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Texts, Temples, and Traditions

A Tribute to Menahem Haran

Edited by

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EISEN BRAUNS
Winona Lake, Indiana
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G. Garbin has been suggesting lately for other cases? A satisfactory answer to these questions has not yet been given and will hardly be given for some time to come, and so the scholar is left with an unsolved crux. Whether Gen 6:4 is a late or an early part of the text, its meaning cannot be adequately explained.

This leaves us with the word nēḇīlim. The term is rare: it appears only in Num 13:33 and in our text. A proposal to read the word also in Ezek 32:27, instead of the MT’s nēḇīlīm5 has been made in the past but has no textual backing. An etymology from the root n-p-l seems to be obvious but does not lead anywhere,6 and thus it may be better to drop it altogether. The parallelism in Num 13:33 allows us to conclude that there the word means ‘giants’, as in 1QapGen (= 1Q20) II 1, and this is what one finds in the LXX of Gen 6:4: oἱ ἄγγελοι τοῖς ἄνθρωποι, Aquila has oĩ ἁγιασθοντες, again deriving the word from nāpūl. The Targum goes in the same direction, but Symmachus reads oĩ ἰδίοις ‘the violent ones’, and the same pattern is followed for ʿanāšē ḫasšām at the end of the text, where Aquila has oĩ ὄσκετος. The Vulgate has gigantes and potentes, respectively.

The last verse of our text states that “in those days” there were nēḇīlīm “on earth,” “when the sons of the gods had intercourse with the daughters of men”; but not, as in Numbers 13, where the word appears this time in parallelism with ḥaggūḇōrōm. It therefore seems rash to identify the gīḇhōrōm with the offspring of these marriages, even if it were from the point of view of history of religions and folklore the most obvious suggestion. Gīḇhōrōm in the Hebrew Bible are, except when the reference is to Yhwh, heroes in the sense of warriors, without any supernatural connotation. Although in Western languages the word can lend itself to mystical interpretations, such a rendering is impossible for the Hebrew word.

However, in later times the text was used in various ways. In the New Testament, Jude (v. 6) seems to interpret the Genesis 6 passage as referring to the fall of rebellious angels; apocalyptic, intertestamental literature appears to have been well aware of the Genesis text (see Enoch 6:1ff), as were the Enoch fragments from Qumran published by J. T. Milik, who even suggests that Genesis 6 is a summary (and an intentionally faulty one at that) of the original of the text in Enoch.

Be that as it may, the present function of the text is to show the increase of sin among human beings; and this increase is one of the prerequisites for the Flood. Therefore the exact meaning of the text seems not even to have been important to the author(s). What really matters was to show that humanity deserved the deluge, something that was inadequately stated in 6:5ff. And this could favor a connection with vv. 5–7.

4. G. Garbin, oral communication.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE END OF DeUTERONOMY (DeUTERONOMY 34:10–12)

Jeffrey H. Tigay

Never again did there arise in Israel a prophet like Moses, whom the Lord singled out, face to face, for the various signs and portents that the Lord sent him to display in the land of Egypt, against Pharaoh and all his courtiers and his whole country, and for all the great might and awesome power that Moses displayed before all Israel (Deut 34:10–12, resp.).

The statement at the end of Deuteronomy that Moses was never equalled by another prophet has attracted relatively little attention. Perhaps scholars have implicitly agreed that this is Moses’ “literary epiphany” and hence deserves no more attention than is usually paid to epiphanies.1 But a moment’s reflection should suffice to indicate that the passage is more than that. It is hardly stereotypical. Biblical biographies of other great leaders usually end with their burial and do not go on to evaluate their role in history.2 As the final statement about Moses in a markedly ideological book, and as the book’s own conclusion,3 the passage is likely to have a significance that serves the ideological aims of the book as

Author’s note: Menahem Haran is a scholar whom I have long admired for the thoroughness and depth of his magisterial contributions to scholarship and the keen intuition that has led him into areas of research that many others had not suspected could be so rewarding. It is a pleasure for me to take part in this expression of esteem and gratitude for his many personal courtesies and for all that I have learned from his work.

a whole. Like the Bible's declarations about the incomparability of Yrwh, it may well have a polemical purpose.

Medieval Jewish writers were alert to the polemical possibilities of the passage. Combining it with Deut 4:2 and 13:1 ("You shall not add anything to what I command you or take anything away from it"), they understood it as asserting the supreme authority of Moses' Torah, forestalling attempts by later prophets to contradict or supersede Moses' Torah.4 These writers meant their interpretation as a rebuttal of Christianity and Islam, for which reason Maimonides held that belief in Moses' incomparability as a prophet is a dogma of Judaism.5 More recently, S. Dean McBride, avoiding the anachronism, observed that in biblical times the incomparability of Moses would have had the effect of making his Torah "the measure of truth by which all subsequent prophetic revelations were to be assessed and interpreted."6

Both of these views agree that Deut 34:10–12 underscores the superiority of Moses as a prophet of Yrwh; Moses' teachings are the most authentic expression of Yrwh's will because Yrwh favored him and dealt with him more directly than any other prophet (cf. Num 12:6–8). It goes without saying that Moses is also greater than prophets of other gods, but this is not the issue here (according to Deut 18:20, prophesying in the name of other gods is a capital crime). Here the aim of the text is to authenticate Moses' teachings against competing versions of Yahwistic revelation.

What competing versions might Deuteronomy have in mind? One possibility is suggested by the fact that the waw at the beginning of v. 10 could be adversative, meaning 'but', with the intention of contrasting Moses and Joshua; Joshua succeeded Moses but was not his equal. This would have the effect of subordinating the laws given by Joshua at Shechem (Josh 24:25–26) to those given by Moses. Another possibility is that the passage means to subordinate any aspects of later prophetic teaching that might be inconsistent with those of Moses, such as the classical prophets' critique of sacrifice.

These possibilities, however, are purely theoretical and do not correspond to Deuteronomy's express concerns. There is evidence, in Deuteronomy and in books describing conditions around the time that it was discovered, that some parties claimed that Yrwh authorized practices radically inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Deuteronomy. These parties were polytheistic Yahwists or, to borrow Morton Smith's term, "syncretistic Yahwists,"7 who claimed, among other things, that Yrwh commanded Israelites to offer child sacrifices and to worship his subordinates, the heavenly bodies and other gods, in addition to himself. In the following discussion I shall refer to them as polytheistic when I refer only to their advocacy of worshiping many gods, and as syncretistic when I include as well their advocacy of what the Bible considers to be distinctively pagan practices, such as child sacrifice.

That some Yahwists believed that Yrwh accepted human sacrifice is clear from the case of Jephthah and from other evidence to be cited below. It is also clear that there were polytheistic Yahwists in ancient Israel who worshiped Yrwh along with other deities. Joash had a Yahwistic theophoric name and told his son Gideon about Yrwh's wondrous deeds, but he also had a Baal altar and an asherah.8 Ahab gave his children Yahwistic names but worshiped Baal as well.9 Elijah's demand—characteristically monotheistic—that Israel stop "hopping on the two boughs" and choose between Yrwh and Baal implies that his audience was likewise worshiping both simultaneously.10 From the biblical point of view such polytheistic Yahwism is a contradiction in terms: worshiping other gods is by definition "abandonment" of Yrwh. But this definition is a dogmatic hyperbole.11 Polytheistic Yahwists would have rejected it because polytheists did not have to choose one god to the exclusion of others.

Evidence for syncretistic Yahwism is present in Deuteronomy itself and in sources describing conditions in the seventh century, when the book was developing. Although I have elsewhere expressed doubt that polytheism, including syncretistic Yahwism, was extensive in late monarchic times in Israel,12 syncretistic Yahwism enjoyed royal support and was perceived by monotheists as theoretically dangerous enough to require a strong response. Deuteronomy is aware of claims by syncretists that Yrwh wants Israelites to worship other gods alongside of him. This is clear from 17:3, which describes "the worship of other gods . . . the sun or the moon or any of the heavenly host" as "something which I (Yrwh) never commanded." The need to deny that Yrwh made

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4. Seforno: "No other prophet ever reached his level of prophecy and thus it is clear that no prophet is permitted to institute new laws henceforth" (cf. B. Sabbath 184a; see R. Pelcovitz, Seforno: Commentary on the Torah (Brooklyn, 1989) 2.903); Gersonides, ad loc. and lesson 15; Crescas, YESOD II, 4.3 (Viznus ed., 1859 45a [ref. courtesy of Daniel Lasker]); cited, with better reading [דַּעְתְּךָ], instead of [דַּעְתְּךָ], by Abrahavam, לֹאַ עַלִּם לְאִבִּי (Jerusalem, 1979) 354 col. ii. 5. Maimonides, Introduction to Perug Hefiq (m. Sanh. 10). 6. S. Dean McBride, "Biblical Literature in its Historical Context: The Old Testament," HBC (ed. J. L. Mays et al., San Francisco, 1988) 23. In a paper presented to the Biblical Colloquium in October, 1992, McBride suggested that the passage would have the effect of relativizing Ezekiel's "Torah" (Ezekiel 40–48) and subordinating it to that of Moses. This is certainly what happened to Ezekiel's Torah in late Second Temple times. Talmudic sources state that because it contradicts Moses' Torah, the book of Ezekiel would have been withdrawn from circulation (e.g., it had not been for one Nahash ben Hezekiah who found ways to harmonize it with Moses' Torah (b. Sabbath 136b). In what follows, I attempt to explain the passage in the light of Deuteronomy's own emphases.

9. 1 Kings 16:32, 22:40; 2 Kings 3:1, 10, 18.
10. 1 Kings 18:21.
11. Because the Bible demands exclusive loyalty to Yrwh, it hyperbolically characterizes the worship of other gods as abandonment of him, since whatever relationship the idolater continues to maintain with Him is meaningless. Note how Isa 1:11–15 scolds Israel for lavishly (though hypercritically) maintaining Yrwh's worship, while vv. 4 and 28 accuse them of "abandoning," "spurning," and "turning their backs on" him. Compare also Jer 2:4–13 and 17 with 7:9–10 and 14.
such a command implies that others claimed that he did. Some commentators take “which I never commanded” as a case of litotes, a figure of speech in which a positive idea is expressed by negating its contrary, meaning “which I commanded not to do” (compare “not a few” meaning “many”). However, the same phrase appears several times in Jeremiah, where God describes child sacrifice as something “which I never commanded, never decreed, and which never came to my mind” (Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35). There the phrase is not a litotes (“never came to my mind” hardly means “came to my mind not to do”) but a denial of something that others claimed was true. It appears from Ezek 20:25–26 that some people claimed that YHWH did require child sacrifice; this is the claim that Jeremiah is rejecting. In Deut 17:3, therefore, “something I never commanded” is meant to deny claims that YHWH ordains the worship of certain other gods. Just as human sacrifice had advocates in Jeremiah’s time claiming divine authority, the polytheism rejected by Deuteronomy must have been supported by similar claims in the period preceding the book’s composition. We do not know who made such claims, but they clearly included Manasseh and Amon, the kings of Judah who established the worship of other gods in the temple of YHWH.

It would have seemed perfectly natural to polytheistic Yahwists that YHWH authorized the worship of other deities, conceived as his subordinates. Even the monotheistic text of the Torah states that God granted the heavenly bodies dominion (Gen 1:16, 18), and Deuteronomy acknowledges that he ordained the worship of the heavenly bodies by other nations (4:19). An Israelite polytheism, such as that of the Hebrews of the 8th century BCE, could be thought of as a natural progression of the Yahwistic monotheism of the days of Moses and Joshua.


15. Cf. Spivey Deuteronomy 1418. This commandment “includes one who joins (YHWH’s name to idols),” that is, who worships YHWH along with other gods (see D. Z. Hoffman, מֵאָרוּץ חֶשֶׁר [Tel Aviv, 1999] 2:130).

16. See 2 Kgs 21:3–7; 23:4, 11. Those behind the pagan practices in the temple described in Ezekiel 8 must have made similar claims (as Morton Smith observed: “The temple was the temple of Yhwh; such things could not have happened in it without the consent and cooperation of the priests of Yahweh. This proves that the cult of Yahweth was not conceived as exclusive by the priests of his principal temple. Those who did conceive of it as exclusive were not at the time the official representatives of the country’s legally established religion’ [Palestinian Parties, 265]. However, all or most of these practices likely reflect the time of Manasseh, not Ezekiel; see Kaufmann, מֵאָרוּץ חֶשֶׁר; B. Spiegel and C. C. Torrey (New York, 1970) xx–xxv; contrast M. Smith, “The Veracity of Ezekiel, the Sons of Manasseh, and Jeremiah 44:181; ZAW 87 (1975) 11–16.

17. See also Deut 32:8–9 (reading בָּשָׂן in place of בָּשָׂב), with 4QDeut and LXX; Sjv 17, 17.

18. Cf. M. Greenberg, "Religion: Stability and Ferment," Culture and Society (WHPS 42; Jerusalem, 1979) 104. For pagan gods ordaining the worship of other gods or spirits, see Eusebius of Cæsarea, Onomasticon 1:10–20 (E. Abel, Akkadische Mythen und Epics, ATET 652); and Akkadian letters c and d (W. L. Moran, "Akkadian Letters," ATET 624). Even later monothelites at times made room for the worship of subordinate divine beings along with YHWH; Kauffmann notes the worship of saints and intercessors in Christianity and Islam and the rabbinic understanding of the scapheon as a prophetic offering to Samuel (Religion of Israel, 155–58; cf. Smith, Palestinian Parties, 218 n. 111). Note Josephus’ description of the morning prayers in the sun by the Essenes (who were no polytheists), “as though entrusting him to rise” (Josephus, Antiquities 2.518–29). The reasoning that would lead even a loyal worshiper of YHWH to think that the worship of the heavenly bodies and other gods in addition to himself was acceptable is spelled out by Maimonides in his explanation of the origin of paganism:

The Significance of the End of Deuteronomy

1. In the days of Enosh, the people [reasoned]: “Since God created these stars and spheres to guide the world, set them on high and allotted to them honor, and since they are ministers who minister before Him, they deserve to be praised and glorified, and honor should be rendered them; and it is the will of God . . . that men should aggrandize and honor those whom He aggrandized and honored, just as a king desires that respect should be shown to the officers who serve him, and thus honor is shown to the king.” [The people then began to honor these objects in order] to obtain the Creator’s favor . . . . Their error and folly consists in imagining that this vain worship is God’s desire . . . . Even if the worshiper is aware that the Eternal is God, and worships the created thing in the sense in which Enosh and his contemporaries did [i.e., as subordinates who manage the world under God’s orders], he is an idolater. —Maimonides, היסֵכט אֲשֶׁר צָהֵב זָהָב (1:11; 2:11) translation slightly modified, from M. Hyman, The Mishneh Torah by Maimonides, Book I (New York, 1937) 67a–b, and I. Tversky, ed., A. Maimonides Reader (New York, 1972) 71–72. For other commentators writing similarly, see S. Fraade, Enosh and His Generation (Chico, Calif., 1984) 129 n. 53.

Maimonides’ comment refers to the worship of natural phenomena. Nachmanides suggests that even the worship of foreign gods might be rationalized in a similar way (comment to Deut 13:2); the real likelihood of such reasoning explains why the Torah so frequently repeats the prohibition of worshipping other gods.

19. Various translations and commentaries use terms such as ‘disloyalty’, ‘rebellion’, ‘going astray’, and ‘apostasy’: LXX; G.; ἐνθαρρύνως καὶ πρεσβυτριώμαντας; Ibn Jambal in his dictionary; Bekker Shor; Ibn Ezra; Babyl. kvo; Mois; kvo; hevvo; 2d and subsequent editions (since 1966); niv; nfr; in; Smith, The Book of Deuteronomy, ICC; Meyers, Craigie.
means 'to claim falsely that YHWH said something'.

Since the prophet in Deuteronomy 13 has urged the worship of other gods, his falsehood about YHWH must have been a claim that he ordains the worship of those gods, the claim that we have seen is implied by 17:3. In other words, 13:2–6 does not refer to a prophet of another god, but to a prophet of YHWH who advocates the worship of additional gods.

If Deut 34:10–12 is indeed aimed against syncretistic Yahwism, the medieval writers cited above were right to connect the passage with 4:2 and 13:1, which forbid abrogating any of the laws taught by Moses or adding to them. Although this prohibition is well known as a general principle, in the context of Deuteronomy it has a specific focus. Each time it appears it is connected with warnings against adopting pagan practices. In 13:1 it concludes a warning not to adopt Canaanite religious practices, particularly child sacrifice, for the worship of YHWH (12:29–31) and it introduces the prohibition against following a prophet who claims that YHWH commands Israel to worship other gods (13:2–6). In 4:2 it precedes a reminder that all whom worshiped another god (Baal-pest) perished. Evidently, then, these passages cite the prohibition in order to stress that one may not nullify the commandments banning the worship of other gods (such as the first commandment of the Decalogue) and the adoption of pagan practices, or add commandments ordaining their worship or adoption of child sacrifice and other pagan practices.

It is likely that various other practices forbidden by Deuteronomy were also defended with claims of prophetic validation by YHWH. For example, the priests of the local sanctuaries that are forbidden in chap. 12 probably claimed that their sanctuaries and the sacred posts and pillars used at them (forbidden in 16:21–22) were erected at YHWH's command, just as the tabernacle, Solomon's Temple, Jacob's altar at Bethel, and the copper serpent were. Deut 34:10–12 would nullify the authenticity of any claims of this nature that are inconsistent with Mosaic prophecy.

Seen in this light, Deut 34:10–12 possesses significance worthy of its place as the conclusion of Deuteronomy. True to the "pluralism" that is inherent in polytheism, the Israelite polytheism combated by Deuteronomy and the rest of the Bible was essentially a syncretistic form of Yahwism, and its adherents included prophets who claimed that this syncretism was desired by YHWH. By reminding the reader that Moses, who forbade the worship of other gods and the adoption of pagan practices, was the supreme prophet of YHWH and hence the final authority on His will, Deut 34:10–12 undercuts all such claims in a final effort to safeguard the uncompromising monotheism that is its primary message.

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20. Suda: Rashi; Shadal here and at Isa 1:5; st. xerex (1st ed.; 1962); Chaim Rahbinowitsch, "Deuteronomy" (Jerusalem, 1957); A. E. Bahr, "Deuteronomic Studies: The Theological and Historical Foundations," in "Theological and Historical Foundations," ed. A. C. Coghill and J. D. Petruccelli (New York, 1986), pp. 121–33. As Shadal notes, abber sardor unreasonably means 'lai' in Jer 28:16, 29:32; and probably in Isa 59:13b, as does 'tes dyodi' in Deut 19:16 (et. v. 18). The cognate Akkadian expression to speak sarra for sarra, sarra] means both to tell lies and to propose disloyalty. In Biblical Hebrew, however, there are no convincing cases with the second meaning; in Jeremiah, the prophets are clearly not proposing rebellion against YHWH, if the idiom meant 'propose disloyalty' in Deut 13:6, it could have been used in v. 11, too.


24. The MT parasha division marks 13:1 as the conclusion of 12:29–31, from which M. Greenberg inferred that it may have been intended as a rejection of current claims that YHWH weds child sacrifice (Greenberg, "Ezekiel 20 and the Spiritual Exile," 437 n. 3). This does not negate the fact that 13:1 is also an apt introduction to 13:2–6 (as implied by 4:2–3 and sensed by Maimonides, "Hilkhoth De'at ha-Shem" 8:5, 9:1), since prophets who would instigate Israel to worship other gods in addition to YHWH would in effect be adding to his commandments or subtracting from them. Clauses about not adding or subtracting often refer to prophets, scribes, and messengers who must faithfully report what they have been told (see Jer 26:2, Rev 22:18–19; Josephus Ant. 1:17; Ezra Epic 5:43–44 [W. G. Lambert, "The Fifth Tablet of the Ezra Epic," Ira 24 (1962) 122–23]; J. A. Wilson, The Significance of the End of Deuteronomy 143
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25. Ibn Ezra recognized that "You shall have no other gods beside Me" (Exod 20:3, Deut 5:7) rules out worshipping other gods in combination with YHWH, as was done by those who worshiped matmar [this point] in Jellom (Jer 44:13), the first Samaritans (2 Kgs 17:33), and Naaman (2 Kgs 5:18) (Ibn Ezra, introduction to Exod 20) [ed. A. Winer, Jerusalem, 1976] 2:133). We may add that the phrase 'al pidut in the commandment may mean 'in addition to me'. Note the use of 'al in Laban's demand that Jacob not 'take other wives beside (al) my daughters' (Gen 31:50).

26. This interpretation of 4:2 is consistent with the fact that 4:1–40 is primarily concerned with preventing the worship of other gods, not simply with the integrity of Deuteronomy as a legal code. In fact, throughout Deuteronomy 4–11 the "laws and rules" that Moses expounds are usually those against idolatry (note, for example, 4:14 and the subject to which Moses turns after it). For this reason, Deut 4:2 is an appropriate beginning for chap. 4:11.


28. Strictly speaking, this passage emphasizes the authority of Moses, not of Deuteronomy, and would not by itself strengthen Deuteronomy's positions on matters where it disagreed with other Mosaic traditions in Exodous, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.