Joachim J. Krause Post mortem Mosi: Conceptualizing Leadership in the Book of Joshua

In one of his very first exegetical essays, Norbert Lohfink (1962) argued that it was possible to ascertain "an Old Testament theology of office" in the Book of Joshua. If so, this would bring us fairly close to the topic assigned to the present author by the editors of this volume, "Joshua as political leader" (cf. Wildavsky 2005). To be sure, Lohfink's claim to reconstruct a full-fledged genre, and with that theology, of the "transfer of authority" in ancient Israel has collapsed with its form-critical premises. Indeed, it drew criticism for its methodological approach from early on. From a literary perspective, however, Lohfink's observations on the tightly-knit junction of Deuteronomy and Joshua remain as valid as ever. In fact, they lead right up to the first and foremost aspect to be considered in view of our topic: the characterization of Joshua as the successor of Moses (1). Part of that picture is the problem of the extent of Joshua's authority; that is, who will be led by the new leader and upon what grounds (2). In this context, the prominent theme of Joshua and the Book of the Torah of Moses will prove an essential issue with regard to leadership (3). Finally, the priestly style passages of the Book of Joshua present a rather different account, introducing the concept of a dual leadership of Joshua and the priest Eleazar (4).

1 The Succession

There can be no doubt that the theme of the succession of Moses by Joshua is *the* theme of the deuteronomistic overture of the story of Joshua in ch. 1.¹ This, in turn, is hardly surprising, for the previous context in the deuteronomistic framework of Deuteronomy compels its sequel to carry forward the narrative problem of who will lead the people into the promised land. And so it does – Josh 1:2,5–6 unmistakably harking back to the pertinent portions in Deuteronomy, Deut 31:2,7–8 and 3:27–28. The three passages are interconnected by three main elements.

Firstly, they address the key problem posed by the narrative, namely that Moses will not, according to Yhwh's verdict, enter the promised land. In the same

¹ For a focus on the corresponding profile of the protagonist, see Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1989; 1995; Assis 2004; 2005; Štrba 2008; Hall 2010; Farber 2016, among others.

breath, they point to Joshua as successor of Moses. Notably, all three passages share the particular wording "to cross *this* Jordan" (הירדן הזה).²

Secondly, the successor is assured of Yhwh's support by the heartening phrase "Be strong and courageous!" (חזק ואמץ).³ In Deuteronomy and, for that matter, in the entire Pentateuch, it is used exclusively with regard to the succession of Moses by Joshua.⁴ The import of the phrase is further enhanced by the assurance, of Yhwh himself, to be with Joshua as he was with Moses (on the latter phrase, see Lohfink 1996, 155–156), not to fail (רפה) or forsake (עובר) him.

Thirdly, Joshua is highlighted as the new leader of the people by the same syntactic sequence \neg + you/he + action verb. He shall be the one to cross the Jordan; that is, the one leading the people of Israel into their land and putting them in possession of it (\neg hif.). Thus, the attention of the addresses is drawn to Joshua as the successor of Moses – or else, to the solution of said narrative problem.

Read in conjunction with each other and their narrative context, including the notice of the old leader's death according to Deut 34, the parallel passages from Deut 3; 31 and Josh 1 offer a coherent and tightly-knit account of the accession of the new leader. In Deut 3:27–28 Moses' narration arrives in the present time of the plot. It poses the problem of how the story will continue and at once offers the answer, as Yhwh mandates Moses to appoint Joshua. This he does in Deut 31:7–8 "in the sight of all Israel" (see also Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1995, 185, among others, but cf. Otto 2000, 178). Finally, it is Yhwh himself who in Josh 1:*2– 6(,7–9) addresses the new leader as such. The very fact that Yhwh does speak to Joshua directly demonstrates his new position (thus also Knauf 2008, 40). Yhwh now *is* with Joshua as he was with Moses.

As mentioned above, seminal insights regarding this carefully composed literary frame were related already by the early Lohfink (1962). He himself, however, held that the account was arranged according to a certain form for the occasion of installing somebody into an office ("festes Formular einer Art Amtseinsetzung" 1962, 38). According to this view, the elements pointed out above date back to oral tradition (1962, 39) and found their first literary manifestation in the supposedly early attestation in Deut 31:23 (1962, 38). Under these methodological premises, Lohfink tried to reconstruct a transfer of authority according to which Joshua is installed step by step into two discrete offices, corresponding to the two principal

² Apart from Deut 3:27; 31:2; Josh 1:2,11; 4:22 it is attested in Gen 32:11 only.

³ Throughout this paper, biblical translations follow the NRSV. I have made some modifications where necessary.

⁴ In the early reception, the usage of the phrase in this paradigmatic case seemingly inspired its application to similar cases. See especially 1Chr 22:13 and 28:20 in their respective contexts.

parts of the Book of Joshua, ch. 1–12 and 13–21 (1962, 35–40). One is the office of conquering the land ("Feldherrnamt", with עבר זם בוא), the other that of its allotment ("Verteilung des Erbbesitzes", with נחל hif.).⁵

Heavily time-bound in terms of method, Lohfink's form-critical reconstruction of an installation genre did not stand the test of time (see already McCarthy 1971a; 1971b). In want of further attestations outside of the succession of Moses by Joshua⁶, it was actually a venture on thin ground from the beginning. In addition, the corner stone of the reconstruction, Deut 31:23, in light of the more recent research is hardly as old as Lohfink held it was (Blum 1990, 85–87; Kratz 2000a, 103). Together with the approach to the succession account, then, the rather detailed definition of the new leader's "offices" must be called into question. Suffice it to note that the verb supposedly denoting the second office, b_{12} hif., does not figure even once in the entire part of the book which, according to the hypothesis, is devoted to executing this "office".

Yet this methodological criticism and the consequent reorientation do not in the least impair the importance of Lohfink's findings. To the contrary, considered with an eye to literary composition, they allow us to unearth one of the most diligently textured junctions in the narrative literature of the Hebrew Bible.⁷ In the account thus created, leadership is conceptualized in terms of succession. Joshua is presented as the new leader by presenting him as the successor of the parting one. This presentation, however, is not yet complete with Yhwh's initial address to Joshua according to Josh 1. It remains to be clarified how far Joshua's newly gained authority extends, that is, who will be led by the new leader. What is more, it will prove necessary to make precise distinctions regarding said authority itself, for Joshua is not a new Moses. In fact, "Moses" is still there, his authority continuing to be the source for Joshua's.

2 Acceptance and Accreditation

The latter points are actually those raised by Max Weber in his influential approach to leadership. Expressly identifying leadership with authority, for

⁵ For the reception of this approach, see Porter 1970 and Nelson 1981, among others.

⁶ 1Chr 22 and 28 do not employ the same genre independently, but literarily adapt the account in Deuteronomy and Joshua. See Williamson 2004.

⁷ For analyses challenging the fundamental insight into the coherence of the account as outlined above, see Kratz 2000a; 2000b; Dozeman 2012; 2015, among others; for a critical discussion of their approaches, see Krause 2014, 102–105.

Weber a leader is a person who has the chance to find obedience among specifiable other persons for a command of a given content (Weber [1921] 1980, 122). Who are those who will obey the new leader, and upon what grounds? Asking and answering these questions, the deuteronomistic account of Joshua's succession is completed in the remainder of ch. 1 and its original sequel, the miraculous Jordan crossing of ch. 3-4.⁸

A true exposition, the prelude in Josh 1 features no less than three speeches of principal importance. First of all, there is Yhwh's initial address to Joshua in v. *1–9 which we just looked at.⁹ Turning to the new leader in person, at the heart of Yhwh's address there is the promise to Joshua: "As I was with Moses, so I will be with you" (כאשר הייתי עם־משה אהיה עמך, v. 5). Following this initial speech, the second part of the chapter is dedicated to the same theme. Both Joshua's address to the trans-Jordanian tribes (v. 12-15) and their answer (v. 16-18) deal with the change of leadership.¹⁰ They do so, however, from the point of view of those whose acceptance of the new leader remains doubtful. Reuben, Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh have already been provided with land east of the Jordan at the hand of Moses (Deut 2–3). Therefore, to support their brethren in conquering the land west of the Jordan, as Joshua now requests of them, is by no means a matter of course. Hence Joshua's reference to the pertinent order of Moses (Deut 3:18–20) is more than a nice rhetorical move. Rather, this order of his predecessor is the sole basis for Joshua's request. In employing Moses' order in his own request, however, Joshua now claims for himself the same obedience formerly granted to Moses.

In their response to Joshua, the trans-Jordanian tribes indeed pledge such obedience: "Just as we obeyed Moses in all things, so we will obey you" (Josh 1:17a), not without declaring, however, that their pledge is contingent upon the validity of Yhwh's promise to Joshua: "Only may Yhwh your God be with you, as he was with Moses!" (סאשר היה עם־משה), v. 17b, with reference to v. 5). This pledge is of fundamental importance not only for Joshua as the successor of Moses, but also for the following deuteronomistic account of the conquest as a concerted action of "all Israel". For in the case of the trans-Jordanian tribes, the acceptance of Joshua as the new leader and the unity of Israel are connected to each other. And both aspects – the acceptance of Joshua

⁸ For the Rahab story in Josh 2:1–3:1 as a post-deuteronomistic insert, see below, fn. 12.

⁹ See above, section 1; on v. 7–8, see below, section 3.

¹⁰ For Josh 1:12–15,16–18 as an integral part of the first layer of the deuteronomistic Joshua story, see Krause 2014, 126–131 with a critical discussion of the opposite standpoints taken by Fritz 1994, 26; Bieberstein 1995, 99; Nentel 2000, 29–31; Kratz 2000b, 199; Knauf 2008, 39–45; Nihan 2012, 85, among others. See already the retraction of Noth 1938, XIV and 7 in Noth 1967, 5, fn. 1 and now also Bieberstein 2011, 163–165, revoking his initial judgement cited above.

and the unity of Israel – are called into question in light of the imminent crossing of the Jordan.

It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that the primary version of the story of crossing the Jordan in Josh 3–4 (for its reconstruction, see Krause 2012, 385–389) is closely linked to the deuteronomistic exposition of ch. 1. The two texts allow for being joined seamlessly to one another¹¹, and once it is observed that the story of Rahab in ch. 2 (including the transitional sentence of Josh 3:1) was inserted by a later revision¹², it becomes obvious that they have been conceived of originally as *one* text. As such, the two parts are connected not only on the textual surface but also by a common theme. Ch. 1 is dedicated, as we saw, to Joshua as the successor of Moses and his acceptance by all Israel – and ch. 3–4 carry on with that theme and bring it to its conclusion.

This thematic connection is marked by Josh 3:7 and 4:14. Immediately before the Jordan is dried up miraculously, Yhwh announces to Joshua that on this very day he will confirm him as the legitimate successor of Moses: "This day I will begin to exalt you in the eyes of all Israel, so that they may know that I will be with you as I was with Moses" (באשר הייתי עם־משה אהיה עמך). In Josh 4:14 the narrator explicitly states that that has happened: "On that day Yhwh exalted Joshua in the eyes of all Israel; and they stood in awe of him, as they had stood in awe of Moses, all the days of his life" (ראשר יראו את־משה).¹³ Both statements unmistakably refer back to Yhwh's promise to Joshua in Josh 1:5 and its citation in the pledge of the trans-Jordanian tribes in Josh 1:17b in which they declared that their acceptance of Joshua as the successor of Moses is contingent upon the validity of Yhwh's promise to Joshua.

Read in conjunction with each other, the carefully connected verses Josh 1:5; 1:17b; 3:7; and 4:14 complete the account of the succession: Joshua is accepted as the successor of Moses, on the precondition that Yhwh is with him as he was with Moses. At the heart of this account, the miracle at the Jordan which originally

¹¹ According to Josh 1:10–11, Joshua commands the officers of the people (שטרי העם) to pass through the camp (עברו בקרב המחנה) and instruct the people to prepare for the crossing, declaring that the latter will take place in three days (בעוד שלשת ימים). Taking up this thread, the introduction in Josh 3:2–3 reports that at the end of three days (מקצה שלשת ימים) the officers went through the camp (ויעברו בקרב המטרים בקרב המחנה), once again instructing the people regarding the now imminent crossing.

¹² See Krause 2012, building on Van Seters 1983, 324–325; 1990, 4 and those who followed him. **13** It is not by chance that this statement, which would make for a fitting conclusion (cf. Van Seters 1983, 325–326; Römer 2007, 134), is not given at the end of the Jordan crossing account, but in the context of Josh 4:12, which reports that "the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh crossed over armed before the Israelites, as Moses had ordered them".

followed immediately after ch. 1 serves as a miracle of accreditation (similarly Lohfink 1996, 155–156 and Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1995, 212–215). It demonstrates, in the eyes of all Israel, that the precondition on which the acceptance of Joshua was made contingent is fulfilled.

The same agenda is served by two core elements of ch. 3–4, the solidarity of the trans-Jordanian tribes and the memorial built from twelve stones. In didactic redundancy, the number of stones is repeated time and again, and its meaning is explained repeatedly, too: Twelve stones symbolize the full number of tribes in Israel (Josh 4:2–3a,5b,8a) – "thus driving home the lesson that the entire nation was represented in the events under Joshua's leadership" (Boling & Wright 1982, 172; for a different view, see Levin 2003, 122). At the Jordan, Joshua is confronted with the question whether "all Israel" will accept him as the new leader. The twelve stones of the Gilgal memorial are reminiscent of the answer: Indeed, all Israel, all twelve tribes, do obey Joshua as they have obeyed Moses. That is the programmatic purpose of the deuteronomistic account of the Jordan crossing and also of the prelude of the new epoch presented in ch. 1 and 3–4.

3 The Presence of the Predecessor

As is obvious from the above analysis, Joshua's authority hinges on that of Moses. This is not to say, however, that the two are put on equal footing. In fact, the narrative is careful to present Joshua not as a second Moses, but as his successor. It means rather that the peerless predecessor is still present, his authority remaining the source for that of his successor – in a most literal sense: It is all about Joshua and the "Book of the Torah" left by Moses.

This book is the source from which the new leader is to discern what is right in the eyes of Yhwh and how to act in accordance with it when leading the people, as Yhwh himself points out to him. Concluding his initial address, Yhwh in Josh 1:7–8 charges Joshua: "Only be strong and very courageous, being careful to act in accordance with all the Torah that my servant Moses commanded you¹⁴; do not turn from it to the right hand or to the left, so that you may be successful wherever you go. This Book of the Torah (ספר התורה הזה) shall not depart out of your mouth; you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to

¹⁴ The element כל־התורה is not supported by major witnesses for the Old Greek, which merely read ποιεῖν καθότι ἐνετείλατό σοι Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς μου. For text critical analyses, see van der Meer 2001; Finsterbusch 2012.

act in accordance with all that is written in it. For then you shall make your way prosperous, and then you shall be successful."

Moses' authority, in turn, does not exist on its own terms either. It is due to his role as the mediator of the will of Yhwh, ascribed to him in a most systematic fashion by the deuteronomistic redaction which put the original Deuteronomy into the form of a monologic discourse of Moses. Yet, this authority to mediate the will of Yhwh for Israel and her leaders does remain an exclusive prerogative of Moses. It is not transmitted to anybody, including Joshua (on this, see Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1995, 46–51). Hence, the deuteronomistic conceptualization of Torah as a written body of the will of Yhwh is necessary lest knowledge and, in fact, knowability of it are to vanish with Moses. That is the reason for the self-referential definition of Deuteronomy in its deuteronomistic edition as the Book of the Torah of Moses.¹⁵

Thus, the chain of transmission of the will of Yhwh changes, after the death of Moses, from

 $Yhwh \rightarrow Moses \rightarrow Israel$

to

 $\mathsf{Yhwh} \to \mathsf{Book} \text{ of the Torah of Moses} \to \mathsf{Israel}$

(Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1995, 51; see also Venema 2004, 39–46). With regard to the question of leadership in Israel, the latter chart may be given full particulars as follows:

 $\mathsf{Yhwh} \to \mathsf{Book} \text{ of the Torah of Moses} \to \mathsf{leader} \to \mathsf{Israel}$

That is at least the role assigned to *the* leader after Moses, as Josh 1:7–8 begins to unfold. There, the Book of the Torah is presented as an actual book Joshua can consult and indeed needs to consult. What is more, Yhwh himself explains to Joshua how to use this book, that is, how to become able to act in accordance with Yhwh's will. Depicted almost like a biblical scholar, the leader thus envisioned actually corresponds to the diligent student king of Deut 17:18–20.¹⁶

Yet, studying the Book of the Torah left by Moses is no end in itself. It is meant to instruct Joshua for his task of leading Israel into her land. Against this back-

¹⁵ See Deut 31:9–12,24–26; 1:5; 17:18–20; for a discussion, see Blum 2010, 391–397.

¹⁶ On the latter account, see most recently Müller 2016; on the deuteronomistic ideal of education in general, see Braulik 1993; Finsterbusch 2005; Carr 2005, 134–139.

ground, the following deuteronomistic conquest account amounts to a forceful confirmation that Joshua did indeed become a diligent student of the Torah, for the conquest is presented as a faithful execution of Yhwh's will for the taking of the land – that is, first and foremost, the ban – as given in Deuteronomy.¹⁷

Focussing on Joshua alone, one could of course object that in his day there was not yet a need for a written account of the Torah of Moses. After all, Joshua made his career as the long-time intimate assistant of Moses (Exod 24:13; Josh 1:1 etc.). In this vein, A. B. Ehrlich (1910, 2) and many others have argued that Yhwh's inculcation to heed "all that my servant Moses commanded you"¹⁸ originally pertained to instructions which the old leader imparted to the new one before his death. Were we to reckon with an original literary work consisting solely of Deuteronomy and Joshua – a deuteronomistic "Landeroberungserzählung", to employ the term coined by Norbert Lohfink (1981) and Georg Braulik (2011) - that would indeed be an option (see further Oswald 2009, 96–120). Within the present "history of Israel" narrative covering the development all the way down to the eventual loss of the land as reported in the final chapters of the Book of Kings, however, we do need the *Book* of the Torah (as argued in Krause 2015, 420-427), for its availability is "the *conditio sine qua non* for the ability of its protagonists, presupposed throughout the subsequent narrative, to live according to the will of Yhwh" (Krause 2015, 422). Considered in this context, Joshua appears as a paradigm for future leaders. Those who are meant to be guided by his example have not gotten to know Moses. But they do know – or rather, taking into account the tragic turn of the "history of Israel" as present by the Deuteronomists, they could know – the Book of the Torah left by him.

The following redaction history has seen a significant tendency to further emphasize Joshua as ideal recipient of the Book of the Torah of Moses. In the late insert of Josh 8:30–35 he is depicted as both publishing this book and putting it into practice when coming into the land, and the rewritten version of the end of ch. 4 to be found in 4QJosh^a pursues the same goal (for a discussion and full references, see Krause 2014, 275–296). At the same time, there was also a decided attempt to promote Joshua from reader to writer of a Torah book (Josh 24:26). But for reasons not to be expounded here (for a history of scholarship, see Noort 1998, 205–222; 2012), that attempt remained an episode. In the end, Joshua continued to be not only the successor, but also the first and paradigmatic reader of "Moses". A leader in his line is first of all a student of the Torah.

¹⁷ See Deut 20:16–17 and Josh 6:21; 8:26; 10:(1,)28,35,37,39,40; 11:11,12(,14–15); 11:20,21. See also Nelson 1997, 46.

¹⁸ See again Josh 1:7 and cf. fn. 14.

4 A Dual Leadership

Conceptualizing leadership in modelling Israel's first leader *post mortem Mosi*, the deuteronomistic tradition in the Book of Joshua offers ample material for the protagonist acting in the "political" arena (see above). In contrast, subsequent literary layers show less and less interest in his person. Rather than focusing on Joshua as the successor of Moses and leader of all Israel, the post-priestly redaction to be discerned in Josh 2; 3–4; 6; and 7 is concerned with the Canaanite peoples and their relationship with both Israel and Yhwh, critically revisiting the deuteronomistic view of non-Israelite inhabitants of the land (Krause 2017). At a still later time, the report of the first Passover in the promised land in Josh 5:10–12 depicts a milestone event in the "history" of Israel without even mentioning the leader by name.¹⁹ Against this backdrop the priestly style passages of the Book of Joshua (for their provenience, see Albertz 2007) are to be appreciated, presenting as they do the priest Eleazar as co-leader next to Joshua. Or should one rather reverse the order, calling Joshua the co-leader of Eleazar?

The third son of Aaron (Exod 6:23; Num 3:2; 26:60; 1Chr 5:29; 6:35), Eleazar is invested into the priesthood according to Yhwh's command (Exod 28:1; Lev 8–9). Further, the priestly portions of the Pentateuch relate that, after the death of his elder brothers Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10), Eleazar serves as "chief over the leaders of the Levites" and has "oversight of those who had charge of the sanctuary" (Num 3:32) and of the sanctuary itself (Num 4:16). Eventually, he succeeds his father Aaron as high priest (Num 20:25–28; Deut 10:6). As did Aaron, so does Eleazar appear as a pair with Moses in leading position (Num 26:1,3,63; 27:2; 31; 32:2). This dual leadership is carried on with Joshua (see already Num 32:28). In fact, the alternate account of Joshua's appointment as successor of Moses to be found in Num 27:12-23 (Noort 2008) takes their correlation even further. According to Yhwh's command, Moses commissions Joshua "before" (לפני) Eleazar (v. 19). While Moses is commanded to give Joshua some of his "majesty" (הוד); the NRSV renders "authority") so that "all the congregation of the Israelites may obey" him (v. 20), Joshua "shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the decision of the Urim before Yhwh (ושאל לו במשפט האורים לפני)

¹⁹ The latter finding, together with the presumable post-deuteronomistic date of the Passover pericope, renders unlikely the suggestive thesis of Nelson 1981. Employing Josh 5:10–12 and 2Kgs 23:21–23 as proof texts, he argues that Joshua has been deliberately paralleled with Josiah. In this vein, see further Rowlett 1996. For a different view, see Wilson 2017, 68–74.

יהוה); at his word they shall go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he and all the Israelites with him, the whole congregation" (v. 21).²⁰

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²⁰ For Num 27 and the significant change in hierarchy between prophetic-political and priestly leadership reflected therein, see the article by Frevel in the present volume.

²¹ On the one hand, it might strike the reader that the division of the land is by lot, and that handling lots is reminiscent of the priestly realm, as pointed out by Farber 2016, 61, 136. On the other hand, in the context Joshua is repeatedly said to cast the lots himself (Josh 18:6,8,10), as indeed one should expect in light of the opening in Josh 13:6.

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