STUDIES IN JOSHUA :
TEXT AND LITERARY RELATIONS

by

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Thesis presented for the Degree of Ph.D.,
to the University of Edinburgh

March 1976

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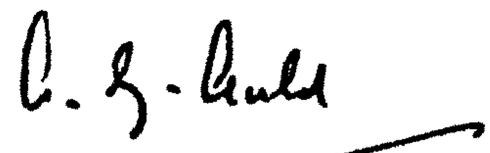

5th March, 1976.

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PREFACE

The first part of this thesis describes the main lines of research in the last three or four decades into the creation and development of the traditions about Israel's settlement found in the book of Joshua. The impasse thereby documented, particularly in the study of the division of the land, appears to have resulted more from the inherent difficulties of the text than from any mistake in principle over either the attribution or denial of the material to a Pentateuchal 'source' or its mis-attribution to a particular 'source'. Accordingly the second part of the thesis offers a renewed and detailed discussion of the text.

Although none of the canonical divisions of the Bible links the book of Joshua with the five 'books of Moses', it has been commonplace to treat its critical study as an appendix to - when not an integral part of - the study of the Pentateuch. This has continued at least since Stähelin's detection[1] of de Wette's 'Elohist'[2] in the book of Joshua too. The development of this attitude was perhaps fostered by more attention being paid to the title of Wellhausen's classical study, Die Composition des Hexateuchs, than to his cautious observation that Joshua, while an appendix to the Pentateuch assuming the latter at all points (and

1. Stähelin, 'Beiträge', pp. 461ff.
2. de Wette, Beiträge.

so distinct from the books Judges to Kings), does not consist of the same material edited in the same way.[1] A thorough account of the history of scholarship in this matter would require an independent thesis on its own. For reasons which will become clear this study limits itself to the discussion since 1938.

Two comments are appropriate at the outset about terminology used in the thesis. The first is that the many references to the 'book of Joshua' do not imply any a priori view of whether its material was first assembled independently or whether its independence as a 'book' was later achieved. And the second is that the terminology and sigla of traditional Pentateuchal source-criticism are used purely conventionally. It is clear that the research described in the thesis has a relevance, both negative and positive, for study of the Pentateuch. But its presentation in the following pages does attempt as much neutrality as can be achieved in its discussion of purely Pentateuchal problems.

In this respect there is one bias which must be admitted. Even those devoted to traditional source-criticism of the Pentateuch concede that the evidence for their arguments is more clearly available in some parts of the Pentateuch than others - and is particularly clear in parts of Genesis. One of the natural consequences of interest in parallel narrative sources is a concern for finding their continuation and perhaps culmination greater than the concern to view the material being analyzed for what it is. The criticism of the text in this study prefers as

1. Composition[3], p. 116.

a starting point the observation of the text's problems and possibilities - and even their elucidation - at a more 'local' level.

The study is dedicated to the memory of Père Roland de Vaux who not only supervised its very earliest stages but also aided its further development by his interest and friendship towards the writer when subsequently working in Jerusalem. To two others the work is also very heavily indebted: to Professor Rudolf Smend, whose Münster seminars of 1967/8 taught the writer how to read the book of Joshua; and Professor George W. Anderson, who has encouraged the project from beginning to very belated end.

ABSTRACT

Part One of this thesis reviews many of the studies on Joshua since 1938. Attention is concentrated, in the first two chapters, on the progression from von Rad's form-critical explanation of the shape of the Pentateuch and Joshua (treated as a 'Hexateuchal' unity), through Noth's major works on Joshua, Deuteronomistic History, and Pentateuch, to Mowinckel's restatement of a 'Hexateuch' hypothesis. The third chapter surveys the attitudes to Joshua's literary relations found in introductions, commentaries, and special studies; and takes particular interest in the literary implications of a series of studies on the geographical material in the second half of Joshua.

Three main tasks are undertaken in Part Two. Chapter IV argues for a much more positive attitude than is current in contemporary scholarship to the Septuagint version of Joshua, as representing in the main an earlier edition of the book than our inherited Hebrew text. That some of the most striking textual differences occur in passages whose importance for any account of the book's literary structure has long been recognized underlines the relevance of this argument.

Chapter V discusses the Deuteronomistic traditions in Joshua, with special reference to the land-division. Sympathetic attention is given to the thesis that the Deuteronomistic History underwent at least one major revision. It is suggested that little of the material in Jos. 13-19 need be denied to the Deuteronomists. Moreover, the identification in these chapters of

traces of a Deuteronomistic revision makes it probable that the material on which that depends was in fact part of the earlier Deuteronomistic History.

The main element in Chapter VI, on the later traditions in the book, is an analysis of Jos. 21 whose account of the Levitical cities is deduced to depend on the traditions of 1 Chron. 6. This conclusion both confirms and is confirmed by a favourable attitude to the Greek text of Joshua. Comparison of the final editorial stratum of Jos. 21 with similar material in Joshua and Numbers makes possible (1) a stratification of the later traditions in Joshua, and (2) some observations about relations between the end of Numbers and the second half of Joshua.

A brief Appendix discusses some views of the shape of the pre-Deuteronomistic narrative; while a chart summarizes the internal relationships of the traditions in the second half of Joshua.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute (Jerusalem), Leiden.
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen.
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, Stuttgart.
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, (Giessen) Berlin.
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia.
KS	Kleine Scriften.
LXX	Septuagint.
MT	Massoretic Text.
OTL	(SCM) Old Testament Library, London.
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën, Leiden.
RB	Revue Biblique, Paris.
SOTS	Society for Old Testament Study.
StTh	Studia Theologica, Oslo.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.
ThR	Theologische Rundschau, Tübingen.
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel.
VuF	Verkündigung und Forschung, München.

VT	Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
VTSuppl.	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Leipzig, Wiesbaden.

PART ONE

JOSHUA AND THE PENTATEUCH SINCE 1938

CHAPTER I

VON RAD AND NOTH

A. Von Rad: The Hexateuch

The modern phase of the discussion of the relationship between the book of Joshua and the Pentateuch was ushered in by two brilliant studies published in 1938. The first of these was Gerhard von Rad's essay 'The Form-critical Problem of the Hexateuch',[1] written in the hope that fresh attention to the form of the Hexateuch as a whole might point the way out of the stalemate he detected in Hexateuchal studies. Von Rad's exposition is lengthy but his basic argument is both straightforward and very familiar; and so it need not detain us long.

He starts with the observation that the final form of the Hexateuch, despite the intricate elaboration of this tremendous edifice, is quite simply a 'history of redemption' or a creed. Indeed one can readily believe that its origins belong to a type of literature of which we have several examples in the OT: the short historical creed. Deut. 26:5b-9 is the classic example of these - a creed still linked to its situation in worship. Deuteronomy preserves another in 6:20-24; while Joshua's farewell speech uses yet a third (Jos. 24:2b-13). The considerably greater detail of this third example demonstrates the flexibility of the basic form; and examples from the Psalter, like Pss. 136

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1. Translated in Problem of the Hexateuch, pp. 1-78.

and 105, show both that still greater detail is possible within a relatively short compass and that elaboration of the form took place within the orbit of the cult.

Even the shortest form of the creed in Deut. 26:5-9 mentions patriarchal beginnings, the oppression in Egypt, the deliverance by Yahweh and his bringing Israel into the promised land. What is immediately striking when this summary of the faith is compared with the Hexateuch is that all the main constituents of the latter are present in it except for the Sinai revelation - and this remains true of all OT examples of this genre until the great prayer of Neh. 9:6ff, where 'at last we find a passage of the kind which hitherto we have everywhere sought in vain'.

The implication that the Sinai material has roots different from the history of salvation appears to confirm Wellhausen's finding: 'Clearly visible behind the work of the Yahwist is a form of the tradition in which the Israelites moved on to Kadesh immediately after the crossing of the Red Sea, without first making the expedition to Sinai.'[1] And von Rad adds that even were Wellhausen's hypothesis not demonstrable on purely literary grounds, this would not affect our recognition that the Sinai tradition is essentially an independent entity within the Hexateuchal tradition. The openings of both the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33) and the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5) offer confirmation of this in their testimony that the constitutive element of the Sinai

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1. Prolegomena, pp. 342ff.

tradition is the coming of God, not the wanderings of the people. This observation points in its turn in the direction of von Rad's next deduction: that the Sinai narrative is the cult-legend of a particular festival - in fact (following Mowinckel's work on the Decalogue)[1] the New Year Festival. Indeed, when the agglomeration of different strata is set aside, and the basic form of Deuteronomy is studied, it becomes apparent that it shares the same underlying shape as the older Sinai narrative in Exodus - so providing independent testimony to the form of the festival liturgy from which both derive. Links between Jos. 24 and Deut. 27 persuade von Rad that the Sinai narrative had its origin in the Feast of Booths as celebrated at Shechem.

The settlement tradition - that other pillar of the Hexateuch - von Rad locates in the Feast of Weeks as celebrated at Gilgal: in part because of the explicit mention of first-fruits in Deut. 26, and in part because of the Benjaminite and even Gilgalite locus of most of the traditions of settlement in Jos. 2-11.

These traditions of settlement and Sinai had only been capable of developing so far in their original cultic milieu. Their co-ordination as part of a monumental literary enterprise - one which involved too the addition of much originally heterogeneous material - freed these traditions for the quite new development evidenced in the successive literary strata of the Hexateuch. Von Rad gives the Yahwist the credit for this break-

1. Le Décalogue (1927).

through. He it was who both inserted the Sinai tradition into the settlement tradition and prefaced this new whole with a primeval history - so achieving the lineaments of the structure familiar to us.

Von Rad is in no doubt but that this remarkable literary and theological enterprise was carried out in the 'untrammelled days of Solomon', after the Davidic empire had secured territory to an extent greater than that envisaged even in the more enthusiastic of the age-old promises. When the Yahwist speaks of the past, it is no simple archival matter - in so doing he addresses his contemporaries. Two issues are of vital concern to him: the hiddenness of God's activity in history; and the demonstration in the Davidic period of God's care for Israel. 'If we now read the remarkable conclusion of the Yahwist's work, the lists in Jud. 1, we are at once aware of the relevance which these apparently remote memoranda of territorial history must have had for David's contemporaries and their successors. No one could read these stereotyped descriptions of the as yet unoccupied territories without reflecting that God had not in fact left the matter in this state of semi-fulfilment. He had continued his care for Israel and had kept all his promises, even though it was not in the time of Joshua, but not till in the time of David that this was to be seen. That is what the Yahwist's restrained mode of presentation actually invites us to read between the lines at the end of the work.'[1]

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1. It is striking that von Rad makes no mention of any J-material between the Balaam cycle and Jud. 1.

This essay of von Rad certainly achieved its purpose of jolting Hexateuchal studies out of the doldrums. It has received much attention in the intervening period, both enthusiastic and critical. A wholesale re-examination of his case is beyond the scope of this thesis;[1] but certain observations must be made below of those aspects which are fundamental to any consideration of the relationship of the book of Joshua to the Pentateuch. Let it just be noted in conclusion at this stage that when von Rad wrote this essay in 1938, the Hexateuch whose form and growth he sought to explain was a long-established finding of literary scholarship.

B. Noth

(1) Joshua

Strikingly, it was also in 1938 that Martin Noth published the first edition of his commentary on Joshua[2] - the first of a series of studies in which he set an emphatic question-mark against this long-established finding. It is to the fifteen-year period of that scholar's career, marked off by the two editions of that commentary, that we must now turn our attention.

At the very beginning of the introduction to his commentary, Noth broaches the problem.[3] Literary critical work on the book

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1. An important recent contribution to the debate is Nicholson's Exodus and Sinai, where earlier studies are conveniently cited and reviewed.

2. Das Buch Josua (1938).

3. op.cit., pp. VII, VIII. In fact Noth's first brief section is on the text of Joshua: he finds that the Hebrew text has been well preserved, and that the LXX (while occasionally representing a more original Hebrew text) results in the main from simplifications to a Hebrew text itself the product of a complicated literary history.

had started from the realization that in content the book was but continuation and perhaps completion of the Pentateuch narrative. The taking of Palestine, repeatedly promised, is reported only in this book - and as its main theme. Joshua became associated with the vagaries of Pentateuchal criticism; and the term 'Hexateuch' was resurrected[1] to do better justice to the literary situation now detected. However, various details in the book are counter to its inclusion in study of the Pentateuch - not so much the different kind of origin of much of its material, as that literary critical theses tested principally on the book of Genesis do not hold true in the same evident way for the book of Joshua. The Deuteronomistic[2] redaction, whose extent and style can be easily established, does provide one certain starting-point for our analysis of the book - and the stages following it too can be fairly readily plotted. More difficult to detect is the pre-Deuteronomistic history of the book; but even there, Noth argues, two points may be taken as certain: that before its insertion in the rest Jos. 13:1-21:42 had its own literary history; and that even in the remaining parts of Joshua the literary situation does not resemble that of Genesis. The book's own stock of material must provide the basis for literary analysis, before enquiry is made into pre-Deuteronomistic literary connections with the Pentateuch.

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1. This term, and also 'Heptateuch', 'Octateuch' and 'Enneateuch' (referring to the books up to Judges, Samuel and Kings) were used by early Fathers of the Church.

2. In this thesis, contrary to much recent practice, Noth's own usage will be followed: Deuteronomic for that pertaining to the book of Deuteronomy; and Deuteronomistic for that pertaining to the history by the Deuteronomists.

Turning his full attention next to the book's pre-Deuteronomistic history Noth argues first that two documents are the main sources of the section 13:1-21:42 - a system of tribal boundaries, and a list of localities in the state of Judah after its division into twelve districts.[1] The combination of these documents served to define the actual property of the twelve tribes in the settlement period - and at this stage without any connection with the Joshua narrative. Out of this description of their actual property grew a description of how under Joshua the land came to be their property;[2] and it was at this stage that the narrative became an integral part of the book of Joshua.

To this pre-Deuteronomistic stage belong also most of the material in Jos. 1-12 and the rudiments of 24. In Chapters 1-12 the Deuteronomist was indebted to an already formed collection, mostly of originally local stories of largely aetiological significance. These once separate stories had been preserved and gathered at the Benjaminite tribal sanctuary of Gilgal, acquiring their all-Israel reference perhaps at the time of Saul when this sanctuary served the people as a whole. These narratives were rounded off by the two hero-stories in chapters 10 and 11. The rudiments of chapter 24 appear to have neither a literary nor a

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1. This case he had already stated more fully in ZDPV 58, pp. 185ff., a series of essays themselves indebted to studies by Alt - see KS II, pp. 276ff.; KS I, pp. 193ff.; and ZAW 45, pp. 59ff.
2. Noth claims that there are still traces in Jos. 14:1a,4a,5; and 19:49a of a stage in the tradition in which it was the Israelites themselves who took the land for their own possession.

material relationship with the above: the collector has presumably found the basis of this chapter a suitable conclusion.

The new documentary hypothesis declared most of the material in question Elohistic (although (ה)אלהים as a proper name perhaps does not occur at all) - and Rudolph deemed it Yahwistic, although largely on the negative argument that he found nothing to contradict a derivation from J.[1] Noth makes two points in reply to both: (1) In the Joshua narrative we are dealing with an independent cycle of tradition, in which reference to what has happened previously is made only quite incidentally and quite generally. (2) Even where back-references are made, there is no clear evidence of literary connections with particular narrative sections of the Pentateuch.[2]

It is only with the Deuteronomistic redaction, to which Noth finally devotes himself, that the literary inclusion of the book of Joshua in the entire Hexateuchal (or perhaps better Octateuchal) narrative is demonstrable. This redaction is generally easy to recognize - and in this book as elsewhere it is not homogeneous. In this respect, Noth shows in detail that while chapters 13-21 now appear in a Deuteronomistic framework it is later than that of the rest of the book. The identity of the

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1. Der 'Elohist' von Exodus bis Josua - see further below, p. 91.
2. Noth does remark that in some respects his view of the pre-Deuteronomistic history of these sections of the book is not unlike the essential elements of Rudolph's view, in which too there is the assumption of a basic narrative which has been subsequently expanded in successive stages.

Deuteronomistic sentences 13:1a and 23:1b is capable of only one interpretation: that 13:1a is a secondary anticipation of 23:1b facilitating the literary incorporation of chapters 13ff - a repetition in 23:1b, once the statement had already been made in 13:1a, is not a reasonable assumption.

Some portions of the book have a tendency and style similar to the Pentateuchal P. Scholars had long been inclined to attribute to P a large share in 13-21, but these chapters Noth has shown to belong to a secondary Deuteronomistic stage. In fact P's contribution, apart from chapter 21, is just in the form of brief expansions - and so is rather like that of the Deuteronomists: the supplementation of an already existing stock of tradition.

(2) The Deuteronomist

Noth's novel approach to Joshua bore as many implications for the study of the Pentateuch as for the study of that book and those immediately surrounding it. And both implications he was quick to tease out in the relevant portions of his researches into those OT historical works produced by the collection and edition of disparate material. In these studies,[1] his main concern is with the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic works; however the implications of his results for the Pentateuch (whose material is a 'collection'

1. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I (1943).

only in a limited sense of that term)[1] are presented in an important appendix.

The starting-point in his study of the Deuteronomistic History is 'one of the most assured results of scholarly criticism of the OT' - that in the books from Joshua to Kings we encounter in passages large and small the literary activity of a Deuteronomistic author, so-called because his language and thought exhibit a close relationship with those of the book of Deuteronomy. His language and style are easy to detect throughout, and are testimony to this thesis. But of much greater importance is the fact that the arrangement of the material in these books is the work of the Deuteronomist. The main feature of his edition is that at every important point either the leading actor makes a speech, short or long,[2] or the editor himself offers a comment in his own words[3] - in both cases the course of events is interpreted and the practical conclusions drawn. Such insertions of an author's own reflections have no precise parallel in the OT, and so may be regarded as important evidence for the thesis that the Deuteronomist worked to a unified and compact scheme. A consistent theology is presented; and the

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1. Quoting von Rad's 1938 essay as a crucial account of the growth of the Pentateuch, he observes that despite the wealth of historical detail in the Pentateuch, its subject-matter is really a set of particular given themes which are fundamental for faith.

2. Jos. 1; 23; 1 Sam. 12; 1 Kings 8:14ff. McCarthy, in his essay on 'II Samuel 7', makes a powerful case for adding that speech too to Noth's list.

3. Jos. 12; Jud. 2:11ff.; 2 Kings 17:7ff.

unity of his work can be emphasised negatively by comparing with it the multiplicity of the earlier traditions which he uses. Many of these were available in short collections - but the evident unity of the whole familiar corpus is the creation of the Deuteronomistic author alone.

2 Kings 25:27-30 is a natural end to the work; but it is more difficult to agree that Jos. 1 is a natural beginning - it refers back to the history of the Moses period. The common assumption was that the Deuteronomistic historical work had begun with the creation, that it was a stage in the literary growth of the Hexateuch - and that its influence had extended to cover the later historical books. However Noth finds no trace of Deuteronomistic redaction in Genesis to Numbers.[1] Nevertheless, Deut. 31:1-13 and parts of Deut. 34 are elements of a Deuteronomistic narrative to which Jos. 1 is linked; and once this is noted it is soon apparent that Deut. 1:1-4:43 is an introduction not so much to the Deuteronomic Law as to the Deuteronomistic History. It was natural both that our author should preface his history with an account of the law which was so important to his conception, and that he should present it in the form of a speech by his leading personage.

In the main, Noth's argument in the Joshua commentary confirms and is confirmed by his theory of the Deuteronomistic History. One modification of his earlier conclusions is important for our problem. There is now no mention of any contribution to the book

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1. Passages such as Ex. 23:20ff. and 34:10ff., in which an early text has been expanded in Deuteronomistic style, are not evidence for Noth of continuous redaction.

of Joshua from the Pentateuchal source P. Passages such as 21:1-42 and 22:7-34 are now described as additions to the corpus made later than the (itself secondary) inclusion of the bulk of the section 13-22.[1]

Not only does Noth find no trace of the Deuteronomist in the first four books of the Pentateuch, but he also stresses that the Pentateuchal presentation of the early history of Israel - fundamental for faith, and produced essentially by the combination of the sacral Sinai tradition with the equally sacral settlement tradition - was quite different in character from the Deuteronomist's presentation of Israel's history in Palestine. It was only in its introduction that the latter reached back to deal with a few important events in that early history.

Noth was well aware that his thesis once expounded necessitated and (perhaps more positively) enabled a new look to be taken at some of the problems of Pentateuch/Hexateuch. The earlier view that there are literary links between Numbers and Joshua he does not dispute - but he does see them in a new light.[2] This is the stuff of his appendix on the question of P and the redaction of the Pentateuch.[3]

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1. Contrast UGS, p. 45, n. 4 with Josua[1], p.XIV. There is some inconsistency over Noth's treatment of Jos. 21: in the introduction to the commentary he describes chapters 13-21 as a main section of the book of Joshua; and in this study, chapters 13-22. However in both works, 21 (and 22 too) is dealt with quite separately from the section to which it is said to belong.
2. Earlier Hexateuchal critics had considered the relevant parts of Joshua to belong to the same source as, and to narrate the carrying out of the commands described in, the related parts of Numbers.
3. UGS, pp. 180-217.

He starts by answering again the question of what part P plays in the composition of the book of Joshua - spelling out the negative results of his commentary conclusions. Those Hexateuchal critics are right who have refused to admit the existence of some small P passages within Jos. 1-12.[1] And in fact this situation is true too of Jos. 13-19. The framework of this section of the book is in three layers, in which the land is divided by the Israelites, Joshua, and a sacral commission respectively. However only the first two of these correspond to the layers of material in the book - the pre-Deuteronomistic and the Deuteronomistic. Accordingly, what are at first sight parts of a third framework must be deemed additions to an already existing stock. The basis of Jos. 20 has links with the second framework (appeal is to Joshua alone), and affinities with Deut. 19:1-13. Links with the third 'framework'[2] are obvious in Jos. 21:1-42 - with them it must be regarded as an independent addition to the book. And finally 22:9-34,[3] although it resembles P, differs from it in content and language in too many ways for it to be attributed to the Hexateuchal source P. The conclusion: P is nowhere to be found in Joshua - all in all a more radically negative conclusion than that reached in the commentary.

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1. For example, 4:15-17,19; 5:10-12; 9:14,15b,17-21.
2. 14:1b; 18:1; 19:51a.
3. Jos. 21:43-22:6(8) is a part of the Deuteronomistic redaction.

Such a conclusion immediately raises the question of the original extent of P, for the book of Numbers certainly appears to preserve P reports of preparations and commands for the imminent settlement. This Noth now checks in an enquiry into P in Num. 10-36 and Deut. 31-34.

His starting point is important. The last event we know of P describing, if that source is not represented in Joshua, is the death of Moses in Deut. 34:1,7-9. Of the two preparatory passages, Num. 27:12-14 and Deut. 32:48-52, the latter is demonstrably dependent on the former. Moreover, the closely related Num. 27:15-23 - which describes Joshua's commission as Moses' successor - does not refer specifically to his familiar role as occupier and divider of the promised land. It is possible then that the theme of settlement lay outside P's interests. Furthermore, even before Noth, almost all the material recording preparations for the settlement had been generally assigned to secondary parts of the source P. Since these occur for the most part between the announcement of Moses' imminent death in Num. 27 and the far-separated actual record of his death, and since it is possible the settlement lay outside P's interest, Noth felt them worthy of further study.

He first discusses Num. 32-35, whose core he finds in 33:50-34:29. Its kernel in turn is 34:3-12 which lists the boundaries of the land west of the Jordan to be distributed to the tribes. It is based on the same system of boundary description - and so probably the same document too - as that found in Jos. 13-19. Indeed it is most probable that, in the forging

of the link between the Deuteronomistic History and the rest of the Pentateuch, the passage in question was transferred to its present position from somewhere in Jos. 13-19 - most likely close to 14:1-5. Num. 34:1-2 and also 33:50-51,54[1] were coined as a new introduction to this boundary description. And since 34:13-15,16-29 were never deemed part of P's main stock the result is that none of 33:50-34:29 belongs to P. As for Num. 35, vv. 1-8 and 16-34 were generally regarded as late additions to P; and the basic vv. 9-15 Noth argues were composed with Jos. 20 in mind. The situation in Num. 32 is quite different - here J and E make their final appearance in the book of Numbers: vv. 1,2,5, 16,39-42 are a part of their settlement narrative, and the rest of the passage is a secondary expansion of this. As for 33:1-49, it is one of the latest passages in the Pentateuch - and that comment concludes Noth's denial to P of any part of Num. 32-35.

Num. 28-30 and 36 in their turn are generally accepted as being later than the original P. And so, of the material often dascribed to P after Num. 27's announcement of Moses' coming death, only chapter 31 remains to be discussed. Noth admits that if the chapter belongs to one of the major Pentateuchal sources then that source is P - but he questions the hypothesis. Verses 13-54 are a complex of late expansions with no internal unity. And as for 1-12, Noth prefers to agree with Wellhausen and others against von Rad that they are not an original element of the P-narrative - just the first part of a whole chapter that is best

1. The verses 52,53,55,56 are generally described as secondary.

described as a supplement to the narrative of the Pentateuch that has formed in successive stages.

Noth turns next to the material in Num. 20-27. The report of the death of Aaron and the appointment of his son Eleazar as successor in 20:22-29 he considers part of the original P. What of the material between this and the commissioning of Joshua? In a separate article on Num. 21 he had already argued that P does not appear in that chapter.[1] Equally there is no sign of it in the Balaam-complex (22:2-24:25). The brief intervening chronological note in 22:1 he does admit as part of P. 25:1-5 is also from one of the earlier sources. As for the remaining complex 25:6-27:11 Noth's conclusion is that it too represents a series of supplements, perhaps five in number, to the basic source material in the Pentateuch - probably intended to fill out the earlier narrative sources, whether before or after the combination of these with P. More certainly they were added before the combination of the Deuteronomistic History with the rest of the Pentateuch - otherwise some of them, and particularly 26:1-54, would have been more likely to be included in the complex 32-35.

As for the material in chapters 10-20, Noth here does not so much challenge the accepted critical results as comment on their

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1. ZAW 58, pp. 161ff. Noth's exposition of this chapter confirms and amplifies two basic points: (i) that it occupies a bridge position in the 'Hexateuch' (from this point onwards he regularly uses this term in quotation marks), the centre of interest moving from the desert to the settlement; (ii) that its literary composition is typical of the latter part of Numbers as a whole, where most of the evidence supports a supplementary rather than a documentary hypothesis.

significance for his own argument. The spy-story in 13-14 has certainly a necessary connection with the theme of future settlement; but for P the climax of the story is the sin of the spies, except for Joshua and Caleb, and the verdict that a whole generation should die in the desert. P's contribution to the Korah-story in 16-18 seems concerned with the privileges of different priestly factions. (As an omnibus collection of legal prescriptions, chapter 15 has no claim to be considered part of P's narrative. The same is true of chapter 19.) P's share in 20:1-13 again concentrates on culpable lack of faith, this time of Moses and Aaron - it gives the reason for their deaths. And it is noticeable here too, as in the case of the people as a whole in 13-14, that their punishment is really the negative one of not reaching the promised land.

The literary situation at the end of the book of Numbers is then very different from that in the Hexateuch narrative before the Sinai story. But this, Noth observes, is no new conclusion - it was always the first impression of any who came straight from analyzing the primeval and patriarchal histories to take a close look at the literary structure of the second half of Numbers. There one has to deal with a large number of small isolated elements belonging to no major source. These are often reminiscent of P, but they do not belong to its main stock. Even such an attribution as P^S is misleading in that they are, in the main, supplements not to the source P but to the already combined narrative formed of all the major sources.

In the final chapter of this appendix Noth finds it

important to stress that P, so far as the total plan of his work was concerned, was content to follow earlier tradition - such as we are familiar with in J. Not that J was necessarily P's literary model - but they both attest the same normative plan. Even the heart of P's concern, the constitution of the Israelite people and cult at Sinai, is narrated within the confines of this long-accepted pattern, despite the lopsidedness of the resultant work. This makes it all the more evident that in his virtual elimination of the settlement theme from his work P is following a quite novel procedure.

It is to this P-work that the final form of the Pentateuch is indebted - this is one of the most certain results of literary criticism. Its first and last words are from P. It is quite as certain that the earlier sources did originally continue to narrate the events of the settlement - verses in Num. 21;32 are evidence of this. How they narrated them must remain in doubt. Old narratives from creation to conquest there had been - but never a 'Hexateuch' in the normal sense of that term, that the books from Genesis to Joshua were once a unity in more or less the form in which we know them.

Their overlap in the matter of the end of Moses' career facilitated the joining of the so-completed Pentateuch to the Deuteronomistic History. Perhaps this join was facilitated by the preservation within the Pentateuch of fragments of the settlement tradition from the earlier sources. This meshing of the two works, themselves complexes of originally separate traditions, helps to explain both the difficult literary situation towards the

end of Numbers and how the Pentateuch as we have it still in general gives a relatively ordered impression.

(3) The Pentateuch

Just as possibilities opened up by the Joshua commentary were further explored five years later in this study, so after a further five-year period Noth published a full-scale review of the growth of the Pentateuch.[1] His main concern here is with the beginnings of the development of the Pentateuchal traditions - the least worked-over area of Pentateuch criticism. However insofar as a painstaking examination of the Pentateuch's literary problems is a prerequisite of such a study, he prefaces his main work with a summary of his conclusions on this matter.[2]

His comments on P, both in itself and as the literary framework of the whole Pentateuch, mark no advance on what he had already written. His survey of the earlier sources is the more interesting - perhaps in part because the older material is closer to those beginnings of the transmission process which for Noth hold the keys to the whole. These sources are harder to recognize and analyze than P: their language and style are less easily identifiable; violence has been done to their original shape by

1. Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch (1948), cited here as HPT, in its English translation. Noth's use in this study, as in the previous one, of the term 'Pentateuch' is somewhat misleading in that it regularly refers to that entity formed by the insertion of the older sources into the P-framework, and hence does not include Deuteronomy. It was Engnell who coined the term 'Tetrateuch'.

2. HPT, pp. 5-41.

the discarding, except for traces, of their concluding treatment of the Israelite settlement. It is clear that this earlier material is not a unity - so far, Noth stands in the familiar critical position. But he finds serviceable only one of the familiar criteria for dividing this material: the existence of narrative doublets. And this single criterion proves adequate provided one is clear there should be no preconceived notion that this older material is capable of division into two almost complete and almost completely parallel narratives. Many more narratives are a literary unity than is commonly thought; and often only one of the J and E variants of a story will have been preserved. In fact neither E nor J is dependent on the other, but both on a common source of tradition - however, J has been better preserved in the redaction and has been used as the basis for their combination (like P for the Pentateuch).

In the first main chapter of his study of the preliterary development of the stock of constituent traditions, Noth both follows and modifies von Rad's 1938 thesis. In his preface, Noth had already underlined his conviction that the decisive steps on the way to the forming of the Pentateuch were taken at the pre-literary stage. And there too he repeated his observation in the Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, that unlike the other two OT historical works, the Pentateuch is not merely the result of literary activity - indeed it had no author in the sense that these had: even those responsible for the Pentateuch sources, however important their contribution, cannot be described as authors because they did not give their works their basic shape. This

basic shape was not something secondary and supplementary to the originally separate traditions; it was not produced by their being linked to each other. This shape was manifested at the very beginning of the transmission process in a short series of themes which were vital for the faith of the Israelite tribes[1] - themes which were the content of confessions uttered at certain cultic celebrations. These themes were not linked together in one action, but in a gradual process which can still be more or less followed. Here Noth's approach is more complicated than von Rad's. He agrees with the latter that the addition of the primeval history was the last stage in the process; and also that the Sinai story was an originally independent block of tradition only secondarily inserted into what van Rad termed the settlement tradition. However Noth argues that this 'settlement tradition' is itself no original unity. The Pentateuch's tradition of the settlement in Palestine is an independent tradition theme - the Pentateuch as we know it offers no neat join between this theme and the stories of life in the desert and the exodus from Egypt. Even the desert stories are not an independent theme, although a separate one: they function as a link between the themes of preceding exodus and following settlement, and so are subordinate to both. The patriarchal history too is secondary to the following

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1. That is, their common faith: Noth had already expounded in one of his earliest studies, Das System (1930), his view that the 12-tribe Israelite system was not formed before the settlement in Palestine. That then is the terminus a quo for the development of the 'all-Israelite' Pentateuch tradition.

themes; and so the choice for primacy is between exodus and settlement. The two are certainly closely linked; but the former, Noth argues, is more important - and so the prior.

Having established this, he deals in turn with the five themes. And since our immediate concern is with desert and settlement we shall concentrate our view on his comments on these themes. The first theme of exodus is frequently found in the OT quite independently of any other. But it is also often closely followed by the assertion that after Yahweh had brought Israel out of Egypt he then brought it into the land which it thereafter possessed. For all the independence of the first belief, it readily attracted as a conclusion the implicit positive goal of the constitution of a free Israel on its own land. Noth agrees with von Rad that the 'all Israel' reference of this confession was preserved, and indeed perhaps initially achieved, at a common cultic centre. But to give narrative expression to this confession was not without its problems, for there had been no such event as a settlement of Palestine undertaken by Israel as a whole. An 'all Israel' reference was given to the settlement narrative of the tribes of central Palestine - perhaps because at this important stage they controlled the ark and/or the central sanctuary. However, what is certain is that the narrative connection of these two themes was never perfected: the Israelite tribes find themselves suddenly in southern Transjordan having to circumvent Edomite territory to reach their future home; but this is not motivated in the narrative of their rescue from Egypt.

This gap is only later and only imperfectly masked by the use of a narrative about a period in the desert, whose stories belong to a quite different original context. As for the theme of patriarchal promise, the development of its narrative tradition was originally quite independent of the rest of the Pentateuch traditions. The element of the promise of land was very important in this body of tradition - indeed it was precisely its prominence that encouraged the mutual assimilation of these traditions and those just discussed - the goal was so similar. The Jacob traditions were probably the first to be represented - they belong to the same central Palestinian area. With the introduction of the majority of the Abraham and Isaac stories we appear to have reached the stage at which southern interests had greater influence on the development of Pentateuchal tradition. This is probably true also of most of the desert material - a contribution of those tribes who had a close connection with the desert country between Egypt and Palestine. Noth commends von Rad's main assumptions about the Sinai traditions, although he adds that his view is not without its problems. This theme too had importance for Israel as a whole; however, its familiar placing within the Pentateuchal traditions is again a contribution of the southern tribes.

Obviously just to state each of these themes required at least a minimum of narrative. Repeated narration led to the increasing of this amount by the addition of any narrative material that had a connection with one of the themes. Most of this development occurred at the stage of oral transmission. Some

late pericopes, or at least later reworkings of earlier pericopes, can be detected in which the interests of more than one theme are represented - like the Joseph-story; worth telling for its own sake, and also serving to link both patriarchal and exodus themes. Some genealogies were forged to link the leading personalities in different strands. And then, since the motif of wandering is almost all-pervading in the Pentateuch, itineraries were also used to connect themes and narratives. By this point we are at, or at least close to, the stage of written development. However what is clear is that by the time those responsible for the familiar Pentateuchal 'sources' began their work, the ordering and linking together of the narrative material of the Pentateuch was more or less complete.

The older sources, J and E, both in general and in particular, adhered more faithfully to the given narrative tradition. P was more selective, and felt freer to supplement. Almost as a corollary of this, therefore, J and E left less of a linguistic and stylistic mark on their material than did P - and so were never able to become strictly compact units in a formal sense. Yet each of the sources of the Pentateuch did arrange the given material in its own way in the light of its own particular theological concern.

In his concluding comments, Noth makes one observation which at first sight conflicts with one of his earlier theses. It is important for our topic that we should be clear about his opinion. He urges that if we were to point to a basic theme in the Pentateuch narrative that embraces all the individual themes, it could only be that of the divine leading to Palestine - the

divine giving of possession of the land was the red thread amongst the themes forming the creed.[1] Earlier he has written of the theme of deliverance from Egypt that it is (a) the primary confession of all Israel; (b) the kernel of the whole subsequent Pentateuchal tradition; (c) the point of crystallization of the great Pentateuchal narrative in its entirety.[2] Of course relative judgments are hard to make. But is there a conflict here? And how would Noth have reconciled these different comments? Did the exodus tradition provide the first impulse? And then the settlement tradition, once added to it, played a more dominant role - at least in the formation of the Pentateuch?

(4) Joshua again, and the later commentaries

Noth's basic contribution to the problem 'Joshua and the Pentateuch' was completed a further five years later, with the publication in 1953 of the second edition of his commentary on Joshua. Insights won in his two major studies of Israel's traditions are now employed in a thorough recasting of the introduction to the commentary, whose first version had been an important stage in the whole endeavour.

In the first section of the introductory chapter only the odd word or phrase is added or altered, to strengthen the already present emphasis on the necessity of viewing the book of Joshua, at least in the first instance, quite separately from the

1. op.cit., p. 191.
2. op.cit., p. 49 - cf. also p. 190.

Pentateuch and its peculiar problems. However, the exposition of the book's construction starts now not with its pre-Deuteronomistic history but with a treatment of the Deuteronomistic book itself - for the Deuteronomistic stage is the one most easily identified and compared with other neighbouring books in the canon. Naturally the basis for discussion now is Noth's own theory of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work, with no further talk of any inclusion of the pre-Deuteronomistic material in a Deuteronomistic Hexateuch or Octateuch. This Deuteronomistic book is shown to have been produced in two stages: the first is framed by 1:1-18 on the one hand and 21:43-22:6 and 23:1-16 on the other; the other consists of the two additions 13:1-21:42 and 24. Later additions are now listed, much as in the previous edition.[1] Only then is the pre-Deuteronomistic history of the book discussed, again with changes of structure: chapter 24 is now discussed quite separately from chapters 1-12;[2] and the question of literary connections between this material and the Pentateuch sources is assigned to a section on its own.

In subsequent commentaries on Exodus, Leviticus, and

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1. Jos. 21:1-42 is now (Josua^2, p. 15) discussed explicitly in the context of 13:1-21:42 (cf. above p.13, n.1).
2. Noth's opinion in the first edition was that the Deuteronomist had composed c.23 on the pattern of the core of c.24, which itself was one section of the traditional material which he reworked (p. XIII). But in UGS (p.9, n.1) he repudiated both parts of this view, and argued that the originally independent core of c.24 was reworked in Deuteronomistic style and inserted into the completed work at a place appropriate for an important contribution to the history of Joshua.

Numbers,[1] Noth both amplified and modified many details of this massive contribution to 'Hexateuchal' studies just reviewed. Two details relating to the final chapters of Numbers may serve to illustrate this and also contribute to our topic. Num. 34:3-12 is not now considered to have been transposed from Jos. 14, but is stated to have been composed on the basis of information about boundaries contained in Jos. 15-19.[2] And the treatment of the early sources in Num. 32 also differs from his earlier position. It is now stated that vv. 39-42 are from a quite independent source; and that, while there can be no certainty as to whether the early material in vv. 1-38 is from one or both of the early sources, it is likely that J has contributed v. 1 and perhaps also vv. 16-19.[3]

C. Von Rad and Noth

Two reviews of Noth by von Rad repay our attention. The first, entitled 'Hexateuch oder Pentateuch?',[4] observes with appreciation that the question of the Hexateuch hypothesis could have been broached at no more fortunate point than the book of Joshua. He finds Noth's exposition of the extent of P and its original content plausible - but observes that just as his theses are difficult to prove, so too are they difficult to refute in any exact way. He is concerned to know where a critical method

1. Published as numbers 5,6,7 of the ATD in 1959, 1962, 1966.
2. Numbers (1968), pp. 248-249.
3. op.cit., pp. 234-241.
4. VuF (1949/50), pp. 52ff.

describing parts of the end of Numbers as secondary additions derived from parts of Joshua which are themselves in turn secondary additions to that book will call a halt. Yet he is certain that the necessary refutation will not be achieved by purely literary-critical methods. Noth's problems are real ones; yet may a Pentateuchal source be operated on so incisively without a more exact knowledge of its internal nature, of its actual theological intention? It is not wrong to work on the basis of a hypothesis which is only confirmed in the course of the operation - but could Noth have denied to P passages such as Num. 34:1-12 had his own conception of P not obtruded more and more? Von Rad would clearly be pleased if a sound method were to come to hand to challenge the one-sidedness he detects in Noth's statement that 'it is not the literary state of affairs which must be determined by a particular view of P, but rather our view of P which must be determined by the literary state of affairs'. If it is to correct conclusions that this methodological one-sidedness has led Noth then the form-critical connection between the credo in Deut. 26 and (at least) P would have to be abandoned - of that von Rad is convinced.[1]

The critique is continued in his article 'Literarkritische und überlieferungsgeschichtliche Forschung im Alten Testament'.[2]

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1. Von Rad was, perhaps, particularly interested and worried by Noth's conclusions about P, having himself published in 1934 Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch. His attempt there to divide the basic core of P into two strata found very little acceptance, and he tacitly abandoned the view.

2. VuF (1949/50), pp. 172ff.

Here his reading of Noth's account of the development of the Pentateuch prompts two main questions. The first is whether or not Noth's themes represent a stage preliminary to that of the credo. Here he does not offer a direct answer to his own question, but merely notes the possibility of the assumption that even after their combination in the credo the individual themes would have preserved an independent existence. (Later, in the first volume of his Old Testament Theology, he did comment on Noth's view of their independence: 'The literary material seems to justify him, for in the majority of cases the "themes" seem to be independent. Nevertheless these single themes themselves always presuppose an idea of the whole.')[1] Von Rad's second point is difficult to deal with in English or German; but it is related to this first question, and so is important for our problem. He asks if Noth has not described the process of the growing together of the traditions in too formal a way. And he links this to Noth's use of the term 'tradition' (Überlieferung) too in a dominantly formal way. Admitting that the point he is to make is one of emphasis only, he states that the important thing about a unit of tradition (Überlieferung) is not so much that it has had such and such a history and has achieved such and such a form, but that it belongs to such and such a sacral or theological stream or current of tradition which is similar to or divergent from other such currents of tradition. Invoking the

1. OTTh I, p. 122, n. 21.

distinction between Überlieferung and Tradition,[1] he suggests that a Traditionsgeschichte might be more useful than an Überlieferungsgeschichte as a tool for studying the Pentateuch/ Hexateuch - and particularly for studying the P-complex within it.

Von Rad appears to overstate his case here: in principle both quests would be appropriate. This debate between Noth and von Rad is at the same time instructive and hard to assess. Perhaps the main point at issue between them is a different emphasis on the tenacity of form. There is a tension discernible in Noth's writing between his respect for von Rad's case on the one hand and the more complicated point he wants to make on the other.[2] Von Rad's essay appears to have been Noth's inspiration rather than his blueprint. The two scholars agree that there is a striking similarity between the shape of the old credo and the shape of the Pentateuch or Hexateuch.[3] But Noth finds no straight line of development from the one to the other. Rather is it the case that those themes (that reflected the constitution of the people and their faith), whose common subject encouraged their fusion in the old cultic credo, also grew together - decked with much narrative embellishment - in a quite separate process and then continued accumulating material until they were finally given literary form by the authors of the earliest sources of the Pentateuch.

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1. The distinction is more or less than between 'unit of tradition' and 'body of tradition', or between '<u>a</u> tradition' and '<u>T</u>radition'.
2. Noth regularly gives the impression in his work of having sought common ground where he could do so without compromise.
3. Or, more particularly, the shape of J and E, its earliest literary sources.

Noth assents to the idea of the tenacity of form - witness his account of P's development of his Sinai material within the inherited schema. Yet his treatment of P's handling of the settlement theme shows that this concept of form has no absolute status for him. However it is not only his attitude on this matter that appears freer than von Rad's. He also has a different starting-point: not the old credo of Deut. 26:5-9 (perhaps shorn of a few Deuteronomic embellishments), but the exodus confession.

In 1938 it was an assured result of literary criticism that all the main sources of the Pentateuch were to be found also in Joshua.[1] Von Rad's essay of that year offered an attractive explanation of this given literary situation. Noth's series of studies rendered this literary conclusion at the least questionable.[2]

Von Rad's 1938 essay assumes the literary-critical conclusion of a Hexateuch. It does not argue for it - nor should it, on its own, be cited in support of it. It may be his realisation of this that prompts von Rad's supplementary and a priori assumption concerning the tenacity of form and the conservatism of tradition. Yet such an assumption is as hard to refute as to prove, and so is subject to the very critique that von Rad directed against Noth.[3]

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1. The studies on the 'Elohist' by Volz and Rudolph (1933) and Rudolph alone (1938) represent no exception to this.
2. Von Rad goes some way to conceding this in OTTh I, p. 298, n.4.
3. See above, p. 28.

And yet - has Noth not conceded too much to von Rad's thesis? Granted (a) that the desert material is largely from an original milieu different from that of the settlement traditions, and (b) that (in Noth's latest published view) the ascription to J of even four verses (Num. 32: 1,16-19) on the settlement theme is only probable, it is difficult to believe that he has heeded his own strictures - on the question of P and the settlement - of paying attention first to the literary situation. Surely these four verses, taken for themselves, could have been more satisfactorily explained as part of the complicated redactional situation Noth himself has disclosed in Num. 27-36.

Both von Rad and Noth see the settlement theme as the goal of the Pentateuch/Hexateuch. It may be that Noth's literary-critical considerations make his own case no less doubtful than von Rad's. The legitimacy of adducing the Deuteronomic credos in the discussion is very questionable.[1] They fit their own context well: the themes of desert wandering and settlement correspond to narrative sections in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua; and those of the fathers and of deliverance from Egypt are frequently referred to in the same books.[2]

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1. There is no parallel within Genesis-Numbers to any of these credos.
2. Rost, in the title essay of his collection Das kleine Credo, pp. 11-25, has demonstrated that there are more Deuteronomistic additions to the credo in Deut. 26 than von Rad realized in 1938. Von Rad is believed to have conceded this point also. For other relevant discussions, see Nicholson, Exodus and Sinai, pp. 20-21.

Such criticism is negative. It demands as a positive counterpart the furnishing of an alternative rationale for the development of the Pentateuch - but that is beyond the confines of this thesis. Only one footnote may be offered; Noth argued that it was their common interest in the granting of the land which made reasonable in the first place the prefixing of the patriarchal theme to that of the settlement. But at the same time he admitted that there is much material in the patriarchal complex in the Pentateuch which has no direct reference to the question of the land. It would be instructive to pursue the latter observation further, and reconsider the question whether it was this element in the material (central or not) that facilitated its connection with other parts of the Pentateuch traditions.

However Noth's literary conclusions have been fundamentally criticised by Mowinckel (amongst others). Accordingly it is to his contribution to the debate that we must now turn our attention.

CHAPTER II

MOWINCKEL AND NOTH

A. Mowinckel

(1) Introductory

Mowinckel's most important work in the area of our topic is his monograph Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch, published in 1964 at the end of an almost fifty-year long publishing career. His main scholarly interest lay in the interpretation of the Psalms, and in particular the evidence they provided for an evaluation of hitherto unnoticed aspects of Israel's cultic life. Yet, although it was not his central concern, he had always taken an interest in the literary problems of the Pentateuch and in the associated questions about the early history of Israel and the growth of her traditions. It may in fact be misleading to consider the above-mentioned monograph a product of Mowinckel's final years - (a) there is some evidence to suggest that at least its chapter on J was in manuscript in his native Norwegian by the mid 1940's;[1] (b) and what is certain is that the work takes account only of the first edition of Noth's commentary on Joshua and his Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien of 1943.[2]

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1. In Zur Frage ... (1946), p. 38, nn. 24-25, he notes that he already had the intention of publishing a critique of the views of Alt and Noth, in particular those that affect our understanding of J and Jud. 1.

2. By contrast, his Erwägungen (also published in 1964) does cite Noth's HPT, but not Josua².

(2) Three Post-War Studies

There is little if any evidence in Mowinckel's earlier writings for an independent position on the general problem of the growth and structure of the Pentateuch.[1] But important elements of his later quite distinctive attitude to these problems were worked out in three significant studies published soon after the second world war.

The main purpose of the first of these, Prophecy and Tradition (1946), is to study the nature of Israel's prophetic tradition; and this is treated in its second half. However, first Mowinckel examines appropriateness in method for our approach to the study of Israel's traditions of all kinds; and comments on the group of questions suggested by the phrases form criticism, tradition criticism, literary criticism, oral tradition, and literary tradition. The fairly early recognition in the history

1. He published two appreciations of Wellhausen on the occasion of his death in 1918, in Norsk Kirkeblad and For Kirke og Kultur. In 1923, he reviewed Eissfeldt's Hexateuch-Synopse for the Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift. Some further impression of his attitude to contemporary Pentateuchal criticism can be gained from his important study Le Décalogue (1927), which was preceded in 1926 by his paper 'L'Origine du Décalogue'. Clearer evidence can be found in his contributions to the first volume (in 1929) of Det Gamle Testamente, a translation into Norwegian of the Pentateuch with brief introduction and commentary. The account there offered, of the combined JE worked into the Deuteronomic History with the Priestly Work later added to the whole, confirms our placing Mowinckel firmly in the Wellhausen tradition at this stage in his career. In the same period he made some observations about the relationship of J and E in 'Der Ursprung der Bileamsage'. Probing the remoter origins of Israel's traditions, he asked in 1935 'Hat es ein israelitisches Nationalepos gegeben?'. His 1937 monograph on the primeval history divided between J and E what is ascribed by most scholars to J alone - E, he claims, must occasionally be reconstructed from P, between which and J it occupies a middle position in the development of the tradition.

of OT scholarship that the earliest stage in the process of transmission had been an oral popular tradition meant that at least de facto a traditio-historical approach had long been used beside the literary one.[1] Their relationship was seldom discussed in principle. Mowinckel declares himself opposed to those who use the term tradition criticism almost as a slogan, and in conscious opposition to literary criticism. Engnell, representing the final phase of the traditio-historical point of view, proclaimed his approach as consistently traditio-historical. He did not define this phrase; but his work is notable for two emphases: that the formation and transmission of the OT material was in principle by word of mouth;[2] and that this process of growth makes it dangerous in principle to probe behind the tradition as it now exists - motif analysis and the search for strata are usually in vain. Mowinckel finds it possible to assent to the first of Engnell's axioms without conceding that the second follows with any logical necessity. And he notes that Engnell's refusal to try to penetrate into the origin and history of the tradition is difficult to reconcile with his own slogan 'consistently traditio-historical'. He agrees that earlier discussion of OT literature had assumed the material to be too 'literary', and had reckoned too much with written works even in early Israelite times. However 'Nyberg's - in itself valuable -

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1. Here he probably exaggerates. The fact of oral tradition was allowed for, but it was not systematically treated.
2. This probably misrepresents Engnell - and indeed Nyberg whom Engnell is following. Cf. Engnell's essay 'Prophets and Prophetism', p. 166.

point of view[1] cannot tell us anything of importance about the real history of the tradition - and that is just what we want to know something about.'[2]

The third of these post-war studies,[3] a critique of Pedersen's handling of Ex. 1-15 as the cult-legend of the Passover festival,[4] offers Mowinckel the opportunity of a specific rebuttal of the view that tradition-history is an exclusive alternative to literary criticism. To counter Pedersen's approach, he states and defends several theses: In its present form, Ex. 1-15 is conceived as an integral part of a historical work. Despite their basis in a cult legend, these chapters contain much material of a different kind. The many unevennesses - admitted by Pedersen - are so numerous and can be linked together so readily that Mowinckel is content to stand in the long critical tradition which claims that they belong to at least one separate and consistent strand parallel to the 'main line' detected by Pedersen. The inconsistencies are both narrative and theological - these correspond both with each other and with similar strands elsewhere in the Pentateuch.[5]

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1. In his Studien zum Hoseabuche.
2. op.cit., p. 30.
3. 'Die vermeintliche "Passahlegende" Ex. 1-15 - in Bezug auf die Frage: Literarkritik und Traditionskritik' (1951).
4. Not only in ZAW 52, pp. 161ff., but also in an additional note 'The Crossing of the Reed Sea and the Paschal Legend' in Israel III-IV, pp. 728-737.
5. Mowinckel notes that the view cannot be dismissed a priori that the sources were woven together by a saga-artist working orally; but it is at least as possible that this was a literary piece of work - and the nature of the redaction of the flood-story makes this latter view more likely.

The second of these three studies[1] relates directly to Noth's handling of Jos. 13-19, and provoked a specific response from him[2] - it will be convenient to deal with these together. It is Mowinckel's view that P (a post-exilic Jerusalemite historian) was the author - and not just compiler or redactor - of Jos. 13-19; but he is not to debate this - rather whether and how far the author used earlier documents among his sources. His detailed criticism is directed almost entirely at the studies of Alt and Noth on these chapters.[3] He agrees with Alt[4] that the lists of cities of Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan[5] represent the situation in Josiah's Judah, that they are not consistent with the descriptions of boundaries in Jos. 15-19, and that a Josian document listing them could conceivably have once existed. However, he is convinced that such a document would not have survived the firing of temple and palace in 587; and is unable to understand what purpose oral preservation of an administrative list reflecting a now antiquated situation could have served in the post-exilic period. Aspirations aroused by Josiah's successes would still have been alive in post-exilic Jerusalem; and his administrative areas would have survived to some extent even in the smaller Persian province of Judah. And so the necessary knowledge could

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1. Zur Frage nach dokumentarischen Quellen in Josua 13-19 (1946).
2. 'Überlieferungsgeschichtliches zur zweiten Hälfte des Josuabuches' (1950).
3. Cf. above p. 8, n. 1.
4. 'Judas Gaue unter Josia' (1925).
5. Jos. 15:21-62; 18:21-28; 19:2-7,41-46. On p. 7, Mowinckel appears to have unintentionally omitted the name of Benjamin.

have been preserved without the possession or even memory of a list. Furthermore, that P in giving his more or less accurate list of cities came into conflict with his much more idealistic boundaries for the old tribes is not difficult to understand.

The explanation by Alt and Noth of the system of tribal boundaries also draws his attack. Noth's argument that different descriptions in Joshua of the same boundary imply a basic list of towns variously filled out he counters by suggesting that the situation is better explained by assuming stylistic variation in the original version, and one or two scribal mistakes in the subsequent transmission of the text! Furthermore, as to the premonarchic tribal system appealed to by Alt and Noth as arbiter - on the basis of these lists - in border disputes, he has two comments to make: (1) such system as there was had inadequate political power for such a role; and (2) in any case the premonarchic system was of only ten tribes. In fact the concrete assertions in Jos. 13-19 about boundaries reproduce traditions and facts from different periods which it is not always possible to separate and which are of very different worth.

Unlike J (in Jud. 1), P had assumed that the whole of Palestine had been conquered by Israel under Joshua, and that since then it had belonged to Israel justly and in God's eyes. Proceeding as he did from actual knowledge of the situation in his time, P faced insurmountable problems when he came to deal with Simeon and Dan: he knew nothing about their borders in the early period; they no longer existed as tribes in the areas where he knew they had lived in the period of the settlement - all he

did know was that they had lived in areas which had for a long time since lain within the boundaries of Judah and Ephraim. However this incongruence between his theory and the actual state of his knowledge is no basis for imagining the existence of an old system of tribal boundaries which had assigned clear boundaries to each of the tribes.

Having stated that Jos. 13-19 is the natural solution by the author P to the problem facing him, Mowinckel attempts to consolidate his position by meeting in advance any objection that only through documents could he have had information about boundaries in the early period. Tradition, he states, was more important than documents. At an early period the tribes had become geographical rather than ethnological concepts, and so popular knowledge of divisions had lived on long after these divisions had ceased to have any administrative significance. Information about a whole country transmitted in such a way is liable to contain quite contradictory details - such discrepancy is no evidence for the use of written sources.

He does agree with Alt and Noth (and indeed most researchers) that the fact that much more information is given in these chapters about the southern than about the northern tribes provides a basis for drawing some conclusions about the date and place of their composition. The interest is Judaean - and almost Jewish. The treatment of Ephraim and Manasseh in 16-17 supports this view: even less interest is taken in them than in the tribes further north - and that this section is connected with P is clear from the fact that 17:2-6 is based on P's information about Manasseh in

Num. 26:28-34. Noth is certainly right that the author is not the Deuteronomist; but, despite Noth, the author's post-exilic Jewish outlook confirms the assumption that he was in fact P.

In his concluding comments, Mowinckel underlines his agreement with Alt about two obvious attributes of the tribal system of these chapters: its theoretical character, according to which the whole country within its ideal boundaries had been overcome all at once under Joshua and distributed in its entirety amongst the tribes; and the importance to its author of adhering to what he knew of the historical realities and of the traditions and popular opinions. However he is satisfied that Alt's and Noth's source hypotheses do not stand up to close examination. In terms of the history of scholarship they have to be considered as the final relics of a dictatorship of pure literary criticism. The results of this documentary approach are only ostensibly assured and concrete. Mowinckel's own advocated approach on the basis of tradition history produces results less illusory and more modest - we must be content with a wealth of detail from the early period, and only a rough picture of the situation.

B. Noth: a Response

Noth's reply[1] to this opens with some general comments on the difficulty of coming adequately to terms with such a complex and anonymous mass of material as is our Old Testament - comments entirely in the spirit of Mowinckel's own observations in Prophecy

1. Cf. above p. 39, n. 2.

and Tradition.[1] Turning to Jos. 13-21, he notes that it has been generally assumed that the long lists of names in these chapters are not suited to oral transmission. Not surprisingly he utterly rejects Mowinckel's protest that his and Alt's studies of these chapters evidence a purely literary-critical dictatorship in scholarship. They are somewhat removed from the general literary-critical analysis of the book of Joshua, their interest being centred on the actual material of the book and its history. And in any case, he asks, is Mowinckel not inconsistent in his charge when he himself opens his study with the assumption (taken over from literary criticism) that the section's author was the hypothetical P of Pentateuchal criticism?

He rejects Mowinckel's argument about the catastrophe of 587, for it is an incontrovertible fact that written records did survive Judah's downfall. When the books of Kings refer to written annals, they could be meaning collections made from the royal annals only after 587. But this material must have been available in writing - at some stage of its literary transmission it must have survived the calamity. And other non-official material already committed to writing before the Assyrian and Babylonian campaigns had also survived them. Accordingly the enquiry into Jos. 13-19 must confine itself to internal considerations. Noth does not doubt competence to remember and transmit lists of hundreds of names, but finds - in a period in which writing served several purposes - Mowinckel's assumption a case of 'oral tradition

1. As described above, pp. 36ff.

at any price' taken to the extreme. On the other hand, Mowinckel does not make clear just to what extent 'tradition' is present in Jos. 13-19 - he has stressed that a good deal of the system worked out by the author P derives from his own knowledge of the land and his 12-tribe theory. Mowinckel's literary-critical assumption about P as the author must also be tested against an actual traditio-historical examination of these chapters really based on their contents, and not against the entirety of 'Hexateuchal' scholarship.[1] And this is particularly necessary since he has rejected those findings of recent years which have developed from the text of the chapters and not from a theory foisted upon them.

Mowinckel agrees that the boundary descriptions represent an essentially complete whole - but one worked out by P. Noth is doubtful whether the detail and exactness of these chapters do speak for a late date. The various administrative and political reorganisations had reduced the relevance of precise demarcations of tribal boundaries; and so it is hardly likely that a late author would have developed as precise a system as we find in Jos. 13-19. Yet Mowinckel <u>has</u> posed a relevant question regarding the 'Sitz im Leben' of a boundary system before the formation of the state. Without offering any further substantiation, Noth remarks that a 12-tribe system is the earliest form of organisation in Israel which we can detect, and that there is evidence

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1. The debate between Noth and Mowinckel on this point closely resembles that between Noth and von Rad mentioned above, p.29.

for it before the formation of the state. If the league is to be thought of as functioning in any sense as a community, then any boundary problems must have been solved otherwise than by the law of the stronger. If a more concrete solution is desirable, then one could look to the institution of the 'Judges of Israel'.[1]

Despite the fact that Noth's preamble could have been written by either scholar, their two arguments do not really engage with each other at some important points - such as the effect of the physical destruction in 587 on the preservation of Israel's traditions, and whether the earliest detectable form of Israelite organisation is a 10-tribe or 12-tribe league. Yet both admit that they are grappling with a very complex problem; both argue that the complexities have been made greater here and there by textual corruptions and/or editorial alterations subsequent to the completion of the main body of the text. However a final answer to this question must await both a more detailed review of Jos. 13-19 and a fuller discussion of Pentateuchal criticism.

A. Mowinckel (contd.)

(3) Israelite Historiography

It is in three studies published in his last years that

1. Noth concludes this study with a short discussion of Jos. 21 prompted by Albright's essay 'The List of the Levitic Cities' (1945). Noth observes that any interpretation of this list must start from the consideration that Hebron and Shechem (which are later insertions) are the only cities representing the heartlands of Judah and Ephraim - the original list had had these two large geographical gaps.

we find Mowinckel's mature contribution to our problem as a whole.[1] The first of these is an important and concise statement about the development of historical traditions in Israel,[2] and embodies a critique mainly of Hölscher[3] and Noth. He is particularly concerned to refute Hölscher's claim that J (whose saga runs from creation to the disruption after Solomon) was the first Israelite historian. Mowinckel agrees that J belongs after the disruption, and probably not before 800 B.C., but finds that his skill, and the great synthesis he offers, show he was scarcely Israel's first historian. In fact the first mentioned written source of the Deuteronomist is the 'History of Solomon' (1 Kings 11:41), which clearly cannot have been identical with the 'Annals of the Kings of Judah and Israel' quoted elsewhere. Rost and von Rad are correct that a central element in this oldest history was concern for the legitimacy of the Solomonic line on the throne of David - its extent had been most of what we read in 1 Kings 1-10. The next stage in the expanding history had been the prefixing of more details about David - and since his youth was inextricably bound up with the careers of Saul and Samuel, and since it had been the policy of David and his supporters to appear as the legitimate heir of Saul, 1 Sam. 1 is a natural beginning for this expanded

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1. The two posthumous publications, Kanaan for Israel and Israels opphav og eldste historie - both of 1967, need not concern us here: they presuppose the literary-critical and traditio-historical results of the earlier three which are of more relevance to our discussion.
2. 'Israelite Historiography' (1963).
3. Die Anfänge der israelitischen Geschichtsschreibung (1942), revised and expanded in Geschichtsschreibung in Israel (1952).

Solomon saga. The combination and 'theologisation' of the old traditions of Exodus, Sinai and settlement was a process partly older than this literary activity, partly parallel to it, and partly independent of it. As with this historical activity just described it took place in the circles of the learned men at court and in the sanctuary, and also among the wandering 'homines religiosi' and story-tellers. Von Rad has correctly drawn the broad lines of this traditio-historical process that culminated in the work of J. This saga-writer is not, as Hölscher thinks, the first Israelite historian; but he did write something like a religious philosophy of history, to which later Israelite historiography was much indebted. His history has connections with ideas of his own time: it points forward to the glories of the Davidic state; its polemic against the cult of the ox image at Bethel shows that J worked after the disruption. The conclusion of J (at least in an expanded form) was one of the Deuteronomist's sources of his history of Israel. It is a problem to know how he had access to all this earlier historiography after the destruction of the archives in 587. There had never been many manuscripts of the books mentioned above; but we must remember that among the 'remnant of Israel' there must have been men who more or less knew the old literature by heart. As Nyberg has shown, the catastrophe of 587 with its attendant fear of the rapid extinction of the traditions was the occasion for a more systematic writing down of all knowledge considered important to society. The Deuteronomistic saga demonstrates to what a degree the history of the people was considered to be of religio-pedagogical value for the life of the community.

(4) Pentateuchal Sources

The second of these final studies of Mowinckel consists of a series of reflections on the Pentateuch source question.[1] Not surprisingly its contents overlap considerably those of Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch - and so here only its distinctive contribution will be reviewed. Mowinckel first turns his attention to P in the Pentateuch,[2] and begins by answering Löhr[3] and Volz[4] who had explained the familiar P-passages as expansions of the earlier historical work (JE). He notes with approval Rudolph's subsequent disagreement with his colleague Volz: although the revision-hypothesis is a likely one for Deut. 34:1-9 and Jos. 14-19, yet in Exodus and Numbers there is a series of P-passages which are real narratives. The final proof that P is an independent Pentateuch source, and not a series of insertions made by the final Pentateuch editor, is his quite explicit theory about the use of different divine names at different stages in the prehistory. Had he been the redactor of the old traditions he would have been bound to re-edit the patriarchal stories in accordance with his theory. It is a principal characteristic of P that his work is a combination of historical presentation and of ritual law. This author was really a narrator; but his presentation of history constitutes only the frame round the laws,

1. Quellenfrage (1964).
2. Noting that in practice this means Genesis-Numbers.
3. Untersuchungen zum Hexateuchproblem (1924).
4. His was the larger share in Der Elohist als Erzähler (1933).

and in many cases is only an introductory notice about the motive for this or that law. Mowinckel suggests that P did not so much write the early history of his people as its early church history. Wellhausen's opinion is unexceptionable that at almost every point P is directly or indirectly dependent on JE, and with few exceptions represents the latest stage of the development of the material found in J.[1]

When one has separated off the P-source from the rest of the Pentateuch, it is methodologically appropriate to treat what remains as a unity - at least provisionally. Scholars agree that some distinction must be drawn between the whole extent of these remains and the original J - it is an examination of this original J that Mowinckel next offers. It is now generally recognized, he claims, that the material absorbed by J consisted of independent narratives and narrative complexes. Noth's contribution to this field of study is particularly valuable; yet Mowinckel admits to some misgivings about his classification by themes - as modern and systematic, and making insufficient allowance for the 'genetic' development of traditions. On the other hand he finds no difficulty with the idea of points of crystallization. He is also unhappy with the view that the desert theme (about whose independence he has grave doubts) is the cradle in which the Sinai theme now lies. Mowinckel denies von Rad's claim that it was J who first collected the separate themes together - Noth's postulated G is valid to the extent that there was a more or less

1. Composition[3], pp. 336ff. Mowinckel observes that for the patriarchal period P adds only Gen. 17; 23 to J's framework.

integrated body of tradition available to J. However von Rad is probably correct that it was J who first committed the traditions to writing. He agrees with both that J did include some kind of report of the settlement.

The second half of this book Mowinckel devotes to an examination of the problem of the Elohist. At many points a division has been made between J and E only because in other cases scholars had been convinced of the existence of two sources.[1] Mowinckel discusses four blocks of material which are examples of an ungrounded separation between J and E by traditional literary criticism: the Primeval History;[2] the Joseph story; the Jacob narratives; and Ex. 1-15 - even the famous passage Ex. 3:11-14 with its explanation of the name of Yahweh gives no cause for a separation into parallel sources. And yet there are passages in the older story known to P which a redactor has composed from two parallel strands or doublets: the Sinai pericope; the Balaam story[3] - and Gen. 20:1-17; and 21:8-34 are clearly foreign bodies within the original J cycle of narratives about Abraham, as too is 15:1-6.

His final two examples of passages in the earlier saga

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1. He remarks that Wellhausen had introduced his analysis of the Joseph-story thus: 'It may be assumed that here as elsewhere this work' (i.e. JE) 'is composed of J and E; our earlier results urge this assumption and would be shaken were it not demonstrable.' (Composition[3], p. 52).
2. Here he concedes the failure of his own attempt in The Two Sources ... (1937) - cf. above p. 36, n. 1.
3. At this point Mowinckel adheres to the results of his earlier study - cf. again p. 36, n. 1: 'Der Ursprung der Bileamsage'.

where parallel strands have been combined are of particular importance to the problem 'Joshua and Pentateuch'. Since their treatment in this study differs somewhat from that in the following one, what Mowinckel has to say here should now be reviewed. The first passage is Num. 32.[1] Apart from some 'Deuteronomising' additions the narrative is a unity - with the important exception of vv. 39,41,42. The main part of the chapter is a late compilation; but the verses at the end are of a quite different kind, and it is clear that they rather than the main part of the chapter belong to J. Verse 40 is redactional - it picks up v. 39[2] but sees the matter from another point of view. It is possible that the main story in the chapter has suppressed notices about Reuben and Gad corresponding to those about Machir/ Manasseh in the concluding verses - remains of these may be detected in vv. 1,4-5,34-38. Mowinckel's conclusion is that the old J-report has been expanded by the inclusion of a longer narrative which itself is only a development of historical motifs found in J.

The other passage is the report of the conquest in Jos. 2-11. Jud. 1 was the original concluding passage of J's saga; J had no historical tradition with which to write a history of the conquest - but he did offer a geographically arranged review of its results. Traditional literary criticism assumed that in Jos. 1-11 the Deuteronomist had built on an older source which was identified as the combined JE. Mowinckel notes

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1. Erwägungen, pp. 102-104.
2. On p. 104(l.5), v. 34 is clearly a mistake for v. 39.

that the geographical arrangement of these chapters is the same as that in Jud. 1, and argues that they were composed on its plan, and to replace it. This later account was combined with the original J - or more precisely parts of the latter were inserted in it - and then J's review was made the conclusion of the whole account[1] (for which it is as unsuitable as could be!). If J told at all of the crossing of the Jordan and the first taking of a piece of the promised land, then it may be safely assumed that he reported the old tradition of the taking of Jericho which we find in Jos. 2; 6:25. The remainder of chapter 6 is a spiritless priestly story - and this situation in chapters 2 and 6 demonstrates that in Jos. 2-11 too a later narrative has been combined with J's account.[2]

None of these additional sections to the earlier narrative of the Pentateuch provides evidence of a separate parallel source 'E' - they do show that the material collected and written down by J did continue to develop and expand orally. However, with the exception of the story of the settlement, no material was later added to J which already in more original form was not part of J - and even the settlement story had its plan provided by J.

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1. Perhaps originally located after Jos. 11.
2. It is nothing short of a miracle (p. 111) that, given this development of the tradition, J's early review in Jud. 1 was actually preserved.

(5) Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch

And this leads us naturally to Mowinckel's final and most explicit contribution to our problem.[1] In a brief opening survey of the history of scholarly opinion about the Pentateuch/Hexateuch problem, he describes both Wellhausen's classic lead to Hexateuchal criticism and the equally successful later demonstration by Noth and Engnell[2] that the Deuteronomist's work begins only with Deuteronomy. It is Noth's (and Engnell's) subsequent conclusions he is to examine - and in particular whether J and P told of the settlement and what they told. He repeats briefly the results of the previous study that while P was an independent narrator, 'E' represents only a piecemeal development of the tradition represented by J - the resultant form of the tradition being best represented symbolically as J^{v} (i.e. 'Jahwista variatus').

In the first main chapter Mowinckel deals with the Yahwist's report of the settlement. He draws on von Rad's work, and states that it is clear from its very beginning[3] that the whole of J's composition has as its goal Israel's occupation of the land promised to the fathers - it must have actually described this. Even Noth admits that - the only question is whether J's report is available to us. Turning first to Num. 32, he first remarks that at least here in the Pentateuch it is universally admitted

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1. T-P-H (1964).
2. In Gamla Testamentet (1945).
3. Rather inconsequentially, the title of the first section of this chapter is 'J in Ex-Num has as its goal ... '.

that elements of an earlier saga are to be found in an otherwise secondary tradition-formation. As a whole, it is a late tradition - nothing actually happens in the chapter: it is clearly an aetiological explanation of the familiar situation of the settlement of Reuben, Gad and half-Manasseh. However the final verses (39-42)[1] are very different, and preserve the historical recollection that the Manassite clan Machir had occupied Gilead from west of the Jordan. These verses are elements of J's report of the settlement. Moving to the book of Joshua he argues that within Jos. 1-11 (which as a whole is the Deuteronomistic report of the conquest) there are traces of earlier traditions - and it is reasonable to suppose that these had been part of the only early story of the conquest known to us, i.e. J's, of which traces have been found in Num. 32. The passages in question are 2; 6:25; and 11:13. In the second half of the book too there are notices of an anecdotal character similar to those already mentioned.[2] None of these fits its context well - and all of them are identical, in form and attitude to the manner in which the settlement was carried out, with the J-notices in Num. 32:39-42. It is eminently likely that we are dealing here with scattered sections of J's settlement report. All of these passages in Jos. 15-19 are parallel to parts of Jud. 1, some in fact being perfect doublets.[3]

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1. More precisely vv. 39,41,42 - v.40 is redactional (see above p.51).
2. He mentions (p. 15) 15:13-19; 15:63; 16:10; 17:12-13; 17:14-18; 19:47. In the parallel discussion in Quellenfrage, p. 107, he adds 13:13 but does not include 17:12.
3. That of course is not true of 13:13 and may be the reason for its non-mention (cf. above n. 2). However, it is equally untrue of 17:14-18.

They are doubtless derived from it, or at least from the source of which Jud. 1 was once a part.

Mowinckel rejects Alt's view that the chapter was an independent document listing the claim of each tribe to a particular area,[1] and Noth's that it was a conglomerate of old fragments of tradition.[2] It does not have the accidental character of a conglomerate - its author worked to a plan which may still be detected - nor the character of a list. It opens with a narrative consecutive imperfect, and so is a fragment[3] of a narrative which is historical (or intended as such). What is now the beginning of the chapter must have been preceded by some report of how the Israelites had come to where Jud. 1:1 assumed them to be. There had most likely been a narrative of the crossing of the Jordan and the taking of Jericho - and if this were the case, there would have been a material and chronological link with the earlier narratives preserved in part in Jos. 2. It is not historical in the precise sense of that term - the author had clearly no information about the actual history of the conquest. The account is organized in a south-north sequence, apart from the fact that it had to start in central Palestine because of the author's assumption about the position of the Israelites at the beginning of their settlement. That accommodation is sufficient proof that the chapter <u>was</u> intended as a historical account of the settlement.

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1. <u>KS</u> I, pp. 193ff.
2. <u>UGS</u>, p. 9.
3. This does not follow at all - Jonah, Ruth and Esther all open in a similar way.

The chapter's present context shows that the Deuteronomist found some connection between its contents and the calamities of the period of the Judges - but it does not rest happily in this context, for it views the settlement not from a critical negative point of view but from a positive one. The author certainly wants to communicate just to what extent it was possible in that period for the tribes to occupy the land - but he is still quite free from the later legendary conception of a complete and decisive conquest.

It was written later than Solomon - it assumes the post-Davidic 12-tribe system. Certainly there is no mention of Reuben and Gad - but that only confirms Mowinckel's working hypothesis that Jud. 1 derives from J, who had dealt with their settlement in Num. 32:39-42(!). Issachar too is unmentioned - but its boundaries (see too P's problems with that tribe in Jos. 19:17-22) were very fluid.[1] There is nothing in Jud. 1 which conflicts with the hypothesis that it is a part of J's account of the settlement. In itself it is incomplete, assuming an earlier account of the conquest of Transjordan which is provided in Num. 32. If this connection with the relevant verses in that chapter is correct, then we are dealing in Jud. 1 with the original J, and not with any of the later expansions denoted by the 'E' of the literary critics. Such developments are often ideologically on the way to the view of history and the theology of the Deuteronomist, and

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1. Another post-Solomonic feature, for Mowinckel, is the mention several times of a tribe putting the Canaanites to forced labour.

have nothing in common with the archaic and more historical view of Jud. 1.

The chapter on the conquest history of the Deuteronomistic historical work is the shortest and least polemical in the book. Mowinckel is in wide agreement with Noth over both the contributions of the Deuteronomist and the basically aetiological nature[1] of the material - and of course that the Deuteronomist had most of the material available to him as a collection. Mowinckel's main difference is his added assumption that since this collection is structured like Jud. 1, it must be an expanded form of J, i.e. J^{V}. His next thesis is that the Deuteronomistic saga also contained a report of the division of the land - and that for this too certain anecdotes from J had been used. The passages 17:14-18;[2] 18:2-10;[3] 19:49-50 (and also the somewhat different 14:6-15) appear Deuteronomistic, and do not fit their present context well. This context the earlier critics ascribed to P - and Noth showed belonged neither to the Deuteronomist's work nor to his source. Jos. 14:6-15 treats the same subject as 15:13-19 (=Jud. 1:12-15,20) and is a later development of it; it is connected with 11:21-23[4] and breaks the connection between 14:5 and 15:1; and in its assumption that Joshua carried out the division of the land in the camp at Gilgal it fits the situation in Jos. 2-11

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1. Indeed this study concludes (pp. 78-86) with an excursus on aetiological thought.
2. So p. 44 - but on p. 15 (see above p. 54, n. 2) 17:14-18 was listed with the J-notes.
3. In the argument that follows he in fact restricts his attention to vv. 2-9.
4. Mowinckel suggests that 14:7,10 make more precise the detail in 11:18. While 13:1,7-8a do not fit their present context they do agree with those chronological details, and so are probably the opening of D's land-division account.

very well. Indeed the reference to the camp in 18:9 is probably to the same place. Furthermore the conception of division of the land by a commission of tribal representatives rather than by Joshua - referred to in 19:49-50 as well as 18:2ff - is quite different from that in the rest of Jos. 14-19. The most natural conclusion is that where Jos. 13-21 now stand there once stood a different Deuteronomistic account of the division of the land by the tribes - and so too in his source. This will have had similar characteristics to the pre-Deuteronomistic story of the conquest - including additions from J. There is then every likelihood that it is from this source that Jos. 17:14-18 derives. The original history of the conquest in Jos. 2-11;24 has in common with Jud. 1(J) that it deals only with the west of the Jordan. One must postulate an earlier chapter of this conquest history - and that is to be found in Num. 32 whose presuppositions are those of the conquest history. If a link with Num. 32 can be established, then Noth's denial that the Deuteronomist's source was connected with a Pentateuch source is called in question.

The third main chapter of the book deals with the conquest of the land in P. Mowinckel feels it is methodologically appropriate to open with the question whether a conquest history ought to be expected of P.[1] But even before he deals with this

1. He notes that Wellhausen had originally denied Jos. 13-21 to P because he found no trace in the preceding chapters of a conquest history of P. It was the arguments of Graf, Kuenen and others which later induced him to give up this approach.

question, he makes clear that there is no reason to assign the insertion of P-passages into the history of Joshua to the same redactor(s) as was(were) responsible for the creation of our Pentateuch - he had clearly combined P with Deuteronomy to form a law-book of Moses stretched over a historical frame. If P-passages had been combined with the rest of Joshua then this would have taken place after the formation of the Pentateuch and using it as a model. Furthermore, if P did write a history of the conquest, then we may assume from the rest of his work that it was very short and in summary form, included lists of names and numbers, and contained much learned information. Noth agrees that the tradition P follows and the plan on which it is constructed derive ultimately from J. Of course his interests were not historical like J's. But he began with institutions laid down at the creation of the world - how could he have failed to report the crowning of the whole story, the realisation of the revealed institutions on the soil of the promised land?

Noth accepts as part of the original P, Num. 27:12-23 and also 13:2; 20:12b; and 22:1 - these show that P <u>did</u> report the settlement.[1] Mowinckel finds elements of P in Num. 32, and concludes that since there is evidence that P is represented in the narrative sections of the end of the book of Numbers, there is no good reason to deny to it 33:50-34:29 - and the same is true of

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1. Mowinckel quotes (p. 55) Noth's argument that the Sinai pericope was P's main interest - but not the complementary one, that P was concerned to conclude the history of Moses.

35:9-15.[1] He then restates the old view that there are traces of P in Jos. 2-12: the precise date in 4:19; the mention of the first passover in Canaan in 5:10-12; and the part of the narrative in 9 which talks of the 'leaders of the congregation' - i.e. vv. 15b-21. He also ascribes to P the whole of 12 - certainly P had not written a history of the conquest, but he had confirmed the fact of the conquest and of its completeness in a list.[2]

Next he offers a critique of Alt's and Noth's studies on Jos. 13-19. Much of this is repeated from his already-reviewed earlier work on the subject[3] - but it is here set in a wider context. 19:51a is clearly the conclusion of the whole of 14-19. However the situation that verse envisages is expressly that of 18:1 - since 18:2-9 are not an original part of these chapters it may be concluded that 18:1 was originally the introduction to the whole complex and that its transposition to its present place occurred during the combination of these chapters with the Deuteronomistic report (which had described a two-stage division). Noth's replies to his earlier criticisms about the lists[4] fail to

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1. After all the mistakes in his own work it is amusing to find Mowinckel (p. 57) blaming Noth for an Inkonsequenz over these verses. Certainly Noth (UGS, pp. 192ff., and especially p. 195) quotes with approval the accepted point of view that 35:(1-8)16-34; 36:1-13 is a later addition to P. But it is quite as clear (to this reader at least) that this approval does not involve Noth in ascribing 35:9-15 to P - it is rather only these verses whose ascription to P requires discussion.
2. The MT with its 31 names is overloaded - 30 is a number which traditionally denotes completeness (p. 60).
3. See above pp. 39-42.
4. See above pp. 42-45.

justify his method: source-separation cannot be applied successfully to a list; and his literary-critical attempt to turn a boundary description into a pure list of names is so questionable an operation that it must be renounced. And as for the solution of tribal disputes - Jud. 12:1-6 shows instructively that Ephraim just fought it out with Gilead!

Mowinckel now examines his assumption that Jos. 13-19 is a connected literary complex. Noth limits the complex to 14-19, citing the introduction and conclusion in 14:1,4a,5 and 19:49a. But 19:49a cannot be separated from the rest of 49-50 - the real conclusion is v. 51a; and while the opening verses of chapter 14 are certainly an introduction, it is not necessarily to the whole complex.[1] However the complex is not restricted to these six chapters. There can be no stylistic or literary doubt that in its present form Jos. 21:1-42 was written by the same author as 14-19.[2] Then the report of the post-conquest division in 14-19;21 assumes in its final chapter on the Levitical cities an earlier settlement in Transjordan - and it is likely that this complex opened by describing that. There is nothing to prevent us seeing 13:15-32 as this account - and it in its turn may be judged the literary continuation of chapter 12. There is narrative in this complex - and sufficient for the whole to be termed narrative.

Mowinckel repeats the arguments of his previous study that

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1. Mowinckel states that P has many such examples of introductory and concluding formulae for individual sub-sections.

2. This against Noth who considered it a later supplement. However Noth is correct that 19:51b-20:9 is a later insertion into its present context.

the atmosphere of the whole narrative is post-exilic and even Jewish. Here he adds a further indication of anti-Samaritan tendency. P's placing the assembly of the whole congregation of Israel at Shiloh will have been based on the old stories in 1 Samuel that in early days there was a temple of Yahweh there; however even as late as the Deuteronomist's history the memory was preserved that in the settlement period the amphictyonic centre was Shechem - P's alteration will have been the result not of historical-critical research, but of religious prejudice.

Mowinckel summarizes his argument thus: If it is certain that P did have an account of the conquest and its logical conclusion the land-division, then the conclusion seems unavoidable that the earlier literary critics were correct that we find this in Jos. 12-19;21. If Jos. 12 is ascribed to P, then 13-19 must be too. If P is admitted to have offered an account in Num. 32 of the taking of Transjordan, and if Jos. 13:15-32 refers back to this and expands it according to principles we observe also in 14-19, then that is proof that in 13-19 we have a section of P's work. The construction of 21 is typical of P - it cannot be doubted that 21:1-42 refers to Num. 35:1-8 and is conceived as the execution of what is ordered there (and that 17:2-6 repeats what was already written in the P-passage Num. 26:28-34).

Mowinckel's general results from this monograph are that insofar as J, J^V, and P all deal with Israel's history from creation to settlement and together have contributed all the material about Israel's prehistory and the history of her settlement now found in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, the term

'Hexateuch' is a legitimate critical term - however, as an actual entity consisting of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua in their present form, a 'Hexateuch' never existed. Our Pentateuch was produced by the introduction of the law-book from the beginning of the Deuteronomistic History into the already completed combination of J^V and P - as a consequence, those parts of J and P which did deal with Joshua and the settlement were worked into the corresponding part of the historical work. A 'Tetrateuch' consisting of the books Genesis to Numbers never existed.

C. Mowinckel and Noth

It was suggested above at the end of our first chapter that it was one of the weaknesses of Noth's argument that he could point to so little evidence of J's handling of the settlement theme - and it was noted that Mowinckel offered a thorough-going critique of Noth's literary conclusions. But - at least in the case of Num. 32 - what a muddled critique! There are many small slips in these later works of Mowinckel - but the intention of the author is usually plain enough. That can hardly be said for his handling of this chapter. In Pentateuch Quellenfrage, the situation is reasonably clear. He renounces earlier attempts, including Noth's and his own, to divide the chapter into sources - with two exceptions it is a unity: some possibly Deuteronomising additions (influence, that is, from the Deuteronomistic story in Joshua); and the final four verses, three of which belong to J while one forges an editorial link.

The main part of the chapter is a learned aetiology of the presence in Transjordan of a two-and-a-half tribe Israelite minority. It is just possible that this aetiology has replaced J notes on Reuben and Gad similar to those on Machir in vv. 39-42 - and that remnants of these can be detected in vv. 1,4-5,34-38. In Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch, the same point is made in the section 'J in Num. 32' (pp. 10-12) - but with two changes: there is no mention of the suppression of J-notes; but in a footnote (n.5) Rudolph's attribution to J of vv. 2*,4-6,16a,17,20-23,25-27, 33a*,34-39,41-42 is welcomed'.[1] It would appear that these two approaches to J in the chapter exclude each other - and certainly in this book all Mowinckel's subsequent references to Num. 32 in connection with J make it clear that he is dealing only with vv. 39-42.[2] Yet it is to these verses he attributes mention of the settlement of Reuben and Gad (p. 24) although mention of these tribes in J in Num. 32 implies Mowinckel's earlier view of that chapter. Mowinckel's fumbling over this chapter may not be unrelated to his failure to take account of the most obvious feature of the whole chapter as we encounter it: its character may change at v. 39 - but in another way it does so quite as clearly at v. 33. Verses 1-32 are only about Gad and Reuben - it is quite misleading to describe the chapter as a whole as an aetiology of the two-and-a-half Transjordanian tribes. On the other side, the mention of

1. Der 'Elohist', p. 134.
2. T-P-H, pp. 16,24,30,32.

Manassite holdings in vv. 39-42 comes as no sudden surprise: it is prepared for by the new heading in v. 33 and the detailing of Gadite and Reubenite holdings in the following verses.

Mowinckel's generalizations about Jud. 1 give rise to similar disquiet. It is doubtful whether much of his evaluation of the chapter is based on accurate description. He stressed that its author does not enumerate but narrate.[1] Should he not, however, be said to do first one and then the other?[2] Even his later evaluation that the chapter is a review of the conquest's results prefaced by anecdotes about its start is somewhat misleading. He appears - in company with many scholars - to hold the opinion that in Jud. 1 we have an account of the Israelite conquest parallel to but less legendary than that found in the first half of the book of Joshua. It may very well be that Jud. 1 is in some respects a superior source to the book of Joshua for the modern historian who wishes to reconstruct a picture of Israel's settlement - but that is quite a different judgment from the one just quoted, and seems to have no logical connection with it.[3]

If it is not assumed that it is Israel's settlement which is here described, then it may be noticed that all the anecdotes which preface the chapter are about Judah[4] (and Simeon) - with

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1. op.cit., p. 19.
2. Narration mainly in the first part of the chapter, and enumeration of results (or their lack) in the second.
3. This point is made more fully in the author's own discussion of Jud. 1 in VT 25, p. 285.
4. In the widest sense of that name.

the exception of the taking of Bethel by the house of Joseph. Furthermore, to link vv. 27-29 with the anecdote about Bethel as the material about the centre of the country,[1] as opposed to vv. 30ff about the north is to do violence to the shape of the material. Finally the opening idea of 'going up' denotes military attack (as often), and not geographical ascent. In short, the arrangement of the chapter is not geographical but tribal. Judah's primacy is asserted as early as the second verse; and more than half the chapter is concerned with her. Even the note on the house of Joseph cannot deflect our attention from the emphasis of the chapter on the success of Judah and the failure of the rest of the tribes.[2] And since this is so, it is appropriate to judge the chapter both positive and negative in outlook.

The very fact that Mowinckel opens his chapter on P's history of the conquest with the observation that the P we may find in the book of Joshua may not be quite the same as the P of the Pentateuch - just a source, and not the basic plan of the whole work as well[3] - leads one to suspect, by its very sophistication, that the chapter will be a defence of a position rather than a cumulative argument towards one. Since the literary situation is different, the argument that we may <u>expect</u> of P a conquest-story must carry even more of the weight of the whole

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1. As in <u>T-P-H</u>, p. 24 and (at least by implication) p. 26.
2. Smend, in his paper 'Gehörte Judah zum vorstaatlichen Israel?', suggested that some passages in Judges may have been re-edited to Judah's advantage.
3. <u>T-P-H</u>, p. 53.

discussion than did the parallel argument in the case of J. Accordingly Mowinckel backs this argument with three reasons: (1) if P did not deal with the conquest, we would be faced with an unaccountable break with the shape of the tradition as shown in J; (2) without its natural conclusion, relating how everything proper had been done, P would be but a torso; and (3) sections at the end of the book of Numbers generally assigned to P are in fact the beginning of a conquest narrative.

Whether or not one agrees with Mowinckel on such issues, we must be grateful to him for refocussing our attention on some of the main problems of Joshua and Pentateuch. Like von Rad, it is 'tradition' that appears to occupy the centre of Mowinckel's interest. We have seen that he does not accept Engnell's estimate of his own method as being 'consistently traditio-historical'. But this 'slogan' is a fair estimate of Mowinckel's method and interest. The picture he offers of J's use of his sources, of the development of J evidenced in J^V, of P's general adherence to the plan of J and J^V - all this is ample evidence of what he means by a 'genetic' approach to the development of tradition.

Unbiassed literary appreciation may be a chimera. It is possible that Noth's appeal to the literary situation first and foremost is somewhat one-sided. But it is only accurate description of the given documents (however arrived at) that can save us from some of the unsupported assertions - and even distortions - offered by von Rad and Mowinckel on the basis of their reliance on the fidelity of tradition and constancy of form. Such description it

will be the business of the second part of this thesis to attempt. But first - some account of other scholarly contributions to Joshua and the Pentateuch since 1938.

CHAPTER III

FURTHER CONTRIBUTORS

A. Introductions

As is perhaps hardly surprising, the familiar introductions to the literature of the Old Testament offer little advance on this situation. Broadly speaking, the two first and most basic theses of Noth with which Mowinckel too declared himself in agreement - that the distinctively Deuteronomistic redaction of Joshua marks the literary history of that book off from that of the Pentateuch and that this redaction is the principal characteristic of the books Deuteronomy to Kings as a whole - have found widespread acceptance. These are of course the least novel elements of Noth's contribution - however it is his statement of the situation that has become widely used.

Again in general terms, those introductions whose earlier editions had already been published before Noth's studies appeared or whose authors were already well-established when his work became known have noted but have not agreed with his main arguments. This is true of Weiser,[1] whose section on Joshua criticises Noth in these terms: 'The passages of importance for distinguishing the strands Noth explains mostly as additions largely of unknown origin. Thus his attempted solution, which confined itself too

1. The first German edition of his Einleitung was published in 1948; the English translation is from the 4th edition of 1957.

much to considerations of pure literary and form-criticism, is confronted with fresh unsolved problems.'[1] So too Eissfeldt,[2] who after recording Noth's approach, simply restates his previous view without argument: 'The book of Joshua tells of the fulfilment of the promise, repeatedly made to the fathers, that the land of Canaan should fall to their descendants (Gen. 13:14-17; 15:7,18; 17:8; 26:3-4; etc.), and in this respect it is united in content with the Pentateuch. But there is more to it than this. The individual narrative strands combined in it are also connected in style with the Pentateuch, in other words with the narrative strands there combined. So the joining together of the five books of Moses and the book of Joshua as the "Hexateuch" is not merely justified, but is indeed essential for the recognition of the present state of the material.'[3] Weiser restates the familiar J,E,D,P account of the genesis of the book;[4] and Eissfeldt his more distinctive L,J,E,D,P view.[5]

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1. Introduction, pp. 146-147.
2. Eissfeldt first published his Einleitung in 1934; the English translation is from the 3rd edition of 1964. But of even greater significance for our understanding of Eissfeldt's attitude to the sources of Joshua (as of the Pentateuch as a whole) is his earlier Hexateuch-Synopse (1922).
3. Introduction, p. 250.
4. op.cit., pp. 144-147.
5. op.cit., pp. 251-257. Eissfeldt offered a specific refutation of Noth's theses soon after their publication, in (a) 'Die Geschichtswerke im AT' (1947), and (b) Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Testament (1948). There he argues that the earlier Pentateuchal sources must extend beyond the book of Joshua, and into a description of the period of at least the early monarchy - only so could the 'all Israel' reference of their earlier sections be explained, for they had anachronistically read back into the early history a political situation only created in the monarchy. (Eissfeldt's assumption appears very weak - other accounts could and have been offered.)

Of subsequent scholars, Anderson[1] is perhaps typical. He offers a cautious welcome to Noth's insights, denying to J the first chapter of Judges and the related material in Joshua,[2] but representing in his discussion of Joshua as a whole - and especially the 'P' material in the second half - a position more like that of Noth's first edition than his second.[3]

Of scholars still working, Fohrer[4] is quite distinctive in his adherence to a view which at least in the matter of the literary sources is that of the older Smend,[5] Simpson[6] and Eissfeldt. His account of the end of Numbers, Joshua, and the first chapter of Judges is heavily dependent on Mowinckel.[7] Indeed he is quite uncritical of the detail in Mowinckel's argument, and merely re-attributes Mowinckel's J-material to his own N^8 and divides Mowinckel's J^V-material between his J and E. Noth's analysis is to be rejected as 'oversimplified', one example being its elimination in chapters 2-6 of 'the verses to be ascribed to E

1. Critical Introduction (1959).
2. op.cit., p. 66.
3. op.cit., pp. 59-61.
4. Fohrer's Introduction (1970) is a translation of the 10th edition of Sellin's Einleitung (1965) which Fohrer had completely revised and reshaped.
5. Erzählung des Hexateuch (1912)
6. Early Traditions (1948)
7. Fohrer, pp. 198-199; the section on Joshua as a whole is in pp. 196-205.
8. His 'Nomadic' source which contains largely the material of Smend's J^1 and Eissfeldt's L.

and other doublets as later editorial additions'.

B. Commentaries

The commentaries on the book of Joshua published since the first appearance of Noth's can also be briefly reviewed. Almost without exception they have adopted his fundamental analysis. This is true of Abel,[1] whose succinct commentary is to be welcomed for its positive appreciation of the testimony of LXX^B to the text of Joshua; Hertzberg;[2] and Bright.[3] Their introductory sections are fairly brief, and only general orientation can be expected of them, not detailed comment.[4]

The scope of Gray's work is larger, being a commentary on Judges and Ruth as well as Joshua.[5] His general introduction to Joshua and Judges is basically an approving restatement of Noth's views about the Deuteronomistic History, with detailed criticism reserved only for the latter's chronological scheme. He agrees that the Deuteronomist had available to him as source-material compilations such as those in Jos. 2-11 and Jud. 3:7-12:7; and argues that such traditions and tradition-complexes were either

1. Josué (^{2}1958).
2. ATD 9.
3. Interpreter's Bible.
4. May, in the new Peake's Commentary, is exceptional in offering a more traditional documentary analysis of the book of Joshua, i.e. in terms of J,E,D, and P.
5. In the New Century Bible.

parts of larger compilations available also to J and E or composed about the same time as J and E (and perhaps using these as a model), rather than actual sections of J and E. His introduction to Joshua emphasizes, in contradistinction to von Rad, that 'the unity of subject in the Law and Joshua is more apparent than real.'[1] While many of his answers differ from Noth's, it is worth noting that it is to the same questions or kinds of question that he is addressing himself.

This is true also of the work of Soggin,[2] who is quite explicit that 'the discovery made by Martin Noth during the Second World War supplies the key for the whole interpretation of the "former prophets" of the Hebrew canon.'[3] He is aware of Mowinckel's counter-blast; but against the latter's view that in Jos. 2; 11:13; and throughout the second half of the book we meet remnants of what was once J's redaction of the ancient traditions about the conquest he urges that Noth's theory of the 'compiler' seems 'less risky' - while his views about the late dating of Jos. 13-19, and their attribution to P, Soggin deems adequately refuted by Noth in 1950.

The recent shorter commentary by Miller and Tucker[4] stands in the same Noth-tradition. And this leaves as a significant

1. op.cit., p. 17.
2. Translated in the OTL series; the work was published first in French in the Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament, 1970.
3. op.cit., p. 3.
4. Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible.

exception the commentary by Kaufmann.[1] Kaufmann's solutions to many of the problems of the book of Joshua as literature or as history are radically different from the mainstream of scholarship almost to the point of eccentricity. He distinguishes between a 'realistic' and an 'idealistic' stratum in the book - the terms are his, but the view is shared with many thus far. His distinctiveness is in considering the idealistic the earlier of these strata and assigning it to a period before the settlement. The land-division in Joshua is part of his idealistic stratum - and so, while his critique of Alt's and Noth's attempts to derive this material from administrative (and so 'realistic') lists overlaps to a fair extent with Mowinckel's - both emphasize the discrepancies and inadequacies in the boundary system which would not be expected of administrative material - the dating of it is totally different.

C. Topographical Studies

Alt's and Noth's conviction that in their historico-geographical deductions from the text of the book of Joshua they were able to penetrate behind the book's literary 'sources' or 'strata' to its actual material - its 'sources' in the commoner historical use of that term - has also been found very fruitful. This has perhaps been especially true of their suggestion that the majority of an administrative list of the state of Judah

1. Kaufmann's views on Joshua are more readily available in English in his Biblical Account (1953).

can be extricated from the town-list in Jos. 15:21-62. This is divided into eleven sections, at least in the fuller and preferable text of the LXX.[1] In fact Noth considers there are twelve sections - treating v.45 as the stump of a section, distinct from the later supplement in vv. 46-47. By linking that verse with the Danite list in 19:41-46,[2] vv. 61-62 with the first Benjaminite list in 18:21-24 and v. 60 with the second in 18:25-28[3] - in each case the basis for the linkage is one name common to both parts - he claims to have reconstructed a division of Judah dating from the first military successes of Josiah.

In the first attempted refinement of this, Cross and Wright[4] address themselves to the persistence of certain problems in this scheme. The linking of 18:21-24 with 15:61-62 they find geographical nonsense.[5] And, while they do offer detailed arguments against linking 19:41-46 with either 15:33-36 or 15:45-47, they stress that the tribal boundary system leaves a gap for Dan[6] and so it is improper to link it with a Judahite area. Their preferred solution is to consider the Benjaminite

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1. For a fuller discussion of this problem, see chapter IV below (and on this particular detail, p.119).
2. Josua[2], pp. 96-97.
3. op.cit., pp. 99-100.
4. 'Boundary and Province Lists' (1956).
5. Ephraimite towns of the far north are combined with the fortress town of En-gedi deep in the Judahite wilderness.
6. Noth had observed this, but argued that the gap was secondarily created for Dan by the redactor.

towns of 18:21-28 as a whole the twelfth Judahite district. The small part of Ephraim so included represents not the annexation of Josiah, which was much more extensive, but that of Abijah of Judah from Jeroboam - held at least till the time of Jehoshaphat, to whose reign various details point as the date for this form of the division.[1]

Kallai's quite distinct approach to the same problems was the next to appear.[2] He assented to the differentiation between the boundary system and the town lists. The probable origin of the former was David's census; and he stresses that its geographical and chronological framework is shared by both the list of still unconquered areas in Jud.1 and the list of Levitical cities (especially the form found in 1 Chr.6 with its exclusion of Dan - leaving Judah, Benjamin and Ephraim to meet without remainder).[3] The town lists are separate documents, each describing its own tribe, and not necessarily at a common date. The appropriate method for studying these is to judge each 'document' as it is preserved, not to establish an original core by weeding out later additions. He deduces that the Judahite list, while it may have originated under Jehoshaphat, clearly

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1. Jehoshaphat, successor to Asa, son of Abijah, they date to ca. 873-849 BC; he is reported in 2 Chron. 17:2 as having garrisoned some of the annexed cities.
2. 'Town Lists' (1958).
3. The version of Jos. 21 including Dan (without Beth-Shemesh) seems to be a literary compromise along the lines of the general set-up in the book of Joshua in its final edition, which reflects a restoration of Dan.

reflects the reign of Hezekiah; that Dan's is based on the second district of Solomon; and that Benjamin's (18:21-28 has lost one of its originally three units[1] - the exception which proves Kallai's rule of fidelity to the text as transmitted!?), which he agrees is marked by northerly expansion, reflects the conquest of Abijah.[2] Cross and Wright were wrong to use this evidence in their discussion of the Judahite list - not all the conquests of Abijah remained in Judah's hands as long as Jehoshaphat.

Kallai's assurance that he is dealing with documents coupled with his basic premiss about the unified boundary system leads him to one statement of principle which again rather relativizes his respect for the received text. While discussing Dan, he argues that the area of its town list is fully covered by the allotments to Judah and Ephraim. To understand that there is in fact no 'Danite gap' one has to remember that a town stands for its whole territory, and so the limits of each must be ascertained. The El-Amarna tablets show that in their period Gezer, which Israel's system of boundaries assigns to Ephraim, included both Ajalon and Zoreah. And so Ephraimite territory filled the area west of Benjamin and north of Judah.[3] With the

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1. The original Benjaminite settlements of Gibeah, Anathoth, Azmaveth, Alemeth, and probably also Geba of Benjamin and others of this area are surprisingly absent from Jos.18:21-28.
2. Mentioned in 2 Chron. 13.
3. While it is possible that the territory of Gezer could have changed extent since the days of Milkilu, the area under discussion is still the natural hinterland of the town.

conquest of this area by the Pharoah who then presented it to Solomon, all this area became in fact Israelite. To this Kallai adds in a footnote that boundary systems cannot be deduced for Simeon and Dan by literary methods based on the wording of verses like Jos. 19:8 and 46 - the criterion for a town-list devoid of parallel boundary-list is that the territory described is included in the area of other tribes, and this holds for these two.

Kallai does emphasize his broad agreement that the extent and internal division of the town lists do reflect political situations and as such let us have a glimpse of what an administrative list of the whole kingdom would have looked like. However it is the tribal situation which is the main factor in these town lists - they were not cut up, but were drawn up to show the holdings of the particular tribe in a given political situation.[1]

Kallai has subsequently published a much fuller account of his researches into Israel's historical geography.[2] This the present writer can claim only to have sampled widely, and read in detail only on selected points. It appears to represent a furthering of the research just reviewed rather than an advance on it. In particular it confirms our impression of his confidence that he is dealing in the main with documents of the period of the First Temple which have been little altered by those who are termed the 'biblical editors' without further discrimination.

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1. Kallai does admit that Dan is a variation on this theme.
2. His נחלות שבטי ישראל (1967).

Aharoni's study of Judah's province list falls next to be considered.[1] He approves of some of the advances made by Cross and Wright, and also Kallai, on Alt's profound proposals, but finds that the relation between the area of the provinces and the boundary of Judah at different times has not been satisfactorily solved. Kallai's conclusion that the lists of Judah and Benjamin are of different origins eliminates some difficulties but bypasses the main problem: the list of Judah is south of Jerusalem and so can never be identical with the territory of the Judahite kingdom; also Kallai offers no alternative purpose for the town lists, of which Jos. 15 enumerates eleven in Judah. Turning his attention to the Benjaminite towns, he notes that Cross and Wright's view that the two groups are separated by the watershed is not quite accurate - what he finds significant is that while the towns of the second group were in most periods in the Kingdom of Judah those in the first were regularly in Israel. Accordingly it is the second group only which is the missing twelfth district of Judah. Following an argument of Alt that among the sources of Jos. 19 were towns lists for the northern tribes, Aharoni goes on to argue that these and the first Benjaminite group reflect the administrative division of the northern kingdom[2] - only in that framework was it logical to

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1. 'The province list of Judah' (1959).
2. He remarks it is only for Joseph that a town list is completely lacking.

unite Bethel and Jericho in one district!.[1] This makes it likely that it was within Benjamin that most of the border conflicts between Judah and Israel took place; and also helps to explain the double mention of Beth-arabah - a border city between the two states.

Aharoni's contribution to the study of Israel's historical geography is also available in much more detailed form in a study translated into English as The Land of the Bible.[2] Like Kallai, Aharoni is confident that he is dealing with documents; and like him too he is quite unspecific about the biblical editors. He marshalls attractively the 'documents' gleaned from the book of Joshua and elsewhere to illustrate Israel's history and political geography in five periods from the Canaanite till the latter days of the Judean Kingdom. Many of his detailed arguments, and his synthesis as a whole, are very suggestive. But perhaps one should have more scruples over the use of 'the land which remains' (Jos. 13:2-6) and the 'list' of unconquered cities in Jud. 1 to illustrate the period of conquest and settlement. This material in Jud. 1 serves as a pillar for another case: coupled with the further assertion that the tribal framework west of the Jordan lacks not only territories for

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1. He had earlier observed that when Cross and Wright deemed Bethel and Ophrah to belong to the same Judahite province as Jericho and Beth-arabah, they succumbed to the very 'nonsense of geography' with which they charged Noth - see above p. 75.
2. A useful 'visual aid' in studying Aharoni's views are the informative maps in the Macmillan Bible Atlas (1968), of whose OT section Aharoni was editor.

Issachar, Dan and Simeon but also for Judah - its frontiers are a simple amalgam of the relevant portions of the frontiers of the promised land (as in Num. 34) together with the southern border of Benjamin - he argues that the boundary list in Joshua represents basically the relationships of a six-tribe northern Israelite covenant (the same six tribes as are reflected in the basis of the material in Jud. 1 already referred to[1]). Arguments of this order either assume (without stating) or else ignore (perhaps without realising) important literary considerations.

This is not the occasion for a thorough review of Aharoni's work in this field. However two further details of his conclusions may be mentioned to illustrate this point further. He follows his account of the northern covenant by hailing David as the bringer of the new unity which remained an ideal in later times, not just because of the greatness and extent of the state then achieved under him but also because the aims of his political and religious settlement were fostered in the milieu of the Jerusalem Temple (many of whose institutions and traditions he shaped even if he did not build the building). He claims that David's administrative division was traditionalist and tribalist in nature - and by that he appears to mean that David employed a traditional (i.e. commonly used) 12-fold system which adhered as closely as possible to existing tribal patterns - and argues that

1. He does remark that a seventh tribe is mentioned at the end of Jud. 1 - Dan. However the cities exerting pressure on Dan later came under the influence of Ephraim and Benjamin and were assigned to these tribes.

this division is illustrated by the account of his census and by the city lists for Simeon and Dan. Two resultant problems may be noted:

(1) He finds evidence for the Simeonite list only in 19:2-6 - the second and shorter Simeonite 'district' in 19:7 he rejects as a later expansion of the text.

(2) The account in 2 Sam. 24 of David's census knows of Dan in the north. If this is accurate, and if the (ancient!) tradition in Jud. 1 about the inability of Dan to secure its holding in the centre of the country is also accurate, then in what sense does the list of cities recorded in Jos. 19:41-46 reflect either ancient tribal or Danite realities?

The second of his conclusions to be discussed has implications related to the first of these points. His rationale for the brief two-town list in 15:60 is that Kiriath-jearim and Rabbah (=the El-Amarna Rubute=the familiar Beth-Shemesh) dominated the strategic main road from the coast to Jerusalem and were thus sufficiently important to constitute a distinct entity. His case so far is not unattractive. However it continues as follows: To the hypothesis that Rabbah/Rubute is Beth-Shemesh (a view that he has since changed[1]) he adds the claim that Zorah and Eshtaol, of the first Shephelah district in 15:33, must have originally belonged to this list represented in 15:60 whose territory included that part of Dan in Judean hands. To render

1. In his paper in VT 19, pp. 137ff., where he identifies Rabbah with a previously unidentified tell within the confines of the Latrun monastery.

this plausible he has to make two assumptions about the development of Jos. 15:21-62. The first follows from his observation 'that in geographical descriptions the hill country is always mentioned before the Shephelah'[1] - our list had accordingly once been structured this way. The second appears to harmonize rather ill with the first: that the geographical designations (and also presumably the concluding totals although he does not mention these) were not an original part of the text. These allow him to reconstruct his 'original': 'Kiriath-baal, Rabbah, Eshtaol, Zorah/Ashnah, Zanoah, etc.'.[2] Respect for the 'realities' which must be involved is a formidable tool for the solution of literary problems!

Schunck's study of the origins and history of the tribe of Benjamin[3] is an attractive demonstration - although not designed as such - of how readily some of Aharoni's arguments can be 'stood on their heads'.[4] He is convinced up to a point that Mowinckel, followed by Kallai, was right to doubt the view of

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1. He cites in support Jos. 10:40; 11:2,16; 12:8.
2. As a parallel phenomenon he cites the movement of Ether and Ashan from the end of the Negeb list (Jos. 19:7) to one in the Shephelah (Jos. 15:42).
3. BZAW 86 (1963).
4. Schunck's study offers a wealth of detailed commentary on the studies we have just been reviewing. In this respect it represents a fine introduction to much of the scholarly discussion of the tribal geography in the book of Joshua. The paragraph that follows is no review of this interesting work; it merely samples two arguments of a type that Aharoni could well have used, and yet which point to conclusions radically different from his.

Alt and Noth that a single ancient tradition lies behind the tribal system in Jos. 13-19. But that our present text is based on several different sources or documents is still better than the counter view of Mowinckel and Kallai. He claims that one of these border descriptions is to be assigned with certainty to the time of David - 15:2-12a. A supplementary list was added in the time of Rehoboam - 16:1-3, which is closely related to 15:2-12a, and not originally a description of Joseph's southern boundary. Much more likely is it that it was a replacement for the line described in 15:5b-11. Schunck's attendant claim is that the whole of Benjamin was included in the kingdom of Judah. However he is insistent that this may not be clarified by appeal to the border descriptions in Jos. 18 - these are in fact a combination of 15:2-12a and 16:1-3 that pays attention to the Danite list in 19:40ff! So much for his alternative account of the tribal border system.[1] His account of the ancient (!) material in Jud. 1 opens with the stylistic observation that mention of Benjamin and Dan obtrudes somewhat, in that both tribes are referred to as בני-, and not just with their simple name. Behind this chapter he accordingly assumes the traditions of a six-tribe unit: Judah, Manasseh, Ephraim, Zebulun, Asher and

1. What is agreed is that the borders in Jos. 15-19 are derivative in part from the borders of Canaan as described in Num. 34:3-12. However, while Aharoni understands Judah's territory to be defined as everything south of the southernmost border of the northern confederacy, Schunck claims that the borders common to Judah and Benjamin, and Benjamin and Ephraim, are dependant on records of actual frontiers of the state of Judah.

Naphtali - the descriptions of whose situations are similar in style.

A pair of detailed studies of just one of these problems we have reviewed - the Danite list of Jos. 19:40ff. - provide a further example of the widely different results achieved in this area of study. Mazar[1] argues that this list is made up of four districts, the first two[2] representing the second of Solomon's administrative districts, according to 1 Kings 4, and the second two reflecting an expansion which itself cannot be later than the death of Solomon.[3] Strange,[4] on the other hand, argues that control of Ekron and the immediate coastal strip implies a stricter form of control than either Judah or Israel in their status as separate kingdoms could ever have enforced, and that there is no evidence that Solomon ever controlled it. Only after the exhaustion of Philistia in her several revolts against Assyria is such control conceivable. It had been in the interest of Assyria's Egyptian policy to allow her vassal Judah under Josiah to expand somewhat westwards - this had suited Josiah who required access to the sea before he could begin to realize his ambition of succeeding to the glories of Solomon's commercial empire.[5]

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1. 'The Cities of the Territory of Dan' (1960).
2. The first had been the territory of Dan occupied during the conquest of Canaan; in the second, the struggle for mastery had continued till the time of David (the situation there being mirrored in Jud. 1).
3. Additions to Israelite territory at the expense of the Philistines.
4. 'The Inheritance of Dan' (1966).
5. Strange suggests that the whole complex of town lists and boundary descriptions in Jos. 13-19 got its shape and final edition in his reign and on his initiative - they had served to legitimate Josiah's territorial claims when the Assyrian empire began to collapse.

The last of these studies we must mention is Simons' magnum opus on the OT's geographical texts,[1] limiting our attention to his account of the texts in the second half of the book of Joshua. In his introduction to the problems of the descriptions of the territories of the Transjordanian tribes he offers some general comments which are indicative of his views about and approach to the whole matter in hand. He detects much amplification in the texts, and the possibility that originally different conceptions have been smoothed out. Yet his final impression is of greater consistency in the texts than is generally assumed, whether this is original or in fact the result of later levelling. He notes that all attempts to prove manipulations of the text and lay bare the main outlines of the 'real' course of events have hitherto been very unsatisfactory. And so his guiding principle of interpretation is to limit the number and size of emendations of the MT to the indispensable minimum.

However Simons does believe that some evidence of earlier editorial intentions has been preserved in Jos. 13-14: 13:1,7 were originally the introduction to the description of the Cisjordanian territories in 14-19 - this is shown both by the abrupt beginning of the Transjordanian descriptions (with <u>יען</u> in 13:8) and by 14:1-5 which is a secondary introduction necessitated merely by the insertion of 13:8ff. Whatever one's critical conclusion about 13:8, v.9 starts a new description of the collective territorial claims of these tribes.[2]

1. <u>Geographical and Topographical Texts</u> (1959).
2. This detail is quoted in view of the prominence in all three chapters of the next part of this thesis of the problems of Jos. 13 and the beginning of Jos. 14.

Simons' book lives up to its promise of a sober approach to the text.[1] It provides a welcome change from divisions of quite readable texts on the basis of none too secure theories about sources and developments. Furthermore, not only does Simons respect the text in a formal way - he also reads what it actually says with sensitivity. And yet two questions should be borne in mind when assessing his results: (1) Do some of his few emendations remove any evidence of strands? (2) Does his refusal to probe more closely the editorial strata within the second half of Joshua, despite his awareness that they exist, result in a carelessness as to just whose editorial point of view he is expounding in this very fair presentation?

If any concluding comment to this section of our introduction is required, it must be that the historical geographer and topographer should not consider that he has free access to readily dated and authenticated documentary material in the book of Joshua. The insights of Alt and Noth in this area of study have been acclaimed and appropriated by many who have not shared their sensitivity to the literary and other related problems of the texts to which they in turn seek to appeal.

D. Other Studies

Under this omnibus title, a number of different studies must be mentioned in order to provide some representative - but

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1. He admits (pp. 158-169) that in the matter of the Joseph tribes the author's scheme is very hard to establish. Here he proposes two emendations: גבולם for גבולו in 17:10, and the insertion of מצפון or צפונה in 17:9 before לנחל .

in no way complete - account of the available literature.

The study which makes all such accounts of the literature appear inadequate is Jenni's masterly article of 1961/2 on the previous two decades of research on the books Joshua to Kings.[1] Of the studies on the town lists of Judah which were reviewed above and were available then he appears to have been most in sympathy with Aharoni.

Eissfeldt took up his own challenge of offering a new scrutiny of his own thesis in the light of the studies of Noth and their growing acceptance, in his article on Deuteronomy and the Hexateuch published in 1966.[2] However it is less of a new scrutiny than a restatement of the old Hexateuchal source-critical thesis which he felt Noth's approach had not really endangered. He reaffirmed that the pre-Deuteronomistic material in Joshua required analysis into parallel strands - and that while two such sufficed in chapters 8-11 three were required in the earlier part of the book. The fact that this analysis is so similar to that demanded by the earlier material in Genesis to Numbers, when taken with the observation that Joshua recounts what is expected and promised throughout the Pentateuch, confirms that the earlier strata in Joshua are the continuation of those in the Pentateuch. Furthermore the content and language of much of the material in the second half of Joshua is clearly that of the Pentateuchal P. As for the book of Deuteronomy too, the

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1. ThR 27, pp. 1-32, 97-146.
2. KS IV, pp. 238ff.

older view is still preferable that in 1:1-4:40 and 4:44-11:32 we encounter the introductions to once separate editions of the Deuteronomic law, editions which were in due time inserted into the framework of the pre-Deuteronomic proto-Hexateuch.

That the first few chapters of Joshua do exhibit a much more complex structure than those that follow has been amply confirmed in a series of studies which have paid close attention to their literary and traditio-historical problems, although without necessarily having recourse to the kind of source-criticism which Noth rejected. The keenest problems of all are posed by Jos. 3-4. The special studies by Möhlenbrink,[1] Kraus,[2] Dus,[3] Maier,[4] Vogt,[5] Schmid,[6] Soggin[7] and others are fully documented and fairly discussed in the most detailed study to date - that of Langlamet[8] - which is reviewed in an appendix to this thesis. Langlamet does in fact return to Eissfeldt's general framework, and may be reckoned a more powerful advocate of it than the old master himself. Two further analyses, roughly contemporary with Langlamet's, offer yet more novel perspectives. Wilcoxen[9]

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1. ZAW 56, pp. 238ff.
2. VT 1, pp. 181ff.
3. ZAW 72, pp. 107ff.
4. Ladeheiligtum, especially pp. 21ff.
5. Biblica 66, pp. 125ff.
6. ThZ 21, pp. 260ff.
7. VT Suppl. 15, pp. 263ff.
8. Gilgal (1969).
9. Transitions in Biblical Scholarship (1968), pp. 43ff.

analyzes Jos. 1-6 on the model of Pedersen's treatment of Ex. 1-15; while Wijngaards[1] detects the interplay of Shechemite and Gilgalite traditions as the main complicating feature in the narrative of Jos. 3-4. The more recent study by Porter[2] returns to and develops the cultic approach of Kraus and Soggin.

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1. Dramatization of Salvific History ... (1969).
2. Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 36, pp. 5ff. Porter is familiar with the study by Langlamet, whose argumentation he finds circular and echoing 'the worst excesses of the good old heyday of Pentateuchal literary criticism', and with that by Wilcoxen, whom he cites apparently with approval. Porter's paper sketches an impressively coherent account of some of the more stubborn problems of Jos. 3-5; however one suspects he is saved by the aim and scope of his study from having to account in detail for the literary transition from the festival (which is the background to our chapters) to the inherited text.

SUMMARY

Von Rad's 1938 essay on the Hexateuch sought to explain the shape of a literary complex of whose delimitation critical scholarship in that period was certain. Testimony to this literary consensus is provided by Rudolph's study of the same year on the 'Elohist' in the books Exodus to Joshua[1] which has not been reviewed in this thesis - less for the more formal reason that it represents but the continuation of a study begun with Volz on Genesis[2] outwith the period of our review, than simply because it has found little echo in the researches of more recent decades. That literary certainty about a Hexateuch was shattered by the publication in the same year of Noth's work on Joshua. And yet, such was the power of von Rad's form-critical and traditio-historical argumentation, that Noth was apparently not prepared to press the logic of his own literary conclusion about the book of Joshua and the final chapters of Numbers and deny that earlier strata of Pentateuchal tradition had as their goal an account of Israel's settlement in Canaan.

The practical delimitation of the roles of literary criticism on the one side and form-criticism and tradition-history on the other exercised the minds of both von Rad and Noth in their further work on Pentateuch/Hexateuch and in their critiques of each other's work. And this was quite as explicit a concern of

1. Der 'Elohist' von Exodus bis Josua (1938).
2. Der Elohist als Erzähler (1933).

Mowinckel's, whose support for von Rad's essay on the Hexateuch was matched by his admiration for Noth's detection of the decisive contribution of the Deuteronomist to the traditions of Joshua and the succeeding Former Prophets. Mowinckel's own attempt to restate a Hexateuch hypothesis is marred by many blemishes in the detail of his argument. It is also influenced by a belief shared with von Rad about constancy of form and fixity of tradition. In itself this may be hard to prove or disprove; but the usefulness of the belief appears to be impaired by a practical concomitant in the work of both scholars - a less than fair literary description of some of the documents.

Most detailed study of the book of Joshua has taken its inspiration from Noth's work, even where many of his detailed arguments have been rebutted. In this respect, some of the standard Old Testament Introductions are quite out of step with the more specialised literature, in which there is no predisposition to analyse the book of Joshua in terms of the hypotheses of Pentateuchal criticism. Three elements of the review in this first part of the thesis confirm the wisdom of this re-orientation: (1) the challenge to von Rad and Mowinckel over their assumption about the tenacity of form - and the observation that the credos thought to represent the beginning of the tradition process are no longer demonstrably early; (2) the conclusion that Noth's analyses of Num. 32 are not sufficiently radical; and (3) the complaint that Mowinckel's arguments are very muddled about both Num. 32 and Jud. 1.

Nowhere has the influence of Noth, and of his teacher Alt, been more apparent than in the study of the geographical data within the second half of the book of Joshua. And nowhere have successive detailed studies evidenced such striking contrariety in their results. In several of the problem areas, there may just be insufficient evidence to justify assured results. These studies inaugurated by Alt and Noth apparently testify, most often despite themselves, to the extraordinary literary complexity of Jos. 13-21. The tendency has been to sift - and occasionally manipulate - parts of the evidence; and there has been little appreciation of the literary consequences.

Accordingly, in the second part of this thesis, several sections of the second half of the book of Joshua and some of the end of the book of Numbers will be exposed to a thorough re-examination, in order to test some of the arguments which have already been reviewed. To this end, the challenge of Engnell's slogan 'consistently traditio-historical'[1] will be accepted - and interpreted quite radically as implying a starting-point in the different forms in which we have received the tradition. To be specific: a new account must first be offered of the reliability of the MT and LXX as witnesses to the common tradition of Joshua from which both derive.

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1. Cf. above p. 37.

P A R T T W O

JOSHUA: TEXT AND LITERARY RELATIONS

CHAPTER IV

JOSHUA: THE TEXT

That the most noticeable and probably most substantial contribution to the development of the Joshua traditions was made by Deuteronomistic circles is now very widely accepted. Indeed the researches of Noth and of Engnell have convinced most scholars that that is true not just of Joshua, but of all the books from Deuteronomy to Kings. What makes Joshua a particularly suitable 'book' for probing the rival 'ideologies' of Engnell and his sympathisers and the more traditional (cf. Mowinckel) 'literary critics' like Noth is the amount of material in the book that demands an attempt to classify it as pre- or post-Deuteronomistic - even where the evidence is insufficient for a thoroughly satisfactory analysis.

However before the literary relations of the Joshua traditions are further explored, much closer attention must be directed to the textual tradition of the book of Joshua than has been normal in scholarly study of it. On occasion richer textual evidence may simplify the literary task, on occasion it may complicate it yet further. But the evidence is there, and must be sifted.

Not that this topic has not already been very competently studied. Holmes's work of 1914 on the Hebrew and Greek texts of Joshua[1] remains very satisfying; and one can only join

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1. Joshua: the Hebrew and Greek Texts.

Orlinsky[1] in lamenting that this work has had so little attention paid to it. This was not the case in the years immediately following its publication. In the revised edition of 1917 of his commentary on Joshua, Cooke[2] paid tribute to Holmes's work and adopted many of his conclusions. And many of Holmes's results, at least as far as the first half of the book is concerned, were endorsed by Benjamin in a thesis published in 1921.[3]

A further major landmark in the study of the LXX of Joshua is represented by the publication between 1931 and 1938 of the first four volumes of Margolis's magnum opus.[4] The fifth volume lamentably never appeared; it should have completed the detailed discussion with a treatment of 19:39ff., and should also (even more important) have furnished the Introduction to the whole enterprise. Cross has well described Margolis's work 'the outstanding example' of an attempt to recover the proto-LXX version of the text of an Old Testament book.[5] However, the present writer is unconvinced that Margolis's all-too-brief comments on the relationship between his reconstructed first Greek version and the Hebrew tradition are sound, opting as they do for the priority of the Hebrew in almost every case of divergence.

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1. 'The Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint of the Book of Joshua' (1969).
2. In the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.
3. C.D. Benjamin, The Variations between the Hebrew and Greek Texts of Joshua: Chapters 1-12 (1921).
4. M.L. Margolis, The Book of Joshua in Greek (1931-8)
5. F.M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (1958), p. 130.

It may be that Margolis's work, which apparently never cites that of Holmes, has contributed to that neglect of the latter which it also shares.

It will not be our purpose to repeat Holmes's detailed conclusions, although most of these appear to be accurate or at least responsibly argued. What must be attempted here is to demonstrate the importance of the evidence of the Septuagint for any evaluation of the compilation of Joshua, and so to set the scene for the prominence given to the LXX in the following discussion. To this end the present chapter will do four things: A look at two passages in the first part of Joshua where the divergence between MT and LXX is striking and apparently deliberate, but which play a 'neutral' role in the main discussion of the thesis - they are quite unrelated to questions of Deuteronomistic unity, post-Deuteronomistic strata, or the literary structure of Jos. 13-21; B offer a general characterisation of the differences between MT and LXX in the book of Joshua; C discuss some terms over which there is some consistency in the variation between MT and LXX, and which may be relevant to an assessment of the edition of the book; and D review some passages in which there is significant divergence and which contain important evidence on the matter of edition.

The scope - and even more important the limits - of such a study should be clear. Allen's point is well taken that 'all too often the LXX is used atomistically as an aid to solve difficulties in this or that verse of the Massoretic Text'.[1]

1. The Greek Chronicles I, p. 1.

And certainly the present author does not pretend to the expertise in Septuagint criticism of which Margolis's work on Joshua or Allen's on the Greek Chronicles are eloquent testimony. Attention will be directed in this chapter to a number of passages within the book of Joshua where the differences between MT and LXX are quite substantial - differences which can not readily be explained in terms of the craft of the translator and whose evaluation, accordingly, belongs to the field of textual criticism.[1]

A. The Problem Detected

The first example of textual divergence is Jos. 5:2-12, on the circumcision and passover that followed the crossing of the Jordan. There are several points of considerable interest scattered throughout this passage. Most of its problems have been clearly dealt with by Holmes;[2] but the passage is still worth surveying here both for its intrinsic interest and because an advance can be offered on some of the suggestions of Holmes and other commentators. In what follows, the MT and LXX will be presented in the outer columns, while the centre column will contain a hypothetical reconstruction (largely following Holmes) of the Hebrew text from which the LXX was translated.

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1. The two parts of Allen's work are subtitled 'The Translator's Craft' and 'Textual Criticism'.
2. op.cit., pp. 2,3,7,9,28-31. Cf. Benjamin's discussion, op.cit., pp. 32-33.

2 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν	2 בעת ההיא	2 בעת ההיא
εἶπεν Κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῦ	אמר יהוה אל-יהושע	אמר יהוה אל-יהושע
Ποίησον σεαυτῷ μαχαίρας	עשה לך חרבות	עשה לך חרבות
πετρίνας ἐκ πέτρας ἀκρο-	צרים	צרים
τόμου καὶ καθίσας περίτεμε	ושב מל	ושוב מל
τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ	את-בני-ישראל	את-בני-ישראל שנית
3 καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰησοῦς	3 ויעש-לו יהושע	3 ויעש-לו יהושע
μαχαίρας πετρίνας ἀκρο-	חרבות צרים	חרבות צרים
τόμους καὶ περιέτεμεν	וימל	וימל
τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ	את-בני-ישראל	את-בני-ישראל
ἐπὶ τοῦ καλομένου τόπου	אל-	אל-
Βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν	גבעת הערלות	גבעת הערלות

The MT's addition of שנית guarantees the now 'proper' understanding of ושב made necessary by the view of the MT that all the Israelites in Egypt had in fact been circumcised.

4 ὃν δὲ τρόπον περιεκάθαρεν	4 וזה הדבר אשר מל	4 וזה הדבר אשר מל
Ἰησοῦς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ	יהושע את-בני-ישראל	יהושע
		כל-העם היצא ממצרים
		הזכרים
		כל אנשי המלחמה
		מתו במדבר בדרך
		בצאתם ממצרים
5		5 כי מלים היו
		כל-העם היצאים
ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐγένοντο	כל הילודים	וכל-העם הילודים
ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ	בדרך	במדבר בדרך

καὶ ὅσοι ποτὲ ἀπερίτμητοι	וכל הערלים[1]	
ἦσαν τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων	בצאתם	בצאתם
ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πάντας	ממצרים	ממצרים
τούτους περιέτεμεν Ἰησοῦς	אלה[1] מל יהושע	לא מלו
6 τεσσεράκοντα γὰρ καὶ δύο	6 כי ארבעים ושנים[2]	6 כי ארבעים
ἔτη ἀνέστραπται Ισραηλ	שנה הלך ישראל	שנה הלכו בני-ישראל
ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ Μαδβαριτιδι[3]	במדבר	במדבר
διὸ οἱ ἀπερίτμητοι ἦσαν	לכן ערלים היו	
οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν	רבים מהם	עד תם כל-הגוי
τῶν μαχίμων τῶν ἐξεληλυ-	אנשי המלחמה	אנשי המלחמה
θότων ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου	היצאים מארץ מצרים	היצאים ממצרים
οἱ ἀπειθήσαντες	אשר לא שמעו	אשר לא שמעו
τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	בקול האלהים	בקול יהוה
οἷς καὶ διώρισεν	להם נשבע	אשר נשבע יהוה להם
μὴ ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς τὴν γῆν	לבלתי ראתם את-	לבלתי הראתם את-
ἣν ὤμοσεν Κύριος	הארץ אשר נשבע יהוה	הארץ אשר נשבע יהוה
τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν	לאבותם	לאבותם

1. Margolis, op.cit., suggests אשר לא מלו for הערלים (p. 67) and אתם for אלה (p. 68).
2. Benjamin (p. 33) suggests ושני as being even easier to confuse with שנה , although here he believes that the LXX Vorlage has suffered dittography and then corruption. Margolis (p. 69) urges that the Greek read שתים וארבעים . That is certainly more accurate Hebrew (cf. בארבעה עשר יום in v.10); if a correct assumption, the alteration of the original tradition must have been either deliberate or even more careless than Holmes and Benjamin suggest.
3. Soggin's dismay (Joshua, p. 68) at an unintelligent double rendering like this must not be allowed to deflect attention from the LXX's witness to an important divergent tradition.

δοῦναι ἡμῖν γῆν	לתת לנו ארץ	לתת לנו ארץ
ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι	זבת חלב ודבש	זבת חלב ודבש
7 ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων ἀντικατ-	7 ואת-בניהם	7 ואת-בניהם
έστησεν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν	הקים תחתם	הקים תחתם
οὓς Ἰησοῦς περιέτεμεν	אתם מל יהושע	אתם מל יהושע
διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς γεγενῆσθαι	כי-ערלים היו כי	כי-ערלים היו כי
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπεριτμήτους	לא-מלו אותם בדרך	לא-מלו אותם בדרך

The text in the centre column differs from the proposals of Holmes[1] at three points: (1) It follows MT's בצאתם in v.5, whereas Holmes suggests מהיצאים which is certainly a more literal back-translation of the Greek. What is offered above is possible Hebrew, could underly the Greek, and is closer to the MT. (2) Similar reasons prompt the non-repetition of כל before the resuming אלה; either אלה (originally written אל?) or לא could readily have resulted from the other - not only so, but מלו may derive from the misunderstood contraction מל י" . (3) The LXX has been followed literally in proposing בקול האלהים - it will be argued below that the tradition underlying the MT may have almost completely 'Yahwehised' the text of Joshua.

Holmes is probably right in believing that the LXX misunderstood its original in v. 6. The latter need not have shared the nonsensical belief that the period of wandering in the desert provided some explanation for the non-circumcision of some of the warriors who left Egypt. The translator had not observed

1. op.cit., pp. 29-30.

that כי . . . מהם at the beginning of v.6. is a note complete in itself which hints at the reason, given more fully in v.7, for those born in the desert not being circumcised. The remainder of the verse is also an independent statement, structured rather like v.5 - the group is first fully specified, and then resumed grammatically by להם. The LXX has falsely taken the אנשי המלחמה to be in apposition to מהם, and has consequently had to read נשבע להם as a relative clause. It is of course possible that this nonsense represents a late accommodation of the LXX to the shape of the Massoretic tradition.

Before any comments are made about the MT in these verses, it should be noted that the text underlying the LXX as reconstructed is quite logical, and indeed makes best sense if it is taken to assume adult circumcision - the warriors were the only circumcised, and they had all died in the desert. This left Joshua with two groups to circumcise after crossing the Jordan: their juniors when they left Egypt, and their families who were born on the way. While Soggin is dissatisfied with the MT's answer to the question why the generation who travelled through the wilderness could not have been circumcised, he finds the LXX's answer even more improbable, and in respects unclear.[1] It is disappointing that, while he admits to knowledge of Holmes's work,[2] he does not comment at this point on his reconstruction of a Hebrew text which makes good sense and at the same time is open

1. op.cit., pp. 69,71.
2. op.cit., p.xv.

to misunderstanding on the lines of the familiar LXX rendering. It may be remarked that implausibility in itself is no argument against the priority of an LXX reading - indeed it must be assumed that 'implausibility' or 'impossibility' must frequently have been the cause of a 'correction' to the inherited tradition.

It is very likely that such is the explanation of our longer MT. It deals with most of the same elements, although in a different order and rather more fully. Indeed the major discrepancy between our versions is over one point of fact; and the MT presents its view of the situation with great emphasis at the beginning of v.5: כי מלים היו .... - all those who left Egypt were circumcised. Some therefore of those who crossed the Jordan with Joshua (those who were children at the Exodus) were already circumcised. Hence the rather forced rendering of the New English Bible which translates a mixture of the MT and the LXX tradition: ' ... seat yourself, and make Israel a circumcised people again.' In the MT the tradition of the desert-wandering at the beginning of v.6 is used, not to explain the non-circumcision of a substantial element of the people (that it deals with explicitly in v.5), but to provide the occasion for the demise of the rebels.

It would appear most improbable that either version of the circumcision could have resulted from the other by a mistake. Deliberate alteration is the only alternative; and, to say the least, it is difficult to believe that anyone would have 'corrected' the MT to produce an account anything like the LXX. A supporting reason for the relative priority of the text

underlying the LXX is that it apparently uses √ערל in vv.4-7 more frequently than the MT, so making rather more explicit the hinted at aetiology of גבעת הערלות in v.3.

8	8 ויהי כאשר תמו	8 ויהי כאשר תמו
περιτμηθέντες δὲ	להמול	כל-הגוי להמול
ἡσυχίαν εἶχον αὐτόθι		
καθημένοι ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ	וישבו תחתם במחנה	וישבו תחתם במחנה
ἕως ὑγιάσθησαν	עד חיותם	עד חיותם
9 καὶ εἶπεν κύριος	9 ויאמר יהוה	9 ויאמר יהוה
τῷ Ἰησοῦ υἱῷ Ναυη	אל-יהושע בן-נון	אל-יהושע
Ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἀφεῖλον	היום גלותי	היום גלותי
τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν Αἰγύπτου	את-חרפת מצרים	את-חרפת מצרים
ἀφ' ὑμῶν	מעליכם	מעליכם
καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ	ויקרא שם המקום	ויקרא שם המקום
τόπου ἐκείνου Γαλγαλα	ההוא גלגל	ההוא גלגל
		עד היום הזה

With its כל-הגוי in v.8, the MT again underlines that understanding of the situation which necessitates its reading וישוב ... שנית in v.2 - Joshua was circumcising all the people (of course the LXX thought that too - but for a different reason, in that none of them were previously circumcised). It may be that this addition offers a pointer to the development of the Massoretic reworking of the whole passage; on the one hand it would appear contemporaneous with or prior to the rewriting of

v.6 to give עד תם כל-הגוי, an alteration prompted by the spirit of Num. 32:13 and Deut. 2:14,[1] and on the other it probably is the work of a hand different from that which used נעם in its rewriting of vv.4-5.[2] Indeed this greatest extension of the text in v.4 and the beginning of v.5 may well represent its latest phase.

The phrase עד היום הזה, frequent throughout the book of Joshua, is also absent from the LXX in 7:26. Which is the earlier form of the text is probably impossible to settle. However, it is typical that where MT and LXX do diverge in the book of Joshua over such details it should be the LXX that offers the briefer text - its ἡσυχίαν εἶχον in v.8 is a rare exception.

A comparison of the MT and LXX in the following description of the first Passover in Canaan confirms the conclusions already suggested: the MT is longer, and has taken pains to 'correct' an impression given by the less precisely formulated LXX.

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1. It had been the use of הדור in these two passages which had prompted the later 'correction' in some MSS of the Massoretic tradition from הגוי to הדור in 5:6 - but not in 5:8.

2. Margolis (pp. 70-73) typically offers a diametrically opposite account. He accepts the MT in both 5:6 and 5:8, citing at 5:6 the support of MSS α'σ', though he has disregarded their support for MT's ושוב in 5:4. The verse has been 'rephrased in G so as to convey the idea that the majority of יוצאי מצרים were uncircumcised, circumcision not having been practised by the Israelites in Egypt (hence חרפת מצרים). Translated (not retranslated) into Hebrew: ... ולא מלו כל הגוי

10	10	10 ויחנו בני-ישראל
Καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ[1]	ויעשו בני-ישראל	בגלגל ויעשו
τὸ πασχα τῇ τεσσαρεσκαι-	את-הפסח בארבעה	את-הפסח בארבעה
δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς	עשר יום לחדש	עשר יום לחדש
ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας	בערב	בערב
ἐπὶ δυσμῶν Ιεριχω	בערבות יריחו	בערבות יריחו
ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου	בעבר[2] הירדן	
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ		
11 καὶ ἐφάγοσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ	11 ויאכלו מעבור	11 ויאכלו מעבור
σίτου τῆς γῆς	הארץ	הארץ ממחרת הפסח
ἄζυμα καὶ νέα	מצות וקלוי	מצות וקלוי
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ	בעצם היום הזה	בעצם היום הזה
12 ἐξέλιπεν τὸ μαννα	12 (וי)שבת[3] המן	12 וישבת המן ממחרת
μετὰ τὸ βεβρωκέναι αὐτοὺς	באכלם	באכלם
ἐκ τοῦ σίτου τῆς γῆς	מעבור הארץ	מעבור הארץ
καὶ οὐκέτι ὑπῆρχεν	ולא היה עוד	ולא היה עוד
τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ μαννα	לבני ישראל מן	לבני ישראל מן
ἐκαρπίσαντο δὲ	ויאכלו מתבואת	ויאכלו מתבואת
τὴν χώραν τῶν Φοινίκων	ארץ כנען	ארץ כנען
ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ	בשנה ההיא	בשנה ההיא

1. Margolis (p.74) comments: 'Minus goes back to translator - hence' (my underlining) 'addition of subject after ויעשו .' That is not a reason, but a begging of the question.
2. It would take a bold commentator to pronounce on whether haplography or dittography has been at work in the transmission of this verse.
3. See below on the uncertainty of the verse-division.

The point at issue is clear: The events as described in the MT take place over two days, Passover on one, and on the next the eating of native produce and the stopping of the manna.[1] Provided a break in thought is assumed between vv. 10 and 11, the briefer LXX is just capable of the exegesis that eating Canaanite produce and the cessation of the manna did not occur until after Passover day. בעצם היום הזה is the only specification of time in the LXX; and as far as this question is concerned it matters little whether that phrase is read as finishing v. 11 (as in MT) or as opening v. 12 (as in LXX). However, while it is possible (and the MT's pluses demonstrate just that) so to read the text underlying the LXX, violence is thereby done to that text at two points: It is hard to resist the impression that מצות וקלוי in v. 11, despite the fact that the foods are nowhere else paired, are intended as a description of the fare that traditionally accompanied the Passover Lamb - that is, the unleavened bread and 'porridge' of the first Canaanite Passover were Canaanite produce, and not brought across the Jordan by the incoming Israelites. And secondly, the two-fold addition of (הפסח) ממחרת so neutralises בעצם היום הזה as to

1. Benjamin's note on this problem (p.33) is unusually long and yet very unclear. His claim that the glossator's aim was to specify that everything had happened in accordance with Lev. 23:5-6 is very probable. His prior suggestion that the earlier form of the text recorded the carrying out of the provision of Ex. 13:5-7, that when the people entered Canaan מצות was to be eaten in the month of their entry for seven days, is much less easy to approve. Unlike Ex. 13, what happens in our passage (a) is identified as being an observance of פסח , and (b) is not said to last for seven days. It is the identification that the glossator objects to (בעצם היום הזה).

make its continuing presence in the text unnecessary - it is unlikely that it would have been included by choice in a text that contained the other phrase.

To sum up this discussion: When the LXX in 5:10-12 is read sympathetically and without prejudice from the MT, it becomes clear that the Deuteronomistic editor described the conduct of the first Canaanite Passover according to the Deuteronomic calendar of Deut. 16:1-8. This was economically altered by editors represented in the MT to correspond to the 'Priestly' calendar in Lev. 23:5-6. This is quite as deliberate a 'correction' of the tradition as that in vv. 4-6 on the practice of circumcision among the Israelite forefathers in Egypt.

The LXX's accounts of the capture of Jericho in Jos. 6 and of Ai in Jos. 7-8 are considerably shorter than those in the MT. There are again several divergences in the material common to them; but the most noticeable difference is that of length. The second 'neutral'[1] passage to be surveyed gives a useful sample of this difference; and in this case the rival versions will be presented in translation, the left-hand column giving the text common to the two versions, and the right-hand column the MT's additional material. The passage in question is 8:9-17; and it takes up the story after the instructions given by Joshua for an ambush of Ai by 'thirty thousand mighty men of valour'.

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1. 'Neutral' in the sense defined above on p. 97.

9 So Joshua sent them forth; and they went to the place of ambush, and lay between Bethel and Ai, to the west of Ai	but Joshua spent that night among the people.
10 And Joshua rose early in the morning and mustered the people, and went up, with the elders before the people to Ai.	of Israel,
11 And all the fighting men who were with him went up, and drew near before the city, on the east side[1]	and encamped of Ai, with a ravine between them and Ai.
12	And he took about five thousand men, and set them in ambush between Bethel and Ai, to the west of the city.
13	So they stationed the forces, the main encampment north of the city
with the rear guard[2] west of the city.	But Joshua spent that night in the valley.

1. 'On the north side' according to the MT.
2. 'ambush' according to the LXX.

14 And when the king of Ai saw this, he and all his people,	the men of the city,
made haste and went out early	to the descent toward the Arabah
to meet Israel in battle; but he did not know that there was an ambush against him behind the city.	
15 And Joshua and all Israel saw this and fled before them	in the direction of the desert.
16	So all the people who were in the city were called together to pursue them;
and they pursued Joshua, and were themselves drawn away from the city.	
17 There was not a man left in Ai	or Bethel
who did not go out after Israel; they left the city open, and pursued Israel.	

To quote Holmes's main comment on this passage will almost suffice: 'With regard to vv. 12-18 it must be admitted that the LXX narrative is free from the discrepancy of the numbers of the men in ambush; and one cannot help thinking that this has been the main reason why scholars have assented to

the alleged inferiority of the Greek text. Certainly if the translator did deliberately omit the verses it would cast suspicion on some at any rate of the other passages where the Greek differs from the Hebrew text. Yet against the theory of deliberate omission the following suggestions seem worth considering. If the translator had felt the difficulty there was open to him the simple expedient of making the numbers correspond. A translator who could omit several words to avoid a difficulty, was equally capable of altering a single number for the same end. Moreover the contention that these verses were omitted on account of the contradiction, would be more convincing if the verse containing it were the only one wanting in the Greek text at this point. In addition to v. 12, 11b and the greater part of 13 are omitted; without necessity if the theory of deliberate omission be true. Again, the theory of deliberate omission from the text as we now have it ascribes to the translator a performance which seems too ingenious to be true. According to this hypothesis the Greek translator first passed over 29 or 30 words. Then he took the next three words and translated them. Then he omitted the next six words, and afterwards went on with the narrative; i.e. a long piece was omitted, a short piece was translated, and a second short piece omitted. ... it is hardly possible that the Hebrew before the LXX was the same as ours.' And even if one substitutes 'Hebrew editor' for Holmes's 'Greek translator' his argument still stands.

Holmes concedes the possibility that an accidental

'omission' has occurred here, due to homoioteleuton[1] - the passage 'lost' extending from העיר in v. 11 to לעיר in v. 13. And Benjamin appears to offer a half-hearted endorsement of this explanation.[2] Margolis suggests on the contrary[3] that the shorter text results from deliberate abbreviation. The two details significant for him have already been pinpointed in the above translation;[4] and it may be that Holmes did not pay sufficient attention to them. Whereas the longer Hebrew tradition notes twice that the main army was stationed to the north of Ai, the shorter Greek one notes once that it was at the east.[5] And secondly, LXX's 'ambush' in v. 13 is not an accurate rendering of MT's unusual עקבו . Holmes has either not noticed this discrepancy, or is unconcerned by it. The Greek translator does not usually carelessly overlook a significant change in Hebrew terminology. Margolis's explanation of this discrepancy is that 'και τα ενεδρα της πολεως απο θαλασσης as if =

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1. op.cit., p. 13.
2. op.cit., p. 39.
3. op.cit., p. 129.
4. See above p. 109, nn. 1 and 2.
5. Even that may not be an accurate enough statement of the difference between the traditions. While מצפון refers on both occasions to the position of the camp, ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν follows a verb of motion. If et-Tell is the site of Ai, then the town perched on the south side of the water-course which plunges eastwards from it down to the region of Jericho. Anyone who knew the site would be aware that a hostile force would naturally approach from the east, but take up a position (across the water-course) to the north. In whichever direction it has occurred, the alteration of the tradition is an intelligent one in this respect.

<u>והאורב מים לעי</u> sums up v. 12 and v. 13'. He further suggests that the Greek translator has altered the siting of the main army from north to east 'so that the main army and ambush were at directly opposite ends'.[1] In support of his view that the longer Hebrew tradition is more original, Margolis cites Wellhausen's discussion of Jos. 8.[2] He argued that vv. 12-13 were the remnant of a report quite different from the now dominant context. Here Joshua gives the orders from Ai, not Gilgal. The mention of 5,000 rather than 30,000 men gives the impression of a simpler and prior report. Finally the report is shorter - it begins with v. 3a, and nothing material seems to have been lost in between. It is interesting that a division has been maintained between those who have explained the discrepancies in the present Hebrew narrative by source-analysis and those who have argued for the secondary supplementation of a more straightforward text (see below).

Within a footnote in a paper on the conquest of Ai,[3] Callaway remarks on the existence of unpublished fragments of Jos. 8:3-18 from Qumran Cave IV, brought to his attention by Cross who had 'pointed out that v. 9b is omitted with the LXX, and that 4Q has a very short text in the following verses, esp. 10-18. But we cannot be sure that "Bethel" is omitted in v. 17, with the LXX, because that section of the 4Q fragments is missing.'

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1. In the light of the above note it will be clear that Margolis has not here done justice to the Greek tradition.
2. <u>Composition</u>[2], pp. 125-126.
3. <u>JBL</u> 87, p. 319, n. 35.

It would appear that Holmes's conclusion has received a substantiation he would hardly have dreamed of.[1]

These passages in chapters 5 and 8 have been mentioned first, and have been termed 'neutral', because they do not bear directly on the problem of defining and separating the main strata within the book of Joshua - the achievements of the main compiler, the materials he inherited, and the adjustments later made to his work.[2] In other 'editorial' passages shortly to be discussed the decision will be of much greater importance whether a given verse or phrase is an original part of the passage or a later insert. However, while they do not have a wider relevance, they do provide detailed negative evidence about the activity and intentions of the compiler and the extent of his source-material. It is on such matters that several recent commentators have been at fault in their discussions of these and similar passages.

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1. Cross, op.cit., p. 134, after observing that the extensive remains found at Qumran of the text of Samuel made clear that the LXX of that book rendered a Hebrew Vorlage substantially different from our MT, continues: 'Other historical books (Joshua, Judges, Kings) follow suit, in so far as they are preserved, in presenting the tradition of the Septuagint. It now becomes clear, at least in these books, that the Septuagint's divergent text was due less to "translation idiosyncracies" than to the type of text which it translated. These manuscripts establish once for all that in the historical books the Septuagint translators faithfully and with extreme literalness reproduced their Hebrew Vorlage.' Perhaps the existence of this fragment of Jos. 8 will suffice to meet W. McKane's possible objection to this whole chapter, that 'there should be general agreement among scholars not to invoke a Hebrew Vorlage different from MT for LXX, unless such a Hebrew text actually exists'. (See SOTS Booklist 1975, p. 36).

2. See above, pp. 95-97.

Noth[1] more or less makes the necessary point when he describes, without any mention of LXX evidence in support, 8:12,13 (and perhaps 11b too) as a 'conglomerate of secondary additions'. Gray[2] and Soggin,[3] however, invoke a sources theory to explain the difficulties of the text - assuming either that the compiler has fused two conflicting traditions available to him, or that his source and his own view are in tension. Yet the evidence provided by a study of the different textual traditions of the book of Joshua suggests that we must reckon in principle - and accordingly in practice as often as possible - with the necessity of considering two problems independently: on the one hand the activity of the editor and the nature of his sources; and on the other a concern with, and preparedness to alter, details of the narrative, that must have remained alive long after the main compilation of the record.[4] This elaboration of the narrative had started in the period before the textual traditions divided; and it continued in each stream after that event. Accordingly an early objective must be the clarification of criteria for a reconstruction of the final stage of the common tradition.

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1. Josua[2], p. 51.
2. Joshua, Judges and Ruth, p. 91.
3. op.cit., pp. 95,99,103.
4. Of course it is also important to probe the source of this additional alternative information; such a quest, however, must be held quite distinct from the study of the main editors of the book and their sources.

B. Hebrew and Greek: 'plus' and 'minus'

To this end it will be useful to survey briefly the main characteristics of the separate MT and LXX traditions in the book of Joshua. If the common tradition may be defined for this purpose as the greatest amount of material common to both MT and LXX, then over against this common tradition the MT could be described as an 'expanded' version, and the LXX a version some of whose sections have been 'extended'. In the foregoing survey of the two passages, interest was focussed on the MT's major additions and alterations to the tradition. And yet these passages also provide adequate documentation of another feature of both traditions - a whole series of small, and barely significant, additions to (and doubtless too losses from) the tradition. These are common to both versions, but they preponderate in the MT. The first four verses of the book provide a typical example; in the following translation, the pluses in the MT are underlined:

1 After the death of Moses the servant of Yahweh, Yahweh said to Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, 2 "Moses my servant is dead; now therefore rise, go over this (LXX: the) Jordan, you and all this people, into the land which I am giving to them, to the people of Israel. 3 Every place that the sole of your foot will tread upon I have given to you, as I promised to Moses: 4 the desert and this Lebanon as far as the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and as far as the great sea towards the setting sun; it will be your territory."

In all this passage there is no 'addition' in the LXX reflecting a text longer than the corresponding phrase in the MT - Ἀντιλίβανον in v. 4 will represent an interpretation of the same text.

Of these brief additions, there are about twice as many in the MT as in the LXX in chapters 1-4; 6; 8-9; 13-16; 18; 20-21; and 24. However in chapters 5; 7; 10-12; 17; 19; and 22-23 they are four or five times as numerous. Some of the seeming additions to one tradition will in fact be omissions from the other. Suffice it to note that, as in 1:1-4 rendered above, the shorter LXX is seldom an intrinsically unsatisfactory text; while the fuller MT appears to have gained little but detail and pedantry.

The introduction to Benjamin's thesis on the first half of Joshua attempts 'to explain the variations between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Joshua 1-12'. In its first part[1] the Greek Version is assessed as to orthographic variations, accidental omissions, editorial omissions, errors in translation and intelligent translation. The more substantial variations between the two texts are discussed in the second part,[2] under the heading

1. pp. 9-16.

2. pp. 17-22. He offers a classification of glosses in both traditions into six groups:-
   (a) explanations:
   Greek - 3:15,16; 4:5,5,6; 5:3; 6:1,3,8,8; 7:1,22; 8:29,34; 9:10; 10:2; 12:1.
   Hebrew - 1:2,4,7; 2:1,2,15,15,15,22; 3:17; 5:5,7,9,11,12; 6:1,5,11,13,13,15,17,22; 7:2,21,21,26; 8:9,14,29,31,32, 33,34; 9:21,23; 10:1,2,13,20,21,24,26; 11:4,19.
   (b) for explicitness:
   Greek - 2:4; 3:6,15; 4:10,19,23; 5:4; 6:14,20,21; 7:6,25; 8:5,14,32; 9:6,26; 10:12.

(Contd.

of 'Glosses in the Hebrew and the Greek'. His argument stated in brief is that 'We have in the Hebrew and Greek texts of Joshua two texts once practically equivalent. The variants, no matter what reason we may give for their introduction, show the subsequent fortunes of the texts. ... the Hebrew as the original was far more liable than the Greek to be subjected to the attempts of glossators and scribes who sought to clarify and explain it'. Furthermore 'the periodic style of Hebrew diction gives abundant opportunity for this on a scale much larger than in any other language'; while 'the later Hebrew, or the Hebrew as it passes over into Aramaic, becomes more and more adaptable to the glossating methods of editorship'. It is not our purpose here to commend all Benjamin's conclusions. His account of the problem does not appear to entertain the possibility that the

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Contd.)

Hebrew - 2:5,9; 4:5; 8:14,33; 10:28; 11:14.

(c) <u>amplifications</u>:
Greek - 2:3,20,21,24; 4:7; 6:1,5,5,20,20,23,23,25; 7:14; 8:35; 9:18,24; 10:24,32,33,39; 11:7,11.
Hebrew - 1:7,11,15; 2:2,3,10,20,23; 3:12; 4:21,21; 5:1,1,14,15; 6:10,15,15,16,19,20,21,24,26; 7:2,2,2,4, 5,11,11,13,15,21,24,25; 8:1,2,4,4,4,7,17,24,29; 9:1,6, 9,10,12,20,24; 10:5,18,22,23,23,24,27,28,28,32,35,37, 37,39,41,43; 11:12,14,16,22,22; 12:2,4.

(d) <u>doublets</u>:
Greek - 1:8; 2:18; 3:16; 4:5; 5:1,2,3,6,6,10; 6:5,7; 8:24; 9:4,5,10,20,22; 10:2.
Hebrew - 1:15(?); 2:3; 4:7; 6:25.

(e) <u>harmonisations</u>:
Greek - 1:15; 3:1,3,16; 4:9; 6:23,24,26b; 8:21; (addition of harmonistic 'and' - 1:7; 8:33; 9:1; 10:24).
Hebrew - 1:1,4; 2:3,9; 3:1,10,11,16; 4:2,3,3,4,10; 6:3b,4,7,8,15,20,22; 7:17,17,17,17; 9:17,23; 12:5,9-24.

(f) <u>anticipations</u>:
Greek - 2:19; 4:8; 8:18; 11:2.
Hebrew - 1:2,14; 2:9,12,14,17; 3:13,13; 4:2,3; 6:3b,3c,4, 5,6; 8:8a,15b,16a,20b.

Greek was a version of a Hebrew text that had already diverged (partly by glossation) from the emerging MT. For our concerns it is sufficient to note his argument that the Hebrew is longer than the Greek, and so even more distant than it from the original, because it has been even further expanded.

Several of the more substantial additions in the Massoretic tradition reinforce the impression that that tradition is fundamentally expansionist. Our two passages in chapters 5 and 8 bear eloquent witness to this; and the longer account of the taking of Jericho in chapter 6 is another case in point. Its additional material in 13:33; 18:1-10 and 20:4-6 will be discussed more fully later.[1] There remain the identical verses 10:15,43 which are also absent from the LXX - these appear to attest the same pedantic concern for the location of the camp and the precise whereabouts of Joshua himself at any given moment that is clear from the MT's additions in 8:9,13.

The LXX's pluses with respect to the common tradition are by no means homogeneous, but as a group they are of a different order from those of the MT. There must be almost complete certainty that two of them point to omissions from the MT: the list of towns around Bethlehem in Judah after 15:59; and Reuben's Levitical towns after 21:35. The topographical gap in chapter 15 and the numerical asymmetry in chapter 21 according to the MT leave little other option. I have argued elsewhere, in a paper on Judges 1,[2] that the longer LXX conclusion to the

1. See below chap. V, pp.174-177, 186-187, 222-229; and chap. VI, pp. 280-287.
2. VT 25, pp. 277-278.

Danite town-list in 19:47-48 is not only prior to the shorter MT text but also the source of Jud. 1:34-35. The additional material in chapter 13, after vv. 7 and 14 will require closer scrutiny later. After 6:26; 16:10; 21:42 and 24:30,33 the LXX presents additional historical annotation, familiar either from elsewhere in the book or from other parts of the Former Prophets. As for its other additions, that in 13:28 is almost certainly a gloss; while Holmes has made good cases for the priority of those in 9:27 and 10:12 over their Massoretic counterparts. He is supported, although with different reasons, in both passages by Benjamin.[1] On 10:12 Margolis[2] comments that the translator had read in his original the longer text that he offers. It is the presence of the above-mentioned learned notes that is the warrant for the description of the LXX as an 'extended' version of the Joshua tradition.

In the passages so far surveyed, no substantial omission appears to have occurred within the LXX tradition; and at the same time that tradition seems to be relatively free of both the lesser and the greater expansions that have affected the Massoretic tradition. The conclusion is inescapable that the LXX, or at least its underlying Hebrew text, is a better witness than the MT to that common tradition from which both derive. And it is this interim conclusion which will first be further tested in a study of some significant terms in the book; and

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1. op.cit., p. 42.
2. op.cit., p. 178.

then be applied as a working hypothesis when some of the above-mentioned more difficult and editorially more important passages are probed.

C. Variations in Terminology

In this third stage of the discussion about the transmission of the text of the book of Joshua, three areas of divergence between MT and LXX will be probed, the first two more briefly: between Yahweh and God, and between 'territory' and 'lot'; and the third at somewhat greater length: that between the various terms for tribe.

(1) Divine Name

There are ten occasions throughout the book in which MT reads יהוה but LXX ὁ θεός . The reverse situation never occurs; and so it would appear that there has been a tendency, accidental or deliberate, in one tradition or the other, to alter the divine name. Now (ה)אלהים , independently from the proper name יהוה , is found three times in the book referring to the one God of Israel - in 22:33; and 24:1,26 - and this in the common tradition. The additional instances in the LXX are in 5:6; 6:11; 9:27; 10:12,14; 15:13, 17:4,14; 19:50 and 22:19.[1] All of these except 6:11; 9:27 and 15:13 occur in chapters whose concentration of MT 'additions' has already[2] been noted to be much

1. Benjamin (p.32) discusses only 5:6 from this point of view, although he comments on different matters in each of the other verses. Margolis (pp. 167,339) documents support in each recension and manuscript he reviews for אלהים in both 9:27 and 17:14.

2. See above, p. 117.

heavier than the norm. In 6:11 there also occurs a MT addition;[1] while the whole phrase in which the divine name appears in 15:13 is cast differently in our two versions.[2] There is then a prima facie case for giving the LXX's testimony to ten further instances of (ה)אלהים in the common tradition the benefit of the doubt.

In most instances there is no evidence to permit continuing the discussion beyond such generalities; and the decision in each case must be a matter of taste - whether one feels that thirteen rather than three exceptions to the overwhelming preponderance in the book of the name יהוה are more likely to be original or more likely to result from corruption. However in 9:27 and 10:12-14 there is evidence for the priority of (ה)אלהים . Joshua concludes the affair of the Gibeonites, according to 9:27, by making them hewers of wood ... 'for the altar of Yahweh, to continue to this day, in the place which he should choose' (MT). The LXX differs in two respects, in reading 'the altar of God' and in adding the subject 'Yahweh' to the final clause. It is easy to understand the omission of the final Yahweh as unnecessary once 'God' had been altered to read 'Yahweh'. The alternative assumption - that the verse first suffered 'Elohistic' corruption and then received a gratuitous 'Yahweh' - is much harder to entertain.

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1. And so the alteration of the divine name may only have been one part of a more substantial reworking of the verse.
2. See below, chap. V, pp. 215-216.

The situation in 10:12-14 is rather interesting; and it may be well to start by rendering the complete text:

12 Then Joshua spoke to Yahweh in the day when Yahweh (LXX:God) gave the Amorites over to the men of Israel; and he said in the sight of Israel,

'Sun, be still[1] at Gibeon,

and Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.'

13 And the sun was still, and the moon stopped, until the nation (LXX: God) took vengeance on its enemies. Is this not written in the Book of Jashar? (not in LXX) The sun stopped in the midst of heaven, and did not hasten to go down for about a whole day.

14 There has been no day like it before or since, when Yahweh (LXX: God) listened to the voice of a man; for Yahweh fought for Israel.

The tradition is united that Yahweh figures in the first and last comments. The additional note in 13 shows that here too it is not only over the divine name that our traditions are divided. Holmes's treatment[2] of 'the nation/God' in v. 13 is interesting. His note assumes, somewhat surprisingly, that in each of the ten passages under discussion MT's 'Yahweh' is to be preferred. This allows him in 10:13 to make an interesting move; he takes LXX's 'God' as evidence for an original יהוה[3] which, perhaps

1. The rendering is controversial, but appears to be supported by the parallelism.
2. op.cit., p. 50.
3. Again supported by Benjamin (p. 43).

in abbreviated form, has been corrupted in the Massoretic tradition into גוי . This is ingenious; but it is a pity that he nowhere takes the trouble to argue for the priority of יהוה in our ten passages. The following alternative case might be ventured in response: θεός is an inner-Greek corruption of an original ἔθνος , and one which is inspired by the presence already in the text of instances of θεός translating an original אלהים both before and after the phrase in question. 'God' belongs to the source of 10:12-14; the editor has contributed the 'Yahweh' notes.[1] Miller's argument[2] that the deity is the speaker may be even stronger if the source is seen to begin in v.12aβ, after the opening Yahweh-note. Miller observes that LXX's θεός (for ἔθνος) in v. 13 has recovered the spirit of the original, where the deity is the assumed subject of 'took vengeance'.[3]

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1. The Massoretic tradition will have subsequently removed the resulting inconsistency.

2. Divine Warrior in Early Israel, pp. 123-128. One wonders how far the absence from the LXX of the reference to the Book of the Just detracts from Miller's case about an early epic being cited here.

3. The result of this section of the argument is frankly surprising; and the surprise increases as the evidence for the superiority of the LXX is accumulated. It may be that we are dealing here with an erratic element in the textual history. However, before we relax into this conclusion, two observations already made should be repeated: (1) the MT does use האלהים three times; (2) there are strong reasons for preferring that divine name in 9:27 and 10:12-14.

(2) 'Territory' and 'Lot'

The terms גבול and גורל occur frequently in the book of Joshua. They are alike; they appear not infrequently in the same context within the lists of tribal inheritances; and perhaps the most surprising feature is that so little confusion between them has taken place - particularly since there appears, at least in the MT, to be a partial overlap in sense: גבול meaning 'boundary/territory' and גורל 'lot/allotment'. The LXX rendering of the former by ὅρια and the latter by κλῆρος is virtually regular.

To complete the setting of the scene for the necessary discussion it will be useful to tabulate the occurrences of both terms according first of all to the common tradition. And since the problem centres on the usage of these terms within the lists of tribal inheritances, the instances of גבול in 1:4; 12:2,5; 22:25 and 24:30 can be discounted - גורל is not used outside the relevant chapters 13-21.

	c.13	c.14	c.15	c.16	c.17	c.18	c.19	c.20	c.21
גבול	10x	-	23x	7x	6x	12x	15x	-	-
גורל	-	1x	-	-	2x	5x	7x	-	6x

The usage of גורל in the common tradition can be readily described: it appears in the introductory passage 14:1-5 and in the concluding formula 19:51. It is used in the second introduction in 18:1-10 to the allotment for the seven tribes that had not yet received their inheritances, and in the introductory

formula of each of the seven notes detailing these territories. It is used in chapter 21 about the Levitical allotments; and it appears twice in 17:14-18. It is hard to conclude that this distribution of the term does not witness to the stratification of the compilatorial processes that produced this territorial material in the second half of the book.

There are insignificant discrepancies in the tradition - a second MT instance of גבול is absent from the LXX in both 16:6 and 18:5; while in 13:2 LXX attests גבול for MT's גלילות . But of much more importance is the observation that in 15:1; 16:1; and 17:1 - in the formulae introducing the descriptions of the territories of Judah, Joseph and Manasseh - the LXX attests גבול while the MT reads גורל . Similarly in 21:40, in the formula that concludes the allotment to the Merarites, the LXX attests גבולם while the MT reads גורלם . Holmes's discussion[1] of this divergence too appears rather unsatisfactory. His main point he makes all too briefly, that in 15:1; 16:1; and 17:1 'MT undoubtedly deserves the preference especially in view of 21:38 "their allotted portion was twelve cities", where the LXX is certainly wrong'. Now the merits of 21:40 apart, it hardly seems adequate in a monograph designed to vindicate the authority of the LXX in Joshua[2] to suggest that because the LXX has erred once

1. op.cit., p. 60.
2. This verdict holds especially for the Introduction (pp. 1-16) which, like the opening of the present chapter, samples evidence favourable to the case in hand; otherwise, Holmes's book is a dispassionate discussion of the material as a whole.

it has also erred three further times.

In any fuller discussion of these three verses, the first thing to note is that in each case the divergence between MT and LXX is not confined to that over גבול / גורל .[1] And the next point to note is that there is a basic regularity in the three verses according to the LXX - each states that the territory of the tribe in question was from such and such a place (17:1 does not exactly state this; but 17:7, which spells out what it would have said had it not been interrupted by the genealogical material in vv. 1-6, does.). Each then might be held to attest the basic Hebrew formula -

(place) -מן (tribe) -ויהי הגבול ל .[2]

Thirdly, if the testimony of the LXX in these three verses is accepted, then the evidence for an overlap in sense between גבול and גורל is, at the least, considerably diminished. Indeed 21:20,40 remain the only possible exceptions in the book of Joshua to גורל meaning a 'lot' which is cast rather than 'something allotted'. To return to the subsidiary points made by Holmes: He notes that the MT's ויצא הגורל in 16:1 is not consistent with its usage in 15:1 and 17:1, ויהי הגורל and here he prefers LXX's καὶ ἐγένετο , commenting ויצא may be the alteration of a scribe who like the Greek translator did not realise the meaning of גורל as 'an allotted portion' which it has with ויהי . It will have become clear that

1. A similar situation was already discussed above in connection with 6:11, on p.122, n. 1.

2. Cf. 13:16,30 - but not 13:25.

his argument about our three verses rests even more heavily than was first apparent on his attitude to 21:40. Chapter 21 will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent chapter of the thesis - the existence in 1 Chron. 6 of a largely parallel version of much of the material in c.21 may permit a more sober assessment than is possible elsewhere of some of the divergences in the tradition. However, for the moment, the following observations may be made: (a) As already suggested, גורל in 21:4,5,6,8,10 bears the normal sense of 'lot'. (b) Holmes does not note that in 21:20 we find ערי גורלם in the MT, functioning exactly like his גורלם in 21:40 - now one way to proceed from this observation might be to note that ערי גורלם would mean 'the towns they were allotted' without appealing to a sense of גורל not familiar in the book of Joshua, and to suggest that in גורלם in 21:40 we encounter a deliberate or an accidental abbreviation of the phrase in v. 20 whose unique situation provides insufficient evidence for a derived sense of גורל . (c) Not only does LXX attest גבולם in v.20 as well as in v. 40, but so too does the parallel passage in 1 Chron. 6:51 (in both MT and LXX!) - 21:40 is not parallelled in 1 Chron. 6, which is another problem for itself; and that observation at least guarantees the use of גבולם in the Hebrew text underlying our LXX in Joshua, so freeing the LXX from Holmes's charge that its translator was unaware that גורל could mean 'an allotted portion'.

Despite the similarity of the words, it is only in the passages under discussion that the traditions have diverged.

And, while the divergences in 21:20,40 could easily be accidental, it is harder to argue this way in the other three verses. Now what is at stake in 15:1; 16:1; and 17:1 is not just one element in our discussion of the relative authority of the MT and LXX in the book of Joshua. More important for our assessment of how the book was compiled is a decision on whether (i) the sections on the territories of Judah, Joseph and Manasseh were originally structured like those of the seven 'tribes that remained' (although those of the two and a half Transjordanian tribes were introduced without גורל),[1] or (ii) these three sections, but not those on the two and a half tribes, were later accommodated to the structure of the final seven sections. A long discussion - but a significant issue!

(3) 'Tribe'

The last and most complex of these three sample problems of terminology concerns the words for 'tribe' in the book of Joshua. The Hebrew book had used both the familiar terms שבט and מטה . The Greek rendering of both is φυλή . And yet, despite this uniformity, the Greek tradition preserves important evidence about the work of later editors of our book.

The problem can be first sampled by noting the terminology for the half-tribe of Manasseh. It is referred to 13 times as חצי שבט המנשה [2] - in 1:12; 4:12; 12:6; 13:7,29;

1. Links with the material in c.13 were already remarked on in the previous note(p. 127, n. 2).

2. Without the def.art. in 13:29; 22:13,15.

18:7; and 22:7,9,10,11,13,15,21.[1] There are four or five exceptions, where מטה is used: in 21:5,6,25,27 (where מטה is in any case the standard term) and perhaps in 22:1 (where there is some MSS evidence for שבט and where of course the LXX is of no assistance).

There are 18 further instances of שבט in the common tradition of the book - in 3:12; 4:2,4,5; 7:14,16; 11:23; 12:7; 13:7,14; 18:2,4; 21:16; 23:4 and 24:1. This term is then used throughout the book. The MT contains two further instances - in 4:8, where the whole relevant phrase is expressed quite differently in the LXX; and in 13:33 which, while not represented at all in the LXX, is almost identical to the earlier 13:14 of the common tradition.

As for מטה , it is found most frequently in chapters 20-21 where it occurs 31 times (including the four already mentioned above in connection with the half-tribe). The only exception is שבט in 21:16, a verse to which there is unfortunately no parallel in 1 Chron. 6. מטה is found also in 7:1 (and in v. 18 in MT - the relevant phrase is lacking in the LXX) and in 22:14 - and, as noted above, possibly also in 22:1.

However the most interesting situation is in chapters 13-19. There we find 15 instances of מטה common to our two traditions - in 13:15; 14:1,2,4; 15:1,20,21; 16:8; 17:1 and

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1. And five more times in the LXX of 22:30-34 - one of the rather interesting 'pluses' of that tradition. In vv. 32-34, MT mentions only גד / בני ראובן , while in vv. 30,31 it details בני מנשה in addition. See further chap. V, p. 227. n.2.

19:8,23,31,39,48,51. The first point to note is that שבט and מטה do not appear in the same sections of 13-19; indeed שבט occurs only within 13:1-14 (except with half-Manasseh, in 13:29) and 18:1-10. The MT attests מטה in eight further verses: in 13:24,29; 14:3; 18:11,21; and 19:1,24,40; while the LXX's φυλή in 19:9,16 may be witness to מטה in its underlying Hebrew text.

Of the 15 common instances, four appear in the editorial framework of these chapters (14:1,2,4; and 19:51); four appear in opening formulae (13:15; 15:1,21; and 17:1). The remaining seven, in 15:20; 16:8 and five times in c.19, are used in the concluding formula זאת נחלת מטה - and it is noteworthy that the LXX's 'plus' in 19:16[1] makes the use of that formula in c.19 completely regular.

The 'pluses' in the MT are almost all to introductory formulae. The exception, in 14:3, is part of a more substantial 'plus' of the Massoretic tradition. Of the rest, the whole formulae in which the term appears in 13:24,29 and 19:1,24,40 appear to be quite unnecessary extras to the perfectly adequate and much neater structure witnessed to in the common tradition; while a similar result in the MT of 18:11,21 is achieved by simply prefixing מטה to the existing בני בנימן .

This observation brings us to the point where the discussion must be widened. Even ignoring the use of שבט in 13:1-14 and 18:1-10, there is an almost bewildering amount of fluctuation

1. See below, p. 135.

both within each tradition and between the traditions in the manner of referring to an individual tribe. It may simply be referred to by its own proper name; it may be styled בני - or מטה - ; or the name may have the compound מטה בני - prefixed. It is typical of the differences already noted between the two traditions that at several points where in the common tradition a tribe is mentioned the MT uses a longer expression than the LXX. The reverse is occasionally true; but, as is generally the case with minor additions, the balance is very much in the opposite direction.

In the common tradition, there are 69 references in chapters 13-19 to individual tribes - and 12 more peculiar to the MT. Of these, 52 appear in the same form in both traditions, while there is fluctuation over the remaining 17. The situation can be tabulated as follows, with a break-down in the first vertical column of the 52 instances that appear in the same form in both traditions; in the second and third, of the 17 common instances that appear in different forms in LXX and MT; and finally, of the dozen MT 'pluses'.

	Common (52)	LXX (17)	MT (17)	MT+ (12)
'simple' name	20	8 ($3^A + 5^B$)	2^C	3
בני -	25	3 ($2^C + 1^D$)	7 ($5^B + 2^E$)	6
מטה -	6	3^F	1^G	1
מטה בני -	7	3 ($2^E + 1^G$)	7 ($3^A + 1^D + 3^F$)	2

Several conclusions can be drawn from this information[1] -

(a) The tribal name alone or construed with בני are much more common than the forms using מטה.

(b) The MT not only boasts 12 'additional' instances, but also uses a longer form in 12 of the common instances - the LXX has a longer form in only 5.

(c) There are no instances in the common tradition of the tribal name construed with מטה - this is in striking contrast to the situation in chapters 20-21, where that is the regular form of reference.

(d) There is no case in which בני is used in one tradition and מטה in the other.

(e) One further element common to the two traditions is that מטה is absent from 7 of the 17 common instances, and present in 4 of them; of the remaining 6, it is found twice in the LXX and four times in the MT.

There are no examples of the 'prefixes' מטה and מטה בני within the main body of any of the territorial descriptions. And indeed even amongst their headings and conclusions there are as many cases in which the simple name or the prefix בני are used

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1. The figures underlined in the above table are the totals within each tradition of each of the four forms of designation. The figures within brackets, with a letter from A to G attached, point to the specific types of divergence that have occurred. The key to the letters is as follows:

A	18:11; 19:24,40	E	19:9,16
B	13:23; 18:11; 19:9,10,32	F	13:15; 15:1; 16:8
C	17:7; 19:1	G	17:1
D	18:21		

as those which contain מטה and מטה בני . It is hard to detect any clear pattern emerging from this welter of information. And this is particularly disquieting, in that textual uncertainty must remain attached to almost every single detail relevant to an examination of the compilation of this history of the tribal inheritances. It would appear that some of the ancient scholars who handed on this text to us were as uncertain as we over how it was structured. The fear is that in their 'corrections' to the difficult material they inherited they may have denied us enough evidence for a sounder solution.

Further discussion of this must await our fuller study of the compilation of the book. Let the foregoing rather unsatisfying analysis be rounded off by two further observations, one negative and the other positive.

(a) If the common tradition is to be trusted, and at the same time the least divergence from the common original is to be assumed[1] as either tradition departs from it, then the basic regularity according to the LXX already detected in the study of 15:1; 16:1 and 17:1 does not extend to the form in which the tribes are named. 16:1 uses בני יוסף , while in 15:1 and 17:1 MT and LXX agree in using מטה in one case and מטה בני in the other - but still differ from each other in both cases. מטה then is used in 15:1 and 17:1, but not in 16:1.

(b) The most regular structure of all is offered by the LXX in chapter 19:

1. Cf. conclusion (d) on p.133 above.

It has already been noted that the common tradition attests the concluding formula זאת נחלת מטה בני - in five of the six sections of chapter 19, and that the LXX's 'plus' of מטה before בני-זבולן in 19:16 makes the pattern quite regular. As for the introduction to each section, it is not unlikely that the translator had before him the Hebrew formula

ויצא הגורל ה - ל -

However some exceptions must be noted: (i) LXX^{B} in 19:1 attests not לשמעון as in A and elsewhere in the chapter, but לבני שמעון and (ii) both A and B in 19:10 and A alone in 19:24 agree with the MT in attesting למשפחותם which is the standard conclusion of the MT's introductory formula in this chapter. Most interesting is the LXX's witness to the text of the section on Zebulun (19:10-16); the regularity it 'restores' to its conclusion it 'removes' from its introduction. When we turn to the MT we find that its introductions are at the same time fuller and less regular. In three cases, vv. 1,17,32, the tribal name is repeated - once in the same and twice in a different form. It may be in 19:1 that the best evidence is available as to what happened throughout the chapter in the course of the Massoretic tradition. The verse reads ויצא הגורל השני לשמעון למטה בני-שמעון למשפחותם.

1. The MT's reading of לשמעון is attested also by LXX^{A}. Up to this point in our discussion, all references to the LXX have been to the joint testimony of the A and B versions, with one exception - in 16:8 too (see F in p.133, n. 1 above) A agrees with MT against B. It is usual, when A and B differ, that A agrees with the MT: although we have encountered only two examples of this in the present discussion, there are many more over the place-names in chapters 13-19 and generally in c.21, to be more fully discussed in chap. VI below.

As suggested above, the first four words alone may have been the regular introduction in the text underlying the LXX. The final words may reasonably be taken to be an expansion on the basis of the regular concluding formula - זאת נחלת בני שמעון למשפחותם - in order to make beginning and end more alike. In vv. 24,40, where the tribal name is not repeated, the original לאשר and לדן were not added to, as in v. 1, but altered to read למטה בני אשר למשפחותם etc. The MT in the remaining three cases marks something of a 'halfway-house':[1] either the expansion was incompletely executed, or the once-lengthened text has lost an element here or there. Over the general structure of c.19 too therefore it is possible to offer a spirited defence of the proposition that the LXX is in the main a good witness to the common 'original'.

D. Some 'Key' Passages

If the evidence from the topographical descriptions themselves that might have served to determine how they were edited has proved rather contentious, then it is to the various introductory and narrative passages that we must turn for a solution. By this stage in the discussion it will come as no surprise that the evaluation of this material too is fraught with textual uncertainty. The contents and arrangement of c.13; 14:1-5;

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1. v. 10: לבני זבולן למשפחתם
   v. 17: ליששכר ... לבני יששכר למשפחתם
   v. 32: לבני נפתלי ... לבני נפתלי למשפחותם

18:1-10 and 19:49-51 will require scrutiny in later chapters. What is relevant and necessary at this stage is a preliminary review of the divergent evidence in each case of MT and LXX.

But before continuing with the special problems of chapters 13-19, a detail of c.10 should be mentioned again which provides at least negative evidence for the work of the editors on that chapter. The identical vv. 15,43 of the MT are absent from the LXX - and on this point Holmes has already stated the needful:[1] 'With regard to v.15 Bennett affirms it to be omitted by the Greek translator in order to avoid contradiction with a later verse, v. 21,[2] where Joshua is found at Makkedah. ... It postulates that the translator was also a reviser and looked ahead; but what probability it has is seriously diminished by the fact that the same words in v. 43, the last verse in the chapter, are omitted also. All scholars agree that v. 42 is the close of a section. Even a very dull scribe could see that the clause in question is in an appropriate place in v. 43. Our own division of the chapter shows that. No reason whatever can be alleged for the second omission of the words except the simple one that they were not in the text used by the translator. But if the clause is an insertion of the Hebrew reviser in v. 43 it is most probably his insertion in v. 15 also.'

(1) c.13 Disregarding smaller inconsistencies, of which there are several, the LXX offers a shorter text once in the chapter but

1. op.cit., p. 4.
2. See also below, p. 150.

a longer one twice. The MT's v. 33 is completely absent from the LXX; the latter does however attest the very similar v. 14. At first sight Holmes's comment on v. 33[1] appears quite appropriate: 'Omit with LXX. Duplicate of 14.' Verse 14 he does not comment on, and it may be that the situation is more complex than he admits.

Firstly, verses 14 and 33 in the MT are not identical: (a) 14 opens with רק - 'however', and 33 with the simple copula. (b) 14 uses singular suffixes at נחלתו and לו , while 33 has the corresponding plural forms. (c) The subject of נתן in 14 is unspecified, and so presumably impersonal - while מטה is stated to be the non-grantor in 33. (d) While יהוה in 33b is the subject of the nominal sentence, it is אשי יהוה in 14b.[2] Secondly, if the LXX in 14 represents an accurate translation of its underlying Hebrew, then that Hebrew text agreed with the MT only over (a) and (c) - it differed from the MT at only two points, agreeing in each of them (b,d) with the MT's v. 33.

A similarly worded comment on the special status of the tribe of Levi is made at three other points in the OT - Deut. 10:9 and 18:1-2, and Jos. 18:7. In Deut. 10:9 the comment follows a note on the desert wanderings in which it is stated (v. 8) that 'at that time Yahweh set apart the tribe of Levi to carry the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, to stand before Yahweh to minister to

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1. op.cit., p. 58.
2. Or that is the apparent situation - the fact that the pronoun הוא agrees with יהוה rather than with אשי may show that the text is not in order.

him and to bless in his name, to this day.' V. 9 continues

על-כן לא היה ללוי חלק ונחלה עם-אחיו
יהוה הוא נחלתו כאשר דבר יהוה אלהיך לו:

The passage in 18:1-2 introduces legislation on priestly dues as follows -

לא יהיה לכהנים הלוים כל-שבט לוי חלק ונחלה עם-ישראל
אשי יהוה ונחלתו יאכלון:
ונחלה לא יהיה-לו בקרב אחיו
יהוה הוא נחלתו כאשר דבר לו:

As for the other Joshua note in 18:7, it serves to explain the enumeration of the 12 tribes to whom territory is being allotted: Levi is not included, and two groups of two and a half tribes have already been dealt with; accordingly it is seven that still require territory. The note states

כי אין-חלק ללוים בקרבכם
כי-כהנת יהוה נחלתו:

It is reasonable to suppose that the passages in Joshua are dependent on those in Deuteronomy. כהנת יהוה in 18:7 is a ἅπαξ λεγ. , but appears to offer a succinct reiteration of the spirit of Deut. 18:1-2. And 13:14b (and 33b) repeat fairly closely what is stated in Deut. 10:9 and 18:2. It may be remarked that Jos. 18:7 agrees with both Deuteronomy passages in using the relevant singular pronominal suffixes, as does 13:14 (MT). How then are the discrepancies within c.13 to be explained?

One possibility is to assume that a reviser, finding both 14 and 33 in the tradition before him, realised that one was

unnecessary; however at v. 14 he offered a conflation of the alternative verses available to him. Another possibility is that LXX does after all attest the original situation in the chapter - the editor responsible for 13:14 quoted Deuteronomy rather loosely, using plural suffixes. After the separation of the MT and LXX traditions, two alterations were made in the former: the note was repeated at v. 33, with the specification of משה as subject of נתן ; and v. 14 was 'corrected' to correspond more closely to its Deuteronomic original - the suffixes were 'restored' to the singular, and אשר [1] was added on the basis of Deut. 18:1b (so producing in the MT of 13:14 a sentiment rather like that in 18:7 about Levi's priestly function). A third possibility is that the common 'original' contained both vv. 14 and 33, and that while 14 was 'corrected' in the MT 33 was omitted in the LXX. The first option appears unnecessarily cumbrous. The second has the attraction of supporting the emerging thesis. And the third has the merit of offering an explanation for the repetition of the note in the first place (at whatever period) - it serves as a recapitulation of v. 14 after the insertion of vv. 15-32, which are in part an expansion of the information in vv. 8-12.

It is at the beginning of both 8-12 and 15-32 that the 'additional' material of the LXX is to be found. In the case of vv. 7b-8 it may help to lay out the evidence in three columns as for 5:2-12:-

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1. It is just possible that אשר is a misplaced corruption of משה , which a few MSS and some Targumic evidence read in this verse too.

§13

7 καὶ νῦν μέρισον τὴν γῆν	7 ועתה חלק את-הארץ	7 ועתה חלק את-הארץ
ταύτην ἐν κληρονομίᾳ	הזאת בנחלה	הזאת בנחלה
ταῖς ἐννέα φυλαῖς	לתשעת השבטים	לתשעת השבטים
καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει φυλῆς Μανασσῆ	וחצי שבט (ה)מנשה[1]	וחצי השבט המנשה
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἕως τῆς	עד	מהירדן
θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης κατὰ	מבוא	הים הגדול
δυσμὰς ἡλίου δώσεις αὐτήν	תתן אתה[2]	השמש
ἡ θάλασσα ἡ μεγάλη ὁριεῖ	הים הגדול וגבול	
8 ταῖς φυλαῖς	8 לשני השבטים	8
καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει φυλῆς Μανασσῆ	וחצי שבט (ה)מנשה	עמו
τῷ Ῥουβὴν καὶ τῷ Γαδ	(הראובני והגדי)	הראובני והגדי
		לקחו נחלתם אשר
ἔδωκεν Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ πέραν τῷ	נתן משה[3]	נתן להם משה
Ἰορδάνῃ κατ' ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου	בעבר הירדן מזרחה	בעבר הירדן מזרחה
δέδωκεν αὐτῷ Μωυσῆς	נתן לו/להם[4] משה	כאשר נתן להם משה
ὁ παῖς Κυρίου ἀπὸ Ἀροηρ ..	עבד יהוה מערוער ..	עבד יהוה מערוער ..

1. Both forms are found in the book - cf. above p. 129, n. 2.
2. Margolis (pp. 248-249) does not include אתה in his reconstruction of the original.
3. In his back-translation of the passage into Hebrew, Holmes added נחלה after משה. This does not appear strictly necessary in view of the LXX; and so it may magnify unnecessarily the difference between its underlying Hebrew text and the MT.
4. It is harder to decide here which is the appropriate suffix - LXX's αὐτῷ is so difficult that it may be mistaken.

Here again Holmes appears to have stated the needful.[1] The eye of a scribe in the Massoretic tradition had passed over the words between חצי ... משה at the end of v. 7 and their second occurrence later on. On the other hand the words הראובני והגדי were not in the common original - it was only after the omission had taken place in the MT that they were required in that text to make good the omission. After their insertion in MT they were transferred to the LXX. The process then by which the MT obtained its present form was (1) omission by homoioteleuton, (2) filling out of the text by the insertion of the first six words in v.8, and כאשר later on. So far Holmes. The resultant Hebrew original is not completely satisfying - perhaps that is an argument in its favour. But it is certainly better than the MT which is definitely wrong at one point, and seriously open to question at three more. (a) The grammatical antecedent of עמו is the immediately preceding half-tribe of Manasseh (western); but the sentence it opens demands that it be understood as the eastern half of the tribe! (b) חצי השבט המנשה is ungrammatical. (c) The repetition of a relative clause containing נתן ... משה within v. 8 is very clumsy. (d) Vv. 9ff. are improved by the LXX's understanding the new sentence to start with the second נתן ... משה . It is attractive to conclude with Holmes that even if the LXX does not satisfy, it is still closer to the intention of the original than is the MT.[2]

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1. op.cit., p. 56.
2. However, for a further discussion of the same passage, see chap. V, pp. 204-210.

Margolis agrees that מהירדן .... וגבול in 13:7 represents a Hebrew omission, thus conceding more than he did at 10:12.[1] As to the continuing discrepancy in 13:8, his comments are that the Greek had read ושני הטבטים וחצי השבט המנשה (אשר) עם הראובני והגדי and had omitted both לקחו נחלתם אשר and להם . It is easier to sympathise with his reconstruction of the text available to the Greek translator than with his alleged omissions.

The second substantial 'addition' of the LXX is a formal heading to the material in vv. 15-31, apparently intended to balance the formal conclusion in v. 32: Καὶ οὗτος ὁ καταμερισμός, ὃν κατεμέρισεν Μωυσῆς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ ἐν Αραβωθ Μωαβ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατὰ Ιεριχω .[2] Holmes[3] is remarkably optimistic about the authenticity of the Hebrew underlying this text. 'The genuineness of this clause, which does not appear in the Hebrew, is generally accepted: no doubt it is guaranteed by the transliteration of P's phrase Αραβωθ Μωαβ .' The problems of this sentence he admits; but his explanation of them is far from convincing. The difficulties are these: (a) καταμερισμός is used nowhere else in the Greek Bible. (b) No abstract Hebrew noun which it might translate comes to mind.[4] (c) The following

1. See above p. 120.
2. The traditional verse-division of the LXX, by which this sentence appears as 13:14b (not 13:15a), apparently regards it as the conclusion of what precedes in vv. 8-14.
3. op.cit., p. 57.
4. Unless perhaps מחלקת found in 11:23; 12:7.

cognate verb καταμερίζειν is very rare and does not appear elsewhere in Joshua. (d) Its cognate μερίζειν regularly renders √ חלק in Joshua.[1] (e) A heading to answer v. 32 would naturally use √ נחל , which is rendered (as usual) by κληρονομεῖν both in the previous verse 14 and in 32. Holmes's answer is certainly ingenious: 'The most probable explanation seems to be that the superscription was אלה אשר נחל as in v. 32 and that אלה was read as זה , the confusion of ו and א being very frequent. זה was naturally translated by καὶ οὗτος. As there was no substantive before אשר the translator supplied one by καταμερισμός ; having supplied it he not unnaturally continued with the cognate verb κατεμέρισεν for נחל although he had translated נחלה in the previous clause by κληρονομία. A translator without a Hebrew word before him was liable to use a Greek word which betrays the absence of a Hebrew original. This is seen here and also in χείμενον in 4:6 and συντελεία and διάβασις in 4:8.' It should not be thought that the discussion thus far has so established the authority of the LXX in textual matters that it may not be faulted. Indeed it is quite remarkable that here, and uniquely so as far as the present writer's researches have taken him, Margolis[2] simply endorses the LXX as testifying to an original

1. The noun is always rendered by μέρις in Joshua, whether in the singular - 14:4; 15:13; 18:7; 19:9; 22:25,27; or in the plural - 18:5,6,9. There is more variety in the handling of the three verbal themes attested in the MT:
חלק is rendered by μερίζειν in 14:5 and 18:2, and by διελεῖν in 22:8; חלק is rendered by μερίζειν in 13:7, is a 'plus' in 18:10, and is rendered by ἐμβατεύειν in 19:51 (see below, p. 150, n. 2); התחלק is rendered by διελεῖν in 18:5, where the text is uncertain.

2. op.cit., p. 253. In the passages reviewed in this chapter, Margolis prefers LXX against MT generally only where he detects an omission in the latter. But he does endorse καθίσας for יב in 5:2.

וזאת הנחלה אשר נחל משה .... . He may be correct; however Holmes's caution over נחלה still appears thoroughly justified. The answer to this problem must await a decision on the stages of the edition of c.13. A formal heading in v. 15 has its attractions. On the other hand, the material in vv. 15-31 may have been felt to be a natural expansion or explication of that in vv. 9-12 - and not a fresh start demanding a superscription.[1] And if this is the case, then v. 32 finds its rationale as the counterpiece to 14:1-5, to which we must now turn.

(2) 14:1-5 It is hard to decide whether to start with the general difficulties of these verses or with the textual divergences in them. However since both overlap and interlock it may be easier to begin with those differences in the tradition over whose existence there can be no doubt. The three differences are more easily stated than explained: (a) V.2 opens in MT with בגורל נחלתם but in LXX with κατὰ κλῆρους ἐκληρονόμησαν - it is not unlikely that both derive from בגורל נחלו אתם[2]. (b) Also in v. 2, LXX attests יהושע and not משה . (c) The first eight words of v. 3 in MT are not reflected in the LXX.

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1. See above p. 140, where it was suggested that 13:33, if an LXX omission from the original common text, may have served in that text as a recapitulation after the insertion of vv. 15-31. That would involve the further assumption that 13:32 and 14:1-5 were added after the insertion of 13:15-31, i.e. that they belong to a later editorial stratum. For further discussion, see chap. VI, pp. 296-299.

2. A suggestion of S.R. Driver, and advocated in BHS. The confusion of א and ו mentioned above on p. 144 may have contributed to the corruption. Margolis, however, (p. 268) opines that the longer Greek merely paraphrases the familiar MT.

(a) If correct, the MT's בגורל נחלתם is a ἅπαξ λεγ. There are a few similar expressions in Joshua: (i) גבול גורלם in 18:11; (ii) גבול נחלתם in 16:5; 19:10,41 (not the last verse in LXX); (iii) גבול נחלתו in 24:30 (=Jud. 2:9); and ערי גורלם in 21:20.[1] The closest parallel is ומגרל נחלתנו in Num. 36:3, itself a very difficult verse on which perhaps not too much should be based. In any case these are the only expressions with which our MT phrase can be compared. None of the Joshua parallels uses גורל in the construct - a usage which is in any case very rare.[2] And so it may be preferable to assume that these passages have made it easier for the Massoretic tradition, which in any case had a tendency to alter גבול into גורל , to misread and misunderstand the common 'original'. The phrase will have something of a local sense, further specifying בארץ כנען in v.1. However if it is the LXX which better attests the 'original' text, then the most similar passages, those using בגורל with some form of the verbal stem √ נחל , are Num. 33:54; 34:13 and Jos. 19:51.

(b) It is precisely with Num. 34:13 that our verse 2 as a whole appears most closely linked - it appears below in the left-hand column:

ויצו משה את-בני-ישראל

לאמר זאת הארץ אשר

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1. See above p. 128.
2. Found only in Num. 36:3; Jos. 18:11; Ps. 125:3 and Prov. 19:19 (not Q^{e}re).

בגורל נחלו אתם[1]	תתנחלו אתה בגורל
כאשר צוה יהוה ביד משה[1]	אשר צוה יהוה לתת
לתשעת המטות וחצי המטה	לתשעת המטות וחצי המטה

LXX's 'Joshua' for 'Moses' is certainly the more difficult reading; but in this case the LXX's divergence from the Pentateuchal parallel is much harder to defend than were the plural suffixes in 13:14.[2] Indeed the reason for this discrepancy may be closely linked to that in v. 3.

(c) It is most convenient to explain the absence from the LXX of the opening words of v. 3 in the MT as accidental omission owing to the presence of the identical וחצי המטה in MT's verses 2 and 3. It certainly appears unnecessary to repeat yet again that the Transjordanian two and a half tribes had already been dealt with. Not only so but the use of נתן with a direct object נחלת ... but no indirect object introduced by ל- appears unique. However it is not possible to use such arguments to support the testimony of the LXX without first discussing whether in fact LXX's shorter text in v. 3 and its use of Joshua in v. 2 do not in fact exclude each other.[3] The deciding point is the meaning of מעבר לירדן in the common tradition in v. 3. This always refers to east of the river in the book of Joshua (13:32; 17:5; 18:7; 20:8), even where - as in

1. This reconstruction of the original Joshua verse takes elements from both MT and LXX - see further on p. 148.
2. See above p. 138.
3. Margolis also urges this point (p. 268).

17:5 - that is not made specifically clear. The same holds for its occurrence in Num. 22:1; 32:32; 34:15; 35:14. Indeed it is only in Num. 32:19 where the expression appears twice and where the context makes clear that the one refers to one side of the Jordan and the other to the other that an exception to this usage is found. Again Num. 32:19, like 36:3 mentioned above, is a difficult verse which should be used only with great care to justify an exceptional usage in our verse. If then מעבר לירדן in v. 3 bears its normal sense it is the location of an action of Moses and not of Joshua. It is interesting that the LXX seems not unaware of its special pleading over this phrase: it has translated it by ἀπὸ τοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου - a rendering found only at the 'western' usage in Num. 32:19. All in all it appears that the LXX tradition, having once lost the relevant words, has made the best of a bad job by according מעבר לירדן a barely possible sense, and altering 'Moses' to 'Joshua'. Thus the LXX is vindicated over (a) and the MT over (b). Such a result invites consideration of the relationship between this verse and Num. 34:13ff.[1] - a passage which is clearly related also to the MT of 13:8.[2]

(3) 18:1-10 The LXX in this passage is markedly different from the MT; but not many of the differences are relevant to our purpose. Holmes's comments[3] on the verses appear entirely adequate,

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1. The link noted above on p.146 of the use of גורל and a form of √ נחל doubtless also has implications for the study of the edition of Numbers or Joshua or both.
2. See the discussion below in chap. V, pp.204-210.
3. op.cit., pp.7-8, 66-67.

and it will suffice here to summarise his results. The differences at the end of v. 4 and in v. 5a result from unintelligent translation of the same text rather than a different underlying text. The LXX, where it is shorter than the MT, is always preferable[1] - the Massoretic tradition has added לבוא in 3; ואשלחם in 4; פה in 6; אל המחנה שלה at the end of 9; and the whole of 10b, i.e. ויחלקו ... כמחלקתם . Furthermore, the MT has lengthened κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν in 3 (cf. יהוה אלהינו at the end of 6) to read יהוה אלהי אבותיכם[2] has replaced √ חלק in 6 and √ עבר in 8 with √ כתב , which is attested in the common tradition only in v. 4; and has transposed פה ואשליך in 8 to read ופה אשליך . The expansions are all in character. The insistence on writing may have been felt to reflect a more precise carrying out of the orders in v. 4. The reason for the transposition in 8 and the additions in 6 and 9 is clear - vv. 2-10 in the LXX are consistent with a scene of action other than Shiloh; however, by placing this anecdote after v. 1, an editor has plainly located the episode there. The Massoretic tradition has spelled this out in detail - a reverse procedure would be unthinkable.

Two further observations are worth recording. The 'addition' of אל המחנה שלה at the end of v. 9 is reminiscent of

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1. Margolis (pp. 342-346) comes to the diametrically opposed conclusion.

2. LXX has a marked preference for the 1st person plural suffix with 'God' where the MT uses the 2nd person.

אל המחנה added to 10:21 and of the conclusion אל המחנה הגלגלה of the verse added to both 10:15 and 43 - the camp is a recurrent interest of the MT. The camp then, and not Gilgal, was the focus of interest in 10:15,43 - all other occurrences of Gilgal are common to both traditions. Secondly, the term מחלקת that closes the final 'addition' in v. 10b is found also in 11:23 and 12:7 - but elsewhere only in the Chronicler, apart from Ez. 48:29.[1]

(4) 19:49-51 At the beginning of both 49a and 51b LXX's καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν must represent וילכו . That is a possible reading in 49, provided לנחל could be understood as taking physical possession rather than being assigned legal ownership.[2] It is interesting that, if 51b was originally intended as a recapitulation of the opening of 49, לנחל was altered to מחלק . It was of course very easy for either ויכלו to become וילכו or the other way round.

E. Conclusions

The main general conclusions of this chapter can be briefly restated. There is a certain consistency in the MT's and LXX's divergences from each other. There is no need to assume that the main divergences between these traditions, as opposed to minor

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1. That reads זאת הארץ אשר תפילו מנחלה לשבטי ישראל ואלה מחלקתם - cf. תפלו לישראל בנחלה in 13:6.
2. The meaning of נחל will require fuller discussion later. The fact that ἐμβατεῦσαι is used in the LXX in place of both לנחל in v. 49 and מחלק in v. 51 may point to further corruption.

mistranslations, are the responsibility of the LXX translator - rather the Greek translation is based on a Hebrew original substantially different from our familiar MT. That Hebrew original is in the main a good witness to that common 'original' text of the book of Joshua from which both MT and LXX are derived - the MT by contrast has been considerably expanded, and has at the same time suffered two or three serious losses. These conclusions have substantial literary and historical ramifications. On the literary side, no observations should be made about any editorial processes affecting the text of Joshua (at any stage before these traditions separated) which do not attempt to work on the basis of a text 'freed' of subsequent alterations. Accordingly the historian must reckon that any narrative or list of interest to him may have been altered by editors more 'anonymous' than the main compilers of the book. None of the familiar commentaries on Joshua is adequate by these criteria.

CHAPTER V

DEUTERONOMISTIC JOSHUA

The first part of this thesis has already reviewed Noth's epoch-making contribution to the study of the book of Joshua, and also the alterations to some of his opinions about the book in the light of his subsequent study of the Deuteronomistic History as a whole. The reactions of Mowinckel, which in this matter are remarkably favourable to Noth, have also been discussed - as too the now familiar opinions of some others.

What falls to be attempted in this chapter is a two-fold task: firstly to review some more recent discussions of the unity of the Deuteronomistic contributions to the Joshua traditions (and indeed to the whole history down to the collapse of Jerusalem); and secondly to open again the discussion of just how much of the material now in the second half of the book of Joshua was part of the Deuteronomistic Joshua - or any one of the Deuteronomistic editions of that book.

A. The Unity of the Deuteronomist

The most explicit contribution to this topic familiar to this writer is Smend's paper in the 1971 von Rad Festschrift, which bears the sub-title 'Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte'.[1] In the first part of this paper he discusses three Joshua passages, 1:7-9; 13:1b-6 and 23, which he

1. 'Das Gesetz und die Völker', Probleme Biblischer Theologie, pp. 494ff.

argues are additions to the basic book of Joshua to be assigned to a 'nomistic' hand that produced a second edition of the Deuteronomistic History (DtrN).

(a) 1:7-9 Smend notes that the opening section of the book of Joshua (1:1-9), a divine address to Joshua successor to the deceased Moses, continuing as it does the narrative at the beginning and end of Deuteronomy, must represent the work of the Deuteronomistic historian (DtrG) - at least that must be true of the divine address in its original extent. That original extent will have included v.6 - חזק ואמץ ... . What marks off the following verses from this core of the address is the double change in the use of these very imperatives in v. 7. On the one hand v. 6's specific demand for courage in face of the task of settlement has been generalised into a demand to meditate continuously on Yahweh's commands - a practice which will ensure success in every endeavour. On the other hand its demand for courage, physical and moral, is narrowly specified in v. 7 - רק חזק ואמץ (מאד)[1] לשמר - as a calling to mind all Moses' instructions.[2] This commuting of the original order in v. 6, with its elements of both restriction and generalisation, perceptible already in v. 7 is

1. מאד of the MT is not represented in the LXX, and so may represent an addition subsequent to the separation of the traditions. See below p.157, n. 1 and p.159, n. 1.

2. In another respect too the LXX is shorter, perhaps attesting only כאשר for MT's ככל-התורה אשר . If original, the reference may have been to Moses' instructions concerning the ban (Deut. 31:3-5). Explicit mention of the 'law' in the MT would then be a secondary modification on the basis of the following verses.

made manifest in v. 8: 'This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night, that you may be careful to do according to all that is written in it; for then you shall make your way prosperous, and then you shall have good success'. Finally v. 9 completes and consolidates the expansion: its use of vocabulary from v.6, and even v. 5, eases the transition to the older material of DtrG in v. 10 and at the same time demonstrates that it was not the intention of the interpolator to abrogate the original text.[1]

(b) 13:1b-6 In his discussion of this passage Smend broaches a question the answer to which is critical not only for his own immediately following topic (chapter 23) but also for the second and perhaps more important part of this present chapter. What are the implications for the literary history of the book of the identical references to Joshua's advanced age in 13:1a and 23:1b? Smend is convinced of the appropriateness of Noth's observation[2] that both cannot have originally stood, distant from each other as they are, in a unified literary composition.

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1. Smend remarks (n.11) that it was Noth's earlier view too that 1:7-9 were secondary - cf. Josua and UGS, p. 41, n. 4. None of this necessarily invalidates Porter's discussion ('Succession of Joshua') of Jos. 1:1-9 as reflecting royal installation formulae. Indeed, the suggestion that this material has undergone gradual development, and is not necessarily the product of one Deuteronomistic hand, may support his final contention (op.cit., p. 132) that this record of transfer of authority represents in fact an unhistorical link between Moses and Joshua.

2. See above chap. I, pp. 9,10.

For Noth the clause from 23:1 was anticipated at the beginning of 13 to facilitate the insertion of the whole section on the tribal geography, 13:1-21:42, which he attributed to a later Deuteronomistic reviser. At the same time the appropriateness of a reference to Joshua's great age just before the account of his final address is underlined.

Smend disputes the second point first. Plausible though it appears, it is even more likely on reflection that a secondary editor has repeated this material at a later and even more suitable point in the narrative than that a phrase which originally belonged to the very last stage of the story was secondarily reapplied to an earlier and so inherently less suitable stage. He next considers the formal relationship between the beginning of Jos. 1 and of Jos. 13. Both open a new stage in the grand narrative.[1] Both start by noting briefly what is the apparent prerequisite of what follows. Both continue with a divine address to Joshua in which this prerequisite is restated: 'Moses my servant is dead; now therefore ...' (1:2); 'You are old and

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1. Jos. 12 has not yet been mentioned in the discussion. The end of c.11 makes a suitable end to the conquest story. And yet there can be little doubt that Jos. 12, whether or not it belongs to the same editorial stratum as Jos. 11, is intended as a footnote to the theme of conquest - the new theme, accordingly, opening with c.13. Fritz's attractive argument (ZDPV 85, pp. 136ff) that the list in vv. 9-24 is based on a list of Israelite towns in the Solomonic period and even supplied some of the names that appear in the Deuteronomistic narratives in cc.10-11 may be taken as a response to Mowinckel's assertion (chap. II above, p. 60 , n. 2) that the chapter is Priestly, schematic and based on a round number.

advanced in years, ...' (13:1). The problem of the passage 13:1b-6 is adumbrated by the further observation that the parallelism of the divine addresses to Joshua in chapters 1 and 13 would be even more remarkable were 13:7, opening with 'now therefore (ועתה)' were read immediately after the words quoted above from v. 1. What presently separates these verses is a rather long passage that deals with the land, or more precisely with the continuing incompletion of its conquest, by means of the listing of a whole series of geographical details. Smend notes Ehrlich's aesthetic comment that a geographical discussion, however long, has absolutely no place in a divine speech'.[1] Happily his generalisation can be supported, at least in this case, not only because of the parallel between 13:1a.7 and 1:1-2a but also because of the analysis of 13:1b-6 in itself.

If 13:1-7 were an original unity, such a transition as from 6b to 7 would be unthinkable:

רק הפלה לישראל בנחלה כאשר צויתיך :v. 6b

ועתה חלק את-הארץ הזאת בנחלה לתשעת השבטים ... :v. 7

Not only is this transition difficult in general, but the beneficiaries differ: Israel in v. 6 and the nine and a half Cisjordanian tribes (in line with DtrG's conception) in v. 7. There is a difference too in the land divided: in v. 7 it is Palestine west of the Jordan, just conquered; in v. 6 the suffix in הפלה refers back to הארץ הנשארת, mentioned in v. 2a and specified in 2b-6a. This observation focusses attention on

1. Randglossen III.

the less easily detectable material difficulty in the transition from v.1 to v.2. It is not at all unlikely, according to Smend, that the end of v. 1, והארץ נשארה (הרבה-מאד) לרשתה, although without the strengthening הרבה-מאד,[1] was part of the original divine address to Joshua of DtrG. If so, the reference is to the same land mentioned in v. 7; and what is here noted is that while it is conquered it still remains for active ownership to be entered into. By contrast הארץ הנשארת of v. 2 is land that is not yet conquered, but whose nominal ownership requires (v. 6) to be assigned to Israel as a whole.[2] If it is granted that the (at least original) conclusion of v. 1 did belong to DtrG, then the method of the interpolator of 13:2-6 is identical to that of 1:7-9 - he linked his insertion to a significant phrase in the text before him which he either misunderstood or deliberately misinterpreted.[3] The law is close to the heart of the interpolator in chapter 1; the incompleteness

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1. If הרבה-מאד is considered the contribution of the interpolator of vv. 2-6, the remaining words could be original. If we could be more confident about the MT's text in 1:7 it would be attractive to see the use of מאד and of רק as characterising the work of this interpolator. However see also p. 159, n.1.

2. Crucial to a decision as to whether v. 1bβ, or its hypothetical core, was part of the original stratum, would appear to be a clear definition of the sense of לרשת: can it mean both to take nominal and to take actual possession? Is a distinction observable between its use in different strata of the text? The verb is used in Jos. 1:11; 18:3; and Jud. 2:6. Cf. below p. 162 and p. 170, n.1; and also VT 25, p. 264.

3. Perhaps neither term does justice to the activity of the ancient writer, who appears to have been concerned first and foremost to transmit the tradition he inherited (possibly from different sources), and secondly to co-ordinate this tradition in so far as that was possible without prejudice to his first concern.

of the settlement and the continued existence of foreigners in the land to the one in chapter 13. These themes are more closely related than first appears.

(c) 23 The narrative in DtrG of conquest and settlement is concluded in 21:43-45, where we learn again that Yahweh has given the Israelites the whole land and that none of their enemies has prevailed against them. As a sequel we learn of the demobilisation of the two and a half Transjordanian tribes (22:1-6). Jos. 23 is the next Deuteronomistic text and is ascribed in almost its entirety to DtrG by Noth.[1]

Smend remarks that some elements in the chapter are immediately obvious as related to the secondary texts just discussed. 'These nations that remain'[2] play a major role (vv. 4, 7,12); Joshua has allotted Israel their territory (v. 4); Yahweh will drive them out before the Israelites who will occupy their land (v. 5). The wording corresponds to and is related to that in 13:1,6.[3] Then v. 6 - 'therefore be very steadfast to

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1. Cf. above chap. I, p. 27.

2. הגוים הנשארים האלה in 23:4,7(LXX);
הגוים האלה הנשארים in 23:7(Syr),12(Syr);
- MT of 23:7,12 reads הגוים האלה הנשארים האלה , while LXX in v. 12 has only הגוים האלה . It is hard not to prefer the LXX's shorter forms.

3. Note in particular the use of the participle נשאר , although with הגוים rather than הארץ ; the stress on the divine initiative; and the use of הוריש .

keep and do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, turning aside from it neither to the right hand nor to the left' - has a close link with 1:7-8. There is not identity of expression: the double imperative of 1:6 which is resumed in 1:7 has been reduced to √ שמר alone in 23:6;[1] while doing Moses' commands (1:7) and doing what is written in the book of the law (1:8) have been collapsed into a single clause.

The next stage in Smend's argument is to note that these relevant parts of c.23 cannot be detached from the chapter as a whole as was the case with 1:7-9 and 13:2-6. And while it is theoretically possible that Jos. 23 represents an addition to the book subsequent to those in 1:7-9 and 13:2-6, it is more likely that it in fact provides the clue to their better understanding. Viewed this way they are not isolated glosses but elements of a comprehensive edition (DtrN).

As in the two briefer passages discussed, the immediately preceding Deuteronomistic passage (in this case 21:43-45) provides the point of departure for the account in 23: Israel has rest from all its enemies (23:1a cf. 21:44a), none has been able to prevail against it (23:9b cf. 21:44b), the promise is completely fulfilled (23:14b cf. 21:45). However closer attention discloses

1. חזק ואמץ (מאד) לשמר of 1:7 has become וחזקתם מאד לשמר - מאד is certainly characteristic of this interpolator; however we need not assume against the testimony of the LXX that it was part of his original contribution in 1:7. In 23:6 it has the particular function of strengthening √ חזק in place of the synonymous √ אמץ , and it may well be from here that it was intruded into the MT in 1:7.

differences. While 21:44b stated, 'not one of all their enemies had withstood them, for the Lord had given all their enemies into their hand', 23:9b noted with greater reserve, 'not one has withstood you to this day'. The chapter distinguishes two kinds of peoples (גוים , not איבים = enemies as in 21:44 and 23:1). With the one, Yahweh has dealt in the past, before Israel's eyes (23:3). But there are also those that remain, whose territory is already allotted to the Israelites and whom Yahweh will drive out as he has promised (23:5). Verse 13 makes plain however that such support will not continue if the Israelites mix with them and worship their gods. 21:45 has talked of the fulfilment of Yahweh's good word; 23:14b-16 lay alongside this his bad word which will just as surely be fulfilled should Israel transgress the divine assignment (ברית). In this speech put into the mouth of Joshua the author is speaking to his own period, to a situation which at the earliest is the exilic one.

One last necessary detail in Smend's discussion of Jos. 23 is its relationship to the other final speech in chapter 24. In both Joshua convenes an Israelite assembly; in both he makes a speech in which he recalls Yahweh's actions and calls on their bases for a decision for Yahweh. Noth's first reaction to the two chapters was that 24 was the earlier and the pattern for 23.[1] Such a theory corresponds to what has become apparent about the author of chapter 23. He was not concerned to replace the earlier text - once he had shown the relevance of its main

1. Cf. above chap. I, p. 27, n.2.

assertion to his own time he was happy to let it stand, even if only as something of an appendix. The second convening of the assembly had vexed him less than it does us - the repetition of 13:1a in 23:1b demonstrates in any case that he is less than scrupulous in such matters.

Smend's discussion of 'The Law and the Peoples' continues with an argument that Jud. 2:17,20f.,23 represent a similar insertion into the programmatic presentation of the period of the Judges in Jud. 2:10ff, a passage whose opening verses at least are quite clearly the work of the main Deuteronomistic historian. Here his discussion moves beyond the confines of the present chapter on 'Deuteronomistic Joshua'. However the final stage of his case does have a relevance for this present thesis. He is concerned to demonstrate that the hand of DtrN was also responsible for the long insertion Jud. 1:1-2:9. A full discussion of this chapter and of Smend's approach to it will be found in the appendix to this thesis.[1] The present writer is completely persuaded by Smend's approach to Jos. 1:7-9; 13:2-6; 23 - however a markedly different account of the opening of Judges appears necessary. Where his account is relevant to the Deuteronomistic book of Joshua is in the assertion that Jud. 2:6-9 is a clear case of recapitulation (in this instance of Jos. 24:28-31) after an insertion. In the appendix it is argued that in fact Jos. 24: 28-31, even according to the LXX, is secondary to Jud. 2:6-9 - the main arguments being two: (a) that it is more likely that

1. And also in the author's paper in VT 25, esp. pp. 263-264.

לרשת את-הארץ was omitted at the end of Jos. 24:28 than added at the end of Jud. 2:6; (b) that the variety within MT and versions of Jos. 24:30 over the name of Joshua's inheritance and burial-place may point to deliberate alteration of the original but offensive תמנת-חרס which is the unanimous testimony of the best representatives of the textual tradition in Jud. 2:9. The implication of this is that it is Jud. 2:6-9 which provides the best testimony of DtrG's conclusion of the Joshua narrative.[1]

In a brief concluding paragraph Smend suggests that DtrN makes its first appearance within the Deuteronomistic History in Deut. 1:5 and is not silent until the end of the second book of Kings; and he notes that part of the analytical work on the books of Kings necessary to support this case had been carried out in a Münster dissertation[2] by Dietrich (now published as Prophetie und Geschichte (1972), the sub-title describing it as a redactio-historical enquiry into the Deuteronomistic History. Dietrich's references to the book of Joshua are few, and of little relevance to our present concerns. What may be of some interest is a brief account of the conclusions he reaches on the basis of his study of Kings on the method and date of the redaction of the Deuteronomistic History. He conceives his study as having

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1. It is probably impossible to determine whether the alterations which have produced Jos. 24:28-31 occurred at the repetition of the note or subsequently. What is being argued is that the note appeared but once in DtrG and that of the present versions of the note that in Jud. 2:6-9 (MT) is the most conservative.

2. Of 1970.

vindicated Noth's basic contention that the Deuteronomist was responsible for constructing a continuous account of Israel's history from settlement to exile, against the criticism that such apparently different editorial approach as can be detected in Judges, Samuel and Kings cannot be the mark of a unified historical work. The evidence of Kings is that the Deuteronomistic edition was accomplished in three stages - Dietrich interposes a redaction specifically concerned with prophecy (DtrP) between Noth's pioneer (DtrG) and Smend's DtrN. However a negative conclusion of Dietrich is that the old - and recently restated - thesis must be opposed: that part of the edition of these historical books is pre-exilic and part post-exilic. His analyses of the relevant texts at the end of 2 Kings suggest that 24:18f., 20b and 25:1-21 are from DtrG and 24:20a and 25:22-30 from DtrN. From this he concludes that DtrG belongs after, but shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem (c.580) - DtrG does not yet know of Zedekiah's death (cf. Jer. 52:11); whereas DtrN must be assigned to shortly after Jehoiachin's rehabilitation (c.560). The activity of DtrP must accordingly be dated in the intervening 20 year period.[1]

This is a result rather different from that offered in Cross's Essay on 'The Themes of the Book of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History'.[2] His review of the reasons both older and more recent for ascribing the writing of

1. See in particular op.cit., pp. 139-146.
2. Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp. 274-289.

of the history to a pre-exilic date is succinct and worth quoting: 'Older literary critics, as well as their more recent followers, argued for two editions of the Deuteronomistic complex of traditions, one pre-Exilic, the basic promulgation of the Deuteronomistic history, and one Exilic, retouching the earlier edition to bring it up to date. We need not review here the variety of views nor their specific arguments. Some of their arguments are very strong, for example, the use of the expression "to this day", not merely in the sources but also in portions by the Deuteronomistic author, which presumes the existence of the Judean state, notably 2 Kings 8:22 and 16:6. The increase in epigraphic material of the late seventh and early sixth century, including the extraordinary series from Tel 'Arad, has made clear that the complex syntactical style of the Deuteronomist (if not his peculiar archaizing forms) characterized late pre-Exilic prose. It has been argued also that the availability of sources to the Deuteronomistic editor requires a pre-Exilic date.' And yet, for Cross 'the strongest arguments for the pre-Exilic date of the basic promulgation of the Deuteronomistic history have not yet entered into the discussion'.[1]

The focus of Cross's discussion, like Dietrich's, is the book of Kings:[2] 'Here we should find the climactic section of the history. As the historian draws closer to his own times, we expect him to express his intent most clearly both in specifically theological or parenetic sections which would constitute his

1. op.cit., pp. 275-6.
2. op.cit., pp. 278-286.

framework and in the shaping of special themes which unify his work'. He finds two controlling themes in the first (Josianic) edition of the history. (1) 'The crucial event in the history of the Northern Kingdom was the sin of Jeroboam'. This theme dominates all discussion of Israel from 1 Kings 12:26-33 (Jeroboam's archcrime) to 2 Kings 17:1-23 (the Deuteronomist's verdict on Israel's collapse). (2) 'The crucial event in Judah ... was the faithfulness of David'. The climax of this second theme is Josiah's reform, in which there are even echoes of the first: Josiah 'extirpating the counter-cultus of Jeroboam at Bethel'. Cross concludes, 'The two themes in the Deuteronomistic Book of Kings appear to reflect two theological stances, one stemming from the old Deuteronomic covenant theology which regarded destruction of dynasty and people as tied necessarily to apostasy, and a second, drawn from the royal ideology in Judah: the external promises to David. In the second instance, while chastisement has regularly come upon Judah in her seasons of apostasy, hope remains in the Davidic house to which Yahweh has sworn fidelity for David's sake, and for Jerusalem, the city of God. A righteous scion of David has sprung from Judah.'

Cross detects a subtheme of the history 'articulated most clearly in the pericope dealing with Manasseh and the significance of his sins of syncretism and idolatry, in 2 Kings 21:2-15'. This he attributes to an Exilic editor 'who retouched or overwrote the Deuteronomistic work to bring it up to date in the Exile'. His account of this subtheme is much less clear than his account of

the two main themes of the history as a whole. Doubtless this is to be explained in part by the observation that the relevant terse paragraphs are the work of 'a less articulate Exilic editor'. Cross finds the following elements of this reworking most significant: (1) the amount of blame attached to Manasseh, rather than Solomon or even Rehoboam; (2) the lack of preparation, earlier in the history through some specific oracle or through the naming of a contemporary prophet, for the asserted prophetic condemnation of Manasseh (2 Kings 21:10); (3) the several passages throughout the history 'which appear to be addressed to exiles and to call for their repentance' and which are 'most naturally regarded as coming from the hand of an Exilic editor'. One of these last-mentioned passages is Jos. 23:11-13,15f.

In case the relevance of the above excursus into recent scholarship on the book of Kings is less than obvious, the following remarks may be appropriate. The studies of Dietrich and Cross, in conjunction with Smend's paper whose results (at least as far as they concern the book of Joshua) appear thcroughly sound, may be taken as documenting a new awareness that the Deuteronomistic editing of the books of the Former Prophets was not a single once-for-all task, but that there was at least one major revision of the first classical account of the history. The emphasis on the term 'Deuteronomistic' is intended to avoid confusion between this discussion and the much more familiar one over the distinction between the (Deuteronomistic) edition and the available (occasionally already complex and stratified) source-material. Despite the markedly different approach of Cross,

whose essay deals in broad themes rather than detailed discussion of individual passages,[1] his conclusions do overlap with those of Dietrich and Smend at one or two interesting points. He is convinced with Dietrich that there are Deuteronomistic concerns with prophecy which are secondary to the first and main compilation of the history. And he recognises with Smend that there are substantial elements of Jos. 23 which clearly exhibit exilic concerns.

It is not our purpose here to pursue this discussion any further. However the unity of the Deuteronomist in Joshua has another aspect on which it may be useful to offer a few remarks. It appears to have been far from the concern of the classical Deuteronomist (DtrG) to impose in any detail his own conceptions and usage on the material he inherited. His characteristic interests are best deduced from what he wrote himself. His account of Israel's settlement is offered in a series of episodes of decreasing length: Jericho/Gilgal: Jos. 2-6; Ai: 7-8; the Gibeonites: 9; the south: 10; the north: 11. Furthermore it is to the final two episodes that the Deuteronomist has to contribute most himself,[2] his sources being most plentiful for

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1. He offers of course an attractive discussion of one or two key passages for his purpose; but his case is not undergirded by detailed study of the kind evidenced by Smend's paper and even more by Dietrich's monograph. On the other hand, one suspects that Dietrich's exegesis of Kings will require very careful scrutiny before his account of three separate Deuteronomistic editions within as many decades of the first half of the 6th century B.C. is deemed acceptable.

2. In addition to the basic structure, as in all chapters within Jos. 2-11, roughly the second half of both these chapters appears to be his work.

for the settlement in central Palestine. He marshalls his witnesses,[1] introduces them, and underlines some of the points they may have made; but for the most part he lets them tell their own story. Discrepancies over whether the initiative for action lay with Joshua, Israel, the people, or (in chap. 9) the assembly,[2] are seemingly irrelevant - to take only one example. If Smend is correct in assuming as a corollary of his treatment of Jos. 23 that chap. 24 belongs to DtrG then his view has interesting repercussions for the matter under discussion. It is well known that that part of Joshua's historical review (24:2-13) which deals with the settlement of Palestine (vv. 11-13) presents an account quite independent of that in Jos. 2-11: Jericho[3] makes war on Israel; Yahweh's agent is the

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1. Cf. for example his dovetailing of the Jordan/Gilgal material into the framework of the Rahab/Jericho traditions.

2. The opinion is being increasingly advanced that the Priestly stratum of the Pentateuch is more conservative and archaising than used to be thought. For a discussion of the Canaanite affinities of some of its terminology see Cross, op.cit., pp. 293ff. Accordingly the use of העדה and הנשיאים in Jos. 9 may reflect the tradition from which the Deuteronomist drew his material on Gibeon rather than isolated post-Deuteronomistic contributions in the spirit of P. On this point, see now the discussion by Halbe in VT 25, pp. 613-641.

3. MT in v. 11 reads בעלי יריחו ; LXX's οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰεριχω may reflect יושבי יריחו - but the initiative for the action is in both cases with the indigenous population.

hornet; and the kings of the Amorites, be they two or twelve,[1] are hard to harmonise with the earlier narrative of the book. It is of no concern to us here whether this review was composed by the Deuteronomist or a tradition inherited by him. What is important to note, however, is that he was content to let it stand alongside his longer narrative, indeed to act as its summary.

B. Deuteronomists and Land-division

i) Joshua 13-19 Surveyed

The relevance of Smend's paper for this part of the chapter too has already been noted. His analysis has detected the opening and conclusion of the main Deuteronomist's account of the division of the land: 13:1,7 and 21:43-45. The appropriate route for the discovery of even rudimentary traces of this account that has these starting and finishing points is almost completely uncharted. However, in launching out, it may not be too misleading if we take as guidance some of the conclusions reached in the first part of the chapter. Deuteronomistic material may be 'contaminated' by material which is equally Deuteronomistic.

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1. 'two' in MT and 'twelve' in LXX: here the LXX's reading is as usual to be preferred - 12 corresponds to nothing in the previous traditions of the book, but probably represents a fixed form of words (cf. reference to Luckenbill in G. Schmitt's Der Landtag von Sichem (1964) - his reminiscence concerning amphictyonies has received further substantiation in R. de Vaux's discussion of lists of twelve in his Histoire Ancienne d'Israel II (1973), pp. 25-26); but 2, if a deliberate alteration rather than a mistake, may have been influenced by the major narratives in Jos. 2-8 concerning Jericho and Ai.

Inherited material, pressed into service by the Deuteronomistic editor, need conform in detail neither with other such material nor with the contributions of the editor himself.

The second guideline must be repeated from the previous chapter. Two of its conclusions are relevant to our further progress. Where MT and LXX diverge, the evidence of the latter must be treated with great respect as it is frequently testimony to an otherwise unknown Hebrew tradition different from that familiar to us and not infrequently better than it. At a significant number of points, decisions about the processes involved in the edition of the second half of the book of Joshua are complicated by textual problems of greater than usual difficulty.

The problem of the structure of Jos. 13-19 is easily stated, and is two-fold. Firstly there are two openings (13:1,7 and 14:1-5) and two conclusions (19:49a and 51). And secondly, no hint is given in either opening that what immediately follows represents but a partial settlement, of Judah and Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh), and that special provision (as in 18:1-10) will have to be made for seven of the nine and a half tribes. Explanations for the structure are much less readily available. Whatever stratum of the material in these chapters 13:1,7 belong to - and it is our starting hypothesis that they mark DtrG's transition to the settlement[1] of the land from its conquest - it is most unlikely that 14:1-5 represents the same stratum. In

1. Settlement is what 13:1 talks about - לרשתה ; but that a division is also involved is made clear in 13:7 - חלק .

the chapters as we find them, 14:1-5 functions as a recapitulation of the introduction after the digression in c.13 about Moses' allotment to the Transjordanian tribes. However if it had been DtrG's conception that the land was divided by a boundaries commission then this would have been specified in the initial divine instructions. It is twice stated at the beginning of c.14 that it is Yahweh's orders mediated through Moses that the commission is carrying out[1] - however that only serves to underline the contrast with 13:1,7 where Yahweh addresses Joshua directly.[2] The second part of the structural problem, the different treatment of Judah and Joseph from the rest, is even more acute in the MT than in the LXX. The use of גורל in the MT of 15:1; 16:1; and 17:1[3] confirms the viewpoint of 14:1-5 that the territory of each tribe fell to it by lot. And if for Judah and Joseph, then why not for the remaining tribes? This problem is somewhat less acute if the LXX's גבול is considered original in these three verses: the discrepancy between Jos. 18-19 and the obvious intention of 14:1-5 remains, however at the same time that second introduction becomes a more

1. In vv. 2, 5.

2. 14:2,5 make a point rather like 11:15 - 'As Yahweh had commanded Moses his servant, so Moses commanded Joshua, and so Joshua did; he left nothing undone of all that Moses had commanded him' (LXX) or '... of all that Yahweh had commanded Moses' (MT). It is not relevant to this part of our discussion whether 11:15 belongs to the main Deuteronomistic stratum or not; it is the contrast between 14:1-5 and 13:1,7 that is instructive.

3. Cf. the discussion in chapter IV, pp. 125-129.

isolated witness to its point of view.[1] On the other hand, one important area of tension remains even in the LXX tradition. The seven remaining tribes are chided in 18:3 for their lack of initiative; but there are only scanty traces in the earlier chapters of what might be claimed as individual initiative shown by Judah and Joseph.[2]

Given the complexity of this problem, it may be of service to start with a survey of each element in Jos. 13-19, offering only a minimum of comment:

13:1-7 That vv. 2-6 are a secondary element has already been noted.[3] And the discussion in chapter IV[4] of the textual problem in 13:7-8 showed it very likely that the (longer) LXX text was to be preferred, at least in v. 7.[5]

8-12 The mention of the nine and a half tribes (v. 7)[6]

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1. Of course, given the chapters as they stand, it is inevitable that one reads cc.15-17 about the territories in the light of 14:1-5 and assumes a casting of lots even where it is not described. Doubtless this influenced the simple alteration in the tradition.

2. Perhaps 14:6aα and 17:14-18.

3. Above, pp. 154-158.

4. pp. 140-143.

5. In v. 7 the LXX has even Margolis's whole-hearted support. For v. 8 he reconstructs an 'original' which has been corrupted in both MT and LXX.

6. Smend notes in his paper 'Das Gesetz und die Völker' (op.cit., p. 509, n. 57) that it is based on the results of a seminar he had held in the winter of 1967/8. The present writer took part in that seminar and recalls that at that time Smend would only commit himself to v. 7a belonging to DtrG (in fact the verse as far as בנחלה). To settle the relationship between the end of v. 7 and the beginning of v. 8 may not therefore suffice in a discussion of the relationship between 13:8-12 and 13:1,7.

provokes a review of the situation of the two and a half Transjordanian tribes who Moses had settled (v. 8). Their territory is described in both geographical terms (vv. 9,11) and the corresponding political terms (vv. 10,12) - the political terms, that is, of the situation that confronted Moses.[1] No division of this territory between the Israelite tribes is suggested at this point.

13 Mention of גבול הגשורי והמעכתי (v. 11) as part of the territory assigned by Moses is answered by the observation that the inhabitants of these areas were not dispossessed by Israel but continued to live amongst them.[2]

14 Some of the problems of this verse and the related v. 33 have already been discussed from the text-critical point of view. It is likely that the verse is a quotation, or at least a reminiscence, of either Deut. 10:9 or 18:1-2. A plausible reconstruction of the common tradition is -

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1. In addition to the extensive narrative concerning Israel's dealings with Sihon and Og (in Deut. 2 and 3 respectively), the two kings and their territories are mentioned frequently in the same passage, and as defining a single context, in Deuteronomy (1:4; 4:46-47; 29:6 and 31:4) and Joshua (2:10; 9:10; 12:3,4-5; and 13 - passim). They appear again in the Deut. History in 1 Kings 4:19; but outside only in Ps. 135: 11; 136:20; Neh. 9:22 and Num. 21:33-34 and 32:33). The two kings are therefore something of a Deuteronomistic commonplace - and all the other passages have further links with Deuteronomic tradition, in the widest sense of that term. Sihon is mentioned three times alone - Num. 21:21ff.; Jud. 11:19-21; and Jer. 48:45, but Og never.

2. As has been long observed this verse must be considered along with 15:63; 16:10 and 17:11-13. Geshur and Maacah are found frequently on their own in the Old Testament; but are paired only in Deut. 3:14 and Jos. 12:5; 13:11,13. As with Sihon and Og, this pair would appear to witness to a Deuteronomistic stratum.

רק לשבט הלוי לא נתן נחלה

יהוה אלהי ישראל הוא נחלתם כאשר דבר להם:[1]

Only three further comments need be made at this point: (a) v. 14 must be considered prior to v. 33; (b) its similarity to the Deuteronomy texts suggests that the note belongs to one of the Deuteronomistic strata; and (c) the exclusion of Levi from the allotment assumes a numeration of the tribes that treats Ephraim and Manasseh separately.[2]

15-31 The last chapter noted the rare agreement of Holmes and Margolis that the LXX's 'extra' heading to this passage had a Hebrew original, even although they differ over its details.[3] Both in fact take the final step and argue that the heading is part of the original Hebrew. Further it was observed in the same discussion that a decision on this point has serious implications for an assessment of the chapter as a whole. The LXX certainly manifests an impressive regularity: the details of the Transjordanian allocation by Moses are formally introduced and concluded, and this description is followed without a break by the similarly presented section on Palestine west of the Jordan (14:1-19:51). Also the disputed heading is not just a simple borrowing from the conclusion in

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1. Only plural suffixes in the common original of v. 14 appear to offer an adequate explanation for both the LXX in v. 14 and for v. 33 (MT only).
2. This only reinforces what is already clear from the treatment of half-Manasseh.
3. Above, pp. 143-145, Holmes urging ואלה אשר נחל and Margolis וזאת הנחלה אשר נחל .

v. 32 - in the heading the object of נחל had been specified as (את-)בני ישראל .[1] Certainly, if both heading and conclusion were originally connected with vv. 15-31 as presently structured, they would provide a strong argument for taking the passage as a whole to be a later amplification of the information in vv. 8-12.

The MT's repetition of v. 14 in v. 33 points in the same direction. An alternative to seeing v. 33 as an example of recapitulation after an insertion might be to consider it as an idiosyncratic interpolation of an editor concerned with the situation of the Levites. However their situation is sufficiently treated, not only in 13:14; 18:7 and the whole of chapter 21, but also in the almost immediately following 14:3,4.[2] The former alternative appears preferable.

Perhaps then both the LXX's heading before v.15 and the MT's v. 33 were part of the common tradition. It is impossible to be happy with this conclusion. It assumes the fortuitous loss of a section's opening in one tradition and its ending in the other. In this case it is just harder to sympathise with the other available options.

As for the material within vv. 15-31 themselves, the relative regularity of the structure of the sections on Reuben (15-23) and Gad (24-28) only serves to underline the difference from both of

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1. LXX uses the dative τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ - cf. οἷς κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῖς with which it renders אשר נחלו אותם in 14:1b.
2. The settlement of the Transjordanian tribes and the exceptional situation of Levi.

the section on half-Manasseh (29-31). Its information is rather more general; and instead of their formal conclusion we find the rather pleonastic ending לבני מכיר בן-מנשה לחצי בני-מכיר למשפחתם .

The headings of the individual sections pose a problem analogous to that discussed in the previous chapter's section on tribal terminology. The first element of למטה גד לבני גד in v. 24 and the second element of the corresponding לחצי שבט מנשה ויהי לחצי מטה בני-מנשה in v. 29 are lacking in the LXX. In the light of that earlier discussion its shorter text is to be preferred. The situation in v. 15 is harder to assess. In place of the MT's למטה בני-ראובן LXX offers the shorter τῇ φυλῇ Ρουβην . The cogency of much of the discussion in this thesis about the LXX depends on the assumption that in the areas under discussion that version has translated its original in a regular (even if not accurate) manner. If it did so here, then its original read למטה ראובן . However, before this is deemed to be the original some consequences must be noted: (a) this would be the only undisputed occurrence of מטה in c.13; (b) the variation between this reference to Reuben and the mention of Gad as לבני-גד would mark an exception to the otherwise broad similarity between vv. 15-23 and 24-28; and (c) the use of מטה (v. 15) and שבט (v. 29) in the same context would be exceptional. Perhaps then we should reckon in v. 15 with a common original of לבני-ראובן . This was expanded in the MT in one of the two ways noted in c.19. On the other side, the

LXX either offered a loose rendering or was later adapted under the influence of the expanding Hebrew tradition or indeed of chapters 20 and 21.

14:1-5 The discussion of this chapter as it stands belongs to the next chapter.[1] However the main lines of that discussion may be anticipated in this review:

(1) The syntax of v. 1 is very hard to determine precisely. The hypothesis that 1b is a subsequent addition to 1a rather than its original continuation has several attractions; however it implies that the agency through which the people of Israel received their allotments, specified as Moses in 13:(15)32, is specified only in the secondary material of 14:1-5.

(2) vv. 3,4 repeat information given in 13:8-12,14, but in quite different language - they represent neither the same nor even a related stratum of the tradition.

(3) 14:5 has close parallels in both 11:15 and Num. 36:10. The former connection might suggest we are dealing here with a Deuteronomistic element whereas the latter might tell against it. The use of √ חלק with ארץ is parallelled in 13:7, although there pointed Pi'el in MT and here Qal - LXX renders both by the active aorist of μερίζω . Yet however reminiscent our verse may be of 11:15 or 13:7 one should be cautious about deeming it Deuteronomistic - like 14:1a it mentions only בני-ישראל and not Dtr's ubiquitous Joshua.

6-15 Here by contrast Joshua is the leader, and Gilgal

1. There is widespread agreement that this passage as it stands belongs to one of the latest strata in the book.

the place of action (v. 6a). The people of Judah appear to take some sort of initiative - but they are no sooner mentioned when the interest passes without explanation to Caleb. As to the formal framework of this passage, the first words ויגשו ... אל-יהושע are very reminiscent of 21:1;[1] while v. 15b is identical to the end of chapter 11 (v. 23b).[2] However the link with the end of chapter 11 is not merely a formal one: the suppression of the Anaqites is related there too. And this, taken together with the consideration that the context of 14:6-15 might be better labelled settlement than land-division, has given rise to the view that this material has become dislodged from its original position in the tradition.[3] Another possibility, which does not necessarily exclude this view, must be kept in mind - that in v. 15b we again meet a recapitulation after an insertion. The fact that the concluding formula appears Deuteronomistic and that the content of our passage has several Deuteronomistic affinities establishes at least a prima facie case for considering these verses to belong to one of the book's Deuteronomistic strata. The arguments will be more fully discussed below.

15:1-12 A full territorial delimitation of Judah is offered without further motivation. It may be that 14:6a was originally intended to provide such or that it represents the stump of a once longer transitional narrative. If so this intention is

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1. ויגשו ראשי אבות הלוים אל-אלעזר הכהן ואל-יהושע בן-נון ...

2. והארץ שקטה ממלחמה .

3. As in Noth's Josua[2], p. 85.

distorted by the insertion on Caleb. However that verse may equally well represent a deliberately framed introduction to the Caleb incident.[1] But what is clear is that 15:1 makes an immediate start at defining Judah's land, with very little concession to the formal structure standard in chapters 13 and 19. This appears to provide a material argument in support of the LXX's attestation of גבול rather than גורל at the beginning of this verse.[2] However if the testimony of that version is acceptable in the matter of tribal terminology too, then our passage did not have a balanced opening and conclusion.[3]

13-19 As in the previous chapter (6b-15) Caleb takes over the stage from Judah. However the context of Caleb's allotment is clearly stated to be בתוך בני-יהודה , and Joshua is again involved (v. 13a). This passage has some links in both content and language with 14:6-15, and has close parallels in Jud. 1:10-15,20; and so must also be more fully discussed below.

20 The commentaries fare better than the translations in their handling of this verse: in the discussion in the previous chapter on the terms for tribe it was noted that it is one of a series of concluding formulae - accordingly it must be considered with what precedes it[4] and not with what follows.[5] Although it

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1. Options of this kind must be left open until all the related passages have been discussed.
2. Cf. chap. IV, pp.125-129.
3. Cf. chap. IV, pp.129-136. The introduction would have begun with ויהי הגבול למטה בני ... , and the conclusion with זה גבול בני ...
4. Cf. Noth, Gray and Soggin, ad loc.
5. As for example in the RSV and NEB.

is framed in quite different terms from 12b, it may still be intended as a recapitulation of that verse after the addition of 13-19 on Caleb.

21-62 After the detailed boundary description in 1-12, here a full town-list. It is arranged in four broad areas: the south, the lowlands, the highlands and the desert; and in eleven local districts,[1] with the towns in each enumerated. There are several detailed differences between the MT and LXX, but these need not concern us here.[2]

63 This final verse sets the record straight on Judah's at least partial failure in respect of Jerusalem. According to the generally accepted interpretation of the common border of Judah and Benjamin, that passed just south of Jerusalem. Accordingly this note does not appear quite relevant to the preceding chapter even although Jerusalem is itself mentioned in the note explaining היבוסי in v. 8. And so 15:63, although

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1. Many scholars have followed the pioneering studies of Alt in considering these to represent the largest part of the twelve-fold administrative division of the kingdom of Judah. I understand that recent Israeli surveys of the area of Judah have produced evidence that the divisions in this list follow natural topographical features. Of course an administrative division might with most convenience follow natural features. On the other hand it may be pure coincidence that the total of natural divisions is so close to twelve. And one wonders if the large southern area could ever have been administratively convenient.

2. Different totals are occasionally offered: in the list concluded in v. 44, MT/LXX^{A} read 9 and LXX^{B} 10; in v. 51, MT/LXX^{B} have 11 and LXX^{A} 10; in v. 57, MT reads 10 and LXX (A and B) 9; and in v. 62, MT reads 6 and LXX 7. Furthermore it is not always easy to reconcile the names listed with the totals given. However a solution of such problems is not our present purpose.

rather reminiscent of 13:13, is less closely related to its immediate context than is that verse.[1]

16:1-3 The southern border of the people of Joseph is described in terms like those of the delimitation of all Judah in 15:1-12 - with just one possibly significant difference as far as the edition of these traditions is concerned: the familiar למשפחתם is lacking after לבני יוסף .

4 The transitional verse which explains why what has started as a description of Joseph's territory becomes one of the shares of both Manasseh and Ephraim.[2]

5-8 Verses 5b-8a offer a description of Ephraim's territory in the style already familiar from 15:1-12 and 16:1-3. Basically only two bits of information are given: (a) the southern boundary, i.e. that already described in 1-3 as Joseph's, is described more briefly and in reverse direction; and (b) the common border with Manasseh is detailed. Verse 5a offers in the common tradition what resembles but is not identical to what that common tradition offered as an introduction to 15:1 and 16:1: there ויהי הגבול לבני ... , but here ויהי גבול בני ... . And to conclude, v. 8b presents the formula familiar from 15:20 and throughout chapter 19.

1. However, as will be discussed more fully below, 15:63 is no isolated phenomenon to be considered on its own but one of a series of such corrective comments.

2. LXX has the names in reverse order: Ephraim and Manasseh. This order is also used in the MT 'plus' in 17:17. MT's order has been used as evidence that the sections on Ephraim and Manasseh once appeared in reverse order. However given the customary reliability of the LXX it appears just as likely that the MT has been adjusted either to give Manasseh his birthright (cf. 17:1) or to correspond better with 14:4.

9 The section on Ephraim continues with a brief and elusive note about separated towns within Manasseh's allotment והערים המבדלות לבני אפרים בתוך נחלת בני-מנשה כל-הערים וחצריהן.[1] The concluding הערים וחצריהן without כל is found frequently[2] - but on no other occasion where names have not been specified.

10 This 'microcosmic' parallel to the structure of 15:1-63 closes with a corrective note on Ephraim's relationship with Gezer very reminiscent of that on Judah and Jerusalem in 15:63. Even within the compass of brief notes, the LXX offers an important difference of emphasis from the MT in both cases - this too must await fuller discussion.

17:1-13 The analysis of the section on Manasseh poses many more problems than those already surveyed. A structure similar to that noted in 15:1-63 and 16:5-10 can be detected,

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1. There are two points of interest in the terminology of this verse: nowhere else is Manasseh's allotment described as נחלת בני-מנשה ; and the Niph'al of √ בדל is found only in later OT texts - Num. (x1); Ezr. (x5); Neh. (x2); and 1 Chr. (x2). This form המבדלות is clearly either a mistake for הנבדלות or else closely related to it.

2. In the note that finally concludes the section on a tribe: in 13:23,28; and in 19:16,23,31,39,48 - sometimes with האלה interposed (however the textual tradition is not constant over this). The seemingly related form ערים ... וחצריהן with a numeral specified is found in the common tradition in other contexts - at the conclusion of each district of a town list: throughout 15:21-62 and in 18:24,28 and 19:6,7. The MT offers an analogous total also at 19:15,22,30,38 - LXX^A gives partial support in 19:30,38 only, and even there it offers a total of the towns but makes no mention of their hamlets. This item of textual divergence requires fuller mention below.

but not very easily defined. There is a formal heading; there are elements of territorial description; individual towns are mentioned; and a note stressing the incompleteness of Manasseh's settlement concludes the section. However one wonders whether this structure can only be detected because it is already familiar. Has a once more similar pattern been distorted? Or has an originally quite different presentation of Manasseh's situation been accommodated to the style of the neighbouring sections?

The regular introduction is found in 17:1a, although the expected לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם does not appear until the middle of v. 2a. Manasseh is no sooner mentioned in the introduction than two comments are made: that he is Joseph's elder son; and that Machir, his eldest son,[1] has received Gilead and Bashan.[2] This prompts a new start in v. 2 וַיְהִי לִבְנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה הַנּוֹתָרִים לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם . These remaining sons are all then named, and the resuming comment prepares the way for the next surprise by noting that these were but Manasseh's remaining male children. The problem of Zelophehad's five daughters, familiar also from Num. 27 and 36, is then mentioned (vv. 3-4), and vv. 5-6 offer a rather pleonastic

1. 17:1 does not read easily at all, and it is not unlikely that the text has been modified to take account of a change in the relative status of Machir and Manasseh. It may be polemic between these groupings that explains the note כִּי-הוּא בְכוֹר יוֹסֵף after the mention of Manasseh i.e. not between either of them and Ephraim.

2. It comes as a surprise after the mention of the primogeniture of Machir within the introduction to what one expects will describe the territory adjacent to Ephraim's to be told in the end that he had been allotted territory east of the Jordan.

summary of Manasseh's situation as so far described.[1] These first six verses give every impression of having grown rather than been planned - there are several inconsistencies of terminology, of which two may be offered as a sample:

a) Manasseh's Transjordanian territory is referred to variously as הגלעד והבשן in v. 1; ארץ הגלעד והבשן in v. 5; and ארץ הגלעד in v. 6.

b) לבני מנשה הנותרים refers to the Cisjordanian clans in v. 2, but to the Transjordanian ones in v. 6.

What might have been expected immediately after the formal introduction in v. 1 appears only in vv. 7ff, where an account of Ephraim's and Manasseh's common border - already specified in 16:5-8 - is given in vv. 7-10a, followed by a note that the sea was the western border (v. 10a). Verse 10b offers no description of Manasseh's northern border but simply notes that Asher and Issachar occupied the adjacent territories. A feature of the delimitation of the Ephraim/Manasseh frontier in both 16:5-8 and 17:7-10 is the immediate mention of exceptions to what has just been described.[2] This is the case too with Manasseh's relationship to Asher and Issachar. No sooner has their adjacent

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1. It is noted firstly that Manasseh has turned out (וייפלו) to have ten districts (חבלי) in addition to Transjordanian Gilead and Bashan. And then this counting is further explained with the two reminders that Manasseh's daughters inherited along with his sons and that the land of Gilead belonged to his other sons.

2. In 16:9, after the formal conclusion of the border description. However in each of 17:8,9 and 10 there is a rather clumsy and self-conscious adjustment of information just provided.

situation been noted than it is made clear in v. 11 that Manasseh had towns within these other tribes. Which and how many it is hard to decide, for it is more than usually difficult to account for the differences in this tradition - not only as between MT and LXX in 17:11 but also between both of them and the clearly related Jud. 1:27.[1] The essence of the difficulty in our section is that while 17:11 purports to note that Manasseh possessed towns in what by another reckoning (v. 10) belonged to neighbouring tribes, the following vv. 12-13 conclude - in a style not unlike that of 15:63 and 16:10 - by observing that Manasseh was not able to control 'these towns'. The towns in question there would appear to be some or all of those mentioned in the preceding verse. Either then we are dealing with a correction of a correction, or v. 11 represents a telescoped version of (a) the further specification of the relationship between Manasseh and Issachar/Asher, and (b) the correction of the record concerning the Jezreel towns.[2]

14-18 These verses take us back to the situation of 16:1-3 - the people of Joseph treated as a unity. They appeal to Joshua against his giving them as their allotment but one גורל and one חבל, given their size and the fact they have been blessed.

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1. Cf. in much greater detail the author's paper in VT 25, pp. 279-283.
2. One of the difficulties of the passage is that while v. 11 lists both towns and inhabitants of towns the apparently resuming phrase in v. 12 is just את-הערים האלה .

Joshua agrees that one גורל[1] is insufficient and urges them to use their initiative. This passage too falls to be discussed at greater length in the next section of this chapter. However it is important at this stage to stress that it incorporates the first suggestion - unless 14:6aα with its report of Judah's approach to Joshua may be so construed - that individual initiative was appropriate in the matter of the land division in place of or in addition to divine appointment.

18:1-10 Some of the textual problems of this passage have already been discussed. It has also been noted that it is exceptional within chapters 14-19 in using שבט for 'tribe'.[2] This taken with the presence of a number of Deuteronomistic expressions throughout these verses establishes a prima facie case for considering at least part of the material Deuteronomistic - and this will be discussed at greater length below. However two observations may be made immediately about the relationship of this section to its immediate context: (1) it is in 17:14-18 that we meet the clearest anticipation of the narrator's charge in this section that there has been sluggishness or lack of initiative on the part of the remaining tribes; and (2) our

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1. In this verse נחלה, גורל and חבל are used almost indiscriminately. The OT usage of these three terms appears impossible to systematise. Cf., e.g. יעקב חבל נחלתו ... in Deut. 32:9 and ארץ כנען חבל נחלתכם in Ps. 105:11 (=1 Chron. 16:18); משליך חבל בגורל in Mic. 2:5; ויפילם בחבל נחלה in Ps. 78:55.

2. Cf. chap. IV, pp. 131, 148-150.

verses agree with chapters 15-17 as a whole (i.e. excluding 16:4 - 17:13) in reckoning with only two large tribes already settled - Judah and Joseph.

11 The two-part introduction to the section on Benjamin's territory shows some links too with the preceding introduction. Its formal heading (v. 11a) refers to the casting[1] of a גורל; while v. 11b continues with the observation that the so allotted גבול was between Judah and Joseph.[2]

12-20a Benjamin's territory is described much as Judah's in 15:1-12.

20b The conclusion זאת נחלת בני בנימן לגבולתיה סביב למשפחתם however is unique. It could be described as a fusion of 15:12b and 15:20:

זה גבול	בני-יהודה סביב למשפחתם
זאת נחלת מטה בני-יהודה	למשפחתם

with the addition of לגבולתיה, found in Joshua only in 19:49 and elsewhere only in the description of Canaan's borders in Num. 34:2,12.[3]

21-28a There follows a town-list in two independently

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1. That would appear to be the implication of both the MT's ויעל and LXX's testimony to ויצא (the regular verb throughout chapter 19). However neither is the verb used in 18:1-10 itself which uses √ ירה in v. 6 - a verb normally used in the hostile sense of 'casting' arrows or stones.
2. Judah is referred to as יהודה in 18:5 but בני-יהודה in 18:11; Joseph as בני-יוסף in both 18:11 and 18:5 (LXX) - MT has בית-יוסף as in 17:17.
3. It is not just in its opening and closing formulae that that passage has links with our material in Joshua - its southern border of Canaan is identical to Jos. 15's southern border of Judah, and described in very similar terms.

enumerated districts. This is the first list of its kind since 15:21-62, and is introduced by a similar but by no means identical formula to that in Judah's list.[1]

28b And again unlike the situation in chapter 15 there follows a further closing formula, briefer than that in v. 20b: זאת נחלת בני-בנימן למשפחתם . This, with its lack of the familiar מטה , is reminiscent of the formulae in 13:23,28 - however they are both capped with the additional הערים וחצריהם/ן .

19:1-48 The structure of these six sections may be most clearly observed if what is common to them all is first laid out schematically, and then the very few exceptions noted:

	Simeon	Zebulun	Issachar	Asher	Naphtali	Dan
a) successive lots drawn:	1a	10a	17	24	32	40
b) territory described:	2-8a	10b-15	18-22	25-30	33-38	41-46
c) standard conclusion:	8b	16	23	31	39	48(MT).

To the regularity of this structure there are but two exceptions: v. 1a makes explicit that Simeon's territory was in reality a subsection of Judah's, information which is repeated in v. 9 in terms reminiscent of 16:4 and 17:14-18; while v. 47, in the longer and preferable version of the LXX (which is to be found after v. 48), sets the record straight on Dan's initial failures in the south.

49a This brief first conclusion is worthy of two comments.

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1. 15:21 - ויהיו הערים מקצה למטה בני-יהודה
   18:21 - ויהיו הערים למטה בני-בנימן למשפחותיהם

As mentioned above it contains the only other occurrence of לגבולתיה in Joshua apart from 18:20b. Secondly the divergent testimony of MT and LXX over the first word - ויכלו or וילכו[1] - would appear to have important implications for the understanding of the following word לנחל. Does it refer to acquiring of legal title implicit in the division of the land now concluded (MT), or to the physical occupation of the land so acquired (LXX)?

49b-50 A grant to Joshua by the Israelites is now recorded, first in general terms (49b) and then in 50 with the observation that this was at Yahweh's behest and with the name given. It must come as no surprise that Joshua, the central figure of the whole narrative, is assigned a town like Caleb - and 49b in particular could readily be Deuteronomistic.[2] Furthermore תמנת-חרס [3] is mentioned as Joshua's burial-place in DtrG's

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1. Cf. chap. IV, p. 150. It may be that the common tradition read וילכו in v. 49 and ויכלו in v. 51.

2. In the course of territorial descriptions בתוך is never found in Deuteronomy. In such contexts the preposition with 3rd pl. suffix is to be found in Num. 18:20; 35:15 and Jos. 14:3; 19:49; 20:9 and the preposition without suffix in Num. 18:20; 26:62; 27:3,4,7 and Jos. 15:13; 16:9; 17:4,6,9; 19:1,9; and 21:41. This feature should perhaps make one hesitate before firmly pronouncing 19:49b Deuteronomistic.

3. This form of the name is attested by all versions of the Judges form (2:9) of the Deuteronomistic transitional note from the period of Joshua to that of the Judges and is almost certainly original. The modification of the name in the Joshua texts, if not a mistake, may have been to accommodate religious scruple. It does not appear necessary to assume that all the Joshua occurrences are subsequent to the separation of Joshua from Judges - they may just have been modified by a later editor. However the localisation of (the apparently unknown) תמנת-חרס in Jud. 2:9 as מצפון להר געש - repeated in Jos. 24:30 - does suggest that the other appearances of the name belong to later strata.

transitional note best attested in Jud. 2:6-9. However v. 50's <u>על-פי יהוה</u> is found in Joshua only in 22:9, in Deuteronomy only in 34:5, and is a regular feature of the book of Numbers (17 times).

<u>51</u> As with 14:1-5 there is no question but that this verse is post-Deuteronomistic. Its use of the plural <u>הנחלת</u> is quite distinctive in the book, and indeed is parallelled only in Is. 49:8. Its detailing of the full 'boundaries commission' links it with 14:1b and the introduction to chapter 21.

The above survey has served to remind us both of the nature of the material in Jos. 13-19 and of the complexity of its structure. Few if any of its sections evidence clear characteristics of belonging to Deuteronomistic strata. It is especially true where evidence is complex that it is readily possible for the researcher to find what he is looking for. Accordingly the next aim of this quest must be to establish as soundly as possible a relative stratification of the traditions in this second half of the book of Joshua. To this end two further tasks will be undertaken in this present chapter, once some general observations have been made on the material surveyed above. Firstly some of the more likely candidates for Deuteronomistic passages will be discussed in greater detail than was reasonable in the preceding survey. And then the question of a Deuteronomistic account of the land-division will be posed anew.

Material observations:

I All the territorial descriptions in the book have a basic similarity which transcends the multiplicity of editorial frameworks in which they are now to be found. The actual description begins in almost every case with ויהי גבולם or ויהי להם הגבול[1] - cf. 13:16,25,30; 15:2; 16:1,5; 17:7; 18:12; 19:11,18,25,33,41. In some cases a general orientation is prefixed - 15:1; 18:11b; 19:10b.[2] The one striking exception is the account of Simeon's allotment in 19:1-9 which does not use the term גבול at all. This at least demonstrates that the regular form of territorial description is not coextensive with the present editorial framework

1. This difference corresponds to that already noted between the form ויהי גבול בני ... as in 16:5 and ויהי הגבול לבני ... as in 16:1 - see above p. 181.

2. Simons, in his monumental The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament (1959), when discussing 19:32-39 on Naphtali (pp. 194-9), considers the addition of v. 33a to this list: 'there is evidence even in 33 that the original text was a list which has been adjusted to the style of the genuine boundary descriptions'. Simons claims that if the original intention of this verse had been to describe a boundary running from Heleph to Lakkum it would have been specified as north, south, east or west. The intermediate names almost rule out the possibility that it is a genuine עד ... מן clause. After the usual formula the delineation begins by stating a terminus a quo. And this is followed by a first group of cities - no matter whether עד is authentic or interpolated under the influence of the מן. It might be remarked, given our interest in the LXX, that although A and B differ over the first name (Μεελεφ and Μοολαμ) they agree in considering the initial -מ of מחלף to be part of the name. Simons' general point of course may still be valid provided the עד/ἕως is deemed original. As he himself notes, general orientation may be expressed by a terminus ad quem (as in 13:30) as well as by a terminus a quo (as in 13:16).

of the book and suggests that it belongs rather to the source material. It may well be observed that it is hardly surprising that no גבול for Simeon is given when after all Simeon's allotment was only part of Judah's (19:1b,9).[1] Yet on the other hand the editors of chapters 16 and 17 did attempt a delimitation (however much qualified) between Ephraim and Manasseh;[2] and enumeration of towns implies delimitation even although it does not state it. Be that as it may, the editor of c. 19 had no גבול to offer for Simeon.[3] And yet before we conclude that the גבול descriptions belong to the source material it may be well to consider the final section of the same chapter, that on Dan (vv. 40-48). Here the term is used at the beginning - ויהי גבולם according to the testimony of the LXX and the fuller ויהי גבול נחלתם in the MT[4] - and in a note about Jaffa at the end of v. 46

1. Cf. above p. 188.
2. Cf. above pp. 181-186.
3. It appears that what he did offer was a different (and earlier?) form of the first section of Judah's towns - the south (15:21-32). It is the view of Aharoni amongst others that the list of Simeon's towns represents the 'Negeb of Judah' - cf. his paper of that title in IEJ 8 (1958) - in the period of David. The Judah list belongs, in his opinion (cf. Land of the Bible, pp. 297ff.), to the time of Jehoshaphat.
4. This longer heading is found elsewhere only in 19:10b (in both MT and LXX) - is this under the influence of the preceding section on Simeon, where נחלה has appeared six times (three of these with the 3rd pl. suffix - נחלתם)?

whose text is most uncertain.[1] What is important about the actual material in vv. 41-45 (i.e. ignoring for the purposes of this argument the uncertain conclusion) is that it is just as surely a town list[2] as is the material in vv. 2-8, or indeed the town lists of Judah and Benjamin. What conclusion is to be drawn? Perhaps the safest is that the source material itself exhibits a complex stratification. Certainly there has been much discussion amongst scholars whether the borders offered for Judah and Ephraim in chapters 15 and 16 divide the relevant portion of the Shephelah between them or whether they leave a gap corresponding to the Danite towns listed in c. 19.[3]

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1. MT reads: ומי היקון והרקון עם הגבול מל יפו. LXX's καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ιεραχων ὅριον πλήσιον Ἰόππης would appear to imply the briefer ומים ירקון (ה)גבול מול יפו . It is possible to see the MT as an expanded corruption of this - but the exact point of the LXX still remains hard to determine.

2. It is of course this observation that has prompted scholars since Alt and Noth to link this with the Benjamin districts to the district system of Judah in 15:21-62.

3. The OT's accounts of the early situation of the tribe of Dan are amongst its more unusual - with its northwards migration after its inability to hold territory in the central coastal plain. Quite what lies behind its records of this central lost territory has posed historical geography one of its classic problems, the answers ranging from Solomon's 2nd district (Mazar in IEJ 10) to a bridgehead by the coast secured by Josiah with Assyrian connivance (Strange in StTh 20). Cf. chap. III above, p. 85. The associated detailed arguments represent a fine example of the problem discussed and evidence used by those who seek to plot the tribal geography of ancient Israel on the basis of 'sources' gleaned from Jos. 13-21 tempered with the findings of archaeology. The ownership, stratification of the remains, and extent of the lands bearing the name of, Gezer, Ekron and Bethshemesh are debated backwards and forwards, with several of the arguments advanced by any side failing to engage with those of the opposition.

It is not within the scope of this chapter to scrutinise the structure of this territorial source material. But it may be appropriate to make some observations which should be of relevance to such a scrutiny.[1] It is only in the cases of Judah and Benjamin that both territorial delimitations and lists of towns are offered and clearly distinguished. It is also true that in connection with both of these tribes the lists of towns are enumerated in groups. This is true, at least in the common tradition, of only one further element in the book - the town list of Simeon which, as has just been remarked, is the most distinctive feature of Jos. 19.

It is also noteworthy that some form of the formula הערים וחצריהן occurs in connection with every other tribe, except Joseph and the two parts of Manasseh.[2] In each case it appears after the formula זאת נחלת ... למשפחתם , and is itself only followed by the corrective notes in 16:10 and 19:47 (LXX). In this respect the two or three word formula in question functions like the whole town list of Judah in 15:21-62, which separates the formal

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1. One of the unhappy features of scholarship on the second half of the book of Joshua in the period under review is that remarkably few students of the problems have evidenced interest in both historical geography and the growth of the Joshua traditions. Noth is himself of course the meritorious exception. For contemporary purposes some of his work is less helpful because subsequent results have bypassed his. However his textual work on the book of Joshua - and he was responsible for the edition of the book in BH^3 - was always deficient in its lack of interest in the LXX.

2. Cf. above p. 182, n. 2.

conclusion (15:20)[1] from the note on Jerusalem (15:63). The exegesis implicit in the RSV's rendering in 13:23,28 (but not elsewhere) '<u>with</u> their cities and villages' may therefore be accurate, although neither copula nor preposition makes explicit the editor's intention.

Assessment of the same feature within c.19 is complicated by textual uncertainty in two areas:

a) As already noted, there is some variation over the addition of <u>האלה</u> between <u>הערים</u> and <u>וחצריהן</u>.[2] The shorter form is found in vv. 23,39. MT adds <u>האלה</u> in vv. 16,31,48 - it appears that the demonstrative was represented in LXX^A but not LXX^B.[3] Since names are specified only before and not after this formula it must be the case that in those verses and versions in which the demonstrative is used the formula is intended to have a backward reference. This is of course always possible even without the demonstrative; but it does involve the assumption that the preceding material is (practically at least) a town list.

b) This assumption is made perfectly explicit in the penultimate verse of four of the sections in question - vv. 15,22,30,38 - where a total is offered using the formula familiar from the town lists of chapters 15 and 18 (and 19:6,7). These formulae are

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1. This could be adduced as a further argument - if indeed required as such - for considering 15:20 a closing and not an opening formula. Cf. above p.179.

2. Cf. above p.182 , n.2.

3. LXX^A offers <u>αἱ πόλεις αὗται</u> in v. 16; <u>πόλεις αὐτῶν</u> in v. 31; and <u>αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν</u> in v. 48. <u>αὐτῶν</u> in the latter two verses may be an inner Greek corruption of <u>αὗται</u> encouraged by the standard <u>αὐτῶν</u> following <u>καὶ αἱ κῶμαι</u> .

completely absent from LXX^B and appear in LXX^A only in vv. 30, 38 and in the shortened form πόλεις εἴκοσι δύο / δέκα ἐννέα - i.e. without the concluding וחצריהן .[1]
On neither point is there any evidence that we should accord less than our normal respect to LXX^B, while on the other hand the MT's use four times within an otherwise fairly regular chapter of six sections of both the formula with numeral and that without invites surprise and comment. It is possible that either the retrospective interpretation of הערים וחצריהן or the addition of the totals inspired the other.[2] However the explanation may be ventured that the totals were added first - and perhaps under the impulse of the totals which belonged in vv. 6,7. It may also be hazarded that a total was added also to the section on Dan - so inviting the addition of the demonstrative in v. 48 - but that it was lost when the rump of the correcting note[3] was intruded before the concluding formula in the Massoretic tradition.

It was noted in the previous chapter that there is variation between MT and LXX in a significant number of the passages in the

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1. On both these points then LXX^A offers a text that mediates between MT and LXX^B without itself commanding any respect for intrinsic worth. It is likely that it represents a selective 'improvement' of the Greek tradition by comparison with such Hebrew 'original' ('Hebraica veritas') as was available to the editor in question.

2. The retrospective interpretation invites the summation of the town names available in the preceding verses - few scholars have been able to agree that the totals provided suit the material as we have received it: and the consequence has been that the totals have been made a criterion for textual emendation! On the other side, the addition of the totals demands a retrospective interpretation.

3. See below pp. 229-231 ; and VT 25, pp. 276-278.

book whose assessment is crucial for a proper understanding of the book's structure and edition. The above then is another case in point, although the implications in this case may be more for our perception of the editor's attitude to his material. According to the testimony of LXX^B in Jos. 19 the editor believed at least from v. 10 that he was describing territories: he used different methods, but in each case he was defining a גבול; by his use of the cursory formula הערים וחצריהן he made his admission that he was not offering a town list.[1] In the end of the day it may be properly concluded that in some cases at least the ultimate source was a list of towns and that the tradition reflected in the MT has rediscovered this emphasis. However that is another discussion - and one which should take as its point of departure the earliest form of the text available to us.

For our present purposes it may be sufficient to observe that descriptions of a גבול, while exhibiting superficial similarities of structure, were carried out in several different manners. Given the inevitably small range of possibilities, there is no need to posit either common source or common authorship. The form, insofar as there is one, could have been easily copied and

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1. That he was aware of the difference between a border description and a town list is manifest from his presentation of the one in 18:12-20 and examples of the other in 18:21-28 and 19:2-7. In connection with none of these did he employ הערים וחצריהן The sources which provided the town lists for the south may not have been able to provide lists for the north. Alternatively such lists as were able may have been adapted as territorial descriptions. What is important is that the editor had no lists to quote after what he had offered as territorial delimitations.

imposed on originally heterogeneous material.[1] It is only major exceptions, like the section on Simeon and perhaps that on Dan, which invite assured comment.

II A second general comment is that Judah occupies a unique situation within the second half of the book of Joshua. Of the Cisjordanian tribes it is dealt with first; and when referred to subsequently it is always mentioned in first position (18:5,11). The description of its territory and holdings is quite the most detailed of all.[2]

As such it represents a quite erratic boulder within the context of the first half of the Deuteronomistic History which is little concerned with events in the south of Palestine or concerning the tribe of Judah. How far did this prominence correspond to the intentions of the Deuteronomists? A negative response might use as a supporting argument the edition of the

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1. Some interesting observations on the transition from source-lists to narrative description are offered by Bächli in ZDPV 89, pp. 1ff. He suggests that the several verbs of motion and change of location used in the territorial descriptions and the kind of features cited for orientation are best explained by the hypothesis that the descriptions are those that would have been produced by a commission traversing the land on foot. Record of such a commission is preserved in Jos. 18:1-10; and so deductions are permissible about the literary relationship between that narrative and the detailed lists. Bächli adds that the existence of such commissions is vouched for by the census story in 2Sam.24.

2. It may be felt that this is an exaggerated claim in view of the detail provided on Benjamin (18:11-28), which occupied a smaller area and could be described more briefly. However an additional 'refinement' in Judah's town list is the grouping of the districts geographically - it has often been observed that the first Benjaminite grouping is difficult both geographically and administratively.

book of Judges, where the first half of the first chapter (1: 1-17) appears designed to compensate for the scanty mention of Judah elsewhere in the book. Not only is the concentration of these verses on Judah and matters of the south remarkable in itself, but their tone is polemical - so much so that later editors have had to tone down some of the assertions (cf. in particular vv. 19-21).[1]

The main body of the traditions in the first half of the book of Joshua belongs to the same situation as the central traditions of Judges. The south is discussed only in chapter 10; and much of the material in that chapter is general and schematic. But what is quite absent from the references to Judah in the second half of the book is any ostensible polemic. Of course one difference between the Deuteronomistic account of the occupation of Canaan and the Deuteronomistic account of the period of the Judges is that the former <u>does</u> devote a section to the affairs of the south - in however schematic a way.[2]

One of the teasing features of the Deuteronomistic History is that so many of its principal 'characters' - David, Jerusalem and the Temple - make such a late entry, and an entry which is prepared for remarkably obliquely.[3] It is attractive to surmise that the problem for the historians in dealing with the early

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1. Cf. <u>VT</u> 25, pp. 272-276, where this argument is presented in much greater detail.

2. The positioning of Othniel son of Kenaz at the head of the judges (Jud. 3:7-11) may be in deference to Southern susceptibilities, but is not commensurate with the whole of Jos. 10.

3. Monarchy is foreshadowed rather than the Davidic line; and a sanctuary chosen by Yahweh, rather than the Jerusalem Temple.

period was the availability of information illustrative of their concerns. It appears that what information was preserved in Jerusalem and Judah - the actual focus of the historians' intentions - about the consolidation and organisation of the south in the premonarchic period harmonised ill with the account of Israel's origins they were offering. However what was plentifully available in Jerusalem was information about Judah's topographical situation - that, it could be fairly assumed, had remained more or less constant. By the time of the composition of the second half of Joshua, such information was less readily available for the rest of the country.

In short, the prominence of Judah in the second half of the book of Joshua remains remarkable, especially against the background of the earlier part of the Deuteronomistic History. However within the context of the history as a whole it should not surprise the reader to find evidence of interest in and information about Judah and the south. Accordingly the prominence of Judah should be used as an argument neither for nor against the attribution of the material to Deuteronomistic circles.

III The other tribal grouping in these chapters that provides a point of reference is Joseph. A beginning is made, seemingly quite unselfconsciously, to a description of the territory of Joseph immediately after the long section on Judah. The material on Ephraim and Manasseh is bracketted by material on Joseph.[1] The

1. Cf. above, p. 185.

completion of the settlement of Joseph along with Judah provides the rationale for the new start in 18:1-10 and implies the limits of Benjamin's territory (18:11). The only mention of Manasseh (Cisjordanian) and Ephraim outside chapter 16 and 17 is in 14:4a: כפ-היו בני-יוסף שני מטות מנשה ואפרים . This comment, although not itself Deuteronomistic,[1] makes explicit the tension between this concentration on Joseph on the one hand and the arithmetic involved in the Deuteronomistic conception of the two and a half Transjordanian and nine and a half Cisjordanian tribes. Accordingly, if at least some of the material under review formed part of some stratum of the Deuteronomistic History, then the references to Joseph may well represent a source.

IV A related observation is that the treatment of Manasseh, on both sides of the Jordan, is always eccentric. From a formal point of view the material in Jos.13.29-31; 17:1-11 represents a major exception to the pattern discernible elsewhere, and so like the section on Simeon invites critical comment. 13:31 and 17:10-11 are unique in not offering one of the regular types of formal conclusion. No other introduction is so often interrupted as 17:1-7. In connection with no other tribe is information once given so often corrected or redefined as that in 17:7-11. In no other tribe is the definition of sub-clans so important.[2]

Indeed it may be that this last observation offers a key to

1. Cf. above p. 177.
2. Cf. above pp. 183-185.

the understanding of some of the other oddities. It has already been noted that the comment כי-הוא בכור יוסף in 17:1a may be designed to assert Manasseh's claims over against Machir rather than Ephraim. Similar polemic may be detected in 13:31b which is doubly unsatisfactory as a conclusion: it does not match the introduction in v.29, and its two parts contradict each other. The introduction is to a description of half of the tribe of Manasseh; the conclusion is in terms firstly of 'the people of Machir, son of Manasseh' and then of 'half of the people of Machir'. The viewpoint of 17:1-2 is clear: Machir held Manasseh's territory in the east, and the rest of his family the west. It may be surmised that this point of view has been intruded into 13:31b. Its original conclusion may have ended with the words חצי(ו) ... בני מכיר למשפחותם in customary fashion. Machir had been regarded as either identical with Manasseh or as the holder of all the territories later ascribed to Manasseh (i.e. identical in function to Manasseh). This older form of words is left standing in the text, but is neutralised by an additional phrase which 'corrects' the record on two points: Machir is wholly located in Transjordan, and Machir is but son of Manasseh - לבני מכיר בן-מנשה.[1] The intrusion of this phrase serves to explain the

1. The LXX makes this point at the end of the second phrase too - each phrase it concludes with Μαχιρ υἱοῦ Μανασσῆ . From one point of view this is a less difficult reading - and from another point of view a more difficult one: if the LXX's text is correct, then the additional phrase is both much less necessary and stylistically awkward. On the other hand, if the MT is more original (as the shorter text generally is) the LXX has been produced by simple harmonisation.

absence of the customary opening וזאת נחלת which had been sacrificed. However it has to be admitted that the absence of the concluding הערים וחצריהן remains eccentric. If the main thrust of the above argument is true, then it has one interesting consequence - if the original conclusion of vv. 29-31 ended with the words now at the end of v. 31, and if its once normal beginning was lost only when it was 'corrected', then that conclusion belonged to a different and earlier stratum than the introduction in 29a which talks of חצי שבט מנשה . It may be instructive to test this hypothesis elsewhere in the book to see how far it holds for the sections on other tribes.[1]

The other unique features of 17:1-11 were discussed earlier in this chapter. Suffice it here to observe that the regular concluding formula could have disappeared in the loss of material associated with the telescoping of two once separate elements of the tradition.

V Comment has already been made on the exceptional situation of Simeon, and to a lesser extent Dan, within chapter 19. However from another point of view the most exceptional section within chapters 18-19 on the tribes that remain is that on Benjamin. Only it offers both border description and town lists - and the presence of very similar conclusions in vv. 20b,28b renders more difficult the decision as to whether these town lists mark a

1. The implication would be that information formally organised with proper editorial conclusions had been available to the editors who produced the headings - about the grant of the territories by Moses in the case of c.13.

secondary addition to the section as a whole. Those concluding formulae are distinctive in not using the term מטה - in which detail they resemble 13:23,28. As in the matter of the prominence of Judah, the explanation for the fuller information on Benjamin may simply be availability.

ii) Deuteronomistic pericopes?

13:8-12 Some of the problems associated with these verses have already been discussed. A case has been made for 13:1,7 belonging to the basic stratum of the Deuteronomistic history.[1] What is now at issue is whether vv. 8-12 are the original continuation of v. 7 and so belong to this same stratum. Smend's earlier hesitation over assigning the end of v. 7 to DtrG has been noted,[2] and it is realised that our problem is more than just to establish a link between the end of v. 7 and v. 8. Furthermore the discussion of the quite separate witness of MT and LXX made plain that the relationship between vv. 8 and 9 was as uncertain as that between vv. 7 and 8.[3]

There is no question but that these verses belong to some broadly Deuteronomistic stratum. All of the geographical phraseology is either identical to or a simple adaptation of

1. Cf. above pp. 154-158.
2. Cf. above p. 172, n. 6.
3. Cf. chap. IV, p. 142.

phraseology in the corresponding parts of Deut. 1-3.[1] The same is true of the language about Sihon, Og and their kingdoms - these, it has already been remarked,[2] were something of a Deuteronomistic commonplace. Some terms, geographical and political, could be said to be prescribed by the context - however this could hardly be the case with נשאר מיתר הרפאים said of Og in 13:12, and clearly taken from Deut. 3:11. In fact there are just two phrases which merit rather closer attention:
i) The concluding ויכם משה וירשם does not at first sight occasion surprise in a Deuteronomistic context - both Hiph'il forms appear frequently in Deuteronomy itself and in the Deuteronomistic literature. And yet after closer inspection the following comments are relevant: a) The only occurrences of √ הכה in Deut. 1-4[3] are in connection with Israel's dealings with Sihon and Og. b) √ הורישׁ is found in Joshua in a significantly high proportion of troublesome passages to which our attention has been or will be directed. c) Only here in the OT is Moses the subject of √ הורישׁ - in similar contexts the subject of this verb is regularly Yahweh or the people of Israel. d) The verbs are linked in only one further OT passage - Num. 14:12, where Yahweh threatens to afflict Israel with pestilence and disinherit them in favour of Moses.
The first point tends in the same direction as the linguistic data

1. In particular 1:5; 2:26-3:17. These three chapters have been assigned to DtrG since Noth, but do appear to contain a certain amount of disparate material. 3:12-13 and 3:14-17 offer rather differently worded summaries of the same information as is reviewed again twice in Jos. 13.
2. Cf. above, p. 173, n. 1.
3. In 1:4; 2:33; 3:3 and 4:46.

already presented. As to the use of √ הורישׁ in passages coming under our scrutiny - it is used by Smend's DtrN in 13:6; 23:5,9,13; it appears in each of the corrective notes 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:12,13 which will be discussed below. Suffice it to note that DtrN was found distinctive not so much for using different terminology but for using the same language in a different sense - and, at the least, וירשם must belong to one stratum earlier than v. 13's ולא הורישו which takes issue with it. The significance of the third and fourth comments is much harder to control and assess; and so for the moment they should just be noted.[1]

ii) Discussion of the second phrase overlaps that of the textual problem.[2] The MT's לקחו נחלתם in v. 8 appears in only two other passages in the OT - Num. 34:14,15 and Jos. 18:7. In all four verses the topic is the allotment to the two and a half Transjordanian tribes, and it is impossible to believe that any of these passages has not influenced or else been influenced by one of the others. In fact on closer scrutiny each passage is found to share with one of the others an element which they do not share with the third - indeed the only phrase common to all three is לקחו נחלתם !

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1. It may be hazarded that the dire threat in Num. 14:12 represents an reapplication against Israel herself of sentiments she was wont to direct against others. To that extent Num. 14:12 is dependent on the tradition which our verse reflects - even if not on our verse itself.

2. Cf. chap. IV, pp.140-143.

a Num. 34:14 refers to Reuben and Gad by means of the unique phrase מטה בני הראובני ... ומטה בני הגדי ... . This cannot but be derived from the Deuteronomistic expression לראובני ולגדי of Deut. 3:12-17; 4:43; 29:7 and Jos. 1:12; 12:6; 22:1 and הראובני והגדי of our verse 13:8.[1] By contrast 18:7 simply refers to the tribes, in reverse order, as גד וראובן .[2]

b Both Num. 34:15 and Jos. 18:7 follow our phrase with the words מעבר לירדן מזרחה . This expression occurs also in Num. 22:1; 32:19,32; 35:14 and Jos. 13:32; 14:3; 17:5; 20:8 - and there is a prima facie case for supposing that all of these verses are from later strata in both books. It is unlikely therefore that they can be held to have influenced 13:8 in this matter - it uses the regular Deuteronomistic expression בעבר הירדן מזרחה .[3]

c Both 13:8 and 18:7 follow this geographical expression with the relative clause (כ)אשר נתן להם משה עבד יהוה .[4] This has no counterpart in Num. 34. Assessment of this feature in the Joshua passages is complicated by the fact that 13:8 has already offered the similar but briefer אשר נתן להם משה between לקחו נחלתם and בעבר הירדן מזרחה . The repetition of this clause makes the verse read very badly, and can hardly represent the work

1. This form of the pair of names with final '- but no preposition -ל is unique - it is not clear what significance should be attached to this. See below p. 210.

2. The reverse order is unique; and the 'simple' form of these tribal names is not found elsewhere in Joshua, although Jos. 21:7,36,38 uses גד / מטה ראובן .

3. Cf. in Joshua alone 1:14,15; 2:10; 5:1; 7:7; 9:1,10; 12:1,7; 13:8; 22:4; 24:8.

4. עבד יהוה is found as an epithet of Moses at several points in the MT of Joshua: 1:1,13,15; 8:31,33; 11:12; 12:6; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:3,4,5; 24:29. Not all of these are represented in the LXX, and some belong to later Deuteronomistic strata. However there is no need to deny our verse to DtrG on the strength of this epithet alone.

of the original author. The LXX tradition of course reads the later of these two clauses, without the relative marker כאשר as the principal clause of v. 9. However, if the MT is at all close to the original text of v. 8, we must reckon with the possibility that 18:7 was first influenced by an earlier form of 13:8 which concluded with מזרחה , and then itself inspired the addition of the second relative clause. That would certainly explain the unattractive pleonasm of our verse.

The problem of the relationship between our verse and the verses in Num. 34 and Jos. 18 does not arise if we follow the LXX tradition which lacks the common element לקחו נחלתם . However one has a suspicion that even if this course is vindicated by 'local' criteria in the surrounding Joshua text one result will be to make the interpretation of Num. 34:13-15 rather more difficult.[1] Holmes and Margolis differ on whether לקחו נחלתם was part of the text available to the LXX translator. Holmes operated in the main on the principle that the MT and LXX traditions diverged through the supplementation of one or the other tradition. Margolis' almost invariable rule on the other hand was that texts became distorted by omission. Generalisations of this order are not appropriate to the discussion in which we are engaged.[2] It has already been argued that textual criticism can contribute to an understanding of editorial processes. This problem illustrates the opposite point: that a final decision

1. It was already noted in the textual discussion of 14:1-5 (chap. IV, pp. 145-148) that this Numbers passage is related to more than one Joshua passage.

2. And of course neither scholar was as crude as to discuss our verse explicitly on these principles!

cannot be taken on some textual difficulties without a consideration of wider literary issues.

There is nothing about the phrase לקחו נחלתם itself which need occasion surprise in a Deuteronomistic context. Furthermore the above discussion has shown that even if something like the MT tradition is to be preferred it is much more likely that it has influenced the two related passages than vice versa, except in the matter of the final relative clause of v. 8 - however if that was indebted to 18:7 then it was not part of the original 13:8. If the passage is Deuteronomistic, the only outstanding question is whether it belongs to the same stratum as vv. 1,7.

Smend's scruple about attributing the end of v. 7 to DtrG may have been motivated by two considerations: the original end of the verse was something of an unknown in any case because of the textual uncertainty; and he had no need to commit himself on the question - what he was concerned with was the relationship of 1bβ, 2-6 to its surrounding material. What may prove decisive in our discussion of the unity of 13:1,7-12 is an assessment of the 'flow' of the material. It has already been noted that one of the attractions of the LXX's different verse division between v. 8 and v. 9 is that the geographical description מערוער .. is not left 'hanging' syntactically. In fact this phrase - and it appears in a number of slightly varied forms - is never left hanging elsewhere.[1] Of course a similar solution to the syntactic problem of v. 9 is achieved by the elimination of the final relative clause of v. 8 - vv. 9ff then become a natural

1. Cf. Deut. 2:36; 3:12; 4:48; Jos. 12:2; 13:16 and 2 Kings 10:33.

specification of v. 8's נחלתם ... בעבר הירדן מזרחה .

All in all it is not improbable that 13:1,7-12 belonged to the primary Deuteronomistic stratum. The question must remain open as to what the original v. 8 actually said. Holmes and Margolis are in unusual agreement with each other - and with the MT - that the unique הראובני והגדי were in the text translated by the LXX. That may be. But it is striking that the LXX's τῷ Ῥουβὴν καὶ τῷ Γαδ appear to testify to the more regular לראובני ולגדי .[1]

14:6-15 The survey earlier in this chapter of the material in Jos. 13-19 noted that there is a prima facie case for associating this passage with one of the book's Deuteronomistic strata.[2] It is undeniable that most of its language is to be found elsewhere in the Deuteronomistic corpus, and that its concluding phrase is shared with 11:23. However some further matters require clarification.

a) The story of Caleb's faithfulness as one of the first Israelite prospectors of the land of Canaan is familiar also from Num. 13-14 and Deut. 1. Accordingly it is hardly surprising that there are elements common to all accounts. Indeed it appears that the key phrase describing Caleb's meritorious conduct may even belong to the old story itself rather than to any of the forms in which we know it - מלא אחרי is used in connection with Caleb in Num. 14:24; 32:11,12; Deut. 1:36 and Jos. 14:8,9,14 and elsewhere

1. Until there is greater certainty about the original shape of v. 8 no account is possible of how our familiar versions declined from it.

2. Cf. above. pp. 177-178.

only in 1 Kings 11:6 where it is said that Solomon did not behave in such a way, so declining from the standards of his father David.[1] There are remarkably few other links between our passage and the book of Numbers and none of them make the reader surprised to find the passage - or any part of it - in a Deuteronomistic context.[2]

b) A few elements of these verses are quite unique. This is true of v. 7's כאשר עם לבבי as too the LXX's more difficult לבבו.. . It is also true of Moses taking an oath (v. 9). And the use of אלהי in apposition to Yahweh (vv. 8,9) can be parallelled before 2 Sam. 24 only in Num. 22:18 on the lips of Balaam and in Deut. 4:5 in the mouth of Moses.[3]

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1. One wonders whether the use of this expression only of Caleb and Solomon (i) is coincidental; (ii) represents Deuteronomistic influence on the Caleb traditions; or (iii) reflects southern theological usage. If the phrase were Deuteronomistic we should expect to find it more frequently. On the other hand, the Caleb story appears polemical at various stages in its development - and one of its earlier purposes may have been to stress the presence of vigorous Yahwism in the south in an early period.

2. Two instructive verses in this regard are vv. 7,12; (a) השיב דבר of v. 7 is used in Num. 13:26 (and 22:8) - but also in Deut. 1:22,25 and Jos. 22:32. However, רגל in the same verse, and Joshua's regular term for spying (2:1; 6:22,23, 25; 7:2), while used in Deut. 1:24 and found in the book of Numbers (21:32) is not used in the Caleb stories of Numbers which prefer תור . (b) Similarly v. 12's ערים גדולות ובצורות is common to Num. 13:28 and Deut. 1:28 (and 9:1). However the mention of the Anaqites is distinctively Deuteronomistic - the gentilic form is found only in Deut. 1:28; 2:10,11,21; 9:2; and Jos. 11:21,22; 14:12,15.

3. Each of these parallels supports a different observation that has already been made about our passage - that in Deut. 4, that our passage is late; and the one in Num. 22 that it is polemical.

c) Another feature of our passage that occasions comment is that some of its usages are linked with just one or two other passages in Joshua or Deuteronomy - and that these appear to be late additions to their present contexts. In v. 6 Moses is styled איש האלהים a phrase used of him only in Deut. 33:1, the introduction to the Blessing of Moses. לנחלה is used with √ נתן in v. 13 and in 11:23; and with √ היה in vv. 9,14 and in 24:32. The only other occurrence in Joshua of v. 14's על-כן is in 7:26's conclusion to the Achan episode, which also finishes with עד היום הזה .

It was also noted in the earlier survey that the links between this passage and the end of chapter 11 are more than just linguistic. There too the suppression of the Anaqites is related, Hebron being specifically mentioned as one of their centres. However the agent of their suppression there is Joshua, and Israel the beneficiary - with all pockets of resistance rooted out they had the whole land for division. Here Caleb is both agent and beneficiary - he receives the spot he conquered.[1]

The use in our passage of phrases with late (or post-) Deuteronomistic affinities and the fact that our passage is intrusive in its present context[2] suggest that it is intended

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1. In fact in v. 9 and in Deut. 1:36 it is said of Caleb that he will receive the land on which he/his foot has trod - an expression used of all Israel in Deut. 11:24,25 and Jos. 1:3.

2. And that is the case however its present context is viewed - whether as a section on the tribe of Judah: 14:6a and 15:1ff; or as an account of the division by lot of the land through a boundary commission.

as a correction of the information given at the end of chapter 11 - and that to that extent it is dependent on and secondary to 11:21-23. On the other hand its unique features together with those elements it shares with the other versions of the Caleb story demonstrate that this report is no free invention of a late (or post-)Deuteronomistic hand. The information in our passage may well be more accurate than that at the end of chapter 11. However that observation provides no grounds for suggesting that it was originally related at that earlier point in the book, or that it corresponds to the opinions of those responsible for any of the earlier strata within the book of Joshua. What the evidence does warrant is the suggestion that we are dealing here with a late correction of impressions given elsewhere in the book which is based on independent information, possibly accurate.[1]

The above discussion has suggested that the use of 11:23's והארץ שקטה מלחמה is typical of the passage as a whole. Can the same be said of the first words of our passage? The

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1. Beltz, in the discussion of this passage in his Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament (1974), moves much too quickly to his discussion of the authentic information preserved in this passage. His claim (p. 32) that 14:6-15 is a thorough-going unity from the linguistic point of view and offers no justification for division into different sources is to be taken more strictly than perhaps he himself intends - there are many lapses in the verse-references in this work; and certainly this statement harmonises ill with his other claims that on the one side v. 14 and v. 15 are learned glosses, and on the other vv. 6b-12 have been taken over from an early source, possibly L (pp. 31,33). For some more general comments on the relationship between the age of a source and the accuracy of its information see the present author's paper on Jud. 1.

precise form <u>וישׁוּ</u> is not found frequently in the OT, but is used also in Num. 32:16 and Jos. 21:1 of the approach to those in authority by a group with a special request. These two passages belong to later strands in the two books - however the term may have been technical. However it is the content of these words that is more important than their terminology - they contradict or are contradicted by the whole passage that follows, which shows no interest in the people of Judah. Both possibilities are open: our passage, which is certainly an intrusive correction, may separate the original heading of the Judah-section in Jos. 15 from its continuation; or the note in 14:6a$_\alpha$ may represent a Judahistic 'taming' of the full force of the following 'correction' of the record: Caleb's request was presented by Judah. For the stratification of the book as a whole it is of considerable importance to know which in fact took place - but the matter cannot be further pursued on the evidence so far studied.

<u>15:13-19</u> After the section on Judah's boundaries (15:1-12) there comes a second Calebite interruption. This shares some of the characteristics of the earlier one, but is remarkably different in style. It is completely free of the distinctive Deuteronomistic terminology of the other passage, and indeed gives every impression of being an early tradition. It is a very interesting passage from the point of view of textual criticism. On the one hand there are several discrepancies between the MT and LXX, while on the other most of the passage is attested again in Jud. 1. In almost every case of difference the Jud. 1 parallel, at least in the MT, supports the Jos. LXX. It may be

of use to discuss some of the verses separately before attempting to assess the passage as a whole.

13 This introductory verse is not represented at all in Jud. 1, but is one of the most important for the assessment of the whole.

a) אל-פי יהוה is a very rare expression, parallelled only in Jos. 17:4; 21:3 in the OT. על-פי יהוה is very common, and yet is met in Joshua only in 19:50 and in Deuteronomy only in 34:5. Qualified by the additional ביד-משה it is encountered also in Num. 4:37,45; 9:23; 10:13 and Jos. 22:9. Its qualification by ליהושע as in the MT of our verse is doubly unusual: not only is the use of the preposition ל unique, but in any case the expression gives a very odd sense - surely Moses if anyone is as usual intended as the agent of the divine demand. The LXX offers a text that differs in two respects: for יהוה it attests האלהים, and for ליהושע the longer ויתן לו יהושע. Given that even the commoner על-פי is never construed with האלהים , it may be well to accept that this verse provides evidence that the LXX of Joshua is less reliable over its testimony against יהוה in the MT than it is in other matters.[1] As to the other differences - it avoids the MT's difficulties, provides much better sense, and could readily have been corrupted into the MT by omission.

b) MT's אבי הענק appears in the LXX as μητρόπολιν Ενακ - whether accurately or not need not concern us here. It is noteworthy

1. Cf. the general discussion of this problem in chap. IV, pp.121ff. Ideally, as in all matters of textual criticism, the evidence in each disputed verse should be weighed on all its own merits. Unhappily in most instances there is insufficient evidence, and a decision has to be hazarded on the basis of general principles.

that this is very similar to its μητρόπολις τῶν Ενακιμ which appears in 14:15b in place of MT's האדם הגדול בענקים הוא . If the testimony of the LXX is to be trusted here, two conclusions are at least possible. The first is that the MT of 14:15 may represent a paraphrase of an original which was more like 15:13's אבי הענק . And the second follows from this - that the different forms of the notes in these two verses on the earlier name of Hebron, of which that in the MT of 15:13 is almost undoubtedly the prior, should not on their own be used as evidence for rating 14:6-15 as a unit later than 15:13-19 as a unit.[1]

c) This verse has a further link with Jos. 21 which is probably of significance for the edition of the book. Verses 11-12 of that chapter attempt to reconcile the allocation of Hebron to the Aaronite Levites with the report of its allocation to Caleb - and there too it is described as קרית ארבע אבי הענ(ו)ק היא חברון .

14 Both parts of this verse are found in Jud. 1 but not together: 1:10b corresponds to 14b while 1:20b to 14a. It is likely that these two part verses belong together, and that Joshua provides the earlier form of the tradition. The action in Jud. 1: 10 (and 11 too) is ascribed to Judah, not Caleb, and represents a 'Judaizing' of the earlier story which is then corrected in v. 20

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1. Unless, that is, the LXX's testimony to ענקים in 14:15 be taken to reflect a later form of the tradition.

2. See the further discussion of Jos. 21 as a whole in chapter VI below.

by means of a further quotation from the same source - one more in the spirit of the original.[1] The concluding words of the MT in our verse ילידי הענק are not found in the LXX - in this it is supported by the MT of Jud. 1:10, although the words are found in the LXX of that verse.[2] The inspiration of the addition would appear to be Num. 13:22, the only other mention of the three names.

15 One small difference between MT and LXX helps to direct attention to a further discrepancy between the Joshua and Judges versions of this story. In our verse, MT leaves the subject of the opening verb unspecified, while LXX reads Χαλεβ . There can be no doubt about the intention of the MT, for Caleb is specified in both v. 14 and v. 16. The subject in Jud. 1:11 is also unspecified - but there too the context makes the editor's intention perfectly plain that Judah be understood as the actor, as in v. 10. We must conclude either that the MT in our verse is closer to the original text in this respect, or that the editor of Jud. 1 had to omit mention of Caleb to fit his theory. However since he allows Caleb to appear in v. 12, albeit very awkwardly, the former alternative is preferable.[3]

18 The words following ותסיתהו appear to have caused considerable problems to some of the versions of both our verse and its parallel in Jud. 1:14. In our verse, LXX (A and B) appear

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1. For a fuller discussion of this and several of the following points, although from the point of view of a treatment of Jud. 1, see VT 25, pp. 270-273.
2. In Jud. 1, it is the LXX which appears to be the more expansionist tradition. It occasionally reflects the longer readings of the MT in Joshua.
3. This editor of Judges had then taken advantage of the opportunity provided by the letter of the Joshua text.

to have read not לשאול מאת-אביה (ה)שדה but rather לאמר אשאול מאת-אבי שדה . This appears to offer characteristically better sense than the MT - the introductory ותסיתהו can hardly begin a clause that suggests that Othniel should take the initiative with his father-in-law, for in the following clauses his new wife does all the asking and receiving. Furthermore the לאמר אשאול attested in the LXX could readily 'telescope' into MT's לשאול . If this account of the matter is at all correct, then here too it is on the (proto-)Massoretic tradition of Jos. 15 that the Jud. 1 passage is based.[1]

19 In this verse the LXX offers a text that differs from the MT in three respects, and is supported in each by Jud. 1:15. It specifies לו after ותאמר in 19a, and כלב after ויתן in 19b;

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1. Holmes (op.cit., p. 61) offers a rather different account of the problem: 'According to Holmes and Parsons, seven or eight MSS. read συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῇ λέγων, Αἴτησαι τὸν πατέρα σου . This is confirmed by the corresponding passage in Judges i.14 LXX, where M.T. has suffered in the same way as here. We must therefore read ויסיתה .' A number of comments may be made about this approach: (i) the LXX of Jud. 1 is an unreliable witness; and great caution should be shown before preferring its testimony to ויסיתה to the testimony of the MT together with the main versions of the corresponding Joshua verse. (ii) Holmes does not make clear that the LXX of Jud. 1:14 and his 7 or 8 MSS. of Jos. 15:18, while agreeing over ויסיתה differ over what follows - לשאול or לאמר שאול . (iii) It is possible to explain both the Greek texts he favours as attempts to rectify the Hebrew Vorlage of the LXX in Joshua once it had become corrupt: once the original לאמר אשאול became shortened to either לאמר שאול or לשאול , the transfer of subject and object in the main verb became necessary - here Holmes has concentrated on the symptom and not the complaint.

while at the end of the verse it offers the singular forms גלת עליה / תחתיה .[1]

The relationship between this passage as a whole and its counterpart in Jud. 1 cannot be settled adequately on the evidence presented in this section alone. All that need be said at this point is that it has been argued more fully elsewhere that Jud. 1 has drawn much of its material from the book of Judges, and that there are sufficient hints within this passage to suggest that it offers support for the theory as a whole.

As far as evidence regarding the edition of the book of Joshua is concerned, the only immediately relevant verse may be v. 13 - the rest probably derived from the editor's source and may more appropriately be considered further in the context of the Pre-Deuteronomistic Book of Joshua. About v. 13 four points may be made: (i) It makes clear that Caleb's allotment was בתוך בני יהודה - cf. the points made above about 14:6aα. (ii) It reflects a view that dominates the book[2] - that Joshua was the central figure of the land division. (iii) The use of the term חלק for Caleb's 'portion' may link this verse with 19:9, a verse which describes Simeon's situation too as בתוך the allotment of Judah.[3] (iv) Two elements link this verse with Jos. 21 -

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1. On this last point the support from Jud. 1:15 comes only from the singular Kethibh - the pointing of the forms is plural.

2. But not 14:1; 17:4 and 21:1, with some of which the verse has other links, and where Eleazar and the elders are associated with Joshua.

3. Cf. too the use of the plural חלקים in 18:5,6,9 of the seven 'remaining' portions. Elsewhere in Joshua חלק is used either of the Levitical portion, as regularly in Deuteronomy, (14:4; 18:7); or of the Transjordanian tribes not having a portion in Yahweh (22:25,27).

אל-פי יהוה with v. 3 of that chapter (as with 17:4), and קרית .. חברון with v. 11.

17:14-18 In this passage too the LXX offers a text markedly different from the MT - one which is considerably shorter, and apparently superior. It is quite without certain phrases of the MT: שם בארץ הפרזי והרפאים in v. 15; בני יוסף in v. 16; לאפרים ולמנשה [1] in v. 17; and תצאתיו in v. 18. It offers the obviously preferably אל for את in v. 14 and כי חזקת ממנו for כי חזק הוא in v. 18. Less obviously preferable are its בני for בית in v. 17 and יער .. יער for הר ... יער in v. 18. Two of its divergences require closer scrutiny:

a) At the end of v. 14 it reads the shorter καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐλόγησέν με for MT's unusual עד אשר-עד-כה ברכני יהוה . As Holmes notes,[2] the sentence reads better in the LXX, and its shorter reading appears to enjoy independent Vulgate support. But before accepting an easier reading it would be preferable to be able to offer an explanation for the MT expansion.[3] And an added difficulty is that we here face the associated problem of the LXX offering 'God' for MT's 'Yahweh'. If one inclines in general to the view that the LXX is less than usually trustworthy in this matter,[4] one may be predisposed to seeing the hand of a reviser in the preceding earlier text.

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1. This order of names is unique in the MT but is found in 16:4 (LXX) and corresponds to the order in which the tribes are dealt with in Jos. 16-17.
2. op.cit., p. 65.
3. עד אשר is a frequent combination; but עד-כה is found only in Gen. 22:5; Ex. 7:16 and 1 Kings 18:45. The combination of both is unique.
4. Cf. the discussion of 15:13 on pp. 215-216.

b) In v. 16b both versions have their difficulties. The MT's בארץ העמק is an unparallelled geographical expression, while the following לאשר בבית-שאן ובנותיה ולאשר בעמק יזרעאל gives every impression of being a gloss: the only other place in the OT in which לאשר is construed with ב- and a town name is in the list in 1 Sam. 30:27ff., of those communities to which David distributed spoil. Here the phrase must be construed as in apposition to בכל-הכנעני - the change in preposition makes the phrase read very awkwardly. However although this version appears overloaded, the shorter LXX is hard to commend. It could represent the Hebrew לכנעני היושב בו בבית-שאן ובנותיה בעמק יזרעאל .

Again one wonders how and why the more complex Hebrew of the MT would have developed out of this shorter text. But the more serious objection to this text is the reference of בו : its only antecedent can be ההר , which makes nonsense of the verse.[1]

The above discussion contributes less to the problem in hand than it does to a more sober awareness of the unevenness of the LXX's testimony to the original text of the book of Joshua. The language of these verses, whether according to the common tradition or to the MT or assumed Vorlage of the LXX, cannot readily be associated with any other stratum of the book of Joshua or tradition elsewhere in the OT. Some of its terminology is either

1. The point of the verse is that they are already at home in the hill country, but are unable to penetrate the valley to the north because of the more sophisticated armaments of the Canaanites. A similar point is made in respect of Judah's problems in an unspecified עמק in Jud. 1:19, one of the two other OT contexts which talk of רכב ברזל - the other being Jud. 4:3,13.

unique[1] or very rare.[2] In short the passage gives a similar impression to 15:14-19, that it is an early fragment of tradition. Unlike that passage, it does not have a clear editorial link (15:13) with the material now surrounding it. That in itself invites the conclusion that 17:14-18 is no late appendix to the material in chapters 16-17, but rather that it had an early connection with 16:1-3 and whatever other material may have been lost at the insertion of the sections on Ephraim and Manasseh. It may have been in the Deuteronomistic book, but was not itself a Deuteronomistic contribution to that book.

18:1-10 Our discussion of the text of this passage has already noted that v. 1 is readily detachable from the rest, and that the rest - at least according to the LXX - need not assume Shiloh as its setting.[3] Beginnings which have no original connection with what follows have already been discussed in connection with 14:16aα and 15:13 - in the light of these earlier discussions it will be important to decide whether 18:1 is a new opening to an anecdote already embedded in the Joshua traditions or whether it reflects the work of the editor who first associated this material with its present context.

The opening phrase (v. 1aα) is found also in 22:12bα - and the verbs נקהל and הקהיל are construed regularly with עדה and

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1. The expression אץ ל- and the already mentioned phrase בארץ העמק .
2. מדוע (v. 14) occurs only here in Joshua, although in some books (e.g. Jeremiah) it is relatively well known. The expression נמצא ל- (v. 16) is found only in Zech. 10:10 in the sense of having room.
3. Cf. chap. IV, p. 149.

עם in the book of Numbers. אהל מועד appears frequently in Exodus-Numbers, but in very few contexts - its construction, its service, and what happens in front of it or at its door. Within the Deuteronomistic books it occurs only in Deut. 31:14;[1] Jos. 18:1; 19:51;[2] 1 Sam. 2:22;[3] and 1 Kings 8:4.[4] However nowhere else in the OT is there talk of placing or erecting this אהל מועד - השכין occurs only six times in the OT, and nowhere else of pitching a tent. Forms of √ שכן do occur in the book of Joshua, but only in 22:19[2],29[5] - however both of these verses do refer to the central sanctuary west of the Jordan, and a combination of them with v. 12b of the same chapter could have inspired this unique formulation. As to the concluding clause it has two close parallels in Num. 32[6] and a third in 1 Chron. 22:18.[7] Together, even if not severally, these considerations make it probable that this verse represents one of the latest strata of the book. As the following verses are reviewed it should become apparent whether they too have links with similar material.

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1. About Joshua's consecration as Moses' successor.
2. Here the expression is construed with פתח and used in apposition to לפני יהוה .
3. Again construed with פתח , and denoting the sphere of service of the women with whom Eli's sons had intercourse.
4. Of the sacred equipment brought with the ark into the new temple.
5. The reference in both verses being to the משכן יהוה , which is construed in v. 19 with the verb שכן .
6. In v. 22: ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה ;
   and in v. 29: ..... לפניכם .
7. ונכבשה הארץ לפני יהוה לפני עמו . And apart from these four instances, נכבש is found once in the OT as a participle.

Some of the language of the rest of the passage is or appears to be Deuteronomistic. Indeed one has the impression that a satisfactory 'Deuteronomistic' account is isolable from the whole by means of some deft surgery - perhaps vv. 3,4,8! But this is an irresponsible approach - if one is looking for the Deuteronomist, there is a strong likelihood of 'finding' him. And detailed discussion of the terminology of the passage is bedevilled by the considerable textual uncertainty. As almost always, the shorter LXX has its attractions - and here in particular because some of the differences in the MT can be explained as an attempt to harmonise vv. 2-10 with v. 1, or to make their harmony more explicit. However, especially in vv. 4-6 neither text appears satisfactory - both versions have a double mention of the emissaries dividing the land into seven and bringing the results to Joshua. And while LXX's ἐναντίον μου, καθὰ δεήσει ..... [1] may point to either a translation doublet or dittography in its Vorlage the MT's והתחלקו is hard to accept as original - a unique Hithpa'el form of √חלק, of which the LXX gives no hint,[2]

1. MT's לפי נחלתם at this point is odd and difficult. It is not quite without parallel - cf. איש כפי נחלתו אשר ינחלו יתן מעריו ללוים in Num. 35:8. However the difference between them is that while the Numbers verse talks of the tribes allotting to the Levites towns from holdings they already have, our verse requires the forced rendering 'with a view to their holdings' (which of course they have not yet received).

2. One would expect the reflexive (or other) sense of a deliberately selected or coined Hithpa'el form to be recognised by the translator - his διεῖλεν/αν renders חלקו (pointed Pi'el) in 22:8. The same verb appears at the end of the previous verse καθὰ δεήσει διελεῖν αὐτήν - whose difficulties have just been noted.

occurring in close proximity to the almost identical but much commoner והתהלכו in vv. 4,8, strains incredulity to breaking-point.

Within the common tradition there are a number of expressions unique to this passage. Neither expression for casting lots is found elsewhere.[1] And the phrase כהנת יהוה is otherwise unknown. Other expressions are found only here within the Deuteronomistic corpus: עד-אנה and התרפה (v. 3);[2] √עמד to describe a people's holding (v. 5);[3] both התהלך בארץ (vv. 4,8)[4] and עבר בארץ (v. 9).[5]

Verse 7 may repay fuller consideration,[6] as it recalls two already familiar themes, the positions of the Levites and of the Transjordanians. Its first part, כי אין-חלק ללוים בקרבכם כי-כהנת יהוה נחלתו , stands in an oft-repeated Deuteronomic tradition,[7] that the Levites have no חלק ונחלה within Israel.

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1. MT and LXX here too do not quite overlap: MT uses √ירה in v. 6 and √השליך in vv. 8,10 - but LXX ἐξοίσω in vv. 6,8 and ἐνέβαλεν in v. 10.
2. The verb occurs only in Prov. 18:9; 24:10. In this context it is interesting that it is only in Prov. 17:2 that there is a precise parallel to MT's חלק את-נחלתם in v. 2 - elsewhere in Numbers-Joshua, √חלק is construed only with ארץ or a suffix assuming it (apart from 22:8 where its object is 'booty').
3. Probably the only parallel is Ex. 8:18 - גשן אשר עמי עמד עליה.
4. Cf. Gen. 13:17, where Abraham is ordered to traverse the land he is being given.
5. Cf. Gen. 12:6 and perhaps Num. 13:32; 14:7; 20:17; 21:22 - there too with the idea of seeing with a view to ownership.
6. Cf. the comments already made in chap. IV, p. 139 and above in the present chapter pp. 206-209
7. Deut. 10:9; 12:12; 14:27,29 and 18:1.

It is interesting that where this is cited in Joshua only one half of the formula is used - נחלה in 13:14(33), and חלק in 14:4 and here. The relevant passages in Deuteronomy describe the Levite(s) as לוי, הלוי , or שבט (ה)לוי . The form ללוים of the MT in our verse is unknown in Deuteronomy, but familiar from Leviticus and Numbers. However to complicate the situation, while Num. 18:20 does offer a close parallel to the formula in question, it is Aaron who is there said to have no חלק ונחלה within Israel save Yahweh. The other term (נחלה) in the usual formula is found in v. 7's unique modification of the second part of the tradition - כי-כהנת יהוה נחלתו . There are barely grounds for determining the dependence of either 14:4 or 18:7 on the other - the only phrase they share is חלק ללוים .[1] The method of referring to the Transjordanian tribes is also quite distinctive. Only here in the book of Joshua are Gad and Reuben so referred to - using the simple names, and in that order. The order can be parallelled only in Num. 32 - in vv. 6,33 and 34-38 in the common tradition and also in vv. 2,25,29,31 in the MT. The following is the regular Deuteronomistic form.[2] The two or three occurrences of לקחו נחלתם have already been reviewed.[3] And as for the following מעבר לירדן מזרחה ,[4] it too has a parallel in Num. 32 - and in the mouths of Gad and Reuben.[5] The textual

1. 14:4 is more fully discussed below in chap. VI, pp. 296-299.
2. It is the form used with לראובני ולגדי in Deut. 3:13 and Jos. 1:12; 12:6.
3. Cf. above pp. 206-209.
4. As previous note.
5. כי לא ננחל אתם מעבר לירדן וחלאה כי באה נחלתנו אלינו מעבר הירדן מזרחה (32:19)

tradition in v. 7 is unusually harmonious for this passage[1] - and the least that can be said in conclusion is that while some of its basic themes are Deuteronomistic its terminology is most certainly not.

To this extent, v. 7 is typical of the passage as a whole. Closer scrutiny makes clear that any impression gained from the use of שבט , or expressions such as לרשת את-הארץ or אשר נתן לכם יהוה or even הבו לכם of v. 4 which is used also in Deut. 1:13 of picking representatives, that the passage might be Deuteronomistic is a false one. It has been noted that several parts of the narrative are repeated, and some of them in different forms of words. This makes the whole clumsy and awkward to read, and invites speculation that it represents a combination of sources.

There is no obvious echo of v. 1 in vv. 2-10 or vice versa; and yet vv. 1,7 share a feature that may be more than accidental. Links with them both have been suggested for Num. 32, and with v. 1 for Jos. 22. It is in these two other chapters that the reader gains a strong impression that a story originally told only of Reuben and Gad[2] (and in Num. 32 perhaps even earlier only of

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1. Only τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευι for ללוים and ἐν ὑμῖν for בקרבכם might suggest a different original.

2. In Num. 32, half-Manasseh makes a first appearance as late as v. 33 (cf. chap. II, p. 64), a verse which paves the way for the report in vv. 39-42 of the settlement of some Manassite clans. An assessment of the evidence in Jos. 22 is rendered more complex by the unusual relationship between MT and LXX in that chapter. The chapter is one of those in the book of Joshua (see chap. IV, p. 117) in which there are more than the average number of MT pluses; however, in the three final verses (32-34) MT talks surprisingly of Reuben and Gad without mention of half-Manasseh. That this the more difficult reading is also the preferable one is supported by two further considerations:

(Contd.

Gad[1]) has been amended to conform to the 'canonical' theory of the two and a half Transjordanian tribes. Behind the unique form of reference to these tribes in 18:7 may lurk evidence of a similar situation in an earlier stratum of this passage.[2] If that were the case it would be necessary to reappraise our perhaps over-hasty acquiescence in the traditional scholarly view that the association between v. 1 and vv. 2-10 is recent.

As far as content is concerned, 18:1-10 is the passage that constitutes the bridge between the sections on the two major groupings (15-17) and those on the smaller Cisjordanian tribes (18:11 - 19:48). It assumes the placement of Judah and Joseph, and harmonises well with the implication that closes c.17 - effort is expected of the tribes, and its lack is blameworthy.

Contd.) (1) while the other two tribes are referred to throughout the chapter as גד / בני ראובן , there are three different phrases for half-Manasseh - that at least is consistent with a thesis of progressive but incomplete supplementation; (2) in v. 25 the Reubenites and Gadites constitute an MT plus - their mention here may be explained as a gloss on ובינכם within a tradition which was not (yet) so fully supplemented with mention of half-Manasseh. Jos. 22 is nowhere else reviewed in this thesis. Along with Jos. 18:1-10 and Num. 32 it plays an important part in the somewhat eccentric thesis of Vink on the date and origin of the Priestly Code in the OT (OTS 15, pp. 1ff). Vink attributes these passages to a P which he dates to the Persian period. Some of our own comments above suggest that a few of the elements at least in chap. 18 which are distinctly non-Deuteronomistic may be pre- rather than post-Deuteronomistic.

1. That might explain the 'addition' of Reuben in second place.
2. The contribution of the Deuteronomist might have been the addition of his familiar וחצי שבט המנשה and אשר נתן להם משה עבד יהוה .

The link between it and the immediately following section is also good - it has spoken of Judah and Joseph, each on its גבול and has made clear that the following division will be by גורל ; and 18:11b continues ויצא גבול גורלם בין בני יהודה ובין בני יוסף, while each of the following sections opens with the 'coming out' of a lot. The most disturbing feature of the relationship between our passage and the following chapters is their different terminology for tribe. Our text-critical study of this question suggested that each occurrence of מטה in an introductory formula within c.19 was an MT 'plus'.[1] The rest of each introduction, and especially its גורל -element harmonises well with 18:1-10, even although they need not belong to the same stratum.[2] However, by the same token, the concluding formulae in which מטה is standard will belong to a different stratum. And perhaps the most interesting feature of our passage, in view of our earlier discussion of the attitude of the editors to their source-material in 18:11ff.,[3] is the word לערים in 18:9 - does it imply that that editor regarded the following material as town-lists?

13:13etc. The preliminary survey of Jos. 13-19 earlier in this chapter drew attention to a series of corrective notes at the end of individual sections of the account, and seemingly parasitic on them: 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-13 and 19:47(LXX). All of these except the first have close parallels in Jud. 1, and

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1. Cf. chap. IV, pp. 131, 135-136.
2. And yet, on this evidence alone, there is no reason why the final editor of 18:1-10 should not be seen as the one who provided the following seven sections with their גורל-introductions.
3. Cf. above p. 194.

it has long been held by scholars that that chapter or the source from which it itself is derived is their source. The present writer has argued in his paper on Jud. 1 that that chapter is in fact based on these and other parts of Joshua; and has offered in that context a full account of the associated text-critical problems of these verses.[1] It will suffice here to repeat the main conclusions and attempt to draw out the implications for our understanding of the growth of the book of Joshua.

The LXX is to be preferred in almost every respect in these verses to the MT. It is easier to explain the MT as a development of the LXX than the other way round. The parallel verses in Jud. 1 appear to be based on what, by this reckoning, is a proto-Massoretic form of the text of Joshua.[2] A further observation which the different tradition of the LXX makes possible is that all these notes reckon with a thorough-going setback to the Israelite settlers' fortunes in the areas in question. Only in the last two cases does the common tradition record some amelioration of the position as the strength of Israel (or Ephraim) grew. The MT appears to have 'tamed' the earlier text in 15:63 and 16:10: (a) into the closing comment that 'the Jebusite lived on in Jerusalem to this day' it has intruded the limiting phrase 'with the people of Judah'; (b) to the conclusion 'the Canaanite lived on in the midst of Ephraim to this day' it has appended

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1. Cf. in particular pp. 273-283.

2. את-בני בנימן in Jud. 1:21 is an adaptation of a 'plus' in the MT of 15:63. The names in Jud. 1:27 are rather more like those in 17:11 (MT) than the briefer LXX of that verse - and yet the difficulties of that verse are so great that any conclusions must be very tentative (cf. above p.185).

'but became subject to forced labour' - an addition perhaps inspired by 17:13 and 19:47(LXX). In 13:13 the tradition is united that 'Geshur and Maacah lived on in the midst of Israel to this day'. The final two notes are longer and more distinctive - there the editor may have had a more substantial tradition to draw upon.[1] The first three are more stereotyped, that in 13:13 being an immediate response to the preceding verse.

All five notes share two characteristics: they appear at the end of the sections to which they relate; and they correct its emphasis. All do this by taking issue with a specific piece of information given or implied in the preceding section. All but the last use some form of לא הורישׁ . The first three share the expression עד היום הזה . Each of the above aspects of our five notes is a feature of one or more of the three passages attributed by Smend to DtrN and discussed at the beginning of this chapter.[2] And this harmony in spirit, method and language makes it very probable that they too are the work of this secondary Deuteronomistic editor.[3]

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1. In 17:11-13 it is a matter of more than one town - whatever names originally stood in v. 11, they are resumed in v. 12's הערים האלה . While it is difficult to be certain that every detail of 19:47(LXX)'s longer and differently styled note is original, its broad lines are confirmed by the rump remaining in the MT and by the parallel verses in Jud. 1:34-35.

2. √ הורישׁ is used in 13:6 and 23:5,9,13 while עד היום הזה is found in 23:8,9.

3. That Smend's paper argues - albeit with rather more diffidence - that Jud. 1:1 - 2:9 is also part of DtrN's contribution to the Deuteronomistic History has already been noted and rejected. One of the aspects of this chapter which encouraged Smend in his opinion was its insistence on the partial nature of Israel's settlement. The hypothesis being advanced here makes use of the same general observation. Of course, if

(Contd.

iii) Conclusions

The results of this stage of our discussion are inevitably tentative, and this for various reasons: the complexity of the material in the second half of Joshua; the provisional nature of some of the detailed conclusions, pending the discussion in the following chapter; and the hypothetical nature of the argument about a major re-edition of the Deuteronomistic History.

The above reviews, both general and more detailed, of the material in Jos. 13-19 have disclosed very little material that is obviously the product of the Deuteronomists. And yet its first and last conclusions invite us to consider that the bulk of that material did constitute the Deuteronomistic account of the land-division. The argument that at least vv. 1,7-12 of chapter 13 represent the same primary Deuteronomistic stratum, and that they provide a counterpart to the opening verses of the book, encourages us to conclude that we have isolated the beginning of the Deuteronomistic account of the division of the land. The argument that 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-13; 19:47 (LXX) constitute a co-ordinated series of corrections to an existing text, and that they share some of the characteristics of a Deuteronomistic revision manifest elsewhere in Joshua,

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Contd.) these Joshua notes are attributed to DtrN, then Jud. 1 cannot be so attributed for it is a development of these and other elements of the book of Joshua. This point may strengthen and be strengthened by the argument advanced in the paper on Jud. 1 - that that chapter is not properly a (late) part of the Deuteronomistic History, but an introduction to the Book of Judges coincidental with or subsequent to the now familiar book division.

encourages us to conclude that what they correct was in fact the Deuteronomistic account of the division of the land.

The near-absence of further evidence for a more positive identification necessitates caution. And yet the following comments may not be inappropriate. This detailed and extensive topographical information is very much sui generis. Then there are other cases within the Deuteronomistic History of substantial blocks of material with little if any Deuteronomistic editing - such as the so-called 'Succession Narrative' and the Elijah/Elisha cycle. And finally the editors may have had available to them a more than usually congenial source - one which accordingly required little alteration.

It has already been suggested[1] that in the matter of the land-division the Deuteronomists were more than usually dependent on archival information and/or common knowledge. It had perhaps been a widespread - and even fair - assumption of their period that the division of the land familiar from their present or recent past was the one that had been laid down in the period of the settlement. It appears that this otherwise congenial source required correction in at least one important respect by the Deuteronomistic editors - it did not reckon with two and a half Transjordanian and nine and a half Cisjordanian tribes. Apparently it knew of only Reuben and Gad in the east, and a united Joseph in the west. This required correction in an introduction fashioned by the editors themselves (13:7ff.) - and that explains

1. Cf. above. p. 200.

why it is this passage that is most clearly Deuteronomistic - and also involved the editors in some of their clumsiest manoeuvres, such as the composition of 17:1-11 as a whole, and the addition of the half-tribe of Manasseh to 18:7.[1]

It is to be hoped that some of the above observations may provide a new and wider basis for the study of the topographical material in Joshua - a study which pays close attention to the book's literary stratification and textual transmission. This chapter has suggested a wider dimension for that joint problem than was possible in the previous one. Modification was necessary of one of that chapter's results (about Jos. 13:8) in the light of a fuller study of the book's literary relationships. On the other hand, the importance of the textual evidence was underlined in the discussion of two topics: the opening and concluding formulae of the various territories; and the series of 'corrective' notes. The significance of the latter for the textual problem is out of all proportion to their size, because of the supporting evidence of the parallel passages in Jud. 1. It is the availability of similar, but much more extensive, evidence in Jos. 21 and its parallel in 1 Chron. 6 which makes discussion of these texts in our next chapter so central to our topic as a whole.

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1. Admittedly this implies the view that the source reckoned with a division amongst only eleven tribes: Reuben/Gad; Judah/Joseph; and the seven - it may have considered Levi the twelfth, and made special provision for that tribe. (On the question of the Levitical towns, see the following chapter VI).

CHAPTER VI

POST-DEUTERONOMISTIC JOSHUA

Of the texts that fall to be discussed in this chapter, some have had a preliminary mention already: 13:15-32; 14:1-5 and 19:51[1] provide the structure for the account of the land division as we read it in the present book of Joshua. However these sections accord ill with, and appear subsequent to, that Deuteronomistic stratum which we have detected in 13:1,7-12. Furthermore the question has been left open whether other verses and part-verses already mentioned - such as 14:6aα; 15:13; 17:3-6[2] (or part thereof) - are linked with later strata of the book. And an answer must be sought below to all such questions. However it may be most helpful to seek some points of reference for such answers in a discussion of the more extensive texts on the cities of refuge and the cities of the Levites (Jos. 20-21). These are widely held to be appendices to the main account of the division of the land;[3] and they have linguistic and material links with each of the shorter texts mentioned above. Furthermore these two chapters have clear links with what is generally held to be 'Priestly' material in Num. 35, and so permit a more extensive evaluation of the relationship between later material in Numbers and later material in Joshua than is possible elsewhere. The results may not turn

1. Cf. above, Chaps. IV, pp.143-148; V, pp. 174-177, 190.
2. Cf. above, chap. V, pp. 183-184, 210-216, 219-220.
3. Cf. the discussion of Noth's views in chap. I above.

out to be valid for all other such linked passages; however they ought to be more assured.

A. The Levitical Cities

(1) Introductory

Jos. 21:1-42 represents a second appendix[1] to the account in chapters 13-19 of the division of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, an appendix in the form of a narrative in which the Levites hold Joshua to a promise made to Moses. As was the case with Jud. 1 and the series of corrective notes in Jos. 13:13 etc. together with the second insertion on Caleb (15:14-19),[2] there is an extensive parallel to Jos. 21 elsewhere in the OT: in 1 Chr. 6: 39-66. This is a list, not a narrative, and it constitutes the final section of the lists of Levitical families which begins in 5:27 and is set in the wider context of the Chronicler's genealogical introduction in 1 Chr. 1-9. A comparison of this other text with the two main versions of Jos. 21 which we have been studying is doubly instructive: it provides important

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1. Between vv. 42 and 43 according to the MT of Jos. 21, we find in the LXX one of its rare 'pluses' - a repetition of the information given in 19:49-50. Holmes's theory (op.cit., p. 73) is attractive: that we have here a pointer to the methods of revisers of the Joshua text. It may well be that the recap was made by the editor who inserted chapters 20-21, to restore the connection in his source between Joshua's receipt of his inheritance and his final summoning of the people. The shorter MT would reflect a later reviser who eliminated an unnecessary doublet. If there is some truth in this argument it may be relevant to the discussion below of 19:51 - part of the later insertion.

2. Cf. above chap. V, pp. 214-220, 229-231.

evidence about the edition of Jos. 21, and it confirms the conclusions already reached about the relative priority of the LXX Vorlage over against the MT in the book of Joshua. The second of these points, although welcome, is less novel. As far as the city names themselves are concerned it was foreshadowed in Albright's programmatic essay of 1945,[1] the results of whose comparison of the two lists have been widely accepted by those who have written since about the historical reality mirrored in these lists.[2] The first is a newcomer to the discussion of Jos. 21, to the best knowledge of the present writer, and is foreshadowed only by the detailed comparison of the two texts (not just lists) in the Edinburgh doctoral thesis of J.P. Ross.[3]

Ross's preoccupations are different from those of the present thesis. He was concerned more with the lists themselves, and with the cities they detail as an Israelite institution, and less with the texts as such. However, although his study of the texts was but a stepping stone to his evaluation of the lists they preserve, it is the present writer's conviction that he exhibited in their study greater attention to detail and imagination than have hitherto been shown in the handling of this problem. What is of particular interest to the present writer is that Ross and he

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1. 'The List of Levitic Cities' in the H. Louis Ginsberg Jubilee Volume (1945).
2. In particular Mazar 'The Cities of the Priests and the Levites' and Aharoni The Land of the Bible, pp. 269ff.
3. The 'Cities of the Levites' in Joshua XXI and I Chronicles VI (1973).

arrived quite independently at one vital conclusion: the result of almost every examination of comparable details in the two texts is that the relevant detail in the Chronicles text is prior to that in the Joshua text. After close examination, it is unthinkable that 1 Chr. 6:39-66 is a rearranged abridgement (subsequently damaged by several losses) of Jos. 21:1-42. However, the scholarly viewpoint hitherto accepted cannot be simply reversed, as was the case with Jud. 1 and the comparable passages in the book of Joshua - albeit in the opposite direction. For there are elements in the Chronicler's passage which appear to be dependent on traditions familiar from Joshua. What may be involved, therefore, is a situation in which both texts (or prior versions of them) have influenced the other. But enough general comment has been made. What is appropriate now is to review the evidence for these claims, and then to consider how they can best serve the aims of this thesis.

(2) Arrangement of the texts

If the shorter text is taken as the basis for comparison, then the correspondence between these quite differently arranged texts is as follows - 1 Chr. 6:39b-45 are represented in Jos. 21 by 10-19; 46-49 by 5-8a; 50 by 9; and 51-66 by 20-40.[1] The introduction in 1 Chr. 6:39a is unlike anything in the Joshua text;[2] while, on the other side, Joshua has substantial additional

1. The verse numeration used here is that of the MT of Chronicles - in some LXX editions, the passage is to be found in vv. 54-81.

2. ואלה מושבותם לטירותם בגבולם: (i) מושבות is unknown in Joshua, although it appears in Num. 15:2; 31:10 and 35:29, and elsewhere in the Pentateuch and Ezechiel; however the Chronicler uses it also in 4:33; 7:28. (ii) טירות is found in Gen. 25:16; Num. 31:10; Ez. 25:4; 46:23. (iii) the use of ואלה emphasises that we are dealing here with a list.

material in 21:1-4,8a,41-42. However, even with that said, the correspondences between the texts are by no means complete - in fact the Joshua text is considerably fuller than its counterpart, partly because it offers totals at every possible point and partly because of small but seemingly important differences in terminology.

The Chronicler gives much greater prominence than Joshua to the Aaronites. The detailed description of their allotment is given in the very first place, this being concluded by a summarising total (45b). There follows in summary form information about allotments to the three Levitical groups (46-48). It may be worth emphasising at this point that nowhere in 1 Chr. 6:39-66 are the Aaronites said to be either priests or Levites. In view both of the explicit assertions in Jos. 21 and of regular scholarly references to the two forms of the list of Levitic cities, this silence is quite remarkable! There follows an apparent conclusion in v. 49, and then a clumsy continuation (50) which refers back to the allotment from the tribes of Judah, Simeon and Benjamin. There follow finally the full descriptions of the allotments to the three Levitical groups - with no summarising totals. It should be noted that while these full descriptions follow the same order of Levitical families as the earlier summary section and while each family is allotted cities from the same tribes, the actual order in which the tribes are detailed differs in two cases: in the Gershonite section, half Manasseh appears last in the summary but first in the detailed allotment; and the same is true of Zebulun in the Merarite section.

The Joshua material is, as already noted, cast in narrative form - this being found especially in the outer casing (1-3,41-42). Next the summary information is offered (4-8), with that on the southern group taking its appropriate first place. Verse 8 appears to function as a transitional verse that could look forwards or backwards or both; while the following two verses give a rather clumsy introduction to the first main section. This feeling of clumsiness arises in two quite different ways. Verse 9 draws our attention back to the southern tribes, but with two differences: the tribes are styled differently - מטה- in v. 4 as regularly in chapters 20-21, but מטה בני- in v. 9; and Benjamin is treated differently from Judah and Simeon. So to describe this second point is to be deliberately vague - MT and LXX diverge here, disagreeing amongst other things over the verse-division, but they both handle Benjamin distinctively.[1] But as to the second point of clumsiness - while verse 10 takes up the other theme of v. 4, the prerogative of the first group to be described, it makes quite a distinct assertion. Whereas v. 4 talks of the גורל coming out for the Kohathite families, v. 10 states that the גורל belonged to the men of Aaron.[2] Read on its own, without any thought of the earlier v. 4, v. 10 gives a special place to the Aaronites almost as the related 1 Chr. 6:39b does - with the one substantial

1. This point is discussed more fully below on p. 271.
2. Both verses are very reminiscent of Jos. 18:11 where a similar point is made about Benjamin's position within the seven remaining tribes. It is surprising that the matter is made more explicit by the use of the word 'first' in the LXX of 18:11, but in the MT of 21:10! The word appears in no version of 1 Chr. 6:39.

difference that v. 10 does specify the Aaronites as being מבני לוי .[1] In brief, the Joshua text depicts the Aaronites as a Kohathite sub-group within the clan structure of the Levites, whereas the Chronicler tends to distinguish between Aaronites and Levites while not denying that in fact Aaron was descended from Levi.

The text in Jos. 21 is more regular than that in 1 Chr. 6 - indeed, if it was the only one we possessed, only two elements in it would awaken comment: the tension between v. 4 and vv. 9-10; and the inconsistency between the summaries and the full descriptions over the order of the tribes. What has hindered many scholars from taking seriously the tradition of the Chronicler is first of all the less ordered structure of the whole, and secondly the fact of the thoroughgoing discrepancies between the totals in the summary sections and the numbers of city names actually found in the full descriptions. And of course this tradition too is inconsistent over the order of the tribes.

However, once the Chronicler's tradition is perceived for what it is, its own coherence is much more readily apparent. It must not be judged on the basis of Jos. 21 - it did not start as a list of Levitic cities (and is arguably still not such a list). Its rationale is one of growth and not of structure. Any assessment of 6:39-66 must take account of three factors: (i) vv. 39ff. follow immediately on the Aaronite genealogy in 6:35-38, which itself follows the functional differentiation

1. In the recapitulatory v. 13, LXX^B of Joshua agrees with 1 Chr. 6:42 in offering only לבני אהרן , while MT/LXX^A have the additional הכהן .

between the Levites (6:33) and the Aaronites (6:34). (ii) That passage comes to a natural conclusion in v. 45b. (iii) There is a further conclusion at the end of the summary section (v. 49), In short 6:39-66 is a very arbitrarily defined text,[1] and any comparison between it and Jos. 21 must bear this in mind.

Preliminary observations suggest then that we are dealing with two texts that have quite different aims but whose individual contents almost completely overlap. The interweaving of these texts can be highlighted by two further considerations: (i) They are linked with material from Joshua (and Numbers) such as the provision of cities of refuge and the special grant of Hebron to Caleb. (ii) The arrangement of Aaronite and Levitic families they manifest has precise parallels only in the books of Chronicles.[2]

(3) Ross's contribution

The sections of Ross's thesis most relevant for our concerns

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1. This material on the Levites - and indeed the whole mass of genealogical information at the beginning of Chronicles - gives less the impression of the much-maligned patch-work quilt (whose size at least is fixed from the beginning) and more that of a 'collage' capable of almost unlimited supplementation.

2. Contrast Ross's much weaker point quoted below. In the great majority of the passages in which the sons of Levi and their families are listed the order is Gershon - Kohath - Merari: Gen. 46:11; Ex. 6:16-27; Num. 3:11-51; 26:57,59-62; 1 Chr. 5: 27-41; 6:1-15. In another group of passages, Kohath is given precedence by virtue of his responsibility for holy things - already mentioned in Num. 3 listed above: cf. Num. 4; 7; 10; 1 Chr. 6:16-33; 15:16ff; and perhaps a trace in 2 Chr. 29. It is in a smallish third group of passages that we find the schema familiar from our two main texts: 1 Chr. 15:1-15; 23f. - here the distinction between Aaronites and other Levites is made much more explicit, and only here are the non-Aaronite Kohathites clearly treated on a par with the Gershonites and Merarites.

are the second, 'Introduction to the texts', and the third, 'The city lists'.

In the former of these he discusses first the material in Joshua and the Pentateuch, Jos. 21:1-42; Num. 35:1-8 and Lev. 25: 32-34.[1] All of this material he notes is universally deemed late and priestly by literary critics. He quotes with approval Driver's list of P-terms in Jos. 21, and adds two further criteria of his own: interest in Aaron and Eleazar; and the division of Levi into three clans and a priestly group, which he notes is not found in pre-exilic literature.[2] If for such reasons Jos. 21 is from P, then so too Num. 35:1-8. In talking so readily of P and the Hexateuch, Ross takes as his point of departure the classic Hexateuch hypothesis. He certainly does not ignore Noth's counter-thesis, but restricts himself to observing at this point that Noth's reversal of the relationship between Num. 35 and Jos. 21 need not imply that a different hand was at work.

He then looks at the material in Chronicles.[3] Several scholars work with a theory of at least two major editorial hands at work in the edition of the books of Chronicles, and part or all of our text is regularly attributed to the second of these. Other passages make reference to Levitical cities: in particular 1 Chr. 13:2 and 2 Chr. 11:14 (and less certainly 1 Chr. 9:2 and 2 Chr. 31:15,19). Of these, the first two do mention pasture-

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1. Pp. 56-76.
2. See above, and n. 2 on previous page.
3. Pp. 76-88.

lands (מגרשים) which are a noticeable feature of our texts. However he is sceptical of the value of this evidence and concludes: 'These four passages then offer no solid evidence that the Chronicler found mention of Levite cities in reliable historical sources.[1] This is in line with the generally accepted view, that his knowledge of the institution is derived from the Pentateuch and Joshua'.

The final part of this section is on the age of the sources.[2] Here his main conclusions are the following: (i) 'There may well be a document underlying, and therefore earlier than, the lists in Jos. 21 and 1 Chr. 6. However these two passages are both in the latest strata of their books, so the original need be no earlier than P. Indeed in Pfeiffer's view, it could date from the age of the original Chronicler! But few would wish to see the book of Joshua still being formed at so late a date.' (ii) He repeats his observation that there is nothing in the language of the lists to help us estimate their age, unless that the division of the tribe of Levi is not found in pre-exilic material. (iii) He sharpens his comments about other mentions of Levitic cities in Chronicles by suggesting that their author, even if not himself responsible for incorporating the list in the preface to his work,

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1. Typical is Ross's comment on p. 86, following Michaeli and Rudolph, '... it is at least plausible that in 2 Chr. 11:13ff. we have no more than an expansion of the account in 1 Kings, illuminated by the author's acquaintance with the list of Levite cities, his distaste for the northern kingdom, and his admiration for the Levite office as he knew it in his own day.'

2. Pp. 89-91.

would know of the cities from the Priestly writings. (iv) 'We may conclude that literary analysis furnishes no evidence for the emergence of the concept of Levitic cities much before the time of the Priestly writer, most of a millenium after their alleged establishment. Most critics therefore follow Wellhausen in doubting if they ever existed.'

Comment has already been made above about Ross's readiness to consider our texts as of 'priestly' interest,[1] and his apparently consequent acquiescence in their attribution to the Hexateuch source P. That of course is an assumption which it is the business of this thesis to explore. The other critical comment appropriate at this stage relates to a feature which appears to follow from this assumption. It is a pity that Ross commits himself to a position of some distrust of the independence of information elsewhere in the Chronicler on the Levites and their cities <u>in advance</u> of his detailed comparison of the two texts. There so many of his detailed conclusions appear to tend in another direction; and one suspects that he might have reached more radical conclusions had he not been already committed to the view that this Levitic material breathed the spirit of the Priestly authors rather than that of the Chronicler. Why counter - in advance of the detailed analysis! - the view that our material cannot be traced earlier than the original Chronicler

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1. Occasionally one detects an indiscriminate use of the terms 'Levitic' and 'priestly', as in two comments on p. 74: (a) '... the memory that there had been shrines served by Levites in various towns'; and (b) 'Jerusalem ... was the priestly city par excellence'.

with the observation 'that few would wish to see the book of Joshua still being formed at so late a date'?

It is in his section on the city lists that the novelty of Ross's contribution is more apparent. This section is in seven parts:

a He deals first with the summaries of the allocations in Jos. 21:4-8 and 1 Chr. 6:46-48.[1] As for the one in Joshua there are no great internal problems,[2] and yet it is not good in context: the list of cities promised in v. 3 does not come for ten more verses. Furthermore there is the discrepancy between v.4 and v. 10, already discussed above;[3] and v. 8 seems to serve better as a conclusion than an introduction. The Chronicler's summary appears after the list of Aaronite cities, which is itself concluded with a summarising total - accordingly the relevant sentence in the summary is omitted. There are difficulties over 6:46 which is clearly corrupt, and Ross defends the opinion that while the absence of Ephraim is unintentional mention of Dan had been deliberately omitted.[4] In short: 'It would appear that the summary

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1. Pp. 94-107.
2. He finds ממשפחות in vv. 5,6 curious - it is not attested in LXX (or Syr or Vulg), although the corresponding verses of the Chronicler have ממשפחת(46) and למשפחותם(47). A further oddity is the absence of בגורל from v. 7, although this is made still more curious by the testimony of LXX^B which lacks the word only in v. 6 - which the Chronicler's evidence confirms (it is found in vv. 46,48 but not in v. 47).
3. On p. 240.
4. He reconstructs that verse as follows ולבני קהת הנותרים למשפחותם ממטה אפרים וממחצית מטה מנשה . Only Dan is missing from the full list in vv. 51-55 - other scholars have noted that tribe's unpopularity in the Chronicles.

in Ch only differs from that in Jo by accident of transmission, and not in substance, except for (i) the omission of the Aaronite part, and (ii) the possible deliberate exclusion of Dan at some stage.' Ross proceeds to a discussion of the relationship between 21:8f. and 6:49f.[1] Verse 49 differs from v. 8a only in the omission of the word 'these' - this 'leaves the sentence as a statement, whose point lies not in its forward or backward reference, but whose function is to add something to what we know about the Levite cities: viz., that pasture-lands (not otherwise mentioned in the summary) were included. This seems to me to be a good, straightforward point, which is lost in the priestly padding of Jo. It would carry more weight if this were once the final sentence in the Chronicler's account of the Levite cities'. Ross adds, 'It is to be noticed that here and here alone in Ch the "people of Israel" are named as those who made the allocation. This seems to link the verse with one of the earlier editorial strands to be discerned in Jo.' Against this the caveat should be entered that nowhere else in the Chronicler is any other agency quoted. Verse 8a in Joshua serves another function - its 'addition' of the word 'these' recalls our attention to the promise of a city list made in v. 3, just as the added relative clause in v. 8b reminds us of v. 2 and its mention of Moses' authority. On verses 9 and 50, Ross offers helpful discussions of the key textual difficulties: the presence or absence of Benjamin, the relative priority of <u>מטה</u> and <u>ממטה</u>, and the hard phrases <u>יקרא אתהן</u>

1. This comes as something of a surprise after the title of this part, which refers only to the summaries in 21:4-8 and 6:46-48.

בשם and יקראו אתהם בשמות . These will be assessed more fully below. His general conclusion is that verse 50 has a purpose to serve at the head of the following section - the corresponding v. 9 in Joshua is also of an introductory character. 'There the reference to "these specified" cities is more natural than in Ch, because it stands at the head of the detailed list ... The editor who added Ch. 51ff to the previous material no doubt found this verse standing immediately after the summary section in his source, as it does in Jo. We must suppose that he took it over, with the minimum (or less) of alteration, because it bore some relation to what he wished to say[1]... We are bound to conclude that Jo preserves the earlier order of the material, giving the summary first, and then listing the cities "by name". The compiler of Ch. has taken such an account as is to be found in Jo, wrenched it apart, and put the pieces together again in a

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1. Ross adds at this point that the run of the text in Jos. 21:9-10 is 'much more natural and logical than that of the corresponding verses in Ch., especially when allowance is made for the disruption caused by the introduction of the explanatory sentence about Hebron.' The logical criterion is at least arguable. As for the text running naturally, one wonders if Ross has taken sufficient account of the unparallelled use of the form מטה בני- in 21:9: not only is it striking in itself, but the corresponding conclusion in v. 16b uses the quite as unusual מאת שני השבטים האלה , while the following introduction begins normally וממטה- . It can hardly be claimed that this terminological variation is affected by the note on Hebron. One might observe, in conclusion, that the Joshua account as a whole is almost flawless logically - but it does seem to preserve traces of a complex prehistory. It follows that when discussing 1 Chr. 6:50 we must consider not just its logical function in that position, but also whether an oddly structured verse is more or less surprising there than in Jos. 21:9.

different order, leaving jagged edges. Yet his actual text is in places simpler and more concise than that of Jo.'

Several of the details of Ross's discussion will be treated below. At this stage one rider might be added to the more general debate which will amplify a point made earlier. We have noted that Jos. 21:4 harmonises ill with vv. 9-10: the latter, like the corresponding material in the Chronicler, emphasise the distinctiveness of the Aaronites - v. 10 explicitly, v. 9 in that nothing such is said of the other groups; the former, while it accords the Aaronites the title of priests, explicitly subsumes them within one of the three clan divisions of Levi. In this it reflects the spirit of the whole Joshua passage in its familiar form. It follows immediately on what Ross too agrees is the special introductory material in vv. 1-3. The possibility must accordingly be taken into account that v. 4 is <u>part</u> of that introduction, and not part of the final Joshua editor's source-material. But if that is the case, then neither of our texts preserves evidence of a regular <u>four</u>-sentence summary paragraph - and accordingly it is open to us to doubt whether such ever existed.

<u>b</u> Next Ross turns his attention to the clan framework.[1] The <u>Chronicler's introductory</u> formulae are basically of the form <u>לבני-</u>.[2] His v. 51 is difficult on any view, and probably corrupt.

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1. Pp. 107-127.
2. Just so in v. 56, and with a verb in v. 42. There is, he argues, no need to query the additional <u>הנותרים</u> in v. 62 (to which Jos. 21:34 gives the correct expansion): 'to the people of Merari, i.e. those that remained' - emphasizing that they were the last grouping.

Of its unusual features, two may well be trustworthy: 'family' is needed to make the distinction from the Aaronite group of the Kohathites; and, while 'territory'[1] is odd in this context, its presence is guaranteed by the parallel in v. 39. Of several unattractive possibilities, Ross is driven to the view that the text underlying Ch was corrupted and the loss made good after a fashion from Jo.[2] 'The original reading was "To the sub-clan (or "families") of the other sons of Kohath (they allotted) from the tribe of Ephraim ...."' - a new start is made necessary in ויתנו 'because the resumptive phrase introduced into the middle of v. 51 ... has cancelled the idea of allotting which has run through the whole list since it was stated in v. 42'. Both of the Chronicler's concluding formulae are unique: למשפחת לבני-קהת הנותרים in v. 55, because all others in both texts give totals and are complete sentences; and that in v. 45 because of the unparallelled form of its concluding במשפחותיהם. Ross has already offered in the previous part his account of this unusual form - that it was entered in the margin 'as a correction for ממשפחת המטה, and subsequently copied into the wrong place'.[3] If one is not

1. Not only so! Whereas MT in the corresponding Jos. 21:20 offers גורלם , LXX attests גבולם as in the verse in question.
2. His other possibilities are (i) 51 is an unintelligibly abbreviated version of Jo. 20, (ii) Jo. 20 is an expanded version that makes much better sense, and (iii) the middle of 51 is lost.
3. He admits in footnote 13 that 'the unusual long form of the suffix may give the word a claim to be considered original ... but probably it represents no more than an effort to cover as many as possible of the letters of a desperate piece of text. The shorter form occurs in the two following verses.'

prepared to allow an eccentric conclusion to an eccentric section, then an alternative conjecture is that the form is a corruption of ומגרשיהם. Ross makes a good point when he argues that the same word at the end of v. 49 is emphatic - if such emphasis is required to conclude the section on the (three) Levitic groups, then why not also at the end of the Aaronite section? The Joshua introductions share the wording of those in Chronicles with only small alterations, but with substantial additions - such as that the group in question are Levites or priests or both. For reasons already given, little comparison is possible with the Joshua conclusions - and the only appropriate comment is that they are unnecessarily repetitious. The results of this part of the enquiry are unambiguous: 'We seem to have come as near as one could reasonably hope to a proof that the Levite city list in Chronicles is taken not from the book of Joshua, but from an earlier version of the material; and that Joshua exhibits a further stage of its development.'[1]

c In this part the relationship of cities of refuge and cities of Levites is discussed.[2] In Jos. 21, each of the six names

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1. Ross's reductio ad absurdum of the opposing position is worth recalling: 'We should have to suppose that the general tendency of texts to grow and accrete had here been reversed; that the compiler of Ch had such an objection to the term "Levites" that he removed it from all the introductions - although this whole major section of his work is devoted to their cities and genealogies; and that, for obscure reasons, he had set his face against concluding formulae (except in the case of the Aaronites).' (p. 126).

2. Pp. 127-142.

specified in Jos. 20 is described in advance as עיר מקלט הרוצח .[1] By contrast, the Chronicler implies that all the Aaronite cities (headed by Hebron) and all the Levitic cities (headed by Shechem) are ערי המקלט .[2] While it would be easy to change plural into singular, the Chronicler's plurals are to be respected.[3] In fact, not only do his vv. 42,52 read better than the corresponding Jos. 21:13,21 but his version of the note about Caleb and Hebron (6:40-41) is earlier than Jos. 21:11-12.[4] And since מקלט is found in very few OT contexts[5] it may be that 'if Ch has taken מקלט from a text earlier than Joshua, it may reflect the oldest surviving use of the word.' As to the six cities themselves of the Jos. 20 list, which appear to be marked out too in our two texts by detail more cumbrous than the average,[6] these Ross believes derive from a short list preserved in the archives beside the list at the basis of our two longer texts. The Chronicler's text documents their confusion at some stage, while Jos. 20 and 21 manifest a not entirely successful attempt to re-separate the two traditions. Ross admits that he has followed 'a somewhat fragile line of argument'; however the problem is admittedly complex and must occupy our attention again below.

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1. Jos. 21:13,21,27,32,(36),38. The doubt over v. 36 is caused by the omission of the section on Reuben from many Hebrew MSS - if the gap is supplied from LXX, rather than the Chronicler as conventionally, no problem arises.
2. 1 Chr. 6:42,52.
3. All versions support them.
4. The latter has been adapted to harmonise better with Jos. 15:13.
5. In fact only Num. 35; Jos. 20,21; and 1 Chr. 6!
6. See the discussion below, pp. 275, 280-287.

d The treatment of the 'pasture-lands'[1] in the two texts gives Ross a similar impression to the formulae of the clan-framework. Mention is even more often repeated in Joshua than Chronicles; and the greater concern with this matter of the Joshua editor is underscored by his concluding v. 42 which only repeats what we have already been told ad nauseam. Given all this interest it is the more noteworthy that they are not mentioned at all in the summary paragraphs (21:4-7 and 6:46-48).

e Another exceptional feature of our texts is the greater unity of the tradition in its transmission of the actual names of the Levitic cities in Transjordan.[2] This 'contrasts sharply with the divergences over the other tribes late in the list, Naphtali and Zebulun. ... We must conclude that this part of the list has had a comparatively short and simple history; which means that it originated at a late stage in the development of the tradition.'[3]

f On the question of the division of the cities into tribes[4] it will serve best to let Ross speak for himself: 'If we have any conclusion to draw from this part of our study, it is that the list of Levite cities in Joshua shows signs of editing and adaptation

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1. Pp. 142-148.
2. Pp. 148-152.
3. Ross draws attention to an odd feature in the LXX of Joshua: in vv. 3-33 it renders מגרשים by ἀφωρισμένα , but in vv. 34-42 by περισπόρια which is the rendering always found in the Chronicler. He wonders whether both Hebrew and Greek traditions in Joshua have been modified in this final Merarite section to accord better with 1 Chr. 6.
4. Pp. 152-168.

to fit into the tribal pattern. Ch does not fit this pattern so well. The numbers of named cities are in several cases less than the four per tribe which is the norm in Jo; and of the places listed, some seem to be under the wrong tribal heading. Shechem and Tabor have already been mentioned. No Kedesh is elsewhere known in Issachar (v. 57), Hammon is listed in Jos. 19:28 under Asher (cf. Ch. 61, Naphtali), and the following name, Kiriathaim, is in the other passages connected with Reuben. Some of these may indicate no more than gaps in our information; Kedesh and Kiriathaim are natural names that could be applied to different places. But there remain some that seem to be the wrong side of a border. It is as though the list had originally been drawn up not on tribal lines, but, as Noth suggested, in broader geographical regions; and when it was carved up between the tribes, it was not possible to get all the towns in an area under the right headings, without a more thorough reorganisation than the editor was prepared at first to attempt. We suggest, then, that a somewhat shorter list of "Levite cities" was first divided between the tribes, and that subsequently it was filled out to give an average four cities from each of them.' Noting that all the Levitic cities ascribed to Reuben and Gad except the two relevant refuge cities of Jos. 20 are to be found in Jos. 13:15-23,24-28, Ross had already suggested that the refuge cities formed the nucleus of the Transjordanian allocation and these were filled out from information elsewhere in Joshua.

g In conclusion he offers an outline account of the development

of the Levite city list.[1] (i) The plain list (perhaps mentioning 'pasture-lands') had probably not extended east of the Jordan and had represented only thinly the extreme west[2] and areas such as Naphtali and Zebulun. (ii) This list was divided between the four groups and between the tribes, entries being made up for the eastern tribes with the help of the cities of refuge. There is no way of telling if all these represented one step, and if not which came first. (iii) The list was augmented to give an average four cities per tribe - it is probable that there was always some variation.[3] (iv) The numerical framework was elaborated, with its

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1. Pp. 168-170.

2. Commenting earlier on the absence of any mention by the Chronicler not just of Dan but also of two of the 'Danite' cities, Ross suggested that Elteke and Gibbethon 'bear some general resemblance to the following pair. And second, they appear consecutively and in the same order in Jos. 19:44, mid-way between Aijalon (v. 42) and Gath-rimmon (v. 45). We are thus presented with two separate and complementary reasons why an editor, anxious to build up the two Danite cities of Ch. into a full tribal complement of four, might pick these particular two.'

3. Ross adds that 'there would not seem to be enough time for a perfectly symmetrical list to degenerate in the way Albright suggests'. One might add that Albright's recovery of an 'original' list of 48 names, four per tribe, is quite brilliant - but has been adopted by many far too uncritically. And apart from such criticism as can be levelled at some of his detailed argument two more general considerations commend caution: (i) Can we really accept his invitation to believe that the two intrusions to the original total (Hebron and Shechem) were accidentally compensated for by two omissions; that in one case (Ephraim) the accident was so remarkable that it occurred in one of the sections that had suffered intrusion; that not only did both texts suffer accidental loss of the same number of names, and at identical points - but that in both cases the Chronicler's copyist passed over the 'next-door-neighbour' of the name lost in the transmission of Joshua? (ii) The total 48 must represent 12 cities for each of four families, or four cities for each of twelve tribes, or an undivided 48 cities representing some simple historical veracity - are not all three possibilities too artificial to be historical? What specific local problems were ever dealt with in such a schematised way?

emphasis on the Levite clan structure; and the numerical summary was drawn up. (v) A writer of Aaronite interests combined the first part of the city list (ii) with the latter three-quarters of the summary, producing the first part of the source of Ch. (vi) To (v) was added the rest of the city list (ii), supplemented from (iii) in its two final sections, where it was conspicuously deficient. This completed the source of Ch. (vii) Final additions were made to (iv), with further emphasis on the 'pasture-lands', to produce the text of Jo.[1]

(4) An alternative hypothesis

In the course of the preceding review of the relevant sections of Ross's thesis, four questions were raised about his methods or conclusions: (a) It was doubted whether it was fair to assess 1 Chr. 6:39-66 by the criteria of a unified text, and whether it could be properly termed a list of Levitic cities. (b) It was noted that the Aaronite/Levitic system of our texts has much closer links elsewhere in Chronicles than in 'priestly' material within the Pentateuch. And to this two further points might be added: Driver's P-terms and his own criterion of

1. His final note is - 'Since the Levite clan names do not appear to have come into use until after the exile, stages (ii) - (vii), if not also (i), must have taken place in the comparatively short period between Nehemiah and the completion of the book of Joshua'.

interest in Aaron and Eleazar[1] relate only to the 'additional' material in Jos. 21 - i.e. what has no parallel in the Chronicler's version; and Ross's four passages in Chronicles, while they may or may not be dependent on our texts for their point of view, all support the present writer's approach to 1 Chr. 6 in one or both of two respects - they operate with a clear distinction between south (Judah) and north (Israel) and between priest (Aaronite) and Levite.[2] (c) Attention was called to the necessity of distinguishing in any assessment of Jos. 21:9 between its logical function (which is passable) and its linguistic form (which is exceptional). (d) It was suggested that quite as good a case could be offered for attributing Jos. 21:4 to the outer structure provided by the latest main editor as for deeming it one of four summary sentences in his source material.

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1. See above p.243. Driver's list is אבות (v. 1) meaning 'households'; אל-פי יהוה (v. 3) as a variant of על-פי יהוה; אחזה (vv. 12,41) meaning 'possession'; מחצית (v. 25) meaning 'half'; and קרית ארבע (v. 11) as a name for Hebron. Of these, only מחצית in v. 25 is parallelled in the Chronicler's text. Although it is found in broadly 'priestly' contexts in the Pentateuch (about 10 times), two points should be noted: (1) it occurs also in 1 Kings 16:9; Neh. 8:3; (2) the Chronicler's text contains one further instance - in v. 46 - although that verse may well be corrupt.

2. 1 Chr. 9:2 appears to mention four categories of Jerusalem settlers: Israel, priests, Levites and temple servants. 1 Chr. 13:2 operates with a similar double distinction, and records the sending of a message (a) 'to all our brethren who remain in all the land of Israel', and with them (b) to the 1 priests and 2 Levites in the cities that have pasture lands. 2 Chr. 11:14 talks of the Levites leaving their holdings and coming to Judah and Jerusalem. And 2 Chr. 31:11ff talks of Hezekiah (in a Judahite context) arranging distribution to Aaronites in the cities of the priests. Such appears to be the spirit of the Chronicler.

Given Ross's support on several other fronts that the form of the material in 1 Chr. 6 is prior to that in Jos. 21, it may now be appropriate to press the logic of two of his arguments to the point of support for an alternative hypothesis more straightforward than his own. He contends that the list was originally much shorter, and secondly that the numerical structure marks one of the later stages in its development - in fact after the division by families and by tribes and after the addition of the Transjordanian cities. The inspiration for these alterations to the list must have come from somewhere.

If we had to analyse 1 Chr. 6:39-66 without any knowledge of a parallel in Jos. 21, and if we paid attention to its general context, the simplest solution we could offer would be that it had <u>just grown</u>.[1] It is made up of four parts, (a) an Aaronite list, (b) a Levitic summary, (c) an Aaronite summary, and (d) a Levitic list - and the end of each part makes a good conclusion. Each part depends on what has gone before, but what goes before is complete in itself.

The summary paragraph is widely regarded one of the latest elements in the development of the text - and so too Ross regards it. It is the placing of this late element in second position that prompts the different two-source or two-stage theories for the composition of our text. Why not accept the challenge of the most straightforward approach to the Chronicler's text and context, and consider the Levitic summary not a <u>deduction</u> from the arrangement

1. It too is a 'collage' - cf. above p. 242, n. 1.

of the full list but its programme? What follows in vv. 51-66 is an early attempt at a list of Levitic cities conforming to the summaries.

It is possible to refine this thesis somewhat.[1] Ross has made plain that the Chronicler's Levitic list is as deficient by the criteria of tribal allocation as it is by the numerical criteria. These problems may be inter-connected - however the latter need not entirely explain the former. It is not impossible that one division was made before the other. The same is true of the summary paragraph.[2] Indeed to cut a lot of speculation short, the following tentative account may be offered of the development of the Chronicler's text:

(i) A list of Aaronite cities (so obviously in and from Judah that no comment was required).

(ii) A summary of the tribes which made allotments to the three Levitic families.[3] Contemporaneous with this, the addition in

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1. The account becomes confessedly more conjectural here.

2. Even if a summary paragraph on the Levitic holdings did mark the second stage in the natural growth of the Chronicler's text, that need not have been identical to the present paragraph. Of its three familiar elements, one is quite indispensable: the division into three Levitical families. Either of the other elements would have sufficed on its own - the holdings of the three families could have been specified in terms of the tribes they were connected with or the number of cities they held, and not necessarily in terms of both as in the present text. Only one need have been original.

3. The difficulty in one of the alternatives in n. 2, a primitive numerical summary, is that the second stage in the growth of the text would already assume the complete system of 48 cities.

v. 45 of 'from the tribe of Benjamin' - the assumption still being that the others in the list were from Judah.

(iii) A pedantic note, using different tribal terminology,[1] setting straight the record as to which tribes had allocated cities to the Aaronites.[2]

(iv) A list of Levitic cities, arranged by families and the relevant allocating tribes.[3]

(v) The addition of the totals, using as close an approximation to regularity as was possible given the presence of 13 names in the first section.[4]

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1. i.e. מטה בני- in place of מטה-.

2. It may be that the absence of a total from this verse confirms the impression already gained (see above p. 259, nn. 2,3) that totals were not a primitive part of the other summary sentences.

3. Whatever the source of this list, it had contained - or had been filled out to contain - names believed to represent all nine (eight?) allocating tribes.

4. Ross's thesis drew attention to the marked constancy in the tradition of the Transjordanian names. A second area of relative constancy is this first Aaronite section - especially if one takes LXX^B as the best representative of the Joshua tradition. The division of the 48 cities - almost 12 to each Levitical family, and almost four to each tribe - is so nearly regular that one suspects there must have been a very strong factor preventing total regularity. The givenness of a list of thirteen names in the oldest part of the source-material may be just this factor. Irregularity certainly has a ring of authenticity! The versions of the Chronicler's text may provide indirect evidence for this: both MT and LXX^B are defective by this criterion - neither attests גבעון (nor in fact does LXX^A), which appears next to גבע in Jos. 21 and could readily represent an early omission by Haplography; and the MT is also without *מטה in eighth place (here it alone agrees with LXX^A). But what is most striking is that despite these two 'minuses' in LXX^A, that version still offers 13 names, offering Βαιθηρ between places 9 and 10, and Λαβεε between 12 and 13 - both otherwise unknown in either Jos. 21 or 1 Chr. 6. A strong need may have been felt to preserve 13 names.

Indeed the present text of Jos. 21, in its main essentials, represents just one further step encompassing (a) the logical re-arrangement of all the above material,[1] (b) the achievement of a list corresponding numerically to the summary, and (c) the setting of the whole in a narrative framework which explained the editor's intentions.

The attractions of this alternative hypothesis are several and various. It permits a straightforward approach to the Chronicler's text on its own merits. Several sources and different strata there may be - but no complicated editorial process. A numerical system may have been added at a late stage in the growth process - but for the rest, the rather unattractive conglomerate was left untouched. It provides us with a source for one of our chapters in the book of Joshua. And the result of this 'find' is that we can observe the editor of Jos. 21 at work, and plot his own contribution quite accurately. Possession of the source of Jos. 21 has important implications for another concern of this thesis as a whole: when both versions are compared with the Chronicler's text, a more controlled opinion can be reached about the relative priority of MT and LXX in Joshua. And lastly, two linguistic irregularities and peculiarities of Jos. 21 become more comprehensible. On the one side the predominant use of -מטה for 'tribe', which is regular only in chapter 20 (3 times) and is found nowhere else in the tradition common to MT and LXX in Joshua, is to be attributed to the source of the chapter. And

1. It is only the Chronicler's introductory phrase in 6:39a that is not used by the Joshua editor.

	Jos 4	Chr –	Jos 5	Chr 46	Jos 6	Chr 47	Jos 7	Chr 18	Jos 10	Chr 39	Jos –	Chr 45	Jos 20	Chr 51	Jos 26	Chr 55	Jos 27	Chr 56	Jos 33	Chr –	Jos 34	Chr –	Jos 40^1	Chr –	Jos 40^2	Chr –
ממשפחת				M					AB									M								
ממשפחת(-חות)			M	AB	M				M					MAB			M	B								M
למשפחת	AB									MAB						MAB						AB				
למשפחת(-חות)	M													MAB		MAB						M				
למשפחתם						MAB		MAB		MAB				AB						MAB				MAB		
במשפחותיהם												M														

The above charts all the occurrences of any form of משפחה (in Jos (= Jos. 21) 1-42 and Chr (= 1 Chron. 6) 39-66) – and in all three versions of each: M(= MT); A(=LXX^A); and B(= LXX^B).

the LXX (A and B) offers a singular form and the MT the corresponding plural. The MT alone has 4 further instances (vv. 5,6, 27,40) all of the plural form ממשפחת - a form which occurs once more in the MT (in v. 10 where the LXX represents the singular form).

b The term occurs in 7 verses of the united Chronicles tradition, again in 5 of these in the same form (vv. 39,47,48,51,55); while in v. 45 the LXX seems to reflect the more regular לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם for the MT's exceptional בְּמִשְׁפְּחוֹתֵיהֶם , and in v. 46 they differ between singular and plural.

c Despite the relative homogeneity of each tradition within itself, it is only in four of the verses common to the two united traditions that they overlap (7/48, 10/39, 20/51, 26/55) - and only in the first of these is the actual form common to all versions. Moreover in no case does one version of either tradition agree in form with the other united tradition.[1]

d All the 'pluses' in the MT of Joshua to the common tradition of Joshua (which in this case is identical with the LXX)[2] are reflected in the common tradition of the Chronicler[3] (with the exception of 21:40 which has no parallel in 1 Chr. 6). Conversely, and with the exception of 6:45, all the Chronicler's 'pluses' to

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1. Such agreement would have provided a powerful argument for deeming defective the other representatives of its tradition. However it does happen that one version agrees with the other tradition in using some form of the term in the same position. See the following point d.
2. In vv. 5,6,26,40.
3. That is completely true only of the first two verses in the summary section, vv. 46,47 - ממשפחת is absent from LXX^A in v. 56.

the four occurrences of the term common to both streams of tradition are reflected in the MT of Joshua. Have we evidence here that the LXX of Joshua is a shortened text?

e Some standardisation may have taken place within each tradition. No version uses all six forms of משפחה found - and only למשפחתם is common to them all. The MT of Joshua and the LXX of the Chronicler may have been more strictly controlled than the others, in that both use only three forms - but not the same three. Perhaps after all one should not make too much of the differences in precise form used. After all the difference between a fem.sing. and a fem.plur. form is slight, even when it is marked with a 'mater lectionis'. Not only so, but most of the למשפחה forms in question are quite as 'genitival' in function as the ממשפחה ones. Within reason then, all that may be significant is the simple presence or absence of some form of the term in a particular verse.

In the face of such conflicting evidence it may be unwise to attempt to detect pattern. However the following is one explanation of the situation - and enough evidence may have been gathered above to provide substance for a critique.

1 To start with the summarising verses 5-7/46-48: it is only in 7/48 that all versions agree in detail, and so this may provide the most appropriate starting-point. The reading in question is למשפחתם. Within the tradition, as Holmes has ably noted,[1] it is easier to consider original the LXX's use of

1. op.cit., p. 72.

the term only in v. 7 - its intrusion into vv. 5,6 being later standardisation. It is likely that Holmes' judgment remains valid when we move to consider the corresponding verses of the Chronicler. At least in his v. 47 the standardisation has been more happily carried out.[1] The case is strengthened when we look more closely at 5/46 and the MT in 6: it is only there - in either Jos. 21 or 1 Chr. 6 - that the term מִשְׁפָּחָה is used to refer to a subdivision of (or synonym for, in the MT of 46) one or more of the 12 tribes; elsewhere it is used only of the Levitical families or their sub-clans. It might be added that if לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹתָם was original in 7/48, then its use is simply stylistic - just as we might use 'in their turn' in a concluding member.

2 The other three common occurrences of the term (in 10/39, 20/51, 26/55) are all in the context of headings or conclusions to the sections on the sub-groups of the Kohathites, i.e. where a further technical term is appropriate, even if not absolutely necessary. In 10/39 the Chronicler's לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹת is likely to have been the original form: it corresponds to the form in Jos. 21:4,[2] which by any account of the production of our present text of Joshua is a foreshadowing of 21:10; and its alteration into מִמִּשְׁפְּחוֹת [3] is readily understandable in the context of the addition made to that verse of the following מִבְנֵי לֵוִי. לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹת[4] is

1. By the use of the identical לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹתָם.
2. Exactly according to the rendering of the LXX, although the MT offers the corresponding plural.
3. Plural in the MT of 21:10.
4. Plural in Jos. 21:20,26.

found also in 21:20,26 and 6:55, with only 6:51 using the difficult ממשפחת. This reading is hard to understand; there is some evidence against it in the versions; and, as Ross has persuasively argued, there must be considerable suspicion that the verse is corrupt.[1]

3 The common assured minimum text is not unreasonable in itself. The expansions and additions and regularisations in the different versions can be readily understood. Whether they have all taken place independently, or whether one or other of the expanded traditions influenced the expansion of another, is hard to pronounce on. What can be observed from the chart is that there are some similarities between the MT of Joshua and the LXX of Chronicles and vice versa; but it is much less clear that any system of dependence can be based on this observation. What is noticeable, however, is that if it is the case that only the four occurrences of the term common to all versions of both traditions are original, then there is a high probability that only the forms למשפחת and למשפחתם are original and that the ממשפחת forms are secondary.

(ii) Jos. 21:9-10: A host of interlocking problems besets any discussion of these verses. Not only do MT and LXX diverge at important points in the Joshua verses, but the parallels in Chronicles are equally uncertain textually. It would be attractive simply to shrug off the problem with the assertion that no challenge to an otherwise good theory could possibly be based on

1. Cf. above pp.249-250.

a foundation so precarious![1] And on the other side a full treatment of the problems would sidetrack us too far from our main thesis. What can be offered more briefly is an account of these verses which takes note of the problems and offers an answer in terms of the hypothesis already set out.

The first point to establish is that 1 Chr. 6:50 occasions no great surprise in its own context. Certainly it is marked out by its already discussed use of מטה בני- for 'tribe' - but that linguistic feature only serves to underline what is already clear from the content of the verse: that it is an afterthought that supplies a summary statement about the tribal connections of the Aaronites. For the rest, most of its features are just what one would expect:

a The use of וינתנו within 1 Chr. 6:39-66 is remarkably orderly. In vv. 40,52 it heads the actual allocations to Aaronites and Levites.[2] In v. 49, in the once-concluding statement, it corresponds to וינתנו in v. 40. And its fourth appearance is in our verse, which resumes and complements vv. 46-49.

b בגורל links both with כי להם היה הגורל at the end of v. 39, and with בגורל in both vv. 46 and 48.

c The use of the preposition מ- with the tribal names corresponds to the structure of vv. 46-48 and is consistent with both

1. Cf. above pp. 247-249 for Ross's account of this problem, and his conclusion that the Joshua version is prior to the Chronicler's.

2. Perception of this pattern may tell against Ross's suggestion (cf. above p. 250) that the use of וינתנו in v. 52 marks a resumption forced on the editor of Chronicles because of an intrusion into the heading in v. 51.

possible interpretations of ויתנו: that it is impersonal, or that its subject is בני־ישראל as in v. 49.

d Cases can be made for the originality of both the MT which details Judah, Simeon and Benjamin and the LXX which details only the first two. The MT may be held to be making good a need created by vv. 46-48 which mention nine other tribes. On the other hand it may be held that the LXX did not mention Benjamin because that tribe's holding had already been specified in v. 45 - all that needed to be made clear in v. 50 was that the hitherto unattributed cities in vv. 42-44 were from Judah and Simeon.

e Indeed the only problem in the verse is its concluding phrase: את הערים האלה אשר־יקראו אתהם בשמות. The expression as it stands thus in the MT is unique. The LXX appears to represent the Hebrew found in the MT of Jos. 21:9 - אשר־יקרא אתהן בשם; however on the one hand it is hard to deduce who is the assumed subject of יקרא, and on the other בשם is only once else found in the OT absolutely. One possible parallel to the MT in 1 Chr. 6:50b is in Num. 32:38: ויקראו בשמות את־שמות הערים אשר בנו, which is unusual but quite intelligible. What appears required by the context is that this phrase mean 'which have (already) been specified'. The verbal theme is surprising if a past reference is intended. But for the rest it is again attractive to take refuge in the negative observation that no close parallel in the OT makes such an interpretation impossible. It might be added that apart from Num. 32:38 already quoted all other appearances of בשמות in the OT are in the set phrase אשר נקבו ... בשמות.[1]

1. Num. 1:17; Ezra 8:20; 1 Chr. 12:32; 16:41; 2 Chr. 28:15; 31:19. Again, if there is anything at all to be said in favour of this suggestion, the closest links are with material in Chronicles.

This phrase would fit well into the context of our verse. It is possible that it originally stood there, and that the verb became corrupt.

In several of these respects, both MT and LXX in Joshua appear decidedly inferior:-

a וַיִּתְּנוּ is found in the four verses (8,9,11,21) whose counterparts in the Chronicler use it, and also in the additional v. 3. This provides a much less orderly schema in a seemingly much more orderly chapter which purports to offer four coordinate summary statements followed by four coordinate full accounts. Why the double use of the verb in the heading to the Aaronite account (vv. 9,11), and the single use in the heading to the non-Aaronite Kohathite account, and the non-use in the two remaining headings? Presumably this lack of pattern was a consequence of the use made of the source-material - the Chronicler's text!

b בגורל is absent from v. 9, but is not to be regarded on this ground to be the only addition, apart from possibly some occurrences of מִשְׁפָּחָה, made to the Chronicler's text after that text had served as the source for Jos. 21. בגורל is found at the end of 21:8b where it is unnecessary. The phrase has no parallel in 1 Chr. 6. And it is most likely that after the text of Jos. 21 assumed much its present form there occurred the simple transposition of וַיִּתְּנוּ and בגורל.

c The LXX in v. 9 appears to be based on a Hebrew Vorlage in which the initial letter of מִמַּטֵּה had been lost by Haplography. It is not clear whether it is this change alone which is responsible

for the alteration of the verb from plural to singular - but it should be noted that the LXX offers an odd singular form also in v. 11.

d Both LXX and MT are difficult over the presence or absence of mention of Benjamin. The LXX's shift from ἡ φυλὴ υἱῶν Ιουδα καὶ ἡ φυλὴ υἱῶν Συμεων to καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς υἱῶν Βενιαμιν is odd, and must represent an alteration to the text (and probably an addition on the basis of the earlier v. 4.[1]). The MT is hardly less difficult. Not only the general context (in which our verse is the opening of the first detailed account, after the transitional v. 8) but also the fact that the following v. 10 is still referring to the whole allocation to the Aaronites make it very odd that only Judah and Simeon are specified as grantor tribes. The editor of Jos. 21 solves this problem in his own formulation of v. 4, which as already noted, may be the inspiration for the addition made to the LXX in our verse. It may be that v. 9 attests the Joshua editor's fidelity to his source, and that accordingly we should prefer the testimony of the LXX in Chronicles.

e Some of the problems of the MT in this verse have already been noted in the discussion of the LXX of 1 Chr. 6:50. Apart from Is. 40:26, בשם always appears in the OT in a construct relationship. If our phrase could be rendered in some such way as 'which he calls by name' then it could be a rather unidiomatic variant of DI's לכלם יקרא בשם, but such a sense has little or no point in our verse. It may represent simply a further corruption

1. The remainder of the verse makes it unlikely that the LXX here was influenced by the MT in 1 Chr. 6:50.

of the already corrupt text of the Chronicler. The markedly different LXX may well represent an attempt to improve the text. The A and B texts are not identical; but they agree in making a sense-break at 'these cities' (v. 9b), in seemingly ignoring אשר, in certainly ignoring ויהי, and in construing ויקרא ... with לבני אהרן ... However the authenticity of at least a part of the MT - the opening words of v. 10: ויהי לבני אהרן - appears to be guaranteed by the use made of this phrase by the editor of Joshua in v. 4.

We must conclude that not only does the relationship of Jos. 21:9-10 with its parallel verses in the Chronicler's text not impede our hypothesis, but in fact our hypothesis contributes to an understanding of some of the complex textual divergences in both Joshua and Chronicles.

(iii) Caleb and Hebron: There are several differences between Jos. 21:11-13 and 1 Chr. 6:40-42 which are better explained as the work of Joshua editors[1] than vice versa. The Joshua form of this material is fuller in four ways: 1 In V. 11, instead of the Chronicler's simple חברון, Joshua offers קרית ארבע אבי הענק היא חברון - this has an exact parallel in Jos. 15:13 and nowhere else.[2] 2 Immediately following, instead of the Chronicler's בארץ יהודה ,[3] Joshua offers בהר יהודה - a phrase which occurs

1. Ross argues (cf. above p.252) also that the Chronicler's text is prior here.
2. Without אבי הענק it is parallelled also in Gen. 23:2 and Jos. 15:54; 20:7. Cf. also Gen. 35:27; Jud. 1:10 and Neh. 11:25.
3. In fact LXX^{B} in 1 Chr. 6:40 may have read only ביהודה (although its τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ may be an inner-Greek corruption).

elsewhere only in Jos. 11:21; 20:7 and in 2 Chr. 27:4. 3 The final word of v. 12, באחזתו, is not represented in the Chronicler's text. 4 The Chronicler does not read the usual ואת-מגרשה after חברון as in the Joshua recapitulation in v. 13.[1] In none of these cases is there a good motive for the Chronicler to have made a deletion.[2] In each case, if we are right in deducing it was the Joshua editors who made additions, these are quite consistent with their methods detected elsewhere.

It appears then that the relationship of 1 Chr. 6:40-42 with Jos. 21:11-13 is perfectly consistent with our hypothesis. In a way this is a striking result. The close link between Caleb and Hebron is only obliquely alluded to elsewhere in Chronicles - but it is a significant element in the apparently later (or post-) Deuteronomistic material in Joshua (14:6-15; 15:13-19).[3] It is a case where one might have expected an exception to the hypothesis - an isolated example of a late insertion to the Chronicler's text to bring it into line with a natural development within the Joshua tradition. However the detailed evidence renders this next to impossible. Yet an insert it is. Such a note can only

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1. Ross (p. 130, n. 53) cautions against making too much of this point, noting that the term is also absent after יתר in third place and suggesting that accidental omission may be an adequate explanation. That may be so. However it is noteworthy that the LXX does attest the term after יתר , but not after the second occurrence of Hebron.

2. As noted above, הר יהודה is used in 2 Chr. 27:4, while ארץ יהודה occurs only in 1 Chr. 16:18, in the context of a Psalm parallel to Ps. 105. As for אחזה , the Chronicler not only uses the term four times, but two of these (1 Chr. 9:2; 2 Chr. 11:14) are in verses dealing with the cities of priests and Levites!

3. See chap. V, pp. 210-218.

have been contrived because of the need to reconcile two conflicting pieces of information.

A word should be said about the method of the insertion. Apparently ולבני אהרן נתנו at the beginning of v. 42 resumes the longer לבני אהרן .... ויתנו להם in v. 39b and the beginning of v. 40. But which is prior to which in terms of the growth of the material? Is the latter a brief recapitulation of the former, or is the former an expansion of the original brief heading made when a suitable opportunity was given? Three comments are appropriate: 1 In the Chronicler's text, it is only in v. 39b that it is made explicit (in the phrase למשפחת הקהתי) that the Aaronites are Kohathites - this is made much clearer in Jos. 21. 2 The phrase למשפחת הקהתי embodies an element unique in the Chronicler's text - all other references to the Kohathites use the form בני קהת. In Jos. 21, the phrase is found not only in the parallel v. 10, but also in v. 4a. Is then this distinctive form the one preferred by the Joshua editor? 3 The concluding words of v. 39b, כי להם היה הגורל, are reminiscent of Jos. 18:11. These three features of v. 39b suggest that our earlier suspicion was not so far wide of the mark - we may be dealing in these verses with an exceptional case of influence on the Chronicler's text from the traditions of Joshua. But not from the present state of Jos. 21 - in this respect at least our hypothesis is sound.[1] The simplest explanation is one that allows us to plot even more exactly the

1. A distinction must be drawn in principle between influence on the Chronicler's text from the book of Joshua or traditions within it (in which each case must be argued on its merits) and influence from the present state of Jos. 21 which now appears excluded.

development of Jos. 21: 1 Chr. 6:39b-41 represent an insert inspired by an earlier edition of Jos. 21 than is now available to us. This conclusion invites us to distinguish in principle, even where our tools are insufficient in practice, between the work of the main editor of Jos. 21 who used the Chronicler's text as his main source and the efforts of subsequent expanders and glossators of his text.[1]

(iv) Cities of Refuge: One final difference between 1 Chr. 6:39-66 and Jos. 21 has not yet been noted. While the Chronicler implies that all the cities he lists are cities of refuge - by his use of ערי המקלט in vv. 42,52 in front of Hebron and Shechem, the cities that head his Aaronite and Levite lists, Jos. 21 by contrast, in agreement with Jos. 20 and in very similar language, specifies six individual cities - including Hebron and Shechem - as עיר מקלט הרוצח. This feature demands full scrutiny, and that will be given in the next main section of this chapter. Suffice it to claim at this juncture that even if thorough investigation were to show that in this respect the information in Jos. 21 is to be preferred, there has still been amassed sufficient evidence for our hypothesis to force us to reckon with another exceptional case of influence from the book of Joshua. In both vv. 42 and 52 the text reads perfectly naturally without the

1. We are fortunate in having criteria for distinguishing between different strata of such glossating activity. The four additions noted on pp. 272-273 were made to the text available to the editor of Chronicles at some stage before its bifurcation into our familiar MT and LXX versions. The section below on the LXX^B in Jos. 21 documents a later series of alterations to this text.

phrase עדי המקלט which may readily be deemed an addition to the basic material.

(6) LXX^{B} in Jos. 21:

At most points in this chapter the LXX(A and B) is united in its divergence from the MT, but at some LXX^{A} agrees with the MT. Accordingly it will be simplest to take LXX^{B} as the representative of the distinctive LXX tradition. At several points it is shorter than the MT: it lacks האלה in the apparently related vv. 3 and 8a; it does not use any form of משפחה in vv. 5,6,27 - and only once in v. 40; it is without ריאשנה in v. 10, הכהן[1] in v. 13, and the concluding ערים ומגרשיהן in v. 19;[1] it lacks בהר אפרים in v. 21 and ומגרשיהן in v. 33. Over some of these differences with the MT, LXX^{B} is in agreement with the Chronicler's text - that this is not the case over the MT's משפחה- 'pluses' has already been noted. At two of these points, LXX^{B} is even briefer than the Chronicler: its lack of בהר אפרים in v. 21 will be discussed in connection with the cities of refuge; its short conclusion to the Aaronite section in v. 19 invites the suggestion that the Chronicler's difficult עיר במשפחותיהם in v. 45 is not original. In some places it attests a text different from the MT, for example גבולם for גורלם in vv. 20,40[2] - again in agreement with the Chronicler. Another case is its 'three' for 'four' in v. 35, concluding a subsection in which it has offered only three names.[1] In the vital following verses 36-37 it is longer than the MT which has lost the whole section on Reuben.[3]

1. Here LXX^{A} agrees with MT.
2. Cf. the discussion of this point in chap. IV, pp. 127-128.
3. Cf. chap. IV, p. 119.

In the main, LXX^B in Joshua 21 shows evidence of being closer than the MT to the source material in Chronicles.[1] At no point, on general considerations, is it a version inferior to the MT. To this extent, our general thesis about the relationship between MT and LXX in Joshua as a whole receives support from the evidence of this chapter.

(7) The edition of Jos. 21

From all of the above discussion it appears that the edition of Jos. 21 will be most securely plotted by a judicious comparison of the LXX^B version of Jos. 21:1-42 with 1 Chr. 6:39-66. The broad lines of this operation have already been made clear. The editor had available as his major source the material familiar to us from the Chronicler's text, with the exception of the note on Caleb and Hebron. This material which had developed gradually he rearranged logically, and in so doing redefined the position of the Aaronites - while he made it clear that they were the priests, he also emphasised that they were not only Levites but a subsection of the Kohathites. By his addition of subtotals, he made explicit the

1. In his discussion of the actual city-names, Albright makes plain that the Greek tradition of the book of Joshua is a necessary middle link in any satisfactory account of the relatedness of the Hebrew texts of Jos. 21 and 1 Chr. 6. This present study underscores his conclusion, but offers a somewhat different explanation. If the testimony of LXX^B to the names themselves is thus strengthened (LXX^A agrees with MT more often than usual over proper names), the consequences for Palestinian toponomy may be considerable.

relationship between the numerical system and the lists of cities - and indeed he may first have had to supplement the city-lists to their full complement of 48. The whole he rounded off with two notes: v. 41 making clear that the full complement of Levitical cities within the אחוזה of the people of Israel was 48 with their מגרשים; and v. 42, which may well be a later supplementary note,[1] emphasising to the point of pedantry that every single city was to be provided with מגרש.

The first two verses are his own narrative introduction, and are unrelated to anything in his main source. Verse 3 is an anticipation of the Chronicler's v. 49, with the addition of מנחלתם[2] and אל-פי יהוה - and when the editor repeats 1 Chr. 6:49 in its own place after the summary sentences, he adds to it the concluding phrase כאשר צוה יהוה ביד-משה , which repeats his own יהוה צוה ביד-משה in the middle of v. 2.

Our case about the note on Hebron requires a reconsideration of the comments made earlier about the relationship of v. 4 to vv. 9-10. If the end of 1 Chr. 6:39b was not an original part of the Chronicler's text, it is no longer adequate to suggest that Jos. 21:4 is simply a rewriting and improvement of verses 9 and 10 which the editor had found in separate parts of his source but had

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1. The verbal form תהיינה is odd here, providing a strange sequence. The LXX, which has no verb - κύκλῳ τῶν πόλεων τούτων πόλις καὶ τὰ περισπόρια κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ταύταις - is in no way preferable.

2. This exact form of נחלה is unique - it is not clear whether the LXX's ἐν τῷ καταχληρονομεῖν at this point attests a different Vorlage or a loose translation.

brought together as part of his rearrangement of that material.[1] The first words of v. 4 may be taken as a recollection by the editor of Jos. 18:11 about Benjamin, inspired by his desire to give the Kohathites pre-eminence over the Aaronites - the term גורל being readily available in the summary sentences. In the remainder of the verse he fashioned a new summary sentence - a partly on the model of the following summaries, b partly on the basis of v. 9/50, and c adding his characteristic הכהן מן-הלוים to the original simple heading לבני אהרן in 1 Chr. 6:39,42. So much for his own introduction. When he came to rework the Chronicler's own material, he first of all left v. 9/50 in its original place after v. 8/49; then he expanded לבני אהרן into a full sentence on the basis of some of the material in his own v. 4;[2] and finally he inserted a note about Caleb and Hebron.[3] If this may be reckoned a more appropriate account of the genesis of 21:10, then another look must be taken at the reference of להם in כי ... הגורל. If the verse as a whole is the construction of the Joshua editor, with only לבני אהרן derived from the Chronicler's text, then the reference must be to למשפחת הקהתי and not to לבני אהרן. So understood, there is no intentional discrepancy between v. 4 and v. 10. Certainly 1 Chr. 6:39b, when read in its total context, gives a different impression - as argued above on p.240. However what now transpires is that v. 39 is no original part of the

1. Cf. above pp. 240-241, 249.
2. Verse 10 opens with ויהי לבני אהרן as does v. 4b; this is immediately modified by למשפחת הקהתי from v. 4a; and the verse concludes with a note, derived also from v. 4a, about whose was the preeminence.
3. In vv. 11-12.

Chronicler's text and so cannot be interpreted with reference to once alien material.

The discussion has been a long one - but the conclusions important for the argument of the thesis as a whole. At first sight, Jos. 21 is a simple case of the almost regular division of a list of 48 cities between four Levitical families and twelve tribes. Only the availability of both markedly different versions of Jos. 21 and a quite distinct, although largely parallel, account of the material invites and provides ready criteria for a thorough scrutiny of the chapter. What refinement of analytical procedures would be necessary to achieve such results without knowledge of such texts? How many texts are insufficiently scrutinised because of the inadequacy of our criteria?

B The Cities of Refuge

Jos. 20, on the cities of refuge, presents us with a related problem - and also a somewhat analogous one: there is textual divergence (LXX^B is without almost all the material in MT's vv. 4-6);[1] and while there is clearly related material it appears in very few OT contexts.

Though closely related to it, Jos. 20 is apparently not from the same stratum as Jos. 21. While in the latter the Levitical chiefs take the initiative (at least in reminding Joshua and his fellow leaders of an earlier divine directive) in the former we are

1. In fact it concludes v. 3 rather differently - in such a way that its v. 3 is virtually identical to Num. 35: 11b-12. See below on Num. 35.

dealing with a divine reminder of a divine directive. The form of the introduction, vv. 1-2a,[1] is very familiar from the Pentateuch and is in fact almost precisely parallelled in the introduction to the same topic in Num. 35:9f.[2]

Only that passage and two passages in Deuteronomy (4:41-43 and 19:1ff.) legislate for the institution of cities of refuge. Deut. 19, which may well be the earliest of the three texts, establishes a geographical and practical rationale for the apportionment of refuge cities throughout the land and provides for the setting apart of three additional cities west of the Jordan once the conquest is complete.[3] Deut. 4:41-43 (and that chapter is widely regarded one of the latest elements in the book) names the three Transjordanian cities to which Deut. 19 was presumably referring. Num. 35:9ff. starts rather than finishes with the total of six refuge cities. These, contrary to Deut. 19, are to be established after the crossing of the Jordan. The six are not named, but are simply specified as three across the Jordan and three in the land of Canaan. Is the legislation in Num. 35 and Deut. 19 dependent on a list, perhaps our list reflected in Jos. 20, of six names? Or is it ideal legislation which is in fact the inspiration to produce lists like Deut. 4:41-43 .

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1. Concluding with לאמר as here: Ex. 31:12f; Lev. 4:1f; 5:14,20; 6:12,17f; 7:22f,28f; 12:1f; 23:23f,33f; Num. 5:5f (LXX); 9:9f.
2. The difference being only the concluding ואמרת, as also in Lev. 1:1f; 18:1f; 23:1f,9f; 25:1f; 27:1f; Num. 5:11f; 6:1f; 15:1f,17f,37f; 33:50f.
3. This point is well stated in M. Weinfeld's Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School (1972), p. 237.

and Jos. 20:7-8? And which is prior - Deut. 4 or Jos. 20?

Jos. 20:7-8 rather gives the impression of ad hoc arrangement. It is the only text which deals first with the cities west of the Jordan - these (in accordance with Deut. 19?) it describes geographically: Kedesh of Galilee, in the hill-country of Naphtali; Shechem, in the hill-country of Ephraim; and Kiriatharba ... , in the hill-country of Judah. The cities east of the Jordan it appears to classify tribally: Bezer in the desert, on the plateau, from the tribe of Reuben; Ramoth in Gilead, from the tribe of Gad; and Golan in Bashan, from the tribe of Manasseh.[1]

Whatever the source of the information about the Transjordanian cities, the present form of 20:8 may be dependent on the terminology of Jos. 21. Even if the names and order in which they are given and tribal affiliation of each is derived from Deut. 4:43, it would appear that the distinctive ממטה ראובן etc. have been borrowed from the following chapter. It should also be noted that if Jos. 20:8 is derived from Deut. 4:43, the editor has shortened an original בארץ המישר to the simpler במישר.

That the editor of Jos. 20 has derived material from Jos. 21

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1. Our only records of the Transjordanian refuge cities (Deut. 4 and Jos. 20-21 assign one refuge city to each tribe represented there. Does an earlier geographical classification lurk behind the familiar one: Bezer, for the desert; Ramoth, for Gilead; and Golan, for Bashan? Perhaps, but a further possibility is that all these names were genuinely 'double-barrelled'. This particular Ramoth is regularly specified as the one in Gilead; and a southern בצר may well have required to be distinguished from the north Edomite בצרה. Kedesh too of the western group was of course also a common name.

is made more credible when we turn our attention to the western cities in v. 7. There at least two of the three names appear in the same form as they do in Jos. 21,[1] while the name of the hill-country, for which each is the centre, is identical to the name of the tribe to which each is ascribed in that chapter. This is most noticeable in the case of Galilean Kedesh, for nowhere else in the OT does the geographical term הר נפתלי. appear.[2]

Is it possible that the six names and their attendant details in Jos. 20:7-8 were quarried from Jos. 21? Certainly the regular account of the matter is quite the reverse. It is widely reckoned that Jos. 20 embodies an independent list of six names; that it is either fortuitous that the following list of 48 contains them all, or that in its elaboration space was deliberately made for them; and that each was clearly designated a refuge-city within the text of Jos. 21.

Two aspects of this account are hard to fault: there is evidence for an independent tradition about the provision of six refuge-cities; and the designation of six names in Jos. 21 as cities of refuge is dependent on Jos. 20. However it strains credulity that agreement in the actual form and detail of the six names between Jos. 20, Jos. 21 and I Chr. 6 should be so close

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1. Kedesh and Shechem.
2. Yet one other OT text does explicitly link Kedesh with Naphtali - Jud. 4:6, which talks of Kedesh Naphtali as a double name.

if the links between them did not occur at a late stage in their development.[1]

It has already been noted that ערי המקלט in 1 Chr. 6:42,52 has no close link with the surrounding material.[2] If our account of the genesis of the Chronicler's text is at all near the mark, the labelling of his Aaronite and Levitical cities as 'cities of refuge' appears quite gratuitous. And, as Ross has well argued,[3] it is most unlikely that the Chronicler's text has been modified in this respect from Jos. 21 as we know it. Such a change could only have been a matter of principle - and a statement of principle could hardly be achieved so inconspicuously. In fact, what is really surprising is not that 1 Chr. 6 has a different account from Jos. 21 of refuge-cities but that it has one at all. It is appropriate therefore that here as elsewhere its testimony be taken seriously.

It is not impossible then that Jos. 20, like the note on Caleb and Hebron already discussed, marks the reconciliation of once diverse traditions - but not necessarily once diverse traditions about מקלט ![4] We may assume that in its first edition

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1. The Hebrew texts of Jos. 21 and 1 Chr. 6 share only about half of the other's names (in terms at least of exact identity. This general feature makes all the more striking the total agreement over these six names (excepting Bezer which Jos. 21 has lost with the whole Reuben section) and the near total agreement (noted by Ross) over the other Transjordanian names.
2. Above, pp. 275-276
3. op.cit., pp. 133-136 (esp. p. 134); cf. above pp. 251-252.
4. Here again the discussion is indebted to Ross's treatment of this point.

the account of the Levitical cities in Joshua, like its source in Chronicles, described the cities as ערי המקלט. What the precise original meaning of that phrase was is no longer certain. However it does appear to be the case that it overlapped sufficiently with the Deuteronomic legislation for six ערים לנוס שמה הרוצח[1] to cause a problem for a body of material now embedded in the Deuteronomistic corpus. Jos. 20 represents the solution to the problem: it is now to ערי המקלט (the Chronicler's phrase) mentioned in v. 2 that the killer is to flee (so v. 3 using the Deuteronomic terminology); six names are abstracted from Jos. 21 (hence their precise equivalence with the names in that chapter);[2] and Jos. 21 is altered to agree with the new conception. It is the equation of ערי המקלט with ערים לנוס שמה הרוצח that requires the alteration to the tradition.

One hitherto unmentioned detail would appear to clinch the case that Jos. 20 is based in part on a late edition of Jos. 21 - the naming of Hebron. Discussion of the note on Caleb in Hebron has already made it likely that the elaboration about Kiriath-arba

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1. cf. Deut. 19:2-3.
2. The problem of the constancy of the tradition in both Joshua and Chronicles in the matter of these particular names still stands. Were these six cities inherently so well known that they were less easy to corrupt? Perhaps, but some of them we know only in this context. Did they at least become fixed in the attention of succeeding generations of transmitters of the biblical traditions once they were singled out in Jos. 20 as the refuge cities? One element in Ross's discussion of the Transjordanian Levitical cities was that this section had crystallised round the refuge cities from Jos. 20. This may now appear less likely - if we could be sure that Deut. 4:41-43 was earlier than Jos. 20, that could be the source.

was no original part of that note. What has not yet been underlined is that mention of מקלט is made first with the recapitulation of the name Hebron in v. 13/42. Is this sufficient evidence for maintaining that mention of ערי המקלט is subsequent to the insertion of the note on Caleb, and so the contribution of a Joshua editor? That apart, it can be more confidently argued that the author of Jos. 20 telescoped the use of the ancient name Kiriath-arba in v. 11 with the reference to מקלט in v. 13 - this is more probable than that an editor of Jos. 21 divided the information in 20:7 between vv. 11 and 13. One small detail appears at first sight to tell against this case - is not הר יהודה in v. 11 derived from 20:7, where it is not part of the name Hebron but the name of the area it served? The answer to this is yes and no! הר has been influenced by the text in 20:7 - but only as a replacement of ארץ, which as 1 Chr. 6:40 shows was already a part of the text. That appears to be the explanation for the appearance of 20:7's הר יהודה in 21:11,[1] but not הר אפרים (according to the LXX)[2] in 21:21 or הר נפתלי in 21:32. This line of argument offers the additional bonus of providing a defence for an assumption made earlier, that the first stage in the development of the Chronicler's text was a list of Aaronite cities (so obviously in and from Judah that no comment was required).[3]

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1. That is, we are not dealing here with a mindless lifting of the whole phrase from Jos. 20:7 as if all part of the name.
2. And even the MT, which adds the expression, does so after ואת-מגרשה!
3. See above p. 260.

It now appears that that list may originally have read as follows:

לבני אהרן נתנו את-חברון בארץ יהודה ואת-מגרשיה סביבותיה

ואת-לבנה ואת-מגרשיה .... The implication was that all were in the land of Judah, and all had מגרש around them - a prefiguring of what Jos. 21:42 emphasises so pedantically.

Only one other OT text links discussion of 48 Levitical cities with legislation for six cities of מקלט - Num. 35. It is to that chapter that our attention must now be turned.

C Numbers 35: Levites and Refuge

For our purposes, this chapter may conveniently be divided into three sections: vv. 1-8 report the initial command for the institution of 48 Levitical cities; vv. 9-15 the institution of six refuge cities; while vv. 16-34 offer a definition of different kinds of killing. It is easier to agree with Noth's observation that the casuistic directions in the third section for the use of the asylum provision are a secondary addition to vv. 9-15[1] than it is with his subsequent argument that vv. 1-8 are also later than vv. 9-15.[2] His case is based on his conclusions about Jos. 20-21: since Num. 35:1-8, with its explicit mention of 48 cities in v. 7, is based on a late form of Jos. 21 - a form later than its expansion based on Jos. 20 and the cities of refuge - it must represent a very late stage in the growth of the book of Numbers.[3]

1. UGS, p. 192, n. 2.
2. op.cit., pp. 195-196.
3. Noth's basic concern in this discussion is over the attribution to P of any of this material. His conclusion is that there is only a serious question in respect of Num. 35:9-15, but that even these verses turn out to have no connection with that Pentateuchal source.

However, if the chapter is assessed on its own merits without any backward glance at other material, it is difficult to come to any opinion other than the simplest most obvious one: that the chapter has just grown by progressive supplementation.[1] First the provision of 48 cities for the Levites is described; then the definition of six of these as refuge cities; and finally a discussion of the use and misuse of these six cities. On general grounds this is the most straightforward analysis. If anything it is supported by our own discussion of the relationship between Jos. 20 and Jos. 21. But more important it receives support from two details in Numbers.

The first is that 35:1-8 share two material elements with an earlier section of Num. 32-35 - 33:50-56. Both are commands explicitly located בערבות מואב (33:50; 35:1); and both operate on the principle of proportional allocation (33:54;[2] 35:8). These characteristics make it at least not unlikely that 35:1-8 is a part of a larger whole, rather than an isolated late addition.

The second argument may carry more weight. 35:6 is almost certainly intrusive. It can be by no means certain that the remaining verses 1-5, 7-8 are an original unity;[3] but it is the heaviness of v. 6 in its present context that most immediately

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1. Cf. the argument offered above about 1 Chr. 6:39-66.
2. This verse even Noth agrees to be part of the original pericope — he deems vv. 52,53,55,56 secondary (op.cit., p.195, n. 1).
3. The elimination of v. 7 on somewhat similar grounds would enable one to 'recover' a version of the tradition that did not specify the total 48.

attracts attention. It is designed, its opening words seemingly drafted on the basis of the first words of v. 7 or v. 8, to anticipate the following section (vv. 9-15). This situation within vv. 1-8 is more readily comprehensible if vv. 9-15 were added to vv. 1-8 than if the reverse were the case. If 35:1-5, 7-8 did presuppose the traditions about the Levitical and refuge cities as we meet them in Jos. 21, and was secondary to 35:9-15, then (a) one should expect the arithmetical implications of the system to have been more consistently presented, and (b) it is surprising that only the supplementary v. 6, and not vv. 1-8 as a whole, takes note of the following already existing section.

It appears then that an analysis of the structure of Num. 35 suggests that in Numbers as in Joshua discussion of six refuge cities is secondary to discussion of cities for the Levites. It now falls to be discussed whether the relationship between Num. 35: 1-8 and Jos. 21 on the one hand and Num. 35:9-15 and Jos. 20 on the other can be more closely plotted.

Num. 35:1-5,7-8 expresses exactly the same conception of cities for the Levites as does Jos. 21. In principle then it could either be derived from it or have served as part of its inspiration. That they represent fundamentally the same tradition is clear from the language they share. In both, the grant is of ערים לשבת, is made ללוים (i.e. not לבני לוי) and from אחזת בני ישראל.[1] However, several of the expressions in Num. 35:1-8, while clearly related to those in Jos. 21, are fuller:

1. Cf. Num. 35:2,8 and Jos. 21:2,3,41.

the grant is made מנחלת אחוזתם and not simply מנחלתם ; the associated מגרשים are לבהמתם ולרכשם ולכל חיתם and not simply לבהמתנו .[1] The total is expressed more fully in Num. 35:7 than Jos. 21:41.[2] The fuller version is more likely to be the derived one; and so in this respect we may agree with Noth's conclusion that Num. 35:1-8 does depend on Jos. 21.

Num. 35:9-15 opens with the alternate form of the heading to Jos. 20[3] - these headings are more at home in Numbers than Joshua (in which 20:1-2a is unique). 35:10b has very close parallels in 33:51 and 34:2 - but one element in these verses is common in Deuteronomy, the participial אתם עוברים / אתה עובר. The present state of the text of Jos. 20 may mask a link between 20:7 and Num. 35:11. It has long been observed that some such form as ויקרו ,[4] related to והקריתם of 35:11 could have produced ויקדשו of 20:7 by assimilation to the following name קדש .[5] Verse 11b is virtually identical to the LXX of Jos. 20:3a, with an opening ונס for לנוס. Of the terms for killer in these verses, רוצח is found in Deuteronomy as well as Numbers and Joshua, while מכה-נפש is restricted to the broadly priestly literature,[6] as

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1. Cf. Num. 35:2,3 and Jos. 21:2,3.
2. 35:7 כל-הערים אשר תתנו ללוים ארבעים ושמנה עיר אתהן ואת-מגרשיהן

   21:41 כל ערי הלוים ערים ארבעים ושמנה ומגרשיהן
3. Cf. above, p. 281, nn. 1,2.
4. Cf. BHS, ad loc.
5. It is interesting to speculate whether this verb is also masked by the troublesome ויקרא(ו) in Jos. 21:9; 1 Chr. 6:50.
6. Lev. 24:18; Num. 35:11,15,30; Jos. 20:3,9.

is בשגגה .[1] Verse 12 is again almost the same as Jos. 20:3b (LXX). Verse 13 has the identical opening to v. 8; and the verse as a whole may be part of the model on which v. 6 is constructed. מעבר לירדן of v. 14 is again parallelled exactly in the LXX of Jos. 20 (v. 8), while the MT has the additional words יריחו מזרחה as in Jos. 13:32.[2] The phrase is used in opposition to בארץ כנען in Num. 32:32 and Jos. 14:1/3. The two concluding verses, 35:15 and at least 20:9a[3] are also apparently related, but the correspondence between them are less obvious until their final shared לנוס ... בשגגה.

There appear to be no grounds for making an exceptional case for the preferability of the longer MT in Jos. 20. Its additional vv. 4-6, where they do refer to other refuge traditions, are related always to Deut. 4 and 19; and in other respects too their language is reminiscent of both Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.[4] But which is prior: Num. 35:9-15 or Jos. 20 (LXX^B)? This is less easy to settle on the grounds used in the discussion of vv. 1-8 and Jos. 21. Certainly some of the formulations in Jos. 20 are a little tighter, which may be a mark of their priority. In both, expressions which are broadly 'priestly' predominate; yet both also contain the Deuteronomic phrase לנוס שמה הרוצח. How and

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1. Lev. 4:2,22,27; 5:15; 22:14; Num. 15:26,27,28,29; 35:11,15; Jos. 20:3,9.
2. The simple phrase is found in Num. 32:19,32; 35:14; Jos. 14:3; 17:5; 20:8.
3. 20:9b is more or less a restatement of 20:3b (LXX^B).
4. עד מות הכהן הגדול in v.6 is its only expression to be parallelled anywhere in Leviticus and Numbers - in Num. 35:25, 28. That in itself may be testimony to its recent provenance.

where is this blending of the traditions more likely to have occurred - in an elaboration of the theory of six refuge cities at a late stage in the growth of the traditions at the end of Numbers, or in a specification of the six cities at a similarly late stage in the development of Joshua? The answer at this stage is unimportant - what does count is the demonstration that both texts have a related function and that both are late arrivals on their respective scenes.

D Related Elements in Joshua

(a) Before embarking further on this study, it will be well to review the language used by the editor of Jos. 21 and where else in the OT it is found:

ויגשו ... וידברו (ויאמרו) : Num, 32:16; Jos. 14:6.

ראשי אבות (as a construct):[1] + הלוים : Ex. 6:25;

+ המטות לבני ישראל :[2] Num. (30:28) 32:28; Jos. 14:1.

יהוה צוה ביד-משה : Ex. 35:29; Lev. 8:36; Num. 15:23; 36:13; Jos. 14:2; 17:4(LXX); Jud. 3:4.

ערים לשבת : Num. 35:2; Jos. 14:4.

מגרשי- (outside Num. 35, Jos. 21 and 1 Chr. 6): Jos. 14:4; 1 Chr. 5:16; 13:2; 2 Chr. 11:16.

לבהמתנו : Num. 35:3 (Jos. 14:4).

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1. The related form ראשי אבות ל- is found in Num. 36:1; 1 Chr. 8:6; 9:9,33; and ראשי האבות ל- in Num. 36:1; Jos. 19:51; 1 Chr. 15:12; 24:6,31; 26:21,26; 2 Chr. 5:2; 19:8; 23:2; 26:12.
2. It is construed also with העדה in Num. 31:26.

אל-פי יהוה : Jos. 15:13 (MT); 17:4.

ויצא הגורל : Jos. 16:1 (MT); 18:11 (LXX); 19:1,10 (LXX), 17,24, 32,40; 1 Chr. 24:7; 25:9.

בתוך אחזת בני ישראל : (1) only precise parallel to אחזת בני ישראל is in Num. 35:8;

(2) for somewhat analogous uses of בתוך cf. Num. 32:30; 35:15; Jos. 14:3; 15:13; 16:9; 17:4,6,9; 19:9,49; 20:9; 22:19.

תהיינ(ה) : Gen. 41:34; 49:26; Ex. 25-28(x4); Lev. 23:15,17; Num. 35:11,13,14,15; 36:3,6[2]; Deut. 21:15; Is. 16:2; 17:2; ...

(b) The links between the above and Num. 35 have already been noted; and those with Jos. 14:1-5 will be discussed below. However some comments are appropriate at this stage about the links between Jos. 21 and other parts of Joshua.

i Jos. 14:6 has a similar opening: ויגשו ... ויאמר. Like the Levites, Caleb is something of a special case within the system presented in the second half of Joshua. However there are significant differences between the two verses; in 14:6 there is a change of subject between the two verbs, from the people of Judah to Caleb; in 14:6, the place of the meeting is given in the first clause - in 21:1, in the second; and while in 14:6 the dealings are only with Joshua (simply named thus), in 21:1 they are with Eleazar the priest, Joshua son of Nun, and the family heads ... It is unlikely therefore that both belong to the same stratum of the book's development. Either 14:6 is a brief reminiscence of 21:1 - and this might most likely be the case if

v. 6aα were a new Judahite introduction to this Caleb story;[1] or, more probably, the fuller 21:1 may have been modelled in part on 14:6.

ii Jos. 15:13 shares three elements with Jos. 21: It uses נתון to describe the relationship between Caleb's חלק and the people of Judah - נתון is a particularly frequent term where the editors of the second half of Joshua are dealing with an exception to their basic material. The MT attests אל-פי יהוה ; and we have seen reason in an earlier chapter[2] to suppose that here its reading may be preferable. And finally, although we may not here be dealing with the main editor of Jos. 21, Jos. 15:13 is one of the passages which offers a parallel to Jos. 21's mention of Kiriath-arba, the previous name of Hebron, and is in fact the only passage which offers a complete parallel. Jos. 15:54; 20:7 (and Gen. 23:2) read simply קרית ארבע היא חברון. Presumably this alternative naming was not original in all of these passages - the element קרית ארבע היא could have readily been inserted before any occurrence of the name חברון , as happened in Jos. 21:11. It has been argued above that 20:7 is in fact based on 21:11; and the priority of 15:54 would be hard to claim. Is 15:13b then the archetype of these learned notes? It certainly represents a natural rephrasing of the information provided in 14:15a, such as could be expected of an editor who was continuing the tale of Caleb and his associates (begun in 14:6-15) after a break.[3] There was no need to add

1. See chap. V, p. 214.
2. See chap. V, p. 215.
3. It is argued by Beltz (cited in chap. V, p. 213 , n. 1) - although with too little attention to detail - that both 14:6-15 and 15:13-19 are based on the same basic tradition. This is hard to deny; but modifications appear to have occurred especially in 14:6-15 which has several Deuteronomistic elements.

אבי הענק at every repetition of this learned note. What we meet in Jos. 21 is a pedantic assimilation of v. 11 to its source.[1] And if the use of בתוך and אל-פי יהוה in 15:13 as well as Jos. 21 is deemed sufficient ground for ascribing both to the same stratum, the material may have developed as follows: The same Joshua editor was responsible for both the note in 15:13-19 and the fundamental re-edition of the Chronicler's material on the cities. His interest in the Caleb traditions necessitated an addition to the list inherited from the Chronicler - and this was achieved quite simply in the words of 1 Chr. 6:41. That note solved the material problem very economically. His own words in 15:13b (perhaps his own formulation on the basis of 14:15a) were subsequently inserted in 21:11 - and in full: with אבי הענ(ו)ק.

iii Several expressions in 17:2-6 are reminiscent of Jos. 21. הנותרים in vv. 2,6 and למשפחתם in v. 2 (twice) are less important - they are inherently less remarkable and furthermore they belong to the Chronicler's material and are not part of the distinctive edition of Jos. 21. The situation is different in vv. 4ff. Firstly the officials approached are described almost identically to those in 21:1, with only הנשיאים for the fuller ראשי אבות המטות לבני ישראל there. The LXX then attests יהוה צוה ביד-משה לתת-לנו

1. Or, if it is accepted that the same editor is responsible for both 15:13 and the first draft of the note on Hebron in Jos. 21, an assimilation of that note to the form in which the information of which it takes account is first presented.

as in 21:2; and there follow בתוך (vv. 4,6) and אל-פי יהוה (v. 4) - and מעבר לירדן (v. 5). Despite the variant mention of the supporting officials,[1] there would appear to be enough evidence here to justify the assertion that we are dealing here with the same - or at least a very closely related - editorial stratum as is represented in Jos. 21.

(c) Some of the problems of Jos. 14:1-5 have already been discussed in the context of our evaluation of the testimony of the LXX to the textual history of the book of Joshua.[2] Our conclusions there were that the text of the MT was to be followed except at v. 2a where the LXX was preferred. However these conclusions are irrelevant to our immediate concerns.

The passage has several puzzling aspects: vv. 1-3 use forms of √ נחל (x5), while vv. 4-5, √ חלק (twice); כאשר צוה יהוה is construed in v. 2 with ביד-משה but in v. 5 with את-משה ; and v. 1 is a very cumbersome sentence, with 1b apparently offering a modification of the sense of 1a.[3] The most ready explanation

1. If the similarity of the contexts is not in itself sufficient ground for considering that one editor used the two terms indiscriminately for the same officials, texts can be quoted to show that others did make the equation: Num. 36:1 - ולפני הנשיאים ראשי אבות לבני ישראל ; and 1 Kings 8:1 - את-כל-ראשי המטות נשיאי המטות לבני ישראל.

2. See chap. IV, pp. 145-148.

3. It is hard to determine precisely the intended structure of this verse. In 1a, ואלה could refer to either the subject or the object of נחלו - if the former (and that is the interpretation of the LXX), then נחלו is used absolutely and בני-ישראל represents a further specification of the subject ('These are they - I mean of the people of Israel - who received/distributed inheritances in the land of Canaan.'); but if the latter, then 19:51 offers an appropriate expansion. As for 1b, it is possible that that relative clause has as its antecedent either an assumed הנחלות or בני-ישראל - to judge from the usage of 3rd person plural suffixes elsewhere in Joshua, אותם may be common gender, (Contd.

for all these phenomena is that three editorial strata are represented in these verses: (1) v. 1a - an introduction corresponding to the conclusion found in 13:32; (2) an expansion and correction of this in vv. 1b-3; and (3) in vv. 4-5 an explanation of this[1] and a final rounding-off.

This stratification of the passage receives some support when the parallels between it and Jos. 21 are observed. Jos. 14:1b provides the only exact parallel to the naming of the officials in 21:1. In v. 2 we meet כאשר צוה יהוה ביד-משה ; and in v. 3 both מעבר לירדן and בתוך. However, in v. 4, while there is mention of ערים לשבת, it is למקניהם ולקנינם[2] that מגרשיהם

Contd.) not masculine. נחלו in 1b must be transitive as pointed in the MT - is it likely that in an unpointed text the MT's assumed shift from intransitive (1a) to transitive (1b) was tolerable? Of course, as the alternative translations above demonstrate, the decision whether נחלו in 1a is transitive or not does not solve the problem of the reference of אלה - that is made quite clear by a consideration of 13:32, which may be rendered either 'These are they to whom Moses distributed inheritances ... ' or 'These are the inheritances which Moses distributed ... '. In such a maze of possibilities, no certainty can be claimed. But at least it is not excluded to suggest that the editor of 19:51 discerned the original intention of both 13:32 and 14:1; that 13:32 and 14:1a were intended to correspond and should be rendered 'These are the inheritances which Moses distributed ... which the people of Israel distributed in the land of Canaan.'

1. 14:4 explains just how v. 3's arithmetic works: the absence of Levi from the 12-tribe reckoning is compensated for by considering Manasseh and Ephraim two tribes (4a); yet Levi's absence is not complete (4b).

2. קנין appears just 10 times in the OT, six of these in association with מקנה (Gen. 31:18; 34:23; 36:6; Ezek. 38:12,13; and here). It is interesting that in the second and third Genesis passages listed both are associated also with בהמה which they appear to have replaced in our verse.

are designed. This alteration of the terminology of Jos. 21:2, which is preserved (although expanded) in Num. 35:3, when taken along with the other differences in usage found in vv. 4-5, is best explained by positing a third stratum.

It is the second stratum within 14:1-5 that is to be associated with the production of 15:13; 17:4ff; and 21. The implication is that 14:1a was already part of the text which this editor inherited. This heading appears to correspond both with the conclusion in 13:32 and with the conclusion in 19:49a. As to the former correspondence, 13:32 concludes what happened בערבות מואב, while 14:1a opens what took place בארץ כנען. However it is remarkable that while Moses was the agent in Transjordan, it was the people of Israel in Canaan.[1] The people of Israel are again apparently the subject of the verb ויכלו in 19:49a - they are explicitly the subject of the following verb in v. 49b. Is this evidence of an editorial stratum in the second half of Joshua which ascribed less prominence to Joshua and more to the people as a whole as masters of their fate?[2] Before this point of view is too quickly accepted, the following details should be observed. 19:49a, if it was originally linked with the following vv. 49b-50, does ascribe prominence to Joshua in honouring him with an inheritance of his own. Its use of את-הארץ as object of לנחל does not accord perfectly with 14:1a's אלה - that presumably implies הנחלות , as 19:51 makes specific. However it may take up

1. Perhaps this should not be stated with such certainty - see above p. 296, n. 3 for a full discussion of this complex problem.
2. Noth's view in Josua[2], p. 83.

את-הארץ הזאת בנחלה in 13:7 - part of DtrG's introduction. This, taken along with the fact that we should not expect the Deuteronomist to use the phrase בארץ כנען , leads to the conclusion that 14:1a and 19:49a do not belong to the same stratum - however it may well be the case that 14:1a was composed with 19:49a in mind, and that it was for that reason that בני-ישראל was chosen as the subject of נחלו. This in turn makes it likely that 14:1a represents no editorial stratum in chapters 14-19, but merely answers to 13:32.[1] It has been argued in an earlier chapter that 13:15-32 is a secondary expansion of 13:8-12.[2] Its insertion apparently made a new heading for the allocation west of the Jordan desirable. If בני-ישראל in v. 1a is not used in any polemical sense, there is no reason to view its use in v. 5 as signifying more than a change in stratum. Noth argues that vv. 1a,4-5 together represent the earlier of two strata in this passage; but such a view takes insufficient account of two features: the use of √ נחל in 1a and √ חלק in 4-5, and the dependence of 4b on Jos. 21 which is allied to the material in 1b-3. The people of Israel are not opposed to Eleazar, Joshua, and the tribal officials (who are but their leaders and representatives), but are inclusive of them.[3]

(d) The implications of this account of 14:1-5 for our understanding of 13:15-32 are clear. That passage is subsequent on the

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1. Of course, if this is the case, it provides a second line of argument against Noth's case mentioned in the previous note.
2. See chap. V, pp. 174-176.
3. Such at least was the view of the editor who added vv. 4-5. Admittedly, it was uncertainty over just this point that motivated the editor of vv. 1b-3 to supplement v. 1a.

one hand to the Deuteronomist's briefer statement of the same position in 13:8-12, and on the other to the main block of material in chapters 14-19, on parts of which they are modelled. But it is prior to the editorial stratum represented by Jos. 21 and the elements allied with it. Of the manifestly post-Deuteronomistic parts of the second half of the book of Joshua that leaves only 19:51 to be considered. That verse appears rather to depend on strata already detected than to be allied with them. It details the same officials as do 14:1b and 21:1, but refers to the tribal heads in a slightly different way - using a form of the title found outside the Chronicler only in Num. 36:1, which presumably represents a later element in that book than the passages within chapters 32-35 which have been shown to be allied to material discussed above in Jos. 14-21.[1] Its use of the plural of נחלה is unique in the book of Joshua,[2] as is the construction of noun with the demonstrative preceding the relative clause.[3] If it resumes 14:1a, it also resumed 18:1 with its mention of both Shiloh and אהל מועד ; however here again its addition of לפני יהוה shows that we are not dealing with any simple correspondence. When we add to the above the two further observations that 14:1a may have been composed with 19:49 in mind

1. On Num. 36 see the fuller comments below on p. 302.
2. And in fact is parallelled only in Is. 49:8.
3. This, although not common, is parallelled in Num. 36:13 (.... אלה המצות); Ezek. 41:22 (.... זה השלחן); 48:29 (also a concluding verse - ..זאת הארץ אשר תפילו מנחלה); and Ezra 1:3 (... הוא האלהים).

and that ויכלו מחלק את-הארץ in v. 51b not only resumes the opening of v. 49 but uses √חלק like the third stratum in 14:1-5,[1] it becomes the most probable explanation of this verse that we are dealing with an 'omnibus' conclusion to chapters 14-19 drafted by a very late editor of the book.

E Conclusions

The main conclusion of this chapter is that there is a considerable amount of evidence for pin-pointing as the work of one editor (a) the supplementation of the introduction in 14:1b-3; (b) the introduction to the second Caleb passage in 15:13; (c) the supplementation of the introduction to the section on western Manasseh in 17:4ff; and (d) the Levitical city-list in 21:1-42. Following on this conclusion it appears that 13:15-32 and 14:1a belong to a stage earlier than this editor's work (and probably the same stage), while 14:4-5; 19:51; and 20 all presuppose it and so are later than it (but are probably independent of each other.)[2] The earliest material discussed (13:15-32; 14:1a) elaborates and expands material attributed to DtrG (13:8-12) on the one hand, and does so in a style and using language unfamiliar in any Deuteronomistic stratum on the other. Accordingly both it

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1. The parallelism of the verses is perhaps sufficiently secured by the opposition of מחלק את-הארץ to לנחל את-הארץ - of course it is made more complete if either ויכלו (MT) or וילכו (LXX) was in fact read in both verses (see chap. IV, pp. 148-150).
2. 14:4-5 and 19:51 both use √חלק - but that is a tenuous link!

and all the other material under review in this chapter can be confidently labelled post-Deuteronomistic.

Several links between this material reviewed and parts of the final chapters of the book of Numbers were noted, and some of them described in greater detail. One item of Noth's account of these chapters was found to need correction: consideration of the cities of refuge was undertaken subsequent to that of the Levitical cities within Numbers as well as within Joshua. In this connection it is striking that we find in Num. 36 - a chapter which both by its final position and by its supplementation of the legislation on Zelophehad's daughters in Num. 27 may safely be considered the latest substantial item within the final six to ten chapters of the book - several reminiscences of usages detected in what we have deemed the latest passages within Joshua, such as 14:4-5; 17:4ff; 19:51; and 21:42.[1] These final chapters of Numbers require much more close scrutiny on their own account. All that can be advanced here is what should be the post-script to the results of that study: that the very end of Numbers appears to have undergone progressive supplementation parallel to the progressive supplementation detected in Joshua. The development of both books was at this point closely connected, with the likelihood that the same hand was responsible for the additions to both books at any given stage. This at least appears more likely

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1. Note for example 36:10, like Jos. 14:5a; the use of √ קרב in v. 1, like Jos. 17:4; the terminology for the officials in v. 1 and the use of noun with demonstrative in v. 13, like Jos. 19:51; and the use of תהיינה in vv. 3,6,11, like 21:42.

than that either was completed and then served as the model for the other. The nature of the growth of the material in Num. 35-36 makes it improbable that we are dealing here with the familiar P of the Pentateuch - whether P be regarded as a principal component of the Pentateuch or as the final major editor of the Tetrateuch. Nor is our understanding of the post-Deuteronomistic material in Joshua advanced by ascribing to P even the major editorial stratum which includes Jos. 21. Its contributions, although similar to each other and although reminiscent of P in style and language, all have their point of origin in material and problems already within the Joshua traditions.[1]

A study of the post-Deuteronomistic material in Joshua may throw some light on the development of the final chapters of Numbers. But that is the full extent of its modest contribution to the 'Pentateuch problem'.

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1. 14:1bff corrects the heading in 14:1a; 15:13 resumes the material in 14:6ff; 17:4ff continues the material in 17:1-3; and chapter 21 corrects any misleading impression given by the note in 13:14 and repeated in 18:7 - and even within the same stratum in 14:3.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

A few closing paragraphs may serve usefully to sketch in what appears to be the state of the question following the studies recorded above and where there are unfinished tasks.

The review of scholarship since 1938 served to provide the framework for the following discussion. No particular critical theory about either the Pentateuch or the book of Joshua (or the Former Prophets as a whole) was embraced from the outset and defended. Instead, a part was taken in a continuing and rather fluid discussion.

It appears necessary to recognise the importance of von Rad's assumption about the constancy of tradition. This is a vital prop for any case that seeks to reverse the direction of his classic form-critical argument and demonstrate that the very existence of early creeds alluding to the canonical story from promise to the fathers until settlement in the land renders it likely that the earliest narrative expansions of this story will have shared the same basic shape. It might be observed that this is a striking kind of assumption for von Rad to have made, famous as his Old Testament Theology is for its stress on the ever-continuing re-shaping of tradition.

One topic emerged from the opening review as of critical importance - the importance of Noth's discussion of Num. 32, and this from two points of view. Firstly Noth's own account of the literary situation in that chapter seems doubly weak: (a) it is

quite exceptional within the context of his treatment of the final chapters of Numbers as a whole;[1] (b) the unreliability of his criteria is witnessed to by the three quite different accounts of the chapter he published.[2] But secondly, subsequent scholarship - which has tended either to agree with him somewhat uncritically or, feeling him to be something of an enfant terrible, to assume that his (minimalising?) results were at least some sort of common ground - has proceeded confident in the faith, and always citing Noth, that J is represented in Num. 32.

It would appear that any claim that J narrated the settlement should be accompanied by positive verification that all J-pericopes in question assumed the now canonical shape of the history before their incorporation into their present context, be that in Numbers or in Joshua. Mowinckel's insistence is to be upheld that such probing behind the present context is proper and relevant.[3] It is interesting that the account of Num. 10-36 by Engnell, against whom Mowinckel's protests are in part directed, occupies but a paragraph of his Introduction[4] in which only five observations are made: (i) that the wandering narratives begin again in Num. 10; (ii) that they are interrupted and interspersed with legal material; (iii) that the Balaam material in Num. 22-24

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1. Cf. above, chap. I, pp. 15-16.
2. (i) UGS, pp. 196-200 - J to be found in Num. 32:1,2,5,16,39-42 (cf. chap. I, p. 16). (ii) HPT, p. 254 - J in 32:1,16,39-42. (iii) Numbers, pp. 9,234-241 - J in 32:1, 16-19* (cf. chap. I, p. 28 and n.3).
3. Cf. above chap. II, p. 37.
4. Gamla Testamentet I, p. 221.

is a complex on its own; (iv) that the coming settlement is anticipated in Num. 34; and (v) that it had once contained an account of Moses' death like that now to be found in Deut. 34. This view of these chapters is very like that of Noth and particularly, in terms of this thesis, Engnell's agreement with Noth that Num. 34 marks the kernel of the final chapters. But questions of later additions as of earlier forms of the tradition are resolutely left aside.

One obvious element of the canonical history is the prior settlement of two and a half tribes in Transjordan under Moses before the settlement of the rest. This schema is certainly Deuteronomistic - however it must be seriously doubted whether it is any earlier. It was noted that traces of an earlier view, deeming Gad and Reuben only the beneficiaries of such an earlier settlement, may be preserved in Num. 32 and Jos. 18:1-10; 22:9-34 - indeed in this connection it was argued[1] that a division of Num. 32 into vv. 1-32 and vv. 33-42 is a better starting point for the analysis of that chapter than the conventional isolation in the first instance of only vv. 39-42.

It has long been observed that Jos. 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-13; and 19:47 are supplements to the text now associated with them and are related to each other. An earlier study had argued that these were the source of the parallels in Jud. 1 and

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1. Cf. above chap. II, p. 64 and chap. V, p. 227 (n.2).

not dependent on that chapter, as long assumed.[1] It has been urged in the above discussion that these in fact share some characteristics of Smend's DtrN-passages. If they do belong to that stratum, then they can be taken to provide a (relative at least) terminus ante quem for their present context.[2]

These passages, and even more especially the longer Jos. 21 are quite crucial in the discussion of the testimony to the text of Joshua of the LXX. Our preliminary discussion of that problem demonstrated the importance of that version for the solution of some of the book's problems.[3] Its shorter text is not infrequently more attractive than that of the MT. Comparison with the MT clearly assists the solution of some terminological problems posed by a reading of the MT on its own.[4] On the other hand, the different testimony of the LXX in some cases just appears to render more complex the discussion of the passage in question - doubtless in the long run it will have made any eventual decision better founded.

The importance of the above-mentioned scattered verses and of Jos. 21 to this debate is that in both cases other relevant (Hebrew)

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1. VT 25, pp. 261-285.
2. Cf. above chap. V, p.231 and n. 3. Even if Smend's view that we are indebted to his DtrN for Jud. 1 is maintained, this observation about a relative terminus ante quem stands, granted only two premises: that the verses in question are parasitic on their immediate context; and that they are prior to their parallels in Jud. 1.
3. Chapter IV.
4. Especially the distribution of the terms for 'tribe' - שבט and מטה; and the distribution and meaning of גבול and גורל . See chap. IV, pp. 125-136.

material can be adduced - Jud. 1 in the case of the former and 1 Chr. 6 in the case of the latter. In fact it transpires that each of these chapters provides evidence to confirm the thesis of the widespread preferability of the Vorlage of the LXX over the MT in Joshua, while at the same time use of the LXX evidence in Joshua helps in the clarification of the precise relationship between these chapters and their parallels in Joshua. The several variants in the matter of proper names between MT and LXX^B in Jos. 21 underline the importance of the latter version for historical toponymy, the reliability of many of these variants being defended by their presence in the prior text of 1 Chr. 6.[1]

Jos. 21 plays a further important role in the discussion. Identification of the literary characteristics of the last main editorial contribution to it and the isolation of other passages sharing these characteristics provided a frame of reference for the further discussion of the several opening and concluding formulae in Jos. 13-19 - as indeed of a stratum in the final chapters of Numbers.

A further observation may be appropriate on the basis of some of the textual variants, the above-mentioned scattered notes, and - if not Jos. 21 itself - then at least the briefer passages associated with it. Each of the three main chapters of the second part of this thesis has documented in its own way a method of editing or adapting a text by means of the briefest of insertions. What gives added plausibility to the isolation of DtrN from DtrG, and

1. Cf. chap. VI, p. 277, n. 1.

to the stratification of Jos. 14:1-5, is the evidence from several of Joshua's MT 'pluses' of how in fact alteration to an inherited tradition was carried out. Indeed some of the scattered notes offer doubly satisfactory evidence of this phenomenon: Jos. 15:63 and 16:10 in the LXX tradition add to the inherited story disclaimers of Judahite success in the matter of Jerusalem or Ephraimite in the case of Gezer; the MT in the two verses documents a toning down of these disclaimers - the failure had been but partial. One wonders how many more examples of this it does not occur to us to suspect!

The internal relationships of the various strata of the Joshua traditions have been summarized on the appended table.[1] It is only after the elucidation of these that it is proper to consider the affiliations of any of these strata with Pentateuchal strata. And when this is done, Hertzberg's observation[2] should be borne in mind that the book of Joshua represents the first part of the story of Israel in its land. It is from that given that we must work - whether we have regard to the ancient canonical arrangement of the books of the OT or to modern Deuteronomistic theses.

If it is fair to regard this story of Israel in its land as <u>the</u> paradigm of OT 'history' - 'history' serving some theological or ideological purpose - then it is very doubtful whether any such earlier history, such as 'J' in Genesis, can be demonstrated from

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1. See below, p. 341.
2. <u>Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth</u>, p. 9.

traces preserved in Numbers and Joshua to have offered an account from creation to conquest.[1]

One point to emerge from several of the discussions above is that a much fuller treatment than has been possible within the scope of this thesis is necessary to clarify several features of the final chapters of Numbers. Much of the material in these chapters is similar in conception and in detail to material in Joshua - and links with Joshua's Deuteronomistic and later strata can actually be demonstrated. It is doubtful whether either block of material is simply dependent on the other. Both blocks appear to have developed gradually by supplementation, and each may have influenced the other. The denial of almost all the material in question within Numbers to P (Noth) or to the main concern of the tradent of the Tetrateuch (Engnell) is to be maintained.

It is noticeable that such P-type material is exceptional within the Former Prophets outwith Joshua. It may be that it was only after the 'book' division that Joshua began to be supplemented on the basis of Pentateuchal material.[2] It is also possible that

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1. A lively discussion may be expected in this area of OT studies. On the one hand, R. Rendtorff's paper at the Edinburgh Congress (VT Suppl. 28, pp. 158ff.) was very sceptical as to the possibility of isolating a continuous J-stratum in Genesis-Numbers. On the other hand, F.M. Cross is the centre of a circle of scholars who are reviving Mowinckel's quest for an early Hebrew epic as the stage prior to the early traditions in the Pentateuch and beyond - cf. Cross's Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. ix and Miller's Divine Warrior.

2. If the present writer's suggestion (in VT 25) is acceptable, that Jud. 1:1-2:5 represents the introduction to the separate 'book' of Judges, and if the opening of Judges is so like Smend's DtrN that it can be easily mistaken for it, then the

(Contd.

the end of Numbers was filled out with traditions from the Deuteronomistic history when that work's section on Moses was combined with the Genesis to Numbers traditions to form the Pentateuch. However it may be preferable to assume that some late editors added material of particular interest to themselves (about refuge, Levitical provision, women's rights of inheritance, etc.) to the two most relevant contexts within the material they inherited.

That the same editors were at work on Numbers and Joshua in the final few small stages of their composition cannot then be excluded. That the earliest versions of what are familiar to us as the stories of patriarchs, deliverance from Egypt, wandering in the desert and settlement in Canaan were drawn from similar stocks of tradition in similar periods can also not be excluded. If a 'Hexateuch' hypothesis can persist on such a minimal basis, then so be it. However the quest for J and P as coherent narratives with a purpose should be restricted to the Pentateuch, or 'Tetrateuch', and a more positive rationale for both sources and final product sought than that they are but headless torsos.

Contd.) 'book'-division may have occurred only shortly after this major revision of the Deuteronomistic History. On the other hand, that influence on the text of Joshua from 'Priestly' material in the Pentateuch continued, even after the bifurcation of the textual tradition evidenced by the differences between MT and LXX, is clear from the variant accounts of the first passover in Canaan - cf. chap. IV, pp.105-108.

In this matter no advance can be claimed in this thesis on the 'reflections' by de Vaux[1] on the occasion of the bicentenary of Astruc's 'conjectures'[2]: that 'it seems possible that the Tetrateuch remains open-ended as an expression of hope: hope in those promises which the ancient conquest of Canaan had seemed to fulfill, promises which the sins of the people had jeopardized, promises which the exiles in Babylon still remembered and which would be fulfilled in the return.' (p.42).

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1. The Bible and the Ancient Near East, pp. 31ff.
2. Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux ... (1753).

APPENDIX

THE SHAPE OF THE PRE-DEUTERONOMISTIC MATERIAL

Confidence in the discussion of the pre-Deuteronomistic material in Joshua, as of the JE material in the Pentateuch, must inevitably be of a lesser order than is possible in the discussion of the work of the Deuteronomists themselves. Their own conception is more obvious - like the main architectural phase in the history of an old building. As to what they inherited (what they found 'on the site'), we can pretend to much less certainty. Even where sizeable traces remain, their originally intended functions and inter-relationships often remain quite elusive. Discussion of such problems must accordingly be either briefer or even more extended than in the case of the other elements of this thesis - and in this appendix the former of these alternatives will be more appropriate. Discussion will be restricted to three topics: some scattered observations throughout the thesis which are of relevance to this matter will be gathered together and considered along with the implications of the writer's already-mentioned paper on Judges 1; and then contributions by Beltz and Langlamet of relevance to this discussion will be reviewed.

A J in Judges 1 and Parallels?

In Part I of the thesis it was argued (1) that von Rad's 1938 essay does not suffice as a demonstration that our Pentateuch is a torso without a head (a case which it was not its concern to

make), without the supporting assumption that traditions maintained a constant form; (2) that, especially when viewed against the background of his treatment of Num. 27-36 as a whole, none of Noth's published ascriptions to J of various verses in Num. 32 carries conviction - and this almost intangible material is the only remnant he finds of that source's treatment of the theme of settlement; and (3) that neither Mowinckel's accounts of Num. 32 - in two contradictory forms - nor his approach to Jud. 1 can command assent.

An alternative rationale of Jud. 1 having been offered,[1] and the suggestion made (in chapter V above) that the parallels to that chapter in the book of Joshua might be assigned to the second Deuteronomist, there is a considerable temptation to leave the matter at that. However the discussion may be advanced somewhat if possible counter-suggestions are forestalled.

The writer's paper on Jud. 1 attempted to offer (a) a fair characterization of the contents of that chapter; and (b) an account of the relationship between that chapter and its close parallels in Joshua. On the latter point, it was argued that where there are significant differences between a verse or passage in Jud. 1 and its parallel in Joshua the parallel passage (occasionally in a more original form attested in the LXX) is prior. This conclusion is consistent with the theory that the editor of Jud. 1 used the book of Joshua as one of his sources. On the former point it was argued that full account had to be

1. See VT 25, pp. 261-285.

taken of the unevenness of its material, of the likelihood that some of it was derived from Joshua, of its apparent function as a second and 'correcting' introduction to the Judges traditions[1] (and perhaps in fact to the book of Judges), of the poverty of its style and construction.

No point of view was expressed about the historical implications of this study, although the caveat was entered that apparent verisimilitude does not imply early date. Two examples of this may be quoted, one of them from the paper.

Jud. 1:21 with its claim about Jebusite-Benjaminite relationships in Jerusalem may appear - and may indeed be - more accurate than 1:8 with its record of the people of Judah putting Jerusalem to the sword. However its place within the chapter suggests that it is a deliberate correction of the information given earlier, while its dependence on Jos. 15:63 (LXX) appears to confirm our estimate of its secondary nature and at the same time direct our attention to one of its sources.

Similarly Jud. 1:10-11 with its account of Judah's exploits around Hebron may appear more historical in its stressing of individual tribal initiative than the attribution in Jos. 10-11 to Joshua and all Israel of the decisive role in the conquest of that area as of the land as a whole. However its literary dependence on material in Jos. 14-15, itself a secondary element in that book, demonstrates that the editor of Jud. 1 is serving not historical accuracy but Judahite assertiveness: he is claiming for Judah

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1. The 'first' introduction being the Deuteronomistic one in Jud. 2:6ff.

not just a role usurped by Joshua and all Israel but also one perhaps more properly belonging to Caleb.

Of course even if it is agreed that the parallels in Joshua are prior from a literary point of view to the passages in Jud. 1, it is still possible to restate the old case and argue that it is in the Joshua parallels that we encounter traces of J. It has already been argued that the notes in Jos. 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-13; and 19:47 (LXX), brief as they are, share some characteristics with the longer passages assigned by Smend to his DtrN. Jos. 14:6-15 has also Deuteronomistic traces. All this material must have a source. But, at least in the case of the shorter notes,[1] their latest editor has so successfully moulded the information he has inherited that its original shape (whether the same or different) can no longer be asserted with any confidence. Grounds - even at the 'local level' - for attribution to J are just not there.

B Caleb and L?

Beltz's monograph on the OT's Caleb traditions[2] quite deliberately takes its starting point from Eissfeldt's and others' analysis of the earlier Pentateuchal/Hexateuchal narrative into

1. For each of 13:13; 15:63; 16:10 it is a sufficient explanation that an editor was convinced that the immediate context contained an overstatement. It is in that sense that these notes were deemed 'parasitic' above (cf. chap. V, p. 229). The more extensive notes in 17:11-13 and 19:47 (LXX) of course contain positive alternative information.
2. Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament, 1974.

three parallel strands.[1] His first detailed section deals with Num. 13-14. In this spy story he finds traces of an account similar in character to the Kenite genealogy in Gen. 4:1,17a, 18-22, the legend of the heroes in Gen. 6, and the hint in Num. 10:29,32 that the departure from the mountain is to have the character of a raid. These traces he reconstructs as follows: 13:17b,18,19c,22a,27a,28; 14:1b; 13:30,33; 14:9bc; 13:31. Further certainty is impossible, and even this reconstruction is only possible on the basis of Jos. 14: Caleb is alone in pleading for the conquest of the land - and it is still clear from that chapter that the Calebites are of military character and have an aggressive attitude towards the settled land. This account of the spy story is to be assigned to L/J^1, and is distinguished from J/J^2 by the latter's generally positive attitude to the settled land, and also by its freedom from the cultic and sacral tendencies present in the other Pentateuchal sources from J/J^2 onwards.

Next Beltz turns to Jos. 14:6-15 and 15:13-19. As to the first, vv. 14,15 are deemed glosses, and the passage as a whole is marked off by the P-material in 14:1-6[2] and 15:1ff. Like 15:13-19 it is marked off from its context quite clearly: the concern of the surrounding J,E and P material is concerned with programmatic demands not narrative for narrative's sake as here. Three

1. Eissfeldt's L, J and E.

2. The addition of v. 6 here (op.cit., p. 31) either represents a misprint, or refers only to v. 6aα - cf. what is said below about the kernel in vv. 6b-12.

aspects of the passage support its attribution to L: that nothing is said of Joshua's activity as a spy; the mention of the Anaqites and great cities; and the essentially nomadic nature of the claim made in vv. 10c-11. The kernel in vv. 6b-12 is of confessional character - it does not just ground a territorial claim but witnesses to the speaker's self-consciousness. This makes it likely that the narrator has had available to him ancient testimony - and if not from L then at least from L-like material. Beltz notes with satisfaction that Noth, despite his ascription of great significance to the Deuteronomistic edition of the Joshua traditions, had scruples over claiming 14:6-15 as Deuteronomistic - rather he found it basically Calebite. As to Noth's further observation that the passage originally belonged with 11:23b,[1] this is appropriate insofar as it recognizes that it is fundamentally a settlement narrative.

Jos. 15:13-19 is a unity apart from the opening gloss in v. 13. That what remains is an original entity is guaranteed by its repetition in Jud. 1. It is no duplicate of the previous 14:6-15 - in fact it would fit very well after 14:13. It is clearly Calebite tribal tradition that demonstrates that Caleb secured its own territory in Hebron, and did not consider it unwise to consolidate its position through a marriage with financial implications. He has already noted Eissfeldt's preparedness to ascribe sections of Jud. 1 to L, and observes that the lively narrative style is a certain indication of the rightness of this.

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1. Josua^2, p. 71.

Beltz finally protests against the attempt to devalue Jos. 14:6-14 and Jos. 15 historically as belonging to the Deuteronomist. It is rather the case that this text is still understandable as Calebite even if we assume that its form of apology makes use of Deuteronomic formulae and even arguments in order to win acceptance for its own concerns.

After a short chapter on the genealogies in 1 Chr. 2 and 4 which argues that Caleb had maintained a very independent existence of semi-nomadic nature right into the post-exilic period, Beltz summarizes his results so far. He emphasizes that Jos. 14 clearly bears the character of an ideology of a nomadic-military group; and that the fact that the Calebites lived in the south around Hebron and apparently were semi-nomads must be accorded more weight than has previously been the case.

A consideration of nomadism generally in the ancient near east assists Beltz in his description of the relationship between Caleb and Judah: Caleb jealously preserves its independence both of Judah and of the royal city of Jerusalem, and is not to be considered part of a six-tribe federation 'greater Judah'.[1]

Next Beltz turns explicitly to the relationship of the Caleb traditions and the source L, which the texts have suggested is a close one. He now examines whether it is not the case that the literary-critical results overlap to such an extent with the traditio-historical that it may be concluded that the social force lurking behind the source L is the tribe of Caleb - a

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1. op.cit., p. 66: this specifically against Noth, History of Israel, p. 181.

nomadic tribe which had been able right to the exilic period to render plausible by its very existence the tendencies characteristic of the source L. The point of departure of this source L would not be any sort of cultic tradition, but rather the attempt of a tribe to assert itself through its tribal history against a power seeking to usurp it ideologically - in fact the power of the kingdom of Judah and the temple of Jerusalem. The traditions proper to Caleb would have amalgamated with those of Judah only once the political state of affairs had rendered rivalry superfluous: i.e. after 587.

He lists a series of assertions about the Calebites deduced from their traditions in the OT, and isolates two details as particularly significant: the place Hebron, and the nomadic situation. And these, although certainly along with others, are characteristic of the source L. Eissfeldt characterizes it as revealing 'the crudest and most primitive original elements',[1] as a source in which 'the elements of tribal and national history are much clearer and purer than in J and E',[2] which is critical of the settled land and evidences great interest in nomadic existence. Furthermore it was no complete rounded historical work but a 'quite loose linking together of a variety of inherited material'.[3] Beltz accepts most of this characterization, but claims that the nomadic and southern connection testifies to a controlling

1. Introduction, p. 195.
2. op.cit., p. 197.
3. op.cit., p. 196.

conception to which Eissfeldt's talk of a loose linking does not do adequate justice. The detectable elements of the L source are traces of a tribal myth with political as well as theological 'moments' - in fact 'no bad example of a reflection of unbroken self-awareness'.[1] It is a myth which might well be termed an ideology in that, disregarding empirical reality and causality, it champions the interests of the tribe. Such a recognition not only poses anew the problem of sacred and profane history, but also opens the possibility of making some contribution to clarifying the early history of Israel and of Caleb.

Beltz's argument has several attractions. His isolation of the distinctive 'moments' of the Calebite traditions is helpful, if not particularly novel. What appears much more doubtful is whether the few Calebite texts provide a wide enough basis for making the claims Beltz does about L - even granted the Eissfeldt 3-strand hypothesis. It is something of an embarrassment to him when discussing the L-material in the primeval history that Caleb is a Kenizzite and not a Kenite. That these two southern clans may have shared many traditions is thoroughly plausible[2] - but that the Calebite L-source was the vehicle for the introduction of Kenite tradition into the canonical Hexateuchal narrative demands demonstration.

Again, that Jos. 14:6-15 and 15:13-19 reflect authentic Calebite tradition is thoroughly plausible; but that they with the Calebite material in Num. 13-14 suffice to prove the presence

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1. Beltz, p. 84.
2. op.cit., p. 83.

in Joshua of a Pentateuchal narrative source, in any meaningful sense of those terms, is most questionable. Furthermore Beltz appears not to have done justice to the interest of the Deuteronomists in material whose characteristics he finds typical of L. He admits the links between Jos. 14 and Deut. 1,[1] but does not appear to observe that Deut. 2 shares with Jos. 14-15 and Jud. 1 talk of Anaqites (and other giants) and the use of רפאים.

C Jos. 2-4 and 'Hexateuch'?

Langlamet is not only conscious of such interrelationships - statistical correlation is one of the bases of his literary-critical activity - but is also fully aware of the problematic associated with the title 'Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch'.[2] His paper on Jos. 2[3] opens with a succinct but detailed review of the debate over the Pentateuch in the last hundred years or so. He rejoices in the apparent conservatism of the leading OT Introductions. Without the conquest stories the traditions of the Pentateuch are at least partially deprived of their meaning - and Noth would be the last to deny this. What is necessary, given the rapid oscillations of previous exegetical research into Joshua and the opening of Judges, is a search for sufficient convergent indicators to render the attribution of their strata to Pentateuchal sources practically certain.

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1. Cf. above, p. 318.
2. He had reviewed both Mowinckel's Quellenfrage and his T-P-H in RB 72 (1965).
3. In RB 78, pp. 5-17, 161-183, 321-354.

In the second section of his paper he first offers a resumé of the attributions to different sources of the individual verses of Jos. 2 by different scholars - this demonstrating the insufficiency of the presuppositions of the majority of scholars, the great exceptions being Smend, Eissfeldt and Rudolph. Next every word and phrase is listed alphabetically, with all of its OT parallels. Those parallels in the Pentateuch are assigned to a source - and in this Langlamet follows Eissfeldt closely but not uncritically. Thirdly the affinities so noted are tabulated using the following sigla: (a) for the early stratum: 'J', a positive indication of J in the wider sense of the term (i.e. L/J); 'J/', for a word that appears both in J and elsewhere; 'anc(ien)', where the attribution to J is possible and even probable but where there are particular problems; and 'O' for neutral elements which the context alone invites us to attribute to J; (b) for later developments and additions: 'nar(rateur)', for precisions and details that may emanate from the narrator; 'add(ition)', for alterations of all sorts - from corruptions to glosses; 'D' for the work of the Deuteronomists (again in the widest sense of the term). And finally the OT chapters with more than five words or expressions in common with Jos. 2 are listed (the figure in brackets gives the number of terms in common):

Gen. 24 (19)

Gen. 19 (17)

Jos. 6 (14)

2 Sam. 17 (13)

Gen. 32; 42; Num. 13; 22 (12)

Gen. 44; Ex. 10; Deut. 1; Jos. 7; 1 Sam. 9; 2 Sam. 19 (11)

Deut. 4; Jud. 18; 1 Kings 20 (10)

Gen. 30; 37; Jud. 19; 2 Kings 5 (9)

Gen. 47; Ex. 9; 14; Jos. 9; 1 Sam. 24 (8)

Gen. 15; 26; 31; 39; 45; Ex. 15; Deut. 3; Jos. 3; 4; 5; 10; 24; Jud. 9; 11; 2 Sam. 13; 14; 1 Kings 18; 2 Kings 6 (7)

Gen. 28; 38; 41; 48; Ex. 3; 4; 8; 12; Num. 32; 33; Jos. 8; 14; Jud. 16; 2 Sam. 2; 1 Kings 2 (6)

The overlap in terminology established with Gen. 24 is particularly striking in that (a) the atmosphere and themes of the stories of Abraham's servant and Rahab are so different, and (b) the contacts are disseminated throughout both chapters. Langlamet concludes that it is hard to think that Gen. 24 and Jos. 2 do not belong to the same tradition - and this tradition can only be 'J'. As to Gen. 19 and Lot's entertainment of the messengers, while in general common motifs could be expected to explain its relatedness to Jos. 2, here too in fact the contacts are throughout the chapter and are hard to explain on the basis of analogous situation. The case of Jos. 6 is totally different, with almost all the contacts grouped in vv. 22,23,25. These contact terms are a curious <u>mélange</u> of 'J' and 'anc.' and make Langlamet suspect the activity of a redactor forging links between Jos. 2 and 6 - perhaps Noth's <u>Sammler</u>. Finally the affinities with the 2 Sam. 17 account of David in flight are of another order - related vocabulary and analogous situations.

Langlamet's general conclusions are worth quoting *in extenso:* 'To draw up the list of texts related to Jos. 2 is to open perspectives which, to a certain extent, appear to justify the "conditional" partisans of extensions of the Hexateuch. If the vocabulary of Jos. 2 brings us in contact in the Pentateuch, or, more exactly, in Gen., Ex., Num., with early traditions (especially the J traditions and, so far as they take up J's expressions, those of E and P), it also obliges us to go beyond the Hexateuch and carries us off into the old stories of Ehud, Gideon, ... David, ... Solomon the wise, to the cycles of Elijah and Elisha and right down to the story of Jehu. The affinities which exist between these colourful stories have much to do with the animation of popular bards whose language and narrative procedures were transmitted across the centuries. In no way do they prove the existence of a J story till Jehu. But no less, they do demonstrate the seriousness of the efforts that have been made to find as far as the book of Kings a stratum related to the Yahwist traditions.'[1]

In the third part of his study, Langlamet turns to the story itself: is its basis (1) an aetiology of the 'house of Rahab'?[2] (2) a typical story of the conquest cycle?[3] or (3) a story told for the pleasure of telling it?[4] Clearly Rahab is integral to the story; but so too are Joshua and his spies - and that latter

1. *op.cit.*, pp. 182-183.
2. *op.cit.*, pp. 323-328.
3. *op.cit.*, pp. 329-338.
4. *op.cit.*, pp. 338-343.

observation invites us to consider Jos. 2 along with the OT's other spy stories. He concludes that it is closely related to J but preserves precious affinities with the very 'regional' narrative in Jud. 18 - the best solution is that, in origin, it is earlier than the Yahwistic document. With considerable sensitivity, Langlamet proceeds to show that criticism which stops with a demonstration that Jos. 2 is a spy-story, typical of a conquest cycle, and that integrates aetiological elements, does no justice to one of the most charming of stories. The accomplishment of its style is a perfect match for the directness of its conclusion, 'Truly, Yahweh has delivered all this land to us.'[1] Langlamet comments: 'Never would a biblical author recover like assurance (the repetitions of Deuteronomy are without this juvenile force).' This done, Langlamet comments on the erratic block in vv. 10-11, which he prefers to deem pre-Deuteronomistic than Deuteronomistic - to this extent Wellhausen's attribution of the story as it is to R^{JE} is not so far wrong.[2] All in all, 'it seems necessary to reply affirmatively to the question whether Jos. 2 was a part of the document J'.

Suffice it at this stage to note that Langlamet's conclusion, guarded though it is, closely argued though it is, is heavily dependent on his confessed assumption that the Pentateuchal narratives lose part of their sense without those of Joshua to follow - a point where he is happy to cite Noth in his support. But Noth's own principal criterion for the attribution of any

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1. op.cit., pp. 343-353.
2. Composition[3], p. 117.

passage to one of the familiar sources - connection with the already familiar narrative - is not examined.

Langlamet had already published a study of the traditions in Jos. 3-4,[1] deemed the most thorough to date by de Vaux, who offers this summary:[2] 'He divides into nine subdivisions the ancient materials and the redactional elements united in Jos. 3-4: 1) an Israelite version (without Joshua) of the aetiology of the stones of Gilgal; 2) a "Shittim-Gilgal" story; 3) an "ark" story; 4) an aetiology of the stones in the Jordan; 5) a "Joshua" version of the aetiology of the Gilgal stones; 6) two Gilgal catechisms; 7) a first Deuteronomistic redaction; 8) the texts of the Deuteronomistic historian or his school; 9) brief later additions.'

In the light of one of the main concerns of the present thesis, it may be appropriate to digress somewhat and document the care Langlamet takes in his discussion of the textual problems of these two chapters. He is fully aware of the need to review the evidence of the LXX for the text of Joshua. His second chapter (on the text of Jos. 3-4) devotes a dozen pages (pp. 43-55) to notes on some 20 passages in most of which LXX differs from MT. His attention to detail is scrupulous; but it should be noted that in his introductory comments he pays tribute to Margolis, but ignores Holmes. Noth's judgment is cited with approval: that the LXX manifests a number of 'improvements' and simplifications.[3]

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1. Gilgal, 1969.
2. Histoire I, pp. 555-556.
3. Cf. above chap. I, p. 6, n. 3.

He invites us to consider at least seven, and possibly nine, of the variants as simplifications, harmonisations or arrangements of a texte de base of whose complexity the translator was aware. In the case of seven of these (3:10,12,13; 4:2,3,7, 21) Holmes offers a perfectly adequate justification of the shorter LXX text, while on the other two (3:9,11) he did not declare himself - the one being unmentioned and the other only noted.

On the other hand, Langlamet does urge that the LXX is closer than the MT to the original text a few times - 3:1,16; 4:10. The second of these variants permits the recovery of an anterior text of real historical and geographical importance, sufficient to prove the usefulness of an examination of the LXX.[1] As for the glose maladroite ככל אשר-צוה משה את-יהושע in 4:10, Langlamet observes that in the MT of Joshua צוה has Yahweh as subject 16 times, Moses 10 times and Joshua 14 times, the total number of orders being 40. 'The desire to reach this traditional number is doubtless no stranger to the insertion of the gloss.'

That text-critical discussion has literary critical implications Langlamet well realises - at least at one level. He offers a lengthy discussion (pp. 99-100) of the hurt done by the translator to the MT's long period in 3:14-16. He quotes many parallels in

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1. Gilgal, pp. 48-50,55. His conclusions about the verse may be summarized as follows:-

(a) base text:	הרחק מאד מאדם	(ו)עד	קצה צרתן	
(LXX Vorlage:	הרחק מאד מאד	עד	קצה קרתן	
(b) intermediate text:	הרחק מאד מאדם	(ה)ער	מצד צרתן	
(c) MT:	הרחק מאד באדם	ה עיר	אשר מצד צרתן	

support of his contention that with וַיְהִי בְּ- (+ inf.) we regularly meet wayyiqtol in the apodosis. As to these verses, 15a 'is certainly co-ordinated with 14a; 15b is a parenthesis; so it is in 16 that the apodosis of 14a,15a must be looked for; accordingly 14b cannot but be parenthesis'. However, if 14b originally read נִשְׂאוּ, then it marked the apodosis of 14a. Hence Langlamet's question: 'Does Greek ἦροσαν represent that or a simplification?' His answer is an interesting one: 'Granted the participial phrase twice in v. 15, נִשְׂאוּ in 14 is the lectio difficilior - but granted the exceptionally long period of MT in 14-16, it is the lectio facilior! ... Given the composite character of vv. 14ff. and the problems of redaction faced by "dtr", the reading נִשְׂאוּ is preferable: it maintains between vv. 14 and 15 a parallelism of structure, partially imposed by the ancient sources (vv. 14a and 15a).'

On another more general level it is noteworthy - although Langlamet does not appear to discuss this point - that in none of the cases in which he prefers the longer text of the MT and Holmes the shorter LXX does Langlamet ascribe the MT 'plus' to any of his narrative or catechetical sources. All are deemed to belong to one or other redactional phase. Now, even if Holmes is correct, Langlamet is still close to the truth; for, where a 'plus' in the MT tradition is also an addition to the common tradition, it does represent a redactional phase. The choice then is between asserting that the LXX reflects an improved edition in which unnecessary verbiage of earlier editors has been pruned, and asserting that the

verbiage now in the MT accumulated at a stage after the separation of the Vorlage of the LXX.[1]

This monograph on Jos. 3-4 had already mustered the Yahwistic affinities of the 'Shittim-Gilgal' story (Jos. 3:1*, 5,14a,16; 4:19b).[2] 'The text itself recommended the application of a method which one might have judged superseded, but which is still capable of answering the literary problems of Jos. 3-4.' Following the above-mentioned treatment of Jos. 2, he published a 'complementary note' to Gilgal on the crossing of the Jordan and the documents of the Hexateuch,[3] to see whether further answers to the problems of these chapters could be gained from this 'superseded' method.

His approach in this paper is first to offer a literal translation of the two chapters shorn of the final three stages of their development (Deuteronomistic and later). In copious footnotes all the affinities of each word or phrase are listed - and scattered through the text itself, anticipatory notification is given of the source-affiliations of each clause. There follows a summary table of the affinities of each clause, along with a reminder of its assignment to one of the six subdivisions of the earlier monograph. To his delight, Langlamet finds that few retractions are necessary from his previous analysis - basically just that 3:5 does not belong to the 'Shittim' story and that the opening words of 3:1 which are inseparable from

1. Cf. one of our Concluding Observations, pp. 310-311.
2. Gilgal, pp. 94-104.
3. In RB 79, pp. 7-38.

the conclusion of chapter 2 and are taken up in vv. 9 or 10 constitute the beginning of the 'ark' story.

'More important than these modifications of detail, the positive results of the above examination link the conclusions of Gilgal with the most assured positions of classic literary criticism. In fact they permit:

1) the attribution to J^1 of the "Shittim-Gilgal" story and the early aetiology of the stones at Gilgal, united in a text that contained 3:1*, 14a,16*; 4:16*; 4:1b*,3*,8*,19b.

2) the assignment to J^2 of the "ark" story - 3:(5),1*,(9),10-11, 13a*,15a; 4:7a*,10b - without in any way denying it a Gilgalite origin.

3) envisaging the possibility or even likelihood (but not demonstrating the existence) of a R^J edition of the two Yahwistic stories prior to the Deuteronomistic redaction, requiring the attribution to R^J of 3:13b,14b,15b and the insertion of the first catechism, 4:6-7 which preserves in v. 7 a fragment of the J^2 story.

4) the recognition of the "elohistic" affinities of the "Joshua" version of the aetiology of the stones of Gilgal (4:4-5,20; cf. 3: 12) and of the catechism in 4:21b-22 ....

5) presenting the redactor "dtr" as a Jerusalem writer, more "R^{Je}" than Deuteronomist. He is attached to the centralising and reforming movement which followed the fall of the northern kingdom and which led, in the following century, to the reform of Josiah. The siglum "dtr" is unsuitable for him. If a choice

between sigla were necessary (and these can only be abstract and without regard for the originality of an individual redactor), one would opt for "R^{je}" rather than "dtr" - adding that one means the R^{je} redactor of the stories of the crossing of the Jordan.'[1]

Langlamet's results in this complementary note are certainly interesting. Although he himself does not make this claim, they could be said to present a good illustration of what a quest for convergent indicators[2] can produce. The fact that the initial study of Jos. 3-4 operated with different aims and methods from those of this note - and of the intervening study of Jos. 2 - adds conviction to these results. It is interesting that the paper on Jos. 2 receives only the briefest and most indirect of mentions in this note; but from these it is clear that Langlamet considers that the 'ark' story of J^2 was the original continuation of the narrative from the return of the spies.[3]

Chapters 3 and 4 of the book of Joshua pose considerable problems to the critic. That considerable questions remain after Langlamet's careful study is clear from the very different studies of Wilcoxen and Wijngaards published about the same time as Gilgal, and the subsequent paper by Porter.[4]

Again the general comment may be appropriate that Noth's challenge is not explicitly taken up: to make narrative

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1. op.cit., pp. 37-38.
2. Cf. above, p. 322(quoting RB 78, p. 14).
3. RB 79, p. 24.
4. Cf. the references in chap. III above, p. 89, n.9 and p. 90, nn.1,2.

consistency the sole - or at least the main - criterion for the separation of strata. However one element in Langlamet's thinking appears to have been made clearer in the paper on Jos. 3-4 than it was in that on Jos. 2, even although he does not explicitly discuss it. When taken along with his observation at the end of the paper on Jos. 2 that that study has demonstrated links with earlier narratives down to the story of Jehu as well as with Yahwistic material in the Pentateuch, but <u>without</u> any necessary conclusion that there was one J narrative from creation to Jehu, the comment which concludes the paper on Jos. 3-4 to the effect that his "R^{Je}" should be considered just the redactor of the stories of the crossing of the Jordan appears to imply the following view: that the familiar <u>sigla</u> refer to more or less homogeneous stocks of tradition covering both 'pre-historical' and 'historical' periods, but that their combination with each other occurred first of all in connection with individual themes and not over the whole stretch of the material contained in any of these stocks. If this is the case, then 'J', 'E', etc. for Langlamet may imply less ideologically or theologically structured creations than they do for several other scholars. How far this leaves the difference between some of his results and those of Noth a matter of terminology, at least in part, perhaps only he himself can answer.

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SUMMARY CHART

The chart below gives an impression of the relative stratification of the material in Jos. 13-21 argued for in the main body of the thesis. The footnotes (a,b,c ..) recall the principal arguments in the preceding chapters, and so serve as something of an index.

	c.13	c.14	c.15	c.16	c.17	c.18	c.19	c.20	c.21
Latest Elements[a]		4-5					51[b]	1-9 (LXX)	
Jos.21 & Related[c]		1b-3 (6aα)[d]	13(-19,20)[e]		4-6[f]				1-42
Transjord. Detail[g]	15-32(33)	1a							
DtrN[h]	2-6,13(14)	6aβ-15	63[i]	10	11*-13		47(LXX),49-50?[j]		
Town-lists[k]			21-62	9	11*	21-28	16b,23b,31b, 39b,48b		
DtrG's Contribs.[l]	1,7-12			4-8	1-3* 7-10	1-10*[m]	49-50?[j]		43-45
Inherited Structure[n]					14-18[o]	1-10*[m] 11	1-9,10a,17,24, 32,40-46,48a		
גבול System[p]			1-12	1-3		12-20	10b-16a,18-23a, 25-31a,33-39a		

a 190, 207, 275-276, 280-287, 292.
b 236, 297, 300-301.
c 207, 214-216, 219-220, 235-303.
d 178, 214, 292-294.
e 179-180, 214-220.
f 183-184, 207, 295-296.
g 145, 174-177, 191, 201-203, 207, 299-300.
h 153-161, 178, 210-214, 229-231.
i 180-181.
k 180, 182, 185, 187-188, 194-197, 203-204.
l 169, 182-187, 191-193, 201-210, 232-234, 299. (The reconstruction inevitably becomes more hypothetical from this point. It might be preferable to posit only a DtrG-stratum and a pre-DtrG one.)
m 222-229.
n 188, 191-193, 197-198, 200-201, 220-222.
o 185-186, 220-222.
p 178-179, 181, 187-188, 191-193.