

CHAPTER XI

THE NARRATIVE

THROUGHOUT the book of Deuteronomy there runs a thread of narrative which, in the existing text, follows on that in the book of Numbers. The author of these passages may for convenience be called the 'narrator', whilst leaving open the question whether or not there be more than one. The portions in question may be divided into two groups:

1. There are five passages which may be described as superscriptions, which adopt a standard form: (a) 'These are the words . . .' (i. 1-5); (b) 'And this is the law . . .' (iv. 44-49); (c) 'These are the words of the covenant . . .' (xxix. 1, 2a); (d) 'And Moses spake . . . the words of this song . . .' (xxxii. 30); and (e) 'And this is the blessing . . .' (xxxiii. 1).

2. Besides these there are sentences or clauses introductory to speeches, xxvii. 1a, 9a, 11, xxxi. 1, 2a, 9, 10a, xxxii. 46a, and short portions of narrative proper, the selection of three cities of refuge (iv. 41-43), the commissioning of Joshua (xxxii. 14-25), Moses' last words and Yahweh's words to him (xxxii. 44-52), and the account of Moses' death and an epilogue (xxxiv).

The examination of these passages raises certain questions of importance which have their bearing on the date of the legislation and of the book as a whole. Is the narrative a mere literary device, introduced to provide a suitable Mosaic setting for the laws, or does the narrator regard what he says as true to fact?

If the latter, whence did he derive his material—from old documents, from floating traditions or even from experience? Are we presented with the work of a succession of editors, or is it possible that we have here, in the main, the work of a single narrator? To what period do the narratives belong? We begin with the five superscriptions.

a. i. 1-5

The first superscription purports to introduce 'the words which Moses spake' at a number of specified places (i. 1, 2). In verses 3-5

it is stated, 'And it came to pass . . .', giving a certain day, a new definition of place, and adding that there and then 'began Moses to declare this law, saying . . .'

It is best to interpret verse 1, with Knobel¹ and others, as referring to i. 5-iv. 40 only, and to regard this section as a summary of words spoken by Moses prior to his reaching the place described in iv. 44-49. In that case, the words 'began . . . to declare' (5) would mean that the first discourse (chapters i-iv) could be regarded as an introduction to the exposition of the law contained in chapters v-xxvi. The fact that Paran and Hazeroth² certainly, and Laban and Suph possibly, belong to the wilderness journey, and the insertion of the parenthesis which follows in verse 2, make this the best explanation of a difficult passage.

It would be an unreasonable straining of the sense to regard what follows in i. 6-iv. 40 as a verbatim report of Moses' words. But the review of the journey in i. 6-iii. 29, and the exhortation concerning the 'statutes and judgments', might well be a faithful summary of words spoken by Moses.³

b. iv. 44-49

These words directly introduce 'the law which Moses set before the children of Israel', also described as 'the testimonies, the statutes, and the judgments'. The place and time are not the same as in i. 1, but equivalent to those in i. 4, 5.

The words 'in the valley over against Beth-peor' (iv. 46) are repeated from iii. 29 and form a connecting link.

c. xxix. 1

'These are the words of the covenant which the LORD commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.' Commentators are divided as to whether these words are a subscription or a superscription.⁴

¹ See Driver, *ICC*, pp. 2ff. Those who believe that the original Deuteronomy commenced at iv. 44 (Kautzsch, Pfeiffer) naturally take this view. Driver's surmise that iv. 44-49 was a later insertion is quite untenable.

² Regarding these places see p. 50.

³ The same may be said of the speeches recorded in the New Testament.

⁴ In favour of the latter are Dillmann and Welch, *Framework*, p. 152.

Although the verse in the Massoretic Text is added to chapter xxviii, the latter view is to be preferred for these reasons:

- (i) The words are prefixed to chapter xxix in the LXX.
- (ii) In Dt. v. 2 the words, the 'covenant . . . which the LORD our God made with us in Horeb' (cf. Ex. xix. 5, xxiv. 8) define what immediately follows there. The words in xxix. 1 command Moses to make a covenant with them which is expressly distinguished from this.
- (iii) The word 'covenant' is used only once in the legislation (xvii. 2), where it appears to refer to the Horeb covenant. It is used four times in chapter xxix, in verses 9, 12, 14, 21, of the covenant made 'this day'.
- (iv) Such a renewal of the covenant finds an analogy in Jos. xxiv. 25.
- (v) The form corresponds to that used in the other sentences we are considering, which are undoubtedly superscriptions.

d. xxxi. 30

'And Moses spake in the ears of all the assembly of Israel, the words of this song until they were finished.' The wording is varied because it comes at the end of a narrative which concerns the commissioning of Joshua and his association with Moses in the writing of the song ('Write ye,' verse 9, and xxxii. 44).

e. xxxiii. 1

'And this is the blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death.' At the close of the blessing, the account of Moses' death follows immediately.

Although very different in context, these introductions, excepting perhaps the fourth, have a striking similarity of form. They have often been thought to denote successive amplifications of the original, separated by long intervals; but their general uniformity and their orderly arrangement rather indicate the work of one compiler. Considered thus, they divide the book into five sections which form a natural sequence.

i. i. 1-iv. 43 brings the reader in review from Horeb to the valley of Beth-peor, and ends with an introductory speech by

Moses, and his designation of three cities to become cities of refuge.

2. iv. 44-xxvi introduces the 'law', which is followed in chapters xxvii, xxviii by the command to inscribe it, and by sanctions which concern its observance.

3. xxix, xxx recount a second 'covenant' between Moses and the people to keep the law.

4. xxxi, xxxii; Joshua appears on the scene, and the song is written as a witness and taught to the people. Moses' last words are added.

5. xxxiii, xxxiv. The blessing of Moses introduces the account of his death.

This orderly plan can scarcely be the result of chance additions.

THE NARRATIVE IN DETAIL

When the narrative portions are separated from the speeches, and read consecutively, they are seen to form a continuous story, which follows quite appropriately upon that in the book of Numbers. The natural way in which the narrator introduces names of persons and places, and various incidental details, render it certain that he is not presenting us with a mere dramatic setting, but that he regards himself as telling what actually happened. Some of the places, such as Moab and Bashan, are well known; some, such as Tophel and Dizahab, are known only from their occurrence here; but all are undoubtedly real and not fictitious. He evidently had information not contained in the JE document (unless in that unknown region, the 'lost' parts).¹

Moses' 'words' in i. 6-iv. 40 consist of reminiscences and exhortations, and in iv. 41-43 the narrator resumes his account by telling how Moses designated three cities in the conquered territory east of Jordan to be cities of refuge.

The introduction of this incident between verse 40 and verse 44 confirms the view that what he wrote in i. 1 of the words which Moses spake referred to the speech which terminates in iv. 40.

In iv. 44-49 he continues in the same factual manner to describe the place where Moses 'set the law before the children of Israel'.

¹ See Chapter VI, Appendix.

This is the same as that in i. 5, though in different form, and with fresh information concerning the boundaries of the conquered territory.¹

The divine law follows. The first part (chapters v–xi) begins with the Decalogue and ends with the command to place a blessing and a curse upon the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, visible against the western sky (xi. 29); the second part (xii–xxvi) consists of ‘statutes and judgments’.

These completed, the narrator takes up the thread again, ‘And Moses with the elders commanded the people’, directing them to inscribe the law on stones in Mount Ebal, and to raise an altar there and offer sacrifices. The last mention of the ‘elders’ in the Pentateuchal narrative was in Nu. xvi. 25, and the next is in Dt. xxxi. 9, where Moses delivers the written law to the priests and elders.

The elders were given large responsibility for the execution of the law (xix. 12, xxi. 2–6, 19, 20, xxv. 7–9), particularly exercised in the early stages (Jos. vii. 6, viii. 10; Jdg. ii. 7); and this may account for their mention in the narrative.

Moses next charges the people to obey the law (xxvii. 9, 10), associating with himself the priests whose duty it would be to instruct them in it (xxiv. 8, xxxi. 11).

After these instructions, sanctions are introduced, and the narrative continues (xxvii. 11), ‘and Moses charged the people the same day . . .’, and adds a ritual of cursings to be carried out at the place where the law would be inscribed. To this are added promises of blessings on those who obey, and terrifying maledictions upon disobedience (chapter xxviii).

There is a fresh beginning in xxix. 1, and all the people, their little ones and dependants, are bound afresh to Yahweh in a covenant² and an oath (xxix. 10–14).

The reader is conscious of a break between chapters xxx and xxxi. The proclamation of the law, the method of its inscription, its sanctions and covenant are completed; what follows belongs to the future, when Moses will have handed over the leadership to Joshua, who now comes into the foreground of the picture. He

¹ See pp. 50, 60.

² Cf. Jos. xxiv. 25. Nielsen points out that the renewal of the covenant took place at the crises of Israel’s history: *Oral Tradition*, p. 46.

was last heard of in the narrative in Nu. xxvii. 18–23, his first commissioning (though mentioned by Moses as his successor in Dt. i. 38 and iii. 28).

In chapter xxxi the narrator blends together three closely related events, the writing and delivery of the law, the charge to Joshua, and the writing and teaching of the ‘song’, in which Moses and Joshua act together (xxx. 19, xxxii. 44). The narrator’s words concerning the *writing* of the law and the song suggest that they already existed in documentary form in his time.¹

In xxxii. 44² he calls Joshua by his original name Hoshea (Nu. xiii. 8, 16), by which he would be known by his contemporaries; his interest in Joshua is very plain.

The narrator introduces us to the tent of meeting (14, 15) where Yahweh appears in the pillar of cloud to speak with Moses and to give him glimpses into the future; they (presumably Moses and Joshua) are to write the song and teach it to the people (19), a task which they then perform (22, 30, xxxii. 44).

The mingling of the themes in chapter xxxi causes it to read awkwardly, as the narrator deals with them in turn. But if the events really happened, and on the same day, this is accounted for, and more satisfactorily than by conjectural schemes of multiple authorship.³

The narrative which follows in xxxii. 45–xxxiii. 1 contains Moses’ last words, and the last words of Yahweh to him, and introduces ‘the blessing of Moses the man of God . . . before his death’.

Moses was called ‘the man of God’ by Caleb (Jos. xiv. 6), and in the title of Ps. xc, but never subsequently. The narrator says nothing of the blessing being *written*, he might therefore have received it orally; its antiquity is generally acknowledged.⁴

¹ The writer ‘was well acquainted with a written torah’, says Welch, *Framework*, p. 163.

² This is the reading of the Massoretic Text and there is no reason to regard it as a textual error; the LXX substitutes Joshua.

³ S. R. Driver divides the chapter into six sections, 1–13 (D), 14, 15 (JE), 16–22 (independent source), 23 (JE), 24–27 (D), 28–30 (D²); and assigns the song and xxxii. 44 to an ‘independent source’ (ICC, p. lxxvi). But it is incredible that an editor who wished to incorporate verses 14, 15, 23, once a continuous portion of JE, should divide and insert it thus. The analysis is ingenious, but it involves an impossible synthesis.

⁴ See Albright, *OTMS*, p. 33; Bentzen, *Introduction*, I, p. 143.

Having mentioned Moses' 'death' (xxxiii. 1), the narrator describes the manner of it, including the ascent of the *pisgah* and the view of the land (see p. 64), the consequent mourning for him, and Joshua's succession to the leadership of Israel (xxxiv. 1-9).

An epilogue (10-12), which might possibly have been added later, comments upon the uniqueness of Moses as a prophet, apparently referring to Dt. xviii. 15.

CHARACTER OF THE NARRATIVE

The narrative portions have a style of their own which is fairly uniform, and which, together with the unity of plan, gives the impression that they proceed from one mind.

This style is different from that generally considered as 'Deuteronomic', which belongs to the laws and discourses. We miss their oratory and rolling periods, their fatherly exhortations and frequent reminiscences. The phraseology also is not the same; the expressions considered in Chapter II, which ring through the speeches and give character to the book, are, with one exception, absent. Even that exception, 'all Israel', is only partial, for the narrator also uses 'children of Israel',¹ which is found only once in the legislation (xxiv. 7) and once in the previous discourse (iii. 18).

The same is true of the names of God; we miss altogether 'Yahweh thy God', the specially Deuteronomic name; instead we have Yahweh alone, and once *Elohim* in 'Moses the man of God' (xxxiii. 1).

The narrator tells his story simply and plainly, with no straining after effect or didactic comments of his own. He is not like the author of Judges who laments the falling away of the people from Yahweh, and draws the moral; nor like the author of Kings who sees prophecy being fulfilled. If he knew of Israel's long history of spiritual declension he is silent concerning it. If he realized that the legislation led to a great reform, he does not betray his knowledge. His last historical note is the people's obedience to Joshua (xxxiv. 9).

There are links with the book of Numbers. The itinerary there

¹ i. 3, iv. 44, 45, 46, xxix. 1, xxxi. 22, xxxiii. 1. It recurs in the words of Yahweh in xxxi. 19 and xxxii. 49-52.

brings the people to 'the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho' (xxxiii. 48), and that is where the narrator in Deuteronomy finds them (i. 5) and leaves them (xxxiv. 1). The mountain from which Moses is permitted to view the land is the same as in Numbers (Nu. xxvii. 12, 13; Dt. xxxii. 48-51, xxxiv. 1). The command in Nu. xxxv. 14 to appoint cities of refuge begins to be fulfilled in Dt. iv. 41-43. The relationship between Moses and Joshua, seen in Nu. xxvii. 18ff., reappears in Dt. xxxi.

He adds, quite incidentally, small points of detail, trivial and valueless, unless they happen to be true, as in xxvii. 1 and 9 noted above, 'eleven days' journey' (i. 3), 'the same day' (xxxi. 22), 'thirty days' (xxxiv. 8). Such details would possess some interest at the time; but would be rather pointless later.

The most striking feature of the narrative is the writer's manifest interest in geographical detail as noted above. Some explanation is needed why all these place names should be introduced, and why he should bring in the various names of Mount Hermon (iii. 9, iv. 48).

There are some parentheses which may have originated with the narrator, ii. 11-12, 20-23, iii. 9. No one doubts the genuinely archaic character of these notes. Whence were they derived, and why inserted? More probably at the time than centuries later.

Of particular interest is the parenthesis in x. 6, 7,¹ which cannot be part of Moses' discourse. If this be the work of the narrator it not only proves his interest in the provision of water for the people and their flocks, but also in Aaron's death as a 'chastisement' (*môšērāh*).²

THE MEANING OF DEUTERONOMY XXXI. 9

In the closing part of the narrative there are two matters which call for closer consideration: the words in Dt. xxxi. 9 and the sudden appearance of Joshua on the scene.

As regards the former, the words imply (see above, p. 155) that the narrator possessed, or at least knew about, a law written by Moses. There is no longer any need to argue the possibility of this.

¹ See G. T. Manley, 'A Problem in Deuteronomy', *EQ*, xxvii. 1955, pp. 201-204. Also above, p. 54.

² That this is used as a common noun is indicated from its taking the plural form *mosērôth* in Nu. xxxiii. 30, 31. Like Massah, Meribah, Taberah, it connotes the event as well as the place where the event occurred.

Archaeological research has completely disposed of the objection, once raised,¹ that writing was unknown among the Israelites when they entered Palestine. W. F. Albright says² that in the late Bronze Age the Canaanites were familiar with four, probably five, systems of writing. See also Jdg. i. 11, where the words Kiriath-sepher mean the 'city of books'.

One of these was an alphabetic script of which specimens have been found at Shechem, Beersheba, Gezer and Lachish, places which 'suggest that the scene of its evolution was centred in Southern Palestine',³ some time before the Israelite invasion.

The scriptural references to writing by Moses⁴ are therefore now being treated seriously. It is significant that the pieces of writing attributed to him, the record of a battle, an itinerary, a code of laws, correspond exactly in type to Semitic records recovered from the middle of the second millennium BC. Codes of law and accounts of battles are abundant; and a recently discovered tablet⁵ contains a merchant's record of his journeyings, in which the stages are marked in a manner not dissimilar to that in Nu. xxxiii. We may therefore well believe that Moses left behind him certain laws in writing.

To quote G. Widengren,⁶ 'We should accept the tradition that even before the occupation of Canaan both commandments of the religious law and historical records were written down. . . . That the laws were written down at an early date is probable from the rôle the writing on tablets plays in the traditions about Moses.'

If then we accept it as true that Moses committed some legislation in writing, we can go on to ask what the narrator intended

¹ See Robertson, *OTP*, pp. 66f. The word *kāthab* (write) occurs twenty-four times in Deuteronomy. The law of Dt. xxiv. 1-4 tacitly assumes that writing is not uncommon. See also Jdg. v. 14.

² *Archaeology of Palestine*, London, 1949, p. 101.

³ G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing*, 2, London, 1954, p. 147; see also Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra Ugarit*, p. 57, and Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 187-190.

⁴ Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 4, xxxiv. 27; Nu. xxxiii. 2; Dt. xxxi. 9, 26. See G. R. Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵ A. Goetze, 'An Old Babylonian Itinerary', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vii, 1953, pp. 51-72.

⁶ *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets*, Uppsala, 1948, p. 62.

to include in 'the law' which Moses wrote (xxx. 9). The most probable answer is, the statutes and judgments of chapters xii-xxvi.¹ This does not exclude the possibility that these chapters, as we now have them, might contain some later additions, although there is little to suggest this.

If this be the right interpretation in this place, the same meaning should be applied to the word in i. 5, xvii. 18, xxvii. 3 and elsewhere.

This would leave open the question of the writing of chapters v-xi and other parts, whether by Moses or another. That the whole book, once completed, soon became known as the Torah seems very probable.²

JOSHUA'S PLACE IN THE NARRATIVE

A second point of special interest is the way in which Joshua takes his place in the narrative of chapters xxxi-xxxiv. The upholders of the documentary theory here find themselves in difficulties. Whilst agreeing that these chapters are mainly or entirely additional to the original book, they differ somewhat widely as to their origin.³ Relying as they do upon the analysis of Nu. xiii, xiv, which divides the narrative of the spies into duplicate accounts⁴ of which JE knows only Caleb as being faithful, it also becomes necessary for them to amend the text in Dt. xxxii. 44 and Jos. xiv. 6, because of their agreement with P. Moreover, this hypothesis furnishes no adequate reason for bringing Joshua into the story. Once Josiah's reformation was accomplished, the conditions at any later time did not require it; and the prophetic writings do not even contain his name.

These difficulties disappear when the documentary hypothesis is discarded and the historical character of the narrative in Deuteronomy is accepted. Then we see a lifelike portrait of a very real

¹ See S. R. Driver on i. 5, *ICC*, p. 8.

² On the evidence in 1 Ki. ii. 3, see p. 137.

³ S. R. Driver divides them into fifteen sections, distributed among JE, D, D², P and two independent sources. Oesterley and Robinson and R. H. Pfeiffer propose different analyses and dating.

⁴ Oesterley and Robinson divide these two chapters into twenty-five sections, alternately JE and P, of which eleven consist of one verse or less. A passing tribute is due to the skill of the redactor who pieced these together.

person; and, what is relevant to our inquiry, of the *same* person throughout. Consider the following points:

1. When Joshua first comes into view (Ex. xvii. 9-14) it is as a *military commander* of the forces against Amalek. Presumably he was then some thirty or forty years of age. When he reappears in Dt. xxxi. 3, 7, it is in the same capacity.

2. The curse against Amalek at that time was to be both *written* and *rehearsed* (Ex. xvii. 14; cf. Dt. xxv. 17-19). This combination of writing and oral teaching is found again over the Song (Dt. xxxi. 19, xxxii. 44), the teaching and inscription of the law at Shechem (Jos. viii. 32, 34), and in the final scene in Jos. xxiv. 1-26.

3. In his early days we see Joshua as Moses' 'minister' (Ex. xxiv. 13; cf. Nu. xi. 28), and greeting his leader on his return from the mount (xxxii. 17).

In Nu. xxvii. 18-23 Moses lays hands on him and gives him a 'charge'; and this is the same in Deuteronomy (iii. 28, xxxi. 14, 23, xxxiv. 9).

4. At Horeb Joshua is left by Moses in the 'tent of meeting' (xxxiii. 11); again he presents himself there, with Moses, in Dt. xxxi. 14; when the tabernacle is set up in Shiloh, Joshua is present (Jos. xviii. 1), and there he is seen with Eleazar the priest in xix. 51.

5. In Nu. xiii. 8 Hoshea (Joshua) is appointed to represent the tribe of Ephraim as one of the twelve spies, whilst Caleb represents Judah (6), and in verse 16 the new name Joshua is bestowed upon him; he is associated with Caleb in his faithful report, and promised an entry into the land in Nu. xiv. 6, 30, 38.

In Dt. i. 36-38 we read that Caleb and Joshua are both to enter the land, whilst Moses is excluded; in Dt. xxxi Joshua is to bring the people into Canaan, and in Jos. xiv. 1ff. we see the old friendship renewed and the old promise recalled (6). Caleb receives his inheritance in Judah, and when Joshua dies he is buried in his inheritance in mount Ephraim (xxiv. 30).

Such unity in the portraiture of Joshua could scarcely be expected if traditions concerning him had lingered on through centuries, were written down by different hands, and collected by

some late editor.¹ Were the narratives contemporary or nearly so it would be perfectly natural.

This unity is carried on into the book of Joshua. Jos. i is the natural sequel to Dt. xxxiv; and Jos. i. 8 requiring Joshua to meditate in the book of the law is reminiscent of Dt. xvii. 18, 19, although the wording is different.² In this and other places the book of Joshua contains evidence of acquaintance with Deuteronomy. (See the appendix to this chapter.)

WHO WAS THE NARRATOR?

The examination of the content and character of the narrative leads naturally to the question, who was the narrator? The anonymity which he has maintained makes it easier to say what he was not, than to guess who he was.

It is difficult to believe, with the Uppsala school, that Deuteronomy shares a common authorship with the whole historical series, Joshua to 2 Kings. As far back as can be traced Deuteronomy was always known as the last book of the law, and not the first of the 'former prophets'. It is included in the Samaritan Pentateuch, which is probably pre-exilic,³ and possibly originated in the time of Eli.⁴ At the same time the book of Joshua has always taken its place as the first of the historical books.

No less serious are the objections to seeing in the compiler of this narrative a prophetic reformer living in the seventh century BC. Nowhere does he adopt the prophetic style, nor does he display the faintest interest in reform. The contrast between his plain

¹ 'Oral traditions were collected and written down at an early date, often as soon as they were collected from the mouths of the reporters', G. Widengren, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² It is a curious and interesting fact that the Samaritan Chronicle describes the judges who followed Moses and Joshua as Kings (*melekh*). The LXX translates *melekh* in Dt. xvii. 14, 15 by ἄρχων (ruler).

³ Since the writing of Deuteronomy must be earlier than its inclusion in the Samaritan Pentateuch, the dating of the latter fixes the *terminus ad quem* of the former.

⁴ See Robertson, *OTP*, pp. 159-182. Brinker, *op. cit.*, pp. 212ff., gives reasons for dating it back at least to the disruption of the kingdom. M. Gaster claims for it a high antiquity: *Schwedich Lecture*, 1923, pp. 107-112.

simplicity and the appeals of Hosea and Isaiah could scarcely be greater.¹

Not a word in the narrative suggests that Moses is supposed to be addressing the people of Judah who belonged to the later monarchy,² or that they were being deprived of a liberty they had long enjoyed. On the contrary, every detail makes it apparent that Moses speaks to people actually present, Joshua included.

E. Robertson's suggestion³ that Deuteronomy was compiled from Mosaic writings and traditions by a 'council of priests and scribes', under Samuel's superintendence, has many attractive features, but also serious objections. The books of Samuel do not contain the word *tôrāh* nor any hint of a council of priests and scribes. Samuel's action in proclaiming Saul king was clearly upon his own authority, not that of Moses, and 'the manner (*mišpāt*) of the kingdom', which he told the people, must be understood in the light of 1 Sa. viii. 10-20 to mean the functions and authority of the king as their 'judge'. Besides, Samuel was surely not a man to hide his personality in this fashion.

The narrator is not Moses himself, for he always writes of him in the third person; he rather appears as an onlooker, retailing what he has seen and heard, and including what has come into his possession in written form.

Dare we think of him as such, possibly one of the 'priests the Levites' of Dt. xxxi. 9?

This would account for much that is otherwise difficult to explain; for the curious insertion of x. 6, 7 with the notes about Aaron and the tribe of Levi; for the place names in i. 1, the interest in the traditions of the former inhabitants and the various names of Mount Hermon, so beautiful when seen from a Moabite hill-top; for the prominence of Joshua; and, if going back to the time of the Shechem amphictyony, for the puzzling 'northern' affinities of Deuteronomy.

Jewish tradition ascribed the authorship of chapter xxxiv to Joshua, but he would hardly have written verse 9 about himself; though it would have jumped to the mind of Eleazar or one of his young companions who had been present at the ceremony described in Nu. xxvii. 18-25.

¹ See pp. 140-143 above.

² See Driver, *ICC*, p. lviii.

³ *OTP*, pp. 6off.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI

DEUTERONOMIC TRACES IN THE
BOOK OF JOSHUA

Certain passages in the book of Joshua, which state or imply that Joshua was acquainted with the Mosaic law, are sometimes accounted for as being due to a 'Deuteronomic redaction' of the JE basic document.

This view is by no means universally accepted,¹ and is not in itself probable. A process of this kind has no parallels in Assyrian or Babylonian literature; and all redactional changes which are certainly discoverable in the Old Testament text and versions are small and of a quite different type.²

Why should one, inspired by the book of Deuteronomy, take upon himself to alter, not to say falsify, the JE document upon which his great predecessor, *ex hypothesi*, relied? And how did he obtain access to all existing copies of this old document, and change them, without any protest being raised?

The passages concerned have been examined in detail by E. J. Young,³ and do not bear out this contention; they can be better explained otherwise. Where Deuteronomic phraseology occurs, mainly in chapters i and xxiii, it is both natural and appropriate to the occasion. Of the forty-three expressions considered above in Chapter III, thirty-three are not to be found in Joshua, and four come only once.⁴ One passage in particular rebels against such treatment, namely Joshua viii. 30-35; the style is not 'Deuteronomic' and it contradicts the supposed centralizing law.⁵

The best explanation of the correspondence between the contents of Deuteronomy and Joshua is to be found in their historical character and the nearly contemporary character of the sources.

¹ On the wide differences of opinion about the book of Joshua see N. H. Snaith, *OTMS*, pp. 84-90, and Bentzen, *Introduction*, II, pp. 82-86.

² These are discussed by B. J. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions*, Cardiff, 1951, pp. 32ff. and *passim*.

³ 'The alleged secondary Deuteronomic passages in the book of Joshua', *EQ*, xxv, 1953, pp. 142-157.

⁴ Jos. ix. 27, xiii. 6, xxiii. 13, 16.

⁵ See p. 128.