all had shared the same conquest of Moses, and all inflicted the same havoc of war! Why, one may ask, did the Manassites *not* rebuild? The probable answer is, that their cities were not destroyed. But why were they not? Because they, the former owners, were present on the spot to reclaim their lost ownership. Thus what Moses did was to regrant either the whole or a large part of the earlier Manassite area to the posterity of Machir, Gilead, etc. And thus the whole Mosaic narrative, and the Joshuan too, in respect of this Manassite allotment, which everywhere in Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua is attended with a reference to the exploits of Machir, etc., hangs fitly together; and all its obscurities are cleared, as soon as we grasp this fact of an earlier conquest. But look later yet to Judg. xi. 26, where Jephthah "the Gileadite" is arguing with the b'ne-Ammon, that for "three hundred years" Israel had owned territory beyond Jordan. Here I know of no chronological reckoning by which that term, if dating from Moses' conquest, can be made out. But assuming a settlement made there by Joseph's grandson, it becomes perfectly easy. "Gilead begat Jephthah" (in the sense already fixed above) is what we read in Judg. xi. 1, and Jephthah would no doubt have kept the tradition of his fathers.

The designation of the great elder branch of Joseph's House by its sub-patriarch Machir is, I may add, confirmed

by that early document the Song of Deborah (Judg. v. 14-17). When "Gilead abode beyond Jordan," and Renben hesitated and temporized, "out of Machir there came down chieftains "to aid the jeopardized cause of western patriotism. And here it is noteworthy that Machir here denominates the western, and Gilead the eastern branch of the tribe, and that they held each its own policy. This suggests that Machir ben-Manasseh never lost the supremacy of his whole tribe. Having established his son in "the Gilead," and given him its name, he may have returned to Goshen with increased renown, for traveling between that region and Egypt must have been easy then. Similarly in Josh. xiii. 31 b "*the one-half* of the b'ne-Machir" is clearly equivalent to "the half-tribe of Manasseh." A later Machir<sup>1</sup> (the name traveling down the family, like that of Jair) relieved the fallen fortunes of Mephibosheth, and recruited the exhausted resources of David (2 Sam. ix. 4, 5; xvii. 27-29), after which the name disappears from history.

And finally, we see why Moses in Deut. iii. 14 speaks of the "Havoth-Jair of Bashan" being so called "*unto this day*"—a phrase singularly otiose and frigid, if the whole series of events concerned had happened since the death of Aaron, and one which has of course furnished a handle to "the higher criticism" to impugn a Mosaic Deuteronomy; but which recovers its suspended animation the moment the light of rectified history is thrown upon it.

One sees now at once why the Manassite total at the second census (Num. xxvi. 34; cf. i. 34-35) jumps up sixty-three and more per cent—it was by the reunion of long-severed members. The same series of facts explains some obscure features of the succession of certain Israelite families, as reckoned through the mother. Thus Segub ben-Hezron of Judah becomes a Manassite, and Zelophehad's

<sup>1</sup> Called by Josephus (Ant. vii. 9 § 8) the chief of the land of Gilead.

heiresses become heads of families in the same tribe (Num. xxvii. and xxxiv.). So, as before noticed, the priestly husbands of "the daughters of Barzillai" became tribally Manassites. We see clearly why Machir becomes an eponymous hero, and why in Numbers - Deuteronomy - Joshua - Judges he is singled out and erected into patriarchal *status*. He was, in fact, the morning-star of eastern conquest, pre-luding to the brilliant trans-Jordanic campaign of Moses, as well as, in his posterity, conducing to and accounting for its rapidity and completeness. His descendants were there in the rear of the enemy and placed them, so to speak, between two fires. Apart from this and until this is recognized, the prominence given seemingly to the Manassite share in that later conquest lacks any assignable reason; for all Manassite glories fade away after David's reign. Down to perhaps the reign of Solomon the remembrance that Hezron of Judah had married the daughter of Machir might keep Manassite memories green in Judah. The subsequent disruption, and next the captivities by Tig-lath Pileser and by Shalmanezzer, would all tend to efface them. The tendency of the history is against such waning traditions surviving where there was a total lack of institutions to embody them. And plainly any great remoteness of the first recorder from the facts recorded would have been fatal to the preservation of this obscure and scattered mass of indications, all pointing one way. But if the Hexateuch, or the fundamental documents of its history, were really nearly contemporaneous with the facts related, we have then a natural and easy conduit along which the memory of these intricate tribal matters might float down. But one thing is certain:—Assume a real Moses as Exodus and Deuteronomy present him, and he must have been familiar with every detail. Between his Egyptian education, his eastern exile and his strong patriotic sympathies, the bed-roll of early Manassite victors, if real, could not have escaped him.

And conversely, the possibility of retracing, mutually connecting, and integrating these blurred indications goes some way towards confirming the reality of the Moses presented by Exodus and Deuteronomy.

And recurring to the question with which I started, that of the Manassite heiresses, and its close connection with the fact of the eastern branch of that tribe, as an independent entity, we see now how the latter was a condition *sine qua non* of the former. There must, we may feel morally certain, have been plenty of bereaved orphan daughters left unbrothered among the "thousands of Judah" and of the other tribes. But only in Manasseh's eastern branch did the question arise, and I think I have shown that only there could it have arisen. Nothing, we may feel certain, is further from the genius of any early legislation than to provide a theory for cases before they arise in fact. In the case of Zelophehad's daughters, they claimed to represent and embody the title of descent from Machir, Gilead, and Hephher to a heritage which had come down through some two centuries of user, and had only been *de facto* interrupted through an intrusive hostile possession. That intrusion having ceased, their patrimony lies before them in concrete fact, and they claim to be invested with it. On its settlement in favor of the right they claim follows the further one of limiting their right of matrimonial choice, this latter being a corollary of the former (Num. xxxvi. 6 foll). The case emerges exactly where we ought to find it, if the main lines of the exodus history are true. The numbering of Numbers xxvi. brought the main stock and the dissevered branch of "Joseph" together in conscious unity. The latter comes into touch with the hopes and fortunes of Israel as a whole; and therefore the question is settled not by any court of mere tribal elders, but by the highest jurisdiction of the nation now realizing its corporate capacity. The broad side-light thus shed on the narrative of the en-



suing Joshuan occupation, cannot be without important exegetical influence as we read,<sup>1</sup> for, indeed, it is shed from a lost page of patriarchal history, now restored.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge indebtedness for the main hint of this subject, which I have here endeavored to work out, to the late Rev. John Sharp, D.D., sometime Rector of Elmley Lovett, Worcestershire, in whose notes on the prophet Hosea (Dissertation iv.) the induction as regards Machir is fully drawn out. His work has not met with the notice which its eminent powers of research and exposition deserve, and I gratefully take this opportunity of attempting to extend the recognition due to it.