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DEUTERONOMY • דברים

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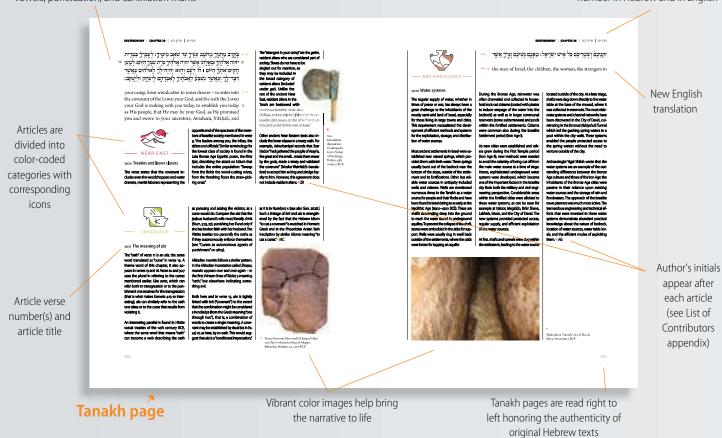
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How to Read This Book

Hebrew Tanakh text, in clear Koren font with vowels, punctuation, and cantillation marks

Page headers indicate book name and chapt number in Hebrew and in English



Section
introductions
indicate significant
themes in the
biblical narrative



helps the reader understand a main point made in the section introduction

Highlighted text



GEOGRAPHY

1:2 Horev

Horev (based on the root hrv, meaning "dryness") is the term used in Deuteronomy (in addition to a few references in Exodus) for Mount Sinai. Since many of the sites along the Israelites' journey through the wilderness have not been precisely identified, the route of the journey and identification of Mount Sinai remains uncertain. There are many theories about

the location of Mount Sinai; this article identifies only a few of them (see "Mount Sinai" in the Exodus volume of this series on page 92).

A Christian tradition established in the 4th century CE identifies Mount Sinai at Jebel Musa, in the southern Sinai Peninsula. This is the site popularly identified with Mount Sinai today, but there is no source connecting it to Mount Sinai before the Christian era. Biblical scholar Edward Robinson proposed that it is the mountain nearby, on the peak of Ras Safsafeh. Kadesh can be reached from this general area in eleven days, as stated in our verse, by traveling about 24 kilometers (approximately 15 miles) a day.

Major C.S. Jarvis, a British officer in the early 20th century, opposed locating Mount Sinai in the southern part of the Sinai Peninsula, pointing out its inhospitable, rugged terrain. He believed the site was Jebel Helal, an 890-meter (2,920-foot) mountain in the northern Sinai that stands alone on an otherwise flat plain some distance west of Kadesh Barnea. From here to Kadesh can also be an eleven-day journey.

Other scholars suggested a location in northern Arabia (ancient Midyan), or a peak on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Aqaba near Jebel el-Lawz. However, this area is considerably more than an eleven-day journey from Kadesh Barnea.

ZR



- GEOGRAPHY

1:2 Kadesh Barnea

Kadesh Barnea is the full name of the place sometimes simply called Kadesh ("holy place"), often used as an indicator of the southern border of the Promised Land (e.g., Num. 34:4; Josh. 15:3). It is identified with a large and very fertile oasis in the northeastern Sinai Peninsula containing four springs: Ain Qedeis (which preserves the biblical name of the place), Ain el-Qudeirat, el-Qoseimeh, and el-Muweilah. The springs are close to each other, and the term Kadesh Barnea may be referring to this oasis area in a general sense. Two important trade routes run through this area.

The Israelite encampment at Kadesh Barnea has been identified by some scholars with Tell el-Qudeirat near Ain el-Qudeirat, the largest and richest of the springs. Multiple layers of Iron Age fortifications were found there, dating back to the 10th century BCE, with some scholars dating traces of human habitation back to the 12th century BCE. ZR



From Sinai to Kadesh Barnea, via the Way of Mount Se'ir

ים לְהַשְּׁמִידֵנוּ: אָנָה ו אֲנַחְנוּ עֹלִים אַחֵּינוּ הַמַּפּוּ אֶת־לְבָבַנוּ לֵאמֹר עַלִים אַחֵּינוּ הַבְּשָּׁמִים וְגַם־בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים עַם גָּדַוֹל וָרָם מִשֶּׁנוּ עָרִים גְּדֹלְת וּבְצוּיְרֹת בַּשָּׁמֵיִם וְגַם־בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים יִּבְיּנִי שָׁם: וַאֹמֵר אֲלֵכֶם לֹא־תַעַרְצוּוּ וְלֹא־תִירְאִוּן מֵהֶם: מָאַמֵר אֲלֵכֶם לֹא־תַעַרְצוּוּ וְלֹא־תִירְאָוּן מֵהָם:

Egypt, to hand us over to the Amorites to destroy us. Where can we go? Our brothers have melted all the bravado from our hearts by telling us, "The people are stronger and taller than we are. The cities are large and walled to the sky; we even saw the Anakites there." And I said to you, 'Do not be

7 | The Anakites were of giant stature; see Numbers 13:33.



LANGUAGE

1:28 Walled to the sky

"Skyscrapers" as an English term for tall buildings, dates back only to the 1880s, but the concept goes far back into human history. The Babylonian ziggurats – likely the models for the tower of Bavel in Genesis 11 – were often given names suggesting that they connected earth to heaven. Warad-Sin, king of Larsa (early 2nd millennium BCE),

built a ziggurat "as high as a mountain and made its head touch heaven."

Canaanite towers and walls built on a high hill may have conveyed the same impression — and so, later, did Israelite towns. An inscription by Sanḥeriv about his invasion of Yehuda (Il Kings 18—19) praises his capture of Azeka (about 9.5 kilometers/6 miles southwest of Beit Shemesh) — it is "located on a mountain ridge, like pointed iron daggers without number reaching high to heaven ... [its walls] were strong and rivaled the highest mountains, to the sight, as if from the sky." = MC



Fortifications with huge stones, Giḥon Spring, City of David, Jerusalem, Middle Bronze Age



1:28 Taller than we are...the Anakites

The Anakites were an indigenous people of Canaan, known and feared for their size (see Num. 13:28, 32–33), associated with the Refaim (Deut. 2:11) and Nefilim (Num. 13:33). Yehoshua wiped out most of the Anakites, leaving them only in Aza, Gat, and Ashdod (Josh. 11:21–22). Kalev drove out three Anakites from Ḥevron (Josh. 15:14; Judges 1:20). "The name of Ḥevron was previously Kiryat Arba, who was the mightiest of the Anakites" (Josh. 14:15). The Philistine giant (the Rafa) slain by King David and his warriors may have been their descendants (compare Deut. 2:11 with II Sam. 21:15–22).

The Egyptian execration texts of the Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 BCE) mention a list of political enemies in Canaan, among which is a group called the *ly Anaq* or "people of Anaq."The Egyptian New Kingdom letter *Papyrus Anastasi I* (13th century BCE) indicates that there was a group of unusually tall people living in Canaan. It discusses the *shasu*, a southern Levant Semitic people who live in hill country: "The face of the pass is dangerous with *shasu*, hidden under the bushes. Some of them are 4 – or 5 – cubits, nose to foot [6 ft. 8 in./203 cm to 8 ft. 6 in./259 cm tall], with wild faces" (23.7). ■ ZR



Hieratic execration texts written on figurines of prisoners, Egypt, 19th to 18th century BCE

י אַרְגֹּב מַמְלֶכֶת שִוֹג בַּבָּשֶׁן: כָּל־אֵׁלֶּה עָרֶים בְּאַרְת חוּמָה גְבהָה יְּרְבָּר מַמְלֶכֶת שִוֹג בַּבָּשֶׁן: כָּל־אֵלֶה עָרֶים בְּאָרִי וַנְחֲרֵם אוֹתָם יְּרְלָתִים וּבְרֶיִם אוֹתָם בַּאַעֵּר עָשִּׁינוּ לְסִיחוֹ מֶלֶךְ חֶשְּבֵּוֹן הַחֲרֵם כָּל־עִיר מְתִּם הַנְּשָּׁים בַּנְשָּׁים

in Bashan. And these were all fortress towns with high walls, 5 • gates, and bars – there were a great many unwalled towns besides. And we utterly destroyed them, as we had done to 6 Siḥon, king of Ḥeshbon, in each town utterly destroying



— ARCHAEOLOGY

3:5 High walls, gates and bars

As the number of cities in the ancient world increased, competition developed between them, and with that a need for fortifications to provide security. Towers, walls, and gates around settlements have been found in the land of Israel beginning in the Early Bronze Age.

The "high walls, gates, and bars" mentioned in this verse comprise the basic components of ancient Near Eastern fortifications. Remains of thick walls indicate that they originally rose to a considerable height. For example, Khirbet al-Batrawy, an Early Bronze Age fortified town in north-central Jordan had a solid stone wall (2.9–3.6 meters/9.5–11.8 feet thick) from which towers projected. The fortifications there include huge tower fortresses at the corners.

The dual term for gates (*dlatayim*) here may indicate a double door that would be held

shut with a bar on the inside, as mentioned in the verse. Breaking these bars was a sign that the city had been vanquished, as found in Amos 1:5, "I will shatter the barred gates of Damascus." Alternately it may refer to a pair of gates, the defensive double gates of the Bronze Age, as opposed to the Iron Age gates which had civilian functions in addition to their defensive purpose. Sometimes the second gate was positioned perpendicular to the main gate, serving as an additional defensive measure. For example, at Tell es-Sultan (ancient Yeriho) there was a corridor between the inner and outer Early Bronze Age walls, which was blocked by a transversal wall, forcing people entering the city to make a sharp turn from the outer gate to the inner gate. Another version of the multiple gate defense was to have two types of functioning gates, a large main gate (more than 2 meters/6.5 feet wide) through which fully loaded pack animals could pass, and narrow secondary gates people could use that could be quickly blocked or easily defended in case of an attempted incursion.

Here, as in verse 2:36, it is emphasized that there are no fortifications so strong that they cannot be overcome with the help of God. ■ ZR



City wall and adjacent buildings, Tel es-Sultan (ancient Yeriḥo), 18th to 17th century BCE



4:5–8 The uniqueness of God-given law

Verses 5-8 have to be viewed within the framework of Deuteronomy as a rewriting of the Sinai Covenant to suit the circumstances of the Israelites who were congregating on the plains of Moav before entering the Promised Land. As befits the format, which was inaugurated by Hittite suzerain-vassal treaties (see "Covenant in the form of Hittite suzerainty treaty" in the Exodus volume of this series on pages 104-105), after the historical prologue in Deuteronomy 1-3, 4:1-40 comprises an introduction to the stipulations of the Covenant (vv. 13, 23, 31). It also begins the stipulations by focusing on the uniqueness of God, His relationship with the Israelites, and the prohibition of idolatry.

As the distinguished ancient Near Eastern historian and Egyptologist, K. A. Kitchen, points out, the Sinai revelation is a confluence of a political treaty and societal law within the religious context of God's relationship with His people. This convergence is overtly portrayed in chapter 4 in which the stipulations of the Sinai treaty are identical to the God-given "decrees and laws" (vv. 1, 5, 8, 14, 45). As the primary concern of the stipulations of ancient suzerain-vassal treaties was the loyalty of the vassal to the suzerain, the stipulations/ laws mentioned here focus on the prohibition of idolatry – worship of a pagan deity (vv. 3, 16-19, 23, 25-28).

Just as no other ancient record exists of a deity's treaty with a people, no Near Eastern account or even claim has been found of the laws given to a people by a god. Rather, in Mesopotamian law collections, the king was charged by certain deities with the responsibility of formulating laws and ensuring justice (the Hittite laws do not identify the author, and no ancient Egyptian law collection has ever been found). For example, the prologue to the *Laws of Hammurabi* states:

...the gods Anu and Enlil, for the enhancement of the well-being of the people, named me...Hammurabi...to make justice prevail in the land, to abolish the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak...

When the god Marduk commanded me to provide just ways for the people of the land (in order to attain) appropriate behavior, I established truth and justice as the declaration of the land, I enhanced the well-being of the people.

The epilogue emphasizes that the legal decrees of the code are not divine, but Hammurabi's:

These are the just decisions which Hammurabi...has established and thereby has directed the land along the course of truth and the correct way of life.

...In order that the mighty not wrong the weak, to provide just ways for the waif and the widow, I have inscribed my precious pronouncements upon my stela and set it up before the statue of me, the king of justice...within the Esagil, the temple...in order to render the judgments in the land, to give the verdicts of the land, and to provide just ways for the wronged...

I am Hammurabi, king of justice, to whom the god Shamash has granted (insight into) the truth. My pronouncements are choice...to the wise they are praiseworthy.

In verses 5-8, Moshe teaches the people a revolutionary concept: the significance of the Torah's law within the context of the ancient Near East. Until now, only kings were credited as the authors of the law collections, but these collections were only known in elitist, scholastic traditions. Never was even a single law from these collections referred to in any of the tens of thousands of legal documents (including case law) that have been unearthed in the ancient Near East. In contrast, the Torah's laws were promulgated to the entire Israelite society: the people are the primary addressee, and the whole society was to be gathered together every seven years to hear and learn the law (Deut. 31:10-12).

Further, all the Torah's laws have only one author – God Himself.

Theoretically, some may argue that verse 5, "I have taught you decrees and laws as the Lord my God commanded me," and verse 14, "and the Lord charged me at that time to teach you decrees and laws," is similar to Hammurabi stating that his gods charged him to establish just

ways, that is, laws, and the laws are his. That argument, however, is based upon a misreading of these verses, for verse 40 clearly states that these are God's laws, "Keep His decrees and commandments, with which I am charging you today" (compare vv. 10-13, 5:28 and 6:1). Therefore, verses 5 and 14 must be referring to God's laws. Moshe is the transmitter of the Torah's

laws, but God is the only lawgiver.

Due to the Torah's unique idea of ethical monotheism, God-given law is by definition righteous and beneficial. While Hammurabi claims that his laws will be "praiseworthy" to the wise person, Moshe proclaims an astonishing motivation for the people's observance of God's laws (vv. 6–8):

This will be your wisdom and understanding in the eyes of the peoples: when they hear all these decrees they will say, "Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people!" For what other great nation has God so close to it...and what other great nation has decrees and laws as just (Heb. *tzadikim*, literally, "righteous") as this entire Torah...?

No parallel in the ancient world exists of this perception that a nation shall be admired internationally due to its adherence to righteous laws.

The exceptional ethical character of Deuteronomy's laws will be delineated as they arise in the text. • JU



Top of the stele of the Laws of Hammurabi, Susa, 18th century BCE

מְצַּוְךָ הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִיטַב לְּדָ וּלְבָנֶיךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ וּלְמַעַן תַּאֲרֶיךְ יָמִים על־הַאַדְמָה אֲשֶּׁר יהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לְךָ בָּל־הַיִּמִים: מַּצֵּ אָז יַבְדַיל משָה שָׁלִשׁ עָרִים בְּעֵבֶר הַיִּרְדֵּן מִזְרְחֵה שֱמֶשׁ: לָנָׁם שִׁׁמָּה שׁישׁי * בַּצֹי

with which I am charging you today, so that it may be well for you and your children after you, and that you may live long in the land that the LORD your God is giving you for all time."

Then Moshe designated three cities to the east side of the 41 • Jordan to which a manslayer could flee, someone who had 42



NEAR EAST

4:41-43 Cities of refuge in **Transjordan**

The concept of a specific sacred place granting sanctuary to various kinds of lawbreakers is found among many ancient cultures: Phoenicians, Syrians, and later, Greeks and Romans. Those offered refuge included runaway slaves, debtors seeking to avoid collection, and even people suspected of capital offenses. Holy shrines or temples were understood to provide sanctuary for anyone, regardless of their guilt or innocence. For example, in the Aramaic Sefire steles (8th century BCE), we find a concern that a disloyal eunuch "will flee...and go to Aleppo" (KAI 224), the site of the temple of the storm god, Adad, and the location of an important oracle. Herodotus records how Pacytes, who led the revolt against Cyrus, sought refuge in the sanctuary of Athena (The Histories 1:158-160), and that a temple of Heracles served as a refuge for runaway servants (II: 113). In 153/2 BCE the Seleucid ruler Demetrius I Soter offered various privileges to Jerusalem if the Jews there sided with him in his conflict with Alexander Balas. These included asylum status for the Temple in Jerusalem, and release from debts for the people who owed money to

> Newly erected Doric columns, Temple of Heracles, Agrigento, 6th century BCE

the king and took refuge there. In contrast to other societies, in the Torah the city of refuge provides refuge only for the accidental murderer, as detailed in Deuteronomy 19:1-13 - there is no idea of blanket asylum for a variety of sins as found in other ancient Near Eastern societies.

We do find that "Adoniyahu, in fear of Shlomo, rose and made his way straight to the horns of the altar and grasped hold of them" (I Kings 1:50), in the manner of other political figures in the ancient world who were involved in rebellions. However, when Yoav fled to the altar, "Benayahu son of Yehoyada advanced and struck him down and put him to death" (I Kings 2:34), as the altar and sacred places cannot provide refuge for a murderer. This follows the command. "But if someone schemes against another and kills him by stealth, you shall take him even from My altar and he shall die" (Ex. 21:14). - ZR



HALAKHA

4:39 In heaven above and on the earth beneath

This verse is included in its entirety in the Aleinu prayer, which was composed originally as part of the Rosh Hashana Musaf (additional) service, but by the 12th century had been added to the end of daily prayers in the Ashkenazic work Mahzor Vitry. The reason for its inclusion is the unequivocal monotheism expressed here, using the merism (a rhetorical term indicating the totality by reference to contrasting parts, such as "from far and near") of "heaven above and... the earth beneath" to express that God is the ruler everywhere. This idea is also stated in Devarim Rabba 2:28, "Raḥav placed God in heaven and upon earth, as it is said, 'for the Lord your God is God of heaven above and earth below' (Josh. 2:11). Moshe placed Him also in the intervening space, as it is said, 'that the Lord is God in heaven above and on the earth beneath; there is no other.'What is the sense of 'there is no other'? Even in the intervening space."

ZR

Yom Kippur prayers, Amsterdam Mahzor, ca. 1250



ישָר וּלְמַעַן יַאָרּכָן יָמֶידָ: וְשְּׁמַעְתַּ יִשְּׁרָאֵל וְשְּׁמַרְתַּ לַעֲשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר יִיטֵב לְּדָׁ וַאֲשֶׁר הִּרְבָּוֹ מְאֶד בַּאֲשֶׁר וִּבָּר יהוֹה אֱלֹהַי אֲבֹּנִיּוֹךָ לְדְ אֵבִיּ יִינִּבְ יִּבְּשׁי אֲבֹנִייִ לְּבִּעִּיּ יִּבְּבֹּעִיּ יִּבְּעִיּיִ בְּבִּשׁי לְדְ אֵבִייִ זְבַת חַלָּב וּרָבָשׁי:

and so that your years may be long. Listen, Israel, and take ³ • care to keep them, so that it may be well for you, and so that you may be abundantly fertile in a land flowing with milk and with honey, as the LORD, the God of your ancestors, promised you.



- FLORA AND FAUNA-

6:3 A land flowing with milk and honey

This phrase appears frequently in Tanakh to describe the fertility of the Promised Land (Ex. 3:8, 17, 13:5, 33:3; Lev 20:24; and many others).

The milk in the phrase refers to domestic animals, primarily goats, herded by shepherds and grazing in the land's pastures, producing large amounts of milk. The honey may refer either to bee honey or fruit syrups derived from dates and figs, similar to the Akkadian *dishpu* which refers to both kinds of honey. Excavations in Israel in Tel Rehov have revealed that domestic

beekeeping was a local industry. There, a 10th to 9th century BCE cluster of beehives was found, including ancient apiculture equipment — particularly, clay cylinders that gave the bees freedom of movement but also gave the beekeeper access to the honeycombs. The bees may have been imported from lower Anatolia due to their less aggressive nature and greater honey production.

The phrase in its entirety may also be understood as a general reference to the fertility of land, as in Numbers 13:27 where the spies bring back fruit, but no dairy products, as proof that the land "does indeed flow with milk and honey." Additionally, milk may represent the primary economy in the southern and eastern parts of Israel which have little rainfall, while honey may indicate an agriculture-based economy appropriate for the central and northern parts of the land. Taken together,

the phrase describes an idealized land of abundance.

In biblical times, the area of Syria-Palestine was indeed a fertile one. The ancient Egyptian *Story of Sinuhe* (ca. 1875 BCE) describes an area in the region as "a good land.... Plentiful was its honey, abundant its olives. Every [kind of] fruit was on its trees... there was no limit to any [kind of] cattle... and milk was used in all cooking."

In the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, Baal, the storm god, is described as providing fertility and abundance. While he is alive, "The heavens rain fat/oil; the wadis flow with honey" (KTU 1.6 iii 13–14). In this context, the familiar phrase of "a land flowing with milk and honey" can be seen as countering the claims of the Canaanite Baal worshippers, particularly if the consonantal Hebrew word for milk (halav) is read as a veiled reference to fat (helev). = ZR

Beehive, Tel Rehov, 10th to early 9th century BCE

M





6:21 Slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt

Before entering the Promised Land, God reminded the Israelites that He had brought them out of Egypt, releasing them from hardship and slavery. Although we do not have any Egyptian record that corroborates the biblical story of the Israelite sojourn and slavery in Egypt or their exodus, many cultural, historical, and archaeological finds point to the Egyptian New Kingdom (1550–1069 BCE) as a probable setting for the narrative.

West Semitic people from Canaan had been in contact with Egyptian civilization since the beginning of the Bronze Age. Some of them traded with Egypt, others went to Egypt to work, often constituting the lowest strata of society. West Semitic nomads affected by drought and suffering from hunger had infiltrated the Egyptian delta in search of pasture for their flocks, and prisoners of war from the Levant were forcefully brought to Egypt.

Egypt of the New Kingdom was an empire that, at its peak, extended from the Euphrates River in contemporary Syria to the fourth cataract of the Nile in Nubia (modern-day Sudan). Egypt's frequent military campaigns, together with its growing appetite for cheap labor and monumental building projects, resulted in the capture of great numbers of West Semitic prisoners of war who were brought to Egypt. These were given as prized rewards to army generals, or to temples as servants to the gods, through which they were employed in national building projects and other forms of forced manual labor.

Egyptian documents from the New Kingdom record the manufacture of mud bricks by West Semitic prisoners of war. These were needed in large numbers for construction ramps in the building of stone monuments and for non-monumental buildings. Moreover, some Egyptian documents record the lack of straw

• 🐃 אָלהַינוּ אֶתְבֶם: וְאָמֵרְתַּ לְבִנְדָּ עֲבָדֵים הָיִינוּ לְפַּרְעָה

• 21 laws that the LORD our God has commanded you?' tell him, 'We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt, but the LORD brought



Semitic prisoners of war, temple of Ramesses II, Abydos, 13th century BCE

and the difficulty in meeting brick quotas which were set by royal officials.

Store cities were probably brick-built storage facilities attached to palaces and temples. Pitom and Ramesses (Ex. 1:11), the names of the two store cities built by the Israelites, may represent the Egyptian Per Atum and Per Ramesses. "Per" was often omitted from Per Ramesses, leaving Ramesses to stand on its own as a toponym. Ramesses was not used as a toponym before the reign of King Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1279-1213 BCE). The biblical use of the name Ramesses as a toponym, and some other historical and cultural factors, led many scholars to believe that the long reign of King Ramesses II is the chronological frame for the biblical narrative of the exodus.

Although Ramesses II is still considered by many as the "Pharaoh of the exodus," other scholars have more recently pointed at the reign of Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty (1184–1153 BCE) as a more likely candidate. This estimation is based, among others, on the dating of papyri mentioning the Shasu (Asiatic nomads) to the late Nineteenth Dynasty and the first half of the

Twentieth Dynasty, as well as the identification of the Shasu nomads with early "Israel."The Shasu nomads are mentioned in Egyptian documents from the beginning of the New Kingdom. However, it is only from the Nineteenth Dynasty that they are associated with Seir and Edom. It is possible that the Egyptians did not distinguish between the different Shasu groups; "Israel" may have been among these groups. If so, an Egyptian record that specifically mentions Israelites is not likely to be found. Since the Western Semites who dwelled in Egypt did not write in their own language and did not leave any written record, the only record we have is the Egyptian record, from which we cannot specifically identify Israelites among the Western Semites present in Egypt at that time.

The growing population of Canaanite prisoners of war, records of brick making, the toponym Ramesses, the appearance of Shasu nomads associated with Seir and Edom, together with other reasons, lead some scholars to believe that the Ramesside period up to the end of the reign of Ramesses III (1295–1153 BCE) is the period that provides the best historical and cultural setting for the biblical narrative of the exodus. • RSH