

SYLLABUS OF LECTURES

BY

✓
DR. AIKEN,

ON

Special Introduction to the
Historical Books

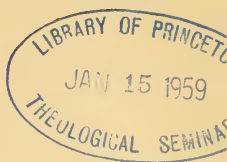
OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

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CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

(See Dr. Green's Lectures on Old Testament Canon and Philology.)

Canon Westcott's definition of the Canon of the Scriptures: "The collection of books which constitute the original written rule of the Christian faith."

We recapitulate certain points in regard to the O. T. Canon, inasmuch as part of our proof in regard to the historical books turns upon the nature and value of the N. T. references to, and quotations from, the O. T.

We shall not expect to find within the O. T. either the terms that afterward came into use to describe the collection, or the enumeration of its constituent parts, or the definition of its functions. The later Jews, in the Talmud and elsewhere, employ the terms *hakkathubh*, *sepharim*, *hasepher*, *kithbhe haqqodhesh*, *miqra*. The well-known analytic designation is *Torah*, *nebh'im ukhethubhim*. Whole frequently called *Torah*. In the Greek Apocryphal books no single term is applied to the whole, while the three divisions are recognized and designated. The N. T. names. Fuerst's explanation and comment on the phrase Sacred Scriptures, or Holy Scriptures. N. T. use of "the law" in John xii. 34; x. 34; xv. 25. Paul's use in I Cor. xiv. 21. Reuss's assertion that "the law" means only "the law and prophets." His comment on Luke xxiv. 44; reply.

Comment on the fact that some O. T. books do not appear to be quoted from or alluded to in the N. T.; also on the assertion that the Rabbins settled the canon about A. D. 70.

The prologue to Ecclesiasticus gives in three forms the threefold division of the O. T. collection. Comment on their meaning. Josephus, about A. D. 100, gives an

enumeration, explains the limits set to the collection, and also the grounds and the measure of the nation's regard for it. The only open questions relate to distribution. He also quotes from all the books but four. Philo's quotations and testimony. Comment on alleged diversities of opinion among the early Jews. (1) They express private opinion in regard to one or two books; (2) Grounds of esteem paid to Baruch and Ecclesiasticus; (3) Contents of the LXX version.

It is objected by Fuerst and others, that no discrimination but a chronological one determined the bounds of the O. T. collection. Improbable that everything else had perished. Compare also Eccl. xii. 11; II Macc. ii. 13, 14; and consider the age of the older Apocrypha, as compared with the critics' theory in regard to the later canonical books. See I Macc. ix. 27, and cf. iv. 46; xiv. 41. Consider the theory of some critics in regard to the influence of some of the Apocrypha on the thought and style of the N. T., as compared with some canonical books. General conclusion favorable to the Palestinian and Protestant canon.

THE BIBLE AND CRITICISM.

The legitimacy of the processes that are resorted to, and the validity of the results that are most confidently announced, in the sphere both of the O. T. and N. T., challenge careful scrutiny. In the case of the O. T. the results are often revolutionary, in respect to the literature, the history, the nature and scope of the dispensation; the issues involve also the N. T. Are the methods legitimate and only misused, or are methods and results to be condemned together? Is "criticism" necessarily irreconcilable with the higher claims of God's word, essentially irreverent and out of place—or necessary to a correct understanding of the Scriptures, and to the vindication of their claims? Does not the Bible invite, invoke and challenge criticism to establish its honors and its influence?

Origin of criticism as a method or process in dealing with literature, and with all that is documentary, memorial and monumental. Dr. Rainy's definition of criticism as a science and as an art. The beginnings of criticism in

Chalmers depend in his Institutes the use of criticism
concerning the integrity & interpretation of the text. The
effectually looks only with what is purely, primarily so
The method however that applied to other ancient litera
Doctrines of the Spirit gives impetus to such labors.
Chalmers principles applicable to questions of authorship

... a whole - but describing its qualities, merits
things. I am technically restricted to historical
art: - maybe practical or aesthetic. Dear with
authority of documents - or Biblical sources.
important in the case of historical documents.

In its general attitude crit. is suspicious & indolently
slow. - negative at first.

... find out what the text is. In this first notice the indi-
vidual. Then how to be grouped into words & sentences. Then
compare the characters, versus both of these. Then pass on
to the nature & purity of the text.

...ography - traces of ancient writing - materials, instruments, characters,
papyrus - double - faceted documents, deal with text - not materials.
... various different uses: gathers critical apparatus. Has eye, signi-
ficance of signs.

... on and distinct that lower crit. deals with single things
single letters or words. Higher crit. writings as a whole ^{Prof. J. M.}

... the crit. deal with questions of authorship or sources - with the text.
a common usage among Catholics & among many Protestants

... the 4th century usage - is this testimony admissible.
lower. Higher is how the testimony stands related to the fact.
text. studied the fact. This is historical usage. Philological

... as testimony then reverse the order. Philology passes over the
as for use of history, crit.
usage:

... estimate values, understand significance & connection
... in experience exposed to results of attending
... work stand with tradition in regard to it. As if it can
corroborated by itself. Answer of proof upon the other part
... not my not as by a certain hand but by one almost equally
... or combine our previous help upon every word to be used

3rd. grammatical, historical, individual, generic, etc. of general

5
applied to Greek literature

the schools of Alexandria, and its revival after the invention of the art of printing. The great names in critical science.

Freund's definition of criticism in philology. The sphere of textual criticism, its palaeographic and diplomatic methods, and its more subjective and conjectural processes. Use of the term lower (or external) criticism. Necessity that it be supplemented by other methods, even in dealing with texts. Meaning of the term higher (textual) criticism, and the value of its best results.

Leaving the text, this criticism passes on to consider the authorship of a work, and the time of its composition; —an inquiry of wider range, more delicate and difficult. The value of presumptions; the warrant for misgiving or doubt. The relations of hermeneutics to this critical process. The transition from philological to historical criticism, and the specific aim of the latter, especially the higher historical criticism. The former examines, makes accessible and available, the sources with which the latter is to deal.

What, then, are some of the recognized principles and accredited methods of historical criticism?

Three matters of chief concern suggest three lines of inquiry, bearing on the authorship, the form and the substance of the historical material before us; the witness, the form of his testimony, and its reliableness, sufficiency and purport.

1. As to authorship; the comparative value of an anonymous, and an identified authorship or testimony.
2. As to form; the question as to the originality and purity of the form before us; the extent and the occasion of any suspected or apparent change.
3. As to substance; the main inquiries relate to the reliableness of the testimony, its sufficiency for the purpose for which we are asked to receive it, and its purport.

Putting the matter in a more technical form, as indicated by the methods of the masters of historical science (like Von Sybel and Droysen), we find that they insist on a four-fold process of investigation, bearing on the authenticity, —the integrity, —the correctness and reliableness, —

and the adequacy and completeness of the historical material with which we may be dealing. (Ambiguity of the term "authenticity," as used sometimes of the form, sometimes of the substance, of that of which it is affirmed. *Authenticity =* We use it in the former sense, for which the term "genuineness" is sometimes preferred.)

(a). Our *first* inquiry must be, whether the material before us is what it purports or claims to be;—the question of ~~authenticity~~ *med* in its broadest sense. It includes but reaches beyond the question of authorship, whether asserted within the work under examination, or in any title however attached, or by any tradition, so as to deal with anonymous historical material;—looking for the period, the region, the class of agents or influences from which the work may have come forth;—asking what the work purports to be, for what purpose it professes or appears to have been produced, and what there is to warrant its profession or claim?

Consider the wide range of possible conclusions, and the significance of the conclusion.

(b). Our *second* inquiry must be, whether the material before us is in unchanged form what it was and aimed to be; or, if not unchanged, what alterations can be detected and eliminated. Has there been a development from earlier to later forms? This is the question of integrity.

(c). The *third* question is, whether the document (or whatever it may be) when it was produced, did and could give what it claims to establish, or is regarded as establishing;—or whether at the very time of its production it could claim to be correct only partially and relatively, or not at all? This is in a broad way of regarding the matter the question of credibility. *can*

Four subordinate inquiries are involved:— *in credibility*

(1.) Whether what is reported is in itself possible, judged by the standard of human experience? *average condition*

(2.) Whether it is possible under the given conditions and circumstances? *exceptional conditions.*

(3.) Whether in the motives, the aims, the personal relations of the narrators, there is anything discernible to warp the conception, or the representation of the facts?

at original source. Century. opinion that a work is not spurious, &
is adulated. - authenticity.

Authentic - verb. when on ground of genuineness "it may be used on a
well established (1) on ground of a wide approval - but need to know author
not on collateral evidence. distinctions - one who does anything with
own hands. - distinctions = touched for, - meant early authentically accepted.
not know the author, yet it is to be authentic. Murray - 3 fold

heats on two sides genuineness & spuriousness, proved to most
certainty. Express of genuineness not a light thing.

How changes have made in a study or to the extent.

Two relate to original source - two to witnesses (1)
Common human experience supplies ordinary standard, exceptional
occasional standard.

Witnesses in broad sense - observers⁴ & narrators³

today. We approach inspiration believing in the credi-
bility of the Scriptures, the accuracy of the narrations, the truth of
the deity, the divinity of Christ.
We are now concerned to know what our sacred
books say as to the dogmatic truths which

Confidence. The presence of the tokens only to be watched too.
must be noticed

(4.) Whether incorrectness is unavoidable, in consequence of the inadequacy of the means or opportunities of observation and apprehension?

The first two inquiries related to the subject matter; the last two to the observer or witness. Criticism, also, looks after any possible general or individual coloring that might result from characteristics of time, place, circumstance, or personal peculiarity.

(d) A *fourth* inquiry is, whether the material before us contains all the elements of which we are seeking to gain knowledge, or need to have knowledge; or, in what degree and in what respects it is incomplete?

When all is done we have not the true historical fact, but prepared material. A constructive process must now follow the critical process. We are bound to form a positive picture of the condition of things brought before us by the results of criticism.

Criticism claims the right to apply these methods and processes, without limitation or qualification, to the Bible.

But the Bible claims and evinces a divine, as really as a human authorship. Its internal characteristics and claims, the credit gained, the influence exerted, demand consideration all the way, and not merely at the end of the critic's work. These writings cannot be justly put on the same plane with any others that criticism handles: Whom are you impugning? What are you invalidating? are questions that must be borne in mind.

While both the lower and the higher criticism have a legitimate application to the Scriptures, the application should, for every reason, be made with the greatest caution, discrimination and reverence. The claim of pre-eminent jealousy for the peculiar prerogatives and honors of the word of God, is little warranted by the history of Biblical criticism, as practiced by the "critical" school.

Critical methods should be employed with peculiar carefulness as well as thoroughness.

(a) Because Christianity is so conspicuously an historical religion in its foundations and in its essence.

(b) Because Christianity stakes so much upon the nature and reliableness of its Scriptures.

The first may have been
for a while to men to others but the knowledge preserved
by the Scripture

(c) Because unbelief so frequently originates in the rejection of the historical foundations and elements of Christianity and its Scriptures.

It is not peculiar to Christianity to contain elements of real or alleged history; it is the proportion and significance of the historical elements that is characteristic. Illustrate the relation of the historical to the doctrinal in Christianity. The credibility of the Scriptures the necessary condition of their accomplishing their work. Criticism—Christian criticism must ever keep this in mind.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE O. T.

THEIR HISTORICAL NATURE AND THE VALUE OF THEIR HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

Some of the general facts we have already considered in our study of the Old Testament history. The only other point demanding attention just here is

The nature and limitations of the best attainable proof of the ~~authenticity~~ and integrity of these books.

(a) The historical period as compared with that of the N. T., and the period of authorship.

(b) These historical books are followed by no testimonies corresponding with that of the church fathers, the early versions, the writings of the early heretics. Relative age of the oldest MSS.

(c) These books for the most part, if not entirely, anonymous. The meaning of the titles, at the best, debatable.

(d) So far as tradition supplies the lack, this must be scrutinized. The meaning of the citations and allusions of the N. T. must be carefully investigated.

(e) With respect to the integrity of these O. T. books, our judgment must be reached by the accumulation of approximations and probabilities. The wide interval left by MSS. and versions, when narrowed to the utmost, leaves a considerable period. Internal evidences must be carefully studied, and the exceptional safeguards and guarantees supplied by the reverence of the Jews for the very form of their sacred books, duly estimated.

Compare the estimates of Stade and Josephus.

The fact & doctrine of the atonement.

To take away doubt about the most get being ⁱⁿ use in
revelation of the fact.

Very much longer. 4000-4000 yrs. 1-100 at end of the New
Order of the world. 1000 or 1200 years. 40 years.

His relations more widely separated from C. S. than of production

and so the man - Paul, Geronimo, Sothe, Hainan, Darius, E,
Hannibal, Joshua.

Am. 10:25 now 20:37 av 2:37 av 11.

PENTATEUCH.

Our general inquiries are three: (1) What have these books been supposed to be, in respect to their nature and authorship, and for what reason? (2) What do they purport to be? (3) What does the evidence, when scrutinized and sifted, prove them to be?

For the description of this portion of the O. T., as given in the later books, see II. Chron. xvii. 9; Josh. xxiv. 26; Neh. ix. 3; II. K. xiv. 6; Neh. viii. 1; II. Chron. xxv. 4; xxxiv. 14. There are more abbreviated expressions, like "the law of the Lord," "the law of Moses," "the law," or simply "law;" in some cases the reference may be not to the books, but to their great theme.

The fivefold division is mentioned by Philo and Josephus. The Greeks devised the name *pentateuchos*. The Rabbins spoke of the five-fifths of the law. The Jews designated each book by its opening word or words; the LXX by a name suggested by some prominent subject.

Three reasons have been given for the place which these books occupy in the O. T. collection: (1) The position belonging chronologically to their subject matter; (2) The time of their composition; (3) The fact that this portion of the O. T. was first consecrated to a public and official use.

Reasons why many critics propose to substitute the term Hexateuch. — Does *Torah* ever include Joshua? To which division of the Hebrew Scriptures was Joshua assigned? Joshua not reckoned by the Samaritans with the Pentateuch.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Reach and importance of the question as stated by Reuss.

The investigation to be pursued under three heads:
 1. Assertions and ascriptions which appear to decide the authorship in whole or in part. 2. Corroborations.
 3. Objections and difficulties.

I. Assertions and Ascriptions of Authorship.

- (a) Such as are found within the Pentateuch.
- (b) In other books of the O. T.
- (c) In the N. T.
- (d) In Jewish tradition.

(a) *Assertions and ascriptions found within the Pentateuch itself.*

There are passages in which Moses is directed to write certain things, or is said to have written certain things, in accordance with a commandment of the Lord. Opposite inferences drawn from this characteristic of these passages.

Ex. xvii. 14; Ex. xxxiv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 2; Ex. xxiv. 4, 7. What do these passages fairly imply, and how much do they cover? As to Deuteronomy, Reuss says: "Deuteronomy (chap. v. 28) claims undoubtedly to have been written by Moses himself."

Deut. xxxi. 9, 11: "Moses wrote this law," etc.; xxxi. 24, 26. What is meant in these passages by "this law?" Is it Deuteronomy alone, or the legislative part of Deut., or the completed law of the Pentateuch? Consider chap. i. 5; iv. 8; xvii. 18, 19; xxvii. 1, 3, 8; xxviii. 58-61; xxix. 19, 20; xxx. 10; xxix. 29; xxxii. 46.

What is "this law?" Is it the law of Deuteronomy, or the law of the Pentateuch?

In favor of the former conclusion it is said:

(1) The assertions of Deut. iv. 44 sq., v. 1 sq., make a sharp discrimination between the Deuteronomic legislation and all that the preceding books contain.

(2) The phrase, "this law," which occurs in 19 of the 22 instances in Deut. in which the law is mentioned, seems to limit us; all the more in view of the fuller expression of iv. 8, the expression "which I command you this day," (recurring more than 25 times), and the words of xxix. 1.

(3) If xvii. 18 refers to anything more than the specific law with respect to the king, it seems to relate only to the law of Deut.

(4) The law referred to in xxvii. 4, 8, can hardly be more extensive than the law of Deut.

On the other side it is urged :

(1) The law of Deut. is not in its style apparently, nor does it purport to be, the original legislation, nor independent legislation; but rather to be a hortatory restatement.

(2) While the phrase "this law" seems to refer most specifically to the law of Deut., it would greatly force the emphasis to conceive of this law as distinct and separable. The expression usually denotes the Pentateuch legislation as a whole.

(3) Deuteronomy seems to imply the previous existence of the other books of the Pentateuch, in its allusions to facts there recorded, especially to the covenant at Horeb, and the legislation referred to Sinai and the wilderness, which is often repeated with close verbal coincidence. Expressions like those of xviii. 2 (cf. Num. xviii. 20) and xxiv. 8 (cf. Lev. xiii. and xiv.) seem to require the previous existence of originals found in the middle books.

(4) As to the copy of "this law" required in Deut. xvii. 8, it can hardly be the seven verses of the immediate context, nor the law of Deut. alone, but the entire legislation of the Pentateuch, or at least the substance of it.

(5). As to the inscription required by xxvii. 4, 8 (cf. Josh. viii. 32), it might be for such a special occasion at least the substance of the entire legislation; possibly the book of the covenant.

(6). Joshua i. 7, 8, seems to refer to the whole law, and many of the laws which specially guided Joshua are not laws of Deut.; see e. g., Josh. i. 13 sq.; v. 2, 10; xiv. 1, 2, 6 sq.; xvii. 4; xviii. 1; xx.; xxi. 2-8; xxii. 29.

We do not seem to be required to restrict, or warranted in restricting "this law" to Deut. in any such sense as to exclude, or not to imply, the Mosaic authorship of the preceding books. Most critics admit that Deut. explicitly claims Mosaic authorship.

(b). *Assertions and ascriptions found in the later books of the O. T.*

It should not be expected that direct mention of the authorship of the Pentateuch would appear in the succeeding books, but only allusion to the relation of Moses to the history or the legislation.

Josh. i. 7, 8, seems to refer the book of the law as well as the law to Moses; so viii. 31-35; xxiii. 6; xxiv. 26.

In Judges and Samuel the law is referred to Moses, without express mention of the book. I. K. ii. 3 contains in their most complete combination forms of expression occurring in Ex. xv. 26; Lev. viii. 35; Num. xxxi. 13; Deut. iv. 45; vi. 17; viii. 11; xx. 13; xi. 1; xxvi. 17; xxx. 16, etc. In I. K. viii. 53, 56, we have forms of expression made familiar in the Pentateuch; e. g. Ex. xix. 5, 6; Deut. iii. 20; iv. 20; ix. 26, 29; xii. 9, 10; xiv. 2; xxv. 19, etc. In II. K. xiv. 6 sq., we have a verbal quotation from Deut. xxiv. 16. II. K. xviii. 12, refers to the covenant and to the commands without mention of a book of the law. II. K. xxii and xxiii. refers to "the book of the law," "the book of this covenant" and "the law of Moses." The meaning of these references will be discussed hereafter. The later historical books, by common consent, refer both the law and the Pentateuch to Moses. See II. Chr. xxii. 18; xxv. 4; xxx. 16; xxxiv. 14; xxxv. 14; Ezra iii. 2; vi. 18; Neh. i. 7; viii. 1; ix. 3; xiii. 1. In the Prophets we should not expect to find explicit mention of the books of the Pentateuch and their authorship. See, however, Dan. ix. 11, 13; Mal. iv. 4 (E. v.), and Is. lxiii. 11, 12.

All these allusions are simple, incidental, natural, harmonizing best with the implications of the Pentateuch itself. Indirect evidences become proportionally more important.

(c). *Intimations concerning the Authorship of the Pentateuch found in the N. T.*

We are dealing with a later time, whose general faith does not flow from direct or independent knowledge, ruled possibly by established traditions, and accustomed to repeat current formulas. But we are dealing with new and peculiar witnesses. Many critics rule out their testimony, as not admissible without prejudice to scientific impartiality.

(1). A number of passages in the Gospels refer to Moses as the legislator, without quoting words from the Pentateuch in form referred to him. These express the

faith of the time, and carry by implication the equally prevalent faith in regard to the books. There was no more, no less, of one faith than of the other. Mt. viii. 4; xix. 7, 8; John viii. 4.

(2). Another small group of passages employs the word Moses, or the phrase "law of Moses," for the books of Moses. Luke xxiv. 27; Acts xv. 21; Luke xvi. 29, 31.

(3). There is a large class of passages in which Moses is named in connection with words from the Pent. cited as spoken or written by him.

Thus Mt. xxii. 24, 31; Mk. xii. 19, 26; Luke xx. 28, 37; Mk. vii. 10; Acts iii. 22; vii. 37; Rom. x. 5, 19.

(4). There is another group of passages like John i. 45; v. 45-47; Acts xxvi. 22; II. Cor. iii. 15.

In these classes of passages, by as great a variety of methods as could be secured, expression is given both to a faith and a habit; faith in the leadership, legislatorship, authorship of Moses—and the habit of speaking naturally and artlessly of the books as his. This faith and habit entertained where, and as they were, and endorsed as they were, are not to be lightly thrust aside.

But it has been said: Christ and the Apostles did not come into the world to instruct the Jews in criticism; to accomplish his purpose Christ must abstain from opposing many gross errors of his countrymen; our Lord so far condescended to the general notions of his countrymen as to adopt their modes of speech in regard to their sacred books; faith in Christ cannot restrict our critical inquiries; the emphasis of the N. T. passages is not on the Mosaic authorship but merely on things contained in books ascribed to Moses. Some ascribe the style of Christ and the Apostles simply, but directly, to their ignorance.

But it was replied long ago: Christ and the Apostles did come to teach truth, not to be imposed on by common ignorance, nor to foster vulgar errors; his denunciation of the rulers' views of tradition (e. g.) shows how much he prudently spared their errors, and how he regarded Scripture. The quibbling interpretation put on several of the above passages illustrates the spirit of much current criticism.

(d). *The established and traditional faith of the Jews.*

Aside from the indications given in the N. T., we have those furnished by the O. T., by Philo, Josephus and the Talmud. See I. Esdr. i. 11; v. 49; vii. 6, 9; Baruch ii. 27, 28; II. Macc. i. 29. The general faith is admitted to have been most explicit and emphatic. There is no other faith of the kind so intense, so unanimous, so abundantly and variously corroborated, while sustaining a relation so unique to every department of the national life.

Summing up the evidence thus far obtained, we find that all the *affirmations* of authorship refer more or less of the Pentateuch to Moses; and that this result is not contradicted, restricted or qualified by a single passage referring the authorship to any other person. While there is no indisputable, explicit, affirmation that all came from the hand of Moses, various forms of expression favor that conception while none is inconsistent with it. The written evidence must of course be thoroughly sifted to ascertain not only its face value but its ultimate worth.

When we add the general faith of the Jews we have at least a presumption established provisionally. We are now in position to look for and estimate *corroborations*, and then to consider *objections and difficulties*, together with all arguments that may be adduced in favor of any other theory affirmatively propounded. The hypothesis must be well founded and strongly buttressed, that shall maintain itself over against the the testimonies of the O. T. and N. T. with their corroborations. Nor is the faith of the Jews to be dismissed by a wave of the hand.

At this point we interpose three remarks:

R. 1. If criticism should establish the existence of differences of style in various parts of the Pent., this would not, in the face of adequate affirmations and corroborations, disprove Mosaic authorship. Moses being the author need not personally have written the whole.

R. 2. Certain closing paragraphs must be from another hand; and here and there in other instances by due authority, verbal explanations, etc., may have been introduced.

R. 3. The Mosaic authorship of the Pent. is not in the slightest degree inconsistent with the use by Moses of

documentary as well as traditional material in the preparation of Genesis. The length of life ascribed to the early generation makes a living tradition of a very few links, adequate for all its purposes.

II. Corroborations of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch.

(a). *The entire naturalness and antecedent probability of such a record from the hand of Moses.*

Critics have asserted the improbability that Moses should have produced a work of such compass, of such contents, under such conditions, with such variety in its material and style, in fully developed perfection, etc., etc.

Such *a priori* considerations are to be set over against other probabilities and positive evidences. The absence of parallels in other literatures weighs but little. He who admits the existence of Moses must concede to him extraordinary capacity, a rare human training, an exceptional Providential discipline, and a very special relation to the resources of the divine wisdom and power. The occasions for his acting, and acting in this way, were exceptional. The known characteristics of the people made it more natural and essential that this law of God to Israel should be written (Baumgarten) cf. Deut. xxix. 4, 13; xxxi. 27-29; xxxii. 15; x. 16. The normative influence of this literature should seem nothing remarkable.

(b). *The perfect practicableness of such a record in those times, under the existing conditions, and from the hand of Moses.*

The objections urged a generation or two ago against the existence of the art of writing, alphabetic writing, among the Hebrews as early as the age of Moses, are utterly abandoned. Cuneiform writing, it is claimed, was invented by the Accadians 3,000 years B. C. Egyptian hieroglyphic writing can be followed back to the 3d dynasty. There is in Paris a papyrus from the 5th dynasty, estimated by Lenormant to be 2,000 years old at the time of Moses. The Hittites used alphabetic writing probably before the age of Moses. The Phœnician

claims are well known. It is a mere assumption that the Hebrews were less civilized than the nations about them. Moses was brought up in Egypt as the son of Pharaoh's daughter. The officers set over the Israelites in Egypt, and those set over divisions of the tribes organized for their march through the wilderness, were *Shoterim*, writers.

(c). *The general unity and consistency of the narrative in itself and its contents, a unity not superficial but fundamental, a unity such as is best explained on the supposition of unity of authorship.*

Of course, to prove oneness of authorship the unity must be something more than that which characterizes the O. T. as a whole, simple unity in the view taken of God, His general relations to men. His special relations to Israel, of the economy which He instituted, and the work which He is carrying on in Israel, and through Israel for the world. There appears to be a more specific oneness of spirit, purpose and conception throughout the Pentateuch.

Kaulen (*Introd. to the Scriptures of the O. T. and N. T.*) emphasises the argument from unity of plan, as indicated especially by the central place which the law occupies both in the history and in the record. The history is not written merely for its own sake. The importance of the law rests in part on the historical right connected with its antiquity, and in part on its prophetic character. The history, the law and institutions, and the record meet in a remarkable unity. A simpler solution of the problem is gained by making the great lawgiver one, and that lawgiver also the recorder of the legislation and the history, than if we suppose a process extending over eight or ten centuries in the development both of the facts and of the record,—the actors working ignorantly, artificially and often antagonistically one to another.

And so far as such evidences of unity appear, they are in their measure inconsistent with the theory, that we have wrought together in the Pent., the work of an annalistic, a theocratic, a prophetic narrator and a Deuterono-

mist, the proof of whose existence consists in part of their marked diversities in style, and thought, and faith.

One of the strongest evidences, not merely of unity of plan, but of unity of authorship, is found in the mutual references which connect part with part, in a way and to an extent that is characteristic and unique among the books of the O. T. These are not only closer and more frequent than are found elsewhere, but are perfectly natural to one writing in the time and with the probable aim of Moses, while many of them would be less natural to a later writer, or to a composite work. Mr. Warrington, *e. g.*, illustrates the habit of the Pent., especially in its hortatory and prophetic parts, of referring to a personal knowledge common to the writer and his readers; a knowledge of the events of the past in Egypt and the wilderness—all very natural to Moses, but which would be from a writer of Manasseh's time, "the most exquisite of literary frauds." (Hengstenberg.)

(d). *The constant and unstudied evidences of personal participation on the part of the author, in the acts done and the events recorded in the four later books.*

It has long been recognized that the books are so constructed as to convey this impression. The books were naturally so produced, or other and later writers successfully produced this appearance.

In favor of the former position, attention has been called to the minute recital of names, description of places, specification of numbers, of the names of minor leaders and their genealogy, of dimensions, materials, etc., all important and natural for the time. Explanations and minute directions abound that only embarrass the narrative, and which a late writer would therefore avoid. Interruptions, irregularities, repetitions appear, appropriate to one like Moses, but unlikely to be used or simulated by a later writer.

In regard to the legislation, observe: (1) The large proportion of laws given in a direct and somewhat bald way, as received by Moses from God for direct transmission to the people; while (2) In other cases the legislation appears closely connected with conditions just then exist-

ing, and is sometimes changed as conditions change. Observe especially the tone of the Deuteronomic laws. The blending of these two methods was eminently natural for Moses.

But critics object:—

(1). There are chronological *contradictions* within a narrative professing to be chronological, and to put events and facts in their causal relations. A personal participant could and would avoid this.

In illustration cf. Num. i. 1, and ix. 1. But this seeming return of the narrative upon itself is sufficiently explained by ix. 6–14. Cf. Ex. xvi. 35, with Josh. v. 12; Ex. xvi. 34 with chap. xxxvii; Num. i. with Ex. xxxviii. 26; Ex. xix. 22, with chap. xxviii.

(2). There is serious *incompleteness* at various points in the narrative. See especially Num. xx., where 38 years, more or less, simply disappear from view. It is, besides, utterly unlikely that all that was interesting or important in incident, institution or legislation, should be crowded into two years at the beginning and end of the wilderness life. But according to the narrative these 38 years had their function which was fulfilled, and this solemn silence is one of the most eloquent portions of the narrative.

(3). There are many *repetitions, mutual contradictions and manifest errors of arrangement* in the narrative.

There are repetitions, it is said, in the *legislation*. *E. g.*, in Ex. xxxiv., legislation is repeated which has just been recorded in chap. xxi.–xxiii.; and in Lev. xx., legislation that has already been recorded in chap. xviii. It is improbable that Moses should have thus given to the people twice at God's command within so short a time the same precepts, or should have thought it needful to record them twice. But if anything so momentous as a renewal of the covenant occurred at the time referred to in chap. xxxiv., why should not requirements made at its first institution be repeated? And while Lev. xviii. reprobates certain offences, chap. xx. emphasises the punishments to be visited upon them; and why should not some of the details be repeated?

There are historical *repetitions*, it is said. Compare Num. xi. with Ex. xvi. 12 sq.; Num. xx. 1–12 with Ex. xvii. 1–7; Num. ix. 15–23 with Ex. xl. 34–38. This is

the kind of objection that is frequently urged against narratives in the Gospels, wherever two miracles, or any other two historical narratives, exhibit marked resemblances, whatever the points of difference, and however clear the proofs of a recurrence of somewhat similar events.

There are historical *inconsistencies*, it is said. Compare Ex. iii. 11 and vi. 30 with Num. xii. 8 and Ex. xi. 3; Num. xiii. 1, 2 with Deut. i. 20-22; Deut. i. 37 and iii. 26 with Num. xx. 12 and xxvii. 14. Examination shows that there is here no real inconsistency.

Material is introduced, it is said, in *inappropriate connections*; e. g., the genealogy of Moses and Aaron in Ex. vi.; compare Num. xxvi. 59; the visit of Jethro to Moses "at Sinai" in Ex. xviii., before Sinai has been reached, and "before God" when the tabernacle had not been erected. Moreover, a tabernacle is called for in Ex. xxv.-xxxi., while its erection is called for only in xxxiii. 7-11. and its completion must have required time; and the ordinances concerning the shewbread in Lev. xxiv. 5-9 are presupposed in Ex. xl., and should be connected with the legislation of Ex. xxv.

The question of the genealogy is discussed hereafter in another connection. The visit of Jethro was at least substantially at Sinai, and the succession of events is but slightly modified to avoid breaking the narrative of Israel's dealings with God. It is commonly assumed that temporary arrangements for the tabernacle anticipated the final structure. Dillmann regards the shewbread legislation of Leviticus as designed for a different time from that implied in Exodus.

(4). In respect to strange *omissions* in the narrative (strange if it be Mosaic), it is said that we are told very little about men as prominent as Jethro and Hur; to which it may be replied that we are hardly in position to dictate how much Moses should say. He fails to identify for us the several Pharaohs. But it is the official position and not the personality of the king that is important to the narrative. Moses must have known what districts, cities, etc., were the scene of the Egyptian story; but of all these we learn nothing;—perhaps for the very reason that those for whom the narrative was first shaped knew them so well.

(e). *There are ample and varied evidences of minute and special familiarity with the lands and times covered by the history.*

See Hengstenberg, Ebers, Palmer, Vigouroux, Rawlinson and other authorities.

Von Bohlen (1835) and Tuch (1838) asserted the inaccuracy of many of the Egyptian representations of Genesis; but the discoveries and interpretations of the last 50 years have signally vindicated the narrative. It is exceedingly difficult to credit all the writers required by the document hypothesis with this exact knowledge and correct representation; and all the more, if some of the documents took their form as late as some critics assume, and their material had passed through so many redactions. Just so far as this intimate familiarity with Egypt and the wilderness is an allpervading presence, it becomes a welcome suggestion that one Moses may have been the author of the narrative.

Observe, also, the free way in which words of Egyptian origin are introduced without explanation or comment, as if by an author who knew that his first readers would be as familiar with them as himself.

Vigouroux devotes 170 pages to the examination of the story of Joseph in its minutest details, as illustrated by monuments and documents. Ex. i.-xv. may be tested in the same way. Palmer bears witness to a like accuracy in the details of the narrative of the wilderness life.

We may consider together—

(f). *Evidences of the controlling or modifying influence of conditions, such as were peculiar to the age of Moses; and*

(g). *Evidences that when the books of the Pentateuch were written the occupation of Canaan was yet future, and that many of the provisions of the legislation were anticipative.*

There are characteristics of the time of the Exodus and the wandering in the wilderness, which correspond remarkably with the history and with the form and substance of the legislation set forth in the Pent.; and these

are reproduced at no subsequent period; moreover, in many of these provisions the residence in Canaan is distinctly contemplated as future.

Salvador contrasts the conditions of the Mosaic legislation with those of the legislation of Lycurgus, Draco, Solon, Numa, Confucius, Mahomet, etc.

There are certain exigencies in the condition of Israel in Egypt which are met in characteristic and effective ways in the facts of the history and the legislation.

(1). In the social and political condition of the people the slight and inadequate organization.

(2). In the temper and spirit, the moral tone and tendencies of the people, the conspicuous characteristics are such as might be expected of such a people, living in such conditions in such a land; effeminacy, self-indulgence, self-distrust, an aversion to self-denial, hardship, discipline, etc.

(3). In their religious life a fading away of the old faith, and a serious complication with positive idolatries. See Josh xxiv. 14; Lev. xvii. 7; Ezek. xx. and xxiii.; Ex. xxxii.; Lev. xviii. 21; xx. 2; Deut. iv. 15-19.

(4) These faults are dealt with and these wants met in the theocratic system, which is not a product of the tendencies and necessities of the time, but comes to meet them from without and from above. It implied (Hengstenberg) that law in all its details was direct from God; that God was the basis as well as the source of right; that all power was an efflux from the divine supremacy; that God will reward and punish; that He supplies means of knowing His will; that He dwelt among His people. The singular intermingling of laws on all subjects is a reminder that God claimed and exercised the right to regulate life in all its spheres. The ceremonial law had manifold moral and disciplinary uses.

(5). Whether the Pentateuchal legislation is provisional or most permanent in its character, the frequent assertion and constant implication is, that the occupation of Canaan is yet future. And the probability is very great, that these laws which so reflect and provide for the minute and peculiar conditions of that wilderness life, must have been put on record there. It is difficult to account otherwise for the accuracy with which they have been preserved.

But it is objected, that all through the Pent. we find incidental phrases and forms of expression, archæological explanations and the like, which imply a later authorship and a residence within the Promised Land.

Conservative commentators admit that now and then an authorized prophetic hand may have introduced some of these expressions—the only difference being with reference to the number of these later modifications. This is a matter of detail and need not be inconsistent with a high doctrine of inspiration, nor with a firm maintenance of the Mosaic authorship of the Pent. as a whole.

A later time is said to be implied in passages like Gen. xii. 6; xiii. 7; xl. 15; so with the phrase, “unto this day,” in Gen. xix. 37; xxii. 14; xxvi. 33; Deut. iii. 14 (cf. Num. xxxii. 41; Jud. x. 3, 4), etc. See, also, Gen. xxxvi. 31; Num. xv. 32 sq.; Lev. xviii. 28; the Song of Moses in Ex. xv.; Deut. iii. 11; the designation of Abraham, Aaron and Moses as “prophet,” in Gen. xx. 7; Ex. vii. 1; Num. xi. 29; xii. 6, in apparent contradiction to I. Sam. ix. 9. See, also, the citation in Num. xxi. 14 from “the book of the wars of Jehovah.”

Other passages presuppose a writer and a people already established in Canaan; e. g., passages employing the phrase “beyond Jordan,” of the East side of Jordan, Deut. i. 1, 5, etc.; the designation of the West by *yam*, especially while the people were at Sinai, Ex. xxvi., xxvii., xxxvii., xxxviii.; Num. ii. and iii. The whole style of Lev. xxvi. presupposes long residence in Canaan, and much experience there of idolatry and judgment. See, also, Num. xv. 22 sq.; Deut. xix. 14; Deut. xx. (the laws of war). See the implication of the laws of Lev. xiv. 33 sq.; xxv. 29 sq.; xvi. 21; xxvi. 31 sq.; Deut. xi. 20.

(h). *Characteristics of language pointing to a relatively archaic time like that of Moses.*

Bleek maintains that we find the Hebrew purest just in the oldest writings preserved to us; and that the later writings are distinguished by a depraving of the language, an intermixture with other Semitic tongues; and that in the oldest literature there is such development as implies a not inconsiderable previous literary activity.

Style corroborates the asserted Mosaic authorship only so far forth as linguistic and rhetorical evidences point to an ancient authorship, and unity of authorship. In recognizable particulars the Pentateuch has a diction somewhat its own, with some characteristic grammatical forms. (Keil's Introduction, sec. 14.)

The Dean of Canterbury maintains that, as compared, *e. g.*, with Isaiah, both forms and words in the Pentateuch are easily distinguished; and as an Aramaic scholar asserts that the Pentateuch often uses one equivalent, where later books use another, for Syriac words.

(i). *Incidental evidences, scattered in a continuous series of references through the succeeding books, showing that the records of the Pentateuch had been previously produced.*

These are all the more significant when derived from the history of the divided and frequently hostile kingdoms of Judah and Israel. When the reference to facts, laws, predictions contained in the Pentateuch is minute, and forms of expression are identical, "tradition" does not furnish an adequate explanation.

Joshua is so full of recognition of the Pentateuch that for this, among other reasons, it is claimed that we should speak rather of a Hexateuch. The very confusions and disorders of the time of the Judges are constantly measured in the narrative itself by the standard which the Pentateuch supplies. Hävernick argues: The deterioration of the people must have been quite different from what we find in the time of the Judges, if we give up the assumption of a time like the Mosaic, and a fixed standard transmitted from it. So likewise many things in the books of Samuel and the early part of Kings, are less intelligible if we sever them from the Pentateuch. Even some of the assumptions and seeming usurpations of Samuel indicate a wish to comply with the spirit of the Pentateuch, where the observance of its forms was not possible.

Many details of David's life are hard to be understood except on the supposition of the settled authority of the Mosaic economy. His parting charge to Solomon is full of the spirit of the Pentateuch legislation. The course

of the early Kings of Israel, even in many of their irregularities, shows that they were in some things consciously at a disadvantage as compared with the Kings of Judah; and sometimes they seem to be counterfeiting compliance with the requirements of the Pentateuch, or devising plausible substitutes. The older Prophets, both of Judah and Israel, are full of the spirit of the Pentateuch.

III. Objections and Difficulties urged against the claim of Mosaic Authorship for the Pentateuch.

Such objections and difficulties as have been thus far incidentally suggested, if allowed any force, go to show the inconclusiveness of the arguments by which the claim of Mosaic authorship is supported. Prof. Strack says of the reasons adduced against the Mosaic authorship: "It is not to be denied that if each of them be considered separately, very different judgments can be formed in regard to them, partly according to the critical, partly according to the theological point of view, occupied by him who is judging them." But the attempt is made to show by evidence of many kinds, (1) That the Pentateuch in its present form cannot be from the age, and of course not from the hand of Moses; (2) That it is not an original unit from any age or hand; and (3) That the order of the composition of its important sections, the time of that composition (at least approximately), and the kind of influence that was dominant over the several parts, can be measurably determined.

Certain characteristics and tendencies of the critical spirit and method attract attention.

1. Its professed philosophical and historical impartiality, and its contempt for all that is not critical. Of course all prepossessions are professedly set aside. Some lines of evidence are ruled out, on which "traditional" views in part rest. Authority is repudiated. The legitimacy of the use of N. T. citations is often denied. Frequently a doctrine of nature and its laws is assumed which excludes the supernatural. A corresponding doctrine is often maintained in regard to historical development and the laws of human progress. We are cautioned against the attitude taken by the historians of Israel, as though the critics never took an attitude.

2. The measure and quality of the respect shown by the critical theory and method for the historical reliability of the O. T. records. The records are good authority so far as they support, utterly bad when they conflict with, or fail to support, the theory.

3. We are constantly forced to observe the amount of support which the theory derives from things that are negative, from what does not appear, from what is not said and what is not known, from the seeming non-observance of laws, and the like. Kuenen vindicates this mode of procedure, provided (a) The persons in question were pious Israelites and sincere friends of the theocracy; and (b) Their mode of acting, far from being an isolated fact, is common to a multitude of their contemporaries. He adds (c) That acts apparently in accord with more or less of the prescriptions of the law do not prove the existence and validity of the law at the time; because the acts may be due to a popular custom, possibly later embodied in a law.

4. The theory continually assumes the existence of the most absolute and open antagonism between the prophetic and the priestly institutions, orders and functions. Books from prophetic hands alone reliably describe the times. We are often misled by our wrong application of the word *Torah*, which frequently means only instruction, not the law. "Prophetism and the authority of the later *Torah* are profoundly incompatible" (Kuenen). "They (the spiritual prophets) deny that these things (sacrifice and ritual) are of positive divine institution, or have any part in the scheme on which Jehovah's grace is administered in Israel" (Robertson Smith). How, then, would the prophets stand in the light of the N. T.?

5. It is the delight of the Theory (if not a necessity to it) to magnify discrepancies, to create inconsistencies and positive contradictions where none exist. Volumes of meaning are extorted from phrases or incidents that can be made to appear favorable to the theory, while every thing on the other side is reduced to a minimum.

6. It is difficult to decide whether the theory and its results are in a larger degree the consequence, or the fruitful source, of low views in regard to the nature, authority and value of the O. T. Scriptures. The intrusion

of any dogmatic principles or considerations is strenuously objected to, except the dogmatism of science. Many upholders of the theory will allow no inspiration except such as may be affirmed of numbers of men, a people, a class, a train of influences, a course of events. It is difficult to form a clear conception of the inspiration that was engaged so many centuries in fashioning the composite Pentateuch, rejecting, remodelling, creating false appearances, producing studiously false impressions—the crowning result being that the nature and scope of the Pentateuch and its legislation have remained hidden until within this generation.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

“We have to assume that this view (Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch) was the general view at the time of Christ and the apostles; we find it expressly in Philo and Josephus” (Bleek). In the first Christian centuries there were individual dissenting opinions, especially among the Gnostics. So with two or three Jewish scholars in the middle ages; so with Carlstadt, Hobbes, Spinoza, R. Simon and others in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1753 Astruc, in his *Conjectures*, etc., called attention to the changing use of the names of God in Genesis, inferred the existence of older documents, and laid the foundations of the *Document hypothesis*. This was extended by Eichhorn, De Wette, Bleek and Ewald to other books, reinforced by other tests, and supplies a fundamental element to the modern critical position.

In 1805 Vater brought forward definitely the *Fragment hypothesis*, previously suggested by Peyrere, Spinoza and Geddes, which insists that much of the material, both historical and legal, especially the latter, consists of small fragments, often showing no clear connection, and no palpable order.

Passing from the literary form, criticism began now to deal also with the contents of the Pent., *e. g.*, the literally historical character of the events, and the relative age of the laws recorded there. DeWette, Augusti, Vatke and George are the leaders.

A third theory, the *Supplement hypothesis*, assumes an original document to which later and successive additions were made. Tuch, Stähelin, De Wette, Von Lengerke and others its advocates; Schrader almost its only recent adherent.

Further study led to the abandonment or serious modification of the theory of a single fundamental document, and introduced the *Modified Document hypothesis* which is now current in one form or another with the critical school. Ewald, Knobel, Hupfeld (1853), Boehmer (1862), and others suggested and described several more or less independent documents, later wrought together. Hupfeld claimed to identify a second Elohist, whose age, as compared with the Jehovist, is differently interpreted. Riehm (1854) more clearly distinguished the Deuteronomist.

Strack gives these as four points in which critics are substantially agreed. (a) There are four main documentary sources of the Pent., E, E², J, and D. (b) Several sections of the Pent., although preserved to us only within these four, are considerably older. (c) The Elohistic are older than the Jehovistic portions (disputed by many). (d) E, E², and J had been wrought together before D was produced (also disputed).

Critics differ widely as to the designation and mutual relations of these documents, the time of their combination, etc.

Another school, working partly within the same lines, partly after methods of their own, has lately come to the front. While accepting the general results of the literary examination which has been zealously prosecuted since the days of Astruc, and professing that these are in many ways and in many points confirmed by new methods of investigation, it regards literary tests as not fully decisive. It therefore depends mainly on the legislative and historical material, tried by the methods of the Higher criticism. Reuss claims to be its founder; Vatke and George (1835), Graf, Kayser, Wellhausen, Stade, Kuenen and others, its chief advocates. For various reasons at different times, they have pronounced the legislation of the middle books in its present form, mainly postexilian. Graf at first separated the Elohistic historical

material from the Elohist legislation by an interval of centuries, but changed his ground. The oldest documents, it is claimed, know no enjoined worship at one central sanctuary, hold worship at high places entirely legitimate, know no detailed law of sacrifices, no exclusively theocratic explanation of the feasts, no distinction between priests and Levites, and in general no hierarchy (Kautsch). Three strata in our historical books therefore correspond with the three strata of the Pentateuch. Other more progressive critics would however make these strata all post-exilian, and deny the chronological distinction maintained by their predecessors.

Delitzsch claims that the question must be left to experts, the church as a whole having no interest in it, and needing to have none;—from which latter view we entirely dissent. The reliableness or unreliableness of the O. T. Scriptures, the real nature and meaning of the O. T. economy, God's relation to it and its relation to His plans for saving men, the meaning and value of N. T. comments on O. T. laws and facts, are too deeply implicated. The theory is admitted to be revolutionary. Many phases of the development of the theory, as well as its characteristic spirit and methods, suggest caution and inspire distrust, in spite of the fact that its advocacy is so brilliant, and that it is so much the mode.

EXAMINATION OF THE CRITICAL METHOD.

There are two lines of investigation of which the critical method makes chief use, separately or in combination. Their conclusiveness separately, and their significant coincidence in their main results, are much insisted on.

I. The method of literary analysis.

II. The method of "realistic" analysis (Merx); the examination of the substance, structure and contents of the Pentateuch, studied by itself and in its historical, its legislative, and its few poetical portions,—and also in relation to the data supplied by the other books of the O. T., historical, prophetic and poetical.

Historically the literary examination broke ground, and prepared the way for historical criticism. Many of the more recent discussions simply assume the results of the literary analysis to be incontrovertibly settled, and

give the literary part of the proof, if at all, only for the sake of symmetry and completeness.

Kuenen, looking for fixed starting points, finds them in the threefold grouping of the Pentateuch laws, which is self-evident, and the peculiar use of the divine names in Genesis and the opening of Exodus, which is equally indisputable. Prof. Strack admits, "In general, there prevails too great confidence in the reliableness of the literary analysis."

I. The aim and method of the literary analysis.

This method aims to trace out documentary sources and incorporated fragments, the plan, the unity, the proofs of an editing to which all has been subjected, and to effect an approximate identification of the editors, by its careful and discriminating dealing with lexical peculiarities, characteristics of thought and style, of doctrinal conception and purpose, with any seeming preference for favorite material.

We are asked to consider—

A. The use of the names of God in the Pentateuch.

Kuenen's argument, *e. g.*, is:—

1. The names Elohim and Jahve are by no means simple synonyms. Jahve is the proper name of the God of Israel; Elohim is always an appellative, which, however, frequently in the O. T. acquires the character of a proper name.

2. The original distinction between the two names is often the reason for the use of one or the other, but not always.

3. While elsewhere the motive is only matter of inference, the reasons are for Genesis and Ex. i.–vi., given by the authors themselves in Ex. vi. 2, 3, with which Ex. iii. 13–15 (from another hand) corresponds. Inferences to be drawn in regard to Jahve when it occurs in earlier passages.

4. It is obvious that the exclusive use of Elohim is limited to a portion of Genesis, while in another portion the name Jahve is presupposed as known, and unhesitatingly used.

5. Although these parallel records in Exodus must have led at once to the conjecture that more than one

narrator in Gen. intentionally avoided the use of Jahve, yet at first all Elohim passages were referred to one and the same author.

6. The authors of these remote narratives would probably treat of the continuations of the history, and their reports be transmitted to us as in the Hexateuch. This seems to have been the case.

Remarks:—

(1). We cannot accept the interpretation which Kuenen and his entire school give to Ex. vi. and Ex. iii. With them these passages are conclusive as to the impossibility that the name Jahve could have been used by God or of God before the time of Moses.

(a). This interpretation involves a very inadequate conception of the meaning and use of the word *shem* as employed in these passages and in the O. T. generally. The names of God are peculiarly significant and representative. God's glorious memorial name is not given merely to distinguish Him from the gods of Egypt. See Is. ix. 6; lvi. 7; Ex. xxiii. 21. When Dillmann says that Ex. vi. 3 asks for the name, and not the import of the name, etc., we reply that Moses was intent on something infinitely more important than a mere appellation for his God. He asks for something that will justify all that he is to do, and summon the people to do. See Ex. xxxiii. 19; xxxiv. 6, for the progressive revelation to Moses himself. "The *proton pseudos* of all document and fragment hypotheses lies in this, that the inner connection of the names of God with the revelations of God is mistaken, etc." (Keil).

(b). This interpretation involves a no less inadequate conception of the meaning of *nodha*. See Ps. ix. 10; xci. 14. Baumgarten calls attention to the fact that a revelation of *El Shaddai* is to be made to the great heathen nation, while *Jahve* is making Himself known to Israel.

(c). It greatly weakens the force of Ex. vi. 3, as a whole, to suppose that the stress of the verse is laid on God's taking a new name, disclosing one not in any sense previously known. The first clause refers to something substantial and essential; the second can hardly fall off to the mere giving of a title. "As to the import of my name, Jehovah, I was not known to them," alone does

justice to the deep significance of this series of communications and dealings. So Jewish commentators understand the passage.

(d). If the critical interpretation of Ex. vi. and Ex. iii. is not warranted, it becomes of course far more difficult to rule out the 160 instances in Gen. in which Jehovah occurs, as belonging all of them to post Mosaic documents, and introduced inadvertently or by some intention into their pre-Mosaic parts. The expedients to which the theory is obliged to resort inspire distrust.

(2). This particular criterion, whatever may be true of the others, is of very little use for the chapters and books following Ex. vi. Kuenen admits its use to be very infrequent after this point. Dr. Stebbins shows that in 28 chapters called Elohist Elohim occurs but 7 times, while Jehovah occurs 237 times.

(3). On the supposition that the critical interpretation of Ex. vi. and iii. is unwarranted, whatever perplexities exist in regard to the peculiar use of the divine names in Genesis, will remain to be solved in some other way. No hypothesis is wholly free from difficulties.

(4). Unless the name of Jochebed, Moses' mother, given in Ex. vi. 20, and Num. xxvi. 59, is a fabrication or an afterthought, Jahve appears to have been one of the elements of which it was composed. Dillmann suggests its pointing possibly to the use of the divine name, Jahve, in this family. But why here?

B. *With this discriminating use of the names of God we find, it is said, other lexical peculiarities associated.*

Schrader (DeWette's Introd., viii. ed., §186), gives 14 words or phrases as characteristic of the 1st Elohist, 12 as characteristic of the 2d Elohist, 30 as common to the 2d Elohist and the Jehovist, while 11 are said to be peculiar to the Jehovist. Other critics add to this list. Prof. Harper enumerates 56 which are fairly characteristic of the Priestly document and 104 as used by J alone, and as characteristic. The discussion is important, chiefly in its bearing upon the chapters following Ex. vi. Whatever evidence may appear that Genesis is composite, do the same lines of division run through from Ex. vii. to the

end of Joshua, as is claimed? Just in proportion as the divine names fail to furnish a clear line of demarcation, the other criteria should be clear, and their application decisive.

Conservative scholars do not accept, as one of the axioms, the doctrine that these lexical discriminations were triumphantly established forty years ago. Of course, as Keil and others have long admitted, if the different names of God embody different conceptions of His relations to the world and to His people, the style of representation will in other respects conform. Some words and turns of thought and expression will be natural, pertinent and necessary, in one class of passages, that will not be in the other. The same remark will hold good with respect to favorite material. The genealogical, legislative and other clearly defined portions of the books will naturally have their own technical terms and *usus loquendi*. This does not, however, necessarily establish diversity in the authorship and age of the documents, the religious views which they represent, the attitude of the writers, the classes to which they belong, and the interests which they are seeking to promote.

The invention of the 2d Elohist and the necessity of combining in him Elohistic with Jehovistic peculiarities, suggests the question: If in him, why not in others? Why might they not meet in Moses?

If critics differ by 1,000 years in the period to which they assign certain portions of the Pentateuch, we conclude that the criteria cannot be very clear and decisive. Careful examination fails to establish the claims of most of the words said to be distinctively Elohistic or Jehovistic. Dr. Harper makes the admission: The argument from language, while at one time supposed to be the most important, is now regarded by critics as of least value, compared with other arguments. (See Vos's *Mosaic Origin Pent. Codes*, and especially Dr. Green's discussion with Prof. Harper in *Hebraica*.)

The next three points we treat in combination. It is said

c. *Marked rhetorical peculiarities of thought and style are associated with this characteristic use of words; also,*

D. *Distinctions in the selection and use of favorite material;*
and

E. *Characteristic doctrinal conceptions and aims.*

Taking Prof. Harper's account of the two main documents, P and J, we find the style and choice and use of material thus described: P is characterized by a systematic perhaps artificial arrangement of material;—chronological, statistical, perhaps mechanical;—minute, precise, scientific;—rigid, stereotyped, condensed;—verbose and repetitious; generic. J is free and flowing;—abundance of stories and traditions;—picturesque, poetical;—highly anthropomorphic;—prophetic, *i. e.*, predictive and didactic;—individual;—with certain peculiar marks beside.

In theology, we find P. distinguished by a rigidly monotheistic spirit;—a lofty, dignified conception of God; a magnifying and dignifying of the supernatural;—man so far beneath his Creator as to give no occasion for jealousy or alarm;—strict adherence to the idea of progressive revelation;—conscientious avoidance of any reference to God as the Covenant God, to sacrifice, altars, clean and unclean, or ceremonial institutions. In J we find a spirit scarcely strictly monotheistic;—a representation of God as a supernatural being whose rights are threatened by man's presumption;—a dispensing as far as possible with divine aid;—men sustaining free and confidential relations with Jehovah;—an utter indifference to the historical development of religious ideas; the existence from the beginning of a definite ceremonial system, with altars, sacrifices, etc.

The critics differ decidedly among themselves in regard to the possibility of separating fully the 2d Elohist document,—and also in regard to the characteristics which they emphasize.

The bounds and characteristics of the work of the Deuteronomist within the Pentateuch are less debatable, and it would be strange if critics did not agree substantially in their descriptions.

Remarks:—

(1). There is a measure of truth in some of these discriminations, so far forth as God's manifestation of Himself, now in a more general way as Elohim or El

Shaddai, and again in a more special way as Jehovah, would naturally involve diversities of conception and representation, with a corresponding style of phraseology. Keil clearly recognizes the *a priori* reasons for anticipating these varieties. Hävernick urges that the more clearly we recognize the divine presence in the history and the record of it, as an early and constant reality and power, the more impossible will it be to maintain all the critical results of this literary analysis.

And all the more when we observe:—

(2). The very minuteness of many of these discriminations, and the overweening confidence, and overawing positiveness with which they are set forth, creates distrust of them; so also the magnitude of the conclusions drawn from very small premises, “the want of an objectively fixed foundation being supplied by so much greater subjective certainty” (Bredenkamp).

(3). Just in proportion as the lexical tests fail to establish the discriminations that are asserted, and to identify and define the documents, we are thrown back on the subjective judgments and estimates of the critics, a most uncertain and fluctuating reliance, leaving us in constant doubt at which end of the theory the facts stand.

(4). While critics point triumphantly to the number of particulars in which they are agreed, it is no less obvious that in other particulars they are in the sharpest antagonism to each other. See Watson’s Hulsean Lectures for 1882, for a telling exhibition of differences of judgment in regard to the style and spirit of the same documents. We are left to wonder how the same conclusion was reached from these contrasting premises; how the documents were identified as the same when their peculiarities are so differently estimated. And the outlines are very shadowy, and the fragments in which we are to find these clear discriminations often very small.

(5). That there are such different conceptions of God characterizing different portions of the Pentateuch, and such different theological conceptions generally, conservative scholars see no reason to believe. To their view seeming diversities connect themselves for the most part with the place assigned to God, now as God of Nature and Providence and again as God of the covenant and redemption. (See especially Dr. Green, *Hebraica*, V. 182 sq.)

Moreover some of the alleged doctrinal diversities are a gross and extravagant deduction from the anthropomorphisms of this ancient narrative. And still further the critics are far from being agreed in regard to the relative age of these supposed documents, and consequently in regard to the order of this theological development. Some will prefer to believe that there is no intrinsic and essential difficulty in God's employing various modes of self-disclosure and communication in dealing with the same age, or even the same man, as Moses, so far as yet appears, believed and reported, both in his own case and that of others.

II. *The realistic analysis, or the historical criticism of the Pentateuch.*

1. The fields of investigation to be searched by this historical method are: (a) The legislative portions of the Pentateuch; (b) The historical portions both of the Pentateuch and of the following books; (c) The prophetic and poetical literature of the O. T.

2. The chief points to be investigated are: (a) The mutual relations of the main legislative codes; (b) The mutual consistency of the details of this legislation; (c) The mutual consistency of different parts of the history; (d) The relations of the Mosaic history to the legislation which is referred to that time; (e) Evidence furnished in the subsequent history of the apparent existence or non-existence, observance or non-observance of the laws, etc.; (f) Evidence from the prophetic and poetical literature of the existence or non-existence, observance or non-observance of the laws, etc.; (g) Evidence from the historical, prophetic and poetical books of the actual existence of a different order of things, out of which the legislation may more probably have grown.

3. The alleged result reached by the investigation of these points.

(a). It is said to be in all respects unfavorable to the claim of Mosaic authorship either for the whole, or for any considerable part of the legislation, or for the record of it.

(b). It is said to be in all respects favorable to the theory that the legislation now recorded in the Pentateuch owes its origin chiefly to three quite different periods and trains of influence; and that the authorship of the record is in like manner to be extended over several centuries, and to be assigned to several different hands, which can be in a broad and general way identified, and their mutual relations determined.

Vernes gives this statement (*Encycl. des Sciences rel.*, X.): The first partial edition of the Hexateuch, amounting to about 80 chapters, was composed in the prophetic spirit by the Jehovist early in the 8th century B. C. The Deuteronomist, at the end of the same century, contributes material amounting to about 40 chapters, exhibiting a combination of the prophetic spirit with priestly inclinations. A few years after the reforms of Josiah the Deuteronomist combines this new material with the work of the Jehovist in a second edition of the Hexateuch. The Elohist, after the exile, writes a new history of Israel, including numerous and detailed legislative provisions, conceived under an entirely sacerdotal or clerical inspiration, etc., etc. Within the century between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great, the second edition of the Hexateuch was brought by unknown hands into combination with the Elohist-Ezraic code in our present Hexateuch.

We are then to study first: —

(a). *The mutual relations of the main legislative codes of the Pentateuch.*

The codes, so called, of the Pentateuch are three:
 (1) The book of the covenant, mentioned in Ex. xxiv. 7.
 (2) The laws of Deuteronomy, including in general Deut. iv. 44–xxvi. (3) All the other laws in Ex., Lev. and Num., commonly called the priestly (or priests') code.

In respect to the first Kuenen says: The sequence is by no means always clear and regular; some items break the succession; the preceding verse (xx. 22), which lacks confirmation, connects these laws with the words which Jehovah spoke to Israel from Heaven. There is one allusion to an earlier commandment (xxiii. 15), and no announcement of laws to be subsequently promulgated.

In regard to Deut., he says, there are these questions only: Where the collection begins and ends, (whether iv. 44-xxvi. or xii.-xxvi.) and, whether the collection has come to us in the original form. It is in general homogeneous, and sharply distinguished from both the other codes.

With the exception of two or three fragments in Ex. xii., xiii. and xxxiv. the third collection includes all the remaining laws of the middle books—very miscellaneous, ill arranged; much might be omitted without loss. Some have the character of novels; they are also sometimes mutually inconsistent. They relate mainly to the cultus, the sanctuary and its servants, sacrifices, festivals, purity and purification, vows; other things are touched in a priestly sense.

R. 1. While there are facts lying on the very surface of the narrative and the legislation which justify a certain discrimination between these various parts of the Pent., the differences both in substance and form are greatly exaggerated.

R. 2. The want of orderly arrangement within the several parts is rather in favor of an ancient and Mosaic authorship (Dean Payne Smith). "In Palestine the national code would have been digested and made uniform." The laws as they stand appear to be recorded as they purport to have been given, at intervals, and in a fragmentary way.

R. 3. The fundamental assumption of the critical theory, constantly reiterated, that each code and each law must be the product and exponent of its own times; and that, therefore, from the subject and form of each law we may infer the conditions out of which it grew, and which made it seasonable and necessary, is in most absolute opposition to the whole scheme and conception of the Mosaic economy. This assumes that God is the guard and guide, the lawgiver and ruler of Israel. It is continually asserted that the great part of the economic laws of the Pent. deal with the life of a sedentary and agricultural people, and would not have originated among, or been given to, nomads in the wilderness, etc. But this nomad life was transitional and was expected to be brief, and is adequately provided for. The long life of the

future in Canaan was that which had been for centuries promised, that toward which God had been leading the people and for which he had been disciplining them, for which he had brought them out of Egypt, and in which he was now to establish them. That so little was done for political and social organization, favors the idea that God being always ruler over all, might put them at one time under one human guidance, again under another. What would occupy a foremost place in any humanly devised codes is here left out of the account as a matter of legislation. The enforcement of all laws rests on the basis of God's relations, and will in experience be proportionate to the reality and vigor of the people's recognition of God.

R. 4. In respect to the mutual relation of the codes the one thing that we can discuss as a settled thing is the supposed discovery, that the Deuteronomic code as a published code is the product of Josiah's time. "This book must serve as the basis for critical research, because the date of its publication can be accurately enough determined" (Reuss). See II. K. xxii., xxiii.; II. Chr. xxxiv., xxxv. See Ewald's description of the way in which Deut. is put into the mouth of Moses, and of the substance and scope of the book (Hist. of Isr., iv. 220 sq.); and Dean Stanley's sketch of the peculiarities of Deut. (Jewish Church, II. Lect. xxxix.)

(1). As the record stands before us it is according to II. K. xxii. 8, "the book of the law" that Hilkiah reports to Shaphan as found in the house of the Lord. Presumptively this form of expression points to something previously known.

(2). Whatever difficulties there may be in accounting for the surprise and consternation of the king, and his apparent ignorance of the law, its demands and its threatenings, with all his zeal for reforms apparently already initiated and in progress for some years, it is more difficult to account for the facility with which the high priest, the scribe, the king, the prophetess and the people, receive as the law of the Lord and the law of Moses (xxiii. 25), a book which none of them had ever seen before, a book to all intents and purposes just produced, yet purporting beyond any other book of the O. T. to be from Moses himself.

(3). Whatever features may or may not be peculiar to Deut., we cannot but regard these as singular products of Josiah's time; the definition of the duties of the prophetic order, when since Samuel prophets had been coming and going 500 years; the definition of the duties of kings, when from the time of Saul there had been kings for 450 years; the inculcation of the necessity of political unity now, rather than when the tribes were first coming out of Egypt and the wilderness into Canaan. The perils connected with high places were moreover no new perils (see the account of Balak and Balaam, 800 years before); while the blessings and curses might as well be connected with a law promulgated by the real Moses, as by a fictitious Moses.

(4). The national relations made prominent in Deut. are peculiar for so late a day as that of Manasseh and Josiah; relations to Canaanites, Amalekites, Ammonites, Midianites and Moabites; relations to Egypt suggested by the recent bondage, rather than by the complications of the monarchical period; and no allusion to Syrians and Assyrians.

(5). Some of the most characteristic elements of Deut. seem to have been known before Josiah's time. Hosea and Amos appear to refer repeatedly to things mentioned in Deut. alone of the books of the Pent. Cf. Hos. v. 10, with Deut. xix. 14; Hos. iv. 4, with Deut. xvii. 12; Hos. iv. 13, and viii. 11 with Deut. xxiii. 18; xii. 2, 4 sq.; Amos iv. 4, with Deut. xiv. 28; Am. viii. 5, with Deut. xxv. 14 sq.

Zahn says: Every literary untruthfulness brought forward with the purpose to deceive, passed in the first centuries of the church with all the teachers of the church whose writings have come down to us, as an abominable sin. And Bredenkamp urges that it is a sheer *petitio principii* to suppose that it had been otherwise with the Jewish sacred literature.

(b). *The mutual consistency of the Pentateuch legislation.*

The general argument of Kuenen, etc., is, that the first and second codes purport to have been recorded by

Moses, while in the third, the laws purport to have been revealed to Moses and put in force by him, but may have been recorded by others. In Deut. no other previous legislation is presupposed, except the Decalogue of Deut. v. 6-18. Other laws were revealed at Sinai; but these laws of Deut., designed for a people dwelling in Canaan, are now first communicated to the people (v. 28; vi. 1). The writer does not presuppose the knowledge by the people of any earlier laws, like those of the book of the covenant. Even in chap. ix. and x. no mention is made of such a book and the people's acceptance of it. The laws of the priests' code were also designed for the people in Canaan; these codes may therefore be fairly compared. We discover essential differences and even contradictions that cannot be removed.

To illustrate these differences Kuenen selects eight particulars:—

(1). Place of worship: See Ex. xx. 24; Deut. xii. and par.; Lev. xvii and par. By the law in Ex. many places are allowed; in Deut. one is insisted on; in Lev. one is presupposed.

But the capricious selection by men of places for worship is surely cut off by the phrase in Ex.: Where I record my name. Divine sanction is essential; and the form of expression points quite as naturally to change of place in the course of history; especially when an authorized contemporaneous plurality of places finds no support elsewhere in the law.

(2). The religious festivals: See Ex. xxiii. 14-17 and par.; Deut. xvi. 1-17; Lev. xxiii. and par. The two popular codes agree (cf. also Ex. xxxiv. 18, 22-24, and xiii. 3-10) in recognizing three yearly feasts; in the priests' code, however (see Lev. xxiii. *passim*; Num. xxviii. 18, 25, 26; xxix. 1, 7, 12; Ex. xii. 16), there are seven, distinguished by holy convocations, abstinence from labor and sacrifices.

Dillmann says: "The point of view (of Lev.) is broader, and that there is a contradiction between this and the other legal documents cannot be fairly asserted." Things that differ are confounded in the *haggim* and the *moadhim*, and so Sabbath and new moon are put on the same footing as Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.

(3). Priests and Levites: See Ex. xxviii. and par.; Num. iii. and par.; Deut. xviii. 1-8 and par. According to the priests' code Aaron and his descendants are the only lawful priests; all other Levites are set apart for service at the sanctuary, but excluded from the priesthood (see Num. xvi. 9, 10; xxii. 5; xviii. 1-3). According to Deut., however (x. 8-9), the tribe of Levi is set apart "to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in His name," *i. e.*, to the priesthood. All have the right to become priests. So in regard to blessing; Num. vi. 23-27; Deut. x. 8, 9; xxi. 5.

The concise answer is, that in some portions and passages of the O. T. the distinction between priests and Levites is sharply drawn, elsewhere not. See Malachi, when according to the theory the priests' code had been in existence many years; yet in i. 6; ii. 1-8; iii. 3, 4, the phrase "sons of Levi" is used of those who are performing the most strictly priestly functions.

(4). Tithes of the fruits of the field and of the flock: See Num. xviii. 21-32; Lev. xxvii. 32 sq.; Deut. xiv. 22-29; xxvi. 12-15. The tithe of Lev. and Num. is undoubtedly different from that of Deut. The author of Deut. must have alluded to a second tithe if he had known of one, and offered some justification. In xviii. 3, 4 he names no tithes among the sources of the priests' income. Cf. Num. xviii. 21. If two tithes were assessed while it is pretended that only one is demanded, "the one legislator can be maintained only at the expense of his moral character." (Kuenen.)

On the subject of tithes see Dr. Ginsburg in Kitto's Cyclop., and McClintock & Strong's Cyclop.

To assume that a full statement in regard to tithes must be made wherever tithes are mentioned is wholly unwarranted. Deut. may be silent in regard to one tithe, and Num. in regard to another, without justifying a slur on the character of the one legislator. It is a sheer assumption that Deut. xviii. 3, 4 professes to give all the sources of the priests' income. And the precepts of Deut. necessarily presuppose other ordinances. (Bredenkamp.)

(5). The firstlings of the flock: See Ex. xxii. 30; xiii. 12, 13; xxxiv. 19, 20; Deut. xv. 19-23; Num. xviii. 15-18.

As compared with Ex. the law in Num. protects the priests from certain possibilities of loss; while between Num. and Deut. there is more positive contradiction. That which in Deut. is expressly awarded to the offerer and his household, to be eaten by them before the Lord, is in Num. wholly given to the priests. See the views of Riehm and Robertson Smith.

The difficulty has been met by two lines of suggestion; that these laws relate to firstlings belonging to different tithes, which under Jehovah's direction are disposed of in different ways; and that the phrases "give to Jehovah" (Ex. xxii. 30) and "sanctify unto the Lord" (Deut. xv. 19), are sometimes misapprehended. If that was duly given or sanctified which in specified proportions was given to the priests and used by the worshipers, the essential requirement of the two laws is met.

(6). The dwelling places of the priests and Levites in the land of Canaan: See Deut. xviii. 6 and par.; Num. xxxv. 1-8 and par.; Josh. xxi. 1-40. While according to Num. and Josh. the Levites receive their cities with the respective suburbs in absolute possession, according to Deut. they reside as guests in the cities of the Israelites (xii. 12, 18; xiv. 27, 29; xvi. 11, 14), and are with widows, orphans and strangers commended to the benevolence of the people (xii. 19; xxvi. 11 sq., etc.)

Neither does Deut. imply that the Levites had no such assignment of cities as that declared in Num. (See xviii. 8, where their patrimony is recognized, although not described), nor does it, in making them objects of generous benevolence, imply that apart from that they were entirely destitute.

(7). The beginning of the Levites' term of service: See Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, 47; Num. viii. 24. According to Num. iv. they serve from their 30th to their 50th year; according to Num. viii. from the 25th to the 50th.

The ordinary explanation is, that the first regulation has reference to the heavy service of the wilderness period, the second to the subsequent, more settled life in Canaan, or the lighter duties of their office even in the wilderness, "in the tent of meeting."

(8). The emancipation of Israelitish slaves: See Ex. xxi. 1-6; Deut. xv. 12-18; Lev. xxv. 39-43. The laws of Ex. and Deut. ordain emancipation after six years of service; that of Lev. in the year of jubilee.

Dillmann holds these directions not inconsistent. The permanent bondage of an Israelite or his family was not allowed. Lev. deals with the case of those who, on account of poverty, had sold themselves. To release them in the 7th year might only return them to the wretchedness of their old condition; yet even they might not be held beyond the year of jubilee.

(c). *The mutual consistency of different parts of the Pentateuch history.*

The first point insisted on by Reuss and others of his school is the numberless repetitions of the history; thus the promise to Abraham; the story of a patriarch's calling his wife his sister; Beersheba; the sending away of Hagar and Ishmael; the name of Isaac; the name Israel; Bethel; the genealogies of Moses and Aaron; the return to Moses of his wife and children; the water brought from the rock, etc., etc., appear from two to six times each. In other cases two accounts have been unskilfully combined; as in the story of the deluge, of Abraham's departure from Ur and Haran, of Joseph, of the mission of Moses to Pharaoh, of the passage of the Red Sea, of the sending of the spies, of Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

In all these cases exposition should be careful and exact; inferences should be cautiously drawn; the critical principle should guard alike against forced harmonizing and forced antagonizing; the authors should be credited with the belief that they were not bringing into their narratives insoluble contradictions. If there is real repetition a reason should be sought; if only an apparent repetition, the differences should have full weight.

Apply these principles to the cases above specified.

(d). *Relations of the Mosaic history to the legislation recorded in the Pentateuch; or, the fitness of the historical setting of the Pentateuch legislation.*

The naturalistic doctrine would make the legislation as a whole, and each item of it, the pure and simple product of the natural conditions in which the legislator found himself and people at the time when the laws took their form. Others who admit supernatural elements, nevertheless, argue that in the case of the legislation, as in the case of prophecy and all kindred matters, the subjects of which the legislation (or prophecy) treats, must be within the natural field of view of the legislator (or prophet), and so must be not only supernaturally possible, but natural under the historical conditions of the case.

No one should deny that in the case of very many items of the legislation there may be found, and in the case of many more may have existed, antecedent usages, human deliberations, consultations and experiences, and the like—all of which on the higher theory are in the Mosaic system taken up to a higher plane, divinely sanctioned for their present purpose, divinely adapted and enjoined; while all these are supplemented by provisions and enactments coming more directly from the divine wisdom and authority.

Can, then, the laws contained in the last four books of the Pent. be held to date from an epoch when the Israelites were only hordes of nomads, traversing with their flocks the wilderness of Sinai, and the steppes East of the Dead Sea? Reuss lays stress on three points as chiefly proving the unfitness of the historical setting of this legislation: (1) The entire want of political organization; (2) The want of correspondence between the civil legislation in many of its particulars, and the time when it purports to have been given; (3) A like want of correspondence in the case of the ritual laws.

(1) No ties but blood, common language, religion and barbarism, bound together these nomads. Yet an undisputed nationality is presupposed; and this ungovernable people could not dispense with a firm and permanent control, if the laws were to have any chance of execution.

So Kuenen;—maintaining that the legislation assumes the existence of authorities who are nowhere instituted or instructed. Much that is said needs fuller definition; e. g. Deut. xix. 12; Ex. xxi. 6; xxii. 8; Deut. xvii. 8 sq.

As for the nomad life, it was evidently incidental and transitional. All that is said of their occupations, habits, tastes, and their very faults, proves that they had been an agricultural people, and this they expected to be. The Egyptian life had also been for many of them a city life, in the closest contact with the culture of Egypt. Much that is described and prescribed implies proficiency in the industries and arts of civilized life. As to political organization, it is a marked peculiarity of the legislation that it makes little of that of which human codes ordinarily make so much. Tribes, generations, houses, and individual families had their organization: there were elders, etc. The theocratic principle controls and explains all.

(2). Reuss argues that any law actually promulgated must correspond with the actual condition of the people, if it is to have any chance of being executed. Numberless laws of the Pent. imply wholly different conditions from those actually existing. The agriculture of Canaan is very unlike that of Egypt. Many things imply a somewhat advanced civilization.

As for the differences between Egyptian agriculture and that of Canaan the forefathers of the Israelites had lived for generations in Canaan, and continual intercourse between the two countries would keep the traditional knowledge from dying out. It is plain that the Israelites were not the barbarians whom the critics delight to depict.

(3). Of the ritual laws Reuss selects two for special challenge; the law of the Sabbath, and those which relate to worship at one central sanctuary. Of the Sabbath law there are two versions, one connecting the institution with the mythical history of the creation, the other with deliverance from the Egyptian bondage. And the labors from which the people are enjoined to rest, are rural labors, manual toils.

As for the new reason given in Deut. for Sabbath observance, it seems eminently natural that the universal and essential reason first given should be supplemented (not superseded) by the more national and temporal reason.

In regard to the central sanctuary, the required pilgrimages, etc., it is said, the demands are impracticable. Ex. xxiii. 17 does not, in form, make such a demand; Lev. xvii. points to a different geographical and political

horizon for the legislation;—to a time when all the territory to which the law could apply consisted of one city and a few villages.

Ex. xxiii. 19 (if not 17), seems to point to one place. And as for Lev. xvii.—xxvii., Dillmann regards this whole group of laws as pre-eminently the Sinaitic;—Sinai-laws. No law-giver could have enacted these after the legislation of Deut.

(e). *Evidence furnished in the subsequent history of the apparent existence or non-existence, the observance or non-observance of the laws, and of the institutions to which the laws relate.*

In the view of the critics this is the most important, and the most decisive evidence accessible to us.

Even Genesis, it is claimed, may be called to witness, so far forth as it testifies to acts done by those who are set forth as types of theocratic perfection, which are recorded without censure, although in flagrant contradiction to the letter of a law recognized as obligatory for the whole people. How could Moses, as author both of Genesis and of the law, make such a record, without some precaution taken as a safeguard for the authority of the law? Cf. Lev. xviii. 9, 20; xviii. 18; xiii. 12 with the marriages of some of the patriarchs, and of Moses' parents; and the laws of Ex. xxi. and Deut. xxi. with the sending away of Hagar.

The history does not pretend that all was right which it records; makes distinction of time in respect to the fulness and precision of divine revelations; does not set forth the patriarchs as models of theocratic perfection; holds up the law and not these examples as the standard of duty; abundantly warrants the condemnation of all that is contrary to fundamental morality, and supplies proof of the evil tendency of whatever is evil.

The examples of Abraham and Jacob were not to be followed when groves and pillars had been forbidden on account of their relations to idolatry, etc., etc.

Passing to the time of the Judges, criticism makes much of the "theocratic heroes" of the period, and of the lack of evidence that they or their historian knew

anything of the law which Joshua had just established so firmly. The four examples relied on as proving knowledge of the law mean nothing of the sort; Gideon's refusal to be king; Jephthah's vow; Samson's consecration, and the marriage of Boaz (Reuss). The tabernacle is not named in Judges, the men worshiped where they would. Sacrifice is spoken of with satisfaction, offered at many different places. Laymen offer sacrifice; the legal festivals are not once mentioned.

"Israel's iron age" is far from satisfactory; yet the indirect witness borne by the book of Judges to the preceding books is most impressive by the very way in which the irregularities of the time are marked as abnormal. In such an age only two kinds of power could secure the observance of a law like that of the Pentateuch; adequate political power did not exist, and the existence of moral power was to be tested. The wilderness life was not promising. "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes," by no means proves that each man's own inclination was the only standard of right.

The distribution of the land by Joshua was largely ideal; was to be made real; "by little and little;" under conditions explicitly laid down. The destruction of the Canaanites was enjoined and justified, and the consequences of failure to execute the divine bidding were Cf. Ex. xxiii. 32, 33; xxxiv. 12-16; Num. xxxiii. 55, 56; distinctly announced. Lev. xviii. 27-30; Deut. ix. 1 sq. Josh. xxiii. 12, 13; Jud. ii. 2, 3.

The history recorded in this book is a wonderful witness to the law and institutions of Moses. So far forth as the people did not aim at that for which the law was given, and observe what it prescribed, they experienced just what the law denounced. Such a book should not be expected to bear much testimony in regard to the details of a more normal life. The conditions of the country often put many of the provisions of the law in abeyance. And the law was never designed so to limit God, that he could never allow or create an exception to what it ordained.

No one claims that the law was, through this period, both well known and strictly observed. Many of the irregularities may be explained in a way quite consistent

with the previous enactment and knowledge of the Mosaic law; so of Gideon's refusal to be king. Jephthah's vow, rash and cruel as it was, may have been suggested by it; so the ascetic practices of Manoah's wife, and the course of Boaz.

But beyond these four instances, there are many more in which, by fact or phrase, the book bears witness to a knowledge of Pentateuchal requirements. There was a "house of the Lord," and in Shiloh, where "the feast of the Lord" was also observed. "The ark of the covenant" is in the custody of the priests. A grandson of Aaron "stood before it." Numerous technical expressions correspond with those of the Pent.

The abnormal condition of the land and the times explains some of the irregularities. God's own intervention calls forth others. The four instances of irregular sacrifice are all called forth by supernatural manifestations. No previously existing local sanctuaries are endorsed by them. Shiloh is the place of the sanctuary at the end of Joshua's time, in Micah's time, in Eli's time.

As for the books of Samuel, Reuss urges such points as these: Samuel's tribe; his irregular residence as a child at Shiloh,—in the house of God, which cannot have been the tabernacle. There were apparently other sanctuaries—at Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, Ramah and Nob. The ceremonies are peculiar (I. S. vii. 6); all Levites sacrifice (ii. 28); even women serve (ii. 22.) Anybody could sacrifice,—the men of Bethshemesh (vi. 14); of Kirjath Jearim (vii. 1); Saul (xiii. 9; xiv. 33 sq.) Samuel opposes the setting up of the kingly office (ch. viii. 8), in spite of Deut. xvii., and Gen. xvii. 6. Moses is named only as liberator (xii. 6), and his laws not at all.

But Samuel could be Levite and Ephraimite. No ignorance or disregard of the law is shown in Hannah's consecration; none in Samuel's conduct in the tabernacle at Shiloh (Jud. xviii. 31.) Shiloh lost its pre-eminence (iv. 3 sq.), and all the approved sacrifices at Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah and Ramah are connected with Samuel's presence. Nob is a city of priests. For some unknown reason the high priesthood seems to fluctuate between Ithamar's and Eleazar's line. If ii. 28 is an interpolation (Reuss), what does it prove in regard to the service of

women? The seemingly irregular acts of sacrifice have a clear justification or stand as irregular. Omission of Moses' name, and of reference to his laws, is the most negative of proofs. The way in which the people sought a king is Samuel's justification.

As for David, Reuss objects to the non-Levitical mode of bringing up the ark from Kirjath Jearim; and claims that Nathan's words to David (II. Sam. vii.) show that nothing was known of the splendid tabernacle of the wilderness. Men continued to go up to Gibeon even to the beginning of Solomon's reign. David and his family sacrificed at Bethlehem (I. S. xx. 6, 29); at Hebron (II. S. v. 3; xv. 7); on the Mount of Olives (II. S. xv. 32); and David built an altar on Araunah's threshing floor (II. S. xxiv. 35). There were two priestly lines; David's own sons, a Jairite, and Nathan's sons, were priests. David sacrifices (as Solomon does afterward) II. S. vi. 17 sq.; xxiv. 25; I. K. ix. 25), and even takes part in a human sacrifice (II. S. xxi. 6.) Levites are mentioned only in one doubtful passage (II. S. xv. 24). Oracles are often mentioned, which any priest may give—and usually images are associated. There were teraphim in David's house (I. S. xix. 13). Nabal's sheep shearing is the only festival mentioned.

In the bringing up of the ark there are normal elements, as well as irregularities, and the vindication of its sacredness by terrible judgments can hardly be connected with an unknown law. Bearers of the ark are mentioned in II. S., vi. 31, and Levites as bearers in xv. 24. The ark and the tabernacle are separated; the time for the final establishment of the one central sanctuary had not come; that and the re-establishment of one priestly line came in Solomon's reign. Abnormal worship is for the present unavoidable. As to the "priesthood" of David's sons, etc., the great majority of expositors agree in giving *kohen* here a political import. In the sacrificial acts ascribed to David Levites may have really officiated. The execution of Rizpah's sons is no act of worship. In connection with Urim and Thummin God might be consulted (says Riehm) "anywhere where one has at his disposal the ephod, and a priest competent and authorized to inquire of God." There is no intimation that David had any knowledge of Michal's teraphim.

(f). *Evidence from the prophetic and poetical literature of the existence or non-existence, the observance or non-observance, of the laws ascribed to Moses.*

It is said to be claimed for the prophets that they never cease to exhort the Israelites to the obedience due to the moral law; and that there is no part of the Pentateuch which does not serve as a text for their discourses, their commentaries and their appeals. Whereas, in fact, before Jeremiah there is nothing that resembles a citation from, or a commentary upon, an ancient and official text. Neither are there indirect citations. *Torah* means simply instruction; never legislation. The ancient prophets never insist on ritual observance; they speak more than contemptuously of it. See Is. xxix, 13. The great festivals are unknown; priests are rarely mentioned, Levites never.

Proverbs is the earliest of the poetical books that bears the impress of the later Judaism. (So Reuss.)

R. 1. This representation fundamentally misconceives, and historically inverts the mutual relation of the law and the prophets.

The holiness of God is the first principle of the O. T. religion, and the holiness of men its great practical aim. This explains what is done both for the community and for individual men. Inward holiness should show itself in all the relations of life. The system is historically progressive. Its earlier and more imperfect forms are easily misapprehended; and failing of their appropriate effect need to be supplemented, on the one side by discipline, on the other by agencies like those of the prophetic institution. The law entered upon its work with an unspiritual people fresh from the bondage of Egypt and the idolatries and judgments of the wilderness, and to be established in a land full of peoples of a most unspiritual type. Truth must be taught by forms and symbols liable to constant misunderstanding and misuse. The tendency was strong, when the law was observed, to rest in externals as sufficient and satisfactory.

The law was an ideal law; the people, their kings, often their priests, were far from being ideal. The prophetic institution had been set up in Moses, the law-giver,

and announced in the law itself. It was never, in its intention, antagonistic to a true priesthood or a true observance of the law. The law and the true prophets stood as mighty and harmonious witnesses for God, and agencies working toward holiness. Their conception, their tendency, their normal result were one. They agree in their immediate aim, the development of personal holiness, and in their remoter aim, which was to prepare for Christ. And in Prophecy itself there was development; compare the earlier and the later. The common relation of law and prophets to Christ seems utterly irreconcilable with the critical doctrine of a deadly mutual antagonism. And of the two the law must be the antecedent. It is wholly inconceivable that the law should stand on the foundation of prophecy. Where prophecy had failed there would have been little promise or prospect of success from the Levitical law.

R. 2. The critical conception demands of the prophets a kind and amount of reference to the law, which should not be at all expected, and because this kind of detailed reference is wanting, declares the Deuteronomic law non-existent before Josiah's time, and the law of the middle books non-existent until the return from the exile.

If our conception of the relation of the prophets to the law, as above given, is correct, they need not be continually, in the spirit and after the method of the later scribes, referring to its minute specifications. It is enough if they plainly have it in mind, are concerned alike for the neglect and the misapprehension of it, and use all their power to secure the holiness at which it aims. The prophets' service will be rendered by broad and deep denunciations of sin, and the declaration of the divine purpose, on the one hand of judgment, on the other of grace.

R. 3. This critical representation greatly understates and misstates the amount of actual allusion in the books of the prophets to the things that are central, essential, fundamental in the law. After all the denials of the critics, the more conservative and the more radical, it is still maintained (see especially the thorough discussion of Bredekamp), that the psalms and the older prophets obviously presuppose, and have their root in, such things as these:

(1). The covenant set forth in its nature and conditions in the Pent., with mention of Moses as the organ of the divine communication, and with undoubted recognition otherwise of its substance. See passages like Amos iii. 1; Hos. viii. 1; vi. 7; xiii. 4 sq.; Is. v.; and especially Jeremiah. Sacrifice is from the first assumed to be at least an accompaniment of the covenant. The rebuke of abused and perverted sacrifice shows how true sacrifice is esteemed. See Ps. l. The *Torah*, which this relation implies, cannot be mere instruction, but a law. *Torah* denotes sometimes prophetic instruction, sometimes the entire revelation of divine counsel and direction, sometimes plainly legislation. See Deut. xxxiii.; Hos. iv. 6; viii. 12; Mic. iii. 11; Jer. xviii. 18; Ez. vii. 26; xxii. 26; Zeph. iii. 4; Mal. ii. 7. Places, persons, offerings are made holy by their relation to the holy God; see Ex. xix. 5, 6; Is. vi. 5; chap. xxvi., and other passages. In respect to idolatry prophetic teaching harmonizes with Ex. xx.

(2). As for the worship which the prophets contemplate, there is a normal worship which is never rejected as ungodly. The ritual law has a moral side, which it is the great aim of the prophets to exalt to higher honor. See Deut. vi. 5; xxx. 6; Lev. xix. 2 sq.; Ps. xl., l., li., etc.; Am. iv. 4, 5; v. 4; v. 21-27; Hos. v. 4; ix. 4, 5; Is. i. 10 sq.; xix. 19 sq.; xxix. 1; xxx. 29. Mich. vi. 6-8 is not a denunciation of all ceremonial worship, but of the inadequate and gross conceptions of the multitude. So Jer. vi. 20; vii. 21 sq., and kindred passages. *Your sacrifices*, not your *sacrifices*, the prophets condemn.

(3). As for the place of worship, see the implication of Psalms like the iii., xv., xxiv., xxvii., l., lx., cx.; and cf. passages like Am. i. 2; ix. 11; Hos. iii. 5; xiv. 2, 3; Is. ii. 2; xxix. 1; xxx. 29; xxxiii. 20. The high places are generally denounced because of their associations with false gods, impurity, and idolatry. (See Dr. Green's "Moses and the Prophets," pp. 137-169.)

(4). As for the priestly class, the tribe of Levi is the priestly class, if there is any, and the legitimate priests are by descent Levites. That priests are so little referred to in their normal work should not excite surprise. That the character and conduct of many of the priests is so brought out by the scathing rebukes of the prophets,

shows not an antagonism between the orders, but the true nature of the priestly office, and the greatness of the sin chargeable on those who are untrue to it. This throws, moreover, a flood of light on the moral and religious state of the people.

(g). *Evidence from the historical, prophetic and poetical books of the actual existence of a different order of things, out of which the legislation may more probably have grown.*

To discuss this point in full would require a detailed examination of the chief theories as to the real origin of the legislation, which is denied to Moses as its author. Within the limits of our time this is impossible.

All the historical connections of the legislation which appear on the surface of the Pent. narrative are cut away by such dicta as this (S. Sharpe, *Hist. of the Hebrew Nation*, p. 15): "These laws are, indeed, all said to have been delivered by Jehovah to the Israelites on their march out of Egypt; but this was only the priestly manner of saying that these laws were agreeable to the will of God." The chief warrant for Wellhausen's great reconstruction of the history of Israel is the alleged possibility and necessity of carefully separating the historical from the legislative tradition. (*Encycl. Brit.*, XIII. 399). "Moses was not regarded as the promulgator, once for all, of a national constitution, but rather as the first to call into activity the national sense for law and justice, and to begin the series of oral decisions which were continued after him by the priests." The giving of the law at Sinai, he declares "the product of the poetic necessity, etc." Stade professes to write a *history* of the people of Israel. The object of a *Biblical* history is edification; that of a *history* is truth. The *Biblical* history is specially attracted by narratives which have a religious tendency; a *history* remorselessly exposes all narratives that betray a tendency. The method of the *Biblical* history is harmonistic; it knows no contradictions; the true element of a *history* is the contradictions by which it lays hold on the real threads in the web of the historical recital. The chief difficulties encountered by the historian are, the fact that the history of Israel is essentially a history of religious ideas, the marked

peculiarities of Hebrew authorship, and the fortunes of the traditional text.

With full liberty assumed to make the documents what you will, and put them where you will, a critic who is not superior to the "subjectivity" that works such mischief in the Biblical narratives, and who sometimes betrays "tendencies," may, by the use of the historic imagination, give you "a history of Israel" (its legislation included). Its reliableness will, perhaps, remain a matter of question.

The historical, prophetic and poetical books, which follow the Hexateuch in the sacred Canon, must all be assigned to their true historical place before their testimony in regard to the component parts of the Hexateuch, or in regard to the institutions and laws which are its chief subject matter, will be of any decisive value. They may then be consulted in regard to the development reached by Israel at the time to which they are assigned, the views and influences dominant at the time of their own production, and the views which their writers would have us adopt concerning the past. If as much of the O. T. is literary fiction as many critics would have us believe, not only are results somewhat precarious, but we have a singular object of veneration held up before us in this sacred literature. The reverence of Christ and the Apostles for such a progeny of deceit becomes a remarkable phenomenon. And the structure of the new dispensation, built on such a basis, awakens a sense of insecurity from which not all the quieting assurances, or all the positiveness of the critics will set us free.

At what period, then, according to this testimony, were the successive strata of the Hexateuch, and of the institutions and laws falsely called Mosaic, really deposited? Differing by centuries in regard to the time when important parts of the Hexateuch were produced or combined, the critics must differ equally in regard to the historic agencies which gave rise to these various products. Their claim that they are in substantial agreement on all vital points is sometimes rudely challenged by novelties propounded among themselves. *E. g.*, in 1886 and '87 MM. D'Eichthal and Vernes declare Deuteronomy to be as really and elaborately composite as either of the pre-

ceding books, and to be post-exilian, a product of Ezra's time. The Priests' Code is later, and M. Vernes no longer recognizes in the Jehovist "a work bearing the specific characters of the times anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans." He denies that each document belongs to a distinct epoch, has a spirit of its own, and "has made a civilization in its likeness." He rebukes vigorously and anxiously the critical disposition to make "divergent and contradictory works," of these documents.

We compare Kuenen and Dillmann. According to Kuenen the chief tributaries to the final form of the Hexateuch are J and E,—J E,—D,—D J E,—P in various stages of development, and P¹ and P² in combination with D J E. Numberless "diaskeuasts" have left their finger marks on various parts of this conglomerate, which continues to undergo modification until the third century. He is too scientific to say much about the inspiration of the workers or of their products. For the pre-Deuteronomic dates he gives 800± to J, 750± to E, 630-580 to J E. J and E both come from the Northern Kingdom. D, in its legal parts, Kuenen assigns to a time a little before 621 B. C.; in other parts to a period subsequent to 597. D J E he holds to have been combined before 536. P he dates not far from 444, its preparation preceding that date, its further recension and expansion following.

From the same data, with the same confident assertion of the composite character of the Hex., Dillmann comes to very different conclusions as to time, order and mode of combination. We must be excused if we entertain doubts as to the efficiency and decisiveness of the critical tests. Dillmann scouts the idea of a series of modifications for the several documents previous to their combination.

Starting with D, and assigning both its final composition and publication to Josiah's time, Dillmann holds quite different views in regard to the antecedents and pre-suppositions of the book. The writer could not have put these discourses into the mouth, or referred these records to the pen, of Moses, unless conscious of having drawn his material from the oldest codices; nor could Hilkiah have aided in the promulgation of the book without a like

persuasion. B and C, (Kuenen's E and J), Dillmann regards as having had much material in common; they can not now be entirely separated. B he regards as the older, composed in the Northern Kingdom in the first half of the 9th century (150-100 years earlier than Kuenen's date). C he holds to be Judæan in its origin, its date not earlier than 750 (only a half century later than Ku., but reversing the order of production). B and C remained distinct until wrought into the final composite Hexateuch. Dillmann's A (Kuenen's P) does not include a legal document, which he calls S,—possibly also some other legal fragments. Part of the material of S is older than Samuel, part considerably later. The priestly document A, Dillmann sees no reason for putting after $800 \pm (300$ years earlier than Kuenen's date for P¹). A B C were wrought together as documents previously kept distinct. When they were combined with D the normative document was found in D; it was not appended to them; they were the needed introduction to it.

There is therefore only one of the four chief documents which these leading critics assign to the same time, on the combined external and internal evidence supplied by the Hexateuch and the following books. We may leave these adjustments to them, with the assistance of M. Vernes, and meanwhile withhold replies to the critics' argument (g), while they are so busy in answering each other.

CREDIBILITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

On the conservative ("traditional") view, and with a high doctrine of inspiration, we find the guarantees, human and divine, for the credibility of these books to be all that could be desired. The extreme brevity of the narratives will leave many things obscure. The chances of time may have brought in other sources of seeming inconsistency and mistake, which we have not always the means of removing. But for Genesis, looked at on the human side, we have a tradition exceptionally direct and well guarded, with the possible aid of documentary sources of information. And for the four books that follow, we have for our main witness one whose op-

portunity, competence and character are rarely equalled. And we have an unusual amount of corroboration. Add to this our warrant from later Scripture for believing in the inspiration of the Pentateuch.

On the lowest critical theory we have myth, legend, historical fiction, in uncertain combination; facts invented or perverted to support theories; obscurities and seeming contradictions which we may exaggerate, but may never attempt to harmonize; we have the nameless testimonies of irresponsible witnesses, and these testimonies subjected to changes of unknown number by unknown hands; and those who make the changes are not working in the interest of a closer approximation to truth, but in support of some claim or theory. And the only inspiration worth the name, the supernatural, is rigorously excluded.

Between these extremes scholars are attempting, in various circumstances and in various measures, to combine criticism with orthodoxy. It is difficult for some of us to appreciate the state of mind of those who say: The higher criticism has already strengthened the credibility of Scripture. The position of the Delitzsch of a half dozen years ago would be embarrassing to us, when (Presb. Rev., 1882, P. 554) he held, "to a certain extent an exoteric and an esoteric teaching,—the former for ministers and the church at large, the latter for an inner circle." A fresh definition of "credibility of Scripture" seems to be as necessary as an elastic doctrine of inspiration.

TEXT OF THE PENTATEUCH.

The exceptional importance of the *Torah* in the view of the Jews, led to the exercise of special care in the reproduction and transmission of its text. Regulation was particularly minute. The Synagogue rolls included the *Torah* and the *Megilloth*.

The translation of the LXX, as it dealt first with the Pentateuch shows there, by common consent, the most careful and the best work. From the Samaritans we have both a Hebrew text of the Pentateuch, written in Samaritan characters, and a Samaritan translation, both deviating more or less from our Hebrew text, while where they

deviate the former is, in the general judgment, preferred. In the Syriac version (the Peschitto) the translation of the Pentateuch again is said to connect itself most closely with the Hebrew and the Jewish interpreters of it. The Targums, while less valuable, are best in the Pentateuch.

These examples are enough to show, that while our oldest MSS. are so remote in time from the originals, we are relatively best assured in regard to the Pentateuch text.

JOSHUA.

I. PLACE OF JOSHUA IN RELATION TO THE PENTATEUCH.

The second grand division of the Hebrew Scriptures is the *Nebhîim*, including two sub-divisions. The general name expresses the idea that these books "were written through revelation and inspiration by prophets" (Vatke); the designations "former" and "latter" for the divisions has reference, as it is usually understood, to the position of these writings in the Canon, and not to their chronological order or relations. The prophetic writings in the stricter sense are again sometimes further divided into the "great" and the "minor" prophets.

If the critical theory is true, of a Hexateuch made up by one process of composition, how does it come to pass that *Joshua* is now, and has been at least since the time of the LXX, found among the *Nebhîim* and not in the *Torah*? The answer is given, that the Pentateuch as a *Torah* is an afterthought of the later Judaism. This naturally comes to an end with the death of Moses, while the original composition, the Hexateuch, covered the history to the death of Joshua.

The fivefold division of the *Torah* was partly natural, partly arbitrary, according to the theory; the end of Genesis and the beginning of Deuteronomy are naturally fixed; the divisions between the other three books were more arbitrarily made. *Joshua* naturally became the first book in the second great division of the Scriptures.

The lack of historic evidence that such an amputation was ever performed has been very properly emphasized. Was *Joshua*, or was it not, included in "the law of Moses,

the man of God," referred to in Ezra iii. 2; Neh. viii. 1? According to Reuss and others Ezra's codex had not yet been consolidated with D and J. If *Joshua*, or part of *Joshua* was included, then part of the law was afterward torn or thrust out (Principal Douglas).

II. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

III. AUTHORSHIP AND COMPOSITION.

The traditional belief has been that this book was composed soon after Joshua's time by some one who had, with him, gone through the experiences here recorded. Evidences of high antiquity, at least for the sources of *Joshua*, are found in the references to the Jebusites as still dwelling in Jerusalem, xv. 63 (cf. II S. v. 5-9), and to the Canaanites as still at Gezer, xvi. 10 (cf. I K. ix. 16). The site for the temple is not yet chosen, ix. 27 (cf. II S. xxiv. 18). These indications point to a time earlier than David's reign for the sources. Nothing calls for a later date unless the critical hypothesis in regard to the composite character of the book be adopted. The style and *usus loquendi*, while differing in some particulars from those of the Pentateuch, are in general agreement with them. The topographical information which abounds in the latter portion of the book has been held to be of such nature and to be so presented as to suggest strongly the use of written and apparently contemporary documents (Bible Comm.). Of Capt. Conder, the chief officer in the recent Palestine explorations, it is said: "If he had his notebook in one hand he generally had the book of *Joshua* in the other." The mere order of local names in *Joshua* aided in the probable identification of many places (Twenty-one Years' Work, pp. 28, etc.).

The book of *Joshua* is pervaded and dominated by one conception. It deals with the conquest and partition of the land, as effected by Joshua, and that in the line of the instructions and promises given to him by God through Moses. It follows naturally what the Pentateuch represents as the antecedent history. This consideration is urged both by the advocates of the original unity, and by those who favor the theory of the composite character of the book. So with the general connection in style and

phrase. There are some words common to the Pentateuch and *Joshua* in which these differ from the following books; and again, words in which the Pentateuch and *Joshua* differ the one from the other. This latter fact is more favorable to the theory of distinct authorship and unity of authorship; and it is not fully met by suggesting that the text of *Joshua* was less a matter of concern than that of the *Torah*, and that it has, therefore, suffered more. The presumption will be in favor of an original unity, unless there be decisive proof that the book is a conglomerate.

An incidental proof of original unity may be noticed before we examine the composite theory. The first assignments to the tribes experience later modification (see Ch. xix. 1, 40 sq.). A unification of the book from diverse documents, at a late day, would have been less likely to record these irregularities and the process of readjustment, than to make all conform to the outlines as they had been understood through all generations since the first.

About a century ago critics began to call attention to imperfect connections within the book, — to gaps and apparent contradictions. De Wette, Bleek and others affirmed more positively its composite character, and according to their various theories, attempted to trace the same documentary sources which they profess to find in the Pentateuch. This is now the general critical position.

Strack makes J the chief basis of the first half of *Joshua*, P that of the second. Bleek makes J's revision of E the source of most of the narrative portion, D being the source of the chief additions. Vatke finds but five verses of J in the first half. All admit that matters are very much mixed, the redactor from whom comes the present form, having obliterated many of the characteristics of the material that came into his hands.

DeWette's arguments against original unity are such as these: —

1. It is implied in the first half of the book that the conquest of the land was then complete, while xiii. 1 asserts the opposite.

The common reply is that the ascendancy of Israel was established in general in the campaigns of the first seven years (more or less), while the full conquest was, as it was to be, "by little and little" (Ex. xxiii. 30).

2. Hebron and Debir are represented in x. 36-38 as having been taken, and the Canaanites in them "utterly destroyed," while in xiv. 12; xv. 14-17, and in Jud. i. 10-11 the capture is made a later achievement.

Conservative commentators regard these first successes as followed by the recovery of these places by the Canaanites as soon as the army of Israel went to the extreme North.

3. The first half of the book represents the kings of Jerusalem, Debir, Hazor, Gezer and Bethel, etc., as having been defeated, while according to xv. 63; xvi. 10; xvii. 12, etc., these cities were still in possession of the Canaanites, and the Anakim held many places.

"Defeating kings and taking their cities are very different things" (Keil).

4. The first half represents the tribes as having acted together in the conquest, while the second ascribes this result when reached to the action of separate tribes. The conquest was gradual and partial; xv. 15 sq.; xvii. 14 sq.; xix. 47 sq.

No contradiction is found here by those who do not put the allotment out of the place which the book of *Joshua* gives it.

5. The first half represents the worship of the people to have been a worship of Jehovah after the methods of the law, while passages like xxiv. 23 point to a very different condition of things.

"With outward legality the heart may still cling to idols" (Keil). At this time, as well as earlier and later, there may have been secret idolatry among the people (Bible Comm.).

6. Chap. xxiv. 26, speaks of a sanctuary of Jehovah at Shechem,—while the representation elsewhere is, that the only sanctuary was at Shiloh.

This sacred place at Shechem appears to have been only that mentioned from the time of Abraham and Jacob (Gen. xii. 6; xxxv. 4).

The more positive proof that *Joshua* is made up from the same main documents that are asserted to be the proximate sources of the Pentateuch, is given thus by Dillmann.

(1) The Deuteronomic ground tone and color is given to the book by the effort to show how Joshua in his whole course conscientiously and zealously followed Moses' teaching, and in this effort was crowned with success. And yet

(2) Larger portions of the book show rather the style and coloring of A B C. And the Deuteronomic passages sometimes contradict those drawn from the other documents; *e. g.* iii. 2; iv. 1-3; x. 12-14, 28-43; xi. 10-23. Joshua's whole work must have been described by D.

(3) Much in the second half points to A, much in the first half to B C; now and then we find double reports within B C; while the redactor of A B C must have thrown out and obscured much, and R^d have modified much more.

The positiveness with which all this is affirmed fails to carry conviction. Kuenen deems it probable that the written accounts "simply furnished the writer with materials which he used in his own way and from his own point of view." The analysis of a narrative so constructed must be very precarious. Moreover in the hands of critics like Kuenen and Stade the historical value of the book is very much taken away. So much remains as can be harmonized with their theories. Ch. xxiv. 26 continues to puzzle the critics.

JUDGES.

I. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK.

II. DESIGNATION AND SCOPE OF THE BOOK.

The name is given to the book in view of its characteristic description of the men and women who are its chief theme. Laws like those of Deut. xvi. 18, prescribe and define the duties of the strictly judicial office. In all parts of the O. T., however, we find the verb *shaphat* and its derivatives employed of those who are rulers as well as judges, or rather than judges.

The Book of *Judges* continues the history of God's chosen people through the generations between the time of Joshua and the time of Samuel, giving special prominence to special periods in the general or local history of the tribes, to the oppressions to which they were subjected, the deliverers that were raised up, and the deliverances that were wrought.

III. ADJUSTMENT OF JUDGES TO JOSHUA.

In form the Book of *Judges* appears to be a continuation of the narrative of *Joshua*; cf. Jos. xxiv. 29, with Jud. i. 1. And yet when we come to examine the contents of the first section of *Judges* (especially i. 1–ii. 5), it seems to cover a portion of the period brought before us in the latter part of *Joshua*, and to recite in part the same events; cf. Jud. i. 10, with Jos. xv. 13, 14; Jud. i. 11–13, with Jos. xv. 15–17; Jud. i. 21, with Jos. xv. 63; Jud. ii. 1, with the accounts of Gilgal given in *Joshua*.

Yet with this general parallelism there are differences in detail, and a different general conception. The legend in *Judges* is apparently the more ancient. The real continuation of *Joshua* begins at Jud. ii. 10, we are told.

Four views are held in regard to the relation of these portions of *Judges* to the corresponding portions of *Joshua*; that the narratives are independent and irreconcilable; that they are independently drawn from common sources, and therefore reconcilable; that the narrative in *Judges* is derived from that in *Joshua*; and that the narrative in *Joshua* is drawn from that in *Judges*.

Wellhausen holds Jud. i. 1–ii. 5, to be an appropriate introduction to the story of the times of the Judges, parallel to the narrative in *Joshua*, and connecting itself in a way of its own with the Pentateuch. Vatke holds most of the elements to be derived from *Joshua*. Dillmann seems to favor the view, that the contents of this opening section belonged to *Joshua* and to document J, and that these were separated when *Judges* was wrought into a distinct book. Meyer holds that Jos. xv. 17 especially drew upon the material supplied in the opening section of *Judges*. Robertson Smith regards this as an account of the first settlement of Israel west of Jordan,

parallel to the book of *Joshua*, placing Judah in the front, and making no mention of Joshua. Conservative interpreters also differ; e. g., Keil holds the opening section of *Judges* to be written without reference to *Joshua*. He urges (1) that the narratives in *Joshua* in some instances give, by anticipation, ultimate results; (2) that Jud. ii. 6-9 comes back to the end of Joshua's life in such a way as to show that the period is in different sections contemplated from different points of view, first historically, then religiously; and (3), that the introduction and the entire book of *Judges* is written for a purpose of its own, admitting some recapitulation, and laying chief stress on the phenomena with which *Judges* is concerned. The Bible Comm. urges objections to this view, and holds the text to be imperfect. Consider (1) the improbability that Joshua's life would have passed away without an effort by the tribes to get possession of their allotments; (2) the probability that the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes would not be dismissed until the $9\frac{1}{2}$ were in possession; (3) that Jud. i. 1, in the light of Jos. xiv., points to the lifetime of Joshua and Eleazar; (4) Caleb's allusion to his advanced age; (5) the mention of Gilgal in ii. 1, as though Israel was still in camp there; (6) the tenor of the angel's message at Bochim; (7) the fact that in *Judges* Joshua's death is mentioned after the story of Caleb and Othniel.

It seems most probable that the stories of Caleb and Othniel, in Jos. xv., are anticipative; that the actual possession by the tribes acting individually followed Joshua's death; and that the story in Jud. ii. 6-9 is repeated there to mark the change in the attitude and conduct of the people.

IV. LITERARY, HISTORICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

a. The *literary questions* relate to the origin of the book and the time of its composition. The conservative view has been, that the book is from the hand of one author, who may have used oral or written sources; and who can not have written before the Philistine oppression came to an end in Samuel's time. Different dates are

proposed between Saul's reign and the later period of the monarchy. The main point on which these scholars divide is the interpretation to be given to Jud. xviii. 30.

Of the critics some fix upon this later date, others upon the latter part of the Babylonian exile. Vatke holds that the book appeared in a succession of forms. On the ground of literary style, varieties in the structure, differences in the religious spirit of different portions, etc., they all make it a gradual and composite production. The decision as to date depends on the decision as to sources and the order and method of their combination. The tokens must be held indecisive. Bertheau, in section after section, declares himself unable to find the marks by which his fellow-critics make their assignments.

b. The *historical questions* started by the book are of two kinds; such as always arise in regard to the meaning and credibility of an historical narrative;—and the more special questions which the Pentateuch debate has developed in respect to this period. For these latter points see pp. 45-47.

As to the reliableness of these narratives, critics like Stade concede to this book only the smallest direct historical value. Nevertheless, the book is deemed "one of the most interesting and valuable in the O. T." (Robertson Smith) by reason of "the indirect witness which such documents bear to the state of things in which the narrator or poet lived." Out of such a book with its legends, myths and historical fabrications, historic truth can be drawn only by critical distillation. Most of the minor judges, we are told, are but personifications of family or local names. In the oldest form of the book, according to Wellhausen, sin does not appear as a prominent cause of the calamities of the people; that view comes from the Deuteronomic reëditing and expansion. We have numerous double narratives; e. g., that of Jabin, Jael and Sisera, and that of Gideon. The first supplement (Ch. xvii. and xviii), is pronounced one of the most valuable narratives historically in the O. T., on the principle that criticism is to make most of those parts of tradition which depart most from later conceptions and customs. Hardly any other narrative of the O. T. is so completely dominated

by the spirit of the Priests' Code as the second supplement.

On the other side the Bible Comm. calls attention to the seeming fairness with which the compiler has inserted bodily the ancient narratives which were extant in his day, and given that strange mixture which the book presents of virtue and vice, of great and noble qualities with cruelty and ignorance. Hävernäck calls attention to the prominence given to matters of social life, and Keil to the abundance of characteristic and original features and expressions which appears in these narratives. The critics seem to treat the date of the book in one way or another, as these support or cross their theories. The miraculous elements in the narratives will impair its historical character only to those who dogmatically deny the miraculous everywhere. The allusions in I and II Samuel, and in the XIth of Hebrews, to these persons and incidents are a valuable witness to the credibility of the history.

c. Chronological difficulties connected with the book. Keil in his Commentary (p. 276), refers to a writer who enumerates fifty different calculations, without including all either of the earlier or the later attempts to adjust the chronology. The range of difference may be indicated by comparing the estimate in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. (IV. p. 1079), which gives 410 years for the period covered by Jud. iii-xvi, with that of the Bible Comm. (II. p. 120), which gives 150 years. Keil's estimate is 340 years, Cassel's 370. Of the theories which are not confined to Biblical data Bertheau gives a number, ranging from 880 years to 180 for the interval between the exodus and the building of the temple.

The different conclusions reached by those who use only Biblical data depend on two things; (1) the amount of authority conceded, and the interpretation given, to the broad chronological statements given in other parts of the Bible, concerning this period; and (2) the construction put upon the data of the book of *Judges*.

The controlling numbers found outside the book of *Judges* are those of 1 K. vi. 1, and Acts xiii. 19, 20. Looking first at the latter passage, if we accept the evidence of the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrian MSS., and adopt the text of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort,

and the R. V., these verses throw no light on the period of the judges. Some regard this text as the result of an endeavor to remove chronological difficulties. We seem to be at least precluded from resorting to this passage for help.

As for the data supplied by *Judges* itself, Ch. x. 26 is the only one which covers a long period, and this seems to be approximate, rather than precise. It seems at least to forbid our accepting the shortest chronology.

As to the detailed statements of time given in the successive histories, all turns upon our decision of the question whether the periods are all successive, or to some extent synchronous. We mark (1) the difficulty of bringing all the items, as successive, within the period allowed by the statement of I Kings; and (2) the impression made by some narratives, that concurrent series of events are brought before us,—especially by the narrative beginning at Jud. x. 6. The indications are somewhat indecisive.

We forego the minute examination of any of the proposed schemes and do not attempt to add to their number. Some of these problems we treat as for the present unsolved.

d. Ethical questions raised by the book of *Judges*. These come before us more properly next year, when we are studying the Biblical ethics of the O. T. We shall then have occasion to study the principle of accommodation in its bearing upon God's dealing with men in that olden time in various matters belonging to the sphere of their social and moral life; and also to study individual characters and acts that belong to this period. The tests of this time are new and severe; the results are often conspicuously unsatisfactory. Singular juxtapositions and mixtures of good and evil should not surprise us in the morality of an age whose political and religious condition is manifestly transitional and exceptional.

RUTH.

I. ANALYSIS AND SCOPE OF THE BOOK.

A. *Analysis.*B. *Scope of the Book.*

Few books of the Bible have been so differently construed as to their design. It has been held to be the aim of the book to hold up a model for the imitation of mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law; to sketch an ideal marriage-relation; to teach the lesson that virtue is rewarded sooner or later; to rebuke the Jewish want of love and toleration for foreigners; to serve as a polemic against the way in which foreign wives were treated in postexilic times; to set forth the power of love, as overcoming all national contrarieties, hostilities and prejudices. Even when its obvious relation to David's royal house is recognized this is sometime put in forced and artificial ways. Thus Reuss finds the idea that Jesse's family are not only heirs of Judah through Boaz, but of Ephraimitish territory left desolate by migration or deportation. Umbreit, Keil and others deem it at least a secondary object of the book to show how even a foreign woman, a heathen by birth, "was counted worthy to be the tribal mother of the great and pious King David" for her faith in Jehovah.

The last five verses give a brief genealogy of David, which must be deemed fragmentary and representative rather than complete.

II. PLACE OF THE BOOK OF RUTH IN THE CANON, AND PROBABLE TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

In the Hebrew Scriptures *Ruth* usually stands as the fifth of the *Kethubhim*. In some MSS. and catalogues, etc., it is placed first, *i. e.* before *Psalms*, apparently because its historical subject makes it a fitting introduction to this book. On the other hand, Josephus, Melito, Origen, etc., put *Ruth* among the historical books immediately after *Judges*; so the LXX and the versions that fol-

low it. Some maintain that the book never occupied this position in the Hebrew Canon, and that the Hellenistic Jews changed the place of *Ruth* in connection with their changed computation of the number of the O. T. books.

The main arguments in favor of 24 as the older enumeration, and a place among the *Kethubhim* as the right place for *Ruth*, are two: (1) The transfer of *Ruth* to the *Nebhüm* is easily explained, while a transfer in the opposite direction is not; the collection of the *Nebhüm* must have been complete when *Ruth* was produced; (2) the number 22 is manifestly artificial, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

The argument on the other side is (1) The express testimony of Melito, Origen and Jerome, that their lists contain all the books of the Hebrew Canon as the Jews reckon them, and that *Ruth* was grouped with *Judges*; (2) The express testimony of Josephus, Origen and Jerome that 22 was the original number; (3) The transfer of *Ruth* and *Lamentations* to the *Nebhüm* was easy and natural as soon as the *Megilloth* began to be much used in the public readings of the Synagogue; (4) The omission of genealogical information concerning David in the early part of I Sam. is more intelligible if *Ruth* already stood between this book and *Judges*.

The weight of argument seems to be in favor of the latter view. As to the probable time of the composition of the book opinions take a wide range, between the latter part of the period of the judges and post-exilic times. Those who give the latest date rely in part on style; partly on the fact that old usages seem to need explanation; the loss of the name of the kinsman whose place Boaz takes; and evidence of indebtedness to *Samuel*, *Kings* and *Job*. On the other side the author's accurate acquaintance with facts is insisted on; the lively interest taken in David and his ancestry; and the fact that no exception is taken to a marriage with a Moabitess, as would certainly have been done after the exile.

I AND II SAMUEL.

I. ANALYSIS, DESIGNATION AND SCOPE OF THE BOOKS.

A. *Analysis.*B. *Designation and scope of the books.*

These books have been in the Hebrew Bibles printed as two, since the appearance of the Rabbinic Bibles issued in Venice from 1517 onward in successive editions under different editorship. They also bear in the Hebrew Bibles the name of Samuel. In Hebrew MSS. they usually appeared as one. In the LXX they had long appeared as two, and had borne the name *Βασιλειῶν πρώτη* and *δευτέρα*. Reuss holds the Hebrew title to be necessarily the later of the two. The Vulgate gives us *Libri Regum*; the Latin Fathers sometimes this, sometimes *Libri Regnorum*, which is the more exact rendering of the Greek.

In the Hebrew the books take their title from Samuel, who, although the leading figure only in I S. i-xvi, occupies in the Hebrew history a position of great importance, was regarded as the second founder of the Hebrew State, is the founder of the prophetic institution, and the anointer of the first two kings. Under him the transition is made from the simple theocratic government to the monarchy.

It has been said I K. 1-11 belongs essentially with I and II Samuel. Yet Solomon is not connected directly with Samuel. It has been said that the designation of Samuel, first as *roeh* and then as *nabhi*, indicates either confused traditions, or the blending of different traditions. Stade maintains that four different views of Samuel are given us. We hold that no figure in the O. T. bears more clearly and strongly the impress of historic unity and reality.

II. THE SOURCES AND THE HISTORIC CHARACTER OF THE BOOKS.

Two theories have been held in regard to the relation of the sources of *Samuel*, *Kings* and *Chronicles* to each

other; that they drew independently from common, or at least similar, sources; and that *Chronicles* had no other sources than the books of *Samuel* and *Kings*, *Chronicles* merely recasting in a priestly spirit (with a few additions), the story already told. The former view seems to be the more tenable.

As for the sources of *Samuel* we find less of direct testimony than is given in the following books. The unnamed sources of *Samuel* appear to be largely the same with the designated sources of *Chronicles*. See I Chr. xxix. 29, for an important part of these. See I Chr. xxvii. 24, for another possible source. To these we are to add poetical literature like the "Book of Jashar," II S. i. 18. If there were any occasion for its use the book mentioned in I S. x. 25 would be accessible.

Whatever may have been the primary sources, recent critics profess to find, and to be able to discriminate quite clearly, various immediate sources. They distinguish two or more separate historical compositions which were at a late day somewhat unskillfully combined in our present books of *Samuel*. Schrader points out, to the chapter and verse, the portions to be referred to the theocratic narrator, the prophetic narrator, and the Deuteronomist. Thenius distinguishes five documents. Vatke tells us of two main documents, modified by various glosses, and enlarged by a supplement. Wellhausen resolves the book into three main sections, which he treats as having distinct literary unity, — or four if we set apart the appendix. The first of these is composite; and each of the other main sections has been almost indefinitely compounded and modified by glosses, and the like.

Alleged diversities of style are, in part, the justification of this elaborate theory; more reliance is placed on divergent and frequently contradictory conceptions and statements with respect to the same persons and events. Vatke's theory makes one document consist mainly of purely historical matter. This begins with the story of Saul at I S. ix. The other is prophetic in its spirit, and is the main source of I S. i.-viii. and of various later portions. Vatke specifies two points in which we find actually contradictory representations. DeWette men-

tions some of the same. Wellhausen makes the most of these inconsistencies. These relate—

a. To the measure of Samuel's success over the Philistines.

Cf. I S. vii. 13 with ix. 16; x. 5; xiii. 3, 19, 20. The first part of vii. 13, seems plainly to relate to the time being; the latter to be either a general assertion, or a reference to the time of Samuel's judgeship.

b. There are said to be numerous contradictions in the story of Saul. We have two accounts (Vatke) or three (Reuss) of the way in which he became king. In the primary account, I S. xi., the Spirit of God calls him from the plough to fight the enemies of his country; his grateful countrymen make him their head. In ix. 1-x. 16, a more legendary account tells of Samuel's anointing him at God's bidding to be Israel's deliverer. In Ch. viii. the people desire a king, who is finally conceded by the Lord and anointed by Samuel. Köhler's reconciliation is simple; first the general movement of the people in behalf of monarchy; then Samuel's transactions with God, with Saul, and with the people, followed by the first anointing. The choice is so resisted by a portion of the people that Saul will not at first claim his kingly right. The war with the Ammonites calls him out: his success secures universal consent, which is sealed by his final anointing.

According to ix. 2 Saul is a young man; according to xiii. 2 he has a son old enough to be the hero in a military enterprise. According to x. 8 Samuel sends Saul to Gilgal to wait seven days; according to xiii. 8 he waits the seven days in vain, acts rashly, brings upon himself Samuel's rebuke and the first warning that his kingdom shall not continue. But *bahhur* may mean "a young man" or "chosen, choice" (R. V., text and marg.). The text is plainly defective in xiii. 1, or has a conventional meaning (Pulp. Comm.). Some understand x. 8, and xiii. 8, to refer to entirely different appearances of Samuel and Saul at Gilgal; others understand the verb in x. 8 as conditional and not imperative.

Two accounts are given, it is said, of the reason for Saul's rejection; one in xiii. 9-14, the other in xv. 23. Keil calls attention to the difference in the form and

degree of the disobedience in the two cases and the different expression given to the Lord's displeasure.

The two instances, x. 10-12, and xix. 24, in which the proverb is found "Is Saul also among the prophets?" involve no contradiction, if we understand the first as giving the origin of the expression, the other an instance of its use.

The Ammonites and Philistines may both have been active enemies of Israel at this time without being confounded one with the other. Wellhausen holds the accounts of Saul's death in I S. xxxi. and II S. i., to be inconsistent; so Ewald and others. The common view has been that the Amalekite's story was a conscious invention of his own to make favor with David.

c. The accounts given us of David are said to be equally full of inconsistencies.

This is affirmed especially of I S. xvi. 14-23, as compared with I S. xvi. 1-13; xvii. 1-xviii. 5. According to Wellhausen, xvi. 1-13 is later in its origin than xvii., and gives as it were a spiritual consecration to the other secular account. W. calls it "a weak imitation of x. 1 sq.," and says "there is as little reason to doubt Samuel's relation to Saul as to believe in his relation to David." It is said, further, that I S. xviii. 5 does not harmonize with xviii. 13 in its representation of Saul's motive in promoting David. Saul in his hostility to David is actuated sometimes by an evil spirit from the Lord, sometimes by jealousy. One narrative represents David as solemnly anointed by Samuel (I S. xvi.); according to the other he rises by his merit and his heroic deeds. Two accounts are given of David's sparing Saul (Chs. xxiv. and xxvi.); two of the way in which he goes to Achish at Gath (xxi. 10-15, and xxvii. 1-4).

Some (Dean Stanley, *c. g.*) say that there is no satisfactory reconciliation of the two accounts of David's first acquaintance with Saul. Others simply say, the narrative is drawn from divers and diverse sources (so Ewald, Bleek, Hävernick, Köhler and others.) And in support of the still more advanced position, that some portions of our present text of Ch. xvii. and xviii. were not found in the original text of Samuel, appeal is made to the fact that

the Vatican MSS. of the LXX lacks xvii. 12-31, xvii. 55-xviii. 6 a;—30½ verses here, together with some others further on. It is therefore not surprising that some should hold (*e. g.* Robertson Smith, *Encycl. Brit.*, vi. 837) that this shorter LXX text was the original. Klostermann points out two independent additions which were made, to bring the text into its present Hebrew form. These may not have been made after the date of the LXX version, but may represent another line of tradition or group of documents lying back of that which became the current Palestinian text. Josephus draws upon material found in the longer narrative. Some of the MSS. of the LXX contain the full narrative of our Hebrew text.

I remark :

1. It seems more probable that the LXX may have omitted in a translation certain embarrassing portions of the narrative, than that other persons should have introduced into the original text two considerable passages, one of 20 vs. and one of 10½, with other minor modifications.

2. On the supposition that the long text was the original, there is no difficulty in conceding that the author may have wrought together different traditional or documentary sources, which however although not really contradictory in any particulars, were not so completely fused as to remove all seeming inconsistencies.

3. Not to dwell on minor points, there are two parts of the narrative in which the difficulty of harmonizing the accounts of Ch. xvi. and Ch. xvii. and xviii. have been most seriously felt.

(a.) The David of xvi. 18, experienced, accomplished, ready for any relation or service in attendance upon the King, and promptly promoted to a position of honor and responsibility near the King's person, seems very unlike the simple, rustic, shepherd lad of Ch. xvii.

Some have held that the promotion of xvi. 18 was not immediate. Others have held that David, while not wholly undeveloped and inexperienced, is described rather by his capacity and promise; and further, that his post of dignity, as King's aid-de-camp, was probably shared by not a few others, and would not hold him to more than occasional attendance.

(b.) The intimate personal relations of Ch. xvi. are held to be absolutely irreconcilable with the ignorance concerning David and his antecedents which is indicated in Saul's inquiry addressed to Abner before the battle and to David himself afterward.

The parentage of David was in the first period a matter of small concern to the King, who moreover in his state of mind might easily forget it. Under the new circumstances, when the successful champion would become the King's son-in-law, and his father's house free in Israel, the subject is of new interest. The King does not appear at a loss in regard to David's identity, but ignorant in regard to his descent.

Abner's ignorance is not altogether explained in the same way. His asseveration is unusually vehement.

It should be remembered that the narrative contains few notes of time, and we do not know what years may have intervened between the events of Ch. xvi. and xvii.

The double influences actuating Saul in his hostility to David are not mutually inconsistent. The anointing of David by Samuel appears to have been understood by Samuel alone; not by Eliab (xvii. 28) or any of Jesse's family. In the matter of David's sparing Saul, there are more points of difference than of resemblance in the narrative; so in regard to his taking refuge with Achish.

With respect to the general historic character and value of these books of Samuel we have emphatic testimony from many of the critics themselves; e. g., from Wellhausen in regard to II Sam. ix. — I K. ii.; from Reuss in regard to the general tone of the books, and the freedom of II Samuel in particular from the domination of the prophetic spirit. Canon Kirkpatrick calls attention to the internal evidences of credibility, and the confirmatory value of recent explorations in Palestine.

III. TIME OF THE COMPOSITION.

The decision will naturally depend on the conclusion that has been reached in regard to the primary and secondary sources of the books. So long as it remains true (Orelli, Herzog's R. E., 2d ed., XIII., 860) that "no

two independent critics agree in regard to the sources ;” we must expect equal diversity of judgment as to time. The limits are the reigns of Solomon or Rehoboam, and the exile, or even a period subsequent to the exile. Those who hold to the old-fashioned idea of a single authorship find but few words, phrases or modes of conception and representation that can be deemed decisive. The phrase “unto this day” proves nothing; so the interpretation of *roeh* as an unintelligible term that had given place to *nabhi*; so the explanation of Tamar’s robe in II S. xiii. 18. II S. v. 5 shows that David’s reign had ended. The mention of “the Kings of Judah” in I S. xvii. 6, cannot be held decisive, nor the frequent distinction between Israel and Judah (as in I S. xi. 8; xvii. 52; xviii. 16: II S. iii. 10; xxiv. 1—cf. II S. ii. 9, 10; v. 1–5; xix. 41; xx. 2, where the same words stand contrasted within the reign of David). The Chaldee words are not numerous or decisive enough to form a test of age. The predictions in regard to Eli’s house in I S. ii. 27 sq., cannot be regarded as proving a late date, nor can the strong expressions of loyalty to David’s house.

The books appear to have been composed not long, if at all, after the division of the kingdom.

IV. TEXT OF SAMUEL.

On the evidence of the Hebrew text alone it is plain that the original has not come down unimpaired. Figures like those in I S. xiii. 1; vi. 19; II S. xv. 7, and some of the proper names in II S. xxi. and xxiii. appear to have suffered in transmission. Comparison of parallel passages in *Samuel* and *Chronicles* points in the same direction. When we bring into the account the LXX and other versions, we have another kind of proof (see especially I S. xvii. and xviii.).

Wellhausen’s extreme judgments Orelli pronounces partly arbitrary; Reuss does not accept as substantiated, by any means, all the conjectural emendations that have been proposed. The text of the LXX needs itself to be much better established; other versions must be taken into consideration. Some time must elapse before sober

scholarship will find the Hebrew Massoretic text to be superseded.

I AND II KINGS.

I. ANALYSIS, DESIGNATION AND SCOPE OF THE BOOKS.

A. *Analysis.*

B. *Designation and scope of the books.*

These books constitute in the MSS. and in the oldest printed editions but one book. In the LXX they were designated *Βασιλειῶν τρίτη* and *τετάρτη*, and in the Latin versions usually *Libri Regum* (or *Regnorum*) *tertius* and *quartus*. In the later Hebrew printed texts they are designated *Melekim*, *Aleph* and *Beth*. The division is artificial, and has no sufficient warrant either in the subject matter, or in the probable origin and history of the books.

The name describes the subject, which is a history of the Hebrew monarchy from the end of David's life to the beginning of the Babylonian exile, and divides itself naturally into three periods, ending with the life of Solomon, the overthrow of the Northern kingdom, and the destruction of Jerusalem, respectively. Scholars differ in their judgment as to the particular point of view, and the special aim, of the author or compiler. Hävernicks, De Wette, Schrader, Kuenen, e. g., represent the ruling spirit and tendency of the book as *prophetic-didactic*. The more general view of scholars has however been that the prophets and their work come in only as incidental to the full presentation of the theocratic history, which it is the author's aim to unfold. So substantially Eadie, Lord A. C. Hervey, Rawlinson, Lumby, Keil, Kaulen. Critical scholars like Reuss, Vatke, Wellhausen and Robertson Smith emphasize more the composite and mechanical character of the work, and are less disposed to recognize any clear and simple purpose as apparent in the work of the compiler.

Klostermann considers the book as making up with Samuel a larger unity, and directs attention to what he

calls "the three-fold red cord" which runs through the whole; (1) the prophetic mediatorship, from Samuel onward through the history; (2) the sanctuary from the time of the ark at Shiloh to the building of the Temple, and onward; (3) the divinely established monarchy, first really established in David, and guaranteed to his seed forever.

II. SOURCES AND COMPOSITION OF THE BOOKS, AND THEIR RELATION TO OTHER HISTORICAL BOOKS.

A. 1. *Official Sources.*

Distinct reference is made to three documents or series of documents, which appear to have had (more or less) an official quality or value; The book of the acts of Solomon (I K. xi. 41); The book of the chronicles of the Kings of Israel (I K. xiv. 19 and 16 other passages); and, The book of the chronicles of the Kings of Judah (I K. xiv. 29, and 14 other passages). The precise nature of these books is not indicated. There have been several theories. Eichhorn held them to be private historical works. Hävernick, Jahn and others regard them as the official annals of the kingdoms, prepared by the *Mazkirim* of the two kingdoms. Keil and others maintain that they were prophetic and not royal annals.

The objections urged by Keil against the *official* theory are: (1) The want of historical evidence that there were any such annals in the Northern Kingdom, and the improbability of their existence with such frequent changes of dynasty. This is merely negative reasoning, of which we have quite too much, especially on the critical side. (2) The character of the annals, which seem to contain not only many prophetic utterances directed against the unlawful acts of the kings, but also entire prophetic documents. These prophetic elements are not in Kings clearly made part of the official annals. But when we compare the narrations of Kings with those in Chronicles the question is put in a new light. Cf. I K. xi. 41, and II Chr. ix. 29; I K. xiv. 29 and II Chr. xii. 15, and other like paral-

els, in which Kings refers us to the annals of Solomon, or of the Kings of Judah or Israel, where Chronicles refers to history, prophecy, visions or book of certain prophets. This does not prove these to be identical sources. In describing a given event phrases sometimes recur which seem to have been drawn from a common source, and these are sometimes perpetuated after they have lost their appropriateness; e. g., in II K. xiv. 7. For the full argument in favor of the prophetic origin of the official annals see Lumby's Comm. on Kings (Cambridge Bible, etc.) pp. xii. sq. Schrader suggests a composer of the royal annals, and a first and a second prophetic historian of the kingly period.

The rationalistic critics perplexed themselves over the question whether the author or compiler of Kings used the cited documents directly, or only at second hand. The "mythical" elements, they thought, were little likely to have a place in the chronicles of the kings; the anti-Israelitish animus was more likely to show itself in writings of prophets, or of religious historians, than in official documents. DeWette doubted whether the author had ever really used the works to which he refers.

Modern critics regard these books as deeply colored and historically vitiated by the author's strong religious tendency. What they give, what they omit, the way in which they give, all show that they are ruled by a practical aim other than desire to report exact and simple truth.

A. 2. *Unofficial Sources.*

Aside from the sources expressly named, it is deemed probable that the author drew upon unnamed sources, such as memoirs of the prophets and annals of the sanctuary,—while he would also use everything accessible of a monumental or memorial kind, collections of popular poetry like the book of Jashar (mentioned in Joshua and Samuel), and the like.

B. *Composition of Kings, and its relation to other historical books.*

Robertson Smith (Encycl. Brit., XIV., 84, 86), describes the redaction of the book as merely mechanical,

there being no other unity than that of chronological succession, with a certain uniformity in the treatment of the religious material. This is disturbed by the work of successive redactors, so that confusion and occasional contradiction are the result. Kings and Samuel "have at least one source in common, and a single editorial hand was at work on both," etc. The Deuteronomistic editor makes the subject of the new book "the history of Israel under the one true sanctuary."

Ewald was the first to elaborate the theory that the historical books from Judges to II K. (inclusive) constituted originally but one work, which E. called "the great book of the kings." Many German and English scholars adopt this view; e. g., Lord A. C. Hervey (Smith's Bible Dict., II. 1543). The names subsequently given to the dividing parts were given for convenience, and are not to be regarded original titles of independent works. Some trace the Pentateuchal Jehovist and Elohist as far as I K. x., and the Deuteronomist to the end of II K.

Other scholars, like Keil, maintain that the work was wrought out by one author according to a plan of his own, the inner unity appearing both in conception and language. So Prof. Lumby, Rawlinson, Wordsworth, Barry, Eadie, the Pulpit Comm., Bähr (in Lange) all argue in favor of the independence and integrity of the work.

III. TIME OF THE COMPOSITION.

The narrative is continuous to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the connected events. A single incident is added in regard to the ultimate fate of King Jeconiah. If these last verses are part of the original composition, the book of Kings must have been produced in or after the 37th year of Jeconiah's captivity, probably after his death. The absence of all allusion to return from the exile, preparation for it, or prospect of it, makes the probable time of the composition the later period of the exile.

The current tradition of the Jews, adopted as probable by many Protestant and Catholic scholars, makes Jeremiah the author; others say, Baruch, or some other of Jeremiah's circle. Keil and others decline all conjecture.

IV. HISTORICAL QUALITY AND VALUE OF THE NARRATIVE.

Those who regard the pronounced religious and theocratic character of the book as inconsistent with impartiality and reliableness depreciate it:—and those also who judge its material to have been indefinitely disturbed and confused by unskilful and unintelligent redactions. Conservative scholarship holds the evidence unusually full, that the material of the book is largely derived from contemporary sources of the best sort. Neither the religious aims nor the occasional miraculous elements of the book impair its worth in the view of such scholars. The confirmation supplied from foreign sources, like the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, by Berosus, Manetho, Menander and others are very considerable. (See Rawlinson's *Hist. Evid.*, Lect. IV. and notes,—and later authorities.)

There are difficulties, not all fully solved as yet, in the chronological scheme of the book. Wellhausen regards this as a work of the last redactor. Of our less critical scholars Lord A. C. Hervey, (*Smith's Bible Dict.*, pp. 1544 sq.) sets forth these difficulties in detail, and Prof. Lumby in his chronological table and notes exhibits and attempts to solve them (*Cambr. Bible*, II K., pp. xlix-lii.)

V. STATE OF THE TEXT.

Note in the Hebrew Bible the frequent instances of *Keri* and *Kethibh*. Comparison of the Hebrew text with the LXX shows transpositions, omissions and additions. Most of these changes seem to be due to an effort of the LXX to make the narrative more perspicuous and consistent. (See Lord A. C. Hervey, *u. s.*) Klostermann believes in a divergent Palestinian and Alexandrian textual tradition.

I AND II CHRONICLES.

I. ANALYSIS, DESIGNATION AND SCOPE OF THE BOOKS.

- A. *Analysis, with remarks.*
- B. *Designation and scope of the books.*

These books again constituted but one in the Hebrew MSS. at first, and bear the name *Dibre hayyamim*, proba-

bly *acta dierum*, not *verba dierum*. The LXX divided the book, and gave it the name *Paraleipomena* (*supplementa* or *praetermissa*). The name in the Vulgate is *Chronica*, which Jerome made the favorite designation of this and later versions.

Two strongly contrasted views have been taken of the aim and scope of the books in the selection and treatment of their subject.

According to Keil "the Chronicler wrote out the pre-exilian history of his people under the reign of David and his line, with special reference to the attitude of the kings and the people toward God and his law," . . . "to confirm them in fidelity to God and his law." His interest in the institutions connected with worship is secondary. This choice and method correspond with the peculiar need of the people in the period after the exile.

The other view makes the history not merely religious, but partisan, intensely and dishonestly so. This view is closely connected with some phases of the Pentateuch controversy, and would exclude Chronicles from the number of the books that we may reasonably consult with reference to the laws and institutions reputed to be Mosaic. The books of Samuel and Kings, written under prophetic auspices, contained very little to support the pretensions of the post-exilian priesthood, and much that was in conflict with them. This contrast must in some way be softened. The history of the past must receive a new imprint, that of the priesthood; otherwise it would cease to answer the wants of an epoch in which the priest was everything. The historical books had as yet hardly received a sacred character at all, and the transformation was easy. So Kuenen and his school argue.

Dillmann, critical as he is, comes here, as he often does, both in general views and in details, to different conclusions. The best possession which Israel carried over from the old time into the new was the legal religion with its services and institutions. The Chronicler devotes himself chiefly to the history of the legal religion and worship. This explains his many and marked omissions, as well as the fulness of his recital in regard to the temple, its worship, festivals, music, priesthood, and the like,—and also his standard of judgment in estimating

characters. It accounts for the priestly-Levitical aspect of this book (with Ezra and Nehemiah), and the abundant genealogical and statistical detail. These are in a more pronounced form the views of Keil and his school.

II. SOURCES, AUTEORSHIP, TIME OF COMPOSITION, AND CANONICAL PLACE OF THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

A. *Sources.*

There are about twenty passages in which indebtedness is acknowledged to specified sources; I Chron. ix. 1; xxiii. 27; xxvii. 24; xxix. 29; II Chron. ix. 29; xii. 15; xiii. 22; xvi. 11 with xxv. 26 and xxviii. 26; xx. 34; xxiv. 27; xxvi. 22; xxvii. 7 with xxxv. 27 and xxxvi. 8; xxxii. 32; xxxiii. 18; xxxiii. 19.

The verbal correspondence frequently existing between narratives in Chronicles and narratives in Samuel and Kings in a portion of the forty instances in which the books treat of the same events, indicates that the Chronicles may have used these preceding books as a source. This must have been the case, unless these verbal coincidences are due to common sources lying further back. The grosser rationalism of DeWette, Gramberg, etc., held these preceding books to be the only written sources of Chronicles: held the references to other sources to be fictitious, and the variations from the older narratives to be inventions, embellishments and falsifications in the interest of the Chronicler's views. DeWette receded somewhat from the grossness of his early charges.

Three questions arise: (1) Are the works cited in Chronicles as sources, with the exception of the first three, part (as Kuenen holds) of one comprehensive whole, "The book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," (or J. and I.), in which the prophetic writings which are cited are but particular chapters? (2) Are they (as DeWette holds) nothing more or less than portions of our present books of Samuel and Kings? (3) Is the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah identical with our present books of Samuel and Kings?

The third question we answer in negative: (1) because this "book of the Kings" appears to have contained

much that is not in our canonical books: (2) because the Chronicler often refers to this work for further information, where his own narrative is already fuller than of our existing books of Kings.

The second question we answer in the negative, because the differences are too numerous and too considerable to make the theory tenable, that whatever name the Chronicler may have given to his sources, he is only drawing upon older canonical books.

As to the first question, Dillmann holds it in the highest degree probable, that the prophetic writings quoted in Chronicles among the sources accessible for further information, are but portions, not of our books of Kings, but of the larger and comprehensive work which is also frequently cited as "the book of Kings, etc." He deems it however possible that these writings were still extant as individual works. Cf. the "in Elijah" of Rom. xi. 2 (A. V. margin and R. V. margin). It has been further argued, that had writings bearing such names as Samuel, Gad, Nathan, been extant in the Chronicler's age, they would have been included in the Canon. I think that we must add the qualification: "unless these writings had already been considerably and sufficiently used in making up our books of Samuel and Kings, giving them in part their right to be reckoned among the *Nebhûim*." Not every prophetic writing became canonical.

B. *Authorship and time of composition.*

The current view of the Jews and the great body of Christian commentators until within the last two or three generations assigned the book to Ezra as its author. On the other hand, the German critical school generally, and some English scholars, assign it to a period one or two centuries later, and make the author some Levite attached to the temple, perhaps a person belonging to one of the guilds of Levitical musicians. The point deemed more decisive, perhaps, than any other is the genealogical list found at the end of I Chron. iii., which is said to give us six generations (or according to the LXX ten) after Zerubbabel. The unusual form of verse 21 makes the relations of the list from this point onward too uncertain to

warrant a conclusion so positive. The continuous narrative in II Chron. xxxvi. ends 200–275 years before the date assigned by some to the composition. Neither these lists of I Chron. iii. 21, nor the other points urged, seem to shut us up to so late a date. The old tradition, with its corroborations, is not so surely set aside.

c. Canonical place of the books.

There is no reason for assigning them in the Hebrew Bible to any other place than that which they occupy among the *Kethubhim*. Their right to a place there is not challenged. Were they produced independently of Ezra and Nehemiah, or are they of one authorship and parts of one whole with these? Ewald, Bertheau and many other scholars, German and English, take the latter view. Ezra and Nehemiah are held to have been separated and placed next to Kings as continuing the Biblical narrative, while Chronicles is put last among the historical books, as containing a duplicate history. Bleek regards Chronicles as a later composition of the author. Keil maintains the independence and integrity of the books.

III. HISTORICAL QUALITY AND VALUE OF THE BOOKS.

DeWette held that while many credible items are found in these books, the general judgment must be unfavorable to the credibility both of those portions which are an expansion or modification of the narratives contained in the older books, and also of those portions which are more independent. His earlier condemnation was somewhat qualified in his later estimates. The same is true of Graf, who held that the books have almost no value as a documentary source for the ancient history, but afterward admitted privately that some of his earlier statements were too strong. Vatke criticises severely the correctness and impartiality of the books, as Wellhausen also does at length in his history of Israel.

On the other hand Movers, Ewald and other critical scholars, while recognizing the author's priestly-Levitical inclinations, condemn these more extreme judgments, and concede the value and importance of many of the Chron-

icler's contributions to the national history. Keil, Hävernick, Welte and other conservative scholars defend more positively and vigorously the credibility and worth of the narratives of Chronicles. The confirmations adduced by Rawlinson and others for the narratives that are common to Kings and Chronicles are supplemented by other corroborations of items peculiar to the latter. Schrader, e. g., finds in the cuneiform inscriptions means of relieving difficulties and confirming the narrative of II Chron. xxxiii. concerning Manasseh, which has been repeatedly and confidently challenged.

IV. TEXT.

We study the Masoretic text as it stands; we compare the data of Chronicles with those of the other historical books in the case of parallel recitals; we use the versions with caution for correction, explanation, improvement, where one or the other is needful. The numerals and proper names first and most frequently excite misgiving. See, e. g., the figures in I Chr. xxii. 14. Of thirteen examples of inconsistency between the numerical data of Chr. and parallel books cited by Dr. S. Davidson (Kitto's Cycl.) there are six in which Chronicles has a smaller number, seven in which it has the larger. Lord A. C. Hervey (Smith's Bib. Diet.) gathers a number of instances in which the Chronicler seems to preserve the purest and truest reading. The great number of details recorded in Chronicles makes variant readings more probable, through possible errors of transcription (Kaulen). Dillmann deems the text of the LXX of considerable value for the correction of errors in the Hebrew.

EZRA.

I. DESIGNATION, STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS.

The book takes its name from Ezra the scribe (vii. 6) who went up from Babylon to Jerusalem in the 7th year of Artaxerxes (Longimanus) with the king's sanction to do a great work in behalf of the law of the Lord. It

fails naturally into two parts, i-vi, vii-x, the first of which tells the story of the return of a body of Jews under the leadership of Sheshbazzar (Zerubbabel). This portion ends with the completion and consecration of the new temple in the 6th year of Darius (Hystaspis). It includes a section, iv. 18-vi. 18, written in Aramaic, and in chap. ii. a catalogue which also appears in Neh. vii. The second section tells the story of the return, sixty years after this date, of a second body led by Ezra,—and further of measures taken by him for religious and social reform. It also includes an Aramaic section, vii. 12-26.

II. COMPOSITION, AUTHORSHIP AND CREDIBILITY.

The ancient Jews, the Church Fathers generally, and many modern scholars have regarded Ezra and Nehemiah as originally one work, or as two parts of one work (designated I and II Ezra) and as we have seen many hold Chronicles to be from the same hand. Even those who assign this comprehensive work to a considerably later date generally concede that a portion of Ezra is from the hand of Ezra, and a portion of Nehemiah from the hand of Nehemiah. The LXX, Vulgate and modern versions divide the book into two.

Some regard the middle section of Nehemiah, vii. 73-x. 40, as more probably from Ezra's hand. The first part of the first Aramaic section of Ezra, iv. 8-23, consists of a letter written by Rehum and Shimshai to the King in regard to the rebuilding of the walls, while the verses preceding and following, 7 and 24, represent other persons as having written, and the building of the temple to have been interrupted in consequence. This is judged by some critics clear proof of unskilful compilation by a redactor. Lord A. C. Hervey calls it a parenthetic addition by a much later hand. Keil accounts for its introduction, as resulting from a wish to bring to view (after the hint of vs. 5) acts of hostility at a later day, in the time both of Xerxes and Artaxerxes (before Ezra's time although after Zerubbabel's). Others understand the monarchs to be Cambyses and the pretended Smerdis (Ewald, Vatke, Pope, Rawlinson, Stanley, etc.).

Was Ezra the author, the compiler, or not even this, only vii. 27–ix. being rightly credited to him? Keil, Rawlinson, Schultz, Pope, etc., maintain Ezra's authorship, with the use, of course, of documentary material for the earlier part. Lord A. C. Hervey ascribes Ch. i. to Daniel, ii.–iii. 1 to Nehemiah, iii. 2–vi. to Haggai, and vii.–x. to Ezra. Those who hold to the literary unity of Ezra–Neh.–Chron. of course ascribe to Ezra only a small portion. Kaulen holds Ezra and Nehemiah to have been brought into their present form about the time of Alexander the Great, the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah being Artaxerxes II, and Nehemiah's return to Shushan falling into the year 372 B. C.

The historical reliableness of the book hardly admits of serious questioning.

III. THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF EZRA.

In the LXX we have a I and II Esdras and Nehemiah. I Esdras sets forth a history of the temple and temple worship from Josiah to Ezra, and is in part a reproduction of portions of II Chron., Ezra and Nehemiah. It may probably be referred to the second century B. C. There is also an apocryphal Apocalypse of Ezra, sometimes designated IV Ezra, which is preserved only in several versions. It appears to be an imitation of Daniel's visions, and contains a series of visions vouchsafed to Ezra, to show him why God has so sorely visited his covenant people. It may be referred to the 1st Century of the Christian era, was first quoted by Clem. Alex., and while referred to respectfully by some of the early Fathers, is spoken of contemptuously by Jerome.

NEHEMIAH.

I. DESIGNATION, STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS.

The book begins with the words: *Dibhre Nehemjah ben Hakaljah*, which may mean "words of Nehemiah" or "history of Nehemiah" (R. V. marg.) Nehemiah is certainly the subject; these opening words do not make

it sure that he is the author, of the book. It is not expressly named in all of the oldest lists, but may have been comprehended under the name of Ezra. It consists of three parts: (1) Chap. i-vii, which describe the efforts of Nehemiah to build up and develop the city of Jerusalem; (2) viii-x, the main subject of which is the solemn services conducted by Ezra and Nehemiah, and the pledge binding the people to keep the law; (3) xi-xiii, which describe the consecration of the walls, and the measures taken to root out various abuses that had become prevalent. It contains the history from B. C. 446, a few years after the closing date of Ezra, to a point near the end of the century.

II. COMPOSITION, AUTHORSHIP AND CREDIBILITY.

In form, the book is closely connected with Ezra. Its style is not so identical as to establish from that side the theory of the original oneness of the two books. Nehemiah has been held by conservative scholars to be the probable author. In the first seven chapters he often speaks in the first person; there are also characteristic phrases which point to the same conclusion. The middle section has been by some referred to Ezra. Keil deems the peculiarities of this section insufficient to justify the denial of Nehemiah's possible authorship. The third section connects itself closely with the first, for the most part. Exception has been taken in regard to chap. xii. and vss. 11 and 22 have been held to refer us to the time of Alexander the Great for the completion of this portion of the book. This Jaddua is not however certainly identified with the one who confronted Alexander; and if he is the same these lists may have been extended by a few added names, as we have found possible in some other cases. The arguments are still more inconclusive which are urged in favor of referring Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles, as parts of one work, to the middle of the 3d Century B. C. These are, the genealogical lists of I Chron. iii. and Neh. xii.; the language; anachronisms like that of the "darics" in I Chron. xxix. 7; the citation of the 105th and other Psalms in I Chron. xvi.; and the apparent confusion of the author of Neh. iv. in distinguishing the Persian monarchs.

ESTHER.

I. DESIGNATION, AIM AND CREDIBILITY.

The book takes its name from its heroine, Hadassa, who under the peculiar circumstances recited in the book, becomes as Esther the Queen of Ahasuerus (Xerxes). It is in the Hebrew Bible the eighth of the *Kethubhim*. It is one of the five *Megilloth*, the fifth in the series, the festival at which it was read falling in the 12th month of the Jewish year. It is sometimes called *the Megillah*, either from the importance of its contents in the estimation of the Jews, or from its having been first appropriated to a liturgical use and written on a special roll. In the LXX it was made the last of the historical books, although chronologically it falls between the two sections of Ezra.

The object of the book is to explain the origin of the Purim festival mentioned in ix. 29 sq. The name of the festival is a reminder of the lots cast by Haman to determine the auspicious day for carrying out his plot against the Jews. The answer to the question, whether this festival is mentioned in the Gospel, turns upon the interpretation of John v. i.

The continuous existence of the festival, its name and the genuine Persian character of the narrative, strongly support the credibility of the book, although Nöldeke regards it as a book "swarming with improbabilities and impossibilities," and Vatke calls the whole story "a tissue of human weakness and wickedness."

II. FORM AND CANONICAL CHARACTER.

If we look at the external testimony in the matter of canonicity we find that the Jews have held the book in high esteem, some putting it side by side with the *Torah*. The judgment of the Eastern Church was divided. The early western Church generally accepted it. The objections appear not to be historical but subjective and dogmatic. In this spirit Luther vehemently repudiated it. Hävernack, Keil and Catholic scholars generally warmly defend its canonicity as well as its credibility.

The objections are chiefly (1) The spirit of this book, which is declared to be narrow, proud, selfish, vindictive. To this it is replied, that the book may be credible and canonical, even if its chief characters are not exemplary. (2) The untheocratic character of the book. It makes no mention of the name of God, nor even of his providential care over Israel in connection with their great deliverance. Riehm's suggestion is, that the omission was intentional: not, as Abra Ezra had taught, to avoid the profanation of the name by the idolatrous Persians, but to avoid the profanation of it among the convivialities of the Purim festival. It becomes more and more the habit of the later Jews to speak of the "heavens," the "name," the "place," instead of using the personal designation of God. Cf. Dan. iv. 26; Luke xv. 18; Gen. iii. 8, "the voice of the name." The lessons taught incidentally in the book are however not unimportant, nor unworthy of a place in canonical Scripture. (3) Exception has been taken most strenuously to the story of the destruction of so many Persians by the Jews under the sanction which the King gave to Mordecai, with a twelve months' notice; and to the representation that all Shushan so sympathized with the Jewish feeling, iii. 15, viii. 15; also to a Persian King's desiring that every man should bear rule in his own house, i. 22; and to the representation that Esther could so long hide her nationality.

The main debate is that between Catholics and Protestants in respect to the extent and contents of the book. The Esther of the LXX contains at least a third more than the Hebrew Esther. Catholic scholars therefore hold the latter to be an abridgment of the original Hebrew. The passages lacking in our Hebrew text are: (1) A dream of Mordecai foreshadowing future events (prefixed to Chap. i.); (2) An edict of Haman (after iii. 13); (3) Prayers of Mordecai and Esther (after iv. 17); (4) An expanded account of Esther's expedients to influence the King (in Chap. v.); An edict of Mordecai (after viii. 12); (6) An interpretation of Mordecai's dream (after x. 3). Jerome gathered up these additions, and appended them, as new chapters, to the book of Esther. Protestants put them in the Apocrypha. It is easy to see how these additions to the short Hebrew text might have been made at an

early day. They are in the line of hints given in the Hebrew text, and supply religious elements, the want of which was felt. Chap. xi. 1 has been supposed to show that the Purim festival was not from the first accepted by all Jews.

The Catholic explanation is, that after the festival acquired such a convivial character that guests were bidden to drink until they could not distinguish between *Barukh Mordecâi!* and *Arur Haman!* it was judged becoming to omit all portions of the book which contained the name of God, or were of a religious character (Kaulen, Einl. 228.)

The Hebrew text is somewhat imperfect. Of the Greek there is a revised and an unrevised form.