Zera Shimshon

by Rabbi Shimshon Chaim Nachmani zt"l Published Mantua 1778*

Chapter XXXIX: Chukat (Num. 19:1-22:1)

Essay 15. Jephthah's argument with the king of the Ammonites

The Israelites weren't permitted to directly conquer Ammon and Moab, which G-d had assigned to the descendants of Lot. However, those lands were later taken by Sihon the Amorite, and this week's parsha discusses that Israel captured the lands from Sihon. The Haftorah, Judges 11:1–33, relates that over 300 years later, the king of Ammon demanded the return of the lands.

"כּי־לָקָת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־אַרְצִי בַּעֲלוֹתוֹ מִמָּצְרִיִם . . וְעַתָּה הָשִׁיבָה" וְכוּ'. צָריְדְּ עִיּוּן מָה הָיָתָה כַּוּונַת מֶלֶדְּ בְּנִי־עַמּוֹן לְתְבּוֹעַ מִהֶם מִיּפְתָּח וּמִּישְׁרָאֵל שֻׁיָּשִׁיבוּ לָהֶם חָשְׁבּוֹן וְכָל עָרִי הָאֱמוֹרִי שֶׁלֶקְחוּ יִשְׁרָאֵל מִיָּדְ סִיחוֹן. וְעַל מַה סְמַדְ בִּתְבִיעָתוֹ זֹאֹת לֹתְבּוֹעַ מֵהֶם מִיּפְתָּה שָׁנִים וּכְמֹּ שֶׁנָּאֲמֵר "שְׁלשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה". וְהַלֹּא זוֹ הִיא דְּרֶךְ כָּל הָעוֹלָם וְכָל הַמְּלְכִים אוֹת שֶׁנָים וּכְמֹּ שְׁעָשׁוּ בְּנֵי עַשָּׁו לְבְנֵי הַחוֹרִי שֶׁהְשְׁמִידוּם וַיֵּשְׁבוּ תַחְתָּם, וְכֵן "כַּפְּתֹּרִים שָׁהַ מְלִים מָּלְסִמְתָּם מְדִינוֹת שֶׁל מְלָכִים הָרִאשׁוֹנִים יְחַזְּרוּ לֹתְבּוֹעַ מַה שֶׁבְּשׁוֹ וּבִפְּרָט לְאַחַר עֲבוּר שְׁלשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה. וְאַף הַיִּעָּה לַבְּעֵלִים הָרְאשׁוֹנִים יְחַזְּרוּ לֹתְבּוֹעַ מִה שָׁלְעוֹלָם נִשְׁאַר מְקְוֹם הְּרָאשׁוֹנִים יְחָזְּרוּ לֹתְבּוֹע מָקְרוּ וְוֹלְא מָצִינוּ שָׁהָבְּעָלִים הָרְאשׁוֹנִים יְחַזְּרוּ לֹתְבּוֹע מִהְ עָּלְעוֹלָם נִשְׁאַר מְקוֹם הְּבִיעָה לַבְּעָלִים הָרְאשׁוֹנִים, הָלֹא בְּבֵר אָמְהוּ זַיִלְ בְּנִיין (דְּף ל"ח) עַמּוֹן וּמוֹאָב טְהָרוּ בְּסִיתוֹן, וּלְפִי דָּת תּוֹרְתֵנוּ מְלֶּבְ נָבְרִי קּוֹנֶה בְּכִבִּיּשׁ מְלְחָמָה בִּרְאִיתִא הַתָּם, וּמַה מָקוֹם הָנָה לָהָב לָחִוֹר וְלְתִבּוֹע מִלְּיִם הְרִאשׁוֹנִים, הְלֹא בְּבִיין הָּת בְּבָּר בְּיִים לְּנָבְי דְת תּוֹבְיִה לְוֹנָה בָּכִיבִי לְּעָלִים הְרָאשׁוֹנִים, הְּלָּאיתֵא הַתָּה מָקוֹם הָּיָה לָהָב לְחִוֹר וְלְתָבּוֹע מִלְיבָּי בְּיוֹבוּ מִלְרָב בְּיִים לְּנִבְיִי קוֹנָה בְּכִיבִייּוֹ מְבְרִי קוֹנָה בְּיִבְיִים הְּבִּיִּשְׁבֹּי בְּת תּוֹבְּית בְּיִבְּית בְּיִבּעְיֹים בִּים בְּתִּים בְּיִבְיִים בְּיִים בְּים בְּיִבּים בְּים בְּיִים בְּיִבְּיִים בְּהְיבִּים בְּיבְּבְיים בְּבִיים בְּיוֹב בְּיים בְּישׁוֹב בְייִבְים בְּיבְים בְּעִילִים בְּבְרִיים בְּיבְבְייִים בְּיִבְים בְּיִבְּעְתוֹים בְּישְׁבְיּים בְּיִבְּיִבְים בְּיִבְּיתְבּים בְּיבְיּעְתוֹי זֹים בְּיבְים בְּיִים בְּבְּילִים בְּבְילִים בְּיִבְיתִים בְּיִבְישׁיבּים בְּיִבְים בְּבְּילִים בְּבְילִים בְּילְים בְּעִילִים בְילְים בְּים בְּיִים בְּיִבְים בְּיִבְּבְיים בְּיִים בְּבְיוֹים בְ

"The king of the Ammonites replied to Jephthah's messengers, 'When Israel came from Egypt, they seized the land that is mine, from the Arnon to the Jabbok as far as the Jordan. Now, then, restore it peaceably.' "It is necessary to investigate: What was the intention of the king of the Ammonites to demand from Jephthah and from Israel that they return to them Heshbon and all the lands of the Amorites that Israel took from the hand of Sihon? What did he rely upon in making this claim, to demand from them this land that had already been in their hands so many years? As it is said, "While Israel has been inhabiting Heshbon and its dependencies, and Aroer and its dependencies, and all the towns along the Arnon for three hundred years, why did you not try to recover them at that time?" Isn't it the way of the world and all kings, that they acquire by their wars the lands of other kings, as the sons of Esau did to the Horites, that they destroyed them and settled in their place, and similarly the

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¹ Deut. 2:9, 2:18–19, 2:37.

² Num. 21:21–24.

³ Judges 11:13.

⁴ Judges 11:26.

⁵ Deut. 2:22.

"Caphtorim, who came from Crete," who destroyed the Avim in Gaza. We don't find the original owners returning to demand what was conquered, and particularly after three hundred years. Even if it's said that there forever remains a claim for the original owners, didn't [the rabbis] of blessed memory say in tractate Gittin (page 38a), "Ammon and Moab became purified through [their conquest by] Sihon." According to the law of our Torah, a non-Jewish king acquires through war, as is brought there, which is why the lands then lost their status of belonging to the descendants of Lot, and the Israelites were able to take them from Sihon. What grounds was there for [the Ammonites] to return and make a claim?

וְגֵשׁ לוֹמֵר דְּאַעָקָרָא דְּדִינָא פִּירְכָא, שֶׁמֶּלֶךְ בְּנִי־עַמּוֹן לֹא הָיָה רוֹצֶה לְהוֹדוֹת שֻׁעַמּוֹן וּמוֹאָב טַהְרוּ בְּסִיחוֹן, וְהַטַּעַם הוּא מִפְּנֵי שָׁסִּיחוֹן לֹא נִלְחָם עַם מוֹאָב בְּמִלְחָמָה בּמִּנְהָג הָעוֹלֶם רַק בַּדֶּרֶךְ גְּזֵילָה וְאוֹנֵס וְלֹסְטִיּוֹת, שֻׁאָמְרוּ זַ"ל שֶׁסִּיחוֹן שָׁכַר בִּלְעָם שֶׁיָבֹא לְקַלֵּל מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב לִיקּח אֶת אַרְצוֹ מִיָּדוֹ, וְאֵין זוֹ דֶּרֶךְ מְלְחָמָה רַק דְּרֶךְ גְּזֵילָה, וְקַרְקע אֵינָה נִגְזֶלֶת וּלְעוֹלָם הִיא בְּחָזְקת בְּעֶלֵיהָ עֹקְלָּל מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב וּלְעַמּוֹן, כִּדְאִיתָא בְּפֶּרֶק י' דְּקַמֶּא הַמִּצִּיל מִן עוֹמֶלֶת. וְאָב מִּלְיִא הַנְּבָלִים הָרִי אֲשׁוּ הַבְּעֶלִים הָרִי אֵלוּ שֶׁלוֹ. וּפְּרְשׁינָן בַּגְּמְרָא הַתָּם הָא סְתָמָא לָא מִיִיאֵשׁוּ בְּסִיחוֹן וְיֵשׁ בַּבְּעִרִים דְסְתָמָא לָא מְייָאֵשׁ מִשׁוּם דְּדַיָּינִי בְּגַתִי וּפַרֵשׁ רַשׁ"י בַּגַּאֲנָה וּבַזְּרוֹע עכ"ל. וְאַף מוֹאָב וְעַמּוֹן לֹא נִתְיִיאְשׁוּ בְּסִיחוֹן וְיֵשׁ לָהָם לִישְׁרָאֵל לְהַחַזִירָה לָהָם.

It can be said that he disputed this fundamental argument, as the king of the Ammonites did not want to admit that Ammon and Moab were purified through Sihon. The reason for his belief is because Sihon did not fight with Moab in a war according to the world's custom, only by means of theft, force, and armed banditry. [The rabbis] of blessed memory said that Sihon hired Balaam, who came to curse the king of Moab, to take his land from his hand.⁷ This is not the way of war, only the way of theft, and the Torah law is that land cannot be stolen, and it is forever in the right of possession of its owners.⁸

If so, argued the king of the Ammonites, then Israel—who took the Land from Sihon—are obliged to return it to Moab and to Amon. This is as it is brought in the 10th chapter of tractate Bava Kamma: "[Regarding] one who salvages [something] from a troop [of soldiers], or from a river, or from bandits, if the owners [of the item] despaired [of retrieving it], they are his, i.e., they belong to the salvager]." But it's explained there in the Gemara that in an ordinary case, [the owners] don't despair of retrieving it; thus, they would retain their property rights. It's interpreted thus for gentiles, that they don't despair, because they judge a case and impose the verdicts with a strong hand. Rashi explains this to mean haughtily and with force. Even Moab and Ammon didn't despair regarding Sihon, and thus they argued that Israel had to return [the Land] to them.

⁶ Deut. 2:23.

⁷ Num. Rabbah 20:7.

⁸ Bava Kamma 114a.

⁹ Mishnah Bava Kamma 10:2; Bava Kamma 114a.

ּוּבְזֶה נָבִין מְשׁוּבַת יִפְתָּח אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח אֵלָיו "וְעַתָּה ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹרִישׁ אֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי מִפְּנֵי עַמּוֹ יִשְׁרָאֵל וְאַתָּה תִּירָשֶׁנּוּ". וְקַלְאוּ בְּנָיבַעְמוֹן לֹא הָיָתָה לָרֶשֶׁת אֶת הָאֱמוֹרִי, רַק אֶרֶץ חָשְׁבּוֹן וְאַרְנוֹן מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהִיוּ שֶׁלוֹ מִתְּחַלָּה וְנִקְרְאוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמַצִּיל מִן הַגִּיִיס וּמִן הַלְסְטִים, וּמַהוּ זָה שֶׁשְׁלַח לוֹ "וְאַתָּה תִּירָשְׁנּוּ". וְעוֹד מָה רָצָה לְרְמוֹז לוֹ בְּאָמְרוֹ "הַלֹא אֵת אֲשֶׁר יוֹרִישִׁךְ כְּנוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֶיךְ" וְכוּ' "וְאָת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ" וְכוּ' שֶׁנְּרְאֶה כְּמוֹ תְּנַאִי וּפְשֶׁרָה שְׁעוֹשִׁים בֵּינֵיהֶם וּמָה צוֹרֵךְ לְפְשֶׁרָה זוֹ. וְעוֹד קַשֶּׁה מַה הוֹסִיף לוֹ יִפְתָּח בְּאָמְרוֹ "וְעַתָּה הַטוֹב טוֹב אַתָּה מִבְּלָק בֶּן־צִפּוֹר" וְכוּי.

In this way we'll understand Jephthah's answer that he sent to [the king of the Ammonites]: "Now, then, the L-rd, G-d of Israel, dispossessed the Amorites before His people Israel, and you should possess it?" ¹⁰

A difficulty is: Wasn't the intent of the king of the Ammonites not to inherit the land of the Amorites, only the land of Heshbon and Arnon, because they were his initially? Didn't he consider Israel as having salvaged the land from the troop of soldiers and from the robbers? Also, what is the meaning that he sent to him the message, "and you should possess it?" This sounds as though Jephthah was accusing the king of the Ammonites as wanting to recover the Amorite lands.

Also, what did [Jephthah] intend to hint to [the king of the Ammonites] by saying, "Do you not hold what Chemosh your god gives you to possess? Everything that the L-rd, our G-d gives us to possess, we will possess." 11

Another difficulty is what did Jephthah add for him by saying, "Besides, are you any better than Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he start a quarrel with Israel or go to war with them?" 12

ְוַיֵשׁ לוֹמֵר לְפִי שֶׁמֶּלֶךְ בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן הָיָה סוֹבֵר שֶׁקַּרְקֵע לְעוֹלֶם בְּחָזְקַת בְּעֶלֶיהָ עוֹמֶדֶת וְסְתָמָא לָא מִיַיאַשׁ, וְהָיָה לָהֶם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַחָזִירָה בְּמֵצִיל מִן הַבִּיִיס וּמִן הַלֹּסְטִים וְכוּ', שֶׁקַּרְקַע אֵינָה נְגָזֶלָת. מִשׁוּם הָכִי הַשִּׁיב לוֹ "ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹרִישׁ אֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי" וְאַתָּה תִּירָשֶׁנּוּ", שֶׁכָּתְבוּ הַתּוֹסָפוֹת בְּפֶּרֶק ג' דְּ[סֵכָּה] (דַּף ל' ע"ב) דְּאַף הַקּרְקַע הֵיכָא דְּנִשְׁתַּקַע שֵׁם בְּעָלִיהָ מִמֶּנָּה אַף עָר'ב' וְאַתָּקּע שֵׁם בְּעָלִיהָ מִמֶּנָה אַף עָר'ב' וְאַתָּקָע שֵׁם בְּעֹוֹן שֶׁבְיָה בְּיָם וּבְחָזְקַת הַגּּזְלִן קְיִימָא עכ"ל. וְאַף כָּאן הקב"ה "הוֹרִישׁ אֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי עַלְ בַּבְּיִייִשְׂרָאֵל בְּלוֹמֵר שֶׁבְּבָר נִשְׁתַּקע שֵׁם עַמּוֹן וּמוֹאָב מֵחֶשְׁבּוֹן וּמֵאַרְנוֹן, וּכְדְכְתִיב "כִּי חֶשְׁבּוֹן עִיר סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֹּרִי, "וְאָתָּה תִּירָשְׁנּוּ" בְּתָמִיה זָה אֵינוֹ מָן הַדְּין.

It can be said that because the king of the Ammonites was of the opinion that land is forever in the right of possession of its owners, that in an ordinary case, [the owners] don't despair of losing it. Thus, the king of the Ammonites thought, Israel needs to return it, as a salvager from the troop of soldiers and from the robbers, as land is not stolen.

Because of this, [Jephthah] answered him, "Now, then, the L-rd, G-d of Israel, dispossessed the Amorites before His people Israel, and should you possess it?" This is as the Tosafists wrote in the 3rd chapter of tractate Sukkah¹³ (page 30b):

Even for land, if the name of the owner is no longer associated with it, then even if [the original owner] says that he had not given up hope, he loses his claim. It is like someone who

¹¹ Judges 11:24.

¹⁰ Judges 11:23.

¹² Judges 11:25.

¹³ The first edition had "Sotah."

screams upon hearing that his ship is lost at sea, his screaming suggests that he hasn't despaired of recovery, and yet since there is no way to recover the ship, his ownership rights are severed. Thus, in such a case, [the land] is in the possession of the thief.

Even here, the Holy One, Blessed be He, "dispossessed the Amorites before" the Israelites, as if to say that the names of Amon and Moab were no longer associated with Heshbon and Arnon. As it is written, "Now Heshbon was the city of Sihon king of the Amorites, who had fought against a former king of Moab and taken all his land from him as far as the Arnon," and it is named after Sihon, king of the Amorites, "and you shall possess it?" This is not according to the law!

ְּעוֹד לְפִי הַדִּין שֶׁאַתָּה סוֹבֵר שֶׁלְעוֹלֶם בְּחָזְקַת בְּעֶלֶיהָ עוֹמֶדֶת גַּם לְּדְּ יִהְיֶה הֶפְּסֵד בְּדִין זֶה, שֶׁאָם כְּמוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֶידְ יוֹרִישְׁדְּ אֵיזוֹ מְדִינָה בְּאַלֶמוּת וּבְחָזְקָה לֹא תִּהְיֶה אַף הִיא שֶׁלְדְּ, וְלַכֶּדְ יוֹתֵר טוֹב לְדְּ לוֹמֵר שֶׁמַה שֶׁיָרַשְׁנוּ יִהְיֶה שֶׁדְּבָר מוּעֵט נֶגֶד מַה שֶׁבָּבַשְׁתָּ אַתָּה מִמְּלָכִים אֲחָרִים וּמַה שֶׁאַתָּה עָתִיד לְכְבּוֹשׁ, שֶׁאִם אָנוּ חָיִינוּ מַחְזִירִים לְדְּ אֶת אֵלוּ גַּם אַתָּה הָיִיתָ מְחוּיָּיב לְהַחְזִיר מְמְבָּבְשְׁתָּ אַתָּה מִמְלְכִים אֲחָרִים יְהָיֵה שֶׁלְּדְּ וּמַה שֶׁיְּרַשְׁנוּ אֲנוּ יִהְיֵה שֵׁלְנוּ. מִה שֵׁכָּבְשְׁתָּ אַתָּה מִמְלְכִים אֲחָרִים יִהְיֵה שֶׁלְּדְ וּמָה שֻׁלָּבְ וֹיְבָיה שִׁלְנוּ.

Also, according to the law that you claim that the land forever stands in the right of possession of its owners, you will also lose by this law. For if your god Chemosh had bequeathed any land to you by force, they wouldn't be yours, because they wouldn't have been taken through conventional warfare. Because of this, it's better for you to say that what we have inherited will be ours, as it's a small property compared to what you have conquered from other kings and what you will conquer in the future. Also, if we are obligated to return these lands to you, then you are also obliged to return what you have conquered. Rather, this is how the judgment will be made between us, that what you inherited from other kings will be yours, and what we inherited will be ours.

ְּעוֹד כִּי "הַנְּכָה רֹאֶה בְּעֵינֶיךּ" שֶׁכָּאן בִּמְדִינוֹת אֵלוּ לֹא דֵּי שֶׁנְּשְׁתַּקּע מֵהֶם שֶׁם עַמּוֹן וּמוֹאָב כְּמוֹ שֶׁאָמַרְנוּ אֶלָּא שֶׁהָיָה שֶׁם אַף יֵאוֹד כִּי "הַנְּכָה רֹאֶה בְּעִינִיף שֶׁבָּאוֹ וְלֹא נִלְחָם בָּם כְּשֶׁהְחֵזִיקוּ בֶּעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, דְּשְׁמַע מִינַּה שֶׁבְּר נְתִיִּאֲשׁוּ יֵאוּשׁ בְּלֹא הָצִלְתָּם בָּעַת מָהֶם מֵּבֶף וּמִיָּד שֶׁבָּאוּ הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל, וְזֶהוּ "מַדּוּעַ לֹא־הָצַלְתָּם בָּעֵת מֵהָם דְּעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל, וְזֶהוּ "מַדּוּעַ לֹא־הָצַלְתָּם בָּעֵת הָהִיא" דַּוְקָא.

Further, "you will see with your own eyes" that for these lands, not only are the names of Ammon and Moab no longer associated with them, as we said, but there was also despair of the owners. For Balak, the king of Moab, did not fight with Israel and did not wage war with them when [the Israelites] held these cities. We hear from this that he had already despaired of recovering them, for if they had not despaired of recovering them, they would have claimed them as soon as they had come into the hand of Israel. This is the meaning of "why did you not try to recover them at that time?"—Specifically "at that time," when the Israelites first took those cities.

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¹⁴ Num. 21:26.

¹⁵ II Kings 7:2.