

THEOLOGICAL

THE

AGE AND AUTHORSHIP

OF THE PENTATEUCH

CONSIDERED,

IN FURTHER REPLY TO

BISHOP COLENSO

PART II.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM H. HOARE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE ;
AUTHOR OF "OUTLINES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY," "VERACITY OF GENESIS"
ETC. ETC.

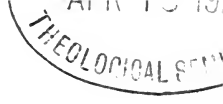
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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THE most perfect reverence for Scripture is not incompatible with the admission that, by lapse of time, and human infirmity in the care and transcribing of manuscripts, some errors may have crept into the text. And here, undoubtedly, is presented a fair field for sacred criticism, in detecting and, if possible, rectifying these errors.

In the following pages, however, there is nothing but what may be easily judged of by any who possess a moderate acquaintance with the Scriptures, and who bring to the study of them, among other necessary qualifications, a fair share of the "plain common sense" which is the boast of our countrymen, and to which Bishop Colenso emphatically appeals. "Difficulties are to be found," says an eloquent layman of our own day; "but, blessed be God! they melt away before the loving heart, the patient search, the prayer of faith. Objections there are to which no sufficient answer could at one time have been given, but this only, that they may yet prove to be unfounded, and that, in the course of God's providence, the full solution may yet be revealed. This expectation has, in modern times, been repeatedly realized long after the faithful heart that cherished it had ceased to beat."*

* Right Hon. Joseph Napier, M.P. for Dublin University.

ON THE PENTATEUCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE SAMUELIST AUTHORSHIP CONSIDERED.

THE Bishop has brought before us a new class of phenomena, so to call them, distinct altogether from those in the former part of his book, yet pointing, he thinks, to the same conclusion, and both unfavourable to the age and authorship usually assigned for the Pentateuch. The former class of phenomena, the reader will remember, consisted in certain alleged 'contradictions,' 'errors,' 'absurdities,' &c., on the face of the sacred history, rendering it wholly unreliable as an historical document, and only to be explained on the hypothesis of something like mythical and legendary origin, but quite inconsistent with the notion of inspiration.

And now, in this Second Part, our attention is called to a set of facts and observations connected more with the style, language, and 'composite structure' of the books—to the occurrence of words, phrases, and incidental pieces of information, which betray the work of a much later age than is at all compatible with the idea that the books could possibly have been written by Moses. On these two classes of observed phenomena, the Bishop proceeds to build his induction, that the books cannot possibly be of Mosaic, or even of inspired, origin. His work of destruction ended, he then passes on to the really more interesting part of his book,

where he gives us at last some positive ideas of his own, and tries his hand on the more difficult work of constructing what we may call his own theory on the composition of the books hitherto called, or considered, the Books of Moses. His belief and conclusion is that the groundwork was by Samuel (293, 462, 473, 485); that this was supplemented by some following disciple of that prophet (285, 286, 336, 342, 488); while Deuteronomy was added by a still later hand (473 (xx.), 474), probably by Jeremiah.

It can scarcely be necessary to contrast with this theory the canonical view of the same books. We may assume for the moment, that the canon gives them entirely to Moses. What I would first remark is, that here we have an induction of facts on the Bishop's part, and a theory constructed to meet the facts. And now that we have got him on positive ground, we have the right to test his induction and theory by one or two simple examples.

(1.) By way of an example, then, of the *Samuelist* passages of Scripture, let us take the following: "And Moses went up unto God, and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel: Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people, for all the earth is mine. . . . And the Lord said unto Moses, Lo! I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever. . . . And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came

“down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount; and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. . . . And God spake all these words, saying” [Here follow the Ten Commandments.] Ex. xix. 3, 4, 5, 9, 17—20; xx. 1. On this passage it is obvious to remark, that the Sinaitic covenant is here traced to its original in a solemn proclamation on Mount Sinai, by the voice of God Himself, to his servant Moses, shortly after the departure of the Israelites from the land of Egypt; the people are further addressed in this passage as the very people who HAD SEEN—*i.e.* who HAD BEEN EYE-WITNESSES of—the wonders which God had wrought among the Egyptians. And the solemnities of the proclamation were with this special view, “*that they may BELIEVE THEE FOR EVER.*” But, if Samuel was the author, there was no need of “belief in Moses” at all—much less of the *perpetual* belief here spoken of, as if dating from Moses, and as if the covenant was secure of being carefully handed down from him to all future generations of Israel. The terrors of *Mount Sinai* became indelibly associated, in the minds of this people, ever afterwards, with the delivery of ‘the Law,’ and with the writing of it, by Moses, as we see exemplified in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the pealing sound from the Mount is contrasted with the gentler accents of the Gospel, and we have that vivid description of “the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, and blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words and so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake” (Heb. xii. 18—21). The same awful scene is twice commemorated in the sixty-eighth Psalm. “The earth shook, the heavens also dropped at the presence of God; even *Sinai* itself was moved at the presence of God, the God of Israel.” “The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels: the Lord is among them as in *Sinai*, in the holy place” (ver. 8, 17). But in the original passage, what particularity, and what life there is in the account! “The smoke as the smoke of a furnace,” and “the voice of the trumpet *exceeding*

“loud,” and “all the mountain *quaking greatly*,” and the audience with the Almighty “*on the top of the mount.*” Referring again to Deuteronomy, where precisely the same scene is in view, how similar the language, how equally characteristic of the eye-witness of the scene! “These words “the LORD spake unto all your assembly in the mount out “of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, WITH A GREAT VOICE: *and He added no more.* And “He wrote them in two tables of stone and delivered them “UNTO ME.” Deut. v. 22. The declaration, too, in Exodus is remarkable *—“When the voice of the trumpet sounded “long Moses spake, and *God answered him by a voice.*” And this ‘voice,’ be it observed, was at first in the audience of all the people; but alarmed at the fearful sound, they appealed to Moses to wait alone upon the mount, and so it was that “Moses spake, and the Lord answered him by a voice.” Can all this have been an invention of Samuel? mere ‘legend’ improved by his ‘genius’ into the semblance of a Divine revelation?

(2.) For another example, let us try Exod. xxxi. 18. “And “he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God.” Here is something more circumstantial still. Yet the same act is repeated; and after the breaking of the first two tables, they are again replaced by others, said expressly, as before,

* If it be thought that some precepts of the Mosaic law were of inferior sanction, as not proceeding directly from Divine command, but rather from the authority of Moses, acting under the Divine dispensation committed to him; and if the words so frequently occurring in such instances—“*The Lord said,*” “*The Lord spake unto Moses, saying,*” &c. &c. be considered as a kind of customary preamble, as one might readily think, where they occur so repeatedly in Numbers and Leviticus;—yet this certainly cannot be said of such a thing as the solemn delivery of the Law on Mount Sinai amidst all the attendant circumstances referred to in the text. The Hebrews, certainly, were quite accustomed to distinguish between the *extraordinary* sanctity of what was received by the BATH-COL, or express voice of Jehovah, and the sanctity of that which came through the hand, and upon the authority of their several priests and lawgivers.

to be "written by the finger of God" (ch. xxxiv. 1, 281). From which we may naturally infer, that if Moses himself was directed to "write" yet other "words" of the law, such writing would extend to many other particulars besides the Ten Commandments. And accordingly the *Samuelist* passage which I am about to take next, is usually considered to embrace the greater part of those precepts of the law which extend Exod. chap. xx.—xxiii., or even to include the ritualistic ceremonial of ch. xxv.—xxx., xxxiv. 12—26.

(3.) The passage is, "And the Lord said unto Moses, WRITE THOU THESE WORDS; for after the tenor of these words, I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel" (Exod. xxxiv. 27). Now, if this precept had never been recorded before the time of Samuel, it surely would have been better for Samuel's reputation—who, according to the Bishop, had only his own taste and sense of expediency to guide him, and was not bound to the literal historical truth (285—287, 485)—to have suppressed all mention of the supposed command to Moses; for it could serve only to bring his mission into contempt, that so plain a precept should for many years have been so wantonly neglected and disobeyed (488, 500).

(4.) But there is another curious *Samuelist* relic about the 'manna,' if we are to be guided by the Bishop! The Jews, in the time of our Blessed Lord, inquired, "What sign showest thou, then, that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. . . . Jesus said unto them . . . Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die" (John vi. 30, 31, 43, 49, 50). The allusion here is to Exod. xvi. 12—36; and we observe how it is clearly verified by our Lord. But it is a *Samuelist* passage, according to the Bishop, and ends with that exceptional verse, "Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah" (Exod. xvi. 36), of which more hereafter. Surely, if it was

written by Samuel, the wonder is greater than ever that the imposture was never discovered till St. John's time, to say nothing of its being passed over in silence by our Lord Himself. But there remains—

(5.) The most perplexing passage of all, on the *Samuelist* theory, viz. Exod. vi. 2, 3: "And God spake unto Moses "and said unto him, I am the Lord; and I appeared unto "Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by *the name of God* "Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to "them."

For my part, I should shrink from characterizing the act of Samuel, if he really invented such a passage as this, as the Bishop's theory requires him to have done. I shall, therefore, leave it to the Bishop's pen to make the most handsome apology for this act of a man who, in his old age, and upon the review of his past life, seems to have been remarkably sensitive on the point of honour and integrity, for he says, "Behold, here I am: witness against me before the "Lord, and before his anointed . . . Whom have I de- "frauded? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to "blind mine eyes therewith? . . . I will teach you the good "and the right way. Only fear the Lord, and serve Him "IN TRUTH with all your heart" (1 Sam. xii. 3, 23, 24).

To describe, then, the transaction here attributed to Samuel, "From what we have already seen," writes the Bishop, "of the unhistorical character, generally, of the "account of the Exodus, we have no longer any reason for "supposing it to be necessary to believe that the name "Jehovah really originated in the way described in Ex. vi. "Yet it must have originated in *some* way—at some time or "other in the real history of the Hebrew people, just as the "Zulu name for the Creator, Unkulunkulu, 'the Great- "Great One,' must have been first used by some one, in "some part or other of *their past* history. Is it not possible, "then, that the name Jehovah may have been first employed "by *Samuel* in order to mark more distinctly the difference "between the Elohim of the Hebrews and the Elohim of the

“nations round them, and make it more difficult for them to fall away to the practice of idolatry” (339)? How curiously near to the truth this latter remark is, I need scarcely stop to observe; would that the Bishop improved it into the further reflection, how worthy such a purpose was to be made the foundation of an express Divine revelation,—and he, too, would have turned his thoughts to Moses as the more likely agent of the Divine purpose in this respect. But, true to his theory, the Bishop writes again: “The *Elohist* writer [supposed to be *Samuel*, and to whom ‘it is certain that ‘E. vi. 1—13 is due’ (473, iii.)] represents the name as having been first announced to Moses and the Israelites at the time of the Exodus. And he carefully avoids using it in all the foregoing part of the story from Adam downwards, through the times of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, to that of Moses. The *Jehovist* [a later and supplementary writer, who is also supposed to have been the *chief continuator of the Elohist* after Exod. vi. 342, 344] uses it freely all along. . . . May it not be possible that the *Elohist* wrote at a time when the word was quite new and fresh coined (!) . . . and, wishing to enforce the adoption of this strange Name, may have composed for the purpose this portion of the Mosaic story, while the later *Jehovist* uses it freely from the first, without perceiving, or at least *without feeling very strongly*, the contradiction thereby imported into the narrative?” (338). But, to complete the picture of *Samuel* in the part here attributed to him. “It is not necessary to suppose that the narrative of *Samuel* [in Ex. vi. and elsewhere throughout the Pentateuch!] is a pure fiction or invention of the Prophet’s own imagination—in short, merely ‘a pious fraud.’ It is very possible that there may have been, as we have said, floating about in the memories of the Hebrew tribes, many legendary stories of their ancestors . . . it is quite possible that the passage of the Red Sea, the *manna*, the quails, and other miracles, *may thus have had a real historical foundation* (!) . . . And *Samuel* may have desired to collect these

“legends and make them the basis of a narrative . . . by which he might be able to help forward their civil and religious welfare under kingly government, and more especially under the rule of his favourite David, imparting to them their high religious tone and spiritual character” (465, 466).

This, let it be observed, would have happened some four hundred years after the time of the Exodus, and thus entirely cuts away the authority of the books as the composition of an eye-witness, or of an historian contemporary with the events which he relates.

But, if the Elohist ventured manfully, the Jehovist carried it with a still higher hand! Observing that the Elohist—for whom at the same time he had a great respect (342, 343)—had broken off the chain of his narrative at or about Ex. vi., he determined to take upon himself to retouch the whole work without too strictly adhering to the plan and method of the Elohist (287, 253). And thus, even in the preceding as well as subsequent parts of the history, he introduced freely the new Name of the Almighty. In which case, “he must have retained deliberately the grand Elohistic chapter, Ex. vi., as too interesting and important to be omitted in the story of the Exodus, though aware of the inconsistency thus occasioned, or, it may be, because he did not *feel* very strongly the contradiction thus involved, as he clearly did not feel the contradictions which exist between his own accounts of the Creation and the Flood, and those of his predecessors, or even as multitudes of devout and thoughtful readers have studied the Bible closely in our own days, without perceiving these obvious discrepancies.” (344.)

And so pleased is the Bishop with his discovery, that he says, “Thus we have something like sure ground to stand upon;—and can at once account for many of the strange phenomena which we observe in the Pentateuch” (464). And, especially, we can see, how there is not an atom of inspiration about the books from beginning to end! as other-

wise, " It is inconceivable how any pious Israelite, much less
 " a Prophet or a Priest, should have ventured to mix up,
 " *without distinction*, large and important sections of history
 " of their own composition with writings so venerable and
 " sacred, which had been handed down from the time of
 " Moses, and were really *believed* to have been written by his
 " hand, and, chiefly, *from the very mouth of Jehovah Himself*.
 " It is inconceivable that he could have dared to commit an
 " act of such profanity, under any circumstances. But, cer-
 " tainly, he could not have done so, without distinguishing in
 " some way the Divine words as written down by Moses,
 " from his own. . . . We are compelled, it would seem, to
 " the conclusion, that the later writer or writers did *not* be-
 " lieve in the unspeakably sacred character of any older do-
 " cuments, which may have come down to them,—that they
 " did *not* receive them, as really written by the hand of
 " Moses, and conveying, on his own authority, the astonish-
 " ing facts of his awful communion with God." (253, 254.)
 No! they certainly ' did not perceive ' an infallible authority
 ' in the preceding Elohistic documents,' but for this very
 sufficient reason, as we shall presently see, viz., that those
 documents were first invested with authority when the col-
 lection and revision of them was made, and not till then.
 Before that time, they existed in the form of traditions, held
 in sacred esteem, as handed down among the faithful from
 father to son ; but they had never yet been made the ground
 of a directly divine dispensation.

And here I should like one word with the Bishop, who,
 without regard to the venerable traditions of the Jews—
 without respect to the express letter of Scripture, as at
 Exod. iii. and vi.—ventures to build scheme after scheme upon
 pure assumptions of his own, gathered by his own light of
 nature from the *primâ facie* appearances of certain Scripture
 words, phrases, appellations, and so forth. Would he himself
 believe it, I would ask, if he heard it affirmed with all the
 confidence in the world, that whereas it was reported, and
 there seemed some ground for the belief, that the Bishop of

Natal had published a work that went by the name of "BISHOP COLENZO ON THE PENTATEUCH," yet it was perfectly certain that no Bishop could have written such a book, inasmuch as the avowed purpose of it was to overthrow the credibility of the Scriptures (or, at least, of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua); and that no other Bishop of the Church of England had ever been known to treat the Bible with such evident disrespect? That, indeed, it was "impossible" and "inconceivable" that the writer of such a book should ever have been in England in his life, still less have borne honours in the Church; and, if there was any foundation for the report at all, it must have been a stranger from foreign parts that wrote the book—perhaps a Zulu, who had studied the English language with some success, but certainly knew nothing of the habits, feelings, or faith of the English people.

But the reader is getting, perhaps, by degrees a little better acquainted with the Zulu tongue, and also with the general plan of this Second Part 'on the Pentateuch'? We must be careful, however, in following the Bishop, to take our vocabulary—I mean our premisses—with us;—or we shall lose ground and find him suddenly shooting ahead, and not be able to overtake him. Let me just explain, therefore, that the premisses quietly assumed in the Second Part are no other than the conclusions supposed to have been successfully arrived at in Part I., and which are henceforth to be made the ground or foundation for some new and more important propositions. Let no one, therefore, imagine for one instant that the speculations in Part I. are to pass away as an idle dream, and be no more thought of; they are, on the contrary, to be carried about with us as so many first principles and fundamental axioms, to help us in taking a true and correct view both of the Pentateuch and of all the remaining books of the Old Testament. This cannot be too well understood—or it will be not easy for us in the sequel to explain to ourselves the confidence and satisfaction with which the Bishop presses on from one deduction to another.

I shall place, first, a passage which refers at once to the particular subject which we are just leaving, and embraces the more general purport of the argument in this Second Part. "Thus, then, even if it were conceivable that Moses should have written a story, about matters in which he was personally concerned, involving such *contradictions, exaggerations, and impossibilities*, as we have already had before us" (viz. in Part I.), "yet the fact above noticed would alone be decisive against such a supposition. The great body of the Pentateuch, and all the other historical books which follow it, could not have been compiled until the name Jehovah was in common popular use, and that was not till after, at all events, the middle of David's reign." To clear his meaning from all possibility of mistake, the Bishop devotes an entire chapter in this Second Part (Part II. chap. I.) to show that he considers his former reasons unanswerable, and is still prepared to stake the whole historical credit of the books on the little matters of detail—such as the number of armed men; the sheep* in the wilderness; the number of the congregation compared to the size of the Tabernacle; Moses and Joshua addressing ALL the people; the extent

* At the risk of being tedious, I will briefly recapitulate the substance of the answers made to one of the above supposed difficulties; viz. the supply of sheep in the wilderness. Why should they have longed "for the *flesh-pots* of Egypt," if they had had so many sheep of their own? (Bishop Colenso reckons 2,000,000!) And for the one instance where they celebrated a Passover, how easy to serve themselves of 'kids' instead of 'lambs,' for it might be "taken from the sheep or from the goats." (Ex. xii. 5.) If it be thought that they must have taken lambs, why not buy them of the Midianites, who were used to carry merchandise that way? Moses knew the country well, and was well known; his orders would be obeyed, and the lambs served, without any necessity of supposing flocks of "2,000,000 sheep, male and female." This is the substance of the answers to be given to this one objection. And this is all the difficulty; for as to sacrifices in general they were for the most part discontinued, as was the initiatory rite of circumcision, and as were the passovers altogether after the first, till they came to the land of Canaan. I am giving the substance of a former reply on this single difficulty: the other instances which occur in Part I. ch. iv.—ix. have not been found insuperable;—such as "Joshua addressing ALL the people," the "priest carrying the offal three-quarters of a mile *on his back on foot*," (corrected in the Bishop's second edition to, "*perhaps with the help of others.*")

of the camp and daily necessities of the people; the census taken twice, and the poll-tax once, with other difficulties; armed Israelites to the number of 603,250 men; and various other small matters of detail which formed the main substance of his first number. He draws special attention to this chapter in the Preface, and says, "No reliance whatever can be placed on any of the *details* of the story . . . they are inextricably bound up with the Numbers." (Pref. xv.) And here, again, "*Undoubtedly, as I have shown, I believe, sufficiently in Part I., an unquestioning, implicit faith in all the details of the story of the Exodus, as recorded in the Pentateuch, involves, again and again, assent to propositions as monstrous and absurd as that two and two make five.*" (490.)

But this plan of Samuel was far surpassed in audacity by that of the 'Deuteronomist.' To believe that Deuteronomy was by a still later hand, as the Bishop seeks to prove, we must believe that the writer did not scruple to pass under a fictitious name, and moreover in assuming the name to appropriate also the office and honours of one of the most celebrated persons that ever lived. Let us test this theory again by an example or two.

(1.) "And I spake unto you at that time, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone."—Deut. i. 9. "And I commanded you at that time all the things which ye should do."—Deut. i. 18. And this address in the first person, as from Moses himself speaking personally to the people, is the continual style throughout the book, with but very few exceptions. How unprincipled a fabrication this, if it was not indeed the work of Moses!—reason enough, were there no other, to conclude that this at least could not have been the act of 'Samuel' or 'Jeremiah.' A man must have required to have been trained in a different school from that of Samuel (if we were right in our former estimate of his character) before he could have attempted such an absolute imposture as this in the face of all Israel! And if the Scriptures had not even begun to be written in the time of

Samuel, as the Bishop pretends, he may well find it difficult to imagine what possible occupation there could have been for the 'Schools of the Prophets,' which were at that time beginning to make a name in Israel. From them, indeed, the Bishop ingeniously argues that the first writings of Holy Scripture emanated. But if they neither wrote Scripture, nor had any to read, nor any copies to make or to preserve, they must indeed have had little to occupy their minds. And one cannot well see what means were at hand of bringing them up to any useful occupation at all, though the Bishop thinks that 'among the promising young men of his time' (286) Samuel would have naturally found the exact sort of youth who might help him in reducing to order the floating traditions of the people, and in composing just such a work as the Pentateuch (287)!

(2.) Let us try a few more examples. We read that King David, when his end was approaching, called his son to him and said, "I go the way of all the earth: be thou strong therefore, and show thyself a man; and keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, *as it is written in the law of Moses*, that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself."—1 Kings ii. 2, 3. This description of the law with the appended promise of a blessing runs clearly in the style of Deuteronomy, as chap. iv. 1: "Now therefore hearken, O Israel, unto the statutes and unto the judgments, which I teach you, for to do them, that ye may live, and go in and possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers giveth you." We have the like blessing four times repeated in connexion with the same injunction, chap. vi. 2, 3, 18, 25. Between these appear the Ten Commandments, chap. v. 6—21. In chap. xi. 1: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and keep his charge, and his statutes, and his judgments, and his commandments, alway." In chap. xvii. we have even a prospective exhortation to kings themselves: "When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee . . . and shalt say, I will set a

“king over me, like as all the nations that are about me. . . .
 “It shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his king-
 “dom, that he shall write him a copy of this law. . . . And
 “he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may
 “learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of
 “this law and these statutes, to do them. . . . that he
 “may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children,
 “in the midst of Israel.”—v. 14, 18, 19, 20.

Here, then, we have a King, who reigned subsequent to the time of Samuel, but was well known to that prophet, as the Bishop himself tells us (356), quoting the familiar words of Moses in Deuteronomy, as words which he must have known to be Samuel’s, if the *Samuelist theory* be true; and yet quoting them as genuine to Solomon himself, who certainly would have known better than to allow the misnomer to have remained upon the sacred page, had they not certainly been the words of Moses. And yet the Bishop avers that the Book of Deuteronomy was not even written in Samuel’s time; but was the work of Jeremiah, who lived in the days of Jehoiachin, *four hundred years* after the accession of Solomon, here spoken of in the Book of Kings!

(3.) But the Apostle St. Peter was as much deceived as Solomon: for he tells us, “Moses truly said unto the
 “fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto
 “you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in
 “all things whatsoever he shall say unto you.”—Acts iii. 22.
 The original of which is to be found, Deut. xviii. 18. But if Jeremiah was the prophet, it makes sad work indeed with types and ante-types, besides that it wholly belies, as in the last instance, the word of inspiration itself.

Thus much may suffice to give us some idea of what the consequences would be if the Bishop’s theory were true. In what has been said, I have not, of course, been pretending to unravel all the difficulties, nor even glance at all the ingenious arguments by which the Bishop supports his view. Reserving these for their proper place, I pass on now to the general discussion of the broad question before us, concerning
 “the *age and authorship of the Pentateuch.*”

CHAPTER II.

ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

AS we are challenged to a full investigation of the age and authorship of the Pentateuch, let us divest ourselves as far as we can of all preconceived opinions on either side, and endeavour to look the whole subject in the face, and not to lose ourselves altogether in minor matters of detail.

The genuineness and authenticity of the five canonical books of Scripture, called the Pentateuch, and commonly ascribed to MOSES, has from the earliest ages been the received belief and persuasion of the Church. They have been considered *genuine*, as being on the whole truly and properly, under Divine inspiration, the work of Moses himself: and *authentic*, because of the undoubted credit due to him, both as the great lawgiver of Israel, and as a man eminently raised up in the Divine counsels to be the founder of their national law and ecclesiastical polity.

On the other hand, in the course of the two last centuries, this general belief of the Church has been called in question. It has been *denied* that the books of the Pentateuch were written by Moses, and they have been pronounced the work, or compilation, of some later hands. The reasons alleged for this opinion are such as the following:—

1. The apparent variety of style in the different portions of the books.
2. The notable instance, which may be called the Elohist and Jehovist controversy.

3. The manifest occasional interpolations and additions, which could not possibly have been the work of a contemporary writer, such as Moses must have been.

4. The supposed opposition between many of its details, and the known results of scientific discovery, or the conclusions of modern criticism.

5. Some have objected to the miracles, as altogether discrediting the books.

6. Others have alleged certain apparent difficulties in the way of 'contradictions,' 'errors,' 'absurdities,' &c. in the contents of this portion of Scripture.

Briefly reviewing the above objections, we might say that the fifth of them is, happily, put out of court by the Bishop having expressed his cordial acceptance of the miraculous parts of the books in question. He says, "I wish to repeat here most distinctly that my reasons for no longer receiving the Pentateuch as historically true, is not that I find insuperable difficulties with regard to the *miracles* or supernatural *revelations* of Almighty God recorded in it. . . . The notion of miraculous or supernatural interferences does not present to my own mind the difficulties which it seems to present to some. I could believe and receive the miracles of Scripture heartily, if only they were authenticated by a veracious history."—Part I. (10). Again, on objections (4) and (6), we may trust he has received some satisfaction from the answers that have already, in considerable number, appeared on that part of the subject. Having myself laboured in this behalf, I am now in condition to offer some further observations on the remainder of the objections.

It will be the best course, however, to consider the subject in the order which has been indicated above; and to take, first the positive side of the question in support of the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch; and afterwards to review at length the arguments on the contrary, or negative side. By this means, the reader will be able to form a more full and comprehensive view, and to be in better condition to form his judgment upon the subject.

I. Let us inquire, then, first :—

How came the books of the Pentateuch into the canon of Scripture? Or on what grounds have they been received in the Church as the genuine and authentic production of the inspired writers to whom they are ascribed.

(1.) In answer, we have, first, the uniform and ancient tradition of the Jewish people.

It is impossible this whole people should have been deceived as to the main facts of their history. The argument has often been stated, and is incontrovertible. What should have induced them to submit to a code of laws prescribing some of the most burdensome rites and ceremonies, and to make themselves conspicuous for the way in which they were marked off from all other nations of the earth?—conspicuous for an amount of credulity and prejudice which would have been unparalleled in the history of any people. What, but a certainty that the facts of their history compelled them to such a line of conduct, and left them no choice as to what they were at liberty to believe or to reject? But now, if they had reason to know for certain that Moses was their law-giver, and the founder of their national polity, no less certain did they esteem it, that the books in which the beginnings of their national history are recorded, were equally his work. This was handed down as part and parcel of their national belief, equally with the other. Why should the people be less competent witnesses—and why should the world be less ready to assent to their testimony—in the one case than in the other? Living, as their forefathers did at the time, and handing down their knowledge in writing, as well as by word of mouth, from father to son—they are surely as good evidence for the authorship of the documents as for the person of the legislator. Alike in both instances, they must have had every facility for detecting imposture, and for verifying the pretensions made. At all events, such a persuasion is a guarantee for the antiquity of the books, and that they were, at least, coeval with *Moses*; that *Moses*, therefore, authenticated, if he did not compose, the writings. A people

jealous for their national institutions, would have looked well to the preservation of the sacred books, in which the history of them was contained. They had once been attached to Egyptian rites, and hankered after Egyptian pleasures. Before they could be weaned from these early associations, they would require the highest degree of assurance that the change proposed to them, the new conditions of their polity, were founded on the clearest authority, and laid down in the clearest and fullest form. Would a people thus situated, and thus disposed, have suffered their Lawgiver to depart without depositing among them some unquestionable guarantees for the genuineness and authenticity of the laws under which he would leave them, and on obedience to which their national greatness was to depend? Moses gave them ample warning when he was about to be called away from them; is it likely they took no pledge of him, that the Sacred Writings were his own, or were fully authenticated by him? Could the persuasion of such authorship, or of such authentication (for it seems to me very much the same thing), have grown up among them, and been so constantly perpetuated, unless it had been originally founded in fact?

2. By the very nature of the case, any later forgery is precluded; for at all subsequent periods we find the polity of the Jewish people in actual operation, and developing itself in the successive stages of their history. That polity could not have been invented as they went on. It was far too rigid and unbending in its nature, too precise in its laws and regulations, to admit of such gradual construction. It must clearly have been based on something antecedent, from which it derived all its force and validity. And this could have been nothing else than these very writings of which we speak. Certainly, during the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel—reigns which fell upon historic days—there was no room at all for invention or fraud. The services of the Temple were, for the greater part of that time, in full operation, and all implying the previous existence of the documents. During the Judges there is no trace whatever,

or shadow of pretence, for imagining a person, or persons, who would be capable of so splendid an invention—if invention it was—to put together that whole framework of the polity thus practised and enforced by the Kings—nor any account to be given of it, except we go back to Moses himself as the author. Besides that, in those intermediate times of the history, we find allusions which imply the pre-existence of the documents, just as in the time of the Kings. The most that can be attributed to Samuel is, that he may have revised the Canon, and perhaps added the Books of Joshua and Judges. But the very composition, or collection, of new documents implies the existence of others antecedent to them; especially when in these others there are found the first traces of customs, laws, and historic facts alluded and referred to in the later ones. The whole of these later times point evidently back to the great events of the Mosaic history. The ‘ark’ *—the ‘tabernacle’ †—the ‘sacrifices’ ‡—the ‘priests’ §—‘Jehovah being King,’ and the assertion of this by Gideon, as a reason for his own declining the kingdom ||—‘circumcision,’ ¶ and the reproach of being ‘uncircumcised’—the ‘Nazarite vow’ **—the rehearsal of the great ‘deliverance from Egyptian bondage’ ††—the division into ‘tribes’ ‡‡—these are unmistakeable marks of the constitution and laws set up and framed by Moses, which are referred to in the time intermediate between Moses and the Kings. It does not signify at all, *even if it were true* that Moses was “only twice named in the Prophets before the Captivity” (500), when the laws framed by him, all the leading institutions of that law, and some leading circumstances of his history, were thus kept continually before the minds of the people—yes! when, in spite of the Bishop’s assertion to the contrary, “there *were* signs §§ of the Levitical laws in the age

* 1 Sam. iv. 3. † 1 Sam. i. iii. ‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 8; xv. 15—22.

§ 1 Sam. i. ii. xxi. || Judg. viii. 25.

¶ Judg. xiv. 3. ** Judg. xiii. 5; comp. Numb. vi. 2.

†† Judg. vi. 8, 9. ‡‡ Judg. v. 15, 18.

§§ It is sometimes objected that where “the Law” is mentioned, it means,

“ of Samuel being known, honoured, revered, quoted, and “referred to” (487). *But it is not true*, “that Moses was only twice named by the Prophets before the Captivity, viz. Jer. xv. 1; Mic. vi. 4”—besides being “once referred to, but not named, viz. Hos. xii. 13.” Why should we omit all mention of the Psalms usually entitled the Psalms of ‘Moses,’ and especially the Ninetieth Psalm, of which, I believe, there was never any question of the title being genuine? But the Bishop’s assertion was, perhaps, not intended to include the Psalms. Among ‘the Prophets,’ then, how came he to overlook Isaiah? He states it as a fact, that “Moses was only mentioned twice” (in the Prophets, we will suppose him to mean, particularly), “before the Captivity.” Was not Isaiah ‘before the Captivity’? And why, then, is there no mention of the following passage: “But they rebelled, and vexed his “holy Spirit:

perhaps, only the “Ten Commandments”—said to have been deposited within the ‘Ark of the Covenant’ (1 Kings viii. 9). But though the expression may sometimes be used in a limited sense, there are many passages which require a more extended meaning. Such a passage is that in Joshua, chap. i. 7, 8 :—“Observe to do according to *all the law*, which Moses my servant commanded thee;” and soon after (v. 8), where it is called “the book of the Law.” Josh. viii. 31, the allusion shows that Ex. xx. 25, and Deut. xxvii. 5, 6, are included among the things “written in the book of the law of Moses.” Similar allusions (v. 34) to the “blessings and curses,” show that Levit. xxvi., Deut. xi. 26—28, and all Deut. xxviii., are in view. Neh. viii. 13, 14, refers to Levit. xxiii. 34. That an entire copy of the Law was deposited with each of the kings of Judah, on his accession, is implied, 1 Kings ii. 3, and we have an example of it, 2 Kings xi. 12.

It is perfectly nugatory to say, “There is no sign of the law being obeyed in all the time from Samuel to the reign of Solomon” (488—550). The books of Samuel, as appears in the text, are full of allusions to different parts of the law—‘Sacrifices,’ ‘The ark,’ &c. In contradistinction to the great Temple at Jerusalem, it is expressly asserted, in the book of Samuel, that up to that time the worship of God had continually taken place in ‘the Tabernacle;’—“Thus saith the Lord, Shalt thou build me an house for me to dwell in? “Whereas I have not dwelt in any house *since the time that I brought up the “children of Israel out of Egypt*, even to this day, but have walked *in a tent “and in a tabernacle”* (2 Samuel vii. 6). The Psalms of David contain similar allusions—to “the Law” (Ps. i., xix., cxix., &c.)—to ‘Sacrifices’ (Ps. l. 8, li. 19, cxli. 2,) &c. &c.

therefore He was turned to be their enemy, and “ He fought against them. Then He remembered *the days of old, Moses, and His people*, saying, Where is He that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of His flock? where is He that put His Holy Spirit within Him? *That led them by the right hand of Moses* with His glorious arm, dividing the water before them, to make Himself an everlasting name?” (Isaiah lxiii. 10—12.)

3. We may remark, thirdly, the singular coherence and connexion of the separate portions of the Pentateuch—the almost dramatic unity and progress throughout the piece,* which seems to denominate it the emanation of one mind and the work of one pen. There might, indeed, be interpolations and additions here and there by a later hand; but, taken as a whole, these books bespeak one common origin—the conception and execution of one interpreter of the Divine will, gifted supernaturally for the work.

4. But, further, in many parts there is an express indication of the author by name. And these are such important and conspicuous parts, and occupy so large a proportion of the whole narrative, that they seem to draw after them the small remainder of the books, or at any rate involve a supervision of this remainder by the same hand. Take first the greater part of Deuteronomy;—(the exceptions are—i. 1—3, iv. 44 to v. 1, xxvii. 1, xxix. 1, and xxxii., which last, as it contains the death of Moses, is clearly added by a later hand). With these exceptions, we have Moses constantly speaking in his own person of himself, and of the actions in which he was concerned. In chapter xxxii. we have a celebrated poem, called the ‘Song of Moses;’ and in chapter xxxiii. “the blessing wherewith,” it is expressly said, “Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death.” In chapter xxxi. 9, we find that the ‘writing’ as well as the dictation

* ‘The whole Pentateuch—its five books, and all the portions of which it is at present made up—is the basis and the necessary antecedent of the history of the Jewish people, commonwealth, religion, manners, and literature.’—KURTZ.

of 'the law' was done 'by Moses'—"and Moses *wrote this law*, and delivered it unto the Priests, the sons of Levi;" and further, v. 25, 26, that it was written by him in 'a book,' which "Moses commanded the Levites to take, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord." But while these were the 'writings' of Moses, the rest of the Book of Deuteronomy presents us with his very words—words expressly delivered in his own person to the very people who had followed him out of Egypt—"Know ye this day: for I speak not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the chastisement of the Lord your God, His greatness, His mighty hand, and His stretched out arm; His miracles, and His acts which He did in the midst of Egypt unto Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and unto all his land. . . . and what He did unto you in the wilderness, until ye came unto this place. . . . but YOUR EYES HAVE SEEN all the great acts of the Lord which He did." xi. 2, 3, 5, 7 (comp. iv. 32-40). And as these addresses are in his own name to his own contemporaries, so in other places he describes their past experiences, as being himself a chief actor with them in the scene. Does he send out spies? The style is, "And *I took* men of you, one of a tribe" (ch. i. 23). Does he encourage the people? it is, "Then *I said* unto you, Dread not neither be afraid of them" (ch. i. 29), "*I sent* messengers unto Sihon king of Heshbon" (ii. 26); "*I stood* between the Lord and you at that time, to show you the Word of the Lord" (v. 5); "*I am* a hundred and thirty years old this day" (xxxi. 2), &c. &c. The actor in the narrative is clearly also the writer—or else we must suppose the book to be an entire fabrication, and that, while the history in which it is embedded and with which it is inseparably interwoven cannot for a moment be questioned, there is this glaring absurdity on the face of it, that the writer passes himself off for the great leader and lawgiver of Israel without being really so! that, moreover, he took particular pains to draw public attention to the pretence—and yet, that such pretence was never discovered till of quite

recent times! As no pretence could have gone higher than this, so none, surely, would have provoked more strict examination; and the result we find in the universal persuasion among his own people, that the lawgiver himself wrote at least the Book of Deuteronomy, as he specially claims to have done; or, if he did not write it, that the words at any rate are his. The last chapter, it is true, containing an account of his death, must have been added by a later hand; but, with this exception, or if there be any other trifling interpolations, I think we have good grounds for maintaining the Mosaic authorship of this last book of the Pentateuch.* And this being so, what follows? From the fact of his having thus handed down the record of his later years, is it likely he should have taken no pains to secure an authentic record of his earlier work, and of the events connected with his mission, as we read them in Exodus and the Book of Numbers? The events there related were clearly connected with the very original of the covenant made with Israel. Is it likely that the antecedents of such a history should have been left to be collected at random, and from no authentic sources? especially when we consider the long opportunities which must have been had for the diligent collection and preparation of the necessary documents. If he were not himself the author of the earlier collection of laws which were henceforth to be at the foundation of the national polity, and of the events through which the nation were to pass, can he be supposed to have overlooked the necessity of providing, at least, for some re-

* It is by no means out of course to take Deuteronomy first in order of the books. Dr. Davidson well observes, "In comparing Deuteronomy with the first four books of the Pentateuch, it has been too generally assumed that it was composed after these. With this view, the comparison has been conducted as if deviations and additions pre-supposed the earlier existence of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; and as if the writer of Deuteronomy knew what was already written in the four books." [He "knew" it, most likely, but was not bound by it, because it was not yet drawn up and published in the set-form in which it was afterwards arranged.] "All this we believe to be erroneous. *It may be that Deuteronomy was written first of all.*"—DAVIDSON; *Text of Old Testament.*

liable accounts? and would he not have bestowed some pains in correcting and revising them? Would he have left it to an inferior hand to detail, what he alone could have been well qualified to do—his interviews with the Most High, his call to his office—the communings of his spirit with the deep things of the Spirit of God? Were it even uncertain, whether he did so or not, we find in these earlier books, many passages which are expressly ascribed to his hand—such as Exod. xxiv. 7, xxxiv. 27, &c.

5. The preceding reasons apply, in great part, to Genesis also; yet not, perhaps, so strictly as those which follow. *Genesis* was not exactly a part of ‘the law’—that law which is so invariably coupled with the name of Moses. It is, however, a most material part of the history of that people, to whom ‘the law’ was given; and without it that history would be perfectly unintelligible. It contains their lineage—the birth of their forefather Abraham, the history of the Patriarchs, the going into Egypt, and the sojourn there: to make no mention of the more ancient times before and after the Flood, when the knowledge of God was diffused impartially among the divers nations of the world. These, and many other things of common interest, are found in Genesis, besides the beginnings of the Hebrew nation itself. It reveals, in the clearest manner, the Unity of the Godhead, and His sovereignty over all His creatures. With this it couples the disobedience of our first parents, and the promise of a Deliverer to the fallen race of man. And all this it does with a grandeur and sublimity worthy of the pen of inspiration, and, altogether, in a manner which makes it unlikely that the name of the author should have been entirely buried in oblivion. The same principle which would have incited Moses to furnish an authentic history of his own days, equally points to him as the most probable composer of the antecedent history of his people: the only difference being, that in the one case he might partially have been indebted to more ancient sources for his information, while, in the other case, his own experience would have sufficed. Indeed, through no inconsiderable portion of this

book (ch. xl.-l.) the account transports us to a country with which none was ever more familiar than Moses ; and perhaps no other man in the world could have interspersed his account in so easy and natural a manner with familiar traits of daily life among the Egyptians, which more and more surprise us by their truthfulness, as we become better acquainted with the manners and customs of that celebrated land.

We turn now to the constant tradition of the people whose great lawgiver and ruler he was, and we find ourselves confirmed in our belief that Moses was truly, as he was thus eminently fitted to be, the author of this wonderful book. And as this belief originated in the earliest days of the Hebrew commonwealth, it is the belief of contemporaries, and as such is entitled to the most unhesitating assent. Had it been otherwise, it would have been in the power of Moses himself to disown the work ; but as he, on the contrary, adopted its contents and statements as his own, and as it comes down as a great inheritance of the Hebrew people, we may accept his silence, at least, and the consentient voice of his nation, as sufficient evidence that Genesis may be rightly considered (in common with the other books of the Pentateuch) the real and undoubted work of Moses.

6. Another reason of importance in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, may be derived from the general style and language of the Books. I do not mean that the style is everywhere the same, or that no difference is perceptible in this respect between Deuteronomy and Genesis. Such as there does exist, however, is at once accounted for by the different occasions and circumstances under which the two works were drawn up—one being historical, the other hortatory in its character ; the one composed with studied terseness and brevity ; the other, purposely diffuse and animated—the one, as it were, the labour of the study ; the other, the language of immediate contact with the people, and suggested by an earnest zeal for their welfare. Where, again, the style varies from itself it is only what is due to the different documents which were brought together and worked

up in the composition of the history. Thus much concerns the actual language of Genesis, and also of the Pentateuch generally. It also requires to be considered what its language is *not*? And here I can only refer to works more directly devoted to Hebrew criticism, to show that from the date we have assumed for Genesis and the Pentateuch, down to the time of Ezra, to whom the last revision of these books is usually ascribed, the phraseology of the language underwent such a change, that the Book of Ezra is full of new words and phrases which are not found anywhere in the compass of the earlier books.

7. It remains only to add the testimony of Holy Scripture itself. When I say its 'testimony,' I am not asserting that anywhere in Scripture every letter or every word in the Pentateuch is even by implication authenticated. It is enough if they be ascribed *in the main* to Moses; so that not only 'the law' might be said to be his, but the antecedents also of the history of the Jews, and those likewise of the Gentile world, may be received as equally authenticated by him. To this effect, then, it is conceived that the references made to the 'books of the law,' and to the 'writings of Moses' in the New Testament decidedly extend. St. Peter sets his seal to the truth of these early Scriptures where he adopts, in his Epistles, several principal particulars in the Mosaic records, as the history of *Balaam* (2 Pet. ii. 15), the destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, *Lot*, *Noah* and the *Ark* (2 Pet. ii. 5—7; 1 Pet. iii. 20). St. Paul declares his belief to be grounded on the same Old Testament records, "saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come" (Acts xxvi. 22). A still earlier disciple exclaimed, "We have found Him of whom *Moses in the law* and the Prophets did write" (John i. 45). On occasion of one of the latest manifestations of our Blessed Lord to His disciples, "*Beginning at Moses*, and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself" (Luke xxiv. 27). And in what appears a parting

charge to the eleven Apostles (Luke xxiv. 44): “ These are
“ the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with
“ you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in
“ the law of *Moses*, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms
“ concerning Me.” *

* A few other passages may be referred to—Matt. xix. 7 ; Mark xii. 10, 26 ,
John v. 46, 47 ; Rom. x. 5.

CHAPTER III.

WHO WERE THE 'ELOHIST' AND 'JEHOVIST'?

It is useless in the present day, after so much has been written on the subject, to shut our eyes to the real difficulties of the question concerning the *Elohists* and *Jehovists* writers (as they are called), who are supposed to have contributed their separate shares to the composition of the Pentateuch,* and especially of the Book of Genesis. To illustrate the conditions of the problem, let us look at Genesis alone. At chapter v. 1, we may observe a remarkable break in the style and subject, leading us back to the first portion of the book at chapter i.—ii. 3, the identical expressions of which are taken up and repeated at ch. v. such as “in the likeness of God made He him,” “male and female created He them.” While this is the case with these separate portions, the intermediate part, chapter ii. 3, to the end of chapter iv. seems complete in itself, and distinguished by some little difference in style. The chief difference, however, consisting in this, that while in the above-mentioned two sections the Almighty is spoken of under the name of ELOHIM, in the intermediate section the term JEHOVAH is introduced, either singly or in composition with the other, to express the sacred name. And by a similar mode of comparison carried on through the remaining chapters, we come to the conclusion generally, that in some distinct portions of this book, the generic term ELOHIM prevails, while others are equally marked by the prevailing occurrence of the corresponding and more specific

* In the *historical* portions of the Pentateuch we must admit the existence of two distinct sources, which may be described as the ‘ground-work,’ and the ‘supplementary work.’—KURTZ.

term, so to speak, JEHOVAH. And further, in the Elohist portions there may generally be traced a kind of continuity of subject and sense, which makes them, to a certain extent, complete in themselves; while the Jehovistic portions seem rather intercalated between them, to fill up the same, or to furnish additional matter, with an evident regard to the future history of the chosen seed.

The following table contains a list of the principal chapters or parts of chapters in Genesis, which may be described generally as *Elohist* or *Jehovistic* portions:—

The following may be called *Elohist*:—Chap. i. to ii. 3; v.; vi. 9—22; vii. 11 to viii. 19; ix. 1—17, 28, 29; xi. 10—32; xiv.; xvii.; xx.; xxi.; xxii. (all but 14—18); xxiii.; xxiv. to xxviii. 9.; xxix. to xxxvii. (except part of xxx.)

Uncertain in parts, xxv., xxvi.

The following are, perhaps, *Jehovistic*:—Chap. ii. 4 to end of iv.; vi. 1—8, vii. 1—10; viii. 20—22; ix. 18—27; x.; xi. 1—9; xii.; xiii.; xv.; xvi.; xvii. 1; xviii.; xix.; xxviii. 10—22; xxx. 14—16, 25—43; xxxviii.; xxxix. 1—5.

Mixed, xl. to l.

Thus, nearly half of Genesis may be traced to the *Elohist*, whose style appears to indicate a greater antiquity in the materials which he had to work upon, than in those which fell to the portion of the *Jehovist*. We may select such a portion as that ending ix. 29, as serving to exemplify our statement, that the work of the Elohist had a kind of order or method of its own. On the other hand, the attempt to discriminate exactly between the two, has confessedly been an endless source of difference among the critics. “Nothing,” says Dr. Kalisch, “can better show than the series of chapters xxv.—xxviii., how incorrect it is to assert that we have in Genesis two documents which we are still able to resolve into their component parts.” *Ewald*, in his difficulty, was driven to suppose no less than five principal contributors. And in other writers, *Ewald*, *Hupfeld*, &c., we find numerous speculations equally vague and unsatisfactory.

At the outset of the argument, it is important to observe that, on the supposition of the writers having served themselves of these more ancient documents, neither *Elohist* nor *Jehovist* is to be judged of by the actual time or date when each individually lived and wrote;—they might have worked up their materials in a different style and order, but much of the style would depend on the original documents themselves. At first sight, considering that the account of so ancient an event as the Creation falls to the *Elohist*, it might be imagined that the *Elohist* himself belonged also to an extremely remote age. But this and the later accounts collected by the *Elohist*—from the Creation to the Flood—and from the Flood onwards to the Twelve Patriarchs (ranging over an immense period of time), must imply very different dates of composition; and whoever collected them, the collection might have been by one hand, though the original, so to speak, was by many, and was in fact the accumulated work of ages. The same exactly with the *Jehovist*. It follows from this, that neither *Elohist* nor *Jehovist* need necessarily be supposed to have lived at very different dates, merely because of the differences in their phraseology, and of the greater or less antiquity in the matters handled. It would be sufficient to say that the *Elohist*, adopting that name of the Supreme Being which he had found in that ancient account of the Creation which occurs in the beginning of his compilation, naturally continued the use of it through the subsequent accounts. He might have done so the rather as the new name in Exodus vi. had not yet been revealed. So soon as it was revealed, if we suppose these authors to have been nearly contemporary, it would have been revealed alike to *Elohist* and *Jehovist*.* But the *Elohist*, having already completed his roll of traditions, might have seen no necessity, or even felt no authority,

* There is no necessity, on the plan here proposed, to debate the point with so much earnestness, as a matter of life and death, whether Ex. vi. and Ex. iii. are *Elohist* or *Jehovist* passages (330, 336, 473, iii. iv.). And yet the Bishop, when he knew how much depended on it in the interest of his own scheme, might have hesitated to give it so decidedly as he has done to the *Elohist*, especially as he is obliged to make the following admission himself,—“*And yet*

to go back and make any alteration in the Sacred Name; while the Jehovist, *beginning* his share of the work *not till after the revelation of this name had been made*, felt at liberty to use the name throughout his compilation, and even to remodel the part drawn up by the Elohist. The Elohist, I would suggest, might very well have been *Aaron*, while the Jehovist was *Moses*. And these, under Divine direction, might have even agreed as to the measure and degree in which the new Title of Deity, more directly expressive, as it was, of a covenant-relationship between God and his people Israel, should be worked up into the past accounts. And, thus far, there would be room for the supposition of *Hengstenberg* (approved, I think, by *Dr. M'Caul*), viz.—that when either of these names occurs in the Pentateuch there is always some distinct reason that may be assigned for the selection, and consequently that there is no necessity to suppose, with *Kurtz* and others, that two distinct writers, or compilers, were concerned in the composition of the Sacred Narrative. If it should further seem not unreasonable to imagine in the Elohist contributor a certain inflexibility in his adherence to traditional forms, and to the Jehovist, the character rather of an original thinker, and a taste for improvement, we have just the subjective distinction in the writers, which might help to account for the objective difference in the style and manner of the writings. And lastly, we should have, on the supposition just made, no difficulty whatever in admitting the perfect authenticity of the two component parts, however we may trace a corresponding difference of style between them. It would, indeed, in this case be no more than the difference between some two of the Evangelists, where each may be thought to have had a third document in view, handed down, perhaps, in the Church, “even as they delivered” the same, “which from the beginning were eye witnesses, and ministers of the Word.” (Luke i. 2.)

“there are phrases in it which are never used by the Elohist, such as ‘a land flowing with milk and honey’—a very characteristic expression, which does not occur, however, in any of the Elohistie promises in Genesis” (331).

It is not without some diffidence that I dwell on these critical distinctions, which yet cannot be wholly passed over in estimating the merits of the question before us. I should certainly feel myself compelled to stop, were I at all apprehensive that the truth could suffer by fairly looking into this difficulty; but I am about to show—

(1.) That there is no such difficulty here, when fairly represented, as should impugn in any degree the canonical authority of Genesis.

(2.) To what kind of unfair representations the difficulty is principally due.

Before entering on either of these points, there is one general remark applicable to all such considerations; viz. that whereas upon the theory of revelation, which would make the writers alone responsible for the facts recorded, while the doctrines alone came directly and essentially from the teaching of the Spirit, it may seem easy to shift the blame of any apparent misrepresentation on the human agent, so as not to charge it upon the Deity; yet, wherever the blame is thrown, the imputation is in itself derogatory to all the parties concerned, and tends to shake one's faith in the entire system. This method should, therefore, be resorted to with extreme caution, and never till other means of explanation have been exhausted; never, perhaps, at all, without waiting for further means of information than are at present within our reach. Many things once thought strange and contradictory have at a later period been explained through some happy discovery—the light afforded by a manuscript—a disinterred relic of antiquity—or, as Bishop Butler speaks, by “thoughtful persons tracing on obscure hints, as it were, which seem to come into our minds by chance.”

We have therefore, at starting, this rock to avoid; and rather to withhold too confident a mode of concluding, than to display our own ingenuity at the possible expense of truth.

I have said, however, that the Mosaic authorship, asserted

generally in the canon, will not be found to suffer by a fair representation of the *Elohists* and *Jehovists* subdivisions of Genesis. The law of Moses had its original from Heaven, and came to him by direct revelation; not so, necessarily, every scrap and portion of the historical parts. In Numbers xxi. 14, he specially refers to a document from which he had borrowed—"Wherefore it is said *in the book of the wars of the Lord*, What he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of "Arnon." Similar references we find elsewhere * in Scripture to the historical records of the time.

When Moses writes of geography, the information, in all probability, is due to his own individual pains and research; and most painstaking and exact in such particulars he was. We may safely repudiate any of the absurd contradictions, inconsistencies, and errors, attributed to him merely as an historian. Nay! it was his very love of accuracy, and his great reputation for it, that seems, in some measure, to have induced Ezra, or whoever may have revised the books, to venture here and there upon some slight additions to the text, with a view of making it still more perfect, by carrying down, as it were, the chain of information to a later date. But to return to the principle from which we started, viz., the use which we find made, even by the scripture-writers, of antecedent sources of history: Suppose now, in the days of Moses—a man of as much meekness † as learning—a document like this of the

* "The Book of Nathan the Seer," 2 Chron. ix. 29; "The Acts of Solomon," 1 Kings xi. 41; "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," 1 Kings xiv. 19; xv. 31, &c. &c. &c. are some examples that may be mentioned.

† If the "meekness" of Moses had never specially been recorded as a remarkable trait in his character, we might have inferred it from many an undesigned incident in the narrative. So far from being ambitious of office, he complained of his unfitness, and exclaimed, "Who am I that I should go unto Pharaoh? . . . O my Lord, I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue" (Ex. iii. 11; iv. 10). So far from grasping at the honours which awaited him from an admiring people, he exclaims again, "I am not able to bear all this people alone. . . . And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in Thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness" (Numb. xi. 14, 15. Comp. ib. 26—29).

Elohists (supposing the above distribution of the passages to be correct) to have been preserved and handed down, what should prevent Moses adopting it as in a measure his guide through the ages that were past? We may suppose, further, that he was actually directed, by Divine authority, to make use of the document. A title of the Almighty being there found, different from the title expressly revealed to Moses (Ex. iii. and vi.), would raise no suspicion of the document being worthless or incorrect; on the contrary, it would show the independence and truthfulness of those who had preserved and handed it down.* And here I am tempted to apply a test to our theory, similar to that which we applied to the *Samuelist* theory of the Bishop, viz. to try it practically in a given instance. Let us take the account of Melchisedec. What does the Epistle to the Hebrews say of him? He is there called expressly, not the priest of Jehovah, but ‘*Priest of the MOST HIGH GOD*’ (Heb. vii. 1). Now, this being another title† of the Supreme Being, peculiar to the *Elohistic* portions of Genesis, we turn to the passage, and accordingly find it (exactly where it ought to have been according to this passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews) among the *Elohistic* portions of the book. This may not have been commonly noticed by critics, but is remarkable enough in itself, and seems to show that St. Paul, or whoever was the writer of that Epistle, had not been unobservant of the distinction of style in certain portions of the book, any more than the learned men of our own day.

* The traditions of the primitive ages were, in a great measure, free from the uncertainties of more recent times. The longevity of mankind at that period secured the transmission of any facts of history through very few hands. Thus Adam was contemporary with Methuselah for 243 years, and Methuselah with Noah for 600 years. It was, therefore, easy to arrive at the truth without need of letters; but as soon as letters were invented (and they are found on inscriptions in Egypt before the time of Moses), they would of course be preserved in writing, and this would become more necessary as the period of life grew shorter.

† “*El Shaddai.*” It occurs xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11; xliii. 14; xlvi. 3; xlix. 25; Ex. vi. 3, &c.

But our supposition goes further. It explains why the *Jehovist*, who would in this case be *Moses* himself, could venture to insert the newly-revealed* name in the older document, wherever he thought fit; his object being evidently to show that the same God who had now entered into covenant with Israel, had of old times entered into covenant-relationship with the Patriarchs also. He *was* 'Jehovah' to them, though they knew Him not generally by that exact appellation; and if He *was* what *Moses* thus ventured to call Him, there was surely nothing inappropriate in his venturing to insert,† on his own responsibility, in the history

* How grievous to the Christian ear to hear the Bishop calling it this "newly-coined name"! (338).

† The title JEHOVAH is clearly the cognate of the words, "I AM." We might I think, if it were necessary, justify this insertion of it by *Moses*, from those words of our Lord, "Before Abraham was, I AM" (John viii. 59). JEHOVAH, יהוה, it may be observed, is derived, with slight alteration of the vowel-points, from the third person singular, present tense (יהוה), of the verb יהה, 'to be.' The idea of considering Exod. vi. 3, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH" "was I not known to them," as 'wholly unhistorical,' is an assumption simply intolerable, and which strikes at the root of all possible inspiration in the sacred writers. It would be far more consistent with truth, to suppose that *Moses*, with or without the assistance of *Aaron* (for this is not material to the argument), might have prepared the primary form of the Elohistic and Jehovistic documents at some previous time, when only partially illuminated by Divine wisdom; but when the plenary revelation was made to him, as in Exod. iii. and vi., that he revised his own previous writing by the light of his present more perfect knowledge.

But there is another mistake to be guarded against, in connexion with this same passage. We absolutely deny the inference that the Divine Name here revealed could not have been at all in use before this particular and public revelation of it. Whether such an inference be admissible or not, is, perhaps, a fair question that might be raised upon the passage. Was this name known to the Patriarchs before *Moses*' time, or was it revealed for the first time to *Moses* at the Bush? The Bishop himself admits that "KURTZ, KALISCH, and many other able commentators," agree in explaining the passage to mean, "My name, *Jehovah*, has not been understood and comprehended by the Patriarchs in its essence and depth, although it was even then by no means "literally unknown" (299). Supposing this, then, to be the case, and taking this idea with us, let us now look at Exod. iii. 13—15. *Moses* asks by what name he is to announce to the people the God who now declares Himself to have taken them, as a nation, under His peculiar protection: is the National God

of those times, the same most sacred name, which was now more fully revealed to himself!

The subject having thus been opened—with, I trust, a proper regard to the reverence always due to the Sacred Scriptures—it may be well to support our view by a passage which, I think, from the name and reputation of the author, will secure our most respectful attention:—

“It is not intended to assert that Moses was the original
 “composer of all the documents contained in his volume. *The*
 “*Book of Genesis bears marks of being to some extent a com-*
 “*pilation.* Moses probably possessed a number of records,
 “some of greater, some of less antiquity, whereof, under
 “Divine guidance, he made use in writing the history of
 “mankind up to his own time. It is possible that the Book
 “of Genesis may have been, even mainly, composed in this
 “way from ancient narratives, registers and biographies, in
 “part the property of the Hebrew race, in part a possession
 “common to that race with others. Moses, guided by God’s
 “Spirit, would choose among such documents those which
 “were historically true, and which bore on the religious
 “history of the human race. He would not be bound
 “slavishly to follow, much less to transcribe them, but
 “would curtail, expand, adorn, complete them, and so make

to be called *Elohim* or by any other Name? The answer is—“And God said
 “unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM; and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the
 “children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you” (v. 14), *i.e.* the “Self-
 “existent JEHOVAH” is the name by which henceforth the people are to designate
 their God, as opposed to such titles as might be considered common to the
 gods of the Egyptians, or other countries. It is not expressly said, that
 the name had never been in use before; but it is now declared to be appro-
 priated, peculiarly, exclusively, and nationally, to the use of the Israelitish
 people. And then, as if purposely to identify this name with that current,
 under the same or some similar form, of old time among the Patriarchs, it is
 added in the very next verse—“And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus
 “shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, JEHOVAH, *the God of your fathers,*
 “the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me
 “unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all
 “generations” (v. 15). The parallelism between the two verses, surely tends
 very strongly to show that the Patriarchs also had known Him as the great
 I AM, and even by the very name in dispute, the Name of JEHOVAH!

“ them thoroughly his own, infusing into them the religious
 “ tone of his own mind, and at the same time re-writing them
 “ in his own language. Thus it would seem that Genesis was
 “ produced. With regard to the remainder of his history,
 “ he would have no occasion to use the labours of others,
 “ but would write from his own knowledge.” *

Thus considered, how does even the meekness of Moses show itself in his handling of these early documents! He might have desired to be esteemed the sole and original author of the whole book; and if this had been the object of his ambition, how easily might he have obliterated all marks of superior antiquity in the Elohist document, by omitting the word *Elohim* altogether! But we see, on the contrary, that he has carried the alterations no further than he thought necessary to bring into strong relief the history of the chosen seed, with whom the Almighty *Elohim* had entered all along into the covenant-relations implied in the name *Jehovah*, by which He had been pleased to reveal Himself, of late, as the Theocratic Head of His people Israel.

The account now given is I believe, on the whole, the most reasonable and most probable solution of the difficulty. *Aaron, or Eleazar* his son, may fairly contest with Samuel the honours of the *Elohist*, and *Moses* with the “ promising young
 “ men of Samuel’s time ” (286), the honours of the *Jehovist*. It is not even necessary to suppose *two* collectors or compilers. It might have been Moses alone who made two separate compilations, under different degrees of Divine illumination. The general idea of dividing the documents, in the manner that has been indicated, has, I believe, been shown to be based on more than mere critical conjecture; while the particular application of it, which I have ventured to suggest, has the additional advantage that it maintains, intact and inviolate, the canonical authority of Holy Scripture. We proceed, then, to a brief consideration of the difficulties with which the Bishop has needlessly hampered

* Professor Rawlinson, *Aids to Faith*, p. 251.

and obscured the subject—observing first, that he has clearly made this matter of the *Elohists* and *Jehovists* authorship of the separate portions of the Pentateuch, in his own particular view of it, the chief hinge of his argument in this Second Part, so far as it can be viewed independently of the conclusions supposed to have been arrived at in the First. Six entire chapters (Ch. ii., vii.—xi.) are devoted to this point; seven more to the same subject in its application to the Book of Psalms (Ch. xii.—xvii.; xviii.); two to a similar discussion on the Book of *Judges* and the two Books of *Samuel* (Ch. xix., xx.). The plan of his work throughout these chapters is clear and distinct, and has some sound reasoning; and if there were any necessity for going out of our way to find an author for the Pentateuch, if there was any great and considerable gain to accrue to the cause of truth, we might have thanked the Bishop for his labours, and congratulated ourselves on the little glimmering of light which seems to fall upon the history of Samuel and his times. But what is the main stress of his argument? * Simply this: ‘That even ‘so late as the time of David, the term “Jehovah” occurs but ‘rarely in the language and writings of the Hebrews; that ‘up to that time it had evidently not been in frequent use, ‘either directly, or as a formative in proper names and names ‘of places; that there are, therefore, plain marks of this ‘name being quite a recent discovery; that we have no need ‘to assign any more mysterious origin to it than simply an ‘expedient of Samuel (who was a particular friend of David) ‘for giving stability to the Jewish Theocracy, which he ‘thought to fortify, by a sort of consecration of this name ‘to the national use’ (360, 461, 341, 342).

But in all the Bishop’s arguments there are certain underlying assumptions, which involve what I must call fundamental errors, utterly subversive of any faith in Revelation.

(1.) A fundamental error surely it must be considered in his theory, that it makes a complete farce and mockery of the whole matter of the Pentateuch! *It charges Samuel with*

* We shall return to this part of the argument, pp. 43—46.

a downright forgery! It is not so much as pretended that he acted from any other motive than a mere principle of expediency, while he perpetrated, in the name of the Almighty, one of the greatest frauds that ever was known in the world. And this, not only when he invented the story of the Burning Bush, and the revelation of the Divine Name from the lips of Jehovah Himself, but throughout every portion of these writings; for, if the Bishop of Natal is any judge, they are all alike a tissue of ‘glaring contradictions,’ ‘monstrous absurdities,’ and ‘incredible stories,’ making the account altogether ‘unreal,’ and valueless as a history, though, as ‘a work of imagination’ (239), or as ‘an historical *experiment*’ (499) [the italics are the Bishop’s], it may show some considerable ‘genius’ (497), or, at least, escape the detection of ‘ignorant people’ (239), and serve, I suppose, to amuse or frighten children!

(2.) Again, if *Samuel* was the author, *the reputed antiquity of the books must, of course, be given up*; their authority, as a contemporary document, and as the testimony of eyewitnesses, goes for nothing. We have now no more authority for this portion of Holy Writ, and consequently no more foundation for the rest of Scripture (which so much hangs upon, and is so intimately connected with, the earlier revelation), than we have for the fabled heroes of antiquity, or for Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.

(3.) If the same theory be true, we must next give up all that authority for the books of the Old Testament which they receive from the testimony of the New. *The order, as well as veracity, of the Canonical Books is broken up.* The Scriptures “err,” instead of those being in error “who know not the Scripture” (Matt. xxii. 29). Holy men and apostles, though they never suspected it, were under a gross delusion when they announced Him, “of whom *Moses in the law, and the Prophets had spoken*” (John i. 45). And, what is worse, the risen Saviour Himself was equally in error, or else greatly misrepresented the case, when “*beginning at Moses He expounded unto them in*

“ all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself ” (Luke xxiv. 27).

(4.) I observe that many of the alleged reasons are, in reality, reasons the other way.

The *Jehovist* making so free with the *Elohists*, and interpolating his favourite word with so little ceremony, is a shocking thing in the Bishop's eyes—at least, if we mean to say that the Elohistic, in common with other parts of Genesis, are inspired. But he will forgive us this wrong if we only allow, on our side, and as a handsome excuse for the Jehovist, that he had not the least idea that the Elohist was in any way inspired, or that he made the slightest pretensions to it! But, unhappily, we cannot allow this, and so it must needs be confessed, that the Jehovist reviser *did* use some liberty with the Elohist's portion of the documents, and did freely alter and remodel. I would not be thought in any way to be misrepresenting the Bishop on this leading point in his argument, and will therefore repeat it in his own words: “ It cannot be supposed that any later writers would have “ presumed to mix up *without distinction* large and important “ sections of history of their own composition, with writings “ so venerable and sacred as any must have been which “ had been handed down from the time of Moses, and were “ really *believed* to have been written by his hand, and chiefly “ *from the very mouth of Jehovah Himself*. It is inconceivable “ that any *pious Israelite*, much less a prophet or priest, “ would have dared to commit an act of such profanity under “ any circumstances. But, certainly, he could not have done “ so without distinguishing in some way the Divine words, as “ written down by Moses, from his own. There is not, how- “ ever, a single instance of any such distinction . . . and “ therefore we are compelled to the conclusion, that the later “ writer or writers did not believe in the unspeakable sacred “ character of any older documents which may have come “ down to them, that they did not receive them as really “ written by the hand of Moses, and conveying, on his own “ authority, the astonishing facts of his awful communion “ with God ” (254).

To the same effect, and not less strongly stated, is the Bishop's reasoning (216, 298): "The interpolator must have known that the older document was *not* written by Moses, and had no such sacred character attached to it." I answer—the interpolator *did*, in a measure, 'know' this, but for a very different reason! He knew he was not altering the 'writings of Moses,' because he himself was Moses, and the author of the Pentateuch; which explains at once his supposed misconduct and 'profanity'! If he ventured to 'amend,' 'add to,' 'erase,' and otherwise 'meddle with the Elohist,' it was because he was his natural superior, and the interpreter, by Divine appointment, of the revealed Word and Will of his Heavenly Master. Certainly all acts of profanity are worse in 'pious people' than in those who know no better. But if Moses was the Jehovist, notwithstanding that he felt some regard to 'piety' and truth, what should hinder him from taking counsel with Aaron or Eleazar, and revising with them their own collection of documents, made perhaps in some measure independently and by their own research, but brought by them of their own accord, and cast into the common treasury of the Lord's house?

(5.) Another point which requires particularly to be noticed is, the extreme unfairness of representing the *Elohist* as at variance in his account with the *Jehovist*. It is asserted that there are "contradictions between the two cosmogonies" (205, 206)—and, indeed, everywhere "a number of strange and unaccountable contradictions" between the two writers (210).

To enter fully into the supposed points of difference would be to occupy ourselves with a minute examination of the entire Pentateuch. But with respect to the 'contradiction' here asserted, it is a mere assumption of the Bishop's, quite contrary to the received opinion of the ablest critics. Thus Dr. Kalisch remarks: "The Jehovist author designed *full harmony* with the Elohist, and he has *preserved* it in *almost all respects*, and has so closely interwoven his additions with the former document, that it is now impossible and perfectly inadmissible to separate both, and

“to dismember the narrative.”—(*Critical Commentary on Genesis*, p. 184; see also pp. 386, 423.) The same is the conclusion of Kurtz: “Even if the separate portions of the Pentateuch are not all the production of one and the same pen, they form one complete work, and the whole is uniform, well-planned, well-arranged, and harmonious.” “Tuch and De Wette,” says Dr. Samuel Davidson, “have greatly exaggerated the differences of delineation, so as to make not only discrepancies, but irreconcilable ones. *This cannot be allowed.* The descriptions are diverse, because both writers had different objects in view. The differences are not so great or so marked as has been contended, nor are they usually contradictory.”—*Text of Old Testament* (599—607).

(6.) The point of all these objections will still further appear, if we test the Bishop's scheme by a few plain and practical illustrations. But, as this has been already done in our first chapter, there will be no occasion to repeat the experiment here. I must refer the reader to what has gone before, pp. 2—14.

We seem now to have gone over the chief objections to the *Samuelist* theory, as to the age and authorship of the Pentateuch; and the same remarks would apply to almost any theory which denies the Mosaic origin and composition of the Pentateuch.

The Bishop may perhaps complain that his arguments are ‘but partially met,’ and may still imagine himself entrenched in an unassailable position. Among other things, he may ask, if we have not observed that he ‘lays the whole stress’ of his reasoning on something else, where he says, “I am sure that no one will blame the fulness of detail in chapters xii.—xviii., who realizes the importance of this particular point of the inquiry,—who sees that the question as to the time when the Name Jehovah first came into use among the Hebrews, is really the *pivot*, as it were, upon which the whole argument turns, since the revelation of that Name to Moses is the very core and centre of the story of the

“ Exodus; and, if it appears, as I believe it will, on sufficient
 “ grounds, that the Name really did not originate in so early
 “ an age, it would follow that one of the most vital portions
 “ of the narrative is shown to be unhistorical? ”—(Part II.,
 Pref. ix.)

The ‘revelation of the Name to Moses’ in the burning bush may perhaps justly be called the ‘very core and centre’ of the account in Exodus—but who would doubt it, after the numerous proofs which I have given of the authenticity of this Book of Moses? However necessary, then, to the establishment of a *Samuelist* theory may be the details through which the Bishop carries us as to the critical history of this Name—they are of no vital importance on any other theory, except as a literary curiosity. This, I grant, they are;—and, if published separately, the chapters on which Bishop Colenso lays such particular stress, might be useful as serving to throw some additional light on the composition of the Book of Psalms. Meantime the lever has yet to be discovered which will suffice to move the authority of the Books of Moses. I wish to do every justice to the Bishop’s ingenuity and ability; but if he is pleased to trust so implicitly to his own calculations, and to magnify so prodigiously the importance of his numerical ‘details,’ there is no help for it but to leave him to the enjoyment of his imagined victory. Let him say, if he pleases, that he is ‘only partially’ answered;—I answer, that we, too, have a right to expect answers from him; and far more profitable is it to feed on something positive, and to confirm ourselves in acknowledged truths, than to split straws upon trifles, and to hunt up little difficulties and apparent contradictions and errors, which have no other effect than to destroy every vestige of belief, and lead to the negation of all positive revealed truth.

To sum up, then, what has been advanced in support and confirmation of the canonical status of the Pentateuch; I think it has been shown in a preceding chapter, and further corroborated in the present—

(1.) That the Books of the Pentateuch may justly be considered, as they are denominated in the Canon, the Books of Moses.

(2.) That it being common with the sacred writers to avail themselves freely of existing documents, there are found traces of the same practice in various parts of the Pentateuch; but that, notwithstanding this, the authenticity of the Books remains unimpaired.

These two propositions having, I trust, been fully established, it will only remain to show further, and—

(3.) That passages may be observed in the Pentateuch which bear the marks of having been introduced, by way of addition or interpolation, by some later hand; which will give occasion further to comment on a distinct portion of Part II. which we have not yet noticed, viz., that which undertakes, chiefly upon account of these additions, &c., to damage the credit of the Books. See “Signs of Later Date in the Pentateuch,” Part II., Chap. v. vi. When this has been accomplished (and it will form the subject of the following chapter), the only omission of which I shall be conscious is, the not having gone into the critical history of the Psalms, the Book of Judges, and the two Books of Samuel. As it would not help my argument to have done so, and as these are points which turn purely on criticism, I must leave them to others.

All I will here attempt is to report the Bishop’s conclusion on the whole matter, for what it may be worth. He begins by dividing the Psalms into Five Books, according to a recognised division among the Jews (228, 355—58). The Pentateuch, it is remarked by the way, might have been set out in its present quintuple form about the same time, viz. the time of Ezra, B.C. 450 (227). To continue with the Psalms. Among the Five Books we find the most frequent use of the term *Elohim* in the Second Book, viz. in Ps. xlii. to lxxii.; and as these comprise six of the earliest Psalms ever written by David (355), we may conclude that in the youthful days of David the term *Jehovah* was not yet in frequent use. As we advance, however, the comparative use

of *Jehovah* begins gradually to prevail over that of *Elohim*, till, in the Fifth Book, the former term prevails decidedly over the latter in the proportion of 7 : 1.

Now, the Bishop considers that "David's own Psalms are, "surely, the best possible proof of the actual state of things "at the time when he lived" (449); and that it is quite clear (by his own showing out of these Psalms), that when David began to write, "he could have no such idea of the sacredness of the name *Jehovah*, as the Pentateuch, upon the "ordinary view of its historical character, would lead us to "expect" (448). It is further certain that up to this same period—*i.e.* from the time of Moses to that of Samuel—while there were frequent instances of proper names compounded with *el* (for *Elohim*), the compounds with *yod* initial, or *-iah* final (for *Jehovah*), were almost entirely unknown (446). *Joshua*, indeed, and *Jochebed*, the mother of Moses, are acknowledged to be apparent exceptions (305), but acknowledged only to be discarded as later interpolations. Then, again, such names as we have frequently in Chronicles, as *Azariah*, 1 Chron. ii. 8, in the third generation from Judah; *Abiah*, ii. 24; *Ahijah*, ii. 25, &c. &c., are adduced only to be disposed of by similarly denying the authenticity 'of the Chronicler' *in toto* (236, 307). A similar process is applied to certain names in the Book of Judges, particularly *Joash*, *Jotham*, *Michaiah*, and *Jonathan* (Judg. vi. 11; ix. 5; xvii. 1; xviii. 30), (456, 458); and also to the supposed instance from Gen. xxii. 2, of a mountain 'in the land of *Moriah*,' supposed by many to be of the same signification with the proverb quoted, v. 14: "In the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen." And now, by this eliminating process, we are fairly rid of the term *Jehovah*, except as an invention of Samuel's day, which thenceforward came freely into popular use; but the supposed revelation of it, Exod. iii. and vi., is to be discarded as altogether fictitious (Chap. viii. and *passim*, Part II.)!

I must be satisfied, for the present, to meet these various reasonings by the assertion—

(1.) That the Books of Chronicles * are *not* so contemptible an authority as the Bishop supposes.

(2.) That *Moriah* may very possibly have been so named in patriarchal times, and may have been expressive of the vision or manifestation of *Jehovah*, according to the version of the LXX, γῆν τῆς ὀπτασίας, and the Vulgate, ‘*terram visionis.*’ Kalisch conjectures יהוה-י-י, “*Jehovah is my instructor.*” Gesenius, too, makes it a compound of *Jah*.

(3.) That, besides the compounds found in the Book of Judges and in the Chronicles, we have also, unaccounted for by the Bishop, the remarkable patriarchal name of *Judah*. See Gen. xxix. 35: “*Now will I praise Jehovah; therefore she called his name Judah.*”

(4.) That, perhaps, *Sarah* was a similar compound.

When the name of *Sarai* was changed to *Sarah* (Gen. xvii. 15), could it have meant only a change from ‘Prince’ to ‘Princess?’ or was not the latter an abbreviated form of *iah* final with *Sarai*, making ‘Sara’-*iah*, or ‘Princess of *Jehovah*?’ There is now some meaning in the appellation, which would appropriately designate the mother of the chosen Seed.

(5.) “*Jehovah-jireh*” again (Gen. xxii. 14—“*Jehovah will provide*”) is not an instance to be put aside, unless it can be shown that the *Jehovist* writer was not Moses, or that the passage is only an interpolation.

(6.) *Japheth* (Gen. v. 32; vi. 10, &c.). The root of this word is פתח, to extend (see Kalisch, p. 236), prefixing יהוה *Japheth* = “*Jehovah will extend,*” which is accordingly taken up into the prophecy, Gen. ix. 27. *Jobab*, יובב, Gen. x. 29; xxxvi. 33, if we knew the history of this name, seems another example in point.

(7.) “*Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord*” (Gen. iv. 26). This, in another version of it, means, “*Then*

* “The chronicler’s statements, when not supported by other evidence, are *not at all to be relied on.*” The italics are the Bishop’s (236).

began men to CALL THEMSELVES BY THE NAME OF JEHOVAH." But I will not bear hard upon a passage which, like that in example (5), may possibly be rejected as a Jehovistic addition.

But at the best how is it possible, at this remote period, to form any tolerable idea upon what principle the Hebrew people went in the formation of their appellatives, and in what proportion they might compound with an initial *Yod*, a final *iah*, or a final *el*? Any one who likes to give away his belief in Scripture upon a pretence of being able to decide such matters of "detail," must reconcile it to his conscience as well as he can. But as, doubtless, it will be mortifying to see so large a part of his labours treated merely as a literary curiosity, and not as carrying with them all the weight which was expected, I am the more desirous, before passing on, to put the question on the Bishop's side (even including this portion of it) as fully and as impartially before the reader as I can. And for this purpose I will here present it in the Bishop's own words, where he gives us the following summary of his argument:—

“CHAPTER XI. (348.)

“(i.) We have seen reason already to conclude with certainty (282), that the main portion, at least, of the story of the Exodus must have been written long after the time of Moses and Joshua, whatever relics of that earlier age may still, perhaps, be retained in the narrative ;

“(ii.) We can scarcely doubt that the age of Samuel is the *earliest* age, after the time of the Exodus, at which such a history can be conceived to have been written ;

“(iii.) We have observed some indications (245), which seem to point to the age of Samuel as the time at which some portions of the Pentateuch may have been written ;

“(iv.) We have reason to believe (283) that Samuel and his pupils did actually employ themselves in historical composition.”

Again, chapter xx. (461, 462)—

“ Thus we see that, in *the time of David's manhood*, it was not an unusual thing for parents to give their children names compounded with Jehovah. Since, therefore, wherever lists of names occur in the Pentateuch, we do not find a single name of this kind (except, as before, Joshua and Jochebed), it would seem that the author or authors to whom such lists are due, could hardly have lived *in a much later age than this*. On the other hand, since, in *David's* earlier Psalms, nay, even in his '*last words*,' we have had clear evidence that the name Jehovah was, at the time of his writing, not in such *free popular*

use as the name Elohim, this fact alone proves that all the Jehovistic portion of the Pentateuch were written *after* the time of David, or, at least, not before the latter part of his life."

It is impossible to forbear remarking the extreme tone of confidence with which the Bishop here speaks of "not finding" *a single name* before the time of Samuel, compounded with "Jehovah, except Joshua and Jochebed." When he has time to collect his thoughts he may have something to plead in excuse for his omission of two such remarkable names as JAPHETH and JUDAH, (see pp. 45, 46.)

I remark further, in passing, that there is something rather inconsequential in the reasoning which I have italicised in the above sentences. How could 'David's *last* words' be any proof of 'the popular use' of the time when his '*earlier*' Psalms were composed'? But overlooking this, the argument *ought* to be, In the time of "*David's manhood*," the name Jehovah was so freely in popular use that it entered familiarly into the composition of proper names; whereas David himself, in a solemn address *on his deathbed*, uses the term '*Jehovah*' but once, and '*Elohim*' three times (see 2 Sam. xxiii. 1—6). In other words, he was *Jehovistic* in the prime of his life, and *Elohistic* at his death—progressing, as it were, backward, and leaving the whole history of the names more hopelessly confused than ever! The one fact at any rate contradicts the other, and shows how hopeless and impossible it is to conclude anything certainly from such premises (with all the learning bestowed on them) as form the substance of these chapters (xii.—xviii.) so lauded by the Bishop (see Pref. viii.).

But to continue the extracts :—

"462. Thus, then, even if it were conceivable that Moses should have written a story, about matters in which he was personally concerned, involving such contradictions, exaggerations, and impossibilities, as we have already had before us, yet the fact above noticed would alone be decisive against such a supposition. The great body of the Pentateuch, and all the other historical books which follow it, could not have been compiled until the Name Jehovah was in common popular use, and that was not till after, at all events, the middle of David's reign. Whereas the Elohistic portions of the Pentateuch, which appear to have been composed when the Name Jehovah was not in

common use, and with the very purpose of commending it to popular acceptance, must have been written during, or shortly before, the earlier part of David's life, when that word was only occasionally employed by him. Hence we may, with very good reason, abide by our supposition that they were written, very probably by the hand, or, at least, under the direction, and certainly in the time, of SAMUEL."

One more summary of the remaining arguments, and it shall be in the Bishop's own words:—

"473. The following are the principal steps of the argument, as it has been developed up to this point.

"(i) There are different authors concerned in the composition of the book of Genesis, whose accounts in some respects contradict each other.

"(ii) One of these authors is distinguished by abstaining altogether from the use of the name Jehovah in that book, while the other uses it freely from the first.

"(iii) The former writer composed also E. vi., as all critics admit, and as internal evidence shows; and it would seem from this chapter that he designedly forbore the use of the name Jehovah, until he had announced its revelation to Moses.

"(iv) Either the Name *was* actually made known to Moses, in the way described, or else, it is plain, the Elohist must have had some special reason for commending it in this way to the reverence of those for whom he wrote.

"(v) If the Name *was* first revealed to Moses at this time, then the Jehovistic story, which puts it in the mouths of persons of all classes from the days of Eve downwards, cannot be historically true; and this involves at once the historical truth of all the other statements of the Jehovist.

"(vi) And this unreal character of his story is further confirmed by the fact that, amidst the multitude of names which are given in the book of Genesis, down to the age of Joseph, though there are numerous names compounded with ELOHIM, there is not a single one compounded with JEHOVAH.

"(vii) But the impossibilities, which we have found existing throughout the whole story of the Exodus, are equally conclusive against the historical truth of the whole.

"(viii) We must return, then, to the other supposition, viz. that the Elohist had some special reason for commending the Name to the regard and veneration of the people.

"(ix) The most natural reason would be that he himself was introducing it, as a new Name for the God of Israel.

"(x) We find an indication of the fact that the Name did not exist before the time of SAMUEL, in the circumstance that, throughout the history in the book of Judges, there is no single name which can be appealed to with confidence as compounded with Jehovah, while there are names compounded with the Divine Name in the form of EL.

"(xi) During and after the time of Samuel we observe, in the books known

by his name, a gradually increasing partiality for the use of names compounded with Jehovah, while not one name of this kind occurs at such an age as is inconsistent with the supposition that this name may have been introduced by SAMUEL.

“(xii) Hence arises the suspicion that SAMUEL was the Elohist; and the position he held, together with the circumstances of his time, and the accounts which are handed down as to his doings, and especially the tradition with respect to his historical labours, tend strongly to confirm this suspicion.

“(xiii) It is further confirmed, and, it seems to me, confirmed almost to a certainty, by the fact that David, in his earlier Psalms, as Ps. li., Ps. lx., Ps. lxxviii, made little or no use of the name Jehovah, while in his later Psalms he seems to have used it more freely; and the same appears to be true of other Psalmists of that age.

“(xiv) We conclude, then, with some degree of confidence, that SAMUEL was the Elohist writer of the Pentateuch.

“(xv) Since the Jehovistic writer makes free use of the name Jehovah, he must have written in a later age than the early days of David, and not earlier than the latter part of David's life, when the Name became more common, and names began to be compounded with it freely.

“(xvi) This is confirmed by finding that one Jehovistic passage, N. x. 35, is manifestly copied from a Psalm of David, the name Elohim, which David used, being changed to Jehovah.

“(xvii) But this later writer can hardly have lived *long* after Samuel, and the time of the introduction of the name Jehovah; since even *he* does not introduce freely into the story names compounded with Jehovah, as a later writer would most probably have done, though he uses freely the Name itself.

“(xviii) In point of fact, we shall find reason to believe that all those portions of the first four books and the book of Joshua, which are not due to the Elohist, were composed by one or more writers who wrote in the latter days of David, and in the early part of Solomon's reign,—with the exception of some interpolations, of which a few smaller ones occur in Genesis, but larger ones in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Joshua.

“(xix) These interpolations are all due to the same hand, that of the Deuteronomist, who revised the book as it stood in his time, and added to it almost the whole book of Deuteronomy.

“(xx) The book of Deuteronomy was written about the time of Josiah, and, as some suppose, by the hand of the prophet Jeremiah.

“474. The last three points will have to be considered at length in Part III., as we shall need to form an estimate of the style and character of the book of Deuteronomy, in order to be able to detect the passages due to its author in the books of Genesis, Exodus, &c.”

Against all which, however, it has now been shown, that to make Samuel the author of the Pentateuch, is to make him an impostor, and the whole composition one continuous

forgery, inasmuch as it runs, for the most part, in the name of Moses ; and whereas Samuel was eminently "THE SEER OF ISRAEL," and, at the expiration of his public charge (1 Sam. xii.), made it his particular boast to have walked in truth and uprightness before all the people, this theory would make him belie his own pretensions, and bring himself under the very mark and denomination of a *false prophet*, saying, "Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord had not spoken" (Ezek. xxii. 28, xiii. 4). That, besides 'new-coining' and inventing the sacred name of Jehovah (Ex. vi.), and pretending a special revelation of it down from the time of Moses, this Prophet had the audacity to parade his invention before the eyes of the people, interspersing it everywhere, without shame or compunction, in the sacred books, as of Divine appointment, though he knew it to be entirely a fabrication of his own.

Again, concerning the age of the writings, though it be granted there is more uncertainty on this point than on the authorship—yet in favour of the age of Samuel we have scarcely any argument at all, except the alleged 'freer use of the name Jehovah,' which may be traced to a sort of beginning in the days of Samuel, and of which there are faint signs in the six earliest Psalms of David ; but as the name occurs more and more frequently, till it attains a kind of maximum in the fifth, or last Book—and as at this later time it is found to enter more freely into the composition of proper names, we seem "compelled," says the Bishop, "to believe it of no earlier origin than the days of Samuel ;" while it would be unsafe to think it much later than David !

To which it has been answered, that, so far from being new in the days of Samuel, it was not * even new in the days of Moses, but was most likely known in patriarchal and even ante-patriarchal times ; and that, if not yet publicly and authoritatively consecrated to the peculiar use of the Abrahamic seed, yet, in some latent but intelligible form—some other part, it may be, of the Hebrew verb הִיָּה 'to

* See pp. 45, 46, and the note, p. 35.

be,'—this Name had passed down from age to age among the faithful to express the GREAT SELF-EXISTENT ONE;* that the text (Exod. vi. 3) does not by any means contradict this idea, while Exod. iii. positively confirms it; that, accordingly, we have many clear instances of its use so far back as in the earliest chapters of Genesis, and where there is no room for supposing a later interpolation; we find even instances of its having entered into the composition of some distinguished proper names, such as JAPHETH and JUDAH (perhaps, also, Sarah and Moriah); so that the argument built on the contrary supposition must be seen to fail in this chief element of its strength. That, however, the most probable account to be given why the Bishop should have fancied he saw some force in this argument is, that he had taken up, in the first instance, some prejudice against the contents of the Books themselves, before he impugned their authorship: that his mind was biassed by a suspicion, which he has not, however, been successful in making good, that the Pentateuch was wholly 'unreal' and 'unhistorical,' full of 'errors,' 'contradictions,' 'impossibilities,' 'absurdities,' and so forth!

Having, in a former number, done something, in the first place, to remove these preliminary objections to the whole character of the Pentateuch, and having further, in the preceding pages, considered fully the *Samuelist* authorship which it was the Bishop's next attempt to prove and establish—we may now pass on to some minor considerations advanced by him in support of this latter argument. We may call them 'minor,' though they occupy a somewhat prominent position in his work, being the substance, as was before observed, of Chapters V. and VI.

* It is remarkable, in connexion with the patriarchal use and knowledge of this great Name, that the verb הָיָה ('to be'), from which JEHOVAH (Ex. vi. 3) is derived (see the note, p. 35), is considered by grammarians a more ancient form than הָיָה, which is the root of the cognate form אֲנִי הָיָה (I AM) (Exod. iii. 14)—which seems to indicate, further, an earlier origin of the Name itself—far earlier, certainly, than the time of Samuel!

CHAPTER IV.

ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS ON THE SUPPOSED LATER ADOPTION OF THE
NAME 'JEHOVAH.'

WE have now before us the chief steps of the reasoning by which the Bishop would conduct us to a belief in the *Samuelist* authorship of the Pentateuch. Assisted the author may have been by 'some of the more promising young men of his time,' whom he 'may have endeavoured to train, to the best of his power, in the art of writing. . . and who thus 'may have had their first lessons in the writing of history' (286, 287). "We are warranted," however, the Bishop thinks, "in asserting that the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua "must have been composed in a later age than that of Moses "and Joshua;" and "while it is possible, as far as we know "at present, that laws, songs, &c., may be included in the "Pentateuch which are of very ancient date, and may have "even been handed down from the times of Moses, we can "scarcely suppose that they were written by his hand, any "more than we can believe that the whole story of the "Exodus, containing, as we have seen, such flagrant contra- "dictions, could have had Moses for its author" (255); and to confine ourselves only to 'sure ground' (!)—being "compelled to the conclusion that the Name Jehovah was "quite new to the Hebrew people in the days of Samuel, we "can scarcely avoid the inference that he himself must have "first introduced it" (340), and so have "written the "*groundwork* of the Pentateuch" (289), which would then be filled up, amplified, and completed "by his disciples" (286, 287, 341, 342), till we come to the two Books of

Chronicles, when the authority of the Sacred Canon dwindles nearly to zero, since all we can say of the Chronicles is, that, from the partiality shown by the writer for such matters as the Levitical *choristers* and *doorkeepers*, we should judge them the work of 'some Levite *chorister* who lived *after the time of Nehemiah*, B.C. 409, or even so late as about B.C. 332 (234).' But so long as we see that the 'groundwork' was by Samuel, that is the chief point, and the rest falls easily into place.

And now we see the great use of Part I.; since, notwithstanding that the Book of Psalms was at hand to correct any possible misunderstanding that might have arisen from the literal acceptance of such a passage as Exod. vi. !—if it had not been for the Bishop's First Part, we should never have suspected the entire unhistorical character of all that Samuel and the 'promising young men of his day' succeeded in putting together, under the name of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua! Prepared, however, by Part I., we shall be less in condition to withstand the arguments of Part II.

But we must pass on to another particular class of objections, which are, as it were, subsidiary to the main argument derived from the use and origin of the sacred Name JEHOVAH, to which I have thus far given precedence. I think it unlikely that if we have passed the ordeal of the main argument, we shall be shaken by this inferior one. But if I have postponed to the present chapter a part of the subject which is placed by the Bishop in an earlier division of his argument (Ch. iii.—vi.), it was merely that I might begin with the more difficult and, perhaps, more novel class of objections; nor could I see why the Elohist and Jehovistic parts, so to call them, should be treated in separate chapters as the Bishop has done—thus interrupting a subject begun in Chap. ii. by four intermediate chapters, which are for the most part independent of the Elohist question altogether. The order which I have thought preferable was, to reserve these intermediate chapters for separate consideration, and to treat the remainder as one consecutive whole.

Having performed the latter task, I now proceed to the discussion of those earlier chapters in the Bishop's work. And if anything has been done towards untying the knot* which holds all the minor difficulties together, these, I hope, will run easily off the string and fall to the ground together.

There are one or two observations, however, before we proceed to the consideration of the earlier chapters, which may seriously claim our attention. (1.) The first is, that unless the Bishop had grounded his ideas as to the age and authorship of the Pentateuch on what he would call the clear reasonings of Part I., he never would have made the attempt which we see him to have done in Part II. He never would have moved the authorship, had he not first been shaken in his own mind as to the internal veracity of the Pentateuch. And this being the case, it must be evident how much will depend on the result of his former number. If the objections *there* made be now seen to be unfounded, his argument, by his own showing, cannot stand; he cannot ask, or expect any one to assent to, a solution of 'the age and authorship' which involves the internal untruthfulness of the books. I have already adduced passages from Part II. in support of this general assertion. But none can be so blind as not to have observed, that an assumption of this kind is at the very bottom of the whole argument in Part II. It is the ever-ready voucher for the otherwise unconscionable demand on the assent of the astonished reader—the forlorn hope continually led out, when the attack is brought to the most desperate pass. This is so necessary to be kept in view, that I may, perhaps, be pardoned, before we proceed, if I support my assertion by one or two passages besides those which I have adduced in another part of my Reply. (See *Letter to Bishop Colenso*, &c. Pref. Ed. 3.)

* The Elohist and Jehovistic question may be called the knot which ties all the minor difficulties together—if there be truth in the Bishop's remark, "Who sees not that the question as to the time when the name Jehovah first came into use among the Hebrews, is really the *pivot*, as it were, upon which 'the whole argument turns?'—*Part II., Preface ix.*

In answer to the very just observation of Dr. McCaul (*Aids to Faith*, p. 197): “Most recent writers admit that, whether there be different sources or not, the author has formed them into one narrative. There cannot, therefore, be contradiction”—the Bishop thinks it a sufficient answer to say, “Why not? It is certainly inconceivable that, if the Pentateuch be the production of *one and the same hand throughout*, it should contain such a number of glaring inconsistencies as those which we have already observed. No single author could have been guilty of such absurdities.” [The ‘absurdities,’ observe, taken for granted!] “But it is quite possible, and what was almost sure to happen in such a case, that if the Pentateuch be *the work of different authors in different ages*, this fact should betray itself by the existence of contradictions in the narrative” (207). Again: “The impossibilities which we have found existing throughout the whole story of the Exodus, are equally conclusive against the historical truth of the whole” [of the Pentateuch] (473, vii.). And, to repeat a quotation already made: “Undoubtedly, as *I have shown*, I believe, *sufficiently in Part I.*, an unquestioning, implicit faith in all the details of the story of the Exodus, as recorded in the Pentateuch, involves, again and again, assent to propositions as monstrous and absurd as ‘that two and two make five’” (490).

Supposing, even, that the *Samuelist* theory propounded by the Bishop were ever so conclusive and correct—was it necessary, was it even justifiable, to throw such odium upon writings, held sacred in all ages, and, for aught he has shown to the contrary, really deserving (as far as man’s blindness can presume to judge) of the sacred character they hold? Had—I say—his discovery been ever so valuable in itself, what a drawback from its merits would be this wholesale depreciation of the sacred writers! Nay, rather, what a strong presumption against the theory is it, when we see it bought at such a price! built upon such noble ruins!

It would be unjust to one’s own side, to pass over these

general grounds of objection. Every one knows how deeply they are felt by the friends of Scripture truth—how keenly this insult to the common faith is resented. At the risk of being tedious, I feel it also a duty to recall to the reader's recollection (and to commend it also to his serious attention), a remark in a former reply to Part I., which was to the effect that the assailant of the veracity of Scripture is altogether differently circumstanced to the defendant: and that while on the side of the defence, any fair probability deduced from reasonable considerations, in any particular case in dispute, may justly be accounted of great weight—sufficient, in many cases, to carry conviction to the judgment; on the side of the attack, *a mere probability is not enough*, for here there is nothing to back the probability alleged, except the abstract idea of possible or impossible, reasonable or absurd, which, in matters of remote antiquity especially, is one of the most uncertain of all things. Very different is it on the other side; because here, besides the particular probability, there comes in the general weight of Scripture and the esteem accorded to it in all ages of the Church, the witness of Apostles and Prophets, and the approving testimony of our Blessed Lord Himself.*

To proceed: among the much that is wrong in spirit and in tendency, there is something, too, that is valuable in a critical point of view, and might be commended to respectful attention, if it had occurred in any other book. One might, in fact, be glad to find the Bishop at last on some clear tangible position of his own: and for my own part, there is much in the earlier chapters, where he may be said to be reconnoitring the ground, which I am not inclined to dispute. My object being truth, and not criticism only, I will therefore omit for the present any further notice of Chapters i.—iv., viz. (i.) “Signs of different authors in the Pentateuch;” (ii.) “The Elohist and Jehovistic writers;” (iii.) “The earlier

* See this illustrated by a parallel case, “Letter to Bishop Colenso on his Objections to the Pentateuch,” Part I. Third Edition, p. 5, note.

historical Books of the Old Testament ;” and (iv.) “The later historical Books of the Old Testament”—and come to the consideration of Chapters v. and vi. viz. “Signs of a later date in the Pentateuch.”

The ‘signs of a later date,’ we find thus enumerated :—

(i.) The use of the term “*shekel of the sanctuary*,” (Exod. xxx. 13, xxxviii. 24, 25, 26 ; which indicates a writer of later days, when the ‘sanctuary,’ i.e. the temple or the tabernacle, was standing (239).

(ii.) “*And Jehovah turned a mighty strong west wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red Sea*” (Exod. x. 19). The scene being Egypt, and ‘the west wind’ being in the Hebrew ‘wind of the sea’—it is evident no writer who was in the situation of Moses at the time would thus have denominated any such wind as would have answered the purpose of the narrative (240).

(iii.) “The plains of Moreh,” eastward of the Jordan, are described in Deut. xi. 29, 30, as “*over against Gilgal*,” while there was no place of that name till Josh. v. 9 (242).

(iv.) The same applies to Gen. xiv. 14, “*And pursued them unto Dan* ;” while there was no place of this name till Josh. xix. 47 (243).

Similar instances (271—274), (276—280).

(v.) “*And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel*.” (Gen. xxxvi. 31.) If Moses was the author, how could he have known anything about the time when ‘the kings of Israel reigned’ ? (245).

(vi.) The word נָבִי (Nabi) is used (Gen. xx. 7, Exod. vii. 1, xv. 20, Numb. xi. 29, xii. 6, &c. &c.) for a prophet ; but could not have been so used by Moses, if another Scripture be true which says, “*He that is now*” (viz. in the time of Samuel) “*called a prophet [Nabi] was beforetime called a seer [Roeh]*,” (1 Sam. ix. 9), (248).

(vii.) A certain “*Book of Jasher*” is spoken of, Joshua x. 13 ; but the same book seems to contain events of a much later time : see 2 Sam. i. 18 (249).

(viii.) Events of *only a week or so before* are made the subject of an ancient song, recorded “*in the book of the wars of Jehovah.*” (Numb. xxi. 13—15), (250).

(ix.) The Israelites are called ‘*Hebrews*’—as an appellation ‘well-known even in Egypt’ (251).

(x.) Events seem spoken of as *long past*—the spoiling of the *Amorites*, the bedstead of *Og*, &c.—which, if the narrator had really been Moses, he could not have spoken of in this way (252).

The following, according to the Bishop (ch. vi.), are “additional signs of a later date in the Pentateuch:”—

(xi.) “*Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, UNTO THIS DAY*” (Deut. iii. 14). “*Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal UNTO THIS DAY*” (Josh. v. 9).

In these and similar passages, the expression “unto this day,” ‘could have had no meaning,’ unless the ‘day’ referred to was considerably later than the time of Moses or Joshua (257).

(xii.) “*And the Canaanite was THEN IN THE LAND*” (Gen. xii. 6).

How could this have occurred to any writer of Moses’ time, who was not yet acquainted with the expulsion of that people from Canaan? (258).

(xiii.) *These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on THE OTHER SIDE* (for so, the Bishop thinks, ought the word *בַּיַּמִּינִי* to be translated, and not, as in the English version, ‘on this side’) *Jordan in the wilderness* (Deut. i. 1). Several other passages are quoted to the same effect (259).

(xiv.) “*And the children of Israel did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.*” (Exod. xvi. 35)—indicates a writer who had reached the land of Canaan, and who could not, therefore, be Moses (261).

Similar instances (263—267).

(xv.) “*For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron;*

is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man" (Deut. iii. 11).

Since 'nine cubits' = $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and 'four cubits' = $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet — "KURTZ supposes," writes the Bishop, "that the king had his bedstead *designedly* made larger than necessary, in order that posterity might form a more magnificent idea of his stature!" And, again: "But only a very short time, according to the story (173), could have elapsed since the conquest of Og. How, then, could his bedstead have been removed in that interval to Rabbath-Ammon? There was not one of his people left alive (Deut. iii. 3) to bear off in safety this cumbrous relic of their lord. Or how could Moses, so soon after the event, have spoken of Og at all in such terms as these?" (268.)

(xvi.) *Now an omer is a tenth part of an ephah* (Exod. xvi. 36).

A thing so well known at the time would surely not have been mentioned, if Moses had been the writer! "The words plainly imply that, at the time when they were written, the 'omer' had gone out of use, and was not likely to be known to the ordinary reader" (275).

(xvii.) "Also, such passages as the following could hardly have been written by Moses himself:—

Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of his people (Exod. xi. 3).

Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth (Numb. xii. 3).

These are that Moses and Aaron, to whom Jehovah said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt, according to their armies. These are they which spake to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron (Exod. vi. 26, 27).

And if ye have erred, and not observed all these commandments, which Jehovah hath spoken unto Moses, even all that Jehovah hath commanded you by the hand of Moses, from the

day that Jehovah commanded Moses, and henceforward among your generations, &c.” (Numb. xv. 22, 23).

“Such passages, surely, give plain signs of having been written by some one who lived in an age after that of Moses” (281).

Among these evidences, as the Bishop considers them, of ‘later date,’ and which preclude the supposition of Moses having been the author, particular stress, it would seem, is to be laid on examples (i.) (ii.) and (iv.)—for “To these,” the Bishop writes (247, ii.), “it is difficult to see how either of the above ‘reconciling’ processes can be seriously believed to apply.” But, that the reader may be early acquainted with the ‘processes’ here alluded to, we must have patience to follow another extract from the preceding paragraph, which is to this effect:—“The remarkable expression, Gen. xxxvi. 31, “These are the kings that reigned in Edom *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,*’ may be understood *prophetically*. Moses may have intended in the passage to mark his full belief in the promises made by God to Abraham and Jacob, that ‘kings should come out of their loins,’ a belief which he elsewhere expresses very confidently (Deut. xvii. 14—20). Or the right explanation may be the more commonly received one,—that these words, phrases, and passages, together with a few others similar to them, are later additions to the text, either adopted into it upon an authoritative revision, such as that ascribed to Ezra, or, perhaps, accidentally introduced through the mistakes of copyists, who brought into the text what had previously been added, by way of exegesis, in the margin.”—Professor Rawlinson, *Aids to Faith*, p. 247.

And now that we are upon a passage (Gen. xxxvi. 31) which is the ground of objection (v.), it will be as well, though somewhat out of order, to take this objection first. It is, in fact, *one of a class*, and might be grouped with the following—viz., (iii. 242), (iv. 243), compare (271—273, 276—280), (v. 245), (xi. 257), (xii. 258), (xiv. 261), and (xv. 268);—and, I think, (vii.) and (viii.) come under the same head.

It may be thought a somewhat arbitrary proceeding to group thus together a set of objections which are evidently intended as, in some measure, distinct and independent of each other. And I should have thought so myself, but that I find it so done to my hand, on the excellent authority of *Prideaux*, A.D. MDCCXXV., and of *Le Clerc*, MDCXCVI.

The following passages, or words and phrases belonging thereto, are classed together by *Prideaux*, as all involving the same kind of difficulty, viz.—what is said of the ‘*Kings of Edom and Kings of Israel*,’ Gen. xxxvi. 31, Colenso (245); —*Dan*, and *Hebron*, Gen. xiv. 14, xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27, Colenso (242, 271, 273); ‘*unto this day*,’ Deut. iii. 14, &c. &c., (257); ‘*The Canaanite then in the land*,’ Gen. xii. 6, (258); ‘*As Israel did unto the land of his possession*,’ Deut. ii. 12, (265); ‘*The bedstead of Og in Rabbath-Ammon*,’ Deut. iii. 11, (268, 269); ‘*The death of Moses*,’ Deut. xxxiii. 1, xxxiv., (279, 280). The first of these passages, it will be noticed, was the ground of objection (v.). It admits of the same solution as the rest; and that of Dean *Prideaux* is, I think, satisfactory. And if so, we shall then have disposed of all such objections, generally, as (iv.), (v.), (xi.), (xii.), (xiv.), and (xv.) The ‘*Manna*,’ said not to have ceased ‘*till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan*’ (Exod. xvi. 35), which is the immediate ground of objection (xiv.), (261), is explained by *Le Clerc* in the same manner as the above passages by *Prideaux*; and objections (iii.), (vii.), and (viii.) may, I think, be seen to be of the same kind. So that one mode of treatment may be safely applied to all this class, if the opinion of these learned men is worth any consideration.

Now, I think the reader will have almost anticipated the answer to be given to this whole class of difficulties. We should hardly, perhaps, say with the Bishop (251): “Expressions current in a later age have been allowed *inadvertently* (!) “to slip into the narrative.” He is nearer the mark, and must have known it, when he admits that “*glosses* of later “writers may possibly have been *designedly interpolated* in the “original text.” The Bishop would know how to defend the

faith, if he had a mind to do it. But now we must go to others. I admire the simple note of Bishop Patrick on Deut. iii. 14, which figures on the Bishop's objectionable list, number (xi.); *Patrick* says, "added probably by Ezra." *Le Clerc*, on the same passage: "If this were added by a later hand, it would not follow from thence that the greatest part of the Pentateuch was not written by Moses." The same author, in his commentary on Gen. xiii. 8, observes: "The name Hebron seems added by another hand since the time of Moses, to expound an obscure name by one that was better known." And this method of expounding obscure places was perfectly agreeable to the law and customs of the Jews; as we see in Nehemiah, in the account of the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, when all the people were gathered unto Ezra to hear the law: "So they read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. viii. 8).

Having remarked that many of the foregoing objections are grouped together by *Prideaux*, I will here subjoin the explanation given by the learned Dean, which, indeed, is as simple as it is convincing. Dean *Prideaux* says: "The third thing which Ezra did about the Holy Scriptures was, he added in several places what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting, or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit by which they were at first wrote. . . . These additions do not detract anything from the Divine authority of the whole, because they were all inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. . . . And many other examples may be given (N. B.), whereby it appears that the study of those who governed the Church of God in those times, was to render the Scripture as plain and intelligible to the people as they could, and not to hide or conceal any of it from them." (*Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament*. Part I. Book V.) We should not omit the parallel case suggested by this learned writer (Prov. xxv. 1):

“These are the proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out”—a passage which “must have been added many ages after Solomon,” but does not prevent the Proverbs generally being his. With this general consent among the best commentators, we may safely rest satisfied, though neither the objection nor the defence be new. We have thus disposed of objection (v.), and all that class. Let us now take the objections in order from the beginning, and

(i.) “*The shekel of the sanctuary* (Exod. xxx. 13, &c.), mentioned by this name “before there was any Sanctuary in existence! This,” says the Bishop, “is clearly an oversight” (239). Nor can it be explained, he thinks, upon the prophetic principle, nor yet as a later interpolation (246, 247, ii.). For one answer to this difficulty—(which is repeated, I observe, from Part I. (46)—we may say that *there is no certainty in our translation here*. The very word for “Sanctuary” is by the Bishop himself in another place (see Part II. 434), on Ps. lxxvii. 13, rendered as an adjective, “holy,” and he even prefers this rendering to that in the E. V. ‘the sanctuary.’ An eminent Hebrew scholar of our time prefers the same translation in this passage from Exod. xxx. : “What improbability is there in supposing that “שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ” means ‘the holy shekel’? And inasmuch as the “Egyptian priests had in a particular manner occupied themselves with the science of weights and measures, why should “it be deemed improbable that, even before the sanctuary “existed, the Jews might have had a standard weight that “bore that name?” &c. &c. (See *Letter by the Lord Bishop of Llandaff to the Clergy of the Diocese*, p. 34.) It may be added, that Moses himself was not less exact than the Egyptian priests about weights and measures, as the following special provision of the law indicates : “Thou shalt not “have in thy bag divers *weights*, a great and a small. Thou “shalt not have in thy house divers *measures*, a great and “a small” (Deut. xxv. 13, 14).

Of a piece with this objection is xvi.—“*Now an omer is*

a tenth part of an ephah” (Exod. xvi. 36). Such a piece of information, it is said, “we must ascribe to the pen of a later archæologist” (276). Very likely; and why should we not? Certainly, there is no occasion to consider it an express piece of revelation, and to reason upon it accordingly, as the Bishop really does in all such instances. We could help him to another such passage, Exod. xxx. 13,—*A shekel is twenty gerahs*. If he objects to give it to Moses, according to our reasoning on the preceding example, then by all means let him give it to “a later archæologist!”

(ii.) Comes next under our consideration, where we seem to have an anachronism in the use of terms of the same kind with the last. But here the Bishop himself will help us to an answer. “It may, perhaps, be said that the Hebrews “retained their own language, and *their old forms of expression*, after they went down to Egypt, and so used mechanically, as it were, the word ‘sea’ for ‘West,’ though “inappropriate” (241); a solution of the difficulty which appears to me sufficient, in treating of a people like the descendants of Abraham. Were such a people likely to forget the homely and familiar phrases of their ancestry, when it was their constant hope and ambition to return to their native land?

(iii.) . . . *The land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh* (Deut. xi. 30). ‘It must seem strange that Moses, who had ‘never been in the land of Canaan, should know all these ‘places, and be able to describe them so accurately’ (242). Strange indeed, unless we believe in his Divine mission and inspired character! At the same time, considering his antecedents in Egypt—the forty years of his sojourn in Midian, and another forty in the desert which divided the land of Canaan from the Red Sea—there never was a man more likely, even in his human capacity, to know every step of the way which lay before the advancing hosts of Israel.

The rest of this objection comes under the considerations before suggested on objection (v.), to which the reader can refer (pp. 62, 63).

(iv.) The objections to the naming of the place 'Dan' instead of 'Laish,' or 'Leshem' (as it seems to have been called in the time of Moses, Judges xviii. 29, Josh. xix. 47), yields to the considerations before applied to objection (v.), the same as the last example.

According to *Josephus*, the *Δάνας* was one of the sources of the river Jordan; and the country adjacent to it was named 'Dan,' long before the events above alluded to. (See *Josephus*, l. i. c. 10, and *Le Clerc*, in loc.) This *Dan* might be alluded to here.

(v.) See before, p. 62, 63.

(vi.) Why is '*Nabi*' used in Genesis, when '*Roeh*' was, most probably, at the time of Moses, the proper appellation of a 'Prophet'?

This is the substance of the objection; and as the word *Nabi* occurs somewhat frequently in the Pentateuch, as at Gen. xx. 7, Ex. vii. 1, xv. 20, Numb. xi. 29, xii. 6, Deut. xiii. 1, 3, 5, xviii. 15, 18, 20, 22, xxxiv. 10, the objection is an important one. Yet a way is opened to us out of this difficulty, if for once we suffer ourselves to be led by Moses. For what do we find? We find he calls Abraham a prophet ('*Nabi*') Gen. xx. 7, Aaron a prophet ('*Nabi*') Exod. vii. 1, &c. &c., but he nowhere at all uses the word רֹאֵה '*Roeh*,' i.e. Seer; whereas, in 1 Sam. ix. 9, it is declared that "he that is now called *Nabi* was beforetime called *Roeh*." But what further appears? Why that *Samuel* himself was called '*Roeh*'—*vide* 1 Chron. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29. Thus the 'beforetime' spoken of in 1 Sam. ix. 9, was not the time of Moses, but the time of *Samuel* himself, and the 'now' must in this case relate to the time of some later reviser. The whole verse seems to have crept as a gloss into the Book of Samuel, but the idea of נָבִי (*Nabi*) having been wrongly adopted in Genesis is shown to be unfounded. *Nabi*, in fact, might have been the original word for Prophet, and used accordingly in Genesis; and though the word רֹאֵה came into use about the time of *Samuel*, the older word *Nabi* may have been resumed at a later time when the Book of

Samuel was revised, probably by Ezra. This is only conjecture; Bishop Patrick, on Exod. vii. 1, gives an explanation of the passage, which others may prefer, by taking two different senses of the word Prophet—the one expressed by *Nabi*, the other by *Roeh*.

(vii.) *The Book of Jasher* (Josh. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18).

There is always a great difficulty about these older documents, as appears both in this place, and where the "Book of the wars of the Lord" is referred to (Numb. xxi. 14). This latter passage evidently goes on to recite a portion of some ancient song (v. 14, 15). Yet how could it have been ancient at the time when the event itself happened which it celebrates? It remains, therefore, that we conclude these verses in Numbers to have been a later interpolation. And so, perhaps, Josh. x. 13. This objection, therefore, comes much under the same denomination as objection (v.) and all that class.

(viii.) Numb. xxi. 13—15, already considered in (vii.)

(ix.) *See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us.* Gen. xxxix. 14.

The word 'Hebrew' is deemed by the Bishop to have been a later appellative of the Israelitish people, not known at the time when Moses wrote. This, however, appears extremely doubtful, when we remember that *Eber* was forefather in the seventh generation of *Abraham*; and *Hebron* a name very early given to Kirjath-aïla: for who shall say that Kirjath-aïla had not begun to take the name of *Hebron*, from the Hebrew patronymic of the Israelites, so early as the time of Moses, and even much earlier? (See Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27.) Observe, also, that the whole people are denominated 'the children of Eber' (Gen. x. 21).

(x.) The war against Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og, the king of Bashan, seems spoken of in Deut. ii. 30—36, as a thing long past when Moses was speaking; and yet purporting to have taken place within the very same year.

This is a pure fancy. Moses had been speaking primarily about the events of nearly forty years ago, when the Exodus took place (Deut. i. to ii. 1),—the rest merely following as a

rider to his general theme, wherein, as usual, the greater topic rules the less. And besides, Moses knew that his own end was approaching; his whole life, therefore, at such a time would appear thrown back into the distance, and he would be speaking, in a manner, irrespectively of a few days or months.

(xi.) Examples, such as Deut. iii. 14;—considered before under objection (v.).

(xii.) Answered also in (v.).

(xiii.) Moses is constantly represented as addressing Israel “*בְּעֵבֶר יַרְדֵּן* Jordan,” which means, says the Bishop, “*decidedly, beyond Jordan*; and indicates, therefore, a writer living in “*Canaan*.” But this, notwithstanding BLEEK, is not the case. We will take passages where Moses is speaking in the first person in both instances alike, so that no difference can be made on this score, “*because of the stand-point of the speaker*” (See *Bleek*, quoted by *Colenso*, 260).

Being, then, exactly at the same stand-point, Moses in chapter iii. 8, says, “*We took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites, the land that was on this side (בְּעֵבֶר יַרְדֵּן) Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto Mount Hermon*”—clearly the East side of Jordan. And yet, in chap. xi. 39, 40 (the words being still put into the mouth of Moses), “*Thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal. Are they not (בְּעֵבֶר) on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down in the land of the Canaanites;*” where it is equally clear that *the West* side is intended. If, again, we compare iv. 41, 47, we find the expression, “*on this side Jordan, toward the sunrising.*” Why! if the word had a fixed conventional sense, what need to explain it in this manner? But, indeed, the very explanation shows its double sense; for in one place it is explained ‘*towards the sunrising,*’ and in the other, ‘*where the sun goeth down.*’ Can anything be plainer than that the Hebrew *בְּעֵבֶר*, used alike in all these passages, is *not* employed, as the Bishop surmises (260), “*as a standing designation for the country east of Jordan*” [the

italics are the Bishop's]; but is employed indifferently (as Bishop Patrick observes on Deut. i. 1) "to either side of "any place, the particular side being determined by the "matter in hand." And this removes the whole ground of objection (xiii.)

(xiv.) See on (v.).

(xv.) Compare (x.), where the present difficulty is partly anticipated. It remains to think, 'how the bedstead of Og 'could have been removed in so short an interval into Rab- 'bath-Ammon'? Answer: Perhaps it had been taken there long ago, after some former encounter with the Ammonites. *Le Clerc* remarks, 'How it was carried, who can tell? But 'because there is no absurdity in this story, nothing can be 'gathered from a thing the reason of which is altogether 'unknown' (*Commentary, in loc.*). But, says the Bishop, 'there was not one of his people left alive, to bear off in 'safety the cumbrous relic.' See this answered in a Letter to Bishop Colenso, Part I. on Ch. xxii.

(xvi.) See on (i.).

(xvii.) The substance of the remaining objection is not very considerable.

It might, at first sight, appear somewhat incompatible with the 'meekness of character' which Moses apparently ascribes to himself, Numb. xii. 3, but which, without his having done so, would have been self-evident on the face of the history, to parade before the eyes of the public so many particulars of his family, his pedigree, his rank and office, and the 'mighty words and deeds' in which he had been concerned; but the whole character of Moses shows a man singularly free from selfish regards and mere private considerations. "Enviest thou for my sake?" were his noble words when it was reported to him that the young men in the camp were assuming to themselves some portion of his office,—“Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them!” (Numb. xi. 29.) We find him, again, even more careful to confess God's chastisement of himself in condemning him to

a premature death in the noonday of his strength, "when his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated," than to enlarge on the distinctions and honours of his past life: "The Lord was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither" (Deut. i. 37; repeated iii. 26, 27). "Behold, thy days approach that thou must die" (xxx. 14). "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto Mount Nebo. . . . And die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother died in Mount Hor and was gathered unto his people" (xxxii. 48—50). All that such a man could have intended, if ever he appeared to magnify himself, was the advantage of the whole Church. He was speaking to future generations—to all times and ages. To them it would be of interest, and of service too, as indeed it is to ourselves in the present day, to be certified under his own hand of the full particulars and antecedents of his life and history. If examples be needed, we have it in the Evangelists, as where St. Matthew relates his own call (Matt. ix. 9); and in his catalogue of the Apostles, where he even specifies his own trade or profession: "Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, and *Matthew the publican*" (x. 3). Who would have suspected St. John, while testifying to his own authorship, of having been likely to add, "and we know that his testimony is true"? (John xxi. 24.)

Here these objections end; but I may take the opportunity, before we conclude, of alluding to a matter which seems much to have troubled the Bishop, as we find him repeatedly referring to it in the course of his work—as thus, "the command to a *poor* man, after recovery from leprosy, to bring two *turtle-doves* or two *young pigeons* (Levit. xiv. 22) [is] a command which is expressly laid down, as for *the camp in the wilderness* (v. 3, 8); but which plainly betrays its character, as a law laid down in later days, by enjoining the performance of this act, which was impracticable in the wilderness" (506). Again—after remarking about "*the shekel of the sanctuary*" (Exod. xxx. 13), "This is clearly

“ an oversight ; ” the Bishop adds—“ as is also the command “ to sacrifice ‘ turtle-doves or young pigeons,’ in Lev. xiv. 22, “ *with express reference to their life in the wilderness,*—arising “ from a writer in a later age employing inadvertently (!) an “ expression common in his own days, and forgetting the “ circumstances of the times which he is describing ” (239).

I answer—that, in the first place, it is nowhere said in Levit. xiv. that this was required to be done when ‘ the camp ’ was ‘ in the wilderness.’ All that is said about it is at v. 3, “ *And the priest shall go forth out of the camp* ”—but I do not find mention of ‘ the camp *in the wilderness.*’ To let this pass—the difficulty (for a difficulty there certainly is) arises, not from any mistake or ‘ inadvertence ’ in the sacred writer, but from the unbelief and disobedience of the Israelites, who were condemned, in consequence, to wander forty years in the wilderness—during which time their laws and religious rites continued in abeyance. The ‘ camp ’ is, indeed, specified ; but it was not necessarily in contemplation that this camp should be situated in the wilderness. The leper was not permitted within the walls of an inhabited place, and he would naturally, therefore, require the attendance of the priest ‘ without the camp,’ which seemed a kind of standing appellation for ‘ *without the city.*’ (See Heb. xiii. 13.) If we read on a little in this very chapter, we find (v. 34), an express limitation of the laws of leprosy to the time when the people should be settled in Canaan, “ *When ye be come into the land of Canaan,* which I give to you for a possession,” &c. &c. But, indeed, the *Law* and the *Land* were originally intended to go together ; the one was constructed upon the supposition that the people were settled in the other. The wilderness condition of the people was, therefore, an anomalous condition ; and it would be rather ‘ inadvertence ’ in the reader than in the writer, if he was so incautious as to construe everything in Leviticus upon the full pontifical scale, which was adapted really to the land of promise, and not to the passage through ‘ the wilderness.’ Among the passages confirmatory of this assertion, I have already, in a former

Part, adduced the following from Deuteronomy: "And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments, *that ye might do them in the land whither ye go over to possess it*" (Deut. iv. 14). For all that was known or understood to the contrary (except in the Divine Mind), the journey out of Egypt was to have been of brief accomplishment; and when the Levitical law was given by Moses, at the end of the first year in the wilderness, neither its burdens nor its privileges were ever construed as of necessary application till that journey was completed.

We have thus followed the Bishop as impartially as was possible through the whole line of his argument. I trust something may have been said in elucidation of some apparent difficulties on the face of the Divine records—something that, without disparaging free inquiry or the results of modern criticism, may have tended to uphold the authority and Divine inspiration of the Books. Let the idealism of a false philosophy pretend, as it may, to consign Moses and the Patriarchs to the shadowy regions of imagination:—more noble is the stamp of mind, which would venerate their footsteps as real characters in Sacred history,—characters that have played their part, and a most important part, too, on the actual stage of human life. In conclusion, I would respectfully invite the Bishop to join with me in the humble but hearty prayer, That in no mythical sense, but as a deep and abiding reality, it may be granted to us and to all who earnestly contend for 'the Truth as it is in Jesus,' to be admitted, at the last day, "to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. viii. 22).

END.

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