

The Book of Judges in Medieval Muslim Historiography

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I. Preface

The medieval Judeo-Islamic experience, often characterized as a "symbiosis,"¹ encouraged dialogue and cultural interaction between the sovereign Muslims and the Jews, the "People of the Book,"² to whom the Muslims extended their protection and tolerance. So uninhibited were many of these exchanges that a 10th century Muslim theologian of Andalusia, Abū Omar Ibn Saḍī, told of the anomalous situation he had witnessed in Baghdad wherein Jews, Christians, and Muslims sat together debating religious philosophy, thereby providing—ignominiously he thought—for the public recitation of "infidel" scriptures alongside the glorious Qurʾān.³

Yet, to many other early Muslim authors the Jewish scriptures, along with other Jewish sources and informants, were required to provide details concerning the numerous Biblical personalities mentioned in the Qurʾān whose lives, they believed, were meant to guide and inspire their own.⁴

II. The Sources

A. Tabari. One such Muslim author was Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr at-Ṭabarī (224–310 A.H. / 839–923 C.E.),⁵ who, as other Muslim historians, regarded Biblical history (along with the history of Persia) as prolegomenous to that of the Caliphate,⁶ and whose compendious history of the world, the *Taʾrīkh ar-Rusul waʾl-Mulūk*,⁷

1 S. D. Goitein: *Jews and Arabs* (New York, 1974), 6 et passim.

2 Qurʾān 3:110, 4:152.

3 Reported by al-Ḥumaydi (d. 488/1095); cited by M. Ventura in *Sefer R. Saadiah Gaon* (Jerusalem, 1943), 311.

4 M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden, 1972), 25: "We know that Muhammad describes individual persons, viz. the Israelite patriarchs, as 'Muslims'. Knowledge of these persons came to him (and his Arab contemporaries or even to their ancestors) from outside, through accounts from Jews and Christians."

5 *EI*¹ (Leiden, 1934), 4:578f. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1968), 134–35. R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1969), 350–52.

6 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 91–93. J. De Somogyi, "The Development of Arabic Historiography," *JSS* 3 (1958), 376.

7 Two editions have been utilized: M. J. De Goeje: *Annales At Tabari* (Leiden, 1964), 2:546–47, and the Cairo edition (Dar al-Maʿarif, 1967), 1:465–66. All references are from the Cairo ed. unless noted.

discusses the Biblical patriarchs and prophets at some length.⁸ Tabari's chronicle of the Biblical Judges, around which this study will center, relies on a variety of sources, Jewish and Muslim, written and oral,⁹ with which it will be compared. Particular attention will be paid to the transmission of the names of the Judges and the chronology of the era.

B. al-Ya'qubi. 'Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī (d. 277/891) was a Shi'ite historian who wrote the first general history in Arabic. He exerted a discernible and appreciable influence on both Tabari and Mas'udi.¹⁰

C. Mas'udi. 'Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956),¹¹ was a prolific and versatile author whose works encompass history, geography, cosmology, meteorology, and astronomy, as well as Islamic law and jurisprudence. Mas'udi travelled extensively throughout the Muslim East, China, India, and Ceylon, and his accounts of places and peoples outside of the orbit of Islam exerted a considerable influence on subsequent writers.¹²

In his *Kitāb at-Tanbīh*¹³ and *Murūj adh-Dhahab*,¹⁴ Mas'udi, who was acquainted with Saadiyah Gaon's Biblical commentaries and who had read the Bible himself,¹⁵ discusses the era of the Judges.

D. Hamza. Ḥamza al-ʿIṣfahānī wrote a history entitled *Kitāb Taʾrīkh Sanā Mulūk al-ʿArḍ waʿl-ʿAnbiyāʾi*,¹⁶ which he completed in 350/961.¹⁷ Like his older contemporary, Mas'udi,¹⁸ Hamza, too, gives prominence in his book to the history of the children of Israel, which he learned in Baghdad in 308 A.H. from a Jewish scholar named *Ṣidqiya* (Zedekiah).¹⁹

E. Biruni. A remarkable work on ancient chronologies, the *Kitāb al-ʿAthār al-*

8 Curiously, not one medieval Arabic discussion of Biblical history is cited in the section entitled "The Medieval Period" of J. Hayes and J. M. Miller, *Israelite and Judean History* (Phila., 1977).

9 F. Rosenthal, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography," in B. Lewis, ed., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 35-45; B. Lewis, "The Use by Muslim Historians of non-Muslim Sources," *ibid.*, 180-91; W. Bacher, "Bibel und biblische Geschichte in der muhammedanischen Literatur," *Jeschurun* (ed. Kobak) 8 (1978), 1-29.

10 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, passim. I. Goldziher, *A Short History of Classical Arabic Literature* (Hildesheim, 1966), 124; A. A. Duri, "The Iraq School of History in the Ninth Century—A Sketch," in B. Lewis, ed., *Historians*, 53; T. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography; The Histories of Mas'udi* (Albany, 1975), 83. The edition utilized was: *Taʾrīkh al-Ya'qūbī* (Beirut, 1960), 1:47-48.

11 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 136; *EI*¹, 3:402f.

12 Ibn Khaldun regarded Mas'udi as one of the few reliable historians and indicates that he exerted a strong influence on his accounts of the non-Islamic world. Cf. Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*, trans. F. Rosenthal (Princeton, 1967), 1:63. On Mas'udi's treatment of pre-Islamic history, cf. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 81f.

13 Ed. M. J. De Goeje, *Kitāb At-Tanbīh waʿl-Ischrāf* (Leiden, 1894).

14 Ed. Meynard et Courteille, *Les Prairies d'Or* (Beirut, 1966), 1:56-60. All references to Mas'udi herein are to the *Murūj* unless otherwise specified.

15 *Tanbīh*, 113, 1.5; Bacher, *Bibel*, 18.

16 Ed. Berlin (no date), 60-62.

17 Goldziher, *Short History*, 124.

18 According to one report, Hamza was actually a student of Tabari; cf. E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Hamza al-ʿIṣbahānis* (Berlin, 1909), 7.

19 Hamza, *Taʾrīkh*, 57; Mittwoch, *Hamza*, 5. According to Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 74, n. 1, Hamza similarly secured his information on Graeco-Roman history from a Greek. Elsewhere (*Taʾrīkh*, 60), Hamza refers to a book written by a *Finkhās bin Bāṭa al-ʿIbrānī*, i.e. 'the Hebrew'.

Bāqiyah,²⁰ was written by another indefatigable traveller and researcher, ḂAbū RaiḂhān MuḂammad ibn ḂAḂmad al-Bīrūnī (362–440 / 973–1048).²¹ Biruni actually gives two parallel, though not identical, versions of the chronology of the era of the Judges. He labels one *Kitāb al-ḂAḂhbār*, which appears to follow the Massoretic Text, and the other *Kitāb Sīdar ḂŪlām* which follows the Rabbinic chronographic work of the same name (*Seder ḂOlam*).

F. ThaḂlabī, KisaḂī. Several “Traditions” (*ḂAḂdīth*)²² apropos of this era are recorded in the *Qīṣṣaṣ al-ḂAnbiyāḂī*, the Tales of the Prophets, of Abū Ishāq ath-ThaḂlabī (d. 1035 C.E.)²³ and MuḂammad ibn ḂAbd-allah al-KisāḂī (written c. 400/1009).²⁴ Part of a literary genre called, for obvious reasons, *ḂIsrāḂīliyyāt*,²⁵ these Tales cite earlier authorities, notably KaḂb al-ḂAḂbār²⁶ and Wabh ibn Munabbih,²⁷ Muslims of Arabian Jewish origin,²⁸ who introduced much Jewish legendary material to Islam during its very first century.²⁹

G. Abu l-FidaḂ. The *Mukhtaṣir fī ḂAḂhbār al-Bashr* (Compendium of the History of Mankind) of IsmāḂīl Abū l-FidaḂ (d. 748/1347)³⁰ begins with pre-Islamic history. Along with Hamza and al-YaḂqubi, Abu l-FidaḂ is considered to have the most accurate information about Jewish history.³¹

H. Ibn Khaldun. The *Muqaddimah*, or Prolegomenon, is but the first of seven volumes which constitute the *Kitāb al-ḂIbar*,³² the monumental “Universal History” of this

20 Ed. C. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1923), 72f. English trans. by Sachau, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London, 1879), 84f. Also cf. Martin Schreiner, “Les Juifs dans al-Beruni,” *REJ* 12 (1886), 258-66.

21 *ET*² (Leiden, 1960), 1:1236f.; Goldziher, *Short History*, 116. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 137, says that Hamza was a principal source for Biruni’s work on chronology.

22 On ḂAḂdīth, in general, cf. A. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford, 1924).

23 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, passim. The edition utilized was Cairo (no date; 1331 A.H. ?), 332.

24 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 404, n. 3. The edition utilized was I. Eisenberg, *Vita Prophetarum* (Leiden, 1922), 242f.

25 S. D. Goitein, *Tarbiz* 6 (1935), 89–101, 510–22.

26 I. Wolfensohn (Ben Zeev), *KaḂab al-AḂbar und seine Stellung in Hadit und in der islamischen Legendliteratur* (Gelnhausen, 1933); idem, *ha-Yehudim be-ḂArav* (Jerusalem, 1967), 71; M. Perlmann, “A Legendary Story of KaḂb al-AḂbār’s Conversion to Islam,” in *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (N.Y., 1953), 85–99.

27 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, passim; idem, *Influence*, 41; A. Guillaume, *The Life of MuḂammad* (Oxford, 1970), xv, xviii. According to I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1970), 89. Tabari also used Biblical legends of KaḂb and Wabh.

28 KaḂb converted during the reign of the Caliph ḂUmar, and Wabh was a Yemenite Muslim of Jewish ancestry. (Cf. n. 74 *infra* re: ḂAbd-Allah b. Salām, another early Jewish convert to Islam.) Papyrus fragments bearing the traditions of Wabh were published by N. Abbott, *JNES* 5 (1946), 169–80, and idem, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* (Chicago, 1957), vol. 1, thereby confirming his, and KaḂb’s, historical reality.

29 On the relationships between the Qissas and the Midrash, cf. inter alia, M. Grunbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893) and I. Eisenberg, *Die Prophetenlegenden des Muhammad ben Abdallah al-Kisai* (1898). For further references cf. M. Sokolow: “Yisraēl ve-Yishmael; Aspects of Jewish and Muslim Folk-Literature,” *Gesher* 6 (1977–78), 109f., nn. 1–2.

30 Goldziher, *Short History*, 147. The edition utilized was H. O. Fleischer, *Historia Anteislamica* (Leipzig, 1831), 34f.

31 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 91.

32 Ed. Bulaq (1867–68), 2:89–93. All references to Ibn Khaldun herein are from *ḂIbar* vol. 2 unless otherwise specified.

famous North African historian and social philosopher of the fourteenth century (1332–1406). Like his predecessors, he, too, recorded Israel's past.³³ Unlike his predecessors, he continued beyond Biblical history to chronicle the Second Temple era as well, relying for the most part on the book *Yosiphon*.³⁴

I. Bar Hebraeus. Though a Syriac Christian, Gregorius Bar Hebraeus' "Chronicle"—a history of the world from creation to his own time (1226–1286)—was based upon Hebrew and Arabic, along with Syriac and Greek sources.³⁵

These sources for the era of the Judges will be compared with the Massoretic Text as well as with several classical and medieval Jewish sources for the same period:

J. *Seder Olam*, the standard work of Rabbinic chronology, ascribed to the late Tanaitic era.³⁶

K. *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, the "Book of Tradition," written in Spain in the twelfth century by Abraham ibn Daud (c. 1110–1180).³⁷

L. *Kitāb at-Ta'rikh*, the "Book of History," attributed to Saadiah Gaon (882–942).³⁸

M. *Seder Olam Zuta*, dated from the 6th–9th centuries.³⁹

III. Tabari's Account of the Era of the Judges (followed by a two-part commentary explaining: a) the transmission of the names; and b) the chronological data):⁴⁰

The era between the death of *Yūsha' bin Nūn*—during part of which the jurisdiction over the children of Israel was (in the hands) of their judges and leaders, and partly (in the hands) of foreigners who subjugated them and ruled over them—until they established their own monarchy, and prophecy returned to them with *Shamwīl bin Bālī*, was 460 years.

The first of those to be made ruler over them, as it is written, was a man of the descendants of *Lūṭ* named *Kushān*, who subjugated them and humiliated them for eight years until they were rescued by *Kalib*'s younger brother, named *Utnīl bin Qinas*, who exercised authority over them, as it is written, for forty years.

Then a king named *Ajlūn* was made to rule over them and he subjugated them for eighteen years until they were rescued, as it is written, by a man from the tribe of *Binyāmīn* named *Ahūd bin Jirā*, whose right hand was withered, who exercised authority over them for eighty years.

Then a Canaanite king named *Yāfīn* was made to rule over them for twenty years until they were rescued, as it is written, by a prophetess from amongst the (Israelite) prophets named *Dabūrā*, while their leadership was conducted for forty years by a man, *Bārāq*, acting on her behalf.

Then a nation of *Luṭ*'s descendants was made to rule over them, (a nation) whose encampments were within the borders of the *Hijāz*, who subjugated them for seven years, until they were rescued

33 W. Fischel, "Ibn Khaldun: On the Bible, Judaism, and the Jews," in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem, 1956), 2:147–71.

34 W. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun in Egypt* (California, 1967), 138–55; and, on Ibn Khaldun's Jewish sources, 118–19.

35 E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronology of . . . Bar Hebraeus* (London, 1931), 1:15–17. The names of the accompanying Table I s. v. Bar Hebraeus, follow Budge's transliterations.

36 Ed. B. Ratner, *Seder Olam Rabbah* (1966), 50–55.

37 Ed. G. D. Cohen, *The Book of Tradition* (Phila., 1967), Hebrew text 6–7.

38 Ed. A. Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* (Oxford, 1895), 94–99. On the attribution to Saadiah, cf. H. Malter, *Saadiah Gaon, His Life and Works* (N.Y., 1926), 353.

39 Ed. Neubauer, *Medieval*, 69. The date 804 (C.E.) appears in a manuscript published by S. Schechter, *MGWJ* 39 (1894), 23–28.

40 The names in the following text are given the vocalization closest to that of the Massoretic Text, yet consistent with Arabic phonetics.

by a descendant of *Naḥthalī bin Yaʿqūb* named *Jidʿūn bin Yuwāsh*, who conducted their affairs for forty years.

After *Jidʿūn* their affairs were managed by his son *ʿAbīmalik bin Jidʿūn* for three years. After *ʿAbīmalik* they were led by *Tūlagh bin Fuwā*, the son of *ʿAbīmalik*'s maternal uncle—and some say the son of his paternal uncle—for twenty-three years.

After *Tūlagh* their affairs were conducted by a man from the children of Israel named *Yaʿīr* for twenty-two years. Then they were ruled by the *Banū ʿAmūn*, a nation inhabiting Palestine, for eighteen years until a man named *Yiftaḥ* rose to lead them for six years.

After him they were led by *Yakhshūn*, an Israelite man, for seven years, and after him *ʿAlūn* led them for ten years, and after him *Kirūn*—some call him *ʿAkrūn*—(led them) for eight years.

Then the Philistines subjugated them, and their rule lasted forty years. Then *Shamsūn*, an Israelite man, commanded them for twenty years. Then they remained without a leader or a chief after *Shamsūn*, as it is written, for ten years.

After that, *ʿAlī* the *Kāhin* exercised authority over them, and in his days the people of *Ghaza* and *ʿAsqilān* seized the ark of the covenant. When forty years had elapsed, *Samwīl* the prophet was dispatched and *Samwīl* managed their affairs, as it has been mentioned, for ten years.

Then they asked *Samwīl*, at a time when they were suffering from humiliation and disgrace at the hands of their enemies on account of their having disobeyed the Lord, to grant them a king with whom they would strive in God's path. *Samwīl* told them what God had already described (in this regard) in His noble book.

(a) The Transmission of the Names (see the accompanying table).⁴¹

N.B. It should be borne in mind that many letters in the Arabic alphabet are distinguished only by the number and location of diacritical points which are not always distinct in manuscripts.

1. *Yūshaʿ*: i.e., Joshua. This Arabic form of the name was already present in pre-Islamic times.⁴² Abu l-Fida³ gives his complete genealogy as: *Yūshaʿ b. Nūn b. ʿAlīshāmāʿ b. ʿAmmīhūdh b. Laʿdān b. Tāḥan b. Tālah b. Rāshaf b. Rāfaḥ b. Bariʿā b. ʿAfrāʿim b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb* (cf. 1 Chr. 7:20–27).

2. *Kūshān*: Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim (Judg. 3:8), whom the Talmud⁴³ identifies with Laban the Aramean. Hamza calls him the king of Aram who lived near Damascus. According to opinions cited by Abu l-Fida³, he was king of Mesopotamia, Cyprus, or Armenia.⁴⁴ *Yaʿqubi* and *Masʿudi* call him *al-kufri* 'the infidel', which is related to the literal meaning of the Hebrew *rishʿatayim*. Ibn Khaldun, similarly, calls him *ʿazlam az-zalamīn* 'the most evil one'.

Cushan's identification here, and in Hamza, as a descendant of Lot⁴⁵ may derive, ultimately, from the juxtaposition in Ps. 83:9 of Assyria (Aram-naharaim) with "the sons of Lot" in the context of Jewish-Gentile struggles, which includes other episodes from the Book of Judges such as Midian and Sisera (v. 10) and Zevah and Zalmunah (v. 12). According to Abu l-Fida³, though, Cushan was descended from Esau (ʿīṣ).

41 See the previous note. In Abu l-Fida³ and Ibn Khaldun, several of the names are spelled and vocalized; these names are indicated on the accompanying Table by an asterisk.

42 J. Horovitz, *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran* (Hildesheim, 1964), 35.

43 TB *Sanhedrin* 105a.

44 Mesopotamia is called *al-Jazīrah* in Arabic. Since *Jazīrah* literally means 'an island', this may account for Cushan's association with the island of Cyprus. Armenia (*al-ʿArman*) may be a corruption of *ʿAram*.

45 On the name *Lūṭ*, cf. Horovitz, *Jewish names*, 7–8, n. 7, and *EI*¹, 3:53–54.

Table I: THE NAMES (* indicates that the name was spelled and vocalized by the historian himself)

Hebrew	Ṭabari	Yaʿqubi	Masʿudi	Ḥamza
Kūšān	Kūshān	Kūshān	Kūshān	Kūshān
ʿOtniʿel b. Qenaz	ʿUtnīl b. Qinas ʿUtnīl b. Qīs	ʿUthnāʿil b. Qinaz	ʿUthnāʿil b. Yūfannā	—
ʿEglōn	ʿAjlūn Jaʿalūn	ʿAqlūn	ʿAjlūn	ʿAqlūn
ʾEhūd ben Geraʾ	ʾAhūd b. Jīrā ʾAʿūr	ʾAhūd b. Jīrā	ʾAhūd	—
Šamgar ben ʿAnāt	—	Shamḡar b. ʿĀnāth	Shāmḡār b. ʾAhūd	—
Yābīn	Yāfīn	Yābīn	Yābīn	Bābīn
Deḡorā	Dabūrā	—	Dabūrā	—
Bārāq b. ʾAḡinōʿam	Bārāq	Bārāq b. ʾAbīnaʿim	Bārāq	—
Gideʿon b. Yoʾāš	Jidʿūn	Jidʿān b. Yuwās	Jidʿūn	Jidʿūn b. Yuwāsh
Aḡimelekh	ʾAbīmalik ʾAbīmāk	ʾAbīmalik	ʾAbū Malakh	ʾAmlak
Tolaʿ ben ben Pūʾa	Tūlagh	Tālaʿ b. Fuwa	Tūlaʿ	Tūlaʿ b. Fuwā
Yāʾīr ha-Gileʿādī	Yāʾīr	Jaʿād	Yāʾīr	Yabīn al-ʾIsraʾīlī
Yiptāḡ	Yiftāḡ	Yiftāḡ	—	Yiftakh
ʾIbšān	Yakhshūn Yajshūn	ʾAbīšān Nakhshūn	Bajshūn Naḡshūn	Yaḡsūn
ʾElōn	ʾAlūn	ʾĪlān	ʾAmlaḡ	ʾAlūn
ʿAbdōn	Kīrūn / ʿAkrūn	ʿAkrān	ʿAjrān	ʿAbdūn
Šimšōn	Shamsūn	Shamsūn	Shansūn	Shamsūn
ʿĒlīr	ʿĀlīr	ʿĀlīr	ʿĪlī / ʿĪlān	Ghālīr
Šemūʾēl	Samwīl Shamwīl	Shamwīl	ʾIshmāwīl	Shamwīl

3. *ʿUtnīl bin Qinas*: In the old (1917) J. P. S. translation: “Othniel the son of Kenaz Caleb’s younger brother” (Judg. 3:9). In the new (1978) version: “Othniel the Kenizzite, a younger kinsman of Caleb.” This ambiguity is paralleled in the Muslim sources. While in Yaʿqubi he is *ʿUthnāʿil bin Qanaz* the brother of Caleb, in Masʿudi he is *ʿUthnāʿil bin Yūfannā* the brother of Caleb. In Abu l-Fidaʾ he is *ʿthnīʾāl*, a brother to Caleb through their mother, and in Ibn Khaldun: *ʿUthnīʾāl* the son of his (Caleb’s) brother *Qināz* the son of *Yūfanā*. Hamza omits him entirely.

A variant reading of *ʿUtbīl* in the Cairo edition of Tabari must be regarded as a copyist’s error. A variant there of *Qīs* would appear to have Kenaz confused with Kish, the father of Saul. It could, however, be the result of a softening of the *z* and the misreading of medial Arabic *nūn* as *yā*.

4. *ʿAjlūn*: Eglon king of Moab (Judg. 3:12). So De Goeje, while the Cairo edition reads, metathetically: *Jaʿalūn*. In Abu l-Fidaʾ and Ibn Khaldun it is spelled and vocalized *ʿAghlūn*. While Tabari consistently renders Hebrew *gimmel* by Arabic *jīm*,

<i>Biruni</i>	<i>Abu l-Fida</i> ²	<i>Ibn Khaldun</i>	<i>Bar Hebraeus</i>
—	Kūshān	Kūshān	Kūshān
ʿUthnīl b. Qināz	ʿAthnī ² al* b. Qanāz	ʿUthnī ² al	ʿAthnī ² ēl
ʿAghlun	ʿAghlūn*	ʿAghlūn*	ʿEglōn
ʾIhūd b. Kīra	ʾAhūd ² *	ʾIhūd ² *	ʾAhōr b. Gīrā
Shamkār b. ʿAnath	Shamkār b. ʿAnūth	Shamkār*	Shamgar b. ʿAnath
—	Yabīn	Yafīn*	Nābhīn
Dabūra	Dabūra	Dāfura*	Deborah
Bāraq	Bāraq*	Baraq	Bāraq
Jidhʿūn	Kadhʿūn	Kadhʿūn*	Gedʿōn
ʾAbīmalik	ʾAbīmālikh*	ʾAbu Malikh	ʾAbimelech
Tulāʿ	—	Ṭulāʿ* b. Fuwā	Tolʿā
Yāʾīr al-Jilʿadhī	Yuʾāʾīr* al-Jurashī	Yaʾīr* b. Kalʿād	Yair
Yiftaḥ	Yuftuḥ*	Yiftaḥ*	Naphtaḥ
ʾIbṣūn	ʾAbṣūn*	ʾIbṣān*	ʾAḥḥīṣān
Nakhshūn	—	—	—
ʾIlūn	ʾĀlūn*	ʾIlūn*	ʾAlōn
ʿAbdūn	ʿAbdūn*	ʿAbdūn / ʿAkrūn	ʿAkhrōn
Shimshūn	Shamshūn*	Shamsūn	Shemshōn
ʿĀlī	ʿĀlī	ʿĀlī	—
Shamwīl	Shamwīl	Shamwīl	—

Biruni renders it as *ghayin* in Eglon, *kāf* in (Ehud ben) Gera and Shamgar, and as *jīm* in Gideon. Yaʿqubi and Hamza’s readings of ʿAqlūn most likely confused medial Arabic *ghayin* and *qāf*. Hamza lists his kingdom as *Dhāb*, likely a corruption of *Māb* (Moab) in which form it appears, for example, in Abu l-Fida².

5. ʾAhūd bīn Jīrā: Ehud the son of Gera the Benjaminite (Judg. 3:15). According to Yaʿqubi, Masʿudi, and Biruni, however, he was an Ephraimite, based, perhaps, on Judg. 3:27: “. . . and he had the ram’s horn sounded through the hill country of Ephraim.” Ibn Khaldun calls him an Ephraimite, too, but cites Ibn Ḥazm⁴⁶ to the effect that he was a Benjaminite. Hamza omits him, too.

A variant reading of ʾAʿūr, and in Bar Hebraeus *Ahōr*, would appear to be patterned after the LXX: *Aōd*, with a confusion of medial Arabic *dāl* and *rā* ensuing.

46 Distinguished Spanish author and polemicist against Samuel ha-Nagid. Lived 384–456/994–1064.

right hand withered: The MT calls Ehud: ^ויֵשׁ יְיִתֵּר יָד יְמִינֹו which the Targum renders as: *g^emīd biy^edeh diyamīna*, that is, withered or paralyzed, which definition is accepted by Rashi and David Kimhi, too. Both J. P. S. versions, however, (following *BDB*?) translate it as “left handed.” Josephus, too, treats it as left-handed,⁴⁷ while Ya^cqubi calls him “ambidextrous” (literally: ‘master of the two right hands’).

6. *Yāfīn*: Jabin king of Canaan (Judg. 4:2). In the Cairo edition the name appears as two words (*yā fīn*) which is probably a typographical error. While Ya^cqubi, Mas^cudi, and Abu l-Fida³ read *Yābīn*, Ibn Khaldun defends the spelling *Yāfīn* arguing that *fā* is a closer approximation (*taqraba*) of the Hebrew. Hamza’s *Bābīn*, his error or a copyist’s, misreads initial *yā* as *bā*, and the variant he cites: *Nāqīsh*, would appear to be a corruption of *Yāfīn*. Bar Hebraeus’ *Nābīn* has confused Syriac *nūn* and *yōd*.

7. *Dabūrā*: Deborah (Judg. 4:4). The Arabic name is patterned after the word *dabbūr* meaning, as in Hebrew, ‘wasp’ or ‘hornet’. Ibn Khaldun again explicitly prefers *fā* over *bā*, reading: *Dāfūrā*. Ya^cqubi refers only to Barak, while Hamza and Abu l-Fida³ record neither one.

8. *Bārāq*: Barak the son of Abinoam of Kedesh-Naphtali (Judg. 4:6). Abu l-Fida³ and Ibn Khaldun read his father’s name as two words: ^אAbī Nū^cam.

acting on her behalf: based on the reading *min qibalhā*, and is supported by Mas^cudi’s: *dammat ^וilayhā* ‘accompanied by (Barak)’. Were we to emend the text to read *min qabilhā* ‘from her tribe’, we would have a trace of yet another Midrashic tradition which says: “Deborah (like Barak) came from the tribe of Naphtali.”⁴⁸ Another Midrash, however, says she came from Ephraim,⁴⁹ a view supported by Judg. 4:5: “She used to sit . . . in the hill country of Ephraim.” Ibn Khaldun records both of these opinions, adding that “some say” Deborah was married to Barak, an opinion cited by two Midrashim⁵⁰ and noted (Judg. ad. loc.) by Kimhi and Gersonides.

9. *Lot’s descendants*: The reference here is to the Midianites into whose hands the children of Israel were delivered for seven years (Judg. 6:1). Their association here and in Hamza with Lot would appear to derive from the frequent juxtaposition in the Qur^ʿan of the “folk of Lot” and the Midianites.⁵¹ Though wandering over a broad expanse, the Midianites’ place of origin was the Hijaz in northern Arabia.⁵² The Hijaz is also associated, traditionally, with the *b^enē qedem* (Judg. 6:33) who participated in the battle. Indeed, Josephus⁵³ actually refers to them in this context as “Arabs.”

10. *Jid^cūn bin Yuwāsh*: Gideon the son of Joash (Judg. 6:11). Abu l-Fida³ calls him *Kadh^cūn*, and Ibn Khaldun, in confirmation, stresses the preference for *kāf* over *jīm*. Gideon speaks of his family as “the poorest in Menasseh” (ibid., 15) with which Ya^cqubi, Mas^cudi, and Ibn Khaldun concur. Tabari, however, places him in Naphtali, perhaps on account of the inclusion of men from Naphtali in his original army (ibid.,

47 *Antiquities*, 5:4,2.

48 *Midrash Tehillim* (Jerusalem, 1968), 61 (cpt. 22).

49 *Midrash Tadshe* (ed. Epstein, 1887), cpt. 8.

50 *Yalqut Shim^coni*, Judges 42. *Esther Rabbah*, 10:48.

51 Surah 11:79–85; 7:80–85, inter alia.

52 S. Abramsky, “Midian,” *EJ* 11:1506.

53 *Antiquities*, 5:6,1.

35). Biruni calls him *Jidh'ūn bin 'Ufrā*, which exchanges his home, Ophrah, for his father.

Gideon's test of his men by the water (Judg. 7:4f.) is ascribed by the Qur'an⁵⁴ to Saul. According to Judg. 8:10, his troops slew 120,000 of the enemy. According to Ya'qubi, they slew 285,000 Midianites. Ibn Khaldun even adds the names of the two Midianite kings: *Rābiḥ* (a corruption of *Zābiḥ* for Zebah), and *Ṣalmūnā*, and their generals: *'Uḍif* (a corruption of *'Urif*, for Oreb) and *Zadif* (for Zeb, Arabs inclining towards rhyming paired names such as *Jālūt* and *Ṭālūt*, for Goliath and Saul, and *Hārūn* and *Qārūn*, for Aaron and Korah).

11. *ʿAbimālik*: Abimelech the son of Gideon (Judg. 9:2). Ḥamza cites the name as *ʿAmlak*, Abu I-Fida' explicitly vocalizes it as *ʿAbīmālikh*, while Mas'udi and Ibn Khaldun render it as two words: *ʿAbū Mālakh* and *ʿAbū Malīkh*, respectively. The variant *ʿAbīmak* cited by De Goeje is comparable to the form Abimelech's name takes in the Persian version of Tabari's "History."⁵⁵

Ya'qubi notes that he slew his 70 brothers (Judg. 9:15) and was slain by a woman who cast a stone upon his head from atop the city gate (ibid., 53). Ibn Khaldun adds that his mother was a descendant of *Shakhām bin Manashī bin Yūsuf* from the people of Nablus, seemingly unaware that *Shekhem*, from which his mother actually came (Judg. 8:31), is in reality Nablus. Josephus gives Abimelech's mother's name as *Drōma*.⁵⁶

12. *Tūlagh bin Fuwā*: Tola the son of Pua (Judg. 10:11). This spelling with *ghayin* is unique to Tabari, and, if not erroneous, is quite unusual since a name spelled with an *ʿayin* in Hebrew and a *ghayin* in Arabic will normally appear in Greek, where extant, with a *gamma*. However, most LXX manuscripts here read: *Thola*. There are two variants, though:⁵⁷ *Thōlax*, which approximates the expected form, and *Thōgal*, which has it metathesized.

son of Abimelech's maternal uncle: MT: *ben dōdō*. Rashi, Targum Jonathan, and the J.P.S. translations treat *dōdō* as a proper noun. Ibn Khaldun treats it as *Dāʿud*, or David. David Kimhi, however, cites a variant Targumic reading of *bar ʿaḥ ʿabūhr*⁵⁸ 'the son of his father's brother', a reading confirmed by the LXX. Tabari's identification is more precise. Since Gideon, Abimelech's father, was of the tribe of Menasseh (*supra*), and Tola is expressly designated 'a man of Issachar', they could only have been related through Abimelech's mother! In fact, Ibn Khaldun cites Tabari's view and its alternative and rules in favor of the former precisely because Abimelech and Tola were from different tribes. The alternative mentioned by Ibn Khaldun, namely that of paternal uncle, would appear to be that of Ibn al-ʿAmīd,⁵⁹ who said that Gideon, and hence Abimelech, was from the tribe of Issachar and only lived in the hill country of Ephraim.

54 Surah 2:250.

55 M. Zotenberg, *Chronique de . . . Tabari* (Paris, 1867), 1:413.

56 *Antiquities*, 5:7,1.

57 Brooke-McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek* (London, 1917), 4:835; mss. 'r' and 'i'.

58 A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (Leiden, 1959), 2:69 n.

59 Also known as Jirjis al-Mākin (d. 1273 C.E.); cf. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun in Egypt*, 117.

Masʿudi and Biruni identify Tola as an Ephraimite. Yaʿqubi concurs in Issachar, which appears erroneously as *Yushājir*.

13. *Yāʿīr*: Jair the Gileadite (Judg. 10:3). Yaʿqubi calls him *Jalʿād*, while in Biruni the name appears in full: *Yāʿīr al-Jilʿādhi*. *Yānin*, in the Cairo Tabari, is a corruption, as is Hamza’s *Yābīn* (surnamed *al-ʿIsrāʿīlī*). Yaʿqubi, Masʿudi, and Ibn Khaldun note that he was from Menasseh. Abu l-Fidaʿ apparently combined Tola and Jair to produce: “a man of Issachar named *Yuʿāʿīr al-Jurashī*.”

14. *Yiftah*: Jephtah the Gileadite (Judg. 11:1). Biruni again gives the full form *Yiftah al-Jilʿādhi*, likewise Abu l-Fidaʿ: *Yuftuh al-Jurāshi*. Bar Hebraeus’ *Naphtah* would appear, again, to have confused *nūn* and *yōd*. In Yaʿqubi he is “a man from the people of Gilead named Jephtah, of the tribe of Menasseh,” the tribe noted by Abu l-Fidaʿ, too.

15. *Yakhshūn*: The reference is clearly to Ibzan from Bethlehem, who followed Jephtah and indeed served for seven years (Judg. 12:8-10). In the Talmud⁶⁰ Ibzan is identified as Boaz, whose grandfather was Nahshon (Ruth 4:20–21). In fact, Masʿudi and Biruni have the form *Nahkshūn* from which *Yakhshūn*, *Yajshūn*, *Bajshūn*, etc., are corrupted.

While Masʿudi and Ḥamza note that he was from Bethlehem,⁶¹ only Yaʿqubi uses the Biblical form *ʿAbīṣān min Bayt Laḥm*, *ʿAbīṣān* resembling the LXX *ʿAbaiṣān*. Abu l-Fidaʿ calls him *Abṣūn* from the tribe of Judah, and Ibn Khaldun: *ʿIbṣān* of Judah, from Bethlehem, who “some say was *Būʿaz* the grandfather of David.”

16. *ʿAlūn*: Elon the Zebulunite (Judg. 12:11). Yaʿqubi: *ʿĪlān*; Abu l-Fidaʿ: *ʿĀlūn*; Ibn Khaldun: *ʿĪlūn*. The form *ʿAmlah* appearing in Masʿudi resembles the form that Abimelech’s name takes in Hamza (*ʿAmlak*), but here it obviously refers to Elon who did rule for ten years as noted.

17. *Kirūn* / *ʿAkrūn*: The reference is to Abdon the son of Hillel the Pirathonite (Judg. 12:13). The variants—including *Latrūn* and *Līzūn* (Tabari); *ʿAkrān* (Yaʿqubi); and *ʿAjran* (Masʿudi)—are corruptions of either *Kirūn* or *ʿAkrūn* (the latter form credited by Ibn Khaldun to Ibn al-ʿAmīd as well). Hamza reads *ʿAbdūn*, with an *aleph*, while Biruni, Abu l-Fidaʿ, and Ibn Khaldun have *ʿAbdūn*.

The attempt has been made in preceding notes to explain variant readings in Tabari and elsewhere as Arabic orthographic corruptions, but the reading of *ʿAkrūn* (or *ʿAkhrūn*, as in Bar Hebraeus) for Hebrew *ʿAbdōn* is clearly due to a distortion of the original Hebrew name with the exchange of the nearly identical consonants *bet-kaf* and *dalet-resh* עכרין – עכרין.

Hamza adds that he had 40 sons and 30 grandsons riding with him (Judg. 12:14). According to Abu l-Fidaʿ he was from Ephraim, and according to Ibn Khaldun he was buried in Ephraim (ibid., 15).

18. *Shamsūn*: Samson (Judg. 16:31). In Masʿudi: *Shanshūn*; in Biruni and Abu l-Fidaʿ: *Shamshūn*. In Hamza and Abu l-Fidaʿ he is given the epithet *al-Jabbār* ‘the

60 TB *Baba Bathra* 91a.

61 Hamza and Masʿudi’s renditions in this context are noted by Bacher, *Bibel*, 23, nn. 4,6. Hamza is also cited by L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Phila., 1968), 6:187, n.31. It is now apparent that Tabari made the association between Ibzan and Nahshon even before Hamza.

hero', and in Biruni *al-Qawīy* 'the mighty'. Ibn Khaldun gives both, in addition to which he and Abu l-Fida³ give his father's name: *Mānūḥ* (Manoah) and his tribe: *Dān*.

19. *Alī*: Eli the Priest. In Ya³qubi: *Ālī*; in Mas³udi: *Īlān*, which might actually refer to Elon, or: *Īlī*. Hamza's reading of *Ghālī* may be a copyist's error.

the Kāhin: In discussing the period between Moses and Samuel, Ibn Khaldun says in the *Muqaddimah*: "The person from among them who was in charge of their religion was called the Kohen. He was, in a way, the representative (Caliph) of Moses . . . The Kohen was higher in religious rank than (the seventy elders) and more remote from the turbulent legal authority."⁶²

Ya³qubi calls him *al-ʿAḥbarīy* 'the rabbi'.⁶³ According to Abu l-Fida³ the *Kāhin*, called *Kūhan* in Aramaic, is an *ʿImām*, and according to Ibn al-ʿAmīd, cited by Ibn Khaldun, he is a *walī* 'holy man'. In the *ʿIbar*, Ibn Khaldun gives Eli's genealogy back to Aaron according to two traditions, one via Eliezer, the other via Ithamar, the latter tradition appearing in Josephus as well.⁶⁴ Ibn Khaldun also records that Eli had two evil sons and that in his days the Philistines (in Mas³udi: the Babylonians!) captured the Ark.

20. *Shamwīl*: Samuel the son of Elkanah. Both *Shamwīl* and *Samwīl* are pre-Islamic Jewish names, the latter showing a greater affinity for the Syriac pronunciation.⁶⁵ Though not mentioned by name in the Qur^ʿan, Samuel, called *ʿIshkawīl bin Halkānā*, is identified by Ibn Quṭaybah as the prophet mentioned in Surah 2:247, and adds that "there was no prophet between him and Joshua."⁶⁶

bin Bālī: Al-Kisa^{ʿi} gives his genealogy as: *Shamwīl b. Nāl b. Ham b. ʿUn b. Waḥd b. Harūn*.⁶⁷ Ibn Khaldun, more closely approximating the Biblical forms (1 Sam. 1:1; 1 Chr. 6:17–20), cites it as *Shamwīl b. ʿAlkanā b. Yuwām* (also *Yarūḥām*) *b. ʿAlyāhid* (also *ʿAlīhūdh*) *b. Yaʿū b. Sūf*, further describing *Sūf* as the brother of *Ḥāsāb b. ʿAlbālī b. Yuhās*, making Samuel the son of the paternal uncle of Eli, whose own genealogy he gives as *ʿAlī b. Ḥāsāb b. ʿAlyān* (= *ʿAlbālī*) *b. Finḥās* (= *Yuhās*).

Tabari's *Bālī*, Kisa^{ʿi}'s *Nāl*, and Ibn Khaldun's *ʿAlbālī* are all corruptions of the Arabic form of *ʿAlyāl*, corresponding to Hebrew *ʿEliel* (1 Chr. 6:19).

Ibn Khaldun records yet another genealogical tradition, which relates Samuel to *Fūrah* (read: *Qūrah*), i.e., Korah (1 Chr. 6:22), as follows: *Shamwīl b. ʿAlqānā b. Yarūḥām b. ʿAlīhūdh* (= Elihu) *b. Yūḥā* (Toah) *b. Šūf b. ʿAlqānā b. Yuwīl* (= Joel) *b. ʿAzīr* (= Azariah) *b. Šanʿīnā* (= Zephaniah) *b. Tāḥat b. ʿAsr* (= Asir) *b. ʿAlqānā b. ʿAnishāsāt* (= Abiasaph) *b. Qārūn* (-Korah).

Ibn Quṭaybah gives his mother's name as *Hannah*,⁶⁶ and Abu l-Fida³ adds that he was born in Eli's city, the holy site, *Shlū*.

62 Rosenthal, *Muqaddimah*, 1:473–74.

63 Or, more generally, 'the religious authority'. The same title was held by one of the aforementioned Jewish converts to Islam, Ka^{ʿb} al-ʿAḥbār (cf. n. 26 *supra*).

64 *Antiquities*, 5:11.5.

65 Horovitz, *Jewish Names*, 35.

66 Ibn Quṭaybah (d. 882 C.E.), *Kitāb al-Maʿarīf* (ed. Cairo, no date), 44. This statement appears to have been made on the authority of Wahb ibn Munabbih (cf. n. 27 *supra*).

67 Eisenberg, *Vita*, 250.

(b) The Chronological Data (see accompanying Table).

1. 460 years.

A. Muslim sources:

a) Tabari⁶⁸ arrives at this figure by counting the years of oppression and jurisdiction contiguously. Although the return of prophecy and the establishment of the monarchy were not simultaneous, the actual computation indicates that the 460 years so reckoned terminate with the inception of Samuel's prophetic mission whence the monarchy derived, albeit ten years later.

b) Ya'qubi enumerates only 388 years for this same era. However, he fails to furnish the length of Ehud's jurisdiction, recorded almost invariably as 80 years, and fixes Elon's term as 20 years rather than ten, allowing us to add another 70 years to his total bringing it to 458. Tabari and Ya'qubi can, in fact, be reconciled entirely by adding 3 to increase Eglon's rule to 18, 1 to increase the Ammonites to 18, and reducing the Interregnum from 12 to 10, thereby restoring two additional years.

c) Mas'udi's figures yield 474 years for this period, but this, too, can be reconciled with Tabari by subtracting the 30 years credited (only here) to Phineas and Caleb (*infra*), adding Shamgar's 25 to restore Ehud's 80 (*infra*), subtracting the 25 given separately to Shamgar, and restoring 6 to Jephtah and 10 to the Interregnum.

d) According to Hamza, whose data requires slight adjustment, the era totals 420 years, sans the 40 years of Eli which he omits but which he obviously takes into account when remarking prior to his itemization: "From the Israelite exodus from Egypt until the construction of the Temple was 480 years" (cf. 1 Kgs. 6:1).

The adjustments, briefly, require the "40 years war" noted with regard to Ehud to be applied to Othniel, the "80 years war" of Shamgar applied to Ehud, and the "40 years struggle" added by Hamza to Jabin's 20 applied to Deborah and Barak.

e) Biruni's "Biblical" calculation totals 452 years, the discrepancy here due to his failure to record the 8 years of Cushan. This is despite other inconsistencies such as crediting Shamgar with 20 years, for which the elimination of the reign of Jabin, of equal duration, compensates in the final accounting. His "*Sidar 'Ulām*" calculation is, on the whole, identical with that of the *Seder Olam (infra)*.

f) Abu l-Fida' reckons 454 years, which are exclusive of Tola's 23, but still reconcile with Tabari once we discount the 17 years recorded here for Phineas and Caleb.

g) In the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun says: "The Israelites after Moses and Joshua remained unconcerned with royal authority for about 400 years."⁶⁹ His itemized account in Book Two of the *Ibar*, however, yields 475 years from the death of Joshua until the death of Eli. Subtracting the 17 years of Phineas and Caleb (as in the case of

68 Elsewhere (*Ta'rikkh*, 17) Tabari says: "The Jews claim steadfastly, according to the Torah which is in their possession today, that the Hijra occurred in the year 4642 A.M." 4642 AM was 881-82 C.E., a far cry from the Hijra of 621-622. It is possible that Tabari and his Jewish informants had a misunderstanding which prompted them to give him the current date, rather than that of the Hijra. Since Tabari completed the *Ta'rikkh* in 914-915 C.E. (cf. Goldziher, *Short History*, 122), it is entirely plausible that he began that work, of which this is one of the earliest pieces, in 881.

69 Rosenthal, *Muqaddimah*, 1:473-74.

Abu l-Fida³ and, comparably, Mas^cudi), and adding 2 years to the Interregnum, which Ibn Khaldun (*infra*) accounts as 8 in another context, restores a balance of 460.

B. In Jewish sources:

a) The Bible places the total years from the Exodus to the construction of the Temple at 480 years (1 Kgs. 6:1), and, more to our purpose, the years elapsed from the Conquest until the reign of Jephthah at 300 (Judg. 11:26). While either figure might be typological, both Rabbinic and medieval Jewish chronography took both literally.

b) The *Seder Olam* subsumes each oppressor's reign under the total of the relevant judge saviour, with only the 40 year term of Gideon expressly exempted: *ve-ševa^c šel Midyān lō 'ālū b'etokhām*.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the one year of Shamgar overlaps the last of Ehud, the first of Jair with the last of Tola, and the first of Abdon with the last of Elon. (Biruni's version of the *Seder Olam* cites only the Tola-Jair overlap.)

c) Rashi (Judg. 11:26) tabulates the 300 years as: Joshua-28 (allowing as to how it has no clear Biblical source); Othniel-40; Ehud-80; Deborah-40; Midian-7; Gideon-40; Abimelech-3; Tola-23; Jair-22, minus one year's overlap; Ammon-18. Total: 300 years up to, but not including, the reign of Jephthah.

d) Ibn Daud, on the other hand, arrives at the figure of 300 inclusive of the 6 of Jephthah by omitting the 7 years of Midian (contra *Seder Olam*), a position taken by David Kimhi (Judg., ad. loc.) as well. In accounting for the 480 years, Ibn Daud cites 17 years for "the elders who outlived Joshua," which appears to be the source for Abu l-Fida³ and Ibn Khaldun's figure for Phineas and Caleb, but maintains the chronological equilibrium by eliminating the 18 years of the Ammonites.

The position of Ibn Daud and Kimhi is substantiated by the fact that the difference between 300 and 480 is exclusive of Jephthah: Ibzan-7; Elon-10; Abdon-8, with one overlap; Samson-20; Eli-40; Samuel-11 (*infra*); Saul-2; David-40; Solomon-3; plus the 40 years wandering.

e) The *Kitab at-Ta³rīkh* introduces a different tradition according to which the period from the birth of Moses until the birth of David lasted 486 years, but his itemized chronology, concluding with the report that Samuel was born in the first year of Eli and that he was 25 when David was born, totals only 413. (To the data provided on the Table, add 120 for Moses' lifespan, and 25, as noted, for Samuel's age at the birth of David, then subtract one year either because Shamgar's rule is expressly described here as *ʾaqallu min sanah* "less than one year," or because Jephthah is listed as 7 rather than 6.)

Yet, if we add data from other traditions to supplement the *Kitab at-Ta³rīkh*—18 for Eglon; 7-Midian; 18-Ammon; 20-Philistines preceding Samson,⁷¹ and 10-no leader—the 486 years are completed.

f) *Seder Olam Zuta* dates the Exodus at 2448 A.M., and the completion of the Temple at 2928 A.M., 480 years later, with David's reign commencing in 2878 A.M.,⁷²

70 Ratner, *Seder Olam*, 54.

71 Based on a passage in the *Seder Olam* (Ratner, 55) which enumerates the Philistine oppression as: "Forty years; twenty in the days of Jephthah, and twenty in the days of Samson."

72 The text reads: 2875. It would appear that at some point in its transmission the *het* was misread as a *he*.

Table II: THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATA (* indicates that the data is detailed in part IIIB)

	<i>MT</i>	<i>Seder Olam Tabari</i>	<i>Yaʿqubi</i>	<i>Masʿudi</i>	<i>Ḥamza</i>
Joshua	—	28	—	27	27
Elders	—	—	—	—	30
Cushan	8	8	8	8	8
Othniel	40	32	40	40	—*
Eglon	18	18	18	15	18
Ehud	80	62	80	—	55*
Shamgar	—	—	—	—	25*
Jabin	20	20	20	20	20
Deborah-Barak	40	20	40	40	40
Midian	7	7	7	7	7+*
Gideon	40	40*	40	40	40
Abimelech	3	—	3	3	3+*
Tola	23	23	23	23	23
Jair	22	22/1*	22	22	22
Ammon	18	18	18	17	18
Jephthah	6	6	6	6	—
Ibzan	7	7	7	7	7
Elon	10	10	10	20	10
Abdon	8	8/7*	8	8	8
Philistines	40	(20)*	40	40	40
Samson	20	20	20	20	20
Interregnum	—	—	10	12	—
Eli	40	—	40	40	—
Samuel	—	—	10*	—	20

390 years after their entry into Canaan, or 430 years after the Exodus. The beginning of the construction of the Temple, the terminus ad quem for the other Jewish sources, would then be seven years earlier, that is, 473 years after the Exodus.

C. Of particular significance in the *Chronicle* of Bar Hebraeus are the following: (a) He includes a 10 year Interregnum (cited in the name of Andronicus) between Samson and Eli, just as Tabari and Biruni. (b) He records two opinions for the tenure of Eli; 20 and 40, which he expressly attributes to the Septuagint and “the Hebrews,” respectively. (c) His note that: “in the 18th year of his (Eli’s) rule Samuel the prophet was born” is reminiscent of the *Kitab at-Taʿrikh*, which fixes it in the former’s first year. (d) His comment apropos of Elon: “Some writers of history never mention this name at all” is unique in this specific regard, but recalls the omission of Shamgar’s name from Tabari, and of Tola from Josephus.

D. Before proceeding to the itemized chronological breakdowns, cognizance should be taken of a Jewish chronicle similar to, if not identical with, the *Seder Olam*, whose title in Aramaic may have been *Ḥuṣḥān ʿālmā*. References to it appear in an anonymous

<i>Kitab at-Taʾrīkh</i>	Biruni "Biblical"	"Sīdar ʿUlam"	<i>Ibn Daud</i>	<i>Bar Hebraeus</i>	<i>Abu l-Fidaʾ</i>	<i>Ibn Khalḍun</i>
28			28	27/25	28	28
—			17	30/24*	17*	17
—	—	—	—	8	8	8
40	40	40	40	40	40	40
—	18	—	—	18	18	18
20*	80	80	80	62	80	80
1	20*	—	1	18	1*	1
—	—	—	—	20	20	20
40	40	40	40	40	40	40
—	7	7	—	7	7	7
40	40	40	40	40	40	40
3	3	3	3	3	3	3
23	23	23	23	20	—	23
22	22	22/21*	22	22	22	22
—	18	18	—	18	18	18
7*	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7
10	10	10	10	10	10	10
8	8	8	8	8	8	8
—	40	40*	—	40	40	40
20	20	20	20	20	20	20
—	10	10*	—	40/20/12/10*	10	8*
—	40	40	40	40/20*	40	40
—	20	—	11	20	11	20/10*

ninth (or tenth) century Arabic chronicle⁷³ wherein it is said to have been translated into Arabic, possibly during the reign of Harun ar-Rashid (786–809 C.E.), by Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdallah bin Salām,⁷⁴ and may have influenced subsequent Muslim authors.

2. *Cushan*: 8 years; Judg. 3:8.

3. *Othniel*: a) While Tabari here cites Othniel as the first judge after Joshua, elsewhere he says: "There is no argument amongst the scholars of past history and the affairs of ancient peoples, both Muslims and non-Muslims, that the one who exercised authority over the children of Israel after Joshua was *Kālib bin Yūfannā*,"⁷⁵ i.e. Caleb. While

73 G. Rothstein, "Der Kanon der biblischen Bücher bei den Babylonischen Nestorianern im 9/10 Jahrhundert," *ZDMG* 58 (1904), 658; also Bacher, *Bibel*, 774.

74 Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 139, n. 5; B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm* (N.Y., 1970), 1:41f. The translator's father, Abdallah b. Salām, was another early Jewish convert to Islam; cf. Ben Zeev, *ha-Yehudim*, 138; Guillaume, *Muhammad*, 240–41.

75 *Taʾrīkh*, 1:457.

Caleb is, indeed, the first individual named in the Book of Judges (1:12), he is not generally considered a judge.

b) Mas^udi, too, has two traditions. In the *Tanbīh* he says: “The leader after him (Joshua) was *Fīnkhās bin ʿAlʿāzar bin Hārūn* [i.e., Phineas b. Eleazar b. Aaron], who was not a priest. The Israelites consider him to be the same prophet whom the Muslims call *al-Khidr*.”⁷⁶ In the *Murūj*, however, Phineas is mentioned after *Kālib bin Yūfannā bin Bāraṣ bin Yahūdā*, i.e. Caleb b. Jephunah b. Perez b. Judah. Combined they are credited with 30 years.

c) Tha^labi, too, has Joshua succeeded by Caleb whom he describes as “the brother-in-law of Moses.” According to a Jewish tradition, too,⁷⁷ Caleb married Moses’ sister Miriam.

d) A combined leadership of Caleb and Phineas is recognized by Abu l-Fida³ and Ibn Khaldun, too, but they record it as 17 years. Hamza, instead, speaks of the tribes of Judah and Simeon after Joshua, and makes specific mention of the battle against Bezek (Judg. 1:4–7), but stipulates no length of rule. Bar Hebraeus speaks of 30 years for “priests or elders” following Joshua (according to Africanus), as well as of 24 years, during the same period, for Phineas (according to Anianus). A 30-year combined rule of Phineas and Caleb was indicated (*supra*) by Mas^udi.

e) Kisaⁱ and Tha^labi also speak of a son of Caleb named *Yūsāfūn* (Tha^labi: *Yūsāqus*) because of his resemblance to Joseph, who ruled for 40 years (Tha^labi, again in error: 140) after the death of Joshua.

f) Jewish sources, too, interpose someone between Joshua and Othniel.⁷⁸

40 years: The figure of 40 years is accorded to Othniel by all sources (though only indirectly in Hamza, *supra*), and is in consonance with Judg. 3:11.

4. *Eglon:* 18 years; Judg. 3:14. Ya^qubi’s 15 has no apparent source, unless we posit a corruption of a Hebrew source, reading *he* instead of *het*, along the way.

5. *Ehud:* 80 years (in Hamza, again, indirectly); Judg. 3:30. Ya^qubi adds that his 25th year (Mas^udi: 35th) was 4,000 A.M. Mas^udi’s figure of 55 years for Ehud is due to his erroneous identification of Shamgar, to whom he ascribes 25 years, as Ehud’s son. Their combined rule totals the requisite 80 years.

6. *Then . . .* : According to Judg. 3:31, Shamgar the son of Anath came between Ehud and Deborah. His omission from Tabari can be accounted for in two ways. One, Tabari’s informants, like those of Biruni and Abu l-Fida³, were aware of the *Seder Olam*’s tradition that Shamgar’s one year (or less) reign overlapped with the last of Ehud, making the former chronologically superfluous. Two, Shamgar’s activity was

⁷⁶ *Tanbīh*, 200, l.4f. *Al-Khidr*, lit. ‘the green man’. The legends associated with him derive from the Qur’an (18:60–82) and can be traced back, inter alia, to Jewish legends about Elijah; cf. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 5:133–35. According to Jewish legend Phineas is indeed identified with Elijah; cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:316, n.3; also J. Obermann, “Two Elijah Stories in Judeo-Arabic Transmission,” *HUCA* 23 (1950–51). Tabari, too, acknowledges their identity, saying elsewhere (*Ta’rikh*, 1:461): “And God sent them, as it is written, ʿIlyas (Elijah) b. Yāsīn b. Finḥāṣ (Phineas) b. Alʿīzār b. Hārūn b. ʿAmrān (reversing the correct order of the last two named).

⁷⁷ *Sifre*, be-Haʿalotekha, 78.

⁷⁸ Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6:181, n. 1; 184–85, n. 21–22.

unknown to Tabari, despite its explicit mention in Yaʿqubi, just as it was “entirely ignored” by pseudo-Philo.⁷⁹

7. *Jabin*: 20 years; Judg. 4:3.

8. *Deborah-Barak*: 40 years; Judg. 5:31. Tabari’s apparent assignment of the leadership to Barak alone follows Yaʿqubi who omits Deborah’s name entirely, as do several manuscripts of the *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*⁸⁰ and the *Kitab at-Taʿrikh*. Hamza attributes 40 years to unspecified “struggles.”

9. The data supplied by all the sources for the Midianite oppression through Samson is, with the following exceptions, uniform and in consonance with the appropriate Biblical verses.

a) Yaʿqubi records the Ammonite oppression as 17, rather than 18, years in duration, and the reign of Elon as 20, rather than 10, years. b) Masʿudi cites the Midianite oppression as 7 years and 3 months and Abimelech’s reign as 3 years and 3 months, and he omits the reign of Jephthah. c) Abu l-Fidaʿ omits the reign of Tola who is omitted by Josephus⁸¹ as well.

10. *Interregnum*: Ṭabari’s phraseology is reminiscent of such Biblical verses as: “In those days there was no king in Israel” (Judg. 18:1 et. al.). The length of this interregnum, though unspecified in the Bible, is reckoned by the Talmud⁸² to have been twenty years: “The Philistines were in awe of him (Samson) for twenty years (posthumously) just as they feared him alive twenty years.”

The number 10 is cited by Biruni as “Biblical” and appears in Hamza and Abu l-Fidaʿ, as well. Masʿudi omits it, while according to Yaʿqubi it lasted 12 years. Ibn Khaldun, however, cites a figure of 8 years which he credits to a judge named *Mikhāʿil bin Rāʿil* who followed Samson, and during whose reign the Benjaminites were massacred. He would appear to be alluding to Micah, the Ephraimite “priest” (Judg. 17–18), although the precise origin of both the name and the length of term is not discernible.

11. *The Ark*: 1 Sam. 4:11.

12. *Eli*: 40 years; 1 Sam. 4:18. Hamza mentions Eli but omits the length of his reign.

13. *Samuel*: While the Bible only says: “Samuel judged Israel as long as he lived” (1 Sam. 7:15), Tabari’s figure of 10 years until the coronation of Saul is confirmed by the Talmud which says: “The year in which they requested a king was the tenth year of Samuel”; and: “Samuel ruled independently for ten years.”⁸³

According to the *Seder Olam*, however, Samuel’s rule lasted 20 years, and it is so determined by Masʿudi, Hamza, and Biruni (“Biblical”), too. Yaʿqubi mentions Samuel but cites no figure for his rule, and Ibn Khaldun cites both 10 and 20.

David Kimḥi (1 Sam. 18:1), in reconciling 1 Kgs. 6:11 and Judg. 11:26 (*supra*), lists Samuel’s reign as 12 or 13 years, of which two (or three) overlapped with Saul. Abu l-Fidaʿ lists it as 11.

79 Ibid., 194, n. 70.

80 Cohen, *Book of Tradition*, Hebrew text, 3, l. 3.

81 *Antiquities*, 5:7.

82 TP *Sotah* 1:8.

83 TB *Nazir* 5a; TB *Temurah* 15a.

14. *To strive*: This militaristic aspect of the proposed monarchy is consistent with 1 Sam. 8:20 and is reflected as well in the Qurʾan (2:246).⁸⁴ The Arabic phraseology here, *yujāhidūna fī sabīl Allah*, is Qurʾanic, too (61:11), and is the source for the Jihād, or ‘holy war’.

15. *Samuel told them*: 1 Sam. 8:10.

84 Grunbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 187.