

## Jephthah's Daughter and Iphigenia in the Plays of Euripides

**Robert Gnuse**

**James C. Carter**

S.J./Chase Bank Distinguished Professor  
Loyola University  
New Orleans, LA 70118, USA

### **Abstract**

---

*Commentators have noticed similarities between the account of Jephthah's vow and the sacrifice of his daughter in Judg 11,30-31.34-40 and the two plays by the Greek playwright, Euripides, entitled Iphigenia among the Taurians (412 BCE) and Iphigenia in Aulis (405 BCE). I will analyze the similarities between the biblical text and the plays of Euripides to demonstrate that the biblical author was familiar with the plays of Euripides, as well as some other well-known Greek traditions. This would indicate that this Jephthah tradition has been placed into the Deuteronomistic History secondarily, after 400 BCE.*

---

**Keywords**<sup>[1]</sup><sub>[SEP]</sub> Euripides, Jephthah, Ammonites, Iphigenia, Agamemnon, Calchas, Aulis, sacrifice, vow

The tragic account of Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter in Judg 11,30-40 has elicited manifold responses of commentators over the years. Among the many issues discussed is the emphasis upon the folly of Jephthah's vow and the tragedy that befell the young girl, who sadly remains nameless. Most contemporary scholars assume that she died, not that she became a perpetual virgin somewhere. Jephthah calls the sacrifice a "burnt offering" in Judg 11,30, which is a strong indication that she died (Robinson), though some still believe she was a dedicated virgin (Marcus: 7-55; Landers). A. and D. Rottzoll survey contemporary scholarship, noting the recent trend among scholars that assumes she was killed (2003). Josephus and other ancient Jewish sources, as well as patristic sources assume she was killed (Houtman).

Commentators have tried to understand how the biblical author wishes us to understand what Jephthah must have been thinking when he made his rash vow. Did Jephthah think that an animal was going to walk out of the first floor of his home (i.e., a goat or a cow) (Boling: 208)? Did he think that a servant would walk out (Marcus: 13-27; Steinberg: 125)? Did he really intend to sacrifice a family member? Or was he simply not thinking clearly at all when he uttered a rash vow (Neff; Robinson; Marcus: 54-55)? Is his rash vow like that of Saul's in 1 Sam 14:24-46, which almost foolishly killed Jonathan (Gross: 604)? I believe we may be unnecessarily trying to psychologize the biblical text. I believe our biblical author has been inspired to craft this narrative by his knowledge of Greek legends and especially the fifth century BCE plays of Euripides. The biblical author wishes to create a tragic tale in the Greek literary style. I suggest that the thought processes of Jephthah are really not a concern for the biblical author. In addition, the author may be trying to historicize a mythic ritual practiced by some Israelites that involved young girls mourning for four days, perhaps for a fertility deity who was envisioned to be in the underworld. In the Greek world such mourning was done for Persephone, Demeter, and Kore. The two-month period perhaps would refer to the summer period of time in the Palestinian agricultural year when the land was dry (Gray: 255-56; Gaster: 2:431-32; Soggin: 217-18).

Thomas Römer points out the interesting similarities between Judg 11,30-40 and Genesis 22, the sacrifice of Isaac.

In both accounts the sacrifice is to be a burnt offering (Gen 22,2; Judg 11,30), the victim is an only child (Gen 22,2; Judg 11,34), and the child is addressed by the father as “my son” (Gen 22,2) or “my daughter” (Judg 11,35). The difference, of course, is that God does not intervene to save Jephthah’s daughter. For Römer the author of Judg 11,30-32.34-40 has transformed the “happy” ending of Genesis 22 into a tragic account. He believes that the Deuteronomistic Historian would not have included an account of human sacrifice, but rather this material is a post-exilic, post-Deuteronomistic insertion into the biblical text. It is contemporary with the book of Koheleth and shares Koheleth’s pessimism, and thus is a negative critique upon the theology of the Deuteronomistic Historians. (Koh 5,3-4 warns against faithless vows.) It is a tragic reinterpretation of Genesis 22, and it reflects a sense of tragedy that is found in Greek literature and plays (Römer, 1998: 30-33, 37-38; 2000: 30-14) Y. Shemesh compares Judges 11 and Genesis 22 in this regard (2012). Other authors have also sensed the tragic dimension; neither God nor people intervene save this girl from human sacrifice as was the case with Isaac (Genesis 22) and Jonathan (1 Samuel 14) (Exum: 57-58).

Römer senses a special connection between the biblical account and the plays of Euripides on several points, especially *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (412 BCE) and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (405 BCE). Thus, ambiguity as to whether Jephthah’s daughter dies reflects the fact that in the plays of Euripides Iphigenia does not die but is taken by Artemis to Tauris (Römer: 35).

Römer is not alone in his views. Andreas Kunz-Lübke suggests that the biblical author drew motifs from the two Euripidean plays, as well as the play, *Hippolytus* (Kunz-Lübke; Wajdenbaum: 222). Klaus Spronk lists a number of Hellenistic parallels with accounts in the book of Judges overall, and in reference to Jephthah’s sacrifice, he sees the connection between Euripides’ portrayal of Iphigenia and Jephthah’s daughter. In both there is a military crisis requiring the sacrifice, the ambivalence of the father in proceeding with the sacrifice, the bravery of the daughter in accepting her fate and encouraging the vow to be kept, and the indication that the girl will not be forgotten (2010: 26).

In this essay I will expound upon the views of these authors in more detailed fashion by comparing the story line of the biblical narrative with excerpts from the plays of Euripides. I will include some observations about other Greek plays and legends, for I believe that our biblical author may have been primarily but not exclusively indebted to Euripides for the plot line of the biblical account. I will lay out the biblical narrative, breaking it down into the significant points worthy of comparison, and then I will provide what I believe are the comparable themes and narratives from the Greek sources. Our biblical narrative is terse by comparison to the Greek sources, so that often one sentence or line of biblical narrative performs the function of presenting several worthwhile points of comparison.

## **1. Comparison of narratives**

### **1.1. Warrior makes a vow in order to win military victory**

Judg 11,30-31: “And Jephthah made a vow to the Lord, and said, ‘If you will give the Ammonites into my hand.’”

In *Iphigenia at Aulis* (lines 87-94) by Euripides, the seer Calchas comes to Agamemnon and informs him that he must sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia in order for the sea winds to return and bring the Greek fleet across the Aegean Sea to Troy (Kovacs, 2002: 175). In the Euripidean play, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, lines, 15-16, Iphigenia recalls, “But sailing was bad and he did not get the right winds” (Kovacs, 1999: 154).

The vow is uttered prior to engaging in conflict in both narratives. In battle or war where many human lives are lost, the ancients may have perceived that the sacrifice of at least one human life to the god or gods may be necessary to win their active involvement in the strife. Lauren Monroe observes that the sacrifice of a human female’s life appears to be the appropriate or most acceptable offering in conflict or military scenarios (Monroe).

### **1.2. Military Setting**

Judg 11,32: “So Jephthah crossed over to the Ammonites to fight against them; and the Lord gave them into his hand.”

In the Greek plays the Greek navy is able to sail with favorable winds once the sacrifice has been undertaken. The sacrifice of Iphigenia was necessary so that the Trojan War could begin. The Greeks win. As just noted, the sacrifice of females may be an appropriate ritual in face of a military crisis.

### **1.3. Vow to sacrifice first person who comes out of the house**

Judg 11,30-31: “And Jephthah made a vow to the Lord, and said, ‘If you will give the Ammonites into my hand, then whoever comes out of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return victorious from the Ammonites, shall be the Lord’s, to be offered up by me as a burnt offering.’”

In *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, lines 20-21, by Euripides, we hear that the king vows to sacrifice someone or something special, “‘You vowed to the light-bearing goddess that you would sacrifice the fairest thing the year brought forth’” (Kovacs, 1999: 154). This something special turns out to be a child, as it was for Jephthah.

The plot line in the plays by Euripides does not involve someone coming out of a home. The best parallels to this aspect of the biblical narrative come not from the plays of Euripides but from other Greek legends and tales. According to Servius (400 CE), a commentator on Virgil’s *Aeneid*, during a violent storm at sea, Idomeneus of Crete, who was returning home from the Trojan War, promised Poseidon that he would sacrifice the first thing he met when landed. It was his son (Römer: 33; Marcus: 16-17; Gross: 601). General Meander vowed during battle to sacrifice the first people he greeted after winning the victory. It was his son Archelos, his mother, and his sister, who came out of his home to greet him. After sacrificing them he drowned himself in the river that bears his name (Gaster: 2:430; Marcus: 17, 41; Gross: 601). Thus, the theme of sacrificing a beloved one due to a battle vow is a theme found in Greek legends (Spronk: 26).

### **1.4. Child comes out of the house**

Judg 11,34: “Then Jephthah came to his home at Mizpah; and there was his daughter coming out to meet him with timbrels and with dancing. She was his only child; he had no son or daughter except her.”

Again, the best parallels come from other Greek legends and tales, as mentioned previously. Idomeneus of Crete had to sacrifice his son; Meander had to sacrifice his son and other family members.

### **1.5. Victim is a family member**

Judg 11,34: “and there was his daughter coming out to meet him with timbrels and with dancing. She was his only child; he had no son or daughter except her.”

Jephthah was surprised; perhaps that it was his child. Agamemnon, too, did not expect the sacrifice to be one of his children. Again, in *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, lines 20-21, by Euripides, we hear about the king’s vow to sacrifice something special, “‘You vowed to the light-bearing goddess that you would sacrifice the fairest thing the year brought forth’” (Kovacs, 1999: 154). This something special for both men was a child.

### **1.6. Victim is a girl**

Judg 11,34: “She was his only child; he had no son or daughter except her.”

Iphigenia is Agamemnon’s daughter. There are brothers, however, including Theseus, who will be important in Euripides’ plays. But the parallel between Jephthah and Agamemnon is significant; the special sacrifice turns out to be a daughter. In other Greek legends the child is a son, which makes the connection between the biblical narrative and Euripides more significant.

As observed earlier, it appears that the sacrifice of a human female’s life appears to be the appropriate or most acceptable offering in military conflict or crisis scenarios. The theme of a willing female who sacrifices herself for the good of the community appears often in Greek literature (Monroe).

### **1.7. Father expresses ambivalence or regret over vow**

Judg 11:35: “‘Alas, my daughter! You have brought me very low; you have become the cause of great trouble to me. For I have opened my mouth to the Lord, and I cannot take back my vow.’”

After initially sending a letter to his wife, Clytaemestra, telling her to bring Iphigenia to the camp, he writes another letter telling her not to bring Iphigenia (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 115-120) (Kovacs, 2002: 177). When Menelaus discovers this latter letter and confronts Agamemnon, Agamemnon speaks to Menelaus and says, “‘But I will not kill my children’” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, line 397) (Kovacs, 2002: 207). Menelaus and Agamemnon for a time plan to send Iphigenia home and kill the prophet Calchas to keep the oracle a secret (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 473-542) (Kovacs, 2002: 213-21). Agamemnon continues to lament the sad task of sacrificing Iphigenia throughout most of the plot.

Agamemnon speaks to Iphigenia at some point prior to the sacrificial ritual and he declares, “It is a terrible thing to steel myself to this deed, but a terrible thing likewise not to” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1257-1259) (Kovacs, 2002: 301).

Agamemnon feels remorse once he sees the arrival of his daughter for the sacrificial ritual. In Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1547-1550, we read, “When king Agamemnon saw the girl entering the grove to be sacrificed, he groaned aloud, and bending his head backward he wept, holding his garment before his face” (Kovacs, 2002: 335). Euripides portrays Agamemnon with more passion than does our biblical author with Jephthah.

In his play about Agamemnon, Aeschylus portrays the king as distraught over the impending sacrifice of his daughter. We read, “Then the elder king spake and said, ‘Hard is my fate to refuse obedience, and hard, if I must slay my child, the glory of my home, and at the altar-side stain with streams of a virgin’s blood a father’s hand. . . . How can I become a deserter to my fleet and fail my allies in arms?’” (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, lines 205-214) (Smith: 2:21).

### **1.8. Father feels self-pity**

Judg 11,35: “Alas, my daughter! You have brought me very low; you have become the cause of great trouble to me.” Jephthah immediately speaks of how the impending sacrifice of his daughter brings him great trouble, and we can view this as a degree of self-pity. It seems as if his immediate concern was his own mental state rather than her impending death. He may mourn because his family line will end with her death (Marcus: 28-32).

One might sense with the dramatic Euripidean portrayal of Agamemnon’s emotions, that the Greek king probably felt self-pity, as well as remorse, over his decision to kill his daughter. This may be implied in his words spoken to Iphigenia, “It is a terrible thing to steel myself to this deed, but a terrible thing likewise not to. For my fate will be the same. . . . The Greeks will kill my girls in Argos and the two of you and me if I make void the goddess’ oracle” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1257-1259.1266-1269) (Kovacs, 2002: 301). When he refers to his determined fate being the same whether he kills Iphigenia or not, because the Greeks will kill his entire family, that sounds like a statement of self-pity.

Again, Euripides portrays Agamemnon thus just before the sacrifice, “. . . he groaned aloud, and bending his head backward he wept, holding his garment before his face” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1548-1550) (Kovacs, 2002: 335). There is more emotional and personal passion here than in the portrayal of Agamemnon by Aeschylus, and this anguish may betoken a degree of self-pity.

### **1.9. Father blames daughter**

Judg 11,35: “You have brought me very low; you have become the cause of great trouble to me.” Commentators often sense that Jephthah is angry with his daughter and thus blaming her (Tapp: 166; Exum: 52).

The plays of Euripides do not portray Agamemnon as trying to cast responsibility for the pain upon the daughter. Commentators often say that, but I have not been able to find those lines in the play.

### **1.10. Daughter runs or comes to the father**

Judg 11,34: “and there was his daughter coming out to meet him with timbrels and with dancing.”

When Iphigenia first arrives at Aulis, she runs to greet her father, for she believes that she is going to be married to Achilles. She says, “Oh mother, I shall run ahead of you—do not be angry with me—and press my breast against the breast of my father! . . . I want to run and fling myself at your breast, father, after so long a time. I greatly desire to see your face. Do not be angry” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 633.635-637) (Kovacs, 2002: 229). Before the sacrifice Iphigenia clearly says that she has come to Agamemnon willingly, “Father, I have come to you” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, line 1552) (Kovacs, 2002: 335).

### **1.11. Daughter begins by addressing father in the vocative**

Judg 11,36: “She said to him, ‘My father,’”

In *Iphigenia at Aulis*, line 1552, Iphigenia begins by addressing her father in the vocative, “Father, I have come . . .” (Kovacs, 2002: 335).

### **1.12. Daughter encourages father to keep the oath**

Judg 11,36: “She said to him, ‘My father, if you have opened your mouth to the Lord, do to me according to what has gone out of your mouth, now that the Lord has given you vengeance against your enemies, the Ammonites.’”

Iphigenia stresses her willingness to abide by the oracle of the goddess, “‘Father, I have come to you. I willingly grant that your men may bring me to the goddess’ altar and sacrifice me, if that is what the oracle requires’” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1552-1556) (Kovacs, 2002: 335-37). The emphasis here is upon her statement, “‘if that is what the oracle requires.’” The oracle of Calchas functions like Jephthah’s vow in this regard.

### **1.13. Daughter explicitly accepts death**

Judg 11,37: “‘. . . do to me according to what has gone out of your mouth.’” The later Jewish tradition accented the daughter’s acceptance of her death, for in *Pseudo-Philo* the daughter, who is named Seila, appears more noble in fulfilling her destiny to die as a sacrifice than her father, who is reluctant for her to die (Baker).

Iphigenia accepts the decision of the goddess Artemis, when she says, “‘If Artemis has decided to take my body, shall I, who am mortal, oppose a goddess? That is impossible: I shall give myself to Greece’” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1395-1397) (Kovacs, 2002: 319). Iphigenia expressly states that the goddess may have her body. She does not realize that ironically Artemis will take her alive and not dead in Euripides’ portrayal of the events.

### **1.14. Daughter explicitly says “do it to me”**

Judg 11,37: “‘. . . do to me according to what has gone out of your mouth.’”

Iphigenia basically says bring me to the altar for sacrifice when she states, “‘I willingly grant that your men may bring me to the goddess’ altar and sacrifice me, . . . In view of this, let no Greek take hold of me: I will bravely submit my neck to the knife.’” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1552-1556.1159-1560) (Kovacs, 2002: 335-37).

### **1.15. Daughter refers to the military conflict**

Judg 11,37: “‘. . . now that the Lord has given you vengeance against your enemies, the Ammonites.’”

Iphigenia says, “‘As far as depends on me may you all have good fortune, win victory in war, and return to your native land!’” (Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1557-1558) (Kovacs, 2002: 337).

### **1.16. Daughter has request**

Judg 11,37: “‘And she said to her father, ‘let this thing be done for me: Grant me two months, so that I may go and wander on the mountains, and bewail my virginity, my companions and I.’”

It might be noted that the virgin goddess Artemis lived in the hills, and perhaps from the perspective of the classical Greek tradition, it might be natural for a virgin girl to desire to be there (Marcus: 30; Bonnechere: 149-50). This might indicate Greek influence in our narrative.

Iphigenia has no special request other than the dramatic affirmation that she is willing to be sacrificed, which almost has the feeling of a request.

### **1.17. Father sacrifices her**

Judg 11,39: “‘At the end of two months, she returned to her father, who did with her according to the vow he had made.’”

The description of the execution of Iphigenia is described by Euripides in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1561-1562, in great detail, and the dramatic replacement of Iphigenia by a doe caused by Artemis at the last second before her immolation is described in lines 1584-1601. No one sees this actual replacement, which of course, sets up the plot line for Euripides’ play, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, even though that play was written first. The replacement of the sacrificial child by an animal reminds us strikingly of the sacrifice of Isaac in Genesis 22. In *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, lines 26-29, Iphigenia herself describes the sacrificial experience, “‘But when I reached Aulis, they held me aloft in my misery over the sacrificial hearth and put me to the sword. Yet Artemis stole me away, giving the Greeks a deer in my place’” (Kovacs, 1999: 154).

### **1.18. Daughter is the hero**

Though the biblical text does not say this directly, the portrayal of the daughter makes her appear more heroic than her father.

Euripides, in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, lines 1561-1562, describes the response of the crowd present upon hearing Iphigenia's words, "Those were her words, and everyone heard and felt amazement at the bravery and goodness of the maiden" (Kovacs, 2002: 337).

### **1.19. Daughter loses the hope for marriage**

Judg 11,37: "Grant me two months, so that I may go and wander on the mountains, and bewail my virginity, my companions and I." The reference to bewailing her virginity is generally understood by commentators to mean that Jephthah's daughter will never marry. This is obviously true whether she is killed or stays a perpetual virgin devoted to the deity.

In *Iphigenia at Aulis* Iphigenia and her mother Clytaemestra come to Aulis under the deception that Iphigenia is to be married to Achilles. Obviously that does not happen. The reverse happens; Iphigenia will die without benefit of marriage or children. This interesting parallel between the biblical text and the Greek play is very distinctive.

### **1.20. Daughter is mourned**

Judg 11,37: "Grant me two months, so that I may go and wander on the mountains, and bewail my virginity, my companions and I."

And

Judg 11,39-40: "So there arose an Israelite custom that for four days every year the daughters of Israel would go out to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite."

Presumably, the crowd in *Iphigenia at Aulis* mourned the loss of such brave young girl after they heard her speech.

### **1.21. The daughter's memory is kept alive**

Judg 11,39-40: "So there arose an Israelite custom that for four days every year the daughters of Israel would go out to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite."

One could say that the memory of Iphigenia is kept alive, since ultimately Agamemnon will be killed by his wife, Clytaemestra, for the murder of their daughter.

### **1.22. Ritual is connected to her memory**

Judg 11,39-40: "So there arose an Israelite custom that for four days every year the daughters of Israel would go out to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite."

There is no real parallel in the Greek legends to this motif.

## **2. Conclusion**

I have broken down the story of Jephthah and his daughter into twenty-two component parts and observed that there are very close parallels with Euripides' plays and other Greek legends on at least twenty of these points. Analyzing twenty-two points of comparison may appear somewhat over-detailed (and even obsessive) to the reader. But I make the comparison in this fashion to clearly highlight all the potential points of comparison, so that the reader may sense the deep similarities between the accounts. To be sure, there are differences. In the Jephthah narrative the girl comes out of a house; that is not the case with Iphigenia (although it is with other Greek legends), so that point of similarity does not exist. Iphigenia does not make a request to her father, as does Jephthah's daughter, to do something before she dies. Iphigenia is sacrificed or appears to be sacrificed immediately. There is no ceremony to commemorate Iphigenia. Obviously, they are different stories, not classic doublets. But I hope that this study has demonstrated the high degree of probability that the author of the biblical narrative was familiar with the Greek plays of Euripides and some other Greek literature. The purpose of the biblical author perhaps was to present a tragic narrative in which God does not rescue the child, as was the case with Isaac, but rather allows the tragedy to stand as it does as a testimony to the folly of a dramatic human vow and the general pain of human existence.

Since the narrative was inserted into the biblical at a later time than the rest of the book of Judges, it may reflect religious and social issues of the age in which it was generated. But since we know little or nothing about that age, it becomes difficult to speculate what the intended author's meaning was.

As just noted, the narrative about Jephthah and his daughter may be a late insertion into our present book of Judges, or the entire Jephthah narrative may be secondary. The portrayal of Jephthah is otherwise positive except for this horrid narrative of human sacrifice, implying the secondary nature of this story within the Jephthah traditions (Römer: 31-32; Monroe: 37-38, 51, suggest the Persian period). The story of the sacrifice interrupts the accounts of Jephthah's battlefield exploits with the Ammonites and the Ephraimites to thus appear secondary (Judg 11,12-33; 12,1-6). Or perhaps the Jephthah traditions, as a whole, are secondary in the book of Judges. One becomes suspicious because the story about Jephthah stands between the stories of the minor judges, rather than being placed directly after the accounts of the other major judges. References to Tola and Jair (Judg 10,1-5) come before the Jephthah narrative, and references to Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon follow it (Judg 12,8-15). Thus, I feel on more solid ground suggesting that the story of Jephthah and his daughter, at least, has been placed into the Deuteronomistic History at a later date and may reflect the influence of Greek culture and literature upon the minds of the biblical authors.

This analysis implies that the story of Jephthah's sacrifice was inserted into the book of Judges after 400 BCE in the late Persian period or maybe as late as the early Hellenistic period. This study may reinforce the opinion of some that the Deuteronomistic History is a late literary creation (Lemche, 1993; 2001; Bolin, 1996; Thompson, 1999a; 1999b; Guillaume). Some authors, in particular, see significant parallels between the Deuteronomistic History and Herodotus, so as to date the biblical history after 400 BCE (Nielsen; Wesselius, 1999; 2002, who gives many examples).

I am still tempted to believe that the Deuteronomistic History is a seventh and sixth century BCE creation, but that materials could be added into the text as late as the Persian and Hellenistic eras. I have suggested this with other narratives in the past, including Judg 21,19-23 and 2 Sam 23,13-17, both of which I believe reflect a great familiarity with Greek and Hellenistic narratives (Gnuse, 1998; 2007; 2010). I suggest that the narrative of Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter is one of those late Greek-inspired insertions into the Deuteronomistic History.

## SOURCES

- Bolin, T. M. (1996). "When the End is the Beginning: The Persian Period and the Origins of the Biblical Tradition." *SJOT* 10: 3-15.
- Boling, R. (1996). *Judges*. AB 6a. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Bonnechere, P. (1994). *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne*. Kernos Supplément 3. Athènes-Liége: Centre International d'Etude de la Religion Grecque Antique.
- Exum, C. (1992). *Tragedy and Biblical Narrative: Arrows of the Almighty*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press.
- Gaster, T. (1969). *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament*. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Row.
- Gnuse, R. (2010). "From Prison to Prestige: The Hero who helps a King in Jewish and Greek Literature." *CBQ* 72: 31-45.
- (2007). "Abducted Wives: A Hellenistic Narrative in the Book of Judges?" *SJOT* 22: 272-85.
- (1998). "Spilt Water: Tales of David (II Sam 23:13-17) and Alexander the Great (Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* 6.26.1-3)." *SJOT* 12: 233-48.
- Gray, J. (1967). *Judges and Ruth*. London: Oliphants.
- Gross, W. (2009). *Richter*. HTKAT. Freiburg: Herder.
- Guillaume, P. (2004). *Waiting for Josiah: The Judges*. JSOTSup 385. London: T & T Clark.
- Houtman, Cornelis. (2003). "Die Bewertung eines Meschenopfers: Die Geschichte von Jefta und seiner Tochter in früher Auslegung." *BN* 117: 59-70.

- Kovacs, D, editor and translator. (2002). *Euripides: Bacchae, Iphigenia at Aulis, Rhesus*. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- (1999). *Euripides: Trojan Women, Iphigenia among the Taurians, Ion*. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kunz-Lübke, A. (2007). "Interkulturell lesen! Die Geschichte von Jiftach und seiner Tochter in Jdc 11,30-40 in textsemantische Perspektive." Pp. 258-83 in *Was ist ein Text? Alttestamentliche, Agyptologische und Altorientalische Perspektiven*, ed. S. Schorch. BZAW 362. New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Landers, S. (1991). "Did Jephthah Kill his Daughter." *BARev* 7,4: 28-31, 42.
- Lemche, N. P. (2001). "How Does One Date an Expression of Mental History? The Old Testament and Hellenism." Pp. 200-24 in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. L. Grabbe. JSOTSup 317. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- (1993). "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?" *SJOT* 7: 163-93
- Marcus, D. (1986). *Jephthah and His Vow*. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press.
- Monroe, L. (2013). "Disembodied Women: Sacrificial Language and the Death of Bat-Jephthah, Cozbi, and the Bethlehemite Concubine." *CBQ* 75: 32-52.
- Neef, H. D. (1999). "Jephta und seine Tochter (Jdc. xi 29-40)." *VT* 49: 206-17.
- Nielsen, F. (1997). *The Tragedy in History: Herodotus and the Deuteronomistic History*. JSOTSup 251. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Robinson, B. (2004). "The Story of Jephthah and his Daughter Then and Now." *Bib* 85: 331-48.
- Römer, T. (2000). "La fille de Jephthé entre Jérusalem et Athènes. Réflexions à partir d'une triple intertextualité en Juges 11." Pp. 30-42 in *Intertextualité: La Bible en échos*, eds. D. Marguerat and A. Curtis. Le Monde de la Bible 40. Geneva: Labor et Fides.
- (1998). "Why Would the Deuteronomists Tell about the Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter." *JSOT* 77: 27-38
- Rottzall, A. and D. (2003). "Die Erzählung von Jiftach und seiner Tochter (Jdc 11, 30-40) in der mittelalterlich-jüdischen und historisch-kritischen Bibelexegese." *ZAW* 115: 210-30.
- Shemesh, Y. (2012). "Jephthah-Victimizer and Victim: A Comparison of Jephthah and Characters in Genesis." *JANES* 32: 117-31.
- Smith, P., editor and translator. (1936). *Aeschylus*. 2 vols. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Soggin, A. (1981). *Judges*. Translated by J. Bowden. OTL. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster.
- Spronk, K. (2010). "The Book of Judges as a Late Construct." Pp. 15-28 in *Historiography and Identity (Re)Formulation in Second Temple Historiographical Literature*, ed. L. Jonker. LHB/OTS 534. London: T & T Clark.
- Steinberg, N. (1999). "The Problem of Human Sacrifice in War: An Analysis of Judges 11." Pp. 114-35 in *On the Way to Nineveh: Studies in Honor of George M. Landes*, eds. S. Cook and S. C. Winter. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Tapp, A. M. (1989). "An Ideology of Expendability: Virgin Daughter Sacrifice." Pp. 157-74 in *Anti-Covenant: Counter-Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. M. Bal. JSOTSup 81. Sheffield: Almond Press.
- Thompson, T. (1999). "Historiography in the Pentateuch: Twenty Five Years after Historicity." *SJOT* 13: 258-83.
- (1999). *The Bible in History: How Writers Create a Past*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Wajdenbaum, P. (2001). *Argonauts of the Desert: Structural Analysis of the Hebrew Bible*. Sheffield: Equinox.
- Wesseliuss, J.-W. (2002). *The Origin of the History of Israel: Herodotus' Histories as Blueprint for the First Books of the Bible*. JSOTSup 345. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- (1999). "Discontinuity, Congruence and the Making of the Hebrew Bible." *SJOT* 13: 24-77.