THE DEUTERONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

A Thesis

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Master of Sacred Theology

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A C K N O L E D G E M E N T

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CHAPTER I

Survey of Historiographical Theory

Synopsis

This chapter contains a survey of historiographical theory from the time of the Greeks up to the work of Sorokin and Mandelbaum. It is descriptive rather than critical.

The work of Herodotus and Thucydides is contrasted. Herodotus felt that History is the recording of the acts and thoughts of men. Men were autonomous agents with the power to influence the course of events for good or evil according as they acted wisely or foolishly. Thucydides felt that History was the working out of the plans of the Gods and that men gained status only as they contributed to the on-going success of the State. This tended to reduce History to the formal narrative of the acts of representative figures and left less room for individual variance and free choice. Both were followed by the Historian Xenophon, in whose work we note a heightened respect for the acts of individual strength and ability as well as narratives of smaller-scale operations.

Roman Historiography was dominated by two considerations: the sense of mission to rule the world equitably, as we find in Livy, and the Epicurean view that the Gods had very little to do with the on-going course of events. Out of this latter grew the humanistic school of Historiography represented by such writers as Tacitus and Suetonius and by the biographical studies of Plutarch.

The rise of Christianity brought back a sense of external and universal criteria. History was the working out of the Plan of God as he had revealed that Plan to His accredited agency, the Church. Men gained status and happiness in this life and a safer chance for the life to come as they associated themselves with these external criteria. This left very little room for those deeper variations of character which make up so much of History.

The Renaissance was a return to humanism and intellectual pretensions, of which Descartes and Pico della Mirandola are characteristic. This note of intellectual confidence in man's ability to derive universals apart from the divine authority of the Church is reflected in the formulations of G. Vico. The later though of Locke, and Hume found reflection in the rationalistic history of Gibbon and Voltaire.

The Enlightenment was a triumph of the process of intellectualization and formulation. The ultimate product was a mystical Nature which was the ground of life and which replaced the God who had been

removed by Deism from effective influence on the course of events. Of this Enlightenment-conception of a complete and self-adjusting Nature, Herder, with his conception of a teleological Nature, is a significant product.

Kant, building on the Enlightenment thinkers, yet objected to this attributing to Nature such great powers. He said that Nature of itself could do little; rather, it was as man in his intellectual genius made use of Nature that it was enabled to give forth its treasures.

Hegel, too, was dissatisfied with what he considered to be the merely cyclical character of Nature; he felt it left no place for the distinctively human capabilities and emotions. For it he substituted his impetuous Spirit, which proved the chain of connection, upon which the events of the Past found a place. The formerly disparate acts of men were united by this Spirit, which adjusted itself to the lives of men through the Dialectical philosophy. Marx represents a variation from Hegel. To Marx the connecting chain was a rather deterministic Natural Process which bound men to her through their need for her elemental necessities. Marx justified conflict in History by the serious fight for these necessities rather than by any force beyond empirical experience.

August Comte was deeply dissatisfied with the course of Historiography. He felt that in its philosophical pretensions it had become detached from its original purpose of recording the Past. He proceeded to provide what he considered to be the correct remedy by engaging in impressively erudite studies which were noted for their factual detail and accuracy. However he lacked the organising ability of Hegel and found that through his erudition he had defeated his own purpose. He had produced some weighty and useful factual studies but they were so ponderous in their detailed character that they broke the line of continuity. They were also limited to the Past, in that they presented the Past as a finished spectacle.

The work of Bradley and Oakeshott reflects the idealism of the former and the progression toward History as a living tradition of the latter. Bradley considered Reality as flowing uninterruptedly down the time-sequence. When the Historian studies it he selects a segment for his study. But this segment does not exist apart from his own academic constructs. To truly and rightfully study the Past we must fit our minds to it with the greatest possible precision, being careful not to bring to it any extraneous or later materials. This means that again History is always in the Past, and is to be viewed as a spectacle. Oakeshott felt that there are actual divisions within history and that our attempt to divide it into periods is a legitimate practice rather than merely an academic practice. Experience

of the Past is of two sorts: mediate and immediate. It is mediate in that it comes from a past time; it is immediate in that we experience it in our immediate lives. He arrived from this line of thought at what might be called a Living Tradition.

Croce considered all experience, whether of Past or Present, as present experience. This being true, all that a person may know of the Past he knows it in the Present. We must attempt, by judicious reconstruction, to carry our present selves back into the Past, so that we may experience it as in the Present. He distinguishes between two factors in the production of written History: the Chronicler whose task it is to collect facts and data; and the Historian, whose task it is to unify and to interpret the facts and data.

Sorokin combines the abilities of the sensitive Historian and and the trained social theorist. He discusses the over-all aspects of cultures in terms of cultural dynamics. Mandelbaum is a gifted disciple.

The position taken in this Thesis is that the Deuteronomic writers fully deserve the title "Historian" and the body of the present writing is devoted to a defence of that view.

The person who wishes to study historical considerations is hampered at the outset by the lack of clear and dependable definitions. "History" is a word that is either used casually or as a factor in the defining of some other term. Although the present writer is concerned with a group of Old Testament Historians exclusively, it is felt that a consideration of other schools and periods would be helpful. This is suggested by the multiplicity of methods of writing "History" which were prevalent in older times as well as those contemporary with the Hebrew People.

Ancient Historiographers contemporary with the Hebrews tended to record the great deeds of kings and rulers and to neglect the

Another type of Historiography is to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It is what might be called "sectional history", telling of a succession of events and the acts of particular men. There is little attempt at unification. The onward sweep of History finds little reflection in these disparate accounts. It is a progression from the annalistic type because there are fuller treatments of personality and suggestions of motives; but it is still very far from what we would call History today. A fuller treatment of this type will appear in the section of Medieval Historiography.

The poet philosopher Dante is an example of the use of History to support a given point of view. Commenting on Paradise, VI, Wicksteed says, "Note that Justinian, the law-giver is the spokesman of the Roman Empire, whereby it is indicated that the true significance of the Empire lies in its imposing and fostering the arts of peace."[1]

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1 The Paradise of Dante Alighiere, Ed., by P.H. Wicksteed and H. Oelsner, ("Temple Classics") London, 1954, p.60; also, pp.71ff.

In ancient times the rank and file were for the most part just an undifferentiated mass to be manipulated by the ruler's whims and his desire for reputation and notoriety. Historiography thus became a method of personal boasting and the exposition of self-centredness. Its propaganda-value outweighed its accuracy-element. It was written from the rather low point of view of wishing to impress and to inspire others with the extremes of admiration or fear. Such Historiography was not concerned so much with the on-going course of events or with the relation of one ggneration with those in the Past or the Future as it was with the deeds of particular men. It tended to be limited to the annals of particular reigns or the violent acts of ambitious kings. There was rather little indication of a central point of view. It could not be called a history of men as much as it could the records of discrete individuals. This may be demonstrated from a sampling of texts from the Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles.[1]

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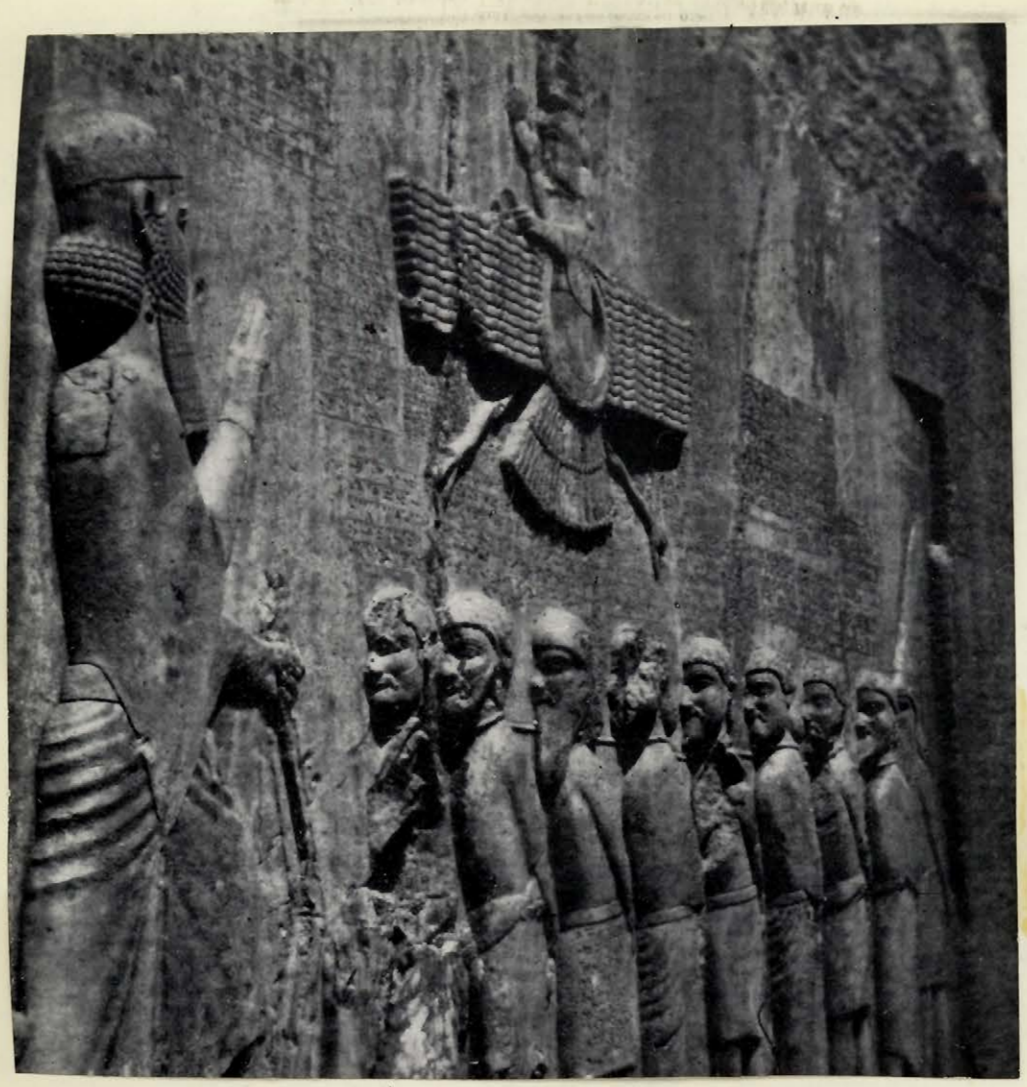
1 "In the eighteenth year of my reign the Euphrates I crossed. Hazael of Damascus trusted to the great numbers of his troops and called out his troops in numbers. Sanini, a peak in the Lebanon district, he made into his fortress. With him I fought and defeated him. 16,000 of his soldiers with weapons I destroyed. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his horsemen, with his camp I took from him. He fled to save his life. I pursued



Seldom has absolute power and absolute self-confidence been so vividly set forth.

Behistun Rock

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him and in Damascus, his royal city, I shut him up. I cut down his parks and marched to the mountains of the Haman. Cities without number I destroyed, wasted burned with fire and carried away booty without number." (Annalistic fragment from the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III) #1

"Against Damascus I marched, I shut up Mari, king of Damascus, in Damascus, his royal city. The fear of the brightness of Achar my Lord smote him, and he took my feet and did obeisance. 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, colored garments, linen, an ivory bed, an ivory couch with inlaid borders, his possessions, his goods in unmeasured numbers in Damascus, his royal city, in his palace I took. All the kings of Chaldee did obeisance. I laid upon them tribute and taxes. Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha brought pure offerings to the oracles of the God Bel, Babu and Nergal." (Inscription from Calakh, (Nimrud)) #2

These are quoted from Mercer, A.S.B., Extra-Biblical Sources for Hebrew and Jewish History, New York, 1913, #1, p.34; #2, p.34.

The Greeks

Aristotle's τελος typifies the Greek conception of static perfection that can operate independently of man. It is sufficient by itself because it is the unchanging, unwavering fulfilment of an eternal Plan. The temporal is but an inadequate garment; it is, in so many ways, the moving shadow of eternity. Such a train of thought as this forbade that the temporal and the changing should be real. Reality could not be in the realm of flux, which is subject to the ravages of desperate man and finally to death itself. Reality is with the Gods who dwell in everlasting self-satisfaction and are thus beyond men. The experience of εν θεος was claimed to be a frequent one for artists and dramatists; while they passed through it they were no longer normal men. Their mortality and finitude were for a little while cast aside and they saw with the eyes of the Gods. Only for a space could they experience the ultimate and the finished; then, they must go back to the world of change and unexpected tragedy.

Out of such a train of thought, there grew up a strong contrast: on the one side there was the unchanging Plan of the Gods; on the other, the uncertainty and change of the world of fleeting life. The former was emphasized by Greek thought and formed the basis of one great wing of their Historiography. Those who opposed this great Plan were cast aside into obscurity. Those who submitted were granted status in it. It was under such a broad conception that Thucydides did his best work and gave the world

the idea that a Divine Progression moves within the temporal, but has its origin and motivation from the Ideal and the Finished. In his view History was first and foremost the act of the God or the more or less well-organized program of the divine Pantheon. The victory of a nation was accomplished because the generals were willing to submit their abilities and energies to the revealed will of the Gods. In times of peace the nation prospered and multiplied only as it was obedient and cultically faithful. Only when the nation was an approximation of the over-all divine Plan could it be said to have either unity or purpose. Apart from this Ideal, which was preexistent and fixed, the efforts of men were bound to be frustrated. Out of such a consideration came one of the most characteristic Thucydidean elements; the Representative Figure and the idealized movement of History. All history must move according to it and it could not be defeated. Hence, the individual person im relatively unimportant. The single person had status and significance only as he was part of generalized humanity, which is a belittling view. An example of this is the Funeral Oration,[1] attributed by Thucydides to Pericles. The city of Athens is praised because she is an approximation of the will of the Gods who gave her victory. The duty of man is to so identify himself with the glory of Athens that his entire affection and his entire affection and his best thoughts will lead him to conformity with her ends and enterprises. This close identity

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1 Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, trans. by R. Crawley, London, n.d. pp.120-128, (Bk.II Sections 35-47).

between the will of the Gods and the life of man is again illustrated by in Aeschylus' The Persians. The mourning Persian mothers are told that they have lost their sons not primarily through the ability of the Greek generals but because it was the will of the Gods.[1] History is therefore not res gestae; it is res dei.

Since Collingwood considers History to be res gestae it is understandable that he prefers Herodotus, who had much more respect for human enthusiasms and desires. "These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicanarsus..."[2] so runs the opening of the Rawlinson translation. His History exhibits the acts and choices of men rather than the fore-ordained will of the Gods. The Gods are still there but in Herodotus' view they have to take man's freedom into account. The movement of History turns upon the desires and impulsive acts of men just as much as it does upon the will of the Gods. This is in direct contrast with Thucydides, his successor: with Herodotus, the motives of History include the desires of men in all the ramifications of their differences and conflicts; with Thucydides the motives are found in willing conformity to a finished Pattern. With Herodotus History includes the challenge of the exploits of brilliant men. An example of this is to be found in the debate between Solon and Croesus; the one stands for balance and measure in life;the other

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1 Collingwood, loc. cit.,
2 Herodotus, The History of Herodotus, trans. by G. Rawlinson,London,1910.

for seeking one's own ends and thus constantly exposing one's self to the danger of ὕβρις[1]. This is not a mere comparison between two sorts of ideas. It is the conflict of two real persons, each thinking his view the better one. The great things of Greece are not only in the heavens in an eternal Plan. They are come to earth to be moulded by the heroic and the wise, and to be distorted by foolish men and the accidents of τύχη.

Up until the time of Livy this conception was to be a strong counter-challenge to the Thucydean system. After the downfall of Athens the commercial as well as the intellectual solidarity which she had fostered was broken up. The Peloponnesian war had destroyed the common ground and had severed the links which Athens had needed for her control of the Greek world. The Anabasis of Xenophon is perhaps the best example of the moods of such a situation. The qualities which he admires in the Greek mercenary general are compounded of bravery, administrative ability and a knowledge of the ways of individual men. The addresses in the Anabasis present striking contrasts to the Funeral Oration of Pericles. Pericles praises and binds men to great Forms and Principles; Xenophon presents his generals as concerned with particular tasks and solutions and as appealing to the lower officers and the strong men within the ranks, so that the expedition might be furthered

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1 Ibid., I:30:32. Hdt., I: 29-32.

in its march back through unknown territory. Thus, there is here the contrast between the universal and the particular: Pericles praises Athens because it is the triumph of the Plan of the Gods; Xenophon praises his general because he has discharged a task with consummate ability. In the latter human interest has triumphed over universal types.

Roman Historiography

With the writings of Livy we return to the sense of the universal and the permanent. Yet this time it is not the Gods who provide this reference. Epicureanism had shown the Gods to be either incapable or undesirous of influencing the temporal realm and to be dwelling in undisturbed bliss. It is the sense of Roma Eterna which has usurped their dignity and prerogatives. Rome has become Numa, a mystic community which can attract the loyalty and win the affection of the free citizenry. This conception can call forth the best in a man and can induce him to act with probity and restraint so that the nation produces the calm and productive Code of the Twelve Tables. Rome and Law have a close linkage. Much of this sense of the Law came from a common sentiment, so that the most searching distinction in Roman Law was not that between the acts of God and those of men but between Roman citizens and foreigners. The Ius Gentium is the codification of such a point of view. The term denotes this feeling of togetherness which characterised

both farmer and political figure. In time it grew to be a sense of Destiny; the source and foundation of this community and Law were in the destiny of Rome to rule the world with beneficence and administrative organization. It was the high task of Livy to record the deeds of responsible and brilliant men within the larger frame work of the development of the Roman State. He had more respect for facts than did Thucydides and therefore his history has more vitality. To Livy, events grew from the acts of men and therefore facts were important. They were the source of both information and judgement.

With the advent of Tacitus we come to a more limited, parochial point of view. The Agricola is a highly polished, eulogistic statement of the career of a Roman Governor.' We note a certain similarity with Xenophon: interest in administrative ability, respect for individual strength in critical situations and an interest in local color. We may note, for example, that Agricola depends on trust rather than force or that he first manifests his strength to the enemy and then offers them the alternative of his peace. We are again in the midst of particularities. Gone is the universal objectivity that lifted all things to the level of the Gods.

Thus we see that History is now being presented as the amalgam of the on-going course of events and the acts of able, particular men. This is again shown in Plutarch with his interest in comparative biography. Here, the former large claims of community and universality

have been crushed by the persistent, harrying claims of brilliant, highly self-conscious men.

Roman philosophy tended to remove from the Gods any effective control over the lives of men; it put the burden of success or failure on the shoulders of the people of this world. This led to a group of history-writers who recorded the acts of very human individuals who covered themselves with either glory or shame. Greek and Roman Historiography had very effectively raised the question: does the historian merely seek to given an account of things that happened or does he seek to show how and why they happened? Does Historiography which seeks to do the latter deserve to be ruled out of court as really not what it ought to be? For if so, then we cannot even talk of "Deuteronomic Histories." The term "histories" applied to them would be a complete misnomer. Before we attempt to answer this we must pursue our review somewhat further.

The Christian Modification

Graeco-Roman Historiography closed on a note of humanistic optimism. Man's willing acceptance of the responsibility of moulding future events had engendered in him a confidence in his ability and foresight. The triumph of Christianity, however, resulted in an effective and sustained opposition to such a way of thought. The Christianity of the first few centuries had condemned not only the raucous crowds of the urban centers but had seen its own

Corrigendum

The text continues without interruption from page 13 to page 15;
The omission page 14 is a typing error.

"foolishness"[1] triumph over the intellectual dogmas of the Greeks. They had put the world behind them for they had triumphed over it. In a submission to the will of God as thorough-going as that of Thucydides, Christian Historiography applied itself to the task of explaining the destruction of Rome which had been the stay and frame of the known world. Gibbon has written, "The last three hundred years had been consumed in apparent prosperity and internal decline."[2] The forces which had been working behind the brilliant facade were at the beginning of this decline a threat to the Roman Empire; later, they were shown to be its conqueror. The fall of the Empire was not an isolated event. It had been within the concerted Plan of a Power Which had now shown Its full strength until the fall of Rome. Such was the persistent view of the Christian Historiographers, preeminent among whom was St. Augustine. In his Civitas Dei he set himself the stupendous task in explaining the part that God had played in allowing the Roman Empire to both wax and wane and to allow the title of σώτηρ to be attached to a Roman Emperor, Augustus. After much research and introspection Augustine came to the conclusion that the rise and dissolution of Rome had been within the Providence of the God Who had revealed Himself in Jesus Christ. Before the God Who could first raise up and then destroy even mighty Rome, man could but bow in self-abnegation.

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1 I Corinthians, 1:25, 27,29.
2 Quoted in, Peacock, W., English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin, Oxford, 1947, p.244.

We are once more in the realm of universals. The view that man was capable of taking a leading part in history would have taken us on to the concept of res gestae proper. But Christianity viewed man as incapable of taking this leading part because of two main considerations: first, his innate sinfulness, which has made him incapable of sound and sustained judgement; second, the direct act of God was the spring of History. Without this influence, mediated through the divine institution of the Church, history would for a short while fluctuate between folly and despair and then fall into meaningless chaos. In this view the one alternative to God, as the controller of History,was a debilitating pessimism. The right response to God brought a hope which functioned both as motive force and rationale for the discouragingly difficult task of building the world again. This rationale was to serve as the cohesive explanation of the world-course from the time of Augustine up to that of the Occamites and the first intimations of empiricism with Roger Bacon at Boar's Hill. All was to be subsumed under the ipssissima verba which had been given to the Church. There could be no challenge to it; there could be no compromise with it. It was a rigid code which heartened the righteous with its strength and terrified the unrighteous with its universal presence. The Great Act of God had been accomplished by God in Christ. It was an unalterable event in History but it had brought with it a super-terrestrial Authority and Pattern. Man could neighter modify it by contribution as the Greeks had done nor destroy

it by thought as the Roman had done. The one Act had become universal Law. Therefore the Church could achieve the utmost efficiency; behind every apparent contradiction was a single explanation as lofty as the Trinity and as functional as an oecumenical council. Historiography had a set of guiding Absolutes. It had achieved a set of universals.

This view tended to take History out of the hands of men and to render man an instrument; — true, he might be an apt instrument or a sharp tool, but little more. He had been caught up into a Plan which was destined to succeed. For man to succeed man must work with it and it would involve man in a happy issue. But if he will not work with it he will be discarded by events and condemned by his fellow-men.[1] History had become an objective process with its own motive force and its own purpose. To the Roman, History had been the colouring of empty time by the impetuous acts of men. To the medieval Historian it was an autonomous force leading to a goal which man may not understand but which God had established. We are thus back with man as a type rather than one of a group of unpredictable personalities who may by their assertions change the course of events. The virtue of man is in his submission, not in his independence. His sin lies in abandoning the place which God has made for him. God through His Acts had given History a very real autonomy against which man had neither strength nor appeal. The humanism which was to equip man with various intellectual methods of questioning the absolute character of ecclesiastical

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1 Hence, in medieval historiography the will to conform is a predominant strain.

pronouncement was yet to come; all man could do was to submit to the Church as he would to God if God were still in the world.

The First Steps Toward Scientific History

These first steps are dominated by the subjective. With a deliberate thoroughness man turned their backs on objective universals and entered first upon an impetuous assertion of private judgement and next upon a painstaking search for a rationale for this momentous step. The impetuosity was made possible by the revival of classical Humanism after approximately a millenium of authority. The rationale was made possible through man's growing confidence in his ability to derive universals rather than to be satisfied to receive them ready-made from an external authority. Characteristic of the temper of the age is the De Dignitatis Hominum of Pico della Mirandola. In it he expounded the theory that the glory of man was his indeterminate status. "The nature of all other things is limited and restrained within the bonds of laws prescribed by Me (God); thou, controlled by no necessity, shalt ordain for thyself the limits of thy nature, in accordance with thine own free will in whose hands I have placed thee."[1] So far as such thinking was typical it robbed the ecclesiastics of their most far-reaching prerogative; namely, the enunciating of man's nature and destiny.

Characteristic of the search for the rationale was Le Discours de la Methode of Descartes, in particular, and the wider tradition

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1 Mirandola, Pico della, De Dignitatis Hominum, translated by E.L. Forbes, Journal of the History of Ideas, June, 1942, Vol.III, # 3, p.348

of empiricism which ran through Locke and Hume. To quote Descartes: he told himself "...never to accept anything as true if I had not evident knowledge of its being so; that is, carefully to avoid precipitancy and prejudice, and to embrace in my judgement only what presented itself to my mind so clearly and distinctly that I had no occasion to doubt it."[1] The forthrightness of such a statement is a clear indication of the confidence Descartes had in the rational process. Locke, in his conception of the tabula rasa, shows his distrust of accepting the authority and prestige of earlier thought. To quote, "Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas, how comes it to be furnished? ... Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer in one word, from experience. In that all our knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself."[2] This shows the extent to which Locke was willing to trust the forces of Reason and observation. Hume has been criticized by many for the extreme character of much of his scepticism concerning either individual or corporate authority. It may at least be said, however, that he delivers mankind from the equally dangerous opposite extreme of complete and often insidious appeal of the authority of the Past. The range of his thought is illustrated by the following: "The idea of God as meaning an infinitely intelligent, wise and intelligent, wise and good Being, arises from reflecting on the operation of our own mind, and augmenting without limit, those

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1. Descartes, Rene, Le Discours de la Methode, Ed. Anscombe-Geach, Edinburgh, 1954, p.20
2. Locke, John, "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding", in Burtt, E.H., The British Philosophers from Bacon to Mill, New York, 1939, p.248.

qualities of goodness and wisdom."[1] Within the atmosphere generated by these men and their disciples the traditional approaches to Value were cast aside. From henceforth until Hegel and Comte, History was to consist mainly in the formulating of systems and schedules embracing great periods. The work of reconstruction had begun when these men rejected past methods as well as past authority.

Perhaps the clearest exponent of such a position was Giambattista Vico, although such men as Gibbon and Voltaire are typical of the rationalism of the age. Vico divided History into periods. First came the pregovernmental period wherein the strong individual came to prominence and to a position of popular authority. Agamemnon would be a good example of this. Next came the period of economic expansion and intellectual precosity. As yet there was no formulation of the Past. It was a time of pronounced individualism. Following, came a period of accumulation and all the discoveries were winnowed and evaluated. The next period was one of staidness which lived off the accomplishments of the recent Past. The last period was one of decadence wherein there was a lack of active and virile intellectualism. Vico is important for our study because in making these formulations he has for the first time in any thorough-going way evaluated History in terms of the acts and accomplishments of men. (That is, since the advent of Christianity) . Gibbon was a

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1 Hume, David, The Theory of Knowledge, Ed. Yalden-Thomson, Edinburgh, 1951, p.17.

true son of the rationalistic atmosphere. He praised the Age of the Antonines because it showed the triumph of sober, dedicated men to the rational ends of the Empire. He deplored Christianity because it brought in a gentleness and a weakness as well as a supernaturalism which overthrew the achievements of Reason. With the advent of Christianity came the triumph of barbarism. He saw the Fall in the loss of the distinctive and exclusive Roman national consciousness. To quote: "The nation of soldiers, magistrates and legislators who composed the thirty five tribes of the Roman people, was dissolved into the common mass of mankind, and confounded with the millions of servile provincials, who had received the name, without adopting the spirit, of Romans."[1] Gibbon is important to our study because he reflected the casting away of supernaturalism and put into its place that rationalism which was to find its flowering in the French Enlightenment.

The varied strands coming from the English empirical school from Bacon to Hume and in France from Bayle to the Enlightenment came together in the school of Herder, from which emerged the concept that was to dominate Historiography from Hegel to Bradley; namely, that History was the record of a self-conscious and mystical Nature. Nature was perfect in herself, being the product of a perfect, transcendent deity. She became the mobile term and factor coming between God and His creation. In going with her, man was participating in

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1 Peacock, Op. Cit., p.244-45.

the origin of his life and the joy of his consciousness. Nature was a benevolent process, equipped with a myriad of inner adjustments and compensations which were proof against her destruction. She herself had a mystic sense which sustained her in her course, despite of man's follies and failures. Here was the way out of blindness and mistakes into glorious light. Creation itself had been found to be a consistent, a perfect and admirable machine.

History was viewed as a part of Creation. Teleological Naturalism, as propounded by Herder, was most fully developed by Hegel. The legacy from the French and English Eighteenth Century thinkers had been one of variety and of suggestive vitality. The great questions had been broached so provocatively and treated so brilliantly that they could not be dropped by subsequent generations. At Konigsberg Kant had taken up the threads and with his great analytic ability progressed through Naturalism up to what might be called a doctrine of "personal ends." The present writer uses the phrase to denote what he considers to have been Kant's modification of the previous naturalism; namely, that it is the human intellect rather than Nature which has been moving through the temporal sequence. This intellect has been appropriated and used most fully by various figures throughout the course of events and has been responsible for all that is truly human and permanent in the time-span. Apart from this there has been only futility and wrong uses of human resources. Kant is still within the created order and to

that degree is faithful to the Enlightenment. Causation is not external in any of the traditional metaphysical ways, but arises from the emergent process. But he has replaced a mystic Nature with the moral intellect. He too has a method of uniting the disparate elements of History into a pattern; he has the scale of intellect; the acts of men fall into certain places on this scale. He has thus provided a common factor.

To an appreciable degree these two strands come together in Hegel. From him stem the deliberate and distinctively modern elements of Historiography. In Hegel the conception of History as the course of Spirit through the time-sequence achieves its greatest and its classic expression. Up to that time History-writing had fluctuated between local chronicles and partisan literature. The work of Vico, Gibbon and Voltaire had remained slow-working leaven rather than general practice. Building on the work of Kant and the Enlightenment-figures, he came to see Nature as the outward form of Spirit, and he strove to find that more subtle essence and its method of imposing upon the temporal sequence that order which he himself as a rational person had found in the world about him. He agreed with the earlier men that there is a pattern in Nature, but he did not go so far as Herder, in regarding Nature as herself teleological. Rather, it was man who put Nature to use and by distinctly human qualities evoked from her the pattern that was observed to be active in the sequence of events. This

pattern itself could not of itself contain vitality, though it did possess a certain formulational value. It needed the active Spirit to put it to use. This Spirit was outside of men; yet of all the creations of Nature only man could perceive its presence and employ it. This marks an advance over Kant. In Kant, the response was dominated by the rather austere moral will; in Hegel, the whole personality is attracted and used. More importantly still, we have begun the process of completely breaking away from Nature. Hegel laid it down that History is not the mere succession of disparate events through the course of Nature, as was the view of the earlier French thinkers. Rather, it is an intelligible, rational process involving the conscious will and the affections of all who would seek this Spirit. His Dialectic interpreted the Spirit as emerging through a series of syntheses until that Spirit could stand free of them in the culmination of History, the Prussian State.

One of Hegel's most searching criticisms of Nature was of its merely cyclical character. It is repetive rather than progressive. Only the conscious, rational and deliberate human mind can exercise that choice, judgement and desire which since the beginning of conscious life has been responsible for the Dialectical character of the on-going course of events.

At this point Collingwood's descriptive phrase, res gestae comes into sharp focus. Apart from the acts and judgements of men there can be no History. We have thus to juxtapose the two prime factors in any historical study: the conscious act of man at a

particular period and the aggregate of acts and events which they have prompted. Hegel did it by positing this impetuous Spirit which absorbs all the energies and the subtlest reactions of sentient men. There emerges a pattern that is within history because it is first in man. The next step is the conception of Progress. This is not the teleology of Herder, for that tended to be an external mysticism. Rather, it was an appreciation of the Past in terms of the Present, or rather of the judgement of the Present. Because of the comprehensive character of man's response, History is to be thought of in terms of value as well as of event. The step from individual value-judgements to a sense of over-all progress is but a short one. Hegel took the step more rapidly once he had established man as capable of judgement. Thus, the Present is heir to all the best of the Past and man is capable of judging what is best. There is a program in History and man can discover it. Hegel subjected the bare events of history to his theory. The decline of Greece and the dissolution of Rome may be considered bare events, or data of history. But Hegel decided that according to the theory of the Dialectic Greece fell because of its inner strife which finally grew so severe that it severed the vital connecting links. The inner conflicts resulted in a synthesis which was taken up by Spirit and transferred to Rome. The greatness of Greece is present for later ages even though the Dialectic of her inner life may explain her political and cultural downfall. We have at last come to a progression

that is beyond a cyclin Nature and yet is still within man.

The Russian thinker, Karl Marx, made what the present writer considers a regressive step from the great work of Hegel. Building upon Hegel's theory of Spirit as the Binder of the events of history, Marx used it as the basis for a new sort of Naturalism which was considerably narrower and more austere than the Spirit as Hegel had used it. To Marx, this pervasive influence was empirical Nature. Man reflected his response to it in his economic life. Realizing man's tremendous need and dependence upon the materials of Nature he posited that man is bound to Nature in such a way that he is in no position to demand things from her or try to change her course. He cannot escape from the incessant regularity of natural process. This is so truly the case that he is a mere product of Nature and all influences apart from her are to be considered illusory. Mankind is for the most part an undifferentiated aggregate; a man is significant only as he conforms to his type. The standards of the group are sounder than those of the individual. Upon such thoughts as these he based his Communist Manifesto, still perhaps the most eloquent attack upon the assertive and originative middle class. The acts of men may apply a colouring to the hard surface of Nature, but they may do little more. What is to Hegel impetuous Spirit is to Marx Natural Process.

Comte

Comte had at his disposal two factors tremendously important to his contribution to historiography; namely, the invigorating

thought of Hegel and the use of modern science. He put the two together with his Positivism as a theory and Sociology as the most elaborate practical application of that theory. He wished to apply the rigours of science to the disturbing generalities of philosophy, feeling that under the discipline and distinctive influences of scientific method, philosophy could be shorn of such generalizing tendencies and be of use to humanity. He then proceeded to study the events of history with admirable thoroughness. It had been one of the working hypotheses of science that from the patient study of observable facts larger laws might be deduced. He thus attempted to draw from the welter of facts some empirically observable pattern. Because Comte did not have the analytic and synthesizing ability of Hegel he was not able to bring his vast collections of facts into any real pattern. At this point the researches of Darwin become involved. He had discovered that through natural selection Nature had exercised a certain control over the myriads of types and mutations. Comte considered this to be the vindication of his laws of life and of Nature. This resulted in an increased study of minutiae, even at the expense of natural laws. Such a practice had the effect of isolating one fact from its neighbour and there began to appear the stupendous studies of particular events that produced distortions in historical understanding. They were of value but they tended to obscure the sense of the whole which had been so excellently envisaged by Hegel. The sense of the whole was to return in part with Bradley and Oakeshott and more completely with Croce and Sorokin.

Here we pass from a consideration of Positivism to one of the work of more distinctly professional historians. The question passes from one of man's ability to know the Past to one of the methods by which he might appropriate that Past to his uses in the Present.

Much of the most productive thought was evoked by the many failures of Positivism. Although the Positivists had collected a great mass of facts they had not really interpreted them. They remained an impressive miscellany but a miscellany none the less. They also remained in the Past. Whatever records of real events and real people they contained were put together in a Past that could have no connection with the Present. But the philosopher Bradley had a different, more dynamic conception of Reality. He presented it as an uninterrupted flow, beginning at the First of Time and continuing up to the culmination of all things. When the Historian enters to examine any particular part of it, he is merely making an arbitrary selection of events, persons and facts. He is not stopping the flow of Reality. This Reality has an autonomy of its own and shall continue to move into the future. The task of the historian is therefore to adjust his thinking so as not to interfere with this flow of Reality or to impose upon it the colouring of any particular segment of the on-going progression. In practical terms this meant that the mind must not try to arrive on its own at any fundamental meaning of History. This is a progression beyond Positivism because it restored a strong sense

of the continuity of History, but it still left the Past as the Past, a dead and finished segment of the great flow of Reality down the time sequence. The Present could view it only from a detached position.

However, with Oakeshott the situation is different. He recognized that there could be real divisions in History and that Historical knowledge could be both mediate and immediate. It was mediate because it came from the Past; it was immediate because it was experienced in the Present. We are thus in the midst of a Living Tradition rather than a Dead Past.

Croce

Up to this point we have seen how History has been brought into the Present but only as a unity of Past experience of the race; it stands pretty much by itself. The further step of a further, more comprehensive appropriation must be taken before it can really be said that the Past is the inheritance and the instrument of the Present. Only then may its great lessons and persons be fully used and enjoyed. This momentous step was taken by Benedetto Croce; and many of that thinker's most germinal thoughts were developed by Mandelbaum and Sorokin.

Croce begins with the basic position that whatever experience we have is Present Experience, whether it be of past or contemporary events or persons. Hence it follows that whatever use we make of the Past we will do it as people living in the Present. If we wish

to go back to the tenth century, for example, we must realize that we are doing it as dwellers in the milieu of the twentieth century. Apart from this we run the risk of indulging a pseudo-aestheticism. Yet, it was Croce's great achievement that we can render the Past as such a present experience. We do this by attempting judicious and factually faithful reconstructions of a past event. We do it intuitively in that all our faculties of emotional as well as rational experience are called into force. For example, if we wish to study the geometry of Euclid, we would do it in this way. Although it is quite true that we cannot pass through the identical mental processes that Euclid went through, since personal experience through its personalness; still, we can match the conditions present as Euclid did his thinking. We may thus reconstruct a parallel sequence of experience and thus arrive at Euclid's conclusion in the way that he himself arrived at it.

So far as the practising Historian is concerned, the thought of Croce is momentous. From now on, History is internal to the Historian rather than being an external spectacle. Only through his ability to reproduce a given period in all its ramifications can the Historian claim to have intuitive knowledge of it. Thus, his substantial knowledge of facts will act as a check on either rampant estheticism or the irresponsible imposition of later or extraneous facts. As a well-equipped historian of esthetics, Croce was especially aware of the more insidious dangers of such a method of historiography.

His distinction between the Historian and the Chronicler is a good example of his method as a whole. He suggests that the Chronicler is responsible only for the writing-down of facts and family-histories. It remains for the practising Historian to put these facts together into a meaningful whole. For example, the Monastery Chronicler will record the events of his time. He may start out with the position that his vocation provides a higher vantage-point for the selection and suppression of a given body of facts. He will then proceed to write his Chronicle, believing all the while that he is producing a truthful document. But then the intuitive historian will enter the picture. He will make a larger investigation, which will include the monk's chronicle. The superiority which the monk felt was his will no longer be a guiding point of view; it will be little else than a datum of history for the Historian. This will result in a larger picture and will thus be more likely to be true and fair.

Croce has thus achieved for us a Past that can live in present experience. From such work as this, Sorokin arrived at his comprehensive definitions of a culture, such as "sensate" or "idealistic." Though we cannot neglect facts, we must find a place for them by referring them to the largest possible framework of understanding. This Sorokin has attempted to do through his erudite studies of history and his study of human motivation. In him the trained Historian and the Social Philosopher came together

in an impressively well-integrated whole.[1]

Conclusion

The present writer has offered a brief discussion of the main trends of the course of historiography. Our next task is to ask the question, Do the Hebrew History-writers have any basis for a claim to be true Historians, or are they merely Chroniclers dealing with the deeds of Kings and prominent men? This Thesis is an investigation of the Deuteronomic Historians in an attempt to establish the position that these Historians had a definite plan and method by which they brought their Historic Past to bear on the Present in such a way as to render it an aid and a teacher. Through their competent knowledge of that Past and their religious convictions the Deuteronomic Historians produced in Deuteronomy — II Kings a perceptive and meaningful interpretation of the on-going life of Israel. One substantial denial of this position is by Collingwood.[2] He considers these Historians to have been too much influenced by other contemporary Semitic Historians. In that they admitted the direct act of God into the temporal realm, they rendered it theocratic history; in so doing they destroyed man's free will to perform those particular, responsible acts and to hold those desires which make History the account of res gestae. That the present writer is in disagreement with such a position will become evident in the course of the Thesis which follows.

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1 There is a brief discussion of Sorokin and Mandelbaum in Albright, Op. Cit.: Sorokin, pp. 101-107; Mandelbaum, pp. 113ff.

2 Collingwood, Op. Cit. p.17.

CHAPTER II
The J-Document
Synopsis

The J Document is significant for the present study because it contains ideological material that was later considered basic for the Deuteronomic view of History.

The Patriarchs are considered the self-conscious and free instruments of the first phase of God's Election Program for the later community which was to be realized in the sacral Monarchy of David. Through the vivid presentation of genuine human persons the Narrator showed that Yahweh had willed to operate through the channels of regular human life rather than through artificially good persons.

The moral character of the J Document is shown by a comparison of the Hebrew and Babylonian accounts of the Creation and Flood myths. The Hebrew versions are held to be of a more moral and elevated character while the Babylonian versions are considered gross, polytheistic and immoral.

There is restatement of the position that the J Document is relevant because it was used for ideological purposes by the later Deuteronomic Writers.

The J-Document

This section of the Thesis deals with the J-Saga as a source for the Deuteronomic History. Although it is true that D's interest in the history of the Hebrew people did not begin until the time of the Exodus, still the present writer feels that he (or they) derived from J sources both factual and ideological for the writing of his great work. Thus, a study of J is relevant to our purposes. Apart from a very important passage in Deuteronomy,[1] to be discussed later in the chapter, D does not quote from J; but it seems clear that from it he received important elements in his conviction that Yahweh had acted in History on behalf of Israel.

The J-Document contains many instances of what might be called normative Hebrew ideology. The motif of salvation-history runs through a series of portraits which begins with Abraham and continues in Isaac and Jacob and finds its culmination in David. These are presented not merely as secular heroes who by guile or strength had made themselves famous. To the contrary: through real-life situations they are made to show forth the active interest which Yahweh took in them and was willing to take in all His people. Their encounter with God resulted in a renewal of strength and a clarifying of purpose. They are more than mere types, such as one might find in a medieval allegory; they are real persons who knew the joy of trust and faith and the worry of anxiety or uncertainty. Because they are presented as having passed through great

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1 Deuteronomy, 7:7-8, and others. See p. 45 of the present writing.

experiences as typical men, they showed that God desired to act in real life. Thus, they became examples to later generations. They were testimony that God had acted in the realm of time and event according to consistent and moral principles. The J-Document is thus a source of ideological ideas inculcating that from the very beginning God had been righteous and gracious and that with the Patriarchs He had begun a purposive program which was to culminate in the righteous monarch, David. "By building chronological myth, patriarchal legend, cultic shrine stories, and historical traditions, all most wonderfully together (by means of a genealogical tree no more doubtful than most !) into a unity, he displays clearly what Jahweh has done — taken nothing and built it into a people — His people."[1]

The covenant of Yahweh with Abraham is of vital importance to the position that the J-Source contains significant ideological materials. "And I will make of thee a great nation, and will bless thee and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing."[2] In the next verse Abraham is apparently made the standard of human acceptance to Yahweh. Verse 7 repeats the Promise, not only to Abraham himself but also to his seed. In chapter 15 we read that Abraham is credited with doing God's will because he had confidence that He will fulfil His promises in spite of inauspicious circumstances. It is because of his voluntary faith that he receives encouragement and promises.[3] The identifying of Abraham's seed with the persecuted

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1 Frost, S.B., Old Testament Apocalyptic, London, 1952, p.42.
2 Genesis, 12:2.
3 Ibid., 15:1—6.

Israelites is further indication of the drawing-together of the historical events under one ideological reference, that of His over-ruling providence which shall result in prosperity and success.[1] Verse 18 and 20 reiterate the Covenant and define the Promise in terms of territorial domination.

The Covenant is renewed with Jacob at Padanaram. "I am God almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and shall come out of thy loins, and the land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed will I give the land."[2]

There is also a suggestion of the Covenant in Judges 6:8--15. There is a rehearsal of the Deliverance from Egypt and a promise of future aid. But the treatment is not so extensive as it is in other places.

There is the rather pragmatic association of the Covenant with prosperity and rest.[3] There shall be an end to wandering and a time when there shall be a settled state; there shall be prosperity and contentment.

It had been the intention of the J-Narrator to discuss the origin of the Covenant which was to be the basis of Israel's unique and fundamental relation to Yahweh. He had interpreted it as His great and manifold gift to men of faith and courage who would dare great things for Him and who would trust Him to fulfil His promises no matter what the circumstances or no matter what delays and

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1 Ibid., 15:13,14.
2 Ibid., 35:11,12.
3. Ibid., 15:18--21.

tragedies might intervene. He has thus established an ideological pattern of faith and hope. Because the Narrator has done this in retrospect, he has been able to show that Yahweh did fulfill his promises in the brilliant success of David.

The present writer accepts the view that the J-Document extends from Genesis 2:4 up to parts of II Samuel. Bewer, for example, extends it this far because he feels that J used the David-materials from the Court-records to complete his treatment of the Promise-fulfillment.[1] In its present form J is a deliberate compilation of hero-tales and shrine stories which in their original state were disparate fragments. The first united form of the Document is probably a product of the ninth century, ca. 850. Gunkel suggests that they were first preserved by tribal story-tellers and were later condensed and collected at local shrines.[2] When one considers the phenomenal memory-power of the Oriental Mind, one has little difficulty in believing that though these stories are very old they have yet survived pretty much intact.[3] Another source of J was the shrine story. Abraham at Beersheba and Jacob at Peniel are examples of this. There is, however, an important difference between the folk-tales and the shrine stories. The sacred atmosphere of the altar had lent a quality of נוֹרָא which Snaith characterises as the "....borderland between the personal and the impersonal."[4] There had been encounters

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1 Bewer, J., Literature of the Old Testament, New York, 1922, p.67. The present writer is familiar with the theory that would limit J to the so-called "Tetrateoch" (Genesis to Numbers), which has arisen from the Scandinavian School, of which Engnell is an important member; but he above expresses his divergence.

2 Gunkel, H., The Early Legends of Genesis, Chicago, 1901, pp.13ff.

3 Nielsen, E., Oral Tradition, London, 1954, p.25ff.

4. Snaith, N., The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, London, 1954, p.43.

with this quality of קדש which Snaith feels stood for the conception of deity attained up to any particular time. It is thus a very fluid term.[1]

These tales had survived as primitive stories of cultic encounters. They often involved the acts of particular Gods in terms of the unintegrated polytheism of the time. The person who had been caught up into the encounter was either destroyed or exceptionally benefited. There was little social content and the benefits rarely lasted beyond the life of the particular person involved. But J superimposed upon them a more related pattern and Yahweh's future Promises. The Patriarchs became a successive and related pattern of God's continual sustenance and of firmly-grounded hope of future help and benefit.

These stories testify to J's ideology for a number of reasons. They carry the lessons of loyalty and faith. They are sign-posts in the course of the working-out of the covenant-relationship. They convert wanderings into pilgrimages. Abraham sets out on a journey through the wilderness in the confidence that Yahweh already knows the destination and that He will be faithful to reveal it to Abraham at the appointed time.[2] Jacob's contest with the angel is a lesson in perseverance.[3] His vision of the ladder includes a promise that Yahweh will be faithful to His Covenant and that the family-tree of Abraham, which J apparently has established,[4]

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1 Ibid., p. 51.
2 Genesis 12:1
3 Ibid., 32:24--32.
4 Frost, Loc. Cit.

shall have national prominence and personal prosperity. These are hence instances of how, in retrospect, the J-Narrator cites the steps which God took to ensure a close relation between His purpose for His people and the people themselves.

Among the more striking examples of J's remaking of older materials are the narratives of the Creation and the Flood. This may be illustrated by a comparison of the treatments given to these myths by the Hebrew and Babylonian writers. The position here taken is that there is a common origin and that although J was acquainted with the Babylonian accounts, he profoundly altered them by his moral and monotheistic conceptions. Gordon postulates a commercial and cultural interchange between Palestine and Babylonia at the time of Sargon II and thinks that it was through this circumstance that the myths became available.[1]

The Babylonian version of the Paradise-Creation myths is summarized by J in Genesis 2:4ff. Marduk, according to the Babylonian account, had gained a victory over Tiamat after a violent struggle and had created a Paradise in the midst of the wasteland. Paradise is presented as the prototype of the city of Babylon and as an inferior copy of the sensuous heaven of the Gods. There is a seduction of the man by the temptress Eabani and a relationship between the eating of the fruit of a divine tree and immortality. Man eats of the fruit and is robbed of immortality but retains wisdom.[2]

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1 Gordon, R.R., The Early Traditions of Genesis, Edinburgh, 1907, p.59.
2 Ibid., pp.58, 59.

The Hebrew version is quite different. By God's act the barren waste of the desert is turned into a pleasant and fruitful oasis. Man is created for fellowship with Yahweh, for He often walks in the shade of the evening and speaks with the man and the woman. The fruit of the tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil is withheld as a test of obedience, not as a reminder of divine jealousy. Man is not able to live the life of God. The expulsion from the Garden is enforced upon them because they have committed the moral offence of disobedience.

Thus, the difference is mainly moral, not merely in presentation of material but even more in moral implication. Divine jealousy has been replaced by moral judgement. Man, in J's account, is more moral and is capable of higher insight.

This contrast is further exemplified in the narrative of the Flood.[1] In the Babylonian version, man, to be sure, is in a state of sin, but his sin is not sufficient to warrant the punishment he receives. Gordon pictures the Gods as destroying men through a fit of arbitrary wrath.[2] Heidel notes the excesses of polytheism which pervade the narrative and how they form a contrast to the becoming seriousness of the Hebrew version.[3] Ea had used the subterfuge of a dream to protect Utnapishtim from the waters and himself from the wrath which he has occasioned by his betrayal of the heavenly

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1 Bewer locates the Babylonian original in the Gilgamesh Epic, Op. Cit., p. 70, note. Pritchard gives the text of the Flood-Appendage in Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Princeton, 1950, pp.93-97.

2 Gordon, Op. Cit., p.44.

3 Heidel, H., The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels, Chicago, 1946, p.268.

secrets. Then the great deluge begins. It is so terrible that even the Gods are terrified. Utnapishtin takes his family and samples of earthly growth with him aboard the ship; and the rest of men, good and bad, are swept away.

The Hebrew version has obvious contrasts; suffice it to say that they are mainly of a moral character. There is the similarity that both Noah and Utnapishtim are tenth in a list of Antideluvian Kings, but the similarity is rarely profounder than that.

The present writer would draw the following conclusions. The J treatment of these older Babylonian legends is carried out along moral and monotheistic lines. J wished to inculcate certain moral truths and used the myths that were well known as his raw materials. But the contrast of treatment is so striking and thorough-going that we are all but driven to the conclusion that J brought to them higher and loftier insights and that his rendering indicates a far-reaching moral advance.

It is important that we briefly examine the method used by J to present his interpretations of God's great Acts and His unfailing constancy. J was not merely retelling old stories; he was telling how God had acted in History. He had what Wright has called a "Given,"[1] which was J's starting-point. This "Given" consists in those extra-environmental factors which convert secular events into a divine progression. It is our concern here to see how J shows the operation

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1 Wright, G., God Who Acts, London, 1952, p.35.

of this "Given" in the life of his people. The Covenant and the Promise of Rest have already been mantioned. The saving of the Covenant-line is due to Yahweh's continued restrengthening. Moses starts out auspiciously but through losing his temper is forced to leave Egypt.[1] But God appears to him in Midian and sends him back. The Purpose, the "Given", is again in operation. Throughout the period of the Judges and the first kings God's plan marches forward in and by means of men. Thus, the "Given" is never merely a metaphysical consideration; it is instinct and warm with life.

We may note that it was nevef J's purpose to present an artificially good person. He presented all sides of the story and as an author allowed the subjects a good deal of freedom. Abraham is presented as acquiescing in Sarah's harsh treatment of Hagar even though he knows that it is wrong. Jacob is presented not only as the hero of Peniel but as the man who stole his brother's birthright through a trick and cheated his uncle in the matter of straked sheep. Such a method permitted J to build up an ideological picture of past great men, who were nonetheless also very human. Even as early as this we are in the midst of a living tradition; that is, a meaningful interpretation of History.

We may now review the purpose of J. His aim was to trace the course of Revelation. The careers of the Patriarchs could not be

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1 Exodus: 3:16-18. This passage is considered to be from J, by Bennet, in Exodus, (DeB) Edinburgh, no date, p.59,60.

truly told apart from the continued Revelation in their lives. It was J's purpose to build a continued tradition of piety and obedience to the divine commands. One of his main purposes was to establish the sacral character of the Davidic Monarchy. It was not the result of brilliant military feat nor was it an historical accident. It was in the purpose of God. J was at pains to show this by positing the Patriarchal traditions and the Deliverance. This was followed by the Judges and the early prophets. All this was done to place David in the top place of a line of righteous men. David was not only a great king; he was first and foremost עבד־יהוה[1] We have here an exalted patriotism. It is not an occasion of pride but of humility, for Yahweh had made Israel's people. The success of the Monarchy under David was the success of the people of God, the עם־יהוה.

The present writer would also suggest that it was J's purpose to link Moses with the God of the Patriarchs. The key-reference is Exodus 4:5: "That they may believe that the Lord God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee."[2]

The Exodus is thus a continuation of the Covenant-program; it

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2 (From previous page): The fact of the intermingling of J and E materials forces us to briefly consider the question of the relation of J and E. There is question as to whether we are dealing with two separate documents or a series of original J narratives augmented by a series of E fragments. Wright feels that there can be no real separation, but that E is merely a series of "supplementations" to J. (op.cit., p.74) Mowinckel thinks that there can be a very real separation , and assigns J to the South and E to the North. (Mowinckel, The Two Sources of Genesis, 1 -- 11, Oslo, 1937, pp.13, 19). Bewer makes a rather elaborate distinction. He thinks that E is a series of corrections to J. He says that according to E Abraham never did tell a lie about his wife. She was really his sister; thus Abraham is cleansed of the guilt of lying. When E pictures Abraham as giving

is a momentous event, but nevertheless only one event in a whole series of meaningful events. This is an example of interpretive historiography, in that it depicts the event of the Exodus as the special favouring of the Hebrews by Yahweh. But this great event in their History, the event which marked out the Hebrews as the special children of the most powerful of all the Gods, needed to be augmented by the Conquest and the establishing of the people in their own land. Else, all would be lost and thrown away. Therefore, it seems reasonable to maintain that J continued the story up until David, so that he could show how the Promises were fulfilled and the meaningful pattern completed.

We may conclude by saying that the J-Document is truly an historical piece of writing. It represents the selection of materials and the vivid presentation of them according to a definite standpoint; namely the Divine Act in historic places had been a force causing men to change their habits and beliefs.

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2 (continued)... Hagar a pitcher of water, he does so to show how Abraham was pained at the plight of Hagar. To quote, "In the transformation of ancient materials he (E) went further than J. His moral consciousness was more sensitive and refined..." (Op.Cit.,p.85) Even if Bewer's thinking were accurate, this would still indicate a close comparison and working with both documents that would hardly have been carried out much before the time of Josiah, and any use D made of J and E must necessarily be presumed to have been at an earlier date. The present writer's position is that D used them separate entities, although he is tentative as to this position.

1 (From previous page). I Kings, 8:26.

2 Exodus, 4:5 Bennet considers this as to have come from J, op.cit.,p.62.

There are significant passages in Deuteronomy which reflect the historiographical achievement of the J-Narrator. In 4:31-38 we find that the prime motivation of the Exodus-wonders was the great love Yahweh had for the Fathers. If it had not been for their faith and perseverance in the Plan of Yahweh, the people of Israel could not have enjoyed the exclusive and all-powerful care of Yahweh. In 6:10 we are again reminded of the Covenant made to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and that because of His love for them Israel shall come into unearned benefits. In 26:3 we read that part of the purpose of sacrifice and worship was the grateful commemoration of the great Past when Yahweh made the nation of Israel His special concern. Thus, D was not the first of Israel's historians, but already stood consciously in a tradition of historiography. But that he brought to that tradition characteristics of his own I hope to show in what follows.

CHAPTER III

The Contribution of the Eighth Century Prophets

Synopsis

The eighth century prophets were convinced that they had been called to preach the Word and Will of God to their times. The call was formed by two factors: their personal experience of Yahweh as urgent love and righteousness and the traditional moral covenant between Yahweh and the nation. They stressed the absolute and inescapable necessity of righteous living as the counterpart to acceptable worship.

Amos repudiated the popular doctrine of יום־יהוה. To the people it had meant the inevitable involvement of Yahweh's people, Israel, in the great and final triumph which He was to accomplish and that all that was needed was joyous watchfulness for that Great Day. Amos sharply criticised this on the grounds that an immoral and socially coarse people had no hope of participating in the acts of a moral Deity. They could expect only tragedy as the rightful result of their sinful living. The Exile is a punitive measure.

Through the terrible tragedy within his own home, Hosea had come to know the tragic effects of idolatry upon the mind and the religious sensitivities. He realized that the people were in the hands of an irresistible power of corruption. But at the same time he was convinced that Yahweh wished to save them by first rendering them fit to receive His Blessings. He will do this by leading them into the simpler life of the Exile. The Exile is thus purgative.

Isaiah brought to the young Ahaz faith as the basis for a sound and progressive foreign policy. But Ahaz, preferring the more tangible values of real-politik, refuses to follow Isaiah. The prophet tells of the sign of a child: before it has grown very old Yahweh will have disposed of Israel's enemies.

These prophets made a real contribution to later Deuteronomic Historiography. Although the final solution given by Amos was too pessimistic, it did offer a moral explanation for tragedy. Hosea complements the severity of Amos. Isaiah offers the promise that Yahweh himself will intervene in the affairs of his Elected nation.

Introductory Statement to Amos, Hosea and Isaiah

It is the general position of the present writer that the Prophets had a real and vital experience of God and that they brought this to the people as the command of God for the living of life. They were convinced that through them God had acted in the realm of events and persons. Micah had said, "But truly I am full of power by the spirit of the Lord and of Judgement and of might to declare unto Jacob his transgression and unto Israel his sin."[1] Their prophecies had their foundation in a God personally apprehended, but they never felt that they had finished with God until they had gone to the nation. The activity of religion was to be seen as much in the realm of the civil and the commercial as it was in that of worship. The prophets had labored long and hard to take religion out from under the protective cover of the cultic and make it relevant to the deeper springs of ethical motivation. God was the health of one's countenance, the source of one's ability to go on living and to make life purposeful. 'Turn ye unto Me, but go not to Bethel..' such is the import of a good part of the prophets' message. It was, therefore, in terms of life as a greater whole that these men of God appealed to the people. The rise and fall of kingdoms, the success or failure of individual lives, the vitality of a view of life: -- these were the areas of living where one sought God. In short, one sought Him in the realm of History.

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1 Micah, 3:8.

In the long run, the great and mighty Acts of God would be beneficial or disastrous as the people responded to them. God never acted in a void, but toward some purpose; and although this purpose often transcended the Israelites, it always included them. He was ever before them with the Covenant He had made with their fathers and which He desired to continue with them. He had, by His active Nature, established laws and patterns. If the people would live by them they would share in the good sense and blessings of His gifts. But if they would continue to live wilfully, like stupid cattle,[1] they would deserve only the goad and the loss of the distinctively human elements of life. Hosea and Isaiah felt that God would bring about the great restoration to goodness in His own time and in His own way, both in History and beyond it.[2] Amos probably felt that any sufficient change was quite impossible; the people had gone too far and had been too thorough in their neglect and defiance of God.[3] The end of the people was the end of the Hebrew State, at the hands of her enemies. Their prophets' experience was real enough for them to go before their own people, whom they loved, with this severe message;[4] they could not avoid their commission for they were held tight by God's overpowering constraint.

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1 Hosea, 4:16ff.
2 Ibid., 2:14; 10:10ff; 11:8; 13:4, 10; 14:4. Also Isaiah, 7:9,11.
3 The present writer's position is that the restoration passage in Amos, 9: 11-15, is a later addition and opposed to Amos' general position.
4 This is expressed or implied in Amos, 7:2ff; Hosea, 11:1-9; Isaiah 5.

One of the greatest accomplishments of the latter prophets was their completion of the process of moralizing the Divine Act. The Canaanitish Ba'als were unquestionably powerful, but they were most arbitrary. Cultic fanaticism, opposing celestial factions, avarice for sacrifice: -- these were among the characteristics of the Ba'als. On the basis of their conviction that God was moral and consistent, the prophets opposed these conceptions. As against the cultic fanaticism they proclaimed that God had touched both the rational faculties and the heart. As opposed to the celestial differences of will they presented a Deity Whose Will was integrated and dependable. The God who gave the Law on Sinai was the same God who had made the bountiful earth.[1] To the terribly wide-spread belief that God would be with the people only as they were faithful in sacrifice, they opposed the belief that God had no need of one particular nation because He was the God of all the nations of the world. In completing the moralizing of the Divine Act, the prophets also discovered to the people the more functional and satisfying depths of personal moral responsibility. Through their preaching of the moral elements in Israel's relations with Jahweh they offered a way of more consistent growth and sounder national policy. The right ordering of History and the opportunity for man to cooperate with God were both morally conditioned. Apart from Him, there could be only that general debilitation that arises from the surfeit of sensual gratification and the conviction that religion is but ceremony.[2]

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1 Hosea, 2:8, 18.

2 Smith, J.M.P.G.A., "The False Peace of Ritual," in The Book of the 12 Prophets.

In view of the above we may say that the beliefs and acts of the prophets afford us dependable examples of the fact that God acts in the historical realm. He is a transcendent God Who has willed to be immanent. (Although we are not yet at the transcendent heights of II Isaiah, still the constant opposition of the Ba'als in the name of Yahweh indicates, in the various contexts, a qualitative difference which is partially explained by a more transcendent God). The mighty and righteous Yahweh had brought the nation into existence and was willing to inspire its priests and prophets so that that nation would prosper. But the nation would not go to God for the best and most important things in its life; therefore God sent his prophets first to chasten and then to condemn.

Their principal appeal was to their own times. There were apocalyptic elements and the first intimations of eschatology, but these grew out of their interpretations of the contemporary conditions. Convinced that the will of God was vitally relevant to the affairs of the nation, they brought to it the great moral truths which were the foundation of a sound, progressive national policy. The obvious example is Isaiah's visit to Ahaz, where he purposed to allay Ahaz' fears and tragic indecision through God's promise of aid as well as his own sounder interpretation of the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis.[1] Hosea compared his nation to a "cake not turned;"[2] the people had lost their sense of balance and proportion. This was

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1 Isaiah, 7.
2 Hosea, 7:8.

true, in general, because the prophets were forth-tellers rather than detached predictors of a quite unrelated future. The Guidance of Yahweh was not a finished product, in any strict, predestined sense; it was much more a process working itself out in the course of History.[1] The interpretation of events was in a very real sense following along after His Will. Although the prophets did foretell future events, they did so because they had very definite opinions of the Present. Yahweh would bring disaster upon them because they merited it. If there was a sincere, durable penitence the punishment could be averted. But the Exile would come because a nation that is not worthy to survive will not survive. The Future is conditioned by the Present. Apart from such a consideration there could be no continuity of the History of morally free people and the conception of Divine Guidance would degenerate into a series of arbitrary acts of favoritism.

On the basis of such considerations, it seems fair to say that in the writings of the prophets we have a series of informed interpretations of the events of Israel's life. Yahweh would act according to the living-habits and beliefs of His people. He would act through His servants the prophets, whom He would strengthen and inspire. By the moral worth and the close cogency of their analyses they commended themselves to the attention and consciences of the nation.

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1 Scott, R.B.Y., The Relevance of the Prophets, New York,1944, p.148.

The prophets never felt that they were preaching an entirely new doctrine. However they may have added new elements to it through their elaborations, they never felt that they were going beyond the historic Covenant. The Law had been given and the Law had been preached. They greatly emphasised a present, a personal appropriation of that Law. It had lain in neglect and the people had preferred the sensuous blandishments of Canaanite religion. They had a knowledge about the Law and its necessary basis in the Covenanted Acts of Yahweh, but they were indifferent to it.

The references to the Wilderness Period and to the original Covenant are numerous in the eighth century prophets. In a recent writing G. Henton Davies lists and discusses them.[1] His argument is mainly as follows. The Exodus experience had yielded Covenant and grace to the Israelites. From henceforth they were not merely the votaries of a local god, but a particular nation, bound to redeemer-God who had taken them away from slavery and started them off toward nationhood. They had a theology of History because for them as a nation, History had begun in Divine Act, in a particular place and at a particular time. Davies characterises this as "....the theology of the Presence of Yahweh in Israel."[2] The event of the Exodus is thus no detached event: it is the ground of the nation's being. It has established the relation between "glauben and existenz."[3] Therefore

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1 Davies, G.H., "The Yahwistic Tradition in the Eighth Century Prophets", in Studies Presented to T.H. Robinson, Edited by H.H. Rowley, Edinburgh, 1950. The passages are: Amos 2:9-10, 3:16; 9:7. Hosea 2:16; 12:10; 13:4. He accounts for the absence in Isaiah of J-Exodus material by suggesting that Isaiah used a variant of J, which omitted the Exodus material.

2 Ibid., p.42.

3 Ibid., p.49.

we may say that the prophets brought to the people the God of their fathers. They brought with them the wealth of those traditions which had begun as far back Covenant-times and had continued, to the nation's benefit. They were addressing their pleas in terms of the living tradition of Israel's Past and using them to remind the people what Yahweh might yet have in store for them if they would only return to Him. To this extent, the prophets might be considered conservatives, in spite of the tremendous contributions they themselves made.

Through the reality of their own religious experiences and their conviction that God had acted in History, the prophets made a very real contribution to the Deuteronomic History. Because they were never merely detached observers or impersonal commentators but were emotionally and spiritually involved in their nation's life they were able to give reasonably clear and valuable accounts of the life of their times.

They worked from what might be considered a dual-standpoint: Yahweh's traditional interest in Israel; and the developing universalism that begins in Amos and finds great expression in Isaiah. Amos rhetorically asked, "Are ye not unto me as the children of the Ethiopians, O children of Israel"[1] Isaiah calls Assyria the "rod" of Yahweh's anger.[2] God had favored Israel in her youth but since

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1 Amos, 9:7.
2 Isaiah, 10:5.

she had refused to grow into mature moral and spiritual responsibility, Yahweh could no longer be her protecter without doing great violence to His moral nature.

Such was axiomatic to the prophets because of their tremendous experiences of the moral character of Yahweh. The action of the good Yahweh was Judgement. The people had broken with the tradition of חֶסֶד that sense of wholeness which included the historic figures of Israel and also the succession of righteous and victorious achievements of her Yahweh.[1] The punishment of Judgement was national disaster, the breaking up of the national cohesion, by the impetuous, irresistible and demoralizing invasion of the nation's enemies. Yahweh was to use these nations to punish Israel; they were not to act independently. Yahweh's purposes would succeed, with or without Israel.

For the purposes of the Thesis, we may consider the influence of these three prophets upon Deuteronomy to have been a general one. They contributed mightily to a religious foundation for the interpretation of History and modified and supplemented the traditional ideology of Guidance and Redemption. The "robust optimism"[2] of the J Saga was replaced by the sober but no less invigorating regimen of the Prophets.

They preached that the God who was above all nations was available to the man of righteous and contrite spirit. To those who would call upon Him in simplicity and sincerity he would give

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1 Cook defines חֶסֶד as wholeness of community, including gods as well as men. In, Hooke, S.H., The Labyrinth, London, 1935, p.76.

2 North, C.R., The Old Testament Interpretation of History, London, 1946, p.25.

guidance and a sense of security that had practical values. He had always been willing to be the God and Father of the nation of Israel if she would be faithful and worship Him purely and with the whole being. Not only would He be the transcendant foundation of their national security; more than this, He would enter actively into the nation's affairs so as to lead them according to His own great and good Plan.[1]

The God who created the nation was a God of morality. It was part of His Nature. Other gods had been powerful patrons of nations but seldom had there been such a close connection between Deity and morality. (Perhaps the most notable exception to this is the tradition of Hammurabi and Shamash.) Because Israel was Jahweh's creation, she must be moral. The foundation of the nation's continued integrity was a conscious public morality founded in the Divine Will. The Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant were but the first steps in the deliberate moralism demanded of the people by their God. The religious sins attendant upon the Fertility Cults had spilled over into civil life. The unmoral character of the Cults had infected and cheapened the civil laws until the rich had become callous toward the poor for the sake of religious observance and convenience. The affair of the coat taken in pledge is but a striking example of a temper of mind all too common. The very God who had taken History into His own hands had forbidden it.

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1 Hosea, 14:4,9.

Out of this intense conviction of moral responsibility had grown a respect for the individual. As over against the mass-appeal of the cultic celebrations the prophets had preached a civil and commercial morality as a legitimate and inseparable counterpart to worship and aspiration. In practice this worked itself out in the lives of individuals. The sins in Amos are so often those of the abuse of human beings: cheating, injustice, hardness of heart. Because they are offences against the conscious sensitivities, they are offences against individuals. Yahweh's demand had been for a nation of righteous men. To the degree that such men made response to Yahweh, the nation was secure. To the degree that they refused to do, the nation courted disaster.

In view of the above, we may conclude that in studying the words and the experiences of the prophets we are studying a religious interpretation of Israel's history. With this general statement in mind we may proceed to a closer look at certain elements in the teachings of the prophets Amos, Hosea and Isaiah as they brought God's Word and Plan to their nation in times of stress.

Notable Instances of Prophetic Interpretation

Having indicated the prophets' place in the history of Israel it remains for us to consider those aspects of their teaching which contributed most notably to the Deuteronomic view of History.

The subjects to be treated are:

1. The encounter of Amos with the people at the royal shrine at Bethel at the Feast of Sukkoth and his reinterpretation of יום־יהוה.
2. The conception of חֶסֶד in Hosea.
3. The authentic Messianic passages in Tsaiah, 1--39.

These are chosen because they demonstrate most vigorously the participation of the prophetic religion in the actual life of the people. Through His prophets God had become an active force for the reproof and the rebuilding of His people.

AMOS

Although he was undoubtedly frequent in his visits to urban centers, Amos had spent his real and significant life in the wilderness-solitude. He had experienced Yahweh as acting directly upon His creation -- as directly as a rain-storm overtaking a dry river bed and causing a freshet. Just as surely as a lion's roar means that the animal has pounced upon its prey; so surely has Yahweh acted in the life of His world. By the same token, Yahweh's initiating call was the spring of Amos' prophetic career. "The Lord hath spoken; who can but prophesy!"[1] Armed with such an urgent commission he appeared at Bethel. From the relatively simple and strict moral

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1 Amos, 3:8.

atmosphere of the desert-life he came to the lax morals and the devious religious practices of the elaborate and costly shrine.

The Feast of Sukkoth had come to symbolize the fairest hopes of the people, both for national prominence and personal prosperity. Its connection with the popular and age-old hope was close. Just as the New Year symbolized the renewal of agricultural vigour, the יום־יהוה stood for the great Victory of Yahweh over תהום and her forces of evil and destruction, and the resultant bountiful creation.[1] Through a process of extension first the king was included in the fruits of this Victory and then the king's subjects. The people had originally been the עם in terms of the tribe or gathered kinsmen. But when David achieved the confederation of tribes, the new group became the גוי and were thus entitled to the benefits.[2] The victories of David had been read back to the favour of God and to the earlier close connection between the creation of the world and the favoured position of the nation. The period of Jeroboam II had been relatively free from war and the commercial success of the middle class had resulted in a comfortable life for the middle and upper classes. This success had been interpreted as the continuing favor of God. All in all, Amaziah had good reason to foster the current optimism and to expel Amos from the joyous throng. He had good reason to consider that יום־יהוה would be a Day of Light and of final Victory, both of God and Israel, over their mutual enemies.

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1 See discussion of יום־יהוה in Hooke, S.H., Ed., Myth and Ritual, Oxford, 1933, especially pp.48ff. and 123ff.

2 Bentzen A., King and Messiah, London, 1955, p.45. The present writer rejects the idea of the ancestor as a "numen" as discussed on this page.

However, Amos' repudiation of the popular idea of the was swift and summary. When Yahweh had chosen Israel He had given her the gifts of responsibility as well as of privilege. The latter had been used and abused; the former had been neglected. Ever since the days of the Patriarchal Promises and of the giving of the תּוֹרָה Jahweh's relations with His people had been moral. But the people had been unfaithful and their defection to unmoral gods had resulted in the loss of that moral sensitivity necessary to the true worship of Yahweh. Their religious practices had become dissociated from a moral deity. Thus, they lost the creative connection between the worship of Yahweh and civil morality. A fatal dichotomy had grown up between worship and living-practices. The grossness and fanaticism of cultic practices had engendered a spirit of selfishness with its resultant offences against essentially humane qualities and sentiments. The people had burned the bones of the king in lime[1] -- a morbid extravagance. The people had taken the firstlings of the flock and lain in indolence upon coats taken in pledge. Such acts reflect the loss of the vigour and clear-sighted need of mutual aid which had characterized the better days of the desert-period. These habits had become engrained to a point where Amos' condemnation was not of particular sinful acts but of a warped and strained public temper.[2]

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1 Amos, 2:1.
2 Ibid.,2:4-8.

Because the dichotomy was there and was so deeply rooted that it seemed nothing could take it away, Amos had no choice; he had to pronounce doom. The יום יהוה is not Light but Darkness. As the people had lived, so would Yahweh visit them. Amos' conviction of the closeness of God's active nature to contemporary events is in his pithy statement, "You only have I known of all the nations of the earth; therefore will I punish you for your sins."[1] The deliberate, habitual sinning of the people had been the motive for God's preliminary chastisement[2] and final, later condemnation. It remains for us to examine the means of this punishment.

Yahweh was to use other nations. History and its events would provide the means of punishment rather than some wrathful, arbitrary theophany. Although he never mentioned it it was probably Assyria that would be the means. He pictures Israel as a maimed and fleeing people. They will have lost heart and outer unity. They will have lost their former confidence in Yahweh and the comfort of His near presence.[3] Although this judgement is within History it is summary and absolute in character. There is no appeal against it. It is an analogue of the direct, awe-inspiring personal experience of Yahweh which Amos himself had had.

We may thus say that in his repudiation of the popular conception of the יום יהוה and his reinterpretation of it, Amos had

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1 Amos, 3:2.
2 Ibid.,4:9-11.
3 Ibid.,5:18.

developed a view of History which he contributed to the later Deuteronomic School. Beginning with a thorough conviction of the absolute moral character of Yahweh, he judged all he saw by such a standard. Because Israel had abused her privileges and neglected her responsibilities she must lose the favour and beneficial presence of her God. The nation that is not moral in her life and pure in her worship shall perish. The clear fact of a moral universe is ever before us. The message of Amos does not contain moralisms for our perusal;[1] the very liaison between him and Yahweh is in moral terms. For Amos, true morality did not exist apart from Yahweh. For him, צדקה that wholeness of view, was actually part of the divine nature.[2] Because צדקה was in Yahweh, Israel must be צדק. Because Israel had not learned this strongly enough to establish a civic morality and a pure worship she must perish. This teaching of Amos was too pessimistic to be taken over entire; but it did open the way for a theological interpretation of national disaster, as the discipline of Yahweh.

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1 Amos, 5:18, 24.

2 This is in contrast to the more esthetic δικαιοσύνη. See Dickinson G. Lowes, The Greek View of Life, London, 1949, pp. 147-148.

HOSEA

Hosea's most distinctive contribution to prophetic thought is probably his conception of חסד. By it he was able to gather together all the elements of his unhappy marriage experience with Gomer and to use the resultant pattern for his interpretation of the Exile.

The present writer takes the position that the woman discussed in chapters 1-3 is one person, that she was Hosea's wife and that he discovered her adultery after the birth of the first child. The corrupt state of the text and the abrupt, highly emotional style combine to make meticulous translation extremely difficult. But it is safe to say that enough has been brought to light to support the interpretation that follows.

Within his own experience Hosea had seen the ravages of the Fertility cults, for quite possibly Gomer had been a זנה.[1] He had seen the progress of the spiritual and moral degradation which had robbed her of either ability or inclination towards a more sensitive loving response. His experience was thus an allegory. "Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms; for the land hath committed great whoredoms, departing from the Lord."[2] His own situation had made him sharply aware, and his deeply emotional nature had made him acutely sensitive to the moods of anguish and disappointment. Of all the prophets, with the possible exception of Jeremiah, perhaps Hosea had the least compartmentalized mind. His reactions to the life around him tended to be inclusive.

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1 Hosea, 2:5. So May. See May, H., The Fertility Cult in Hosea, AJSL (48), 1932, p.88.

2 Hosea, 1:2.

He had discovered the general temperament of the people as well as particular sins. He could never have been satisfied with the phrase "tendency to sin", for such would be too weak and detached. The only term approaching his requirement was זנה , denoting an overpowering, external spirit which had come into the total consciousness and which had perverted the mind, the will and the affections.[1]

Through her continued and uncontrollable subjection to this זנה of whoredoms the people had lost their ability to govern themselves and to be rational about their foreign policy. "Ephraim is like a silly dove."[2] When we read that "...my people are destroyed through lack of knowledge..."[3], the verb in question is ידע, denoting emotional as well as intellectual knowledge of Yahweh. Its goal is warm, personal fellowship with God. Without it there can be no healthy civil life or pure worship. The present trend can only result in the destruction of individual integrity and national solidarity.

Therefore, the nation was meant only for destruction. She had proven grossly unfaithful to the God Who had been responsible for her growth and had proven herself utterly unworthy of God's gifts of sustenance and hope.

A strictly moral interpretation of History would have demanded that God destroy the nation in His righteous wrath. But such would have been a denial of Hosea's own experience. It is perhaps safe to

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1 Hosea, 4:12.
2 Ibid., 7:11.
3 Ibid., 6:4.

say that it was only after his great anguish that Hosea had discovered the depths of his love. He had found himself faced with a drastic paradox: to continue on with Gomer would have meant the denial of justice; to cast her off would have meant the denial of love. It was his discovery that his sense of love was greater than his sense of justice. It had been his love that had sustained him in his darkest days.

This is an allegory of the divine experience with Israel. The nation had known a golden age in the Past, when she served Yahweh with intelligence and loving response.[1] The fact that she later turned away could not change His attitude. His love had been kindled by this eager response and He could not let her go.[2] In the period of her thorough apostasy His love had remained constant and had even increased.[3] Although He could not give her up, He could not continue indefinitely to love the nation while it pursued a reckless course of idolatry. Israel must again be worthy of His love. Thus, the paradox again arises: to keep Israel would be to deny justice; to cast her off would be to deny love.

Apparently the only solution tenable would be one that would satisfy both factors. In other words, the people must purify their justice, by restoring the quality of their love. But when they tried this they found that they could not be constant. Their goodness was "....as a morning cloud and as the early dew it goeth away."[4] They could not restore themselves. The pervasive

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1 Davies, Loc. cit.
2 Hosea, 11:1,3,4.
3 Ibid., 11:8.
4 Ibid., 6:4.

dichotomy between the ecstatic cultic worship and the sober demands of the moral covenant was too great. If there was to be a restoration it must come from the outside.

It is at this point that the conception of חסד comes into prominence. Through His everlasting love Yahweh will create those conditions whereby the nation might be restored. He will wed the nation to Himself, "...in righteousness and in judgement and in loving kindness and in mercies..."[1] It shall be the function of this חסד to bring the nation back to the goodness of former times, to restore her mind and heart and to render her conscious of higher things, and a more stable quality of love.

We come now to Hosea's treatment of the Exile. Like Amos, he felt that the Exile would contain many harsh and unpalatable elements. It would be thorough-going and would mean frustration and disappointment to many. But there is a profound difference between the two Prophets. To Amos the Exile was to be punitive and final, it was to be the end of the Hebrew State; to Hosea, the Exile was to be purgative and temporary, the nation would be gathered together again. Israel was to be brought back to purity and the simplicity of the former desert-life. During this period she would be guided by Yahweh until she had recovered her equilibrium and better reactions. After this, Yahweh would say, "I will betrothe

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1 Hosea, 2:19.

thee to me forever."[1] The restoration shall be two-fold: it shall consist in moral regeneration and the purifying of Israel's relations with the natural realm. This is especially significant because so much of Israel's apostasy lay in her unhealthy and immoral affiliation with the Fertility Cults. She will learn that Yahweh had been the source of all of nature's bounty and regularity. At the end of the Exile there shall be a reinstating of the Hebrew nation. It is not certain as to whether there shall be a king, since there are severe judgements against the reigning King.[2] The present writer feels that Hosea was concerned with the more fundamental questions of restoration rather than with administrative problems. He apparently felt that there would be personal knowledge of God and that on such a basis the problems of government would be worked out.[3]

Hosea has presented us with an interpretation of History. Through his own emotional and highly sensitive nature he had come to a profound understanding of both the religious and civil ills of his nation and of the gravity and pervasive character of her estrangement from Yahweh. He had replaced the punitive character of strict justice with the more positive influence of patient, constant love, of חסד. Behind the severe act of the Exile would be the progressive love that held promise for the future. It would be a functional love which would restore the nation to its truly humane qualities and standards. Hosea is thus more positive than Amos and could look

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1 Hosea, 2:19.
2 Ibid., 8:4; 13:11.
3 Ibid., 2:33.

forward to a time when Israel could be the righteous עֶבֶד.
This hope became a major factor in the Deuteronomic view of History, in that to view Israel's experiences as being a disciplining by Yahweh needs something more than the pessimism of Amos. Hosea thus complements his predecessor.

ISAIAH

When we pass to a consideration of the Messianic passages in Isaiah 1--39 we are seriously hampered by the largely anthological character of the book. The tremendous reputation of the prophet, as recorded in Isaiah and in II Kings has drawn to him a mass of material which in its entirety was probably not from his mind or spirit. This is true of the passages under discussion here; namely 7, 9, 11, and 32.

Frost has discussed them[1] and the present writer accepts his findings with regard to the last three and therefore summarizes his position as follows:--

1. Chapter 9 is to be dated after the Exile. The child is recognized as the true king by discerning men of the period. The reference to "darkness and the shadow of death" is to the rigours of the Exile. It is further dated by the use of 'hofstil', or consciously refined, courtly language such as is characteristic of a formal statement. The chapter is thus outside the period of this Thesis.

2. Chapter 11 is dated by the word גֶּזַע, a "felled Tree," which indicates the post-Exilic period. The reference to חֹרֶב is probably after Ezekiel 36 and is akin to Isaiah 61. Again, it is beyond our present range.

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1 Frost, Op. Cit., pp.67-70.

3. Chapter 32 is not likely to be authentically Isaianic since it belongs to a group of separate oracles comprising chapters 32 and 33.

We are thus limited to Isaiah's momentous interview with Ahaz during the crisis of the Syro-Ephraimitic war, as it is recorded in chapter 7. Ahaz was torn between appealing to outside nations and trusting to God to deliver the nation and restore its equilibrium. Perhaps harassed by fears and the substantial temptations of real-politik Ahaz chose the latter. Isaiah then proclaimed that despite Ahaz' refusal to trust, God would act for the nation. A young child was about to be born; before it reached the age of 3 or 4, the crisis would have come to an end. The mention of curds and honey signify the deliverance of the city from a state of isolation. They are products of the country-side and thus their restoration to general use would indicate the relief of the "beleaguered city."[1]

Scholarly opinion has been wide and varied in this issue. New Testament writers treated it as a foretelling of Christ.[2] In more recent times Mowinckel has introduced an elaborate cultic explanation based on the use of curds and honey. They are the symbols of a divine sign-child. Ringgren insists that הָעַלְמָה has a dual reference: to a person then present and to a future king.

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1 Ibid., p.67.
2 Matthew, 1:23.

He cites the cultic use of עַלְמָה in the Ras Shamra text. He further by considering עַלְמָה to be a typical cult-word, both here and in Psalm 46. Isaiah prophesies the birth of a divine king, whose divine nature shall be demonstrated by his judicial wisdom, אֵל גִּבּוֹר.[1] The present writer feels that this is perhaps an extravagant interpretation. He prefers the position that the birth and the early years of the child denote the relatively short time it will take for Yahweh to accomplish the deliverance of the city. It is a sign of God's close and prompt attention. The child is of lesser significance. The joyous cry of עִמָּנוּ אֵל refers to the near presence of Yahweh rather than to the exceptional nature of the child.[2] The main point is that it will be a sign of God's gracious, salutary act in behalf of His people. The scene as a whole demonstrates the high confidence Isaiah had in the over-ruling providence of Yahweh, Who would act according to His own purpose. He would offer peace, wisdom and an enlightened foreign policy if Ahaz would only accept them. But even his refusal could not stop the working of Yahweh.

The passage indicates Isaiah's great confidence that the affairs of the world of men are governed not by appeals to strength or to ambition or to the piecing-out of the nations by ambitious foreign princes. They are in the hands of Yahweh who will choose His time and His way and yet who lets man have a share in the progress of History.

It remains for us now to examine the prophets' influence upon the Deuteronomic writers and this will be included in the next chapter.

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1 Ringren, H., The Messiah in the Old Testament, London, 1956, p.27.

2 Mowinckel, S. He That Cometh, Oxford, 1956, pp.112ff. The present writer interprets עַלְמָה as "young maiden," not as the specific בְּתוּלָה "virgin" in Deuteronomy, 22:19.

CHAPTER IV

The Critical And Normative Character

Of Deuteronomy

Synopsis

Deuteronomy is vital to our present study because it reflects the influence of two major sources of Deuteronomic thought: the Covenant of Sinai and the social criticism of the eighth century prophets. This latter source is significant because it represents the expanding of the original Covenant to the point where it involved the response of the whole person. Without this, the highly-developed Deuteronomic Code could not have been written.

Deuteronomy is at once the Plan for the idealized Community and the critical and normative introduction to the Deuteronomic History, Joshua--II Kings. With Noth, the present writer considers that Deuteronomy was once attached to Joshua but that in the course of time and events it became separated. It contains the traditional moral covenant and also the distinctively prophetic doctrine of retribution as well as other prophetic features.

It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss what the present writer considers the dual character of the Book of Deuteronomy; namely, that it is both resultant and originative. It is resultant because it is the product of three earlier influences, the Book of the Covenant and the joining of the Prophetic and Priestly strains. It is originative because it functions as a critical and normative introduction to the Deuteronomic History.[1]

Traditionally, Deuteronomy has been considered the closing portion of the Pentateuch and to have been from the pen of Moses. Under such a theory it would purport to be a series of addresses delivered by Moses on the Eve of the Entrance into the Land. The opening words:[2]

אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר מֹשֶׁה

carry on such a view and show the claim to the authenticity and hence to the authoritative character of the Book.

Such a view has met with wide challenge. The presence of legislation governing a settled state of communal life; the elaborate rhetorical devices used to present the idealized Moses; the anti-idolatry material in chapter 12; the highly developed monotheism; the greater emphasis on individual personality;[3] the presence of a popular law in the hands of subordinate judges rather than a code imposed by a sacral king;[4] -- such considerations as these impel the view that Deuteronomy is a relatively late work. Its position in the

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1 This has been treated by Noth in his Uberlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, Halle, 1943.
2 Deuteronomy, 1:1
3 Driver, S.R., Deuteronomy (ICC), Edinburgh, 1895,pp.xxivff.
4 Robinson, N.W., Deuteronomy and Joshua (CeB), Edinburgh,n.d.,pp.18ff.

canon is literary and dogmatic rather than historical. The book as we now have it is apparently a composite work. The fact that the "Sinai perikope" is a later addition is a sign of this composite state.[1]

Its core was discovered by Hilkiah the Priest during the rebuilding of the Temple in the days of Josiah.[2] This served as a doctrinal and inspirational basis for the reform program of Josiah against the political and religious abuses of Manasseh's reign.[3] There were additions made at the time of Josiah, notably the legislation for the Single Sanctuary. A diagram is appended showing the relation of Deuteronomy to the rest of the Pentatenchal documents. Although the above summarizes a fairly common view, there have been notable dissenters. Welch feels that it is very risky to date Deuteronomy according to the centrality of the Single Sancutary material, for such is not sufficiently important to the outlook and content of the Book. Because the important issue is the Victory of God for His people and such a victory had been won at an earlier time, it is possible to date the book much earlier. As we now have it Deuteronomy is a highly composite work which has grown by accretion and was finally cast into hortatory form. Its final state was achieved after the Exile.[4] Pedersen considers it to be a totally post-Exilic product. The literary style, containing as it does, numerous

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1 Rad, G. Von, Studies in Deuteronomy, London, 1953, p.41.
2 II Kings 22:8.
3 Von Rad notes "a general air of revival." Von Rad, Op. Cit.,p.62.
4. Welch, A.C., The Code of Deuteronomy, London, 1924, pp.185,89,90.

redundancies and elaborate figures, suggests a highly literary and studied atmosphere such as prevailed after the Exile.[1] The present writer, however, follows the earlier line of reconstruction and considers Deuteronomy to have been discovered in core at the time of Josiah, to have been augmented by the reform-legislation and completed by post-Exilic addenda. It was then projected back to the time of Moses because it dealt in summary and eloquent fashion with the great historical and ideological truths which had surrounded the beginnings of the nation. The great Victory of God in the Exodus had been developed by the eighth century prophets and closely related to their distinctive moralistic and monotheistic contributions. All had been put together and then associated with the idealized Past.[2]

The overall purpose of Deuteronomy was to secure a basic plan and system of belief for the People of God, the עַם יְהוָה. Through its ministrations of inspiration and restriction it was to be the means by which the members of the community might maintain close contact with the God Who had chosen them and made them a nation. Through Deuteronomy they could become a faithful community rather than a merely commercial aggregate. It was to be a witnessing community concerned primarily with showing forth the gracious acts of God and His protracted generosity. In the midst of daily life as well as in specific acts of worship the people were to witness to the initiatory acts of God, the acts of Deliverance and חֶסֶד, which make up the Exodus-complex. They were to witness to the cohesive and life-giving influence of God's dealing with His

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1 Pedersen, J. Israel, Its Life and Culture, Oxford, 1947, p.587.
2 The present writer accepts the position that Deuteronomy was written at the time of Manasseh.

people: "A Syrian ready to perish was my father..."[1] They were to give thanks for the תּוֹרָה by which they had been able to find direction for every aspect of living.[2] Thus, by repeated callings-to-mind of the guidance of God in the various areas of life the תּוֹרָה was to become a part of one's personality and motivations rather than being cultically exceptional. "And thoushalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul and with all thy might."[3] History had taken on meaning. The traditions of the Fathers, even Creation itself, had direct connection with the People.[4] For all times they had been in the predestined Plan of the mightiest and the loftiest of all gods. The promises made to the Patriarchs were to be fulfilled in them.[5] They were to possess the land, they were to go on living. They had this splendid heritage and in view of it they were to devote the integrated forces of loyalty, enthusiasm and faith in the service of the God Who had brought them on their way and Who would continue His blessings. We have, then, a fairly well articulated view of History: it is first and foremost the act of God. Through His condescension He allows men to have a share in His purpose and on-going Plan. It is a call to service and to profound, practical and informed loyalty.[6]

Upon such a basis as this the Deuteronomic author attempted to construct a normative standard for the community. Upon the motivations of grateful, loving response the lessons of morality and spirituality were built. Because God had acted first in terms of

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1 Deuteronomy, 26:5ff A cultic thanksgiving-formula; so von Rad, op.cit., p.23.
2 This is a common theme in the so-called Orations of Moses (30ff); a convenient summary is found in 4:34-40.
3 Deuteronomy, 6:5.
4 Von Rad, Op. Cit., p.15.
5 Skinner, J. Kings (CeB) Edinburgh, n.d., p.16.
6 Deuteronomy, 29:10-29.

love and warm-hearted goodness, the nation was attracted to Him; the outward manifestation of inward love is faithful concern for the welfare of others; first to the member of the Community and then to the stranger, גֵּר . By elevating the centers of loyalty and morality to the divine plane the author sought to raise the community above the level of merely secular interests. Through the hortatory character of the Book -- the "Preaching about the commandments"[1] -- he sought to link the depths of religious conviction with the heights of ethical aspiration.

If such be true, then Deuteronomy portrays a community that is justified and unified by its distinctive religious loyalties. Because God had created the nation, He had first claim upon its loyalties and best hopes.[2] This introduces us to the conception of the עַם יְהוָה. The German word "Gottesvolk" is a close approximation. It is a community that is to exist for the sake of its God. On such a score it must keep itself separate from the degrading and contaminating practices of idolatry and from the crass commercialism of its neighbours.[3] Because they were once strangers they must care for the stranger. Because they were once slaves they must be just and considerate to their slaves; granting them freedom if they so desire and even aid if they wish to set themselves up in business. When success shall come to a man he must remember that it is first of all a gift from God and be grateful.[4]

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1 Von Rad, Op. Cit., p.15.
2 Skinner, J., Op. cit., p.16. Von Rad, Op. cit., p.16.
3 Deuteronomy 8:17-20.
4 Ibid., 32:8-15.

We come now to the question of the influence of the prophets of the eighth century on Deuteronomy. Although it is quite risky to assume that Deuteronomy was written by a single prophet,[1] still the present writer feels that there is a great deal to be said for the general influence of those prophets. Driver has called Deuteronomy a "...prophetical Law Book."[2] He has taken the general position that it is much closer to the JE strain than to the Exodus tradition and that whatever connections there are with the Exodus traditions are both less frequent and less-well-developed than those with the JE strain.[3] When we recall the rich beauty and homiletic character of the Mosaic passages (30--33) we quickly see that we are in the presence of an appeal being made rather than a dogmatic, impersonal rule being imposed. We are in the presence of the expansion of personal insight. The experience of the prophets had been that sinners would perish because God would withdraw Himself and let the heavy, sullen weight of sin bear down the nation.

The social dangers of sin are not always theoretic propositions;[4] they rise from the observation of the havoc wrought by individual selfishness and criminal neglect of the public welfare as well as from the gross elements of idolatry. Hosea summed it up when he said, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge."[5] (The verb

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1 The attempt to link Deuteronomy with Jeremiah has been discussed by Skinner, with a negative result. Prophecy and Religion, Cambridge, 1922, pp.105ff. The present writer accepts this position.
2 Driver, Op. Cit., p.xxvl.
3 Ibid., p.10.
4 Amos, 2:7; Hosea, 4:6; Isaiah, 1:4-9.
5 Hosea, 4:6.

here is יָדַע, denoting an emotional as well as an intellectual knowledge of God.) The dangers are couched in religious terms because they are primarily offences against Yahweh, Who is righteous altogether. The admonitions have their origins in men who had come to know the terrible ravages of sin and religious perversions. Upon the strata of older, more summary commandments and prohibitions they had established an overlay of warm-hearted appeal and warning that had transformed the תּוֹרָה from an impersonal document to a statement of progressive personal loyalty to a saving, redemptive God.[1] We have passed from the automatic, external, primitively cultic to the arena of human history. The inescapable relevance which God bore to the on-going course of events -- which had been repeated burden of the prophets' message -- here finds practical expansion; the terrible corelatives are here set forth. The nation that admits sin and perversion into its secret places courts disaster and the loss of those finer sensitivities so necessary to a good life. Amos' impassioned call, to "...hate the evil and love the good"[2] finds ready response in an interpretation of law which insists on a quality of life rather than on mere minimal compliance. The nation that puts its trust in violence and neglects the essentially positive and beneficent requirements of God's Law will waste its strength on delusions and ambitious men. Hence the firm admonitions against false prophets.[3]

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1 Robinson, Op. Cit., p.16.
2 Amos, 5:14.
3 Deuteronomy, 13:1--18.

It had often been the experience of the prophets that life and death and good and evil were close together. With Amos, it had been, "Seek Me and ye shall live"[1]; with Deuteronomy it had been, "Behold, I set before you this day life and death, good and evil..."[2] We have, then, in Deuteronomy a series of hortatory addresses and expansions of the original תורה which had been written under the lively inspiration of the prophets of the eighth century. Their awareness of Yahweh and their intense conviction that life must be lived toward Him with the full weight of the conscious will has found systematic exposition. On the basis of such a statement there are two matters which will sharpen the discussion; namely, the influence of Hosea and the doctrine of the Single sanctuary, as the corollary of the practical monotheism of the prophets. Both Driver and Robinson agree on the far-reaching influence of Hosea.[3] This is to be seen in the emphasis on the response of the whole personality to Yahweh. Religion was to be an outlook on life rather than a mere practice. When Hosea described his fairest hopes for the restoration of his people he did so in terms of a regenerated community of individuals, who were to have warm, personal fellowship with Yahweh. How splendid a coming-together of minds we have here: the tender idealist and the practical legislator, the one proclaiming the hope, the other providing the means. Just as surely as Deuteronomy presents the claims of Yahweh, it also presents Yahweh's call of men into active cooperation with Himself. A conception

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1 Amos, 5:4.
2 Deuteronomy, 30:15.
3 Driver, Op. Cit., p.xxxiv; Robinson, Op. Cit., p.40

as lofty as this could have sprung only from love and the intense desire of God to be with His people. The betrothal of Israel to Yahweh in love, righteousness and mercy[1] is surely contributary to the positive, productive legislation of Deuteronomy. The abuses in Hosea are those against the most human among reactions and feelings. We may therefore expect that in his anticipation of the regeneration of Israel, the return of these feelings would bulk large. In Deuteronomy we have an impressive respect for human personality:- the improved status of women, the injunctions the harsh treatment of slaves. Although this is perhaps implicit in all the prophets treated in the present writings it is most strongly set forth in Hosea. One must also stress the large place given to emotion in both Hosea and in Deuteronomy. One is enjoined to love Yahweh with all the force of hope and to desire His presence with all one's yearning and to be grateful for His blessings with a full heart. The coalescence of one's entire conscious life through emotion, which is so strong a part of Hosea, finds eloquent expression in Deuteronomy.

The lines of the influence of the eighth century prophets may be brought together under the headings of moral judgement, love and faith in Yahweh's intervening grace.

Although the severe verdict of Amos on the people was probably too pessimistic it did permit the members of the Deuteronomic School to look upon Judgement as a moral, disciplinary act rather than as

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1 Hosea, 2:19.

the arbitrary blow of an unmoral deity. The explanation of occasions of national tragedy could thus be organically united with the previous moralistic conceptions of the Decalogue. A given tragedy -- either personal or corporate -- was likely to be punishment which the people brought upon themselves rather than an inexplicable and therefore faith-destroying situation. Within such a point of view there was still great respect for human freedom. Yahweh's acts were not so rigidly predetermined as to preclude the human effort toward goodness and moral living. Yahweh, as it were, is just as willing to bless as to curse. There can be positive elements in Judgement, such as peace, agricultural success and regularity and commercial prosperity. But these depend upon a deliberate and moral response to Yahweh.

It had been Amos' experience that the people had become so overcome with sin that it had become a matter of temperament just as much as of discrete acts. They had merited Yahweh's negative Judgement. From what he considered an inescapable dilemma, Amos had decided upon a program of retribution. The acts of the people rendered them meet only for destruction. Because they had used their freedom to do what they knew was wrong in Yahweh's sight they had brough upon themselves the negative aspects of Yahweh's righteous Judgement. He had presented a Judgement within History, and it was upon this strong, clear note that the Deuteronomic writers seized. Upon such a foundation they were able to augment the basis of justice and righteousness and to see it in its more ample form as imbedded in the very will and nature of Yahweh. The tendency in prophetic thought to identify God with direct acts of justice and mercy is often reflected in Deuteronomy.[1]

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1 Deuteronomy, 10:17,18; 11:3-5, 12-15; 20:4; 26:11.

As admirable as this is it imposed upon the on-going life of the Community a restrictive, ascetic character. Such a view needs the complementing of Hosea. From him came the very positive and significant idea that Yahweh Himself would create the conditions of goodness whereby whole person may respond to God. According to Amos, man stood before Yahweh as before an exalted Judge; but with Hosea, there was a more intimate, a more redemptive relationship. With this prophet, the nation was the off-spring of a Father. They key to good living was right relation with that fatherly Yahweh. Such was the prime motivation of History. Yahweh and his community were mutually involved in the process of redemption. From such a point of view the relations between man and deity must be kept on the purest and highest of levels. Hence the cogency of North's relating the prophet's influence with the anti-idolatry legislation.[1] The practice of idolatry would result only in the insidious and steady deterioration of the religious sensitivities and the destruction of a moral as well as an emotional relation with Yahweh. Because Hosea had succeeded in establishing a close relationship between love and ethical response, he was able to influence the Deuteronomic writers in their insistence that Yahweh was the Father of the nation, as well as the Judge. In the practical legislation of Deuteronomy we find the combining of the two: in the insistence that the response to Yahweh must be whole-hearted and moral; in the incentive of grateful love; in the insistence upon the lofty and exclusive character of Yahweh.

There is substantial evidence that the Deuteronomic writers felt that the nation was under the special guidance and protection of Yahweh

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1 North, Op. Cit., p.88. He remarks, "It is frequently said, and rightly, that the Laws in Deuteronomy are a revision of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21-23) under the influence of the eighth century prophets, particularly Hosea. Hosea had inveighed against the golden calves, (Hosea, 8:4ff; 10:5f; 13:2). As he saw it, to multiply altars was to multiply sin."

and that He would intervene to save it from its enemies. This is especially apparent in chapter 20[1] where the people are assured that the success of the battle is a foregone conclusion because the great power of God shall fight on their side and shall not hang on either the skill of their generals or the fortunes of war. There is also the reiteration of the miracle of the Deliverance from Egypt. The influence of Isaiah is clear here, both in his interview with Ahaz and in his conviction that the destruction of Senacherib's army was due to the direct, protective act of Yahweh.[2]

The doctrine of the Single Sanctuary has been considered one of the most distinctive contributions of the prophets. The present writer takes the position that this doctrine is the practical working out of the matured monotheism that was the result of the labours of the prophets. They not only inveighed against the destructive influences of Ba'al-worship; they presented fruitful reasons why Yahweh was better and more desirable than the other gods. In their hands practical monotheism received a clear and forceful exposition.[3] The legislation in Deuteronomy for the construction and maintenance of the Single Sanctuary is but the organizational aspect of a spiritual impulse.[4] There must be a strong pull away from the obvious blandishments of the agricultural deities. The proclamation that good harvests were the gift of Yahweh must be protected from the rank excesses of the מַצֵּבָה and the אֲשֵׁרָה. There must be an over-riding definition of orthodoxy lest all the work

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1 Especially vss. 1, 4, 13, 16.
2 II Kings, 19:25-37, especially, vs. 37.
3 Isaiah, 6:1-3, Amos, 9:7, Hosea, 11:8, 9.
4 Deuteronomy, 12:8.

of the prophets and earlier law-makers be lost. The resultant legislation acted as a constant reminder of both the purity and the practical character of Yahweh's love for His people. It acted as a discipline, weaning the people away from local aberration and bringing them to higher things through the training of habit and practice.

We come next to the concept of Deuteronomy as an act of Yahweh in history. In Israel's glorious Past the תּוֹרָה had been considered primarily the act of Yahweh in the temporal realm. He had come down to the mountain and had shown a portion of His will and nature to Moses.[1] Because Moses had been granted a share in Yahweh's Act he could claim authority among Yahweh's people. So, the question arises, can the prophets claim authority on the same basis and in this way render Deuteronomy an authoritative book? Could they lay claim to a share in the mighty acts of God? The present writer takes the position that this is so. Isaiah was called and purified;[2] Amos was carried up into the Presence;[3] Hosea could be considered an acted oracle;[4] Micah was filled with power.[5] If the previous treatment of the outlook and spirit of Deuteronomy be tenable,[6] then we are in the way of considering Deuteronomy to be later but no less authoritative than the Book of the Covenant. It is a fuller corpus of laws and more sensitive to the needs of the people. Yahweh had come to His people according to their needs. He first sent them love, then hard discipline and had finally promised redemption. His care had not stopped

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1 Exodus, 18:9.
2 Isaiah, 6:5-13.
3 Amos, 7:1-9.
4 Hosea, 1:2.
5 Micah, 3:8-12.
6 Such a view is challenged by Von Rad, who seems to think the prophetic influence was rather thin and subordinate; he stresses the predominance of Law over Gospel. Von Rad, Op. Cit., p.69.

or remained static after Sinai, it had kept on. He had adapted His freely given love to either the heights of their exaltation or the depths of their sorrow and frustration. There had been a progressive revelation.[1] Because Deuteronomy records this it records the continued guidance of Yahweh through prophet and event. Although human experiences had had great share in the preparation of it, Deuteronomy was nonetheless the work of Yahweh. He who had first spoken through a thick cloud had latterly spoken through the full sensitivities of rational and spiritual men and to fundamental and recurring issues. Because it did contain this record it was thrust back to the beginnings of the nation. It was fundamental and germinative, as had been the Book of the Covenant.

Deuteronomy is thus to be considered a continuing gift of Yahweh. The Act of man did not originate this gift; it only rendered it applicable to human situations. Man's act had provided a sitz im leben rather than a new creation. Because Yahweh had first established a relation between himself and His Israel which had certain fluid features[1] there could be growth. It was just as much a matter of continuing rapport as of established Covenant.[2] There was always the chance of getting back to God and of changing one's life in accordance with His life-giving blessings.[3]

Bentzen has called the יָדַע a "theological program."[4] In its inclusiveness and its summation of all man's conscious life, the יָדַע does much to justify such a title. It involves not only the dedication of the separate faculties but also of them as they come together to form

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1 Snaith suggests that מִשְׁפָּט meant originally a quality of straightness or order. But this is elaborated and made more socially applicable by the prophets experience of the social conditions of their times. Snaith, Op. Cit. pp. 72,73.

2 Deuteronomy, 29:14,15.

3 30:1-10; Hosea, 14:1-0.

4 Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, Copenhagen, 1940, Vol.II, p.42.

an integrated whole. This rather obviously involves the emotions and recalls to us the distinctive character and contributions of Hosea. Deuteronomy is an act of God because it provides a means by which the people may come to know Him. It is tremendously positive. It pictures a stability and a beneficence which could come only from Yahweh. The knowledge of Yahweh in Deuteronomy carries forward and expands the connotations of the verb יָדַע with all its wealth of subtle meanings. To have knowledge of Yahweh is to have peace, joy and satisfaction in a full life. Through the faithful and wholehearted adherence to this Code men could be brought to right praise and good living.

On such bases as these the present writer would suggest that Deuteronomy is an interpretation of History. It contains Israel's primum mobile of history, in the forethought and prior act of Yahweh by which the nation was created.[1] It contains the positive and negative aspects of Yahweh's righteous judgement and the record of His undeserved mercies.[2] It establishes the linkage between the Patriarchal traditions and the Exodus Events.[3] It establishes the בְּרִית as the continuing act of Yahweh and renders Him an eternally present realization rather than a theoretic presupposition from out of the distant Past.[4]

It now falls to us to discuss the more precise relation of Deuteronomy to the History proper. The present writer accepts the position that Deuteronomy was once attached to the History but was later detached, for a variety of reasons, among which the following are significant:

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1 Deutronomy, 4:20.
2 Ibid., 6:10-11.
3 Ibid., 7:6-10.
4 Ibid., 30:4-6.

1. It was shifted to the Pentateuch because the latter represented the corpus of orthodoxy.

2. Following Bentzen and Eissfeldt;[1] political motives were at work. Artaxerxes could accept Deuteronomy as a religious document but not as the religious basis for a holy rebellion. Deuteronomy might well have provided an example in Joshua.

3. It was added to the Pentateuch in the time of Ezra. Much of the relevant scholarly work has been done in this regard by Noth and Alt.[2] But the present writer folows Bright in his judgement that Noth and Alt have gone too far in making such an abrupt and full separation of Deuteronomy from the mainstream of the Pre-Conquest traditions.[3] That both traditions were organically important to Deuteronomy is shown by his full acceptance of them and the frequent use he makes of them. "The result must be the justification of the old theory, that the law has been separated from the continuation in the prophetae priores on purely theological grounds, even to isolate the law."[4] Deuteronomy is thus seen to be in a middle position: it looks back to the Patriarchs and the events of the Exodus; it looks forward to the history of the people from the Conquest to the Exile.

Deuteronomy can be a criteria for the Deuteronomic History because for the Hebraic mind History involves God as well as man. Whereas the Greek in his maturity tended to draw away from the direct act of a personal God and moved toward a more secular,impersonal and scientific

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1 Bentzen, op.cit., p.73.
2 The US, loc. cit.,
3 Bright, J. Early Israel in Recent History Writing, London, 1956,pp.30ff.
4 Bentzen, op. cit., pp.75-76.

φύσις,[1] the Hebrew tended strongly to see in History the acts of a highly conscious Deity personally apprehended. History is possible only within the framework of man's cooperation with Yahweh. It is the failure or refusal of man to cooperate with Yahweh which incurs His righteous wrath and judgement of Yahweh. To the direct, intuitive Hebraic mind there could be no stiff, impersonal Rule prevailing as over against Yahweh. The Greek could speak of the μοῖρα to which even Zeus must be reconciled before He can be righteous;[2] but the Hebrews identified מִשְׁפָּט with Yahweh. In such a case, a wrong act or an unspiritual attitude takes on a dual significance: it is a violation of righteousness and an offence against a God understood as much through the affections as the intellect. Hence, He is considered to be personally involved in the fortunes of His people. For the people, involvement in law, or תּוֹרָה, is involvement in Yahweh. Because they had experienced Yahweh as moral restraint, as guide and as sine qua non of personal prosperity and national solidarity, they had known Him as תּוֹרָה and מִשְׁפָּט. Hence, to be involved in the on-going course of events is to bring God into life.

From such a consideration, it is possible to think of certain criteria for the governance of the Community and for the evaluating of its life and its history. Among them, the following are considered significant:

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1 Note the progress of the secular emphasis from the atomism of Democritus to the fully developed τέλος of Aristotle.

2 Murray, G., Aeschylus, Oxford, 1940, p.204.

1. Loyalty to Yahweh. This is achieved in two ways; through pure worship and the grateful remembrance of God's mercies. Pure worship is to be maintained through joyous and studied avoidance of the neighbouring cults and the maintenance of the standardizing and centralizing offices of the Single Sanctuary. The immanent character of Yahweh must be guarded from the grossness of the neighbouring cults. The grateful remembrance of the great mercies will keep the peoples' minds off the more mechanical blessings of the pagan gods who were often little more than deified natural processes.

2. Loyalty to the תּוֹרָה. This was necessary because the תּוֹרָה is here considered to be the continuing act of Yahweh in the realm of the historic. One's living habits were developed for the sake of the Community, just as were one's most exalted hopes. We have not yet reached the pervasive individualism that bulks so large in Post-Exilic thought. Although there is to be respect for the individual, he is still to conform to the מִשְׁפָּטִים of the Community. By moral living and pure worship he will contribute to the upbuilding of the תּוֹרָה and will receive its approbation. But if he transgresses the Code he will be guilty in the eyes of Yahweh as well as of men.

3. Loyalty to tradition. In attempting to provide the loftiest motivations and the most exalted of loyalties, Deuteronomy had presented to the people the great Acts of Yahweh, and the lives of men who had followed Him, the Patriarchs, as well as the careers of the Prophets. These were considered the distinctive marks of God's favour and the exclusive property of the Hebrews. This being so, the prophet

will gain credence only as his words can be fitted into the general pattern of revelation, only as he speaks according to the living traditions of Israel's history.[1] This was not only a strong admonition to single-minded loyalty, but also a warning against those cult-prophets who by their primitive ecstasy and emotional excitation might sway an uncritical crowd.

Sufficient adherence to such criteria might be expected to have definite results so far as the nature of the community was concerned.

1. An exclusive Community. The Hebrews were to consider themselves a people apart, having only a minimum of contact with the outside world. It was their duty to keep the oracles of Yahweh inviolate in a sinful and idolatrous world. There could be no easy, convenient, insidious compromises. Because of Deuteronomy Israel was as much an ideal quality as an actual group of people.[2] Although there are requirements for good treatment of the stranger, גֵּר, still there is to be no effort to join with him. Protection is to be sought in the over-riding and intervening providence of Yahweh rather than in those alliances which not only entangle for the present but partially commit both deity and army for the future.[3] It is to be a self-sufficient community rejoicing in the peace and sustenance which the bountiful יהוה will grant to His faithful עַמּוֹ.

2. An unqualified trust in God. The nation is strengthened not by its generals or its strategy but rather by an undeviating trust in Yahweh's willingness and consummate ability to intervene directly. This

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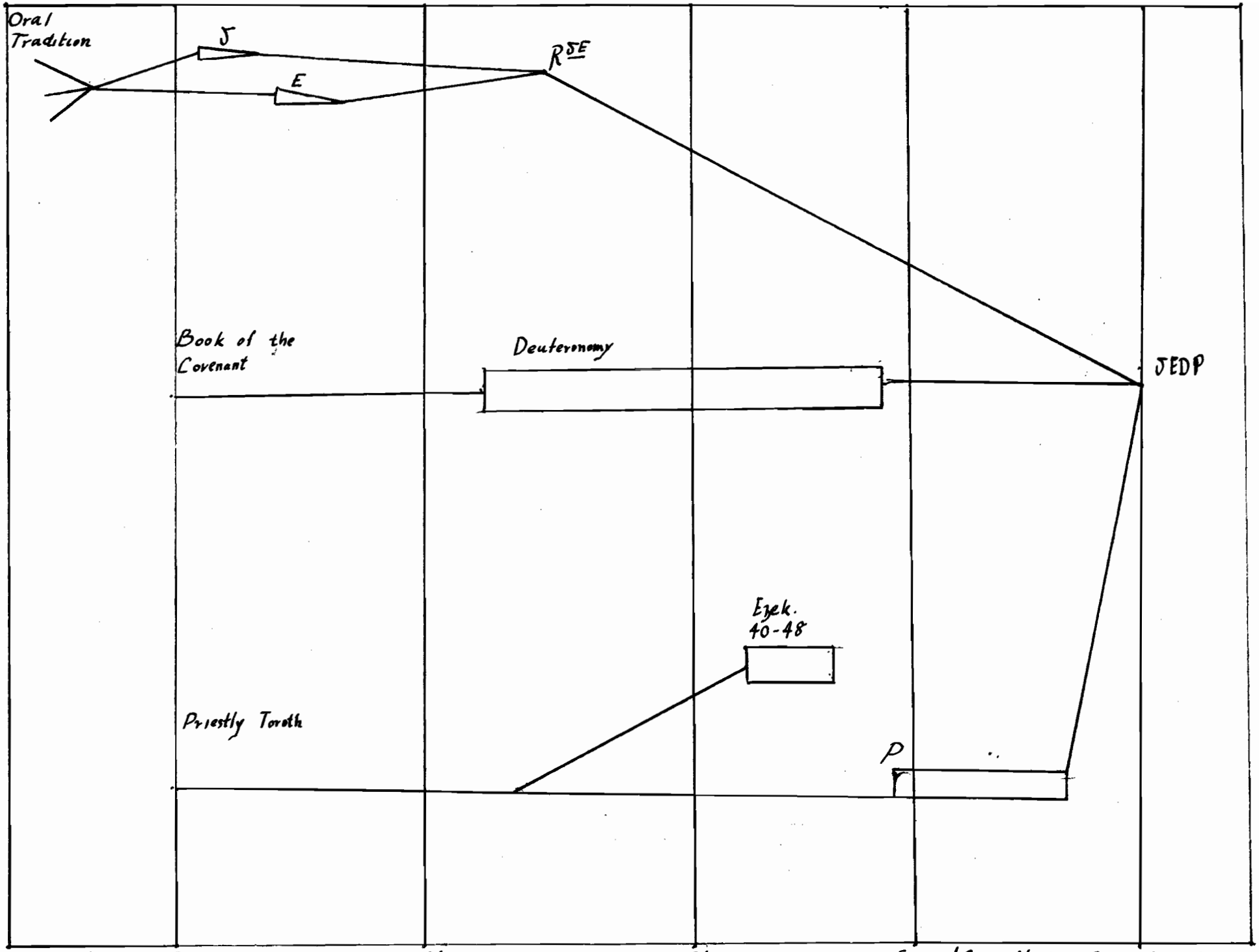
1 Deuteronomy, 13:1-18.
2 Cunliffe-Jones compares its idealized, absolutist state with the Johanine Literature. Cunliffe-Jones, H., Deuteronomy (TC) London, 1951, p.17.
3 Deuteronomy, 20:18.

was a minimizing of earthly prestige and the pride of individual men. The exalting of Yahweh through His תורה meant the abasing of man in his political and commercial ambitions. This required a sort of faith that would set Israel apart from the pride of Kings or the venality of provincial administrators. This trust in Yahweh had built a wall around the Hebrews and had guaranteed that they were the עם־קדוש rather than merely one more nation in the ancient world.

With such considerations in mind we may turn to a consideration of the Deuteronomic History, extending from Joshua to II Kings and examine its relation to the above requirements of the Deuteronomic Code and the new Community-life it engendered.



(from. North. C-R. Pentateuchal Criticism, in, Rowley. OTMS.

CHAPTER V

The Deuteronomic History

Synopsis

The present chapter is divided into two sections: an introduction and a consideration of various representative figures.

The Introduction discusses the main position taken by the present writer; namely, that the History is a retrospective and didactic treatise rather than an objective record of events. Examples are given of this.

In the section in the History the figures of Samuel, Saul and David are discussed, as well the Deuteronomic Redaction of Samuel. The figures of Omri, Ahab, and Manasseh are treated as representative examples of the rejection of the Deuteronomic view of life. Josiah is considered to be the model king because he revived the Davidic State and embodied the Deuteronomic view.

An excursus is provided for Elijah which traces the process of the Deuteronomic augmentation of the original figure of Elijah.

An Epilogue is appended, discussing the Second Edition of I, II Kings and the Deuteronomic ascription to Manasseh of the tragedy of the Exile.

Introduction

It was the general position of the preceding chapter that Deuteronomy contained a view of History because it described the relations between Yahweh and Israel and the principles and ideological truths which surrounded the birth and growth of the nation. It remains for us in this chapter to examine the Deuteronomic History in the light of these principles and truths and to explore it as an exposition of them.

The Deuteronomic History is not History in the modern sense of the term; that is, in the sense of objectivity and factual reporting, such as we might find in the writings of von Ranke. Rather, it is an interpretation of the broad outlines of Israel's career as a nation. It is a didactic treatise constructed for the exposition of what the Deuteronomic School of writers felt to be the spirit and intent of Yahweh's dealings with His people. It is an earnest retrospect designed to demonstrate the religious origin and character of the successes and failures of the Hebrew Community. Thus, David and Josiah are commended and Solomon and Jeroboam are condemned. By the standards of the Deuteronomic Code they had been weighed and were found either acceptable or wanting.

The author or authors of the History were not unduly careless or negligent with the facts of Israel's Past. He believed that Yahweh had revealed Himself in the real events of his people's national life and that they were the embodiment of His guidance and reproof of Israel. He regularly quoted sources and directed the reader's

attention to them for the fuller treatment of particular individuals.[1] It is not by the neglect of historical materials that the author plans to construct his great work but by the reinterpretation of critical personages and events.

The artificial character of the History is shown by the following characteristics:

1. The manipulation of sources. The historian had a dominant interest to serve; namely, the description of the relations of Yahweh in the nation of Israel. All that was irrelevant was given minimal treatment. All that either supported his thesis brilliantly or showed the effects of Yahweh's righteous retribution was given extended treatment. Thus Omri is given only brief treatment and his career as a general is largely passed over. We know of it only through other sources.[2] The civil accomplishments of Asa are rather uneven, but because he carried on a program of religious reform he is commended.[3]

2. The selection of events. Because events are part of the media by which Yahweh spoke to his people, they assume tremendous importance in the eyes of the historian. Such events as the deliverance of the city or the destruction of the ordered life of Jerusalem under Jehoiachim and Zadekiah become good examples of the principle of positive and negative retribution and are thus given extended treatment. The episodic character of the treatment of Elijah indicates that a selection had been made from the materials in the

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1 "The Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel," "The book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah". Montgomery gives a full discussion of sources in Kings (ICC), Edinburgh, 1951, pp.30-37.

2 I.e. Moabite Stone, Assyrian Inscriptions.

3 I Kings, 15:11,12.

possession of the Prophetic Guilds. Through this process of selection a certain bias could be shown and a certain thesis maintained; namely that loyalty to Yahweh and the traditions of the Community could lead a nation on to prosperity and national solidarity and that defection could lead to disaster. By using actual events, the author could impart to his readers a sense of the reality and the gravity which he himself must have felt.

3. There is evidence of a change in motivation and in the enlarging of persons who exemplify the Deuteronomic interpretations. Since the character of the history was didactic rather than merely factual, this could be considered a legitimate device. Gideon presumably began his military career as an honorable man with an acceptable faith; but his career was changed by the writer to appear as righteous battle for the Lord in defence of His honor against the worshippers of Ba'al. He was very possibly a minor but energetic and religiously inclined chieftain; but he is changed to be the leader of the entire nation in their fight against non-Israelites and heathen deities. The army of Joshua is presented as a tightly-knit, intensely loyal group of men and Joshua himself resembles Oliver Cromwell. They are never attracted by either the beauty of the land or the hope of plunder. Although there is no free-ranging neglect of facts, there is a clear reinterpretation of motive and of attitude of heart and mind.

4. Another indication of the artificial character of the History is the telescoping of events and the presence of a formal pattern. The Conquest is presented as accomplished by the end of

Joshua. There is a strict pattern in Judges of the sad plight of the nation as the result of sin, an act of public penitence, the sending of a Judge and the return to prosperity, to be followed by an additional lapse into sin and idolatry. Both suggest that we are in the presence of a formal retrospect rather than of an eye-witness account. It is clear that we are dealing with selected patterns and events which show forth the author's point of view with a great deal of vividness and vitality.

We may thus gather from above that we have an artificial presentation. We may take the further step and say that it is a didactic product of the Deuteronomic schools. It is written to give us examples of what is good and what is bad according to the standard of Deuteronomy. The covenant which Yahweh makes with Joshua is a moral and exclusivistic covenant which binds him to a strict observance of duty and which requires selfless devotion. Because Saul went aside from the directions and sanctions of Samuel he is condemned. He is no longer fit to be the Lord's Annointed and Samuel is sent to find a new and a better king. The juxtaposition of I Samuel 16:13 and 14 cannot be merely accidental but illustrates that didactic intent; namely, to show why things happen the way they do. The fall of Solomon was due to a complex of factors, both civic and economic; but the religious reason is given the greater analysis. The historian saw that the lessons of History are best taught by History itself and so he used these events and personages to present his great lessons.

The History as we now have it, inculcates certain great truths, which were fundamental to his thesis and which we must understand if we are to accept the extreme and absolute judgements which the author metes out to the kings or false prophets of Israel.

There is the principle of moral judgement. There is no appeal against it or any extenuating or balancing circumstances which may be produced against such a judgement. The standard is fixed. The rigidity of the standard may be demonstrated by the fact that previous to the instituting of the anti-idolatry legislation there were many kings who practised it. But in the recasting of the History, there is severe condemnation on all who do not adhere strictly to the principle of religious exclusivism.

There is the great truth that Yahweh shows his will through highly moral heroes. Although he bases his reinterpretation on real persons, the Deuteronomic writer superimposes upon them a series of additions and expansions which raise them to a higher level both in the eyes of God and in popular estimation. The obvious example is Elijah, who presumably began as a man of great strength of personality but who was augmented until he takes on semi-legendary proportions. Although the example of the moral hero may serve a variety of purposes, perhaps the most important one from the point of view of the Deuteronomic writer is that the hero shows the acts of God in terms of actual life as it benefits or harms the Community. According to Deuteronomy, life is to be lived in terms of religious truths and attitudes, either nobly or meanly, either with joyous

assent or rebellious disloyalty. In the lives of the great heroes or the notable traitors the positive and negative aspects of the Deuteronomic doctrine of retribution could be most clearly seen.

The most consistent note of condemnation comes to those who are guilty of religious disloyalty. Defection from traditional Yahwism usually brought with it a return to the revolting practices of the Fertility Cults and the divorcing of ethical response from religious practice, and so the condemnation was in great measure justified. Because the people had been called to a distinctively corporate unity within the Community of the Lord's Folk, the dangers of idolatry were likely to be widespread. Jeroboam was condemned because he involved all Israel in sin, and not just because he himself wished to indulged in private defection. The return to idolatry is considered to have been pervasive in fact, to have fostered a general disloyalty.

This didactic treatment imposed upon all successes and tragedies a theological explanation. It had been characteristic of the prophets to feel that God had acted directly upon His creation. Amos had said, "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it?"[1] The impetuous and heavy tread of the oriental invading armies was seen to be not merely the results of military ambition or the lust for power but as the instrumentality of Yahweh in the exercising of His righteous wrath. Nothing in creation is its own master. It is to the great credit of the Hebrew thinkers that they rose above the

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1 Amos, 3:6.

grossness of animism and seeing Yahweh in the temporary irregularities of Nature. But they did retain theif belief that Yahweh was very close to His creation and was guiding it according to His own Purpose. Therefore, the fall of kingdoms, the death of a king or his being stricken with fatal or loathesome disease, as was Uzziah - these were looked upon as the acts of God rather than as the workings of a more or less impersonal Nature. In such a light, the events of History become the agents and examples of Yahweh's mighty power. It was in the understandable course of events rather than in some mysterious and arbitrary divination that the will of Yahweh was to be discovered. There were rational and moral explanations of all that happened if only men could read the signs of the times.

With such understandings in mind it becomes clear that the Deuteronomic History is a careful and religious retrospect carried on over the events of Israel's Past from the Conquest to the Exile. It is based on Deuteronomy and is an exposition of the doctrines and statutes contained in that Book. Upon the basic facts found in original sources the author has superimposed a deliberate interpretation consistent with his own deep conviction and faith that the God of his fathers had created the nation and had guided her with blessings and reproof, with good fortune and with pathetic tragedy according to His own good purpose.

We may now pass to a more detailed examination of certain selected incidents from the History which the present writer has chosen to illustrate the line of though contained in this introduction.

The Deuteronomic History

The Books of Samuel and Kings provide us with the history of the Hebrew people from the idealized conquest of Joshua up until the first days of the Exile. It is the position of the present writer that they contain the judgements and biases of the Deuteronomic School of Historians, and that they contain, among other materials, an exposition highly deliberate and systematic, of Deuteronomic principles.

The plan to be followed is, an examination of the principal figures of Samuel and David and the somewhat lesser figure of Saul,[1] with reference to the various sources from which we derive our information. By such a method we may hope to see how different points of view gained expression and how the distinctively Deuteronomic positions may be compared and isolated from the other treatments. These figures received significant treatment from the Deuteronomic writers and are either commended or condemned according to the Book of the Law.

Samual

The treatment of Samuel is among the most elaborate in the Historical Books; it is second in length only to that of David. He is pictured as Prophet, Priest and King-Maker. Even though the Books end after his death, they still bear his name at their head because it is he who had set the pattern of absolute loyalty and who had annointed both Saul and David. He is the transition-figure between the time of the Judges and the firmly established Monarchy.

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1 Omri, Ahab, Elijah, Manasseh and Josiah will be treated later.

The primary sources were originally disparate and were gathered together at a later date. Up until the Exile these sources were in fluid relation to each other and it was only during the Exile that a redactor with pronounced Deuteronomic predilections brought all of them together, so that we have from his hand what is substantially the present Books of Samuel. The principal sources for the stories of Samuel may be cited as follows:

The Sources favorable to the Monarchy of Saul:
1 9:1 -- 10:16
" 11:1 -- 11
" 13:2 - 7a; 15b - 18; 23
" 14:1 - 45
" 15

Date: 10th cent.

The Sources unfavorable to the Monarchy of Saul:
(Below identified with the Deuteronomic School)
1 8:1--22 (closely associated with 7)
" 10:17--24
" 12:1-25

Date: during the Exile.

There are various local traditions and contemporary records and local hero-tales. An example of these would be 19:2ff, 11.

The sources favorable to the Monarchy of Saul are probably the more objective and accurate. They are presumably earlier and deals more objectively with the facts. They present Saul as a mighty warrior and Samuel as acquiescing in his annointing. In the favorable treatment Saul is presented as the charismatic King and one who is admitted to the company of the prophets.[1] These factors alone would guarantee him an enviable place in the line of significant men in Israel.

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1 I Samuel, 10:5-8.

However, when we come to chapter 8 of I Samuel we find a significant contrast. The present writer feels that it is based on Deuteronomy 17 with its unfavorable sentiments towards Kingship. He here differs from Smith who feels that the warnings given in chapter 8 are such as might be given against any Oriental Monarch.[1] The similarities with Deuteronomy 17 are listed below:

1. Deuteronomy 17 requires that Israel be the birthplace of the king.

2. The king shall not engage in a program of personal aggrandisement. (17:16,17) I Sam. 8 lists both personal aggrandisement and tyrannical rule, which often went together.

3. The Law states that there shall be unswerving loyalty to Yahweh. The Samuel-passage cites as the motive for desiring a king the longing to be like other nations.

4. Deuteronomy 17 presents the permission for a king as a concession to the sinful desires of the people and as an act of disloyalty. (14) I Samuel 8 presents the desire for a king as an act of deep disloyalty to both Yahweh and Samuel. Closely related to this chapter, though by contrast, is I Samuel 7. In its idealised picture of the penitent nation and of firm loyalty to Samuel as the representative of Yahweh it is quite Deuteronomic in tone and in character. The summary nature of vs. 13 is typical of the doctrine that loyalty to Yahweh results in personal prosperity and freedom from war and privation.

5. I Samuel 10:17-24 again rebukes the people for their unwise and irreligious choice that a king and not Yahweh shall rule over them. Saul is presented as an unwilling concession, both from Samuel and from Yahweh.

6. I Samuel 12 contains a retrospect of the dangers of idolatry and a confession of loyalty to the Law and to Yahweh. It also contains a public confession that in choosing a king the people did an evil thing, (vs. 19). Such a confession accords ill with the pre-Monarchy sources, for example, 9:16.

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1 Smith, H.P., I, II Samuel, (ICC), Edinburgh, 1909, p.55.

The distinction between sources is further illustrated by an examination of I Samuel, 9, 11 and 12 which present an adulatory picture of Saul. Chapter 9 cites the pious, honorable background of Saul, the express desire of Yahweh that Saul be anointed and the close, intimate contact between Saul and Samuel. Chapter 10 vs. 26 present an appeal to the quickened conscience of the people: they had received a new impetus for living when Saul received his anointing. Chapter 11 presents Saul as the Lord's general who will fight His battles. But in chapter 8 there is no mention of an anointed king or that Yahweh will choose to act through a king. In 12 there is a strict prescription of duties and ideological pronouncements rather than a fulsome statement of joy over a king. There is an atmosphere of limited permissiveness rather than that air of celebration found in the pro-Monarchy materials. In the Deuteronomic source Samuel appears as the critic and judge of Saul, whereas in the earlier source he is the sympathetic and cooperative guide.

Samuel was, then, viewed as the man who was to determine national policy and to define orthodoxy. He was the person who was to maintain the distinctive character of Hebrew life. He is the source of the nation's motives and acts and hence of her History. He had anointed Saul to be king and had sought another king when Saul had committed the sin of defection. It was Samuel who had defined orthodox practice and could thus rebuke Saul for offering sacrifice. It was this prophet and king-maker who could determine the requisite degree of loyalty and hence could slaughter Agag Whom Saul had spared. Only as the nation

was closely loyal to Yahweh could she have a brilliant and secure place in the world; but if she turned away from Him then she could expect the less of her king and defeat at the hands of her enemies. The pragmatism of Deuteronomy is quite apparent and Samuel is the exalted spokesman of it.

David

Within the entire Deuteronomic History there is no more ample treatment of a single personality than that of David. He is the great hero who had done the will of Yahweh in the midst of real life. Throughout the circumstances of rivalries for his throne, of family tragedy and the worries of great wars David sought Jahweh's will and the strength to do it. He is a person both to instruct and to inspire.

Our guide to distinctively Deuteronomic treatment is again examination of the sources. Although there are undoubtedly a number of them, the more important are here cited:

The Book of the Wars of Yahweh The Court and Temple Records Local tradition	Date, ca. 10th cent.
Deuteronomic Redaction	Date, during the Exile.

The first three sources are much earlier and objective. Although they come together to give a vivid picture of David they contained incidents which were repugnant to the viewpoint of the Deuteronomic School -- such incidents as his adultery with Bathsheba and his grievous war with his own son. These are to be found in II Samuel, 9-20, which is a separate literary unity, apart from the more distinctly Deuteronomic materials.[1]

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1 Kennedy, A.R.S. I, II Samuel, (CeB), Edinburgh, n.d.,p.6.

The Deuteronomic passages contain two ideas of very great importance; namely, the divine approval of David as ruler and the first intimations of Messianism. This Redaction is a very late product and quite possibly reflects Exilic feelings. Out of the mature yet harassed judgement of that time came the conviction that most of the tragedy that had befallen the nation in those broken days had come from a succession of bad kings only rarely broken by godly men.[1] The Redactor read his judgement back in the time of David. Such a line of reasoning guided his selection of materials, with two notable results:

1. The presentation of a shortened biography of Saul, to the limits of I Samuel, 14:17--51.

2. The extraction of biographical materials about his favored David from II Samuel, 9--20. This extracted material formed the basis of the present II Samuel 8, which serves as an introduction to II Samuel 9-20, which is the Court Record. Chapter 8 is an idealized portrait used to neutralise the unsavory elements in the Court Record.

We may thus say that both Samuel and David were subjects of elaborate Deuteronomic redaction, in the interest of presenting pious men who sought to do the will of Yahweh and to lead the people of Israel in that path.

It remains for us to examine this Deuteronomic figure of David and to attempt to relate him to the on-going purpose of Yahweh for His nation. Two elements are important:

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1 Kraddy, op.cit., p.23

1. The portrayal of a righteous, pious, faithful man, who could be God's favorite and His own King, his Messiah to His people to show them the ways of righteousness and salvation from sin and from tragedy.

2. The augmenting of that figure after the death of David, until he became an exalted type.

The process of portraying the faithful man might be said to begin with the attributing of the death of Goliath to David, whereas it is probably more true to say that the feat was performed by Elkanah. The pious reference to the Lord of Hosts is rather formal and studied and quite possibly shows a bias; namely, that even at this early age David had been an instrument for God.

The contrast between the annointing of David with the express approval of Yahweh and the concession-aspect of the annointing of Saul is significant. David is the servant of Yahweh.[1] The words of the Prophet Nathan are fulsome and unqualified,[2] in contrast to the dogmatic utterances of Samuel over Saul. The new king is promised an everlasting kingdom and mercies that shall know no end. This is the first intimation of messianism: David shall be the arch-type of the good, righteous man, for whom Yahweh shall do mighty things and who shall bring men to Yahweh and to perfect peace. The idealized character of such promises is clear and is in great part due to the retrospective nature of the Deuteronomic Redactor. Kennedy heightens the Messianic element here by relating Psalm 2:7 with II Samuel 7:14.[3]

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1 II Samuel, 7:5,8.
2 Ibid., 7:3.
3 Kennedy, Op. Cit., p.226.

The final "Song of David" is a literary product from a poetic source and is an idealized confession of the power of Yahweh and of His great marcies. In its emphasis on a righteous response it is appropriate to the Deuteronomist's purpose of presenting David as the great moral hero.

After his death David was further idealized. A process of augmentation raised him even higher than the Samuel material. He had become the favorite of Yahweh, for whose sake He would expend His power on behalf of Israel when present circumstances threatened to unde the nation. The first instance of this augmentation is the Dedicatory Address of Temple in I Kings 8:24-26. This has been identified by Montgomery[1] and Skinner[2] as a Deuteronomic passage. David is here the guarantee of the continuity of the throne; he is the leader in the ways of ensuring Yahweh's constant guidance, favour and mercy.

There is also the emphasis on David as the righteous king, against whom later kings are to be adjudged either faithful or rebellious. For example, there is I Kings 15:3-5, with Jeroboam; I Kings 15:11, with Asa; II Kings 16:2, with Ahaz; 18:3 with Hezekiah, The City of Jerusalem is spared the onslaught of Senacherib's armies because it is the city of David, II Kings,19:34. When Josiah receives his fulsome commendation it is because he followed in the footsteps of David.(II 22:2)

The Deuteronomic treatment of Samuel and David is so important to our study because they represent the distinct and elaborate work of a particular school of historiographers. It remains for us to attempt

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1 Montgomery, Op. Cit., p.193.
2 Skinner, Op. Cit., (Kings) p.146.

to discover how the specifically Deuteronomic viewpoint is here expounded and so to determine the nature of this history-writing.

It was the apparent purpose of the Editor to present his predispositions in terms of real life and in those of well-known f figures, so that his principles may be seen as a way of life rather than being only an abstract code. The highly didactic character of the Deuteronomists's version is clearly shown by his selection and suppression of materials. The writer had a lofty motive for presenting his history and he was faithful to it even at the cost of minimizing factual accuracy and large blocks of material which were probably authentic.[1] But the point is, such material was not suitable for the presentation of his lesson. By arrangement and condensation; by judicious ommission of unsavory incidents, the editor became practically an auther for he had recreated the figures of Samuel and David, and his recreations have lived in the hearts of pious men who looked for the close presence of God in their lives. It was, hence, the desire of the Editor to present to his countrymen two personages who were heroic and worthy of emulation because they were faithful to Yahweh. He wished to establish and edify the nation in the pious tradition of Godly men who by their faith and wisdom led the people to victory over their heathen neighbours and to a peaceful, prosperous national life. The present Deuteronomic Redaction is the result of this train of motivation.

We may now enquire into some of the specific lessons inculcated by the Deuteronomic school in the Books of Samuel. They were doubtless

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1 E.g., II Samuel, 9-20.

numerous, but the following are significant.

1. The pragmatic character of prophetic doctrine, codified in Deuteronomy , finds fulsome expression here. The price of defection is defeat, at the hands of heathens and enemies. So long as Samuel -- as God's representative -- had charge of the efficacious battle-sacrifices, all went well; or so long as he had the final word on the disposition of battle-spoils all was successful. But when Saul tried to overstep his prerogatives, all ended in defeat and his own disgrace, in the eyes of Samuel, Yahweh and the people. The death of Bathsheba's first child is considered the punishment for the sin of adultery, to be expiated by penitience before Solomon comes as the Deliverance and the way back to Peace.[1] Conversely, when David seeks to perform the pious act of building the place of worship, he brings down the favour of God and the throne is secured in perpetuity. This pragmatic character of History is also denoted by the idealized character of I Samuel 7: all was peace and order when Samuel was respected. The sinful desire for a king brings on the people the trouble and anguish of disloyalty and unhealthy ambitions. This pragmatism may be stated summarily: adherence to Yahweh and to the ways of life He has given through Law and Prophets will bring national solidarity and personal prosperity and will impart a worthwhile character to life; but defection brings disaster, both personal and corporate.

2. Closely bound up with the first consideration are those of loyalty and exclusivism. The predilection of the Deuteronomic author

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1 שָׁלוֹם = peace. Yahweh's wrath prophesied by Nathan, II Samuel, 12:14.

for a theocracy is shown by his anti-Monarchy sentiments and his eager acceptance of the original David as the basis for his reconstruction of him as a pious figure, who delighted to do the divine will. The Deuteronomist had required that the nation have no dealings with other nation. Israel had begun as an elect nation, chosen through the exclusive favour of the greatest God of the universe.[1] It was part of the duty and the dignity of the national leaders to maintain the exclusiveness thus incumbent upon this elect nation. The purpose of Israel was to be a righteous Community dedicated to Yahweh as He had revealed Himself in the Patriarchs, Law and Prophets. Samuel and David are idealized as righteous, joyous servants who took upon themselves the responsibility of teaching and showing the people the paths they should walk -- Samuel as the authorized prophet and David as the locus of public sentiment.

We may thus say that both are placed in a succession of pious men through whom Yahweh worked in order to create a righteous nation. The Deuteronomist wished to demonstrate that Yahweh had been planning a Community which should be faithful to Him in terms of actual life, rather than in the protected atmosphere of a cultus. Upon the basis of the real figure of David he built the present earnest and admirable David which has captured the imagination of subsequent History. However, he has not made an anachronism; the author shows considerable respect for local color and the conditions of David's own day.[2] The Deuteronomic principles are therefore not limited to a book but are shown forth in a series of active careers and persons, who can inspire loyalty and affection and could lead men to love Yahweh with the whole heart, soul and might.

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1 Deuteronomy, 7:1ff.
2 Kennedy, Op. Cit., pp.12,13.

The Monarchy is thus seen not to rest on the acts of men but upon the Plan of Yahweh for His people. It stands in organic relation to the great Deeds of the Deliverance and the Giving of the Law. The present writer has already taken the position that the J-Document was prompted by Patriotic sentiment and was invoked as a further support of David's throne.[1] The command for loyalty is not so much from a king ambitious to keep his kingdom in peace and order as from Yahweh Himself who from the first had been in charge of the nation. The present writer is in agreement with Noth, that the Deuteronomic History extends from the Patriarchal Promises to the Exile,[2] although the real unifying criteria came from Deuteronomy.

To conclude. The Books of Samuel are thus seen to be tremendous importance in the study of the Deuteronomic Historians. They establish the Deuteronomic ideologies of retribution, loyalty and exclusiveness. They present us with the Davidic Monarchy as the idealized Community. They give us arch-typal patterns for future Judgement. They present the Community and its leaders as cooperating so closely with Yahweh as to be considered human extensions in His working-out of His plan. According to the Deuteronomic version of the Books of Samuel, God is pictured as working through the men He had called and strengthened so that He could accomplish His will on earth. The Deuteronomist has accomplished His purpose: he had shown that God is present in History and that through man's freedom and affection He can accomplish His will.

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1 The reader is referred to page 55 of the present writing.

Omri and Manasseh

The two figures of Omri and Manasseh afford us clear examples of the typical method and doctrinal outlook of the Deuteronomic Historians. Because these kings did not follow the line deemed right and valuable by the Deuteronomic School they were condemned as negative examples of kingship. The adulatory treatment of Josiah is contrasted. That such a judgement is quite subjective is the position here taken.

Omri

One need but examine the extra-Biblical sources concerning Omri to realize how minimal and uninteresting is the Kings treatment of this king. Such documents include:

a: The Moabite Stone — Date, ca. 9th century.

b: Assyrian Records and Inscriptions. — Date, ca. 9th century.

The Moabite Stone contains the following words:

"When Chemosh was angry with his land, Omri, King of Israel, held Moab in subjection for many years." 1 (lines 4,5)

עמרי מלך ישראל [2]

Certain Assyrian Inscriptions also carry mention of Omri and identify Israel as the land of Omri.("Bit Omri") Examples follow:

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1 Bennet, W.H. The Moabite Stone, Edinburgh, 1911, p.2
2 Ibid., p.62.

"...who(Adad Nirari) conquered from the banks of the Euphrates, the Hittite Country, Amurru in its entirety, Tyre, Sidon, the land of Israel (italics, Mercer) Edom, Palastu..." 1
(Calakh/Nimrud/ inscription)

"(Bit Omri) all of whose cities, on my former campaigns I had added to my territory." (Annals of Tiglath Pileser IV) (Date, 8th Century.) 2

The judgements of modern scholars also present a more complimentary picture. Noth speaks of Omri as an energetic and capable soldier who rose from the ranks of the mercenary armies and through ability became king.[3] Oesterley and Robinson consider him a great king. "Under the house of Omri Israel rose to a height which she had not attained since the death of Solomon."[4] Omri had attempted to raise the standards of culture by making commercial alliances with the commercial and cosmopolitan center of Phoenecia. He had made extensive conquests, had strengthened his nation and had caused it to be known among the other nations.

However, when we turn to the Kings account,[5] we find a decidedly different picture. The man who has been portrayed as a formidable opponent and one of far-sighted commercial ability is here pictured as betraying the best interests of the nation in terms of idolatry. He is considered the worst of all Israelite kings since Jeroboam. Beyond the minimal citation of his changing the capital and his death-notice there is nothing but severe rebuke.

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1 Mercer, op. cit., p.34.
2 Ibid., p.39.
3 Noth, M., The History of Israel, London, 1958, p.228.
4 Oesterley and Robinson, A History of Israel, Oxford, 1923, p.287 (Vol.1)
5 I Kings, 16:16-28.

This may be explained by referring to the view-point of the Deuteronomic Editor. His main interest centred in the relation of Israel to the Yahweh of the Fathers, and of David. All else was secondary. By this criteria Omri had failed. It made little difference that as a king he had made territorial gains or had initiated highly profitable financial ventures. He had permitted worship on the high places and thus had violated the requirements of religious exclusivism. Hence he is condemned.

Manasseh

All the factual information we have of Manasseh's reign is that he ruled for fifty five years and that he followed a pro-Assyrian policy. He followed a policy of synchretism and shed innocent blood, presumably that of martyrs for the conservative cause at a time of persecution.

The remainder of the chapter consists of a Deuteronomic Sermon and a death-notice. This Sermon is the basis for the treatment by the present writer.

These practices of Manasseh constituted a repudiation of the Covenant-based and idealized Monarchy of David. David had held his throne in the framework of popular approval and consent. "The Israelite king was thus, if we may use the phrase so early, king by contract, not by natural right."[1] Manasseh denied this and disregarded it with a

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1 Oesterley and Robinson, Op. Cit., p.229.

callousness and a thoroughness which although typical of the practices of other nations was quite at variance with the traditional Israelitish Covenant. David had found it necessary to make restitution for his sins and to be cognisant of public prerogatives. But the thoroughness and high-handed tone of Manasseh's policies leave very little grounds for our thinking that he was very much concerned about public sentiment. Apart from his repudiation of religious exclusivism and his renewal of a synchretistic policy his reign was highly secular in character rather than giving full room to the religious foundations and sanctions of the Monarchy.

As grave as these sins are they are all outweighed by the renewal of an idolatrous policy. The Deuteronomic denunciation is heightened by a series of comparisons: with Ahab, who was previously denounced and made to bear the responsibility of the upheaval under Jehu and Hazael; and with the Amorites who had become types of revolting practices. The extent of Manasseh's idolatries was wide. It included much that would degrade a highly moral religion to the level of magic and of attempting to bend the foreknowledge and power of the Deity to the lower desires of men. The traffic in enchanters and wizards suggests the stultifying effects of divination with its non-moral elements and its cultivation of corrupt and venal practices. The reintroduction of synchretism and idolatry had done much to take away that ethical incentive which had had been a strong point in traditional Yahwism and which had contributed mightily to the moral fibre of earlier times. But the reign of Manasseh had seen the ravages of idolatry in the persecution of the conservative

elements of the State and in the devoting of wealth to the shrine treasuries.

The renewal of idolatries was, by strong implication, an abandoning of the exclusive character of traditional Hebrew religion. The Law had enjoined upon the people an exclusivistic attitude toward other nations. But the practices of Manasseh indicate that he was quite willing to go to extreme lengths to identify himself with the ways of other nations. "He made his son pass through the fire."[1] "He rebuilt the high places."[2] All in all, the period of his reign was a repudiation of the great Past, when Israel had given willing service to Yahweh and had served Him with exclusive loyalty and moral living.

The Deuteronomic character of the condemnation of Manasseh may be illustrated by comparing him with David as an idealized Deuteronomic figure. By this time David had become a type as well as an actual man. Many of his faults had been minimized and he was considered [illegible].[3] He was thus the standard of loyalty and of judgement. He was the main bulwark of sacral nationalism. It was under him that the tribes had been drawn together and had made the dream of nationhood concrete. Along side of the national development had come religious exclusiveness. The Deuteronomic injunctions that man should use all his faculties to serve Yahweh and Him only[4] had found an example in David. But the period of Manasseh was anything but exclusivist. The idolatry and divination speak only too clearly of accommodation and the deliberate adoption

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1 II Kings, 21:6.
2 Ibid.,21:3.
3 I Kings, 8:24,25.
4 Deuteronomy, 6:4,5.

of foreign rites.

The idealized David was also the support of orthodoxy. He had shown great willingness and desire to build an appropriate dwelling-place for Yahweh and because of this had received His commendation through His prophet, Nathan. He had become the example of eager service to Yahweh in all areas of life. Hence, his attitude toward religious matters was considered standard and orthodox. The contrast here is equally great. Manasseh had replaced David's close and refreshingly spontaneous relation with Yahweh with heavy and thick separations made up of elaborate rituals and the devious, clouded ways of divination and occult prophecy.[1] The final "Song of David" had presented Yahweh as the Guide in ethical crises and as the Giver of righteous judgement.[2] The later king replaced this with the attempt to control the Deity through sacrifice and cultic ceremony. David had carried on the orthodox practice of closely identifying the moral will of Yahweh with the civil code. But in eagerness to promote tyranny and absolute centralized control Manasseh rejected the conception of the sacredness of the Law which was binding on king as well as on people. In its place he put his own will and his own acquiescence to the cultic bans and prohibitions that were part and parcel of the foreign systems.

We may thus say that Manasseh was condemned by the Deuteronomic Editor because he deliberately rejected the goodly example of David and of these statutes and well-established customs which though unwritten were of an authority that no man might properly ignore. The condemnation

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1 II Kings, 21:6.
2 II Samuel, 24:21ff.

falls into three distinct parts: 1, the reintroduction of idolatry; 2, the break with traditional exclusivism; and 3, the blaming of Manasseh for the tragedy of the Exile. The king is considered to be under the Judgement of Yahweh and the censure of good men.

Although enough has probably been said about the nature of the idolatries, it may be well to note the manner of the Editor's presentation.[1] It is entirely negative. Here we are given a list of condemnatory notices of sins and offences. Whatever good Manasseh may have done, whatever increased commercial activity he might have initiated, is quite passed over, until we are left with nothing but evil acts. The Deuteronomic Editor's criticism is virulent and absolute in character. He has created a veritable monster of iniquity.

The extreme nature of this condemnation is indicated by his ascribing the tragedy of the Exile to the sins of this king.[2] This message is said to be delivered to the godly elements in Jerusalem through the accredited channel of the prophets. The full system of revelation is here used, and there can be no questioning it. Although it is perhaps true that the Hebrew nation fell because of internal weakness and the rejuvenated strength of Babylon, still the Deuteronomic Editor held fast to his version, that the nation had fallen at the hand of Yahweh because one of her eminent sons had committed terrible sins.

This treatment of the reign of Manasseh is typical of both the aim and method of Deuteronomic Historiography, for three reasons: 1, it is governed by the Deuteronomic requirements of purity of worship and

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1 At least with Omri we receive some intimation of positive achievement.
2 II Kings, 21:11-15.

exclusive loyalty to Yahweh in civil as well as religious affairs; 2, it shows the Deuteronomic doctrine of pragmatism and retribution; and 3, this results in a didactic treatment rather than a mere objective stating of the facts. This treatment is a negative example; because it is <u>not</u> what Yahweh requires of His people He will bring His wrath upon them. Yahweh will indicate His purposes and His principles through His people, whether it bring bliss or misery. A standard has been provided the people and it has been applied;[1] and they have been found wanting. Hence, they shall be put away in Exile.

Josiah

The Deuteronomic treatment of Josiah is but one expression of the period of nationalism through which the ancient world was passing at this time. The fall of Assyria had meant the chance for independence for all the major nations -- Egypt, Babylon and also the Hebrew Kingdoms. Within this larger framework of nationalism, the Deuteronomic writer has fitted his complimentary picture of Josiah and the Reformation that was accomplished in his time and under his enthusiastic sponsorship.

"Although the Reformation did contain civil elements they are subsumed under a religious head.[2] The central principle that all must

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1 The present writer accepts the position that <u>Deuteronomy</u> was written during the reign of Manasseh. For additional treatment see page 83 of the present writing.

2 Perhaps the best example of this would be <u>Deuteronomy</u> 12, which, presumably was added at the time of the Reformation of the Cultus. Although there are certain verses which suggest an earlier date (which may be deliberate anachronisms to suggest this earlier setting) e.g., 9-11, still the chapter as a whole reflects tone of drastic change which was prevalentat the time. The recurrent phrase"...in the place where the Lord thy God shall choose" (5,11,18,21 (with variant), 26) suggests the stoppage of local shrines which was characteristic of the centralizing-program. After the specifications and requirements are given, there is the familiar Deuteronomic premise of success,"...that it may go well with thee.." (28) Former cultic practices had meant tragedy and the loss of the wholesome gifts of Yahweh. <u>Deuteronomy</u> 12 is the practical legislation for the carrying-through of the impulse toward unity which was so typical of the Josianic Reformation.For additional

be done with Yahweh as the first thought and consideration finds expression here. Hence, the entire Reformation is presented in religious terms. For example, the destruction of the pagan shrines and the expelling of the diviners presumably stopped many corrupt financial arrangements and other offensive practices, but we hear nothing of this. The principal reason for their destruction is that they carry on a religious practice contrary to the will of Yahweh, as Law and Tradition had defined that Will. On Josiah's part this may be demonstrated in a number of ways. Under his instigation the Temple was restored and the older cultus revived. This indicated a desire to return to Yahweh after the outrages of Manasseh. When he heard the Law from Hilkiah and Shaphan he was so appalled that he went through a period of penitence, which was presumably more than a selfish fear for the longevity of his throne and was motivated by thorough searching of heart and spirit. The appeal to Huldah the prophetess is quite characteristically Deuteronomic in its religious tone: it involves condemnation for sin, the doctrine that the good man shall live in peace and that for his sake the horrible future would not immediately come about.[1] Chapter 23 begins with the public assembly which Josiah calls so that he could again bind the people to the Law and to Yahweh. "And all the people stood to the Covenant."[2] From henceforth there was to be a new dependence upon Yahweh and a new closeness to Him. This was to be a matter for

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1 II Kings, 22:15-20.
2 Ibid., 25:3.

all the people. The days of tyranny were thus condemned and the elder, more democratic ways upheld. The thorough-going purge of Jerusalem from the centers of idolatry was not only central to the Reformation but showed that it was in line with all the previous attempts to bring the people to right relation to Yahweh. Many of these reforms were possible because of the return to influence of the prophetic party and their insistence on popular religious motivation in civil affairs. During the reign of Manasseh the more conciliatory elements were in control, having received the support of the king, with the result that the conservative elements were suppressed and a full program of accommodation and synchretism was carried out. But with their revival under Josiah the prophetic party arose to prominence and control. They not only revived traditional Yahwism but continued their age-old practice of calling the people back to the Law. Upon such a basis as this we may inquire into the public effect of the Reformation. In this way we may come to see how the public enactments and requirements of Deuteronomy were put into practice.

The revival had brought with it a return to the elder, more direct ethic of the former faith. There was no longer any seeking of the will of the Deity through the devious and obscure media of the diviners but rather through a more direct, more transparent ethical response. The relation between the Deity and the conscious act of man had been close, traditionally; yet during Manasseh's reign it had become separated; but the Reformation restored the public to this closeness so that once more the quality of religious experience was either made or marred by the moral response. The strenuous ethic was again in force and must have proved a bracing contrast to the mass-appeal of the former cult-worship.

The revival of the traditional brought with it a recrudescence of nationalism. Previous to this, the accommodationist policies had admitted the prevalent social as well religious abuses, such as judicial corruption and unsavory sacrificial modes. But the reign of Josiah is interpreted as starting and finishing a thorough purge of all alien corruptions in favor of a rebirth of loyalty and exclusive service to the cause of Yahweh. Hence it is that the Reformation was not carried out in a vacuum or restricted to a sheltered cultic setting. In its progress it brought to the fore the days when Yahweh had received willing service and under Him the nation had been respected by the rest of the world. Inextricably bound up with the legitimate religious aspirations were the hopes of a revived Davidic State.[1] In this former king the connections between civil enactment and the Divine will as revealed in Law and Tradition had reached that degree of refinement felt to be so necessarily and so truly religious by the Deuteronomic School. Hence, to copy the brilliant nationalism of the time of David was to be in line with Deuteronomic thought and precept. The Reformation was an appeal to the whole life of the Hebrew Community. It was to restore right relations with Yahweh; and to the Hebrew mind, in its concreteness, that meant all the richness of good living as well as spiritual religion. "The whole work (I,II Kings) is written to demonstrate the soundness, both in theory and in practice, of the Deuteronomic theory of life, with Josiah as the greatest example and proof of its value."[2] The revival of religious nationalism must

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1 Wright, G.E., Deuteronomy, (IB), Nashville, 1953, p.323.
2 Snaith, I, II Kings (IB) Nashville, 1954, p.4.

have proved a stimulating contrast to the lax morals and low social tone of the former reign and its offences to the purity and sanity of the earlier Yahwism. Hence, we have not merely a reactionary movement motivated by nostalgia but what was just as much the basis of a sound, progressive policy. In this connection Snaith cites Amos 3:8 as the general basis of I, II Kings[1]. Only as Israel could return to this fundamental explanation of Yahweh's dealings with her, could she hope to get back her equilibrium and soundness and go ahead to a better individual and corporate life. Only in this way could she get back to that improved general tone which would be her salvation and her strength of days. Because Josiah had carried out a reform which promised so richly of these hopes and standards he received the fulsome praise of the Deuteronomic School.

On the basis of these considerations we may more clearly understand why the treatment of Josiah is so distinctly Deuteronomic. It is the most distinctly Deuteronomic encomium in the entire History. On such a basis as this we may come to see how Josiah came to be the pious and righteous man who actualized the hopes and standards of the School which had produced the great History. He is portrayed as the Davidic hero-king who can bring the people back to Yahweh after a period of rampant and tragic defection. He can bring the correct orientation to life by providing a better habitual center of worship. He is able to revive the excellent hopes of the Fathers and turn them into a

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1 Snaith, Op. Cit., p.7.

foundation of a higher quality of response, and from this will flow a superior ethic and a solider, better-integrated social organism.

He had also restored the succession of pious men. Ever since the beginning of Hebraic history, since the time of the Patriarchs, Yahweh had always heard and honored the appeal of the righteous, pious man.[1] Such a consideration found eminent expression in Abraham and David.[2] The sense of these passages is considered to have been fulfilled in Josiah.[3] He fulfilled his recognition of the Past by holding the Passover.[4] He not only did Yahweh's will but enjoined upon the people what he considered to be an inescapable involvement. This Reform was never the private and often erratic mysticism of an Akhnaton; rather, it was an appeal to popular acceptance and enthusiasm. It stood or fell according to its effect on the Community. The destruction of the idolatrous places and the stopping of all traffic in divination and magic were for the protection of the people. The restoration of the Community shared fully in the reform of the cultus. Hence, in Josiah we have the fulfillment of one of the prime factors of Deuteronomy: the actualizing of Israel as Yahweh's Folk who were to serve Him and Him only with the whole person.[5]

This interpretation of Josiah, in its fulsomeness is thus considered to be based on fact. He had restored the centrality of Yahweh

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1 Genesis, 18:23-32.
2 I Kings, 8:25.
3 II Kings, 22:2.
4 Ibid., 23:21,22.
5 Deuteronomy, 7:1-15.

and had thus delivered the State from the deadening effects of religious idolatry and civil corruption. With him at the head there was every stimulation to the truly humane qualities and motivations. The renewed response to traditional Yahwism had delivered men from the stagnating effects of a religion of mass-appeal and had restored the deliberate and ethical response. Both the dignity and humility of moral integrity were again in force. He had fulfilled the requirements of religious and national exclusiveness.[1] From henceforth Israel was to be more truly separated to Yahweh, in righteousness, truth and enlightened love. Through him the people might also turn to the Lord with all heart and soul and might according to the Law of Moses.[2] In him the growth is complete. The labours of Patriarchs and Prophets and of the thinkers of the Deuteronomic School find a point of meeting — and, most importantly, this point of meeting is not in a theory or a precept but in a warm, admirable human life. The praise of the Deuteronomist is fulsome but much of it is justified.

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1 The present writer accepts the position that 23:25 is the close of the First Edition of I, II Kings. See footnote 1 on page 127 of present writing.

2 II Kings 23:25.

Epilogue

The Second Edition of the Book of Kings includes the addition of II Kings 23:26 to the closing of the present book, at 25:30.[1] Although it is still a product of the Deuteronomic School it bears an entirely different tone from that of the bright adulation of Josiah and his Reformation. There is a strain of melancholy about it that demonstrates the heavy working-out of Yahweh's retributive justice rather than His positive blessings. The Deuteronomic principle that sin and defection bring disaster is here in full operation.

The opening verse (23:26) is characteristic in its moralising tone. The Exile was the result of the dead-weight of Manasseh's sins and idolatries. Because the people had supported them they must bear the brunt of that king's wrong-doing in the sight of Yahweh. This weight was so heavy that not even the good heart and pious life of Josiah could prevent its baneful effect. All he could was delay its coming and give the people a period of better life. His early death cut off what might have been a substantial period of cleansing and conservative strength.

The pragmatic character of Deuteronomy[2] could not be denied and in this case receives an expression that is both poignant and severe. Though Yahweh is willing to bless and to create He will not hesitate to curse and to destroy if His Law is neglected or condemned. Because

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1 Pfeiffer, R.H. Introduction to the Old Testament, New York, 1941. He offers the following dates, which the present writer accepts:
First Edition, 600 B.C.
Second Edition, 55 B.C. pp. 379,410.

2 E.g. Deuteronomy, 11:26-28.

the people had followed Manasseh with all the enthusiasm of ill-governed passion and had let fall the bars of restraint and propriety, because they had substituted the languourous incense of self-indulgence for the fresh wind of Yahweh's demands, they brought upon themselves the terrible wrath of His Judgement. Hence, the punishment of the Exile had to come: the very fact of a moral universe necessitated it and worked for its coming.[1] The retrospective and formal Song of Moses cites this direct moralism. The basis of calamity is not a flighty Power but a Deity Who has made provision for a sinful rebellion against the love and goodness which He had always shown and was willing ever to show.[2] This intense moralism is also shown in Lamentations.

This was certainly a comprehensive tragedy, but there were doubts as to whether this is actually the final word and that Yahweh's forsaking of His people was his final act concerning them. These doubts have been discussed by Von Rad.[3] According to him, the sentence of the Exile was not the last word. Even during the Exile God would be working for his peoples' restoration and dignity. When Evil-Merodach honoured Jehoiachin and took him out of the shame and constraint of prison,[4] this symbolised the upswing of the fortunes of the Israelites. Even in the midst of captivity and lethargy the people discovered that Yahweh was their God and not the idols of their captors. Although this theory has much to recommend it, the

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1 Deuteronomy 32, especially, vss. 35-42.
2 Lamentations, 4:6. See Gottwald, Studies in Lamentations, London, 1954, pp.65,66.
3 Von Rad, Op. Cit., p.93.
4 II Kings, 24:27-30.

present writer still feels that when the Exile had finally come it closed a definitive era.

Because of this captivity the glory of the nation was too severely shaken to recover its former prestige and place. (The Restoration under Ezra was through the permission of an alien king.) The State which Deuteronomy had served so well had ceased to be, and with it went much of the cogency of the Law. From henceforth Israel was to be an ideal quantity rather than a political reality. There had to be a greater, more subtle and intimate relation between Yahweh and His chosen people than had heretofore prevailed. That greater intimacy is reflected in certain of the psalms and in the lyric poetry of Jeremiah, who had arisen to be one of the foremost critics of Deuteronomy.[1]

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1 Skinner, Loc. Cit., (P and R); also Bewer, Op. Cit., p.135.

Excursus on Elijah

After the Carmel event Elijah had fled for his life to Mount Horeb. He was a beaten man. "...and I, even I only, am left".[1] At Horeb he receives a commission from God which encourages him and acquaints him with God's purpose for Israel. He is to crown Hazael king of Syria and Jehu King of Israel. He is to appoint Elisha as his Successor, so that the prophetic office may continue. These men are to perform God's will for the nation, in that they are to act as His scourge against idolatrous Israel. Elijah is further encouraged by the seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal. In the two future kings we are to see God's hand in history, in the overthrow of the kingdom of Ahab and in the establishment of those who will rule according to His will. Jehu was crowned so that he might avenge the wrong done by Jezebel to the prophets of Yahweh. He considered the massacres he ordered to have been at the behest of God as He had spoken through the prophet Elijah. After he had slain the Baal-worshippers he received God's commendation and the promise that his family should occupy the throne for a number of generations. Thus runs the 9th chapter of II Kings.

Hazael was also considered the scourge. As King of Syria it was his duty to make war against Israel and to "cut it short." (II Kings, 10:32.) His wars against Israel were thorough and probably fanatical and brutal. So, it would seem at this point that we have the actual

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1 Kings, 19:10.

working-out of God's program as He had presented it to Elijah on Mount Horeb. The present evil kingdom had fallen, by the hands of Jehu and Hazael.

Actual events gave a rather different picture. Although the Orient was fairly constant in its practice of brutality, still the bloody days of Jehu were excessive. They appeared to be somewhat short-lived and the nation returned to bad living. And yet, the prophetic interpretation speaks in large terms, as though they felt that this was going to be the thorough cleansing of the nation. The question arises, is it possible that this is a prophetic reading-back of the thoughts and desires of a later age. If this is possible, then the process of reasoning might have gone along in such a way as this:-- Yahweh has a purpose for history; namely, to create a nation that is faithful to Him. He may be depended upon to reveal that purpose to a properly accredited person. That He actually has revealed it is shown by the careers of Jehu and Hazael and their acknowledgement that they were sure that they were doing his will. But if they performed His will, they must have known of it, it must have been revealed to them. The question thus arises, who could have been sufficiently eminent and qualified to be the bearer of such a great revelation.

In the Horeb commission we read that it was Elijah, who received it. Montgomery considers this to have been a later addition.[1] Is the fact of its being a later addition a good reason for believing that it might be a prophetic reading-back? It might be considered so if it fell in with

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1 Montgomery, Op. Cit., p.315.

more specific evidence. If so, it contributes materially to the main emphasis of the present Thesis:-

1. It represents the conscious realization by man of God's Purpose.
2. It represents the Deuteronomic interpretation of actual historical events.

It remains for us to examine the evidence in favour of the view that this passage is a reading-back of the later prophets. Although the Elijah we have in the present form of the narratives is a combination of fact and legend, still it is probably safe to presume that there was beneath the overlay of the legendary a tremendously virile and dominant personality. He was able to influence people and was in line with the later conceptions of Yahweh, though he was in many ways far behind. In his own right and in his own day Elijah had gained a reputation for uncompromising loyalty to Yahweh and for sympathy with the poor. His impress on his own day was such as to attract to him all manner of legends which fitted into the sympathies of the supporters of the older, more austere days of the desert-period. These legends indicated fortitude, courage, intrepidity, strength—all of which would have called forth the admiration of the conservative elements. Among those elements were the Sons of the Prophets who rallied round him and claimed him as their voice. As James has remarked, "...they were his disciples; through them he operated."[1] They were presumably responsible for the first writing-down of the Elijah-stories. The more he showed himself opposed to the soft

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1 James, F., Personalities of the Old Testament, New York, 1939, p.185.

ways and the lax standards, the more he became the Yahwist for his generation. It is quite possible that upon such an historical foundation as this the Deuteronomic editors felt that they might build the present figure of Elijah. A person of such parts could be entrusted with the great secret, even though he showed weakness and fear. God could use him and lend him strength.

Let us now examine various pieces of evidence for the view that the legendary material and the added incrementia are sufficiently Deuteronomic to justify the view that they came from such a source.

The latter addition of the commission passage has been noted and the authority of Montgomery adduced in its favor.

There is much in the Horeb and Carmel stories to suggest distinctively Deuteronomic reconstruction. Morgenstern suggests that the original Carmel story was far more primitive than the present version.[1] Elijah had originally used the climax of the feast of Sukkoth as an occasion to arrange a cultic contest between Yahweh and Baal. The two gods were evidently on about the same qualitative level. It would seem that the victory of Yahweh was at best only the victory of one tribal god over another. His challenge, "Why do ye halt between two opinions?" is paraphrased as, "Why do ye hop over two thresholds?"[2] If this be a legitimate paraphrase, it might be taken to suggest the comparative levels of

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1 Morgenstern,J., in The Jewish Encyclopaedia, New York,1939, p.74.
2 Loc. Cit.,

the two deities. Morgenstern makes no mention of the lofty prayer. Could it be that silence at such a seemingly-important point could suggest that Morgenstern considered the prayer to have had no real place in such a setting? Such a question must remain in suspense. I have not been able to find support for it from other scholars, but this might be said: if the story is really as primitive as Morgenstern suggests, then the prayer might be considered an anachronism, best explained as being a later addition. The prayer has many features which could be considered Deuteronomic: the felt-need of moral reformation, of loyalty to the jealous as well as the moral charter of Yahweh and of the exalted function of the prophet. Pedersen speaks of the contest as a "cultic contest" in which each god "fought by his own man."[1] It was perhaps used as a kernel of historicity; on it was superimposed certain Deuteronomic features which brought it to the high level it now has. James seems to further such a view by emphasizing the non-moral character of the triumph,[2] although most seems to disagree and emphasizes the moral. If James' be the truer view, then perhaps such might have been one of the earlier elements.

In the Horeb theophany, Morgenstern seems to find considerable evidence adducing a later and thorough prophetic revision.[3] It seems to me that his evidence is uneven in quality. He suggest here that the

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1 Pedersen, Op. Cit.,III, IV, p.520.
2 James, Op. Cit., p.174.
3 Morgenstern J., The Earliest Document of the Hexateuch, in HUCA, Vol. IV (1927),pp.32-39.

substitutions and literary disharmonies existing in the present version are strong evidence in the direction of later revision. He considers the spiritual level of the present version too high to have been attained in the days of Elijah. He says that such a level had not been reached by the תּוֹרָה conception of the P Document, which he dates after Amos and Hosea. If this be true, then it is rather absurd to think of a figure of such earlier times reaching that high. Morgenstern's position is perhaps weakened by the fact that Pfeiffer apparently accepts the passage in its present version, except for a minor marring point, 19:9b-llab.[1] For the actual theophany-level of spirituality he postulates a date after the first prophets. In his reconstruction Morgenstern suggests that it was in reality an old Kennite shrine to which Elijah had fled. It would seem that Elijah had originally been from the South where he had gained much from the Rechabites, although he modified much of it. Morgenstern bases this claim on textual evidence. He would suggest that תִּשְׁבִּי does not refer to a village but is really a derivative of יָשַׁב, to sojourn. Thus, Elijah sojourned but did not come from Tishbe. He attributes such an interpretation to the prophetic preference of the Northern Kingdom. He says, further that the fact that the article is used with "cave" shows that it was a specific cave that was mentioned, a Kennite shrine where theophanies might be expected. He says that if Elijah covered his face before going to the mouth of the cave, he did so because he was expecting God. The present arrangement of verses

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1 Pfeiffer, Op. Cit., p.405.

will not allow that. But if we accept the idea of the shrine, then the reworking that Mergenstern presents is in a measure justified. The adducing of the article as proof is attacked by the reasoning and grammatical analysis of Norman Snaith,[1] who says in effect that the article is used because the cave had been mentioned shortly before. The translation "a" is to be preferred, according to the normative usage. Mergenstern does allow a theophany but only a very primitive one, "...with all the romantic and spiritualizing elements removed."[2] His position might be stated thus: After fleeing from Jezebel, Elijah had an experience of God which encouraged him. Later sources raised up the spiritual level by contrasting a gentle voice with the rears of wind and fire and earthquake, with the implication that the gentle voice was more spiritual. These additions are from the period following the 8th century prophets.

Pfeiffer suggests that only the Naboth story belongs to the First edition of Kings.[3] Both the Carmel and the Horeb narratives belong to the second edition, which Bewer dates as half way through the sixth century.[4] That is, after Deuteronomy. This seems important because it indicates in some measure the progressive, accretive nature of the documents.

On the basis of such evidence it seems safe to assume that the figure of Elijah as he appears at present is a combination of historic fact and legend. The position that these legends are distinctly Deuteronomic might well be strengthened. The Deuteronomic elements in the Carmel

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1 Snaith, N. Notes on The Hebrew Text of Kings, London, 1954, pp.62,32.
2 Mergenstern, Op. Cit., p.35
3 Pfeiffer, Op. Cit., p.408.
4 Bewer, Op. Cit., p.xiv.

prayer have been touched upon. The fact that the commission is considered to be a transfer from Elisha to Elijah is suggestive.[1] It might be taken to point to the implementing of the dignity and the importance of Elijah as the principle hero of the land, to whom should be ascribed all the greater majesty and moment. Or so seems the argument in Montgomery.

The treatment of Ahab in the Naboth-story seems to show a strong prophetic bias. He is presented as being weak and ineffective, the mere tool of Jezebel. He is an idolater who "walked in the sins of Jeroboam. "He had acquiesced in the promotion of Baal worship. (I Kings 21). Such a conception is derogatory in the extreme. On the other hand, in the "Annals of the Royal House of Omri" is seen in a much more favorable light. He is a brave and capable soldier, well thought of by the people. He was the hero of the battle of Karkar. Of the two versions, probably the second has more accuracy, although there was perhaps some justification for considering him as allowing Jezebel to assert her strength.

There is also the question of the miracles ascribed to Elijah. H.W. Robinson makes the point that miracles in the Old Testament are merely extraordinary happenings in Nature. The conception of the more obscure laws of Nature was too sophisticated for the people to grasp, so they explained the apparent discrepancy by referring it to one of the many superhuman forces in Nature.[2] It was by no means necessary to assume that such a force was God in the ordinary sense of the term.

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1 Montgomery, Op. Cit.,p.315.
2 Robinson, H.W., Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, Oxford, 1946, pp.12-16.

The miracles found credence only as they conformed to a preexisting religious pattern or were attached to a person of known reputation. The miracle connected with Elijah might well conform to the Deuteronomic pattern. Whether they were accepted as they were by Deuteronomic writers or whether they themselves implemented them, is a question which the present writer must leave in suspense. It is perhaps true, however, that the ascent of Elijah in the fiery chariot, as it conforms to the pattern of solar mythology, might show the evidence of greater editing. The healing of the widow's son, the 40 days in the wilderness--all seem to present a hero who was faithful to Yahweh and attentive to the needs of his people and who was later raised to great and glorious heights.

Montgomery presents a series of readings-back and shifting of verse-origins, which, if they are correct would show a considerable manipulating of the text and ideas on the part of the editors. He considers that II Kings 9:25 is proof that I 21:27ff was a later oracle put in Elijah's mouth.[1] The passage originated at the time of Jehu. He speaks of the work of Jehu as a prophet-inspired revolt against Ahab's dynasty, and dates it as contemporary with the events it describes. It had the approval of the prophetic schools and originated there.[2] In II 9:36, he sees the original of Elijah's words in I 21:23. Oesterley and Robinson call the work of Jehu and Hazael, the "Prophetic Revolution."[3]

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1 Montgomery, Op. Cit., p.402.
2 Ibid., p.399.
3 Oesterley and Robinson, Op. Cit., p.338.

Conclusion

This, then was the personage who was to receive God's great word for the cleansing of his people. The Deuteronomy editors had, as it were, considered that the historical figure of Elijah as the appropriate receiver of God's word; but upon that historic figure they built a Man of God. They chose the Horeb theophany as the appropriate place to insert the message.

The conclusions may be stated as follows:

1. In his own right Elijah was an eminent, dominating personality who had captured popular approval and was known for his intrepid loyalty to the God of Israel.

2. Upon this historic figure the later Deuteronomy-writers superimposed distinctively Deuteronomic characteristics, thus presenting an enlarged, semi-legendary personality.

3. In reflecting over the past events of the two kingdoms, and especially the acts of Jehu and Hazael, they believed they saw God's hand therein. Having performed God's will, the chief personalities of his day must have recognized it as such. That would only be possible if it had been revealed to them. Elijah was the medium of that revelation.

The Horeb commission thus emerges as a concrete example of God's direct personal participation in the on-going events of His people, Israel.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusions

Synopsis

The conclusion is divided into two parts: the History and the Historian(s).

The Treatment of the History is as follows:

1. The Motivation of History is the Election by Yahweh of the nation of Israel and his guidance of her destiny through Patriarch and Prophet.

2. The Sphere of History is the course of events of this world and the free, willing acceptance of Yahweh's Plan as the normative standard of living.

3. The Goal of History is the responding Community. Apart from the Community there was less chance of enjoying Yahweh's Blessings and Purpose, although this does not take away individual dignity. Its purpose is to glorify Yahweh and witness to His Love and Guidance.

The Historian is considered an earnest didactician who is inculcating moral and ideological truths rather than recording objective facts. These truths are considered valid because they arise as much out of human experience with Yahweh as from any formulation or code. This Deuteronomic History is considered a legitimate History because it records vividly and critically the growth of normative ideological and spiritual truth.

We have surveyed the career of the Hebrews from the first period of the Patriarchs up until the destruction of the national consciousness at the time of the Exile. That this had been the over-all and unified experience of a particular people and nation was the conviction of the Deuteronomic School of Historians who edited the books from Joshua to II Kings, and who had seen the hand of Yahweh in all the significant events of that nation's life. They had seen that Hand so clearly that they could not avoid the position that without Yahweh History were impossible, but that with Him the course of events could lead to success and to the fulfilling of man's innate nature. In these concluding pages it is the task of the present writer to bind together the thought of these writers in terms of their convictions of the relation of Yahweh to the on-going process of History.

The Ground and Motivation of History

The most fundamental starting-point of the Deuteronomic History is not the Exodus and the wilderness wanderings, although that is perhaps where form-criticism would have us begin and where Deuteronomy makes its first presentation of the idealized Moses. Rather, this starting-point is the deliberate Plan Yahweh had for His creation. The Deuteronomist took over many of the Hebraic teachings and used them for the basis for his often optimistic estimate of man. This was consistent with his conviction that he was going along with what was best in the thought of his people as well as adding distinctive features of his own. Many adjacent religions had pictured the gods as remaining mostly in a

heavenly paradise or visiting earth for erratic or less than creditable reasons. But the Hebraic tradition which the Deuteronomist accepted presents the Deity as careful and consistent in creation and as willing to develop and guide the temporal realm through an orderly Plan and a worthy Purpose. Man is created with rational and moral sense so that he can respond to Yahweh and have a share in His works. Although such a conviction was undoubtedly current before the prophetic period, still it was taken up by the Deuteronomist and made part and parcel of that Community which was later to be the bearer of revelation and moral knowledge. The characteristic Deuteronomic appeal to the whole person were impossible apart from this basic position that man is able to receive the gifts that Yahweh is intent that he shall have.

Hence, man is never merely an appendage to creation or an arbitrary toy of the gods; rather, he is an integral part of the creative process and as he rises above such a level he is part of God's own Purpose. When Yahweh called Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees He was carrying out a phase of His Purpose rather than doing something entirely new.[1] Abraham was to be a free moral instrument through whom Yahweh was to start off His people in the way that He would have them go. Through all the channels of worship, loyalty, love and faith Yahweh would draw men to himself in Communion and in bountiful gifts. Even though it is true that the nation was not thus chosen and granted status until the time of Moses, still it seems justifiable to say that the Doctrine of Election had its

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1 Wright considers J to have been the starting-point of the Election-Doctrine. IB, "The Faith of Israel", Vol.I, Nashville, 1952, p.353.

beginnings when Abraham became the first instance of Yahweh's willingness to deal with His people for their good and for His glory. This is Election from God's side.

But man also had a share. He was never a puppet but had within him the power to delay the Purposes of Yahweh or to lay them temporarily aside. His share in the program of Election was a real one; and Deuteronomy[1] indicates this. Man at his best had a sense of involvement with Yahweh. The Greek and Roman stoics might speak of a rather detached ἐμπειρίαν as the source of ethics but this would have been most objectionable to the prophets and seers. For them the source of justice was Yahweh's will and תּוֹרָה the product of the order and pattern which an active and sympathetic Deity had imparted to creation.[2] Apart from this sense of mutual involvement there could be no justice or Purpose. In significant ways the conception of covenant had arisen out of this involvement. Until man makes a deliberate response, the Covenant remains repugnantly abstract and inoperative. It exists because God has called and elected the people of Israel to Himself and they have responded. The ground and sphere of history becomes the working out of the Covenant.

Therefore, to the Deuteronomist, History is quite impossible without Yahweh's initiatory acts and man's highly conscious response. The formulated result of this is תּוֹרָה. It is not Law in the modern institutional sense or in the Roman sense of Ius. Rather, it is first

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1 Deuteronomy 6:4. The whole person is involved.
2 Snaith, op.cit., pp.59-60.

and foremost the expression of Yahweh's creative will and sympathy. תורה became law because Yahweh had used it for the regulation of his peoples' lives.[1] The History of the Election was carried forward because Abraham had had the courage to trust Yahweh and had gone off from the known to the unknown. Abraham obeyed because he trusted. The delayed Plan again moved forward when Moses took upon himself the responsibility of leading a slave-people away from lethargy and rudimentary necessities into a trackless wilderness. The History marched forward when David responded to Yahweh and built the righteous Monarchy out of the raw materials offered by actual life. Over and over again it had been proven that when man will answer to Yahweh's Will and Purpose he will be guided and helped, and his life will issue in satisfaction and success. Through the exerting of his most distinctively human qualities -- love, hope, loyalty, etc. -- man had answered the Divine Call to involve himself in the on-going Plan of Yahweh. Thus, there could be History.

When we turn to Deuteronomic Historians we find an example of this involvement is what Von Rad calls the "Deuteronomic Theology of History."[2] The principle purpose of History is to demonstrate the congruence between the creative word of Yahweh and the actual course of events. In this way it could be demonstrated that Yahweh was in active control over History. Following is an extract from Von Rad's formulation:

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1 Wright, op. cit., (Deuteronomy), pp.312-313.
2 Von Rad, op.cit., pp.78-83.

Prophecy:
II Sam., 7:13 — Yahweh establishes the Temple, but David's son will build it.

Fulfillment:
I Kings, 8:20

Prophecy:
I Kings, 11:29ff. — Ahijah prophecies that ten of the tribes will be taken from Solomon's kingdom.

Fulfillment:
I Kings, 12:15ff.

Prophecy:
Joshua, 6:26. — To rebuild Jericho, the foundation-stone must contain the body of the King's child.

Fulfillment:
I Kings, 16:34, with Hiel.

Because the Deuteronomist felt that there was this congruence between the course of events and Yahweh's creative and purposive Will there could be History. The relation between human acts and the divine Will had been established: Yahweh had sent forth His Intent and sensitive, responsible men had answered freely. When we turn to the Sphere of History (section following) we may see further evidence of this encounter of Yahweh's purpose with human life.

The Sphere of History

The scope and goodly pattern of creation as well as the prophetic experience of Yahweh had suggested that He was far above the erratic and arbitrary acts of other gods and such a conviction found its great expression in the call of Isaiah. (6:1-7) But Yahweh was also immanent if it met with His purpose to be so. It is part of the abiding quality

of the prophetic writings that they present Yahweh as acting anthropomorphically. Yet it is an acceptable and edifying anthropomorphism. The Prophet Hosea goes very far in this direction to arrive at his momentous insights.[1] As Yahweh wills to make himself immanent so does the realm of events become the sphere of History. The events, hopes and plans of men are taken up into the mind of Yahweh.

In what is truly significant man acts because he is responding to the continuing activity of Yahweh.[2] This is different from the Greek experience of ἐν θεῷ , since in the Deuteronomic History man continues to act according to the higher interests of this present life rather than being spirited away from this life and favored with a temporary waiving of the conditions of finiteness.. When Yahweh wished to influence men He did so by indicating an additional dimension to the life already lived. Otto's "neumineus," or irrational factor in religion, would have met with rather severe criticism from the Deuteronomic Thinkers.

Because man had been endowed with moral sense he is responsible for his acts. They become the picture and index of his character. Because Yahweh's Will came in terms of events and great persons -- and because these were in the temporal stream of events -- the acts and intentions of men became of crucial importance. Thycydides tended to minimize this by claiming that an individual person had status only as he became a

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1 Hosea, 11:8.
2 Simpson, C.A., Revelation and Response in the Old Testament, New York, 1947, p.13.

part of the πόλις[1], and to do so he had to give up a good part of his individuality.[1] But this was never true to nearly the same degree with the Deuteronomic Historian. What we have in the History is a series of vivid portraits illustrating the free-will acceptance or rejection of the Divine Purpose. Man has the choice either to accept the Plan of Yahweh and to go on to a good life or to reject it and to trust in the erratic course of events for temporary success or failure. In stressing the direct relation between the ethical act and the Deity these thinkers were able to avoid the insidious pitfalls of a deified arbitrary factor, τύχη, which frequently raised the course of events radically above and beyond man's control. But in the Deuteronomic History the statement is frequently made that the cause of tragedy had been the cumulative effect of deliberate acts of sin and rebellion, rather than the imperious decrees of Fate.

This is important because it goes so far in explaining so much of the Deuteronomic emphasis on personality and which has made the biographical treatment of David such a monument of ancient literature. Because the moral personality is so significant, the Historian has used what Montgomery has called, the "Historical Story."[2] History results from the attitude of the autonomous man toward the purpose which Yahweh had set for His creation. The contents of his History are often partisan..." for it is what a nation thinks of itself, its origins and its future, that serves to make history, quite as much as the current

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1 The Greeks, H.D.F. Kitto, (Pelican Books), Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1956, pp.65, 65-79.

2 Montgomery, op. cit., p.25.

facts."[1] The liaisen between Yahweh and the historical precess is the character of human response.. When men are attracted by the value and beauty of the moral life there is satisfaction and success; but when they delay His Purpose they incur that wrath which is a necessary condition to the solid character of His justice.

Such a consideration is both expansive and humbling; expansive because it grants to man a lofty status; and humbling, because it places him in the very context of the Divine Plan. Although the conception of election underlies the relations between Yahweh and the nation of Israel, still that Election was not for comfort or to render the nation cultically exceptional to all the exigencies and dangers of real life. Rather, it was a call to service and it made strict demands upon these factors of personality and moral will which would involve a person in real life.[2] Within the Deuteronomic framework man renders himself most acceptable to Yahweh when he practises the virtues of love, justice and forebearance, these qualities acquired when man attempts to live in close quarters with man.

The sphere of History, then, is this present life with all its requirements and all its real success and failure. Its participants are Yahweh with His Plan and Purpose and morally responsible men who are called into a voluntary covenant and who can render service to Yahweh through their ethical and spiritual reactions. Hence, the method of History is the recording of the acts and decisions of men as they live out their lives.[3]

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1 loc. cit.

2 See p.59ff of the present writing for the contrast between comfort and service in the Day of the Lord Doctrine. Rowley says that the Election was honorable rather than arbitrary because it was a call to service. In The Rediscovery of the Bible, Philadelphia, 1940, p.90.

3 The methodology of the History will be more fully treated later. It is mentioned here as the appropriate consequence of the moral integrity of men.

The Goal of History

For the Deuteronomic Historian the goal of History was the Righteous Community, the Community of persons who were able and willing to respond to Yahweh and serve Him with their whole lives. Previous to the Exile there was a minimum of personal mysticism such as we have in the so-called Apocryphal period. All the goodness of Yahweh's promises was to be enjoyed within the fellowship of the Community.

This was the working-out of Yahweh's Plan; it was, according to the Deuteronomist, the last and culminating stage of His purpose for His people. This goal of the Folk of Yahweh had been provided for since the beginning. It was implicit in and necessary to the Patriarchal traditions and had provided the interpretation which preserved the Patriarchs and joined them in a line of pious men who were looking forward to and aiding the work of Yahweh. The combination of Sinai Law and the eighth century prophetic criticism based on that law resulted in Deuteronomy[1] which was the source of statute and inspiration for the Community.

Hence, the great events of Hebrew History -- the pilgrimages of the Fathers, the wondrous event of the Exodus,[2] the growth of the Monarchy, the saving of Jerusalem in 721 -- were not disparate events; they were all relevant to Yahweh's great Purpose. They were signs that He had involved Himself in the on-going process of Israel's career so

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1 See p.80 of the present thesis.

2 According to Rowley, it was only by experience of Yahweh's abiding love that the people were able to relate the Exodus-miracle with their subsequent national life; it was never a separate incident. Rowley, op. cit., p.85.

that He could take the nation to himself and train it to do His will in the world. This was rendered explicit by the Deuteronomist when he made a deliberate identification of the Patriarchal traditions with the Exodus Deliverance and the anticipation of the settled Community.[1]

The goal was not one imposed upon intractable or inappropriate material. It was within reach of human beings and was attainable through the exercise of human faculties. It was the task of the Law to guide, prune and refine essential humanity toward the purpose of Yahweh. "But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."[2] The Law and the Promises had over and over again found an answering ring in human experience. One of the most attractive qualities of the Hebraic legal and prophetic corpus is its comparative sanity and normalcy. This is never to say that the Code is merely humdrum or commonplace; hardly, it is inspiring and worthy of the greatest striving. But nonetheless it is within the realm of human personality to do the will of Yahweh as He has revealed it.

This carries with it the important corollary that the Plan will go forward or will be delayed as man either cooperates or sets himself to be rebellious. Although he is carried along by this Plan, he is never so engulfed in it that he cannot step aside and evaluate it. Both Moses and Josiah are portrayed as leading the people into a voluntary

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1 Deuteronomy, 7:7, 8, 12-13.
2 Ibid., 30:14.

acceptance and praise of the Law rather than forcing them to submit to a burdensome yoke. This was never a case of a benumbing cultic-ban but rather one of stimulating the people to highly self-conscious times of repentance and inward moral change. Yahweh never violated human freedom, He set before men the facts of a moral universe and let them draw the natural conclusion that eager acceptance of His Purposes meant the fullest enjoyment and understanding of human life; and rejection of it meant the frustration of their very nature.

Hence, it would appear that the goal of History, according to the Deuteronomic Historian, is the Community of pious, responsive men. They were to enjoy the gifts of life and to rejoice in the governance of Yahweh. Through the excercise of justice and mercy they were to so rule their lives that they would realize that the function of their human striving and the Plan which Yahweh had set for them were identical.

The Achievement of a Unified Tradition and Normative Criteria

Montgomery quotes J.T. Shotwell who considers the Deuteronomic History a "...record of national tradition."[1] This is one of the most important reasons why the History is so important; it records the best thoughts and feelings of the nation concerning its place in the Purpose of Yahweh rather than being satisfied with the somewhat lesser considerations of mere factual deposit. This sense of a unified national tradition

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1 Montgomery, op. cit., p.26.

was long in coming but when it did come it was with the great force of seeming-inevitability and experience.

In this tradition the Intent of Yahweh was clear in its outlook and irresistible in its effect upon the sensitivities of the Deuteronomic Writers. This conception of unity was not merely a convenient formulation or academic construct; it was the result of diligent enquiry into the actual events of the nation's career as seen in the light of Yahweh's revelation of Himself, in the Election and Deliverance of Israel.

Out of this tradition arose the keenest tool of the Historian, an external standard of Judgement. By it he could evaluate the life of the people and the course of events. The criteria were two: the degree of fidelity to the Yahweh of the Fathers and the community's performance in being an exclusive witness to the goodness of her God. When confronted with these standards the more sensitive people realized how far they had strayed, both from Yahweh's Plan and from their own nature in their defection and in their being satisfied with less than the lofty and beneficial Law. The Judgements the Historian inflicted upon the nation were severe and perhaps harsh but they were never intended to be arbitrary or vindictive. They had arisen out of the cumulative attitudes and experiences of the people themselves. They had arisen as much from their knowledge of tragedy as from the moral character of Yahweh. The Judgements had been vindicated by the course of events.[1] When the people lost a vital perception of His purpose they lost cohesive feeling

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1 So, presumably, Isaiah interpreted the saving of Jerusalem, II Kings, 19:35.

feeling and were thus prey for any well organised,aggressive nation. But when they realised that the Law of Yahweh was for their good and would bring them to a solid and just state of living, then the nation was a sound and formidable enemy. The final, bleak days before the Exile were proof enough that because of their sin the people had lost Yahweh's protection and His near Presence. The result was fear, uncertainty and the loss of all that had made life worth living. Hence it was that the people had not to do with a pedantic formulation but with inescapable realities.

The Deuteronomist as Historian

Having dealt with the questions of Motivation, Sphere and Goal in History, we may pass on to the questions of method in Deuteronomic Historiography.

Because History is human response to Yahweh's initiatory Election, Covenant and Guidance, the question immediately arises, How did the Historian examine and report the career of the nation of Israel?

The Method

It is immediately apparent to the reader that he has to do with a series of personalities more than with either events or institutions -- indeed, both these arose because Yahweh had first had fruitful communion with a responsible person. This is not the somewhat suspect aetiology of some of the early Greek writers such as Pindar or Homer, who elaborated the chance encounters of mortals with demigods or silly goddesses. Rather

it meant a great beginning and a time of Promise and Covenant. Both Abraham at Mamre and Jacob at Peniel received greater dignity and were from thenceforth involved as examples par excellence of striking personalities who were to be used by Yahweh while yet retaining the clarity of Reason and the force of Will. Amos proclaims, "Thus has Yahweh said...", the verb is in the perfect.[1] After Yahweh spoke Amos made the message his own and then delivered it to the people. In a very real sense, therefore, the Deuteronomic History can be looked upon as res gestae.[2] Although the Historian might not have quite as much freedom as Collingwood would prefer him to have; still, there is a profound respect for human freedom of will. The present writer feels that with all due respect for the ability and accomplishment of Collingwood, that he unduly minimizes the Hebrew Historians when he considers them to be so closely bound to a rigid pattern that they cannot present real persons.[3] To the contrary, History becomes possible only when Yahweh's Plan is in operation through distinctly human qualities and motivations. It was the frequent complaint of the prophets that though the people knew about the will of Yahweh they did very little about it. The Deuteronomic Code has to do with human relationships in the eyes of Yahweh, and in Josiah's Reformation -- which was the Code's great inaugural setting -- there is a drawing of the general public into the orbit of its demands and blessings.[4] This brings us to one of the most compelling features of the Deuteronomic History; namely, the moral here. The History is given

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1 נְאֻם, Amos, 1:3
2 Collingwood, op. cit., p.9.
3 Ibid., p.17.
4 II Kings, 23:1-3.

both direction and unity through a line of great heroes and public figures who do Yahweh's will and lead the people therein. From Abraham up until Josiah the people are either edified or led astray through the full effort and dedication of individuals to either laudable or unworthy ends. Because Yahweh acted in this way He showed that His purpose could be put to use in the world of affairs and that through that milieu His Will might be known and lived by men.

The Historian's method was also to limit extended treatment to those situations which he considered critical so far as Yahweh's dealings with the nation were concerned. Hence, we have both telescoping and rearrangement of events. An obvious example is the treatment of the fall of Solomon's throne. Although secular factors had so very much to do with it, such as extravagant spending which caused increased poverty or the gradual break-up of the outlying portions of the Kingdom, the reason given most prominence is that Solomon was too lax in his religious exclusivism.[1] This is also true about certain areas of life. So long as a king had succeeded in avoiding the sins of Jeroboam he was held in the esteem of the Deuteronomic Historian, but no amount of civil excellence could atone for defection. The dominant interest, -- indeed the very justification of the Deuteronomic History, was its clear and strong claim to knowing the Judgements of Yahweh. All that did not concern these Judgements was irrelevant and could be summarily

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1 I Kings, 11:1-11.

dismissed. The principal area was worship. It was through the maintenance of pure worship that Israel could bring itself closer to Yahweh; and hence the record of either loyalty or defection was the index of the nation's performance in the only things that really mattered.

These practices of presenting a series of personalities in critical situations and areas led to the suppression of materials. The Historian had a dominant interest and an ever-present passion; namely, the prophetic pragmatism, to maintain that blessing followed obedience and that disaster followed sin. He therefore chose those documents and events which supported his thesis. He was writing on a broad scale and was more concerned to present general truths through representative figures than to give a comprehensive and complete account of Israel's history.[1]

This sort of methodology was clearly governed by the writer's presuppositions and didactic purpose. It is rather doubtful that the Deuteronomic writer was producing an objective history; for if so, he seems to have failed rather miserably. Rather, the present writer feels that it was his purpose to write a didactic treatise devoted to the inculcating of certain lessons which he considered indispensable. It was his purpose to teach the nearness of Yahweh and to insist that apart from Him there could be no History or Purpose in life. It was his task to teach that apart from Him and from wholehearted obedience there could be neither individual well-being nor national solidarity.

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1 Such accounts existed in contemporary records and were, presumably, available for interested persons.

his greatest justification for the severe and searching social criticism. The prophets were able advocates for either the grace or the condemnation of Yahweh because they were so well informed as to the essential faults and weaknesses of their time. The Deuteronomic Code was so well able to lead because it gave scope to essential conditions of human life. Hence, the Judgements and Blessings which it brings are from a God who is vitally concerned with persons as persons and Who evaluates their performance by an attainable standard.

This being true, then the writer has a right, so to speak, to judge. He is using no artificial standard or one that is cultically exceptional from real life. His condemnation of the Jerobeam type of king is that they did not use their humanity correctly; his glowing praise of David and Josiah is evoked by their giving their lives up to Yahweh and receiving back the satisfactions of righteous living.

The reliability of the Deuteronomic History is thus seen to lie mainly in the area of ideology and didactic materials. It is no minimal consideration. By her teachings rather than by her political history Israel has lived, whereas more politically powerful and advanced nations have only an antiquarian interest for the present day. But the measure of the abiding quality of Israel's ideological teaching is our ability to consider their very genuinely human insights as being somehow within the very nature of God. Only because they lived so intensely in this world were they able to discover its meanings and to pass on that meaning in terms of admirable or ignoble persons or through the pressure of circumstances on mind and spirit.

It was his purpose to induce a right spirit in the people, both of penitence for sin and confidence in Yahweh's ability and desire to be the Guardian of their nation. It was also a part of his teaching that Time and the stream of events were real rather than either illusory or cut off from the Present. From this came the significant conception of Living Tradition. Beneath the layer of real differences between periods and environment was the sure conviction that Yahweh must be served in every generation according to its needs. Because History involved the active participation of both Yahweh and Israel, and the other nations as they impinged upon Israel's career, the Temporal Realm became tremendously important; it was the sphere of history, the overall occasion and opportunity for knowing His Will. It was the atmosphere of will, emotion, hope, disappointment, success, failure -- in other words, of personality.

This leads us to the vital question of the reliability of the Deuteronomic History; does it present us with a reliable guide to the events and personages of the period? The present writer feels that it is eminently reliable as a didactic and ideological record of the works of Yahweh with His people. However, its overt practice of suppression renders it factually unreliable.

However true this may be of the treatment of precise details, it is surely most untrue of the treatment of moral questions. It was the Historian's conviction that the great issues arose from the very nature of life and were in no sense exempt from any part of life.

The present writer has carried on a study of the Deuteronomic Interpretation of History and has discovered oft-reiterated themes.

God is involved in History and will bring to it either blessings or retributive judgements.

Individual persons are significant and are never to be completely subsumed into a group or even an ideology. They retain their ability to make deliberate choices and contributions to the on-going life of the nation.

The greatest possible success is to be found in doing Yahweh's will. To accomplish this is to find oneself guided and sustained by the most beneficial Truths and the clearest Light of all Creation.

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Abbreviations

AJSL	American Journal of Scientific Languages and Literature
CB	Cambridge Bible
CeB	Century Bible
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IB	Interpreter's Bible
ICC	International Critical Commentary
OTMS	Old Testament and Modern Study
TC	Torch Commentary
US	Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien
WC	Westminster Commentary