CHAPTER II

STRUCTURE AND STYLE

THE Book of Deuteronomy takes the form of discourses by Moses interspersed with narrative portions and introductory sentences. It may be divided into three parts: 1

1. The first part is an address by Moses (i. 6–iv. 40), composed of reminiscences, with a preface (i. 1–5) stating when and where the words were spoken, and followed by a brief statement of the choice of three cities as cities of refuge (iv. 41–43).

2. The second and main discourse (chapters v–xxvi) contains the Decalogue and exhortations based upon it, with 'judgments and statutes' following (xii. 1). A prefatory statement (iv. 44–49) describes the place and occasion.

3. The remainder of the book (xxvii–xxxiv) contains further narratives and discourses ending with the writing of the law, the commissioning of Joshua, the teaching of the 'Song', Moses' 'Blessing', and an epilogue recording his death. The Song (xxxii. 1–43) and the Blessing (xxxiii. 2–end) are poetry, the remainder prose. The whole is thus bound together by a thread of narrative, with brief introductions to the different speeches or sections. These have been looked upon as implying 'successive amplifications of the book'; 2 but there is nothing to justify the word 'successive', and the similarity of form indicates rather that they come from the same hand. 3

THE ORIGINAL DEUTERONOMY

In discussing the date it is important to know what constituted the original Deuteronomy, i.e. the portion which first assumed a written form. Wellhausen would allow this to consist only of chapters xii–xxvi; and whilst most scholars would add to this,

1 See also pp. 150–153 below.
2 R. H. Kennett, Deuteronomy and the Decalogue, p. 2.
3 See further in Chapter XI.
assumes a special importance. Steuernagel attempted an analysis by distinguishing the parts where the second person singular is used, which he counted original, from those which employ the plural. There is reason to believe that certain laws using the singular form do go back to a remote past (see Chapter vi), but the alternations between singular and plural are so rapid, and have so many parallels in writings which certainly have only one author, that few would regard this alone as a satisfactory guide to what the book originally contained.

It is sufficient for our purpose to take note of these different views and to refer to them as occasion requires.

STYLE

'The Book of Deuteronomy is written in easy flowing Hebrew prose of great charm and beauty' with 'rolling, undulating sentences of long range and majestic sweep'. It is essentially oratorical and hortatory, as befits its subject. This tone equally pervades the legislation which takes the form of direct address punctuated by personal appeal. This has led G. von Rad to believe that much at least of the law was delivered orally before it was written down. 'The laws are not codified but interpreted and preached'; and sometimes, as in xv. 12-18, take the 'form of an impressive address quite different from juristic composition'.

There are many examples of pictorial imagery.

At one time it was contended that the undoubtedly archaic words and forms found in Deuteronomy were a proof of its antiquity, and there are still some who hold that they 'militate against a late date'. From the other side it was argued that the presence of Aramaisms proved a late date; but recent archaeological discoveries of the early influence of Aramaic in Palestine have deprived this argument of its force. Weight is attached by some to the fact that certain prose passages in Jeremiah approximate to the style of Deuteronomy, but this is largely attributable to the fact that the subject matter in them is similar, and that both are characterized by earnest exhortation and personal appeal. In fact, no safe inference regarding age can be based upon such considerations, except it be that the book certainly contains some very old material, a conclusion necessitated also from other points of view, and generally admitted.

That old forms should exist side by side with modern ones is only what might be expected when scribes copied old MSS; and something of this sort may be indicated when the scribes in Ezra's day read the law and 'gave the sense' (Ne. viii. 8).

The fact that chapters xxxii, xxxiii are poetry, as well as the difference of subject, accounts for their difference from the prose portions. In like manner chapter xxxiv is in narrative style (see below, Chapter xi), which naturally differs from the hortatory style of the discourse, or the terse quality of the ancient law-forms. Such differences need not be attributed to change of authorship. There is a marked unity of style which runs through the discourses, which 'are all in the same style and spirit'. Reider goes so far as to speak of the whole book as 'a work that evidently comes from a single hand and is the offspring of a single brain'.

1 J. Reider, op. cit., p. xxxii.
2 Robertson, OTP, p. 15. See also Drinker, op. cit., pp. 187ff.
3 Aramaic was understood in Jerusalem in Hezekiah's time (2 Ki. xviii. 26), a fact confirmed by recently discovered papyri; and there is evidence of its influence in the Ras Shamra tablets. See further, A. M. Honeymoon, OTMS, p. 278.
4 J. N. Schofield says that the style of Deuteronomy shows the influence of Jeremiah; H. H. Rewley attributes such likeness as exists to Jeremiah's knowledge of Deuteronomy. See below p. 140; also John Bright, JBL, 1951, pp. 15-29.
5 On the early development of Biblical Hebrew see W. F. Albright, Archaeology, p. 181.
6 Pedersen (Israel, iii-iv, p. 581). See also Driver, ICC, pp. lxvii.
THE STYLE OF DEUTERONOMY COMPARED WITH J, E AND P

In support of the documentary hypothesis it is stated that the styles of JE, D and P can be easily distinguished, and that the distinctive style of Deuteronomy proves it to be of different authorship from the remainder of the Pentateuch. Before this is taken for granted, it is well to examine the basis upon which it rests.

So far as the style of Deuteronomy is concerned, if it be agreed that, say, chapters v—xxvi are by one author, we have a determinate piece of writing the style of which is in question, and there is little room for controversy. It is different when dealing with only parts of an existing book or books, for then the analysis depends as much upon the style as the style depends upon the analysis. Both are indeterminate until one or other is arbitrarily fixed.

For example, if it be assumed (and it can only be an assumption) that all genealogies are to be assigned to P because of their formal style, it is no wonder that none are found in JE; although JE might well have known some at least of them. Or, to take a second instance, we are told that 'P alone of the Pentateuchal writers reckons by months and days', and therefore Dt. i. 3 is a later insertion. But why should D, or whoever was the author of it, 1—5, not be allowed to know something of months and days? What about the months and days in Dt. xvi. 1—11? Nor does verse 3 look like an insertion, for a gap is left if it be omitted. The whole process is arbitrary and the result artificial. In addition to this, style depends not only upon the author, but upon his subject and upon the occasion of his speech or writing. Two examples will suffice. Lewis Carroll's mathematical works could not have been written in the same style as his Alice in Wonderland; and a statesman's statistical records would of necessity be in a style widely different from his persuasive oratory. In similar fashion there is no reason why one and the same person might not write, or cause to be written, the list of stages in the wilderness journey found in Nu. xxxiii, and yet be able to address the assembled people in the flowing periods which we read in Deuteronomy.

Inferences from variations of style are therefore precarious, even when advanced by great Hebrew scholars. Indeed, Professor Driver himself makes many reservations. For instance, he observes that 'in laws touching common ground (whether with H or D) identical terms appear'. How close the resemblance can be the reader can see for himself by comparing Lv. xi (P or H) with Dt. xiv, or the framework and style of Lv. xvii and xxvi with those of Dt. xii and xxviii, or by observing the 'Deuteronomic' phrases in Lv. xiv, xix, 23, xx, 24, xxiii, 10, xxxv, 18. Comparing the style of D with that of JE, Driver also points out that of seventy words and phrases which he selects as characteristic of the style of Deuteronomy, no fewer than fifteen are found also in JE, from which he thinks D may have derived them. He further states that where JE 'adopts a parenetic tone', of which he gives several instances, the styles of JE and D approximate to each other. To these must be added a fair number of other passages in JE which are so similar in style to Deuteronomy as to be reckoned by many scholars as 'Deuteronemic' additions to the original.

To sum up, whilst the style of Deuteronomy is distinguished by its oratorical power and characteristic phrases, the same style can to some extent be perceived in some of the earlier speeches of Moses recorded in the Pentateuch.

Deductions from style are proverbially open to subjective influences, and we proceed now to consider a test of a different character.

CHARACTERISTIC PHRASES

When G. von Rad sought a basis for his investigation into the meaning and purpose of Deuteronomy, he dismissed the connective

1 Without acknowledging the validity of the documentary analysis, the symbols are used to denote the 'documents' as they appear, for example, in Driver, LOT, JE being used for the combination of J and E.


3 See Driver, ICC, p. lxxxv.

4 See further E. Robertson, OTP, p. 43.

5 ICC, p. lxxxvii.

6 ICC, p. lxxv. Pedersen (Israel, iii—iv, p. 306) calls one of these (Ex. xiii. 3—16) 'a speech of Moses which is highly reminiscent of the style and diction of Deuteronomy'.

7 Examples are Ex. iii. 15, ix. 9—21, x. 2, 16, xii. 21—27, xv. 1—9, xxxii. 21b—24, 27, xxxiii. 9, 11, 12b, xxxvi. 15, xxxiii. 16—30; Nu. xxx. 23—25. See also W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament, 1944, pp. 47ff.
tion with Josiah's reform or with the currents of prophetic thought as ill-founded; but he found a satisfactory starting-point in the consideration of those phrases, of which he made a list of forty-three,¹ which by the frequency of their recurrence gave to the book a decidedly individual form and character. 'The most frequent phrases,' he writes, 'shew the most important thoughts.'²

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expressions under the following heads:

a. Memories of the past

1. (5) 'The house of bondage.'⁴
2. (33) 'Remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt.'⁵
3. (56) 'Redeemed.'⁶
4. (12) 'Through a mighty hand and by an outstretched arm.'⁷

The first phrase goes back to the time of the first commandment (Ex. xx. 2). The first and third are combined in Dt. xiii. 5, and are found with slight variation in Mi. vi. 4.

Of the two parts which make up the fourth, the former occurs in Ex. vi. 1 (JE),⁸ and the latter in Ex. vi. 6 (P). They are found also applied to battle in old Egyptian texts.⁹ Of these twenty-two references exactly half are found in legislation. The people's memory of their servitude and deliverance is made a plea for the punishment of apostasy (xiii. 5), showing liberality (xv. 28), 'With all thy heart and soul.'³

5. (45) 'Fear him.'⁶
6. (62) 'Beware lest thou forget.'⁷
7. 'Blot out the name.'⁸
8. (2) 'Other gods.'⁹
9. (39) 'Which ye (thou, they) have not known.'¹⁰

We cannot do better than follow this lead and consider these expressions under the following heads: (a) Memories of the past; (b) Yahweh's covenant; (c) Entry into the land; (d) National unity; (e) The 'place' and the 'name'; (f) Sin and cleansing; and (g) Blessing in the land.

b. Yahweh's covenant

1. (1b) 'Love' (God as subject)²
2. (1a) 'Love' (man as subject)³
3. (28) 'Cleave unto him.'⁴
4. (31) 'Walk in his ways.'⁵
5. (45) 'Fear him.'⁶
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We may add from Driver's list as relevant to the covenant relationship, (15) 'Jehovah thy God' (i. 6), (16) 'Jehovah the God of thy fathers' (i. 11), (14) 'to hearken to his voice' (iv. 30), (29) 'as Jehovah hath spoken (promised)' (vi. 19), (31) 'walk in his ways' (viii. 6), and (48, 49) 'do that which is right (evil) in his eyes' (xii. 25, iv. 25).

The bearing of these phrases upon the date becomes more evident by the addition of two others from Driver's list, namely (8) 'covenant' and (69) 'out of the midst of the fire'.

On the positive side we discern a close connection with the

9. S. R. Driver says that by their repetition they 'give a distinctive colouring to every part of the work'.⁹

¹ All but three are included in Driver's list of seventy (ICC, pp. Iviiiiff.), which we shall consider along with them. Driver's numbering of them is prefixed in brackets.


⁴ v. 6 (6). [N.B. The reference given in this and similar footnotes is to the place where the phrase first occurs. The figure in brackets gives the number of occurrences.]

⁵ iv. 15 (5). ⁶ vii. 8 (6). ⁷ iv. 34 (5).

⁸ See p. 36, n. 1.


¹⁰ Only the first occurrence of the words is given in each case.
covenant in Horeb, round which most of these phrases group themselves. This is treated as an experience within living memory, where Yahweh chose Israel as His people, and they took Him as their God.

On the negative side they aim at protecting the Israelite community against Canaanite influence, which Pedersen says is 'the main object of the book'. This is presented as a future danger, and not as in Hosea where the people are already entangled with many 'lovers' (Ho. ii. 5-8). Deuteronomy speaks of 'other gods ... which thou hast not known' (Ex. vi. 17, RV); and, soon after, the promise takes the form 'I will give it you for an heritage' (Ex. vi. 8, P). If the story in Exodus be true, their recurrence in Deuteronomy is significant.

In connection with the second of these phrases, Driver's comment on i. 20 deserves attention. He translates 'which Jehovah our God is giving to us' and adds, 'i.e. is in the course of giving us (viz. at the present moment)'. Other phrases marking notes of time occur in his list. First, (9) 'which I am commanding thee this day' (Ex. 40) comes three times in the legislation (xiii. 18, xv. 5, xix. 9), where it can only be interpreted of the time when the commands were first issued (cf. xxvi. 16, 18). Again, what he calls 'a favourite Deuteronomic thought' is (40) 'as at this day' (i. 30). A third phrase, (32) 'who shall be in those days', only in the legislation (xvii. 9, xix. 17, xxvi. 3), makes the laws appear to be intended for a time which has not yet arrived.

When we add to the above the frequent references (including xii. 10) to the crossing of the Jordan the emphasis on the connection of the legislation with the days of the settlement is not inconsiderable. G. von Rad thinks that the traditions of the wanderings and entry into the land existed in written form 'at an early date'.

d. National unity

1. (47) 'All Israel.'
2. (66) 'Hear, O Israel.'
3. (76) 'A holy people.'
4. (78) 'A peculiar people.'
5. 'Brother(s).'
6. (27) 'The stranger, the fatherless and the widow.'

In the account of Moses' calling, which may well have come from Moses himself, we read of 'the Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob' (Ex. iii. 16), and of 'a land ... flowing with milk and honey' (Ex. iii. 8, 17, JE); and, soon after, the promise takes the form 'I will give it you for an heritage' (Ex. vi. 8, P). If the story in Exodus be true, their recurrence in Deuteronomy is significant.

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The first thing to notice is the number and the uniform distribution of these expressions. There are thirty-four in chapters i-iv, twenty-nine in chapters v-xi, forty-six in chapters xii-xxvi, eighteen in chapters xxvii-xxxi and one in chapter xxxiv. They permeate the legislation and penetrate into those sections of it which are generally reckoned the oldest, for instance, the liturgical formulae of chapter xxvi.

Their connection with the history is too close and subtle to be the result of accident or of artifice. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that Moses knew of a promise made to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Gen. xvi. 3, xxvi. 13, JE) and to 'their seed after them' (Ex. vi. 8; Gen. xvii. 7). This is the reference in fifteen occurrences of the word 'covenant'; in three others it refers to the covenant with the fathers, and once to the covenant 'in the land of Moab'.

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2 Israel, i-e. p. 27. See pp. 100, 120 below.
3 This expression is absent from the eighth-century prophets, but reappears in Je. vii. 10.
4 i. 8 (27).
5 iv. 21 (10).
6 vi. 3 (33).
7 i. 8 (33).
8 i. 8 (11).
9 vi. 1 (8).
10 vii. 6 (3).
Driver adds (6) "thy gates" (xii. 12). It comes twenty-one times in chapters xii–xxvi, and four times afterwards. The consistent address to 'all Israel' assumes the unity of the nation; the people is addressed as a whole. 3 E. Robertson considers this fact alone as decisive against the origin of the book in the period of the divided kingdom, for 'only in respect of a united land could the phrase "all Israel" have any real significance.' 4 M. Noth says that the 'Israel' of the laws is that of the time of the Judges. 5

We are told in 1 Sa. iii. 20, iv. 1 that Samuel was recognized in 'all Israel' as a prophet, and in 2 Sa. viii. 15 that David reigned over 'all Israel'. After the disruption the expression is employed in 1 Ki. xlv. 27 to the northern tribes.

The advocates of a post-exilic date for Deuteronomy have also pointed to the use of this phrase as excluding the hypothesis that Deuteronomy could have originated in the seventh century. 4 The sentence 'All Israel shall hear, and fear' is added to the penalty of stoning in xiii. 11, xxii. 21, both laws being undoubtedly of ancient origin.

A. Lods has observed an incipient sense of unity in Deborah's song, 6 where Israel (Jdg. v. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11) stands for the sum total of all the tribes. They have a consciousness of unity, though not yet united, and we see 'this intense national feeling was closely linked with the belief in Jahwe'. This is due, this writer says, to the work of Moses in the creation of a people by the founding of a national religion. These words apply with equal force to the 'Israel' of the laws is that of the time of the Judges. 7

The 'tribes' are mentioned in xxvii. 7 this justifies the assumption that the writer of those chapters, as a prophet, and in 1 E. (xv. 27 to the northern tribes.

The words 'to eat before the Lord... and rejoice' are in chapters xii–xxvi always connected with some offering at the place which the Lord shall choose. Therefore when they are repeated in xxvii. 7 this justifies the assumption that the writer there thought of the altar on Ebal as a chosen place.

All the expressions in this group are both anticipatory and indefinite. There is nothing to connect the 'place' with Jerusalem (see pp. 131 ff). The word maqâm is quite general; it might mean a city (Gn. xviii. 26, 2 Ki. xxii. 17), an open space (Ex. iii. 5, Dt. xi. 24), or the site of a theophany (Ex. xx. 24).

G. von Rad has suggested that possibly the first three in the present list of expressions may not be original, but a later insertion. 8 He also thinks they may betoken a 'name-theology' which is a sublimation of the older 'glory-theology' connected with the ark, whereby 'no longer Yahweh Himself, but only His name is present.' 9 This is only speculation, and made improbable by the fact, which von Rad himself recognizes, that the placing of the name is present in Ex. xx. 24, and that the name of Yahweh is prominent in the primitive revelation in Ex. iii.
34 THE BOOK OF THE LAW

The 'name' in Dt. xii. 11 must be taken in the same plain, literal sense as the 'names' in xii. 3; the 'names' of the other gods are to be blotted out of their 'places'; the 'name of Yahweh' will abide in His 'place'.

f. Sin and cleansing

1. (70) 'Abomination.'
2. (36) 'Sin in thee.'
3. (34) 'Thine eye shall not pity.'
4. (67) 'Hear and fear.'
5. (24, 58) 'Put away evil from thy midst.'

The last three clauses are applied to severe penalties, mostly belonging to the oldest strata, some certainly pre-Mosaic. The two latter give a moral point to the ancient laws. The first of these is frequently used of moral evils connected with Canaanite idolatry. The three latter, sometimes in combination, are attached to laws prescribing the death penalty (and to some others), the ancient character of which is shown by their 'judgment' form and by their parallels in the Code of Hammurabi. Together with the second, they are found only in the legislative section. Let them be compared with the prophetic denunciations of moral evil, and the contrast is immediately obvious; they are another evidence of the archaic character of the law.

g. Blessing in the land

1. (25) 'Bless.'
2. 'Rest from your enemies.'
3. (68) 'Observe and do.'
4. (3) 'Long (life).'</n. (42) 'Well with thee.'
6. (55) 'Work of thy (your) hand.'

To this group we may add, from Driver's list (30) 'corn, wine, and oil' (vii. 13).

The blessings promised are all such as would apply to a people about to settle in a new land, and they breathe a spirit of naive and happy optimism.

The expressions in Driver's list not yet mentioned do not affect the inferences regarding date already drawn. They are (11) take heed to thyself, (17) be willing, (19) how ('ēkō), (21) angered, (26) greatness (of God), (35) courageous and strong, (37) statutes and judgments, (41) continually, (43) thoroughly, (44) thou canst not, (50) the priests the Levites, (53) turn to the right hand or to the left, (54) affrighted, (57) therefore I command thee, (65) destroy.

There is a remarkable uniformity in the distribution of these expressions; when added together the proportion found in the early part (i-xi), in the legislation (xii-xxvi) and in the sequel (xxvii-xxxiv) is almost identical, a fact which favours unity of authorship.

The phraseology is not derived from that of the eighth-century prophets. There is an entire absence of their forthright 'thus saith the Lord' (Am. i. 3, etc.) or 'the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it' (Is. i. 20, etc.). Profoundly convinced that they received their message direct from God, they never veiled it under the guise of a Mosaic discourse. Deuteronomy bears the impress of independence, and of an earlier age.

Although here and there we can find a trace of one of these Deuteronomic expressions in the prophets, it is impossible that the Deuteronomist could have based his style and vocabulary upon theirs.

The two most used phrases are, 'go in and possess' (thirty-five times) and 'the land which the Lord giveth thee' (thirty-four times).

1 See further Chapter ix.
2 (With Jehovah) vii. 25 (8); (alone) vii. 26 (8).
3 xiii. 11 (4).
4 xvi. 9 (7).
5 xiii. 11 (4).
6 xiii. 11 (4).
7 See Chapter v, p. 116.
8 xii. 13 (14).
9 xii. 15 (4).
10 v. 1 (20).
11 vi. 26 (11).
12 iv. 40 (8).
13 ii. 7 (6).
If this is a criterion of their importance in the writer's mind then the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites had the first place in his thoughts.

Let the reader run his eye again down this list of the recurring words and thoughts which give this book its distinctive style. What period of Israel's history do they match best? Zephaniah's prophecy⁴ belongs to the early days of Josiah, and there could not be a greater contrast. Nor does the phraseology tally with the days of the exile or return; the contrast with the books of Ezekiel, Haggai or Ezra is just as great.

The only place really suitable for it is at the very foundation of Israel's national history.

¹ See J. P. M. Smith on Zp. i. 1 in Zephaniah, ICC, 1912, p. 167.