



Class BS 1171

Book, BA

Copyright N^o 1902

COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.

CLASS NOTES
ON
THE OLD TESTAMENT

REVISED IN

1902.

BY

WILLIS JUDSON BEECHER,

PROFESSOR OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AUBURN
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

PRESS OF
JAS. W. BURROUGHS
AUBURN, N. Y.

BS1171
B4
1902

THE LIBRARY OF
CONGRESS,
TWO COPIES RECEIVED
MAR. 15 1902
COPYRIGHT ENTRY
Jan. 27-1902
CLASS QXXc. No.
25770
COPY B.

COPYRIGHT, 1902,
BY WILLIS J. BEECHER.

VOL. 1171

CLASS QXXc. No. 25770

CONTENTS.

I.

THE PROPHETS AND THE PROMISE.

	PAGE
LECTS. I-XI. THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL	1
LECTS. XII-XXIV. MESSIANIC PROPHECY	23

II.

OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES, REVISION OF 1901.

	PAGE
LECT. I. SCOPE. DIVISIONS	47
LECT. II. THE SECONDARY SACRED LITERATURE	51

PART I.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM A. D. 1900 BACK TO 400 B. C.

LECTS. III-VII. BACK TO THE SON OF SIRACH	54
LECT. VIII. THE CONTACT OF ISRAEL WITH THE GREEKS	70
LECT. IX. THE SEPTUAGINT	72
LECT. X. THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE	77
LECT. XI. DATES AND HISTORICAL SETTING	79
LECTS. XII-XIV. THE COMPLETING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	84

PART II.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM ITS BEGINNINGS.

LECTS. XV-XVII. PRELIMINARY TOPICS	96
LECTS. XVIII-XIX. THE HEXATEUCH	105
LECTS. XX-XXIII. THE SECOND LITERARY PERIOD	112
LECTS. XXIV-XXVIII. THE THIRD LITERARY PERIOD	122
LECTS. XXIX-XXX. THE FOURTH LITERARY PERIOD	131
LECTS. XXXI-XXXIV. THE TEXT AND TEXT CRITICISM	136

III.

HEXATEUCHAL QUESTIONS.

	PAGE
LECT. I. PRELIMINARY	153
LECTS. II-VII. THE TESTIMONY AND ITS CORROBORATIONS	156
LECTS. VIII-IX. MODERN VIEW. VALIDITY OF THE EVIDENCE	170
LECTS. X-XIV. ARGUMENT FROM ISRAELITISH INSTITUTIONS	175
LECTS. XV-XVI. ARGUMENT FROM POSTMOAIC ELEMENTS	187
LECTS. XVII-XXII. THE PARTITION. ITS EVIDENTIAL VALUE	191
LECT. XXIII. CONCLUSIONS	198

IV.

OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

	PAGE
LECTS. I-III. PRELIMINARY TOPICS	205
LECTS. IV-XV. THE FORMING OF ISRAELITISH INSTITUTIONS	215
LECTS. XVI-XXIII. PERIOD OF THE CHANGING SANCTUARY	236
LECTS. XXIV-XXXVII. PERIOD OF FIXED SANCTUARY	257
LECTS. XXXVIII-XLI. PERIOD OF RESTORED SANCTUARY	282

PREFACE.

For many years I have, as occasion required, prepared syllabi for use in my classes—at first making copies with electric pen or with hektograph, and, later, using printed copies. In 1897 I found it convenient to bind the syllabi into a volume, and obtain copyright. The supply being exhausted, the present revised edition has been prepared. Half the material or more has been re-written, a new arrangement of it has been made, and many errors eliminated, but the whole continues to be merely a collection of notes for class use. They are readable or intelligible only to such persons as care to do the work marked out in them.

The point of view from which they are written is indicated on pages 1-2, 49-51, 207-209. I have no apology to make for the fact that they are mainly studies in the Old Testament itself, the Old Testament in the form in which it has come down to us from its final authors. Whoever these final authors were, and whatever the sources whence they drew, the literary work they did still lives, after more than two thousand years. This fact is in itself sufficient proof of their greatness. It is the scripture in the form in which they left it, not in some different form, which has so wonderfully influenced the world from then until now; and the scripture which has thus influenced the world is the scripture which has especial claims on our attention. It is the present fashion in scholarship to attempt to go back of their work, readjusting the materials they used. But whatever readjustments may in the future be accepted, their work will never cease to have an importance of its own, in virtue of which it is worthy of being understood.

Further, unless we first understand their work we are not qualified to form the judgments requisite to a correct textual or literary criticism of it, or to the reconstruction of it. Neither the older nor the newer critical traditions now prevalent have been based on a sufficiently careful study of the scriptures as they stand; and for lack of this much of the current criticism is very weak. Still further, the final authors of the Old Testament had fuller information than we, and we cannot afford to ignore the judgments they formed on the various questions that arise. In the light of these and like considerations, the restudy of the existing contents of the Old Testament is seen to be, not a thing relatively rudimentary and unimportant, but a line of investigation of the highest consequence.

AUBURN SEMINARY, JANUARY 1902.

THE PROPHETS AND THE PROMISE.

REVISION OF 1900.

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL.

Auburn Seminary Elective, First Term, 1900--01.

LECTURE I.

PRELIMINARY.

1. *The subject.*—This course of lectures treats of THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL AS DESCRIBED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT: the men themselves, their surroundings, their personal appearance, habits, and functions, with other like matters concerning them.

2. *Sources of information.*—The only direct source is the Old Testament. The indirect sources are, first, the New Testament and other later writings; and second, analogies drawn from other religions or from later times.

3. *Method of study.*—The first few minutes of each hour will be given to a review of the previous lecture, after which the subject in advance will be treated in either a lecture or a bible reading. The principal thing attempted will be to bring out clearly what the Old Testament says on the subject in hand. In preparing the lesson from the notes, all scripture references are to be studied, as well as the printed text of the notes. At the close of the course, a general review will be had, using the test questions printed at the close of the notes. There will also be a written examination, in which answers will be required to a certain number of these test questions, selected by the professor. It is recommended that each student, as we proceed, prepare a definitely written answer to each of the test questions.

A list of works on the subject is given below. It is required that each student read at least one of these works with sufficient care to enable him to give a general statement of its contents, and an estimate of the work, in the final examination.

4. *The need of original study.*—To some this programme will seem exceedingly simple and rudimentary. They would think it a greater thing to read many books, in different languages, and discuss the bearing of their contents on the subject in hand. But no amount of reading can supersede the necessity of examining for ourselves the direct evidence in the case. And just this has been more neglected than anything else, in dealing with the subject of the prophets of Israel. Men of learning as well as others have neglected it. We must do this first of all, and do it with care, or all other study of the subject will be of little value to us.

5. *The provisionally historical point of view.*—The best way to put the question is this: what manner of men were the prophets, supposing the statements of the Old Testament concerning them to be historically correct? In this provisional form, we have a right to proceed with our investigation without delaying to settle disputed points in regard to the data used. And we shall surely test the data as we advance. If they are not trustworthy, we shall find it out. If they are trustworthy, we shall see them to be so, and shall thus transform our provisional results into final results.

6. *Reasons for taking an interest in this subject.*—*a.* It is important in itself. *b.* By such a study we test the character of the Old Testament as a source of evidence. *c.* The study is important as contributory to Old Testament criticism. *d.* Most important of all, the prophets were the men through whom the promise and the doctrine of the Messiah was made known in Israel, and to the world.

7. *Works on the subject of the Prophets.*—Such works are very numerous. Read with care at least one of the following: The article "Prophet" in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, or that in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, or in the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*, or in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*; *The*

Prophets of Israel, by W. Robertson Smith, with reply by Wm. H. Green in the volume *Moses and the Prophets*; *Old Testament Prophecy*, by Charles Elliott; *Old Testament Prophecy*, by Conrad Von Orelli; *Messianic Prophecy*, by C. A. Briggs; *The Prophets of Israel*, by Cornill; *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, by J. F. Mc Curdy.

LECTURE II.

THE TERMS USED IN DESCRIBING THE PROPHETIC FUNCTION.

8. *The English word prophet*.—It is the Greek *προφήτης* from *πρό* and *φημί*. It denotes, not one who speaks beforehand, but one who speaks forth, speaks publicly. The prophet, however, always speaks for another, ordinarily for Deity. He makes known the message which Deity has given him, and which would otherwise have remained unknown. The thing thus uttered may be a prediction, but the verb *prophecy* does not signify to predict. Look up the matter in Cremer, Thayer, Liddell and Scott, the Century Dictionary, Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, etc.

9. *Hebrew words for prophet*.—*a. Nabhi*, from the stem *nabha*. The words of this stem are used in every part of the Old Testament, and are uniformly translated prophet, prophecy, prophesy. The derivation is conjectural, but usage shows that the meaning is virtually the same with that of the English word. There are some hundreds of instances. See concordance. *b. Roeh*, active participle of the verb *raah*. Translated seer, the verb being the one commonly used for the ordinary act of seeing. The terms *roeh* and *nabhi* are exchangeable, the only difference being in the form of thought. *Roeh* thus used appears in the literature from the time of Samuel to that of Isaiah. In Samuel's time, it temporarily displaced *nabhi* as the word of common use (1 Sam. ix. 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 2 Sam. xv. 27, 1 Chron. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29, 2 Chron. xvi. 7, 10, Isa. xxx. 10). *c. Hozeh*, active participle of the

verb *hazah*. Translated seer, like the previous word. In the Aramaic, *hazah* is the ordinary verb for seeing; in Hebrew it is less used, and mainly in cases where insight or thoughtful seeing is required. The noun *hozeh*, denoting a prophet, is used from David's time on, and in the later times supersedes *roeh* (2 Sam. xxiv. 11, 1 Chron. xxi. 9, xxv. 5, xxix. 29, Amos vii. 12, Mic. iii. 7, 2 Ki. xvii. 13, etc.). *d.* The phrase "man of God," *ish elohim* or *ish ha-elohim*, occurs often in the Old Testament, as the equivalent of *nabhi*, and is probably never employed except in this use (Deut. xxxiii. 1, Josh. xiv. 6, and concordance). *e.* In addition, a prophet is sometimes called an "angel" of Yahweh (e. g. Hag. i. 13), or a servant of Yahweh, or a shepherd, or a watchman, etc., but these terms are properly figures of speech. As to the differences between the terms commonly used; see Lecture VIII.

10. *Hebrew words for prophetic functions.*—*a.* The verb *nabha*, and nouns of the same stem, translated prophesy, prophecy. *b.* The verb *raah* in the qal (Isa. xxx. 10, Dan. viii. 2, x. 8, etc.); in the hiphil (Am. vii. 1, 4, 7, viii. 1, etc.); in the niphal (Gen. xii. 7, xvii. 1, Ex. iii. 2, 1 Ki. ix. 2, etc.); the nouns *mar'eh* and *mar'ah* of the same stem, translated vision or appearance (Ezek. i. 26, 27, viii. 2, 4, xi. 24, Dan. viii. 15, 16, etc., Dan. x. 7, 8, Gen. xlvi. 2, 1 Sam. iii. 15, etc.). *c.* The verb *hazah* and several nouns of the same stem, translated see, vision, etc. (Isa. i. 1, ii. 1, Lam. ii. 14, Am. i. 1, Zech. x. 2, Num. xxiv. 4, 16, etc., 1 Sam. iii. 1, 1 Chron. xvii. 15, etc., Gen. xv. 1, Ezek. xiii. 7, etc.). *d.* "The word of the LORD," and occasionally "the word of God," *d'bhar yahweh*, *d'bhar elohim*, *d'bhar ha-elohim*. This phrase commonly, and perhaps always, describes a message given by God through a prophet (Isa. i. 10, ii. 3, 1 Ki. xvii. 2, 8, 16, 24, 1 Sam. iii. 1, 21, xv. 23, 26, Gen. xv. 1, 4, Ex. ix. 20, 21, etc., 1 Sam. ix. 27, 2 Sam. xvi. 23). *e.* *Massa*, burden, is used to denote a prophecy of a certain kind, from the days of Elisha and later (2 Ki. ix. 25, Isa. xiii. 1, xiv. 28, xv. 1, xvii. 1, Ezek. xii. 10, 2 Chron. xxiv. 27, etc.). In Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1, the old version translates *massa* by prophecy. *f.* *Hittiph*, to let drop.

is used for prophesying in Mic. ii. 6, 11, and is so translated. These instances and Isa. xxx. 10 are the only instances where the versions use "prophesy" for any other Hebrew stem than *nabha*. *g*. The formula "thus saith Yahweh" is commonly applied to a prophetic utterance (e. g. Jer. ii. 2, 5, iv. 3). *h*. The entirely different formula "utterance of Yahweh," *n'um Yahweh*, is also in the English versions translated "saith the LORD," Jer. i. 8, 15, 19, etc.). These formulas are used hundreds of times.

11. *Degrees of comprehension in the use of these terms.*—These terms are applied : *a*. To persons who are better known as prophets than in any other capacity, Samuel, Elisha, or Isaiah, for example ; but many of these were eminent as priests, statesmen, and the like. *b*. To persons who are better known in some other capacity than as prophets ; these we will call prophetic men, for distinction's sake. Some of them, as Moses the legislator, or David the king, rank very high in prophetic gifts. *c* To those who are also called the sons of the prophets. *d*. Perhaps, in secondary senses, to denote raving, for example, 1 Sam. xviii. 10. But see also Qu. 26.

LECTURE III.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROPHETS.

12. *Divisions.*—The New Testament writers count the succession of the prophets as beginning, in some sense, with Samuel (Acts iii. 24). But they also count the prophets as in existence "since the world began" (Luke i. 70, Acts iii. 22, vii. 37, Jude 14). This agrees, as we shall find, with the Old Testament account. This fact determines the division of the history of the prophets. The times before Samuel, though many centuries long, form one period ; the times after Samuel are those of the pre-literary prophets, in two periods, and those of the literary prophets (meaning those whose names are attached to the present prophetic books) in four periods. We thus have seven periods in all.

13. *First period.*—From the beginning to the death of Eli. At its close prophecy is represented to have been nearly extinct (1 Sam. ix. 9, iii. 1), though not quite so (1 Sam. ii. 27, iii. 7–8). It has been inferred that there was no prophecy before Samuel, but this inference differs from the representations of the bible. These are to the effect that the patriarchs (not to go further back) exercised prophetic gifts; that such gifts were abundant in the time of Moses; that they continued to be exercised during the time between Moses and Samuel.

14. *The patriarchs were prophets.*—*a.* Abraham is called a prophet (Gen. xx. 7 cf. Ps. cv. 15, 1 Chron. xvi. 22). *b.* The word of Yahweh came to him in vision (Gen. xv. 1, 4). *c.* Yahweh often “appeared” to him (xii. 7, xvii. 1, xviii. 1, etc.). *d.* Isaac and Jacob had similar experiences (xxvi. 2, 24, xxxi. 11, xxxv. 9, xlvi. 2).

15. *Prophetic gifts abounded in the time of Moses.*—*a.* In the history, the stem *nabha* occurs seventeen times. *b.* Moses is spoken of as the greatest of prophets (Hos. xii. 13, Deut. xxxiv. 10, xviii. 15, 18, Num. xii. 6–8, etc.). *c.* He is called “man of God” (Deut. xxxiii. 1, Josh. xiv. 6, Ezra iii. 2). *d.* Yahweh appeared to him (Ex. iii. 2, 16). *e.* He and others had visions (Num. xii. 6–8). *f.* Miriam was a prophetess (Ex. xv. 20). *g.* Eldad, Medad and others prophesied (Num. xi. 25–29). *h.* It is represented that laws for prophets were given, and mention made of prophetic functions, such as to show that prophets were something well known in that generation (Deut. xiii. 1, 3, 5 [2, 4, 6], xviii. 15, 18, 20, 22, Ex. vii. 1, Num. xxiv. 4, 16, etc.).

16. *Prophets in the time of the judges.*—Deborah (Jud. iv. 4; the prophet (vi. 8); the man of God (Jud. xiii. 6, 8, 10, 11, 1 Sam. ii. 27); the “appearing” of the Angel (Jud. vi. 12, xiii. 6, 8); the word of Yahweh scarce (1 Sam. iii. 1).

17. *Second period.*—That of Samuel, David, and Solomon. Samuel to the disruption. About 160 years, though the chronology is disputed. The distinguished prophets and prophetic men were Samuel, Gad, David, Nathan, Zadok, Asaph, Heman, Ethan or Jeduthun, Solomon, Ahijah, Shemaiah, Jedo. By

the help of a concordance, look up the history of each. That David and Solomon were prophetic men appears from such passages as Neh. xii. 24, 2 Chron. viii. 14, iii. 1, 1 Sam. xvi. 13, etc., and 1 Ki. iii. 5, ix. 2, etc. See Acts ii. 30.

There was a great revival of prophetism (1 Sam. iii. 20, 21, contrasted with iii. 1). "Companies" of prophets appear prominently (1 Sam. x. 5-13, xix. 18-21). Prophets are common (1 Sam. xxviii. 6). The work of David's leaders in music is called prophesying (1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3, 5, comp. 2 Chron. xxxv. 15, xxix. 30).

LECTURE IV.

THE HISTORY—CONTINUED.

18. *Third period.*—That of Elijah and Elisha. From the disruption to the death of Elisha, about 135 years. *a.* Shemaiah, Ahijah, and Jedo survived from the former period (1 Ki. xii. 22, 2 Chron. ix. 29, 1 Ki. xiv. 2, etc.). Then followed Oded and Azariah, Hanani, Jehu, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, Jahaziel, Eliezer, the highpriest Jehoiada and his son Zechariah (2 Chron. xv. 1, 8, xvi. 7, xix. 2, xx. 34, 1 Ki. xvi. 1, xxii. 8, etc., 2 Chron. xx. 14, 37, xxiv. 20). *b.* Besides these, prophets were very numerous (1 Ki. xx. 13, 35, xix. 10, 14, xviii. 4, 13, xxii. 6, 11, 2 Chron. xviii. 5, xx. 20, xxiv. 19). *c.* The so-called schools of the "sons of the prophets" were flourishing, at Jericho, Gilgal, Bethel, etc. (2 Ki. ii-vi, etc.).

19. *Fourth period.*—That of Isaiah and his contemporaries. From the death of Elisha to the captivity of Manasseh, perhaps about 175 years, but 50 years less by the usual interpretation of the Assyrian chronology. The first group of the so-called literary prophets. Distinguished in this group are an unnamed prophet or two (2 Chron. xxv. 7, 15); Jonah (2 Ki. xiv. 25); probably Joel and Obadiah; Amos, Hosea, and the author of Zech. ix-xiv.; the Zechariah named in 2 Chron. xxvi. 5; Isaiah; Oded (2 Chron. xxviii. 9); Micah; Nahum.

That prophets were numerous is shown by such passages as 2 Ki. xxi. 10, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10, Isa. iii. 2, xxx. 10, Hos. xii. 10 (11), vi. 5, iv. 5, Am. ii. 11, 12, iii. 7, 8, vii. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, Mic. iii. 6, 7, and from what is said of false prophets (Isa. ix. 15 [14], xxix. 10, xxviii. 7, Hos. ix. 7, 8, Mic. iii. 5, 11). The training of prophets is mentioned only in Am. vii. 14.

20. *Fifth period.*—That of Jeremiah. From Manasseh to the burning of the temple. About 86 years. Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Huldah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 22); Uriah, the son of Shemaiah (Jer. xxvi. 20-23). Prophets are numerous, both true and false (2 Ki. xxiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16, Lam. ii. 9, Jer. vii. 25, xiv. 18, xxiii. 9, etc.; Zeph. iii. 4, Lam. iv. 13, Jer. ii. 8, 26, with twenty or thirty other passages in Jeremiah and Lamentations). Among the false prophets, Hananiah, Ahab, Zedekiah and Shemaiah are called by name (Jer. xxviii. 1, xxix. 21, 31).

21. *Sixth period.*—Prophets of the exile, in Babylonia. From the captivity of Daniel to the return under Cyrus, 70 years, overlapping the fifth period by 20 years. Daniel and Ezekiel. False prophets, male and female, were numerous, and perhaps true prophets also (Ezek. xiii. 2, 3, 4, 9, 16, 17, xiv. 4, 7, 9, 10, etc.).

22. *Seventh period.*—Postexilian. Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, Malachi. Prophets numerous, with false prophets among them (Zech. vii. 3, viii. 9, Neh. vi. 7, 14). Training school—not for prophets, but—for temple servants (Ezra viii. 17).

23. *Close of the succession of prophets.*—With the dying out of the men of this group, the succession of prophets is held by Jewish tradition to have ceased (Jos. *Against Apion* I. 8, 1 Mac. ix. 27, iv. 46, xiv. 41, etc.). It should be noted that Nehemiah is certainly represented as having prophetic gifts, and that his death and perhaps that of the author of Malachi occurred some decades later than the latest dates given in the Old Testament.

Christianity claims that the succession of prophets re-appeared in the person of John the Baptist.

LECTURE V.

THE EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF A PROPHET.

24. *Baseless current ideas on this matter.*—In centuries past, Christian people have been accustomed to think of the Israelite prophet as though he were a Christian priest or monk. Painters have generally drawn his portrait with this idea in mind. With this has been combined the idea that the prophet was a revealer of hidden things, and was therefore like the priests of the Greek oracles. Of late, many have become possessed by the notion that the prophet must have resembled an oriental dervish, or a fetish man, or a medicine man of our American aborigines. We are in danger of being misled, both by preconceived notions of this kind, and by our love of the picturesque. Hence we need to attend with especial care to the evidence in the case.

25. *The alleged prophetic costume.*—That the prophets of Yahweh wore a special regulation garb is inferred from Zech. xiii. 4, Isa. xx. 2, 3, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14, 1 Ki. xix. 13, but the passages do not justify the inference. The contrary is fairly to be inferred from 1 Sam. ix. 18, 2 Ki. i. 7–8, 1 Ki. xx. 38, 41.

26. *Did the prophets rave?*—From Jer. xxix. 26, 2 Ki. ix. 11, 1 Sam. xviii. 10, x. 5–11, xix. 19–24, it is inferred that the prophets were characterized by frenzied utterance, but the inference is baseless. The statement that Jeremiah was crazy is recorded as a slander, and not as a fact; religious talking was a symptom in Saul's attacks of mania; the prophets held religious meetings, under the excitement of which Saul went crazy, but there is no proof that the prophets acted like crazy men.

27. *The prophets longlived.*—In one personal peculiarity, the prophets are represented to have been remarkable — their longevity. Moses lived to the age of 120 years (Deut. xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 7), when the age of manly vigor was from twenty to sixty years (Lev. xxvii. 3, 7, and many other places) Joshua lived to the age of 110, Jehoiada to 130, while Elisha, Isaiah, Daniel and others had very long public careers.

28. *The absence of external marks noteworthy.*— Exceptional prophets, Elijah, for example, were distinguished by external peculiarities. On exceptional occasions, prophets wore an unusual dress, or practiced special austerities. But ordinarily, Moses or Samuel or Isaiah or Nathan or Daniel are certainly presented to us simply as men among men, citizens among citizens. This absence of insignia corresponds with the peculiarities in the mission of the prophets which we are to study in the following lectures. The human individuality of the prophet is emphasized, to the neglect of outward appearance, or official character, or other like things. In this there is a significant contrast between the religion of Israel and other religions.

LECTURE VI.

THE EDUCATION OF THE PROPHETS.

29. *Organizations for training.*—The records give us some details concerning such organizations, at two periods: the “companies” of the prophets, in Samuel’s time; and the associated “sons of the prophets,” in the northern kingdom, in the time of Elijah and Elisha. For the times earlier and later, the records are silent.

30. *The companies of prophets.*—Of these we know directly only what is recorded in 1 Sam. x. 5–6, 10–13, xix. 18–24. Apparently, we have here the picture of associated bodies of men, under the direction of Samuel, to some extent living in communities by themselves, practicing music and concerted prophesying, holding out-of-door processional services, recognized as a power in the land. Apparently their purpose is mainly educational, and judging from the development of Israel at the time, they had great influence in promoting literature, art and religion.

31. *The sons of the prophets.*—For accounts of these note particularly 2 Ki. ii, iv. 1–7, 38–44, vi. 1–7, ix. 1–12, with the

whole history of Elijah and Elisha, and incidental notices elsewhere. They were numerous, were organized at different centres, had arrangements for living in common, had married men among their number, recognized Elijah and afterward Elisha as their chief, were especially obnoxious to the Baalite party in Israelitish politics, promoted the accession of Jehu. Perhaps they were organizations for religious and patriotic work, rather than schools; but they certainly had educational value.

32. *Actual prophetic training.*—Either within or without these organizations, there is reason to hold that the prominent prophets had their disciples (Isa. viii. 16), some of these permanently attached to them, looking to them for instruction, in which literary and theological studies were included (see references in Qus. 17, 31). These followers were regarded as in a secondary sense prophets, and were sometimes so called.

LECTURE VII.

THE PROPHETIC ORDER.

33. *The propriety of the term.*—Are we to think of the prophet as belonging to an order? as an ordained man, like a Jewish priest or a Christian minister? In other words, are we to think of the priests and the prophets as two orders of Israelitish clergymen? The facts in reply to this are stated in the following six numbers.

34. *The succession of the prophets.*—The prophets were probably an unbroken succession, in the sense that from Malachi back to Samuel, and earlier, Israel was never wholly without living prophets of Yahweh.

35. *The prophet and the priesthood.*—Some priests had the prophetic gift, Zadok, Jeremiah, Ezra, for example. A prophet, not of the priesthood, might be commissioned to perform priestly acts, Moses, for example, Lev. viii. 15-30. But there is no trace of any priestly functions regularly exercised

by the prophets as prophets, and none of any official fixed relations between the priestly body and the prophetic body. The incidents in 1 Sam. ix. 13, vii. 9 x. 8, xi. 15, xiii. 9-10, xvi. 2-5, are not exceptions to this statement.

36. *Was the prophet a graduate?*—The “sons of the prophets” doubtless often became prophets, but there is no trace of their having done so as a matter of regular course. Probably, however, they were regarded as prophets in a secondary sense, and called by the name. When the prophets are spoken of as numerous, very likely most of them were prophets only in this secondary sense.

37. *Ordination.*—Elisha, for example, was set apart to his special work by some kind of ordaining act; there is no trace of any one’s ever having been admitted to be a prophet by any such act. That Elisha’s case was exceptional appears from its being put on a parallel with the cases of Hazael and Jehu (1 Ki. xix. 16, 19, 15-16, 2 Ki. ix. 1-13).

38. *How a man became a prophet.*—A prophet became such, so far as appears, solely by becoming endowed with prophetic gifts; his claim was to be tested by ascertaining whether he had such gifts (Deut. xviii. 21, 22, xiii. 1-5), and not by his costume or mode of life or registry of ordination. But men might, of course, become secondary prophets by merely becoming followers of the prophets whose gifts were recognized.

39. *The prophet’s position.*—A prophet might be judge or king or priest or general or statesman or private person, in fine, might occupy any position in the commonwealth; as a prophet, he was simply a citizen with a special work to do (see Qu. 28).

LECTURE VIII.

MODES OF REVELATION TO THE PROPHETS.

40. *Their inspiration.*—This is represented to have been by the Spirit of Yahweh (Num. xi. 25-29, 2 Chron. xv. 1, Joel ii. 28, 29, Isa. lxiii. 10, 11, 1 Ki. xviii. 12, and concordance).

41. *Modes in which the Spirit communicated with them.*—These, as presented in the Old Testament, are commonly classified as three: by dreams, by visions, by direct revelation. But it is more in accord with the statements of the bible to recognize four modes, namely, by dreams, by picture visions, by theophanies, by visions of insight.

42. *Dreams.*—These are recognized as modes of revelation to prophets, in such passages as Num. xii. 6, Deut. xiii. 1, Dan. i. 17, etc., and in the accounts of the dreams of Joseph, Solomon, and others, and of interpretations by Joseph, Daniel, etc.

43. *Picture visions.*—Where prophetic vision is described in terms of the qal, the hiphil, the hophal, or the nouns, of the stem *raah*, the visions seem to be conceived of as presented to the physical eye (Am. vii–viii, Jer. xxiv, Zech. i–vi, and Qu. 10b).

44. *Theophanies.*—Yahweh appearing in human form, with or without additional miraculous exhibitions; or Yahweh uttering audible words from the midst of miraculous manifestations. Theophany is regularly described by using the niphal of *raah* (Qus. 10b, 14c, and Gen. xviii, Ex. iii, xx, Num. ix. 15–16, Jud. xiii, etc.). Perhaps theophany should be regarded as a specially important form of picture vision, differing from other forms in that it is of the nature of a personal interview, and not of an object lesson taught by emblems. It was regarded as the highest form of divine manifestation (Num. xii. 6–8, Ex. xxxiii. 9).

45. *Visions of insight.*—The words of the stem *hazah* (Qu. 10c) are more used in describing prophetic phenomena than those from *raah*. Specifically, they denote mental vision, as distinguished from the apparent presentation of objects to the natural eye. Thus they are used, to the exclusion of words from *raah*, in the literary titles of the prophetic writings. They have a meaning wide enough to include any supposable influence exerted by the divine Spirit over the mind of the prophet. The terms of this group may be used generically, including dreams or picture visions or theophanies as parts

or as species, or they may be used specifically for a mode of revelation which consists in sharpened insight or quickened intelligence, as differing from dream or picture vision or theophany.

Notice the peculiar instance in 2 Ki. iii. 15.

LECTURE IX.

MODES OF UTTERANCE BY THE PROPHETS.

46. *Emblems and types.*—The peculiar modes of utterance by the prophets correspond to the modes of revelation to them. They use emblems or symbols, that is, objects or personal acts representing truths (e. g. 1 Ki. xi. 30–31, Ezek. xxxvii. 15–25, Isa. xx, Jer. xix, xxiv, xxviii, etc.). The word type is often used as a mere equivalent of the word emblem, but properly a type is an emblem of a peculiar kind — a fact or person or event embodying a truth, and used as a foreshadowing example of a greater manifestation of that truth.

47. *Manifold sense.*—No utterances of Yahweh's prophets have a double sense, meaning thereby an equivocal sense. But notice the double meaning in the Hebrew of 1 Ki. xxii. 6, 12, and in Micaiah's ironical repetition, verse 15.

Some cases which have been mistaken for cases of a double sense are cases where the New Testament uses a prophetic passage simply for illustration (e. g. Jer. xxxi. 15 and Mat. ii. 18).

48. *Manifold fulfillment.*—Within limits, a prophecy may have a manifold application, or a manifold fulfillment, without having a double sense. *a.* The term generic prophecy, in one use of it, describes a prediction which, in applying to the whole of a complex event, also applies to some of the parts, Mat. xxiv. for example. *b.* Types and antitypes may occur in a series, so that in foretelling parts of the series, the remaining parts are foretold. *c.* A different form of statement is used by those who speak of the successive or progressive fulfillment of certain predictions. Or one may say, in these

cases, that only the final event is foretold, but that this implies some of the intervening events that lead up to it. *d.* When the point of a prophecy consists in its enunciating the principles on which God acts, the prophecy may of course, so far forth, be made to apply to every case coming under the principles.

NOTE.—The subject of types is admirably discussed in Dr. Gardiner's *Old and New Testaments*, Lectures viii–xii; the topics of this lecture are well treated in the book of Dr. Briggs on *Messianic Prophecy*. The article "Prophet" in Mc Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia* is very full.

LECTURE X.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PROPHETS.

49. *The functions indicated by the name.*—By the derivation of the English word, a prophet is a man who speaks out the special message that God has given him (Qu. 8). That this is the function of the prophet of Israel is indicated briefly in Ex. vii. 1, Num. xii. 6, and more in full in Deut. xviii and xiii. 1–5, and indeed, in all the passages that we have examined. In Deut. xviii he is differentiated from the priest by the fact that his message is direct and special, and from those who practice magic arts by the fact that his communication with God is real.

50. *The gift of prediction.*—The prophets had this gift; but they were not merely nor mainly predictors of events.

51. *Natural functions.*—The functions ascribed to the prophets in the records may be arranged in two classes, those which do not require the exercise of distinctly supernatural gifts, and those which require such gifts. Among the former are the following: *a.* They were prominent as the public men of their times. For proof, reflect on what you know of Moses or Samuel or Daniel, or of Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah. They were the leaders of the party that advocated a certain religious policy on the part of the government, and of the party that opposed foreign alliances in every direction (1 Ki.

xvii-xix, 2 Ki. iv. 13, Isa. vii or xxxix or xxx, Jer. xxxviii or xxxix. 11-14). A biography of the prophets would be a history of Israel. *b.* They were the reformers of their times. Besides religious questions, they discussed improper divorce, licentiousness, usury, land monopoly, drunkenness and dissipation, slavery, etc. (Mal. ii. 10-16, Jer. v. 7-9, etc., Neh. v, Ezek. xviii. 8, etc., Isa. v. 7-10, 11-22, Jer. xxxiv. 8-22). *c.* They were evangelistic preachers and organizers. *d.* They were the literary men of the nation. Learn from a concordance that the bible attributes literary authorship to Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, David, Solomon, Ahijah, Jedo, Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu, Elijah, as well as to the so-called literary prophets and their contemporaries. *e.* They were a bond of unity between the two kingdoms. Judæan prophets, Amos and Isaiah for example, prophesied for the northern kingdom, and northern prophets, Elisha and Hosea for instance, for the southern kingdom, Am. i. 1. iii. 1, 12, etc., Hos. xi. 12, etc., 2 Ki. iii. 14. *f.* So far as merely natural functions go, the bible prophets have their counterparts both among devout religious workers in all ages, and among the especially gifted men whom God anywhere raises up for special purposes in history.

52. *Supernatural functions.*—But the bible prophets also claim functions that require supernatural gifts—functions that differ in kind, and not merely in degree, from those thus far mentioned. *a.* The working of miracles, Elisha for example. *b.* Revealing secrets by supernatural help (e. g. 2 Ki. vi. 12, Dan. ii). *c.* Foretelling the future (Isa. xli. 22-23, 26, xlii. 9, xliii. 9, 12, 18, 19, etc.). *d.* Revealing Yahweh's law (Lect. XI). *e.* Teaching the doctrine of the Messiah (Lectures on Messianic Prophecy).

LECTURE XI.

THE GIVING OF THE LAW THROUGH THE PROPHETS.

53. *The great function of the prophets.*—This was the transmitting of monotheism in its Israelitish type to Israel, to

mankind, and to future ages. The monotheism they transmitted may be looked at with respect to its contents or its form. With respect to its contents, the chief thing in it is its messianic doctrine. In its form, it is an alleged revelation or series of revelations from God, commonly described by the prophets themselves as "law," *torah*. *Torah*, when written, becomes sacred scripture.

It is important to get a clear idea of the relation of the prophets to the *torah*, that is, indirectly, to the written scripture.

54. *The term "law" in the New Testament.*—Prove that, in the New Testament, "law," besides other uses, sometimes denotes: *a.* The Old Testament (John x. 34, xv. 25, xii. 34, 1 Cor. xiv. 21, Rom. iii. 10–19). *b.* The pentateuch (John i. 45, Mat. vii. 12, and many other passages). In view of the fact that the Old Testament includes the pentateuch, can you decide which of these usages most prevails?

55. *This double use not peculiar to the New Testament.*—Prove this from such passages as Josephus *Ant.* preface 3, compared with *Cont. Ap.* i. 8, or 2 Esdras xiv. 20–22, 44–46 (in editions of the Apocrypha— that of Wace, or that of Bissell in the Lange Commentary).

56. *"Law" in the Old Testament.*—*a.* *Torah*, "law," and its verb *horah* are derived from *yarah*, which denotes the shooting of an arrow or javelin. *Torah* is used more than 200 times, and *horah* more than 60 times. *b.* They denote authoritative requirement or information, never mere ordinary instruction. *c.* *Torah* always and *horah* nearly always denote a message that comes from God. Even such cases as Prov. i. 8, vi. 20, xxxi. 26, are probably not exceptions. The subject of the verb is commonly the true God (e. g. Ex. iv. 12, 15, xv. 25, Mic. iv. 2, Isa. ii. 3), or some one acting as his representative (Ex. xxxv. 34, 1 Sam. xii. 23, 2 Ki. xii. 2), but it may be any god (Hab. ii. 18, 19, Isa. xxviii. 26). *d.* *Torah* was sometimes oral, but written *torah* began early (Isa. viii. 16, 20, Hos. viii. 12). It is said that Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 26) and Moses wrote *torah* (e. g. Deut. xxxi. 9, 11, 24, 26, xxviii. 58,

61). *e.* Four uses of the noun are significant. First, "a law," "laws," "the law" with an objective genitive, used of any particular message or messages given by God through a prophet (Isa. viii. 16, xxiv. 5, Ex. xviii. 16, 20, xvi. 28, Gen. xxvi. 5, Lev. vii. 37-38, xi. 46-47). Second, "a law" may be an aggregate of particular laws (Neh. ix. 14, Deut. xxxiii. 4, Ps. lxxviii. 5, Mal. ii. 6, etc.). Third, "law" is used abstractly without the article (e. g. Isa. ii. 3, Mic. iv. 2, Hab. i. 4, Job xxii. 22, Mal. ii. 7). Fourth, "the law," "the law of Yahweh," "my law," "his law," etc., the noun being used definitely by itself or with only a subjective genitive, denotes the well known aggregate of divine *torah*, and necessarily implies that there was such an aggregate (e. g. Ex. xvi. 4, xxiv. 12, Am. ii. 4, Hos. iv. 6, viii. 1, 12, Isa. i. 10, v. 24). *f.* "The law" existed in writing from very early times (Hos. viii. 12, Deut. xxxi. 9-13, Josh. xxiv. 26). It was the growing aggregate of written revelation, counted as beginning with Moses, and so sometimes called by his name (e. g. 1 Ki. ii. 3, Josh. xxiv. 26, Ezra vi. 18 cf. 1 Chron. xxiii-xxiv, Dan. vi. 5 cf. 1 Ki. viii. 44, 48, etc. and Ps. lv. 17). *g.* An aggregate does not necessarily imply a collection, but the biblical accounts speak of collected *torah* "laid up" in the sanctuary (Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-26, xvii. 18, 11, cf. 2 Chron. xvii. 9, 2 Ki. xxii. 8). Also Josh. xxiv. 26, and by fair inference "the book" in 1 Sam. x. 25, Ex. xvii. 14). *h.* Sometimes the term is applied to some section or portion of the aggregate. An instance is the Deuteronomic "book of the law" (see *g*). Another instance is "the duplicate of the law of Moses" on the altar at Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 3-8, Josh. viii. 32-34). This must have been brief. As the phrase "the book of the law" is sometimes used in a wider sense (e. g. Neh. viii. 1, 18, ix. 3, Josh. xxiv. 26), its limit is in many cases uncertain (e. g. 2 Ki. xiv. 6, xxii. 8). *i.* Possibly it sometimes denotes the writings that were attributed to Moses, as distinguished from the rest of the aggregate (Zech. vii. 12, Dan. ix. 10-13, Jer. xxvi. 4-6, 2 Ki. xvii. 13, xxi. 8, 7, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 8, 7).

57. *The priests and the law.*— Since the priests as well as

the prophets are represented as having to do with the *torah*, some scholars are accustomed to speak of a priestly *torah* and a prophetic *torah*, as if the two differed in their contents. There is no ground for this. The representation rather is that the priests and prophets had a common body of *torah*, to which they stood in differing relations.

The priests, with the elders and kings and judges, were custodians and interpreters of the law (Deut. xxxi. 9-13, xvii. 18-19, 11, 2 Chron. xvii. 9, Hag. ii. 11, 12, 13 and Lev. x. 11, Deut. xxiv. 8, 2 Ki. xvii. 27-28). No priest, as such, is represented as the agent through whom God reveals *torah*. The only way in which a priest can add to the *torah* which has been put in his charge is by giving interpretations, and making decisions in cases that arise.

58. *The prophets and the law.*—They are represented as teachers of the *torah* in the different sense that they bring from Yahweh the *torah* which the priests merely administer. See most of the instances cited under Qu. 56, e. g. 2 Sam. vii. 19, Isa. viii. 16, 20. See also Neh. ix. 26, Ezek. vii. 26, Lam. ii. 9, Jer. xxvi. 4-5, 2 Ki. xvii. 13, Dan. ix. 10, Zech. vii. 12, Isa. xxx. 9-11, with Jud. xiii. 8, 1 Sam. xii. 23. Observe also, throughout the pentateuch, the relations between Moses the prophet (Deut. xxxiv. 10, xviii. 15, 18, xxxiii. 1, Josh. xiv. 6) and Aaron the priest.

59. *The prophets and the scriptures.*—There is no dispute that the prophets, in a general sense, at least, are the writers of the Old Testament books. It follows that they wrote them in their capacity of bringers of law from Yahweh.

60. *The seat of religious authority.*—The Old Testament, the New, and tradition alike represent the word of a supernaturally endowed prophet as, next to God, the ultimate source of authority in Israel. It is on this ground that they attribute authority even to such men as Moses and David (Acts iii. 22, ii. 30, Hos. xii. 10, 13 [11, 14], Mic. vi. 4, Isa. lxiii. 11, and the whole list of passages heretofore consulted).

It seems to follow that, in special circumstances, the word

of a living prophet might supplement, or even supersede the portions of the law previously in existence.

It seems also to follow that they regard all scripture as of equal authority, the pentateuch having no higher than prophetic authority, and no scriptural book having less than prophetic authority.

Questions for Review.

1. State the subject of this course of lectures.
2. What are the sources of information, direct and indirect?
3. What is the thing here principally attempted?
4. Why is original study needed on this subject?
5. The best position to take in regard to the historicity of the Old Testament?
6. Give reasons for regarding the subject as important.
7. *a.* Give a summary of the contents of one of the works mentioned in Qu. 7. *b.* Give an estimate of its value.
8. Give the derivation and the meaning of the word "prophet."
9. *a.* Mention the four designations for a prophet, in Hebrew. *b.* Give the derivation and meaning of *nabhi*. *c.* Of *roeh*. *d.* Of *hozeh*. *e.* How is the term "man of God" used? *f.* How about other terms designating a prophet?
10. *a.* Mention the different groups of words used to denote prophetic functions. *b.* In particular, how is the niph'al of *raah* used? *c.* How about "the word of the LORD"? *d.* What is a "burden"?
11. *a.* The degrees of extent in which these terms are used? *b.* The distinction between prophets and prophetic men?
12. *a.* The periods into which the history of the prophets is divided? *b.* The reason for this division?
13. Did prophecy begin with Samuel? Give reasons for your answer.
14. Prove that the patriarchs were prophets.
15. *a.* Mention instances of prophecy in the time of Moses. *b.* How abundant were prophetic gifts at that time?
16. What information have we as to prophets in the time of the judges.
17. *a.* Distinguish the second period in prophetic history. *b.* Mention the distinguished prophets of the period. *c.* How about the numbers of the prophets? *d.* Their organizations?
18. The third period: *a.* How distinguished? *b.* Its great prophets? *c.* The numbers of the prophets? *d.* Their organization?
19. The fourth period: The same questions.
20. The fifth period: The same questions.
21. The sixth period?
22. The seventh period?
23. Tell about the closing of the succession of prophets.
24. *a.* How about the pictures of the prophets that many have in mind? *b.* Account for these.
25. *a.* The alleged proof that the prophets wore a distinctive costume? *b.* The truth in the case?

26. *a.* Proofs of frenzied utterance? *b.* Is the proof sufficient?
27. How about the longevity of the prophets?
28. How about the significance of this absence of outward insignia?
29. Mention the two forms of prophetic organizations.
30. Give an account of the "companies" of prophets.
31. Give an account of the "sons of the prophets."
32. Who were the secondary prophets?
33. The meaning of the term "the prophetic order"?
34. In what sense were the prophets a succession?
35. How were the prophets related to the priesthood?
36. How to the so-called schools of the prophets?
37. Was the prophet ordained?
38. How did a man become a prophet?
39. What was the prophet's position in the community?
40. The source of prophetic inspiration?
41. *a.* The usual statement as to modes of revelation? *b.* The preferable statement?
42. Prove that the prophets had revelations by dreams.
43. *a.* What is here meant by picture-visions? *b.* Denoted by what Hebrew words? *c.* Give instances.
44. *a.* Define theophany. *b.* The technical Hebrew verb for it. *c.* Give instances. *d.* How does theophany differ from picture vision? *e.* Its rank among forms of revelation?
45. *a.* How about possible modes of revelation in addition to those already mentioned? *b.* The use of the words of the stem *kazah*?
46. What are types?
47. *a.* Have any of the prophecies a double sense? *b.* Mention and explain some instances of apparent double sense.
48. Mention several forms of the doctrine of manifold fulfillment.
49. *a.* Etymologically, what is a prophet? *b.* According to Deut. xviii, how does he differ from a priest? *c.* How from a practicer of magic arts?
50. Prophecy and prediction, how related?
51. *a.* Give some facts in regard to the prophets as the public men of their times. *b.* As reformers. *c.* As evangelists. *d.* As literary men. *e.* In their relations to the two kingdoms. *f.* Herein are the Hebrew prophets alone?
52. *a.* Their supernatural functions? *b.* In these are they peculiar?
53. *a.* What is the great prophetic function? *b.* Its two chief branches?
54. The two uses of the term "law" in the New Testament?
55. In the literature nearest the New Testament times?
56. The uses of the term in the Old Testament: *a.* Its derivation? *b.* What kind of teaching does it denote? *c.* Whence comes *torah*? *d.* When did written *torah* begin? *e.* The four uses of the noun? *f.* Describe "the law." *g.* Tell of the laying up of *torah* in the sanctuary. *h.* Mention certain restricted uses of the term. *i.* Does the Old Testament call the pentateuch "the law?" Prove your answer.
57. What had the priests to do with the law?
58. What had the prophets to do with the law?
59. In what capacity did the prophets write the scriptures?
60. What was the seat of religious authority in Israel?

[The text in this block is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be the main body of a scientific paper, possibly containing an abstract or the beginning of an introduction. The words are too light to transcribe accurately, but the structure suggests a formal academic document.]

MESSIANIC PROPHECY.

Auburn Seminary Elective, First Term 1900--01.

LECTURE XII.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHINGS.

61. *Definition.*—Differentiate the terms “messianic prediction,” “messianic prophecy,” “messianic doctrine taught by the prophets.”

62. *Not scattered predictions merely.*—The New Testament men hold that the doctrine of the messiah is taught in all the Old Testament scriptures (e. g. Luke xxiv. 27, 44).

63. *One promise.*—They regard the messianic teaching of the Old Testament as mainly the unfolding of one promise, and only one (Acts xxvi. 6-7, and the passages cited in the following numbers).

64. *The one promise identified.*—They identify it as the one made to Abraham and Israel (Heb. vi. 13-15, 17, xi. 9, 39-40, Rom. iv. 13-14, 16-17a, 20, and many of the passages here after given).

65. *The promises.*—The one promise spreads itself out into many specifications. So they speak of it in the plural, with reference to its various aspects and unfoldings (Heb. vi. 12, vii. 6, xi. 17, 13, viii. 6, Rom. ix. 4, xv. 8).

66. *Their treatment of this subject.*—They trace the unfolding of the promise throughout the Old Testament history, identify it with the promise made, later, to David, and regard it as having been continually fulfilled, but likewise as always moving on to larger fulfillment (Acts vii. 2, 17-18, xiii. 22-23, Luke i. 69-70, 72-73, and all the passages that speak of the Christ as the son of David).

67. *Christ the great fulfillment.*—They claim that Jesus Christ is the culminating fulfillment of the ancient promise,

so that, in preaching him, they were preaching the promise (Acts xiii. 23, 32-33, Gal. iii. 22, Acts ii. 38-39, iii. 25-26).

68. *The promise and the gospel.*—*a.* They constantly connect the promise with the doctrine of redemption from sin and its consequences. *b.* And with the doctrine of the kingdom of God, on earth and in heaven, and so with the universal and eternal reign of Christ, as prince of peace (concordance).

69. *The promise and the gentiles.*—They make it emphatic that God's promise to Abraham was for the nations, and therefore conveys title to the gentiles, under which they may receive the gospel (Gal. iii. 8, 29, 14, Eph. i. 13, ii. 12, iii. 6-7, Gal. iv. 23, 28, and the passages last cited).

70. *Special terms.*—In teaching these things they employ peculiar terms brought over from the Old Testament, and in some cases modified in use: messiah, servant, son, mine elect, holy one, etc. (Lect. XIX, and concordance). We now note only the general fact that such phrases exist.

71. *Special lines of representation.*—These also are brought forward from the Old Testament: the last days; the day of the Lord; the kingdom; my messenger; the Spirit, and the prophet as a type; the ceremonial types; biographical types, etc. (Lect. XX and concordance).

72. *The promise and the doctrine of resurrection.*—In many passages, both those which mention the coming of the Lord and others, the promise is closely connected with the doctrine of the resurrection (e. g. Acts xxvi. 6-8, 2 Tim. i. 1, 2 Pet. iii. 4, 9, 1 John ii. 24-25, Heb. ix. 15, x. 36).

LECTURE XIII.

INTERPRETING THE OLD TESTAMENT MESSIANIC TEACHINGS.

73. *Eisegesis.*—We should avoid alike the carrying back of Christian ideas into the Old Testament and the neglecting of those ideas that belong to the Old Testament in common with Christianity. Take the Old Testament passage as it stands, and

ask : what did this mean to an intelligent, devout, uninspired Israelite of the time to which it belongs ?

74. *Inferences from other religions.*—The indirect analogical evidence drawn from the history of other religions is here to be allowed just its proper value, and no more.

75. *Certain misconceptions to be guarded against.*—Most of us have in mind pretty distinct ideas of the nature of messianic prediction, and, in particular, of the meaning and use of the term “messiah.” It is supposable that our preconceived ideas may be crude and misleading. We can decide this only by holding them in suspense till we can test them by the facts we find in the Old Testament. We need to guard most jealously against the process of merely putting our ideas into the passages we study, and then dipping them out again.

76. *Division of the subject.*—First, the main line of the Old Testament evidence as to the giving and unfolding of the promise (Lects XIV–XVIII); second, the branching out of the messianic doctrine, in the psalms and the other prophetic writings, into forms marked by technical terms (Lect XIX); third, certain collateral lines of Old Testament evidence (Lect. XX); fourth, the consideration of particular selected prophecies (Lects. XXI–XXII); fifth, the messianic doctrine in the times after the Old Testament (Lects. XXIII–XXIV).

LECTURE XIV.

THE MAIN LINE OF THE PROMISE. TIME OF THE PATRIARCHS.

77. *Definition.*—The main line of Old Testament statement, for any purpose, is that which records the history of Israel, beginning with the call to Abraham. We shall find that messianic doctrine is the principal thing in this history.

78. *Sin and redemption.*—The thought of these underlies the messianic doctrine of the Old Testament at every point ; though we cannot delay at every step to note its presence.

79. *The original promise to Abraham.*—Study it carefully

(Gen. xii. 1-3 and parallel passages). It consists, first, of certain subordinate items, and, second, of a culminating, that is, a principal item.

80. *Some of the subordinate items.*—*a.* A “seed,” that is, a posterity, promised to Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob (xiii. 14sq., xv, xvii. 6, 15-16, etc., xxvi. 3, 4, xxviii. 3, 4, xxxv. 11, 12, xlviii. 3, 4). *b.* This seed to include countless persons (ibid.). *c.* The seed to be or include a great nation (xviii. 18, xxxv. 11, xlvi. 3). *d.* The seed to be or include what is called “an assembly of nations,” “an assembly of peoples” (xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 4, xvii. 6, 16). The nation intended is Israel, and the federated parts of Israel are the assembly of nations or of peoples, though confused translation has sometimes led to other conclusions. *e.* Kings shall spring from Abraham, from Sarah, from Jacob (xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11); Israelitish kings, necessarily, not Ishmaelite, Edomite, etc. *f.* The seed to inherit the land of Caanan. *g.* Various other items: great name; friends to be blessed, etc.; seed to take possession of the gate of its enemies (xii. 2-3, etc., xxii. 17).

81. *The principal item in the promise.*—That all mankind shall be blessed in Abraham and his seed.

82. *The emphasis laid upon this.*—*a.* Repeated in this form five times in Genesis (xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14). *b.* In each of these places, it is the culminating item in a series. *c.* Given in different form when the name was changed from Abram to Abraham (xvii. 4-5). This passage is different from xlviii. 19 and from those cited in Qu. 80d. Paul interprets it correctly (Rom. iv. 16-18, 11-12). *d.* Among the subordinate items, those touching the seed are especially connected with the principal item, and are especially emphasized. *e.* Here is the centre of the covenant (Qu. 84). *f.* The New Testament men cite this promise more than anything else (Lect. XII).

LECTURE XV.

THE PROMISE. TIME OF THE PATRIARCHS — CONTINUED.

83. "*Seed,*" as used in the promise.—*a.* Sometimes a part of the benefit promised, and sometimes associated with the patriarch as the recipient of the promise (Qu. 80, 82, etc.). *b.* A collective noun, not a plural; a unit from Abraham to the culmination (Gal. iii. 16, 19); the targums pluralize the Aramaic word, though not in this promise.

84. *The promise and the covenant.*—God's covenant with Abraham was based on the promise, with special reference to the "seed." *a.* The covenant of the pieces (xv). *b.* That of circumcision (xvii).

85. *The peculiar people.*—This phrase means God's own people; not, a people different from others. The most important biblical formula is, in substance: I will be to them for a God, and they shall be to me for a people. The first half of this appears in patriarchal history (xvii. 7, 8, xxviii. 21b).

86. *The promise eternally operative.*—Especial stress is laid upon this (xiii. 15, xvii. 7, 8, 13, 19, xlviii. 4, cf. xxi. 33).

87. *The contemporary understanding of the promise.*—*a.* We have no information as to how far such men as Abraham may, by miraculous inspiration, have foreseen the future. *b.* In this promise that Abraham and his seed shall be eternally Yahweh's own people, for the benefit of the nations, an intelligent, devout, uninspired man of the patriarchal times would not see a prediction of a person like Jesus, living and dying in Palestine, many hundred years in the future. *c.* As the covenant was eternal, however, he would expect that the events included under it would still be in progress, whatever their nature, hundreds of years in the future; and they would not exclude such facts as those concerning Jesus. *d.* But especially he would find in it a religious doctrine, holding the same place in his theology that the doctrine of Christ holds in ours, to be believed and taught and practiced, for purposes of current living.

88. *The promise a prediction.*—As thus explained, it is something immeasurably more than a mere prediction, but its predictive value is not diminished.

89. *Relatively independent of critical theories.*—*a.* We should not undervalue the importance of the question whether these accounts were written in the time of Moses, or centuries later; and especially that of the question whether they are strictly historical. *b.* But the view we have taken of the promise depends not at all on the question of authorship, provided the recorded facts are correct. *c.* Even those who question the historicity of the records do not question the fact that this teaching concerning the promise is one of the ancient doctrines of the religion of Yahweh, dating as far back as that religion can be traced.

LECTURE XVI.

THE PROMISE. TIME OF THE EXODUS.

90. *Limits of treatment.*—In following out the main line of the promise, we must confine ourselves to a few instances, belonging to the great representative periods.

91. *A continuous covenant.*—In the history of the time of the exodus, stress is laid on the statement that the covenant made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is yet in existence. The fresh covenant publicly entered into, and that more than once, at the bringing of Israel out of Egypt, is thought of as the perpetuation of the covenant with Abraham (Ex. ii. 24, iii. 13, 15, 16, etc., vi. 3-5, Deut. iv. 31, with the passages hereafter cited, and others).

92. *The peculiar people.*—*a.* The form “to me for a people, and . . . to you for a God” is much used in the history of the time of the exodus (Ex. vi. 7, xxix. 45, Lev. xi. 45, xxii. 33, xxv. 38, xxvi. 12, 45, etc., Nu. xv. 41, Deut. xxix. 12-13, xxvi. 17-19, iv. 20, etc.). *b.* My own, . . . a kingdom of priests and an holy nation” (Ex. xix. 5, 6). *c.* All the institutions for keeping Israel separate.

93. *In the interest of mankind.*—*a.* This is not so much emphasized as in Genesis, but yet is made very distinct. *b.* Other peoples are to recognize the name of Yahweh in Israel (Deut. xxviii. 9–11, vii. 6, xiv. 2). *c.* Israel a priestly nation, mediating between Yahweh and all other nations (Ex. xix. 5–6). *d.* This priestly character recognized in the New Testament (e. g. Rev. i. 6, v. 10, 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9, all in rev. ver.).

94. *The son of Yahweh.*—A peculiar relation of sonship to Yahweh is recognized as attending Israel, though this is not often mentioned (Ex. iv. 22, 23, Deut. i. 31, xxxii. 6).

95. *Eternal and irrevocable.*—*a.* As in the time of the patriarchs, so here. Much emphasis is placed on the eternal character of the covenant and promise (Deut. iv. 40, xii. 28, Ex. iii. 15, and many statements concerning institutions, e. g. Ex. xxxi. 16, 17, Lev. xvi. 29, 31, 34, vi. 18, vii. 34, 36, xvii. 7, xxiii. 14, 21, etc.). *b.* The promise, though sometimes spoken of as conditioned on obedience (e. g. Deut. iv. 40, xii. 28), is also spoken of as irrevocable, even for sin (Lev. xxvi. 44–45, Deut. iv. 30–31, rev. ver., and perhaps other passages). This is a fresh way of affirming that it will be forever operative.

96. *Contemporary interpretation.*—*a.* Apply, with the requisite changes of terms, the statements in Qus. 88 and 87. *b.* Further, the intelligent, devout, uninspired Israelite of the time of the exodus looked back upon some centuries during which the promise had been in process of fulfillment, recognized that process as moving forward in his own time, and looked for yet larger fulfillment in the future.

97. *Critical theories.*—With changes of details, the statements of Qu. 89 apply here.

98. *The rest-promise.*—Incidentally, God's promise to give Israel rest from all his enemies, and choose a place for his name to dwell in (given Deut. xii. 10, 9, 14, 21, xxv. 19, etc., cf. Ex. xxxiii. 14; partially fulfilled Deut. iii. 20, Josh. i. 13, 15, xxi. 44 [42], xxii. 4, xxiii. 1, cf. Ps. xcvi. 11, Heb. iii–iv) is connected with the great promise: first, as an important matter of detail included in it; second, as a link of connection between the time of the exodus and that of David.

LECTURE XVII.

THE PROMISE. TIME OF DAVID.

99. *The classical passage.*—This is the account of David's proposing to build a temple to Yahweh, and the message he received in regard to it through Nathan (2 Sam. vii, duplicated, with changes, 1 Chron. xvii).

100. *The promise as a whole.*—That as David had proposed to build Yahweh a house, so Yahweh would make David a house (2 Sam. vii. 5b, 11b, 27, 16, 19, 25, 26, 29, 29). Note how the repetition emphasizes the promise in this particular form.

101. *Connection with the times of the exodus and of Abraham.*—*a.* With the rest-promise. Compare the passages (Qu. 98) with statements in 2 Sam. vii and other passages based upon it (vii. 1, 9–11 [verbs in progressive present], 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 18, xxiii. 25, xxviii. 2, 1 Ki. v. 4 [18], 2 Chron. vi. 41, Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14, etc.). *b.* Enemies cut off (vii. 9 cf. Deut. xii. 29, etc.). *c.* Evidently David held that Yahweh had now at length chosen the place for his name to dwell (Deut. xii. 11, etc. cf. 2 Sam. vii. 13, 1 Ki. viii. 16, 2 Chron. vi. 4–7, etc.). *d.* Yahweh the God of Israel, etc. (vii. 26–27). *e.* “And who are like thy people,” etc. (vii. 23 cf. Deut. iv. 7–8)? *f.* “To thee for a people” (vii. 24, 23, 10, Gen. xvii. 7–8, Deut. xxvi. 17–18, Qu. 92). *g.* Additional specifications in the promise itself (Qu. 102).

102. *Details in the promise to David.*—*a.* David's “house” is to consist in a line of descendants (12, 16, 19, 25, 26, 29). “Seed after thee” (12 cf. Gen. xvii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 19). “Come forth from thy bowels” (12 cf. Gen. xv. 4, 2 Sam. xvi. 11, 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, which are all the places where the phrase occurs). *b.* Incidentally, some member of this house shall build the temple (13, and only there in this chapter). *c.* The “seed” is to reign (12, 13, 16, 16 cf. Qu. 80e); in God's kingdom (1 Chron. xvii. 14, Qu. 137e); a succession, and not one king only. *d.* Is to be in a peculiar sense the son of Yahweh

(14, Qu. 94). *e.* To reign eternally (13, 16, 16, 25, 26, 29, 29, cf. 24 and Qus. 86, 95a). *f.* The promise to David irrevocable, even for sin (14b-15, Qu. 95b), though in a different sense spoken of as conditioned on obedience (e. g. 1 Chron. xxviii. 7, Ps. cxxxii. 12). *g.* "This being the *torah* of mankind, O Lord Yahweh" (19). "And thou art looking upon me according to the upbringing *torah* of mankind, O Yahweh God" (1 Chron. xvii. 17). David had in mind the thought of God's one great revelation for mankind; and that can be no other than the promise that all nations shall be blessed in Abraham.

103. *Contemporary interpretation.*—*a.* An uninspired but intelligent Israelite of the time of David, one who believed that Yahweh makes promises and afterward fulfills them, would understand this to mean that David should have as his posterity an unending succession of kings, one of whom should build the temple, while through the whole succession of them should be fulfilled the promise made of old to Abraham and Israel. *b.* Apply here the statements made in Qus. 88, 87, 96.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE PROMISE. POSTDAVIDIC TIMES.

104. *The Literature.*—The messianic material found in the psalms, the histories and the other prophetic books, from the time of David on, is so abundant that it could be exhausted only by the study of these writings entire. We can examine but a few specimens.

105. *General statement.*—*a.* If the view taken in these lectures is correct, the prophets of David's time and later had, as the central doctrine of their religion, this: that Yahweh had made Israel to be peculiarly his people; had vested this relation centrally in the royal line of David; had done this for purposes of blessing to mankind; purposes that had already been unfolding for centuries, and were on the way to an ever larger unfolding. *b.* The messianic passages in the writ-

ings of the prophets are mostly the repetition, the unfolding, the supplementing or the homiletic use of the promise, as given either to Abraham, to Israel, or to David. They preached this one promise, as we preach it in the twentieth century, as having been fulfilled before their times, as then fulfilling, and as to be yet more largely fulfilled, eternally, in the future.

106. *Certain modes of presenting the doctrine.*—*a.* Possibly, though not necessarily, in disconnected predictions of a coming person, in a few passages only (e. g. Pss. ii, xxii, cx). *b.* Formal amplifications (1 Chron. xxii. 6–11, 1 Ki. viii. 15–21, 24–26, 2 Chron. vi. 4–11, 15–17, Ps. lxxxix.). *c.* Use of messianic utterances as texts or proof texts (e. g. Isa. ii. 2–4). *d.* Most frequently, taking the promise for granted, as something well known, on which to build their argument. *e.* In the use of special terms (Lect. XIX). *f.* And of the collateral lines of presentation (Lect. XX).

In the remaining questions in this lecture, we shall have to take for granted some things that come under these last two specifications.

107. *The conception of Israel as the people of the promise.*—The prophets certainly had this conception, and it is important to the understanding of their utterances. Distinguish it from the conception of Israel as merely a race of men, or a nation; and, on the other hand, from that of the true Israel within Israel, etc.

108. *All nations have an interest in the promise.*—*a.* Recognized in the dedication services of the temple (1 Ki. viii. 41–43, 2 Chron. vi. 32–33, cf. the following verses). *b.* In formal repetitions (Ps. lxxii. 17, Jer. iv. 1–2, Ps. xxi. 6a [5a], Isa. lxxv. 16, xlix. 6, 7, lv–lvi, especially lvi. 3–8, Zech. xiv. 16 sq., and many other passages).

109. *The promise eternal and irrevocable.*—See Qus. 102ef, 86, 95. This characteristic runs through to the close of the Old Testament. In proof note most of the passages that have been cited in this lecture, and very many others (e. g. Ps. lxxxix. 19–37, verse by verse, especially 26–37, 1 Ki. xi. 36, 2 Chron. xxi. 7, 2 Ki. xiii. 23, Isa. lix. 20–21).

110. *Mediatorial suffering*.—In some parts of the prophetic writings, this idea becomes very prominent in connection with God's purpose for the nations through Israel (e. g. Pss. xxii, xl, Isa. liii, Qu. 134).

111. *A glimpse at the later fulfillments*.—It will help to give us a steady grasp of the bearing of the facts we are studying if we now take a glance forward. *a.* The conception of an eternally operative promise, such as we find that the prophets had, necessarily involves that of cumulative fulfillment, and of certain culminating periods of fulfillment. *b.* The fulfillment in our own times consists in three things: first, in what Israel as a race has accomplished and is accomplishing in human history; second, in what the religion of Israel and its daughter religions, Christianity and Mohammedanism, accomplish in history and civilization; third, in the person and work of Jesus Christ, the culmination of that which God has done through Israel for mankind. It is a mistake to neglect the consideration of any one of these three things.

112. *Critical questions*.—In this very brief sketch of the view held by the postdavidic prophets, we are compelled to neglect the vast number of questions that have arisen in regard to the dates and the authorship of these writings. Differences on these questions would modify many of the details included in our proposition, but would not greatly affect the whole proposition.

LECTURE XIX.

SPECIAL MESSIANIC TERMS.

113. *The rise of these terms*.—In the course of time, certain words came to have a partly technical use in the teaching of the promise doctrine. As a rule, the roots of this use are pre-davidic; there is a strong development of it in the psalms that are assigned to the times of David; and the use remains to the close of the Old Testament.

114. *The Messiah*.—*a*. The Old Testament uses this term less than many think, to denote a coming person. *b*. Four times, all in Leviticus, the anointed one is the Levitical priest; twenty-three times (e. g. 1 Sam. xxvi. 9, 11, 16, xvi. 6, 2 Sam. xix. 21 [22], Lam. iv. 20), he is either Saul or a Davidic king of Israel; once he is Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1); twice the patriarchs are the anointed ones (Ps. cv. 15, 1 Chron. xvi. 22, “prophets” in the parallel line, cf. Gen. xx. 7). *c*. Nine instances are disputed (1 Sam. ii. 10, 35, Pss. ii. 2, xx. 6, xxviii. 8, lxxxiv. 9, Hab. iii. 13, Dan. ix. 25, 26). *d*. The Old Testament use which is perpetuated in the New Testament is mainly that in which the word denotes David, or the reigning king of his line, thought of as especially the depositary of the great promise. *e*. The verb of this stem is used in connection with the promise quite as prominently as the noun; used like the noun, but with more emphasis on prophetic gifts (e. g. Pss. xlv. 7 [8], lxxxix. 20 [21], Isa. lxi. 1).

115. *The Servant*.—*a*. The most prominent special messianic term in the Old Testament. *b*. Used untechnically of the patriarchs and of Moses, Caleb, Samson, David and others (concordance). *c*. Sometimes used technically of David and the patriarchs (Acts iii. 26, rev. ver., Gen. xxvi. 24, and conc. of both Testaments). *d*. Used of Israel (Isa. xli. 8, 9, xlv. 1, 2, 21, xlv. 4, xlviii. 20, xlix. 3, and by inference xlii. 1, 19, xliii. 10, xlv. 26, xlix. 5, 6, 7, l. 10, lii. 13, liii. 11), this group of passages being much quoted in the New Testament. *e*. In other prophets, used of Israel and of the house of David (Jer. ii. 14, xxx. 10, xxxiii. 21, 22, 26, xlvi. 27, 28, Ezek. xxviii. 25, xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 24, 25, 25, Hag. ii. 23, Zech. iii. 8, Mal. i. 6). In these prophets, the word servant is also used in the singular of Nebuchadnezzar, Moses, Daniel; and, in the plural, of the prophets; but these facts do not disturb the fact of the technical use.

116. *The Servant objectified*.—*a*. When the term servant is applied technically to Israel, or to the line of David, they are thought of, not merely in themselves, but as the promise people, and the promise dynasty (Qu. 107). *b*. Occasionally,

this conception of Israel as the promise people becomes distinct from the ordinary conception of Israel itself (Isa. xlix. 5-7 cf Rom. ix. 6-8), so that Israel the servant is thought of as having a mission to Israel the people.

117. *The Servant and the Christian Messiah.*—The best Jewish interpretation affirms that the Servant is Israel, and therefore not Jesus; much Christian interpretation says that the Servant is Jesus, and therefore not Israel; the true interpretation is that the Servant is Israel, and is therefore Jesus Christ, the highest manifestation of Yahweh in and through Israel (Qu. 111).

118. *The Son.*—*a.* In or before the great Davidic promise (Qns. 94, 102d). *b.* After this promise (1 Chron. xxii. 10, Pss. lxxxix. 26, ii. 7, 12, Isa. ix. 6, Hos. xi. 1, xiii. 13, Jer. iii. 19, xxxi. 9, 20, Ezek. xxi. 10 [15], perhaps Dan. iii. 25, vii. 13). *c.* The Son is either Israel, or the existing representative of the house of David, thought of as son to Yahweh. *d.* Compare "son of David", "son of man", "son of God", in the New Testament.

119. *Sons of promise.*—The "seed" was to be perpetuated by fresh births in each generation. Perpetual parentage, therefore, is included in the promise. Critical points in its history are marked by the gift of promised sons, as Isaac, Ishmael, Samson, Samuel, Solomon. In these instances, the mothers are made prominent: witness Hagar, Sarah, Manoh's wife, Hannah, Bathsheba. There is a sonship of human motherhood, distinct from the sonship of divine fatherhood.

120. *The Chosen one, or Elect one.*—*a.* Noun plural (Ps. cv. 6, 43, Isa. lxxv. 9, 15, 22, etc.). *b.* Noun singular (Ps. lxxxix. 3, Isa. xlii. 1, xliii. 20, xlv. 4). *c.* Passive participle (Ps. lxxxix. 19, Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44). *d.* Analagous use of verb (Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, 1 Ki. xi. 13, 32, 34, Isa. xli. 8, 9, and many other places).

121. *The Hasidh.*—*a.* Our versions variously render this word "holy one," "saint," "merciful one," "godly one," It is from the same stem with *hesedh*, often rendered mercy, but properly loving kindness. Oftener than in all other uses

combined, *hesedh* denotes Yahweh's loving kindness, under the promise, to Israel and the line of David. A *hasidh* is characteristically a permanent depository of this loving kindness of Yahweh. *b.* Three times the *hasidh* is Yahweh himself (Jer. iii. 12, Ps. cxlv. 17, Deut. xxxiii. 8, cf. Ps. xviii. 25 [26], 2 Sam. xxii. 26). *c.* Seventeen times the word is plural, translated saints in our versions (concordance), denoting Israelites in the character of the promise people. *d.* Once the word is used in the singular with an indirect reference to the nation Israel (Ps. xliii. 1). *e.* Used in the singular to denote a person, *hasidh* is without the article, but is generally to be identified with the speaker, and the speaker with the house of David (Mic. vii. 2, Pss. xii. 1 [2], xxxii. 6, xviii. 25 [26], iv. 3 [4], lxxxvi. 2). *f.* In four instances there are variant readings (Ps. xvi. 10, 1 Sam. ii. 9, Ps. lxxxix. 19 [20], Prov. ii. 8). In the first three of these the noun is probably singular, and in each is an instance of a pre-eminent *hasidh*, like some of the instances in *e.*

122. *The Branch—Tsemăh*—A mode of speech starting in David's time, but mainly elaborated by Jeremiah (2 Sam. xxiii. 4-5, Isa. iv. 2-6, Jer. xxiii. 5-8, xxxiii. 14-18 cf. 19-26, Zech. iii. 8 and context, vi. 12 and context).

123. *The Branch—Netser*.—Perhaps the translation should be "flower" (Isa. xi. 1-10, lx. 21, and indirectly xiv. 19, Dan. xi. 7).

124. *The use of these terms*.—They differ in actual use, but they are mostly capable of being thought of alike: *a.* Each may denote any person, regarded as in close relations with Yahweh. *b.* Each prevailingly denotes either the Israelitish race or the line of David or both, but always with especial reference to their close relations with Yahweh. *c.* In the use of each, stress is laid on God's purpose for mankind, on this as eternal, and to have its most glorious manifestation in the future. *d.* In the use of each, the prophet ordinarily speaks subjectively, as a man of Israelitish race speaking of things that are Israelitish; but each is capable of being used objectively, so that the promise nation or the promise king, for example,

will be thought of as differing from the nation or king actually existing, and as having a mission to these (Qu. 116. for example).

LECTURE XX.

COLLATERAL LINES OF MESSIANIC TEACHING.

125. *Pre-Abrahamic.*—*a.* Yahweh's relations with Adam, including the protevangelium (Gen. iii. 15). *b.* Abel's sacrifice (Gen. iv, Mat. xxiii. 35, Luke xi. 51, Heb. xi. 4, xii. 24, 1 Jo. iii. 12, Jude 11). *c.* Noah, especially the covenant (Gen. vi. 18, ix. 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17). *d.* The record of these supplemented in Israel the central line of messianic teaching, especially touching sin and redemption, and God's purpose for mankind.

126. *The kingdom and universal peace.*—*a.* Many of the passages are familiar (e. g. Isa. ii. 2-4, Mic. iv. 1-5, Isa. iv. 2-6, xi. 1-10, lxxv. 25, Ezek xxxiv. 24-31, Pss. ii. 8, lxxii. 8, Dan. ii. 44-45, vii. 27, etc.). *b.* Amplifications of the promise of royalty to the seed of Abraham (e. g. Gen. xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11), to Israel (Ex. xix. 6, etc.), and especially to the seed of David (Qu. 102ce, and references there made). *c.* Emphasizing God's purpose through Israel for the nations, in the messianic promise. *d.* Appearing in the New Testament doctrine of the kingdom of God.

127. *The last days.*—*a.* A doctrine concerning certain future times that shall be times of retribution to Israel for his lack of fidelity to the promise covenant, but also of the fulfillment of the promise, and of overthrow to his enemies; beginning early, and extending through the Old Testament (e. g. Gen. xlix. 1, Num. xxiv. 14, Deut. iv. 30, xxxi. 29, Isa. ii. 2, Hos. iii. 5, Jer. xxiii. 20, Dan. x. 14). *b.* Closely connected with the passages concerning the kingdom. *c.* In the New Testament, used of the time then current and coming (e. g. Acts ii 17, Heb. i. 2, 1 Pet. i. 20, 2 Pet. iii. 3); and, in the singular, at least, of the end of the world (John vi. 39, 40, etc.).

128. *The day of Yahweh.*—*a.* A specification under “the last days.” Appearing, perhaps, at the exodus, but exceedingly prominent from Joel on (e. g. Ex. xxxii. 34, Joel i. 15, ii. 1, 11, and concordance), Joel, Obadiah, Zephaniah, and other prophetic books or discourses, of different dates, being monographs on the Day of Yahweh, and the day being frequently mentioned in the other prophecies. Often spoken of as “that day,” and as a day when Yahweh “cometh.” *b.* It is a day of signal punishment to Israel, and yet of signal fulfillment of the promise. *c.* It is, at every date, impending. *d.* Its phraseology passes over into that of “the day of the Lord” of the New Testament.

129. *The angel, and the theophanies.*—*a.* See Qu. 44, and make a bible reading in the Old Testament on the word Angel. *b.* The theophanic Angel appears at all stages of the history, from Abraham to Malachi, and is especially prominent in giving Israel possession of the promise (e. g. Ex. iii 2, xiv. 19, xxiii. 20, 23, xxxii. 34 and contexts, Mal. iii 1, 1, etc., Mat. xi. 10, Mc. i. 2, Lc. vii. 27, rightly understood). *c.* He is represented as in relations with the coming of Yahweh, the day of Yahweh, the last days, the kingdom. *d.* Often he appears in human form; and he is affirmed to be Yahweh himself. *e.* In the doctrine of the Angel we have some of the elements of the New Testament doctrine of the Incarnation.

130. *The succession of prophets as a type.*—*a.* From Moses on, they claim this character (Deut. xviii, Acts iii. 21, 24, 22–23). *b.* As the word “messiah” (Qu. 114d) seems to indicate a culmination of the promise in a personal king, so here we are led to expect a culmination in a personal prophet. *c.* The prophet is especially the organ of God’s Spirit, and this characterizes the antitype as well as the type.

131. *Ceremonial types.*—*a.* Every part of the national worship, the temple, the sacrifices, the priesthood, etc., had a typical value, teaching the great truths involved in the messianic promise, that is, the truths of sin and redemption, of the separateness of Israel, of God’s eternal purpose for the nations through Israel; and so pointing forward to the coming stages

of the fulfillment. *b.* Especially emphasized in the epistle to the Hebrews. and in the New Testament doctrine of vicarious sacrifice.

132. *Other types.*—The ark, Noah, Melchizedek, Joseph, Jonah, etc. The statements commonly made need sifting.

133. *Disconnected predictions.*—If we recognize such passages as that concerning Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10), or the utterances of Balaam (Num. xxiii–xxiv), as disconnected messianic predictions, they are to be classed here.

134. *Mediatorial suffering.*—See Qu. 110. This idea, as connected with Israel's mission for the nations, is much insisted on in the use of the special terms, and in the collateral lines; and passes over into the New Testament doctrine.

LECTURE XXI.

SPECIMEN PROPHECIES.

135. *The second psalm.*—*a.* Attributed to David by the men of the New Testament. *b.* Four triplets of verses. *c.* The subject is a certain transaction: the exaltation of a person who is described as Yahweh's king, his anointed, his son (6, 2, 7, perhaps 12). *d.* Each triplet describes the attitude of a certain party toward the transaction: opposing powers (1–3); Yahweh (4–6); the person exalted (7–9); human leaders in general, as advised by the singer (10–12). *e.* Presumably the original reference is to a political situation in David's time. *f.* Verses 1–3 cited as applying to the crucifixion (Acts iv. 25–27). *g.* Ver. 7 cited in proof of the exaltation of Jesus Christ (Acts xiii. 33, Heb. i. 5, v. 5). *h.* The remaining verses cited in several less conspicuous allusions.

136. *The seventy-second psalm.*—*a.* Not cited in the New Testament, but generally regarded as messianic and missionary. *b.* Solomon is mentioned in the title, but apparently as subject rather than author. *c.* The verbs are prevailingly either in the descriptive present, or the voluntative; the current trans-

lations in the future are misleading. The psalm is mainly a description of the glories of Solomon's reign. *d.* Translate 9a: "Before him deserts bow." *e.* In the rhythmical structure, the second line of each couplet requires something to be supplied from the first line. *f.* Hence 17cd should be translated:

"And may all nations bless themselves in him,
Call him happy."

g. The real subject of the psalm is not Solomon in himself considered, but Solomon regarded as the representative of the eternal seed of David and of the promise to Abraham (17), and the psalm is therefore rightly counted messianic.

137. *The forty-fifth psalm.*—*a.* The title and contents indicate that this is a song sung at a royal marriage. *b.* It begins with a prelude, and closes with a doxology (1, 17). *c.* The singer addresses a king (2-7); a second king and his empress (8-9); the bride (10-12); a third king, speaking to him of the bride, who is "within" (13-16). *d.* Presumably these parties are Jehoshaphat, Ahab and Jezebel, Athaliah, Jehoram of Judah (concordance), but that does not affect the messianic bearing of the psalm. *e.* The line "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever" (6) is an apostrophe, addressed to deity. The statement in prose would be "thy throne, O king, is God's throne, and is forever and ever"—not God's throne in heaven, but God's Davidic throne on earth (1 Chron. xvii. 14, xxix. 23, 2 Chron. ix. 8, xiii. 8). *f.* This first king, therefore, is thought of not merely in himself, but as the representative, for the time, of David's eternal seed. *g.* This changes the current interpretation of Heb. i. 8-9, but does not change its logical value for proving the immeasurable superiority of the Son to the angels.

LECTURE XXII.

SPECIMEN PROPHECIES — CONTINUED.

138. *Isaiah ix.* 2-7.—*a.* Isa. vii-xii a continuous discourse, probably of the later years of Ahaz, made up in part by re-

capitulating earlier discourses (vii. 1-9, 10-25, viii. 1-4, 5-8, 11-16, ix. 8-x. 4, xii. *b.* ix. 2-7 is a part of the prophet's comment on these cited discourses, but is in itself a highly wrought piece of poetical composition. *c.* Its direct purpose is to encourage Judah, in terrible suffering from Assyrian invaders. *d.* It does this by insisting upon the promise given to the nation and to David, emphasizing especially the terms "son" and "kingdom" (Qus. 118, 94, 102d, 126). *e.* It counts the promise to be forever, and exalts the "son," even to the extent of giving him divine names). *f.* Note Luke i. 14-15.

139. *Isaiah xi.* 1-10.—Another part of the same discourse, using the promise, in other aspects, for the same purpose.

140. *Isaiah vii.* 10-25.—*a.* Part of the same discourse, being one of the earlier prophecies cited in it. *b.* The words addressed in the second person feminine to the virgin mother (14) are those of the angel to Hagar (Gen. xvi. 11), paralleled in the promises concerning Isaac and Samson (Gen. xvii. 19, Jud. xiii. 5, 7). *c.* As the promise to David is used as the basis of the other two passages, so, in this earlier transaction, the sign given to Ahaz consists in the repetition of that promise. Probably the hearers understood the prophet to refer to an ideal mother of the "seed" of David (Qu. 119).

141. *Isaiah lvi.* 13-*lvii.* 12.—This fits the history of Israel among the nations; and it fits the atoning work of Jesus Christ. One of these need not exclude the other.

LECTURE XXIII.

MESSIANIC EXPECTATION AND FULFILLMENT.

142. *Sources for the New Testament times.*—By far the most explicit and trustworthy source is the New Testament itself. Other sources are the later Apocrypha, the Psalter of Solomon, the book of Enoch, Josephus, Philo, etc., with the traditions of the early Christian fathers and the talmudists.

143. *A temporal deliverer?*—The statement so commonly

made, that the Jews of the time of Christ were looking for a political messiah, who should free them from the Romans, and make them a dominant nation, has the same sort of truth with other crude general statements.

144. *The actual nature of the expectation.*—*a.* The Jews were looking for a signal manifestation of Yahweh, under the old promise to the nation. *b.* Different persons expected different things. *c.* Very prominent was the expectation of a person of the royal line of David (John i. 41, 45, etc.). *d.* But there were uncertainties as to whether the manifestation would be through one person or through several (John i. 19–27, Mat. xvi. 13–14, etc.), and, indeed, a very general uncertainty as to the form it might be expected to assume. *e.* The prevailing idea of it was that of the kingdom of God or the kingdom of heaven, the messiah being thought of as the anointed king in that kingdom. *f.* The New Testament accounts imply that the eternal and spiritual elements in the expected manifestation, its character as connected with redemption from sin, its mission for all mankind through Israel, were familiar to the minds of devout Israelites (Luke i. 15–17, 32–35, 54–55, 68–79, ii. 30–32, Mat. ii. 2–8, i. 21, John i. 29, 36, etc.). Ideas of this kind were prevalent enough so that a person would be intelligible when speaking of them. *g.* John the Baptist himself knew that Jesus was the lamb of God and his own mightier successor, but did not know whether Jesus was “he that should come” (Mat. iii, Mark i, Luke iii, John i. 19–36, iii. 27–36, Mat. xi. 3, Luke vii. 19). *h.* The uncertainties were not cleared, even for the disciples, till after the resurrection (Luke xxiv, etc.). *i.* The idea of a personal messiah which is exhibited in the claims of the false messiahs belongs mainly later than the time of Jesus.

145. *Fulfillment.*—*a.* In the Israelitish race, in Israel’s religion and its daughter religions, in the person and work of Jesus Christ (Qus. 111, 117, etc.). *b.* Though the culminating fulfillment is in the person of the divine-human Savior, as manifested in Jesus Christ, yet there are remainders of the eternal promise yet to be fulfilled, both in the Israelitish race,

in the spread of the kingdom on the earth, and in the blessedness of the recipients of the promise, in heaven.

LECTURE XXIV.

THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF MESSIANIC PROPHECY.

146.—*Traditional form of the argument.*—That the prophets made many predictions concerning a person to come, known as the messiah ; and that these were fulfilled in Jesus, thus proving the divine mission both of those who foresaw, and of him who was foreseen.

147. *Value of this argument.*—*a.* Correct, when properly defined. *b.* Practically weakened by the mistaken claims that some of its advocates have made; by the fact that some of the instances are not obvious ; by its lack of unity ; by its associations with mistaken theories of prophecy.

148. *Restatement.*—Messianic doctrine as stated in these lectures affords a basis for several independent arguments for the truth and the supernatural origin of the religion revealed in the scriptures.

149. *Argument from the promise as the statement of a national ideal.*—*a.* No such ideal in any other nation. *b.* No school of criticism disputes that this ideal was in the consciousness of Israel as early as 800 B. C.

150. *Argument from fulfilled prediction.*—*a.* See Qus. 145, 111, 117, etc. *b.* When we substitute the conception of one promise for that of many foretold events, this argument gains in strength.

151. *Argument from historical verisimilitude.*—With the view we have taken of the promise and its fulfillments, they constitute a historical movement, extending over some thousands of years of past time, and indefinitely into the future. This movement, whether considered in itself, in its relations with other history, or as the channel of a special revelation from God, is one that will stand the tests of all reasonable investigation.

152. *Argument from details.*—*a.* Each of the arguments thus far mentioned grows in strength as we examine the details. *b.* In addition, this doctrine of the one promise affords a ready solution of many of the apologetical questions that arise.

153. *The men of the New Testament as scientific historians.*—Certain conceptions of historical continuity underly the New Testament interpretations of what the Old Testament says concerning the promise. In this, the best historians even of our own age are not in advance of the men of the New Testament, and most men who have treated of their themes are far behind them. This marks them as rarely trustworthy, whether we account for it by inspiration, or by the possession of remarkable insight.

Questions for Review.

61. Define prediction, prophecy, doctrine, as messianic terms.
62. In what parts of the Old Testament does the New find messianic doctrine?
63. How did Paul state the doctrine to Agrippa?
64. According to the New Testament, what is the one messianic promise?
65. What does it mean by the promises?
66. Its view of the Abrahamic promise in the history of Israel?
67. Its view of Christ's relation to the promise?
68. Of the promise and the gospel?
69. Of the promise and the gentiles?
70. Mention some special terms which it uses in this teaching.
71. Some special modes of representation.
72. Its statements concerning the promise and the resurrection?
73. Speak of *eisegesis*, and how to avoid it.
74. How far shall we use other religions as a source?
75. In this study, how shall we deal with our prejudices?
76. Give the general divisions of the subject.
77. What constitutes the main line of Old Testament fact?
78. Does the Old Testament connect sin, etc., with messianic teaching?
79. Tell about the promise to Abraham.
80. *a.* Tell something concerning the "seed" promised to Abraham. *b.* How numerous? *c.* The nation? *d.* The assembly? *e.* The kings? *f.* The promised land? *g.* Other subordinate items?
81. What was the great thing in the promise?

82. *a.* How is this item emphasized by repetition? *b.* How by its position? *c.* How by the name Abraham? *d.* Its relation to the "seed"? *e.* To the covenant? *f.* How regarded in the New Testament?

83. *a.* The two uses of the word "seed" in the promise? *b.* The significance of the singular collective form?

84. The relation of the promise to the two covenants?

85. How about a "peculiar people" in the patriarchal times?

86. How much emphasis is laid on the eternity of the promise?

87. Speak of the contemporary understanding and use of the promise.

88. How do these facts affect its predictive value?

89. *a.* How important are the questions as to the date and author of the narratives in Genesis? *b.* How far do the messianic facts depend on these questions? *c.* How far on the minute historical correctness of the records?

90. How do the records of the exodus treat the promise to Abraham?

91. Mention three ways in which, in the time of the exodus, the fact that Israel was God's own people was emphasized.

92. Prove that the idea of blessing for mankind was also then emphasized.

93. How about Israel as the son of Yahweh?

94. *a.* The eternity of the promise? *b.* Its irrevocability?

95. Speak of its interpretation in those times.

96. Give some account of the rest-promise.

97. Give an account of the circumstances of the promise to David.

98. The form of the promise to David?

99. Some points connecting it with the exodus promise and the promise to Abraham?

100. *a.* "What is David's "house"?" *b.* How about the temple? *c.* The kingdom? *d.* The "son"? *e.* The duration of the promise? *f.* Its revocability? *g.* "The law of mankind"?

101. Contemporary interpretation?

102. How much of the Old Testament is messianic?

103. *a.* The central religious doctrine of the prophets? *b.* The nature of their messianic utterances?

104. Modes in which they taught messianic doctrine?

105. Speak of the idea of Israel as the people of promise.

106. *a.* From the dedication services of the temple, show that gentiles had an interest in the promise. *b.* Cite two other passages to the same effect.

107. What is said of the sufferings of the agent of the promise?

108. *a.* Show that the fulfillment of this promise must be cumulative, and with culminating periods. *b.* In what three things consists the fulfillment in our own times?

109. Give an account of "messiah" as used in the Old Testament.

110. A general account of "the servant."

111. Explain the occasional double use of this term.

112. How is "the servant" to be identified with Christ?

113. The use of the special term "son"?

114. Give some account of the promised sons in the Old Testament.

115. The term "chosen," or "elect"?

116. The term *hasidh*?

122. The "branch" of David?
123. The "flower" of David?
124. Give some points as to the use of these various terms.
125. Mention the pre-Abrahamic messianic teachings.
126. The teachings concerning the kingdom and universal peace.
127. Concerning the "last days."
128. Concerning the "day of the LORD."
129. Concerning the Angel, and the theophanies.
130. Concerning the prophets as types.
131. Concerning the priests and the ceremonial law as types.
134. Concerning mediatorial suffering.
144. How far is it true that the Jews of the time of Jesus expected a temporal Messiah?
145. What is the culminating fulfillment of the promise? Is this the same as the final fulfillment?
146. What has been the prevailing form of stating the apologetic argument from messianic prophecy?
147. Give an estimate of this argument.
149. State the argument from the national ideal in the promise.
150. From the promise as fulfilled prediction.
151. From the doctrine of the promise in its relation to details.
152. From the promise and its fulfillment regarded as a historical process.
153. From the position of the men of the New Testament as scientific historians.

OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

REVISION OF 1900.

OLD TESTAMENT

1880

1880

OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

Revision of 1900.

LECTURE I.

SCOPE. DIVISIONS.

1. *The subject.*—The principal subject of these Studies is THE LITERARY CHARACTER AND ORIGIN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Incidentally, this includes some notice of most of the current questions concerning the Old Testament. It includes no doctrine of inspiration ; that belongs to a different department.

2. *Relations to the doctrine of inspiration.*—The study of the literary character of the bible is logically antecedent to that of its claims to be divinely inspired. Hence, *a.* in the present discussion, we are not entitled to use as premises either the assumption that the bible is inspired, or the assumption that it is not. *b.* Or, accepting its inspiration, we are not qualified to infer therefrom its literary character and origin, but must investigate these, on evidence, as matters of history.

3. *Sources of information.*—The principal source is the Old Testament itself. Supplementary sources are: *a.* Other literature, including the New Testament, the secondary Jewish writings, early Christian tradition, incidental mention in Greek and Roman authors, and, more important than most of these, the writings of Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hittites, Arabians and others, recovered within the last few decades. *b.* The testimony of Astronomy, Geography, Topography, ancient ruins and objects found in them, Philology, Ethnology, etc., to some of the points involved in our study. *c.* Our knowledge of the order of nature, and of the possibilities and probabilities of human conduct in certain circumstances.

4. *Kinds of evidence.*—The evidence in regard to the bible is sometimes classified as external and internal. A better classification is into evidence from testimony and evidence from phenomena. Evidence of testimony is that which comes in the form of statements of fact as to the question in hand, whether found in the books themselves or elsewhere; for example, the statement that Jeremiah wrote the letter beginning Jer. xxix. 1. Evidence from phenomena is that which exists in the form of peculiarities of language, style, contents, in the books themselves. These peculiarities are phenomena, to be observed and studied and classified. The evidence in regard to the origin of a book drawn from the phenomena it presents may sometimes be more full and more conclusive than the direct testimony that we have concerning it. The phenomena that constitute critical evidence are of various kinds: linguistic phenomena, rhetorical phenomena, phenomena in the facts stated, etc. One class so important as to deserve a name by itself consists in the allusions to historical events found in any writing. Let us call this the evidence of historical allusion. It includes those portions of the evidence from phenomena which depend on the facts stated, rather than upon the literary peculiarities of statement. See *Christian Thought* for Nov., 1884, pp. 177–203.

5. *The validity of testimony.*—The accepted rule is that testimony is to be carefully tested, but that it is to be believed unless there is reason to the contrary, either in the incredibility of the thing testified to, or of some other kind. Testimony to miracle is not necessarily incredible. The rule applies to the testimony concerning the Old Testament, whether found in the Old Testament itself or in other sources.

6. *The testimony of the Old Testament writers.*—The old traditions of Christendom regard it as exceedingly trustworthy; the new traditions now widely taught regard it as the reverse. This is the most important difference between the two.

7. *The point of view of asserted historicity.*—Doubtless most of us are convinced that inspiration guarantees the minute

historical truthfulness of the bible: does it follow that we ought to take this as the basis of our investigations? *a.* To do this is contrary to correct method. So far as this study is concerned, the doctrine of inspiration is, as we have just seen, before us, not behind us. *b.* If we start from this basis, we convince only those who accept the basis; it is far more important to convince others. *c.* The best test of the historicity of the Old Testament is the using of it in an actual historical investigation. Any assumption that excludes this test is undesirable.

8. *The point of view of asserted lack of historicity.*—Are we therefore to regard the Old Testament as so saturated with unhistorical elements that we can only guess at the value of its statements? Some men are convinced that it is so: does it follow that we ought to take this as the basis of our investigations? *a.* The three reasons just given apply against this equally as against the point of view of alleged certainty. *b.* It is simply fair treatment of the direct evidence that we first take pains to understand it, before we begin rejecting or modifying it.

9. *The point of view of provisional historicity.*—The truly scientific point of view is the one defined by the question: Supposing the evidence of the Old Testament to be trustworthy, what results do we reach? Studying thus, it is supposable that we may find it impossible to reach results, or that we may reach unsatisfactory results, or that the results may be satisfactory; but at any rate, this is the place to start. The only correct method is to begin by studying the Old Testament evidence till we either understand it or know it to be unintelligible; not till we have done this are we ready to apply other tests of critical judgment.

LECTURE II.

THE SECONDARY SACRED LITERATURE.

10. *Its bulk.*—The known Christian and Jewish writings before 500 A. D. fill hundreds of large volumes. The few pas-

sages that any one may cite from this mass of evidence are only specimens—not the whole.

11. *The modern period. Maimonides.*—About 1038 A. D. the centres of Jewish learning were transferred from the orient to Europe, notably to Spain. We need notice no Jewish writers later than this, excepting to note that Maimonides, born at Cordova A. D. 1135, did such admirable work in collecting and digesting the traditions of his people, that his writings have ever since remained a storehouse of materials on these subjects.

12. *The secondary sacred writings and writers.*—*a. Midrash* means “inquiry.” The word is sometimes used to denote all the Jewish writings that deal with the Old Testament and the sacred traditions; more properly, it denotes a certain class of them. *b. The sopherim*, “scribes,” were writers or students who busied themselves with the Old Testament or sacred traditions.

13. *First classification; chronological.*—The most celebrated work in the secondary literature is the Talmud. Hence the scribes and their writings may be classed as follows.

First, Pretalmudic, before about 200 (or 300) B. C. (Lect. X).

Second, Talmudic: *a. Early Tanaite*, 200 (or 300) B. C. to 70 A. D. *b. Later Tanaite*, 70 to 200 A. D. *c. Amoraite*, 200 to 550 A. D. But see Mielzinger’s classification.

Third, Posttalmudic, about 550 to 1038 A. D.

14. *Terms explained.*—The Tanaim were “repeaters” of religious tradition, especially of “the oral law”. The scribes and lawyers of our Saviour’s time were Tanaim. The later Tanaim, from about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, wrote the traditions, thus forming the *mishna*. The Amoraim wrote the *gemara*, comment on the Mishna. The Mishna and the Palestinian *gemara* are the Jerusalem Talmud; the Mishna and the *gemara* of Babylonia are the Babylonian Talmud. Obtain further information from books of reference.

15. *Second classification; geographical.*—They mostly fall into three groups, the Alexandrian, the Palestinian, the Babylonian.

16. *Third classification; theological.*—Their contents are classified as *halaka* and *hagada*, the former being the more authoritative.

17. *Fourth classification; literary.*—I. *Miqra*: the Old Testament.

II. Hellenistic writings: current principally in Greek.

(1) Translations of the Old Testament: the Septuagint (see Lect. IX); other translations soon after the Christian era.

(2) Pseudobiblical. *a.* Pseudepigraphical: for example, the book of Enoch; the Jewish portions of the Sibylline oracles; the Apocalypse of Baruch; the Psalms of Solomon; the Assumption of Moses; the Ascension of Isaiah; the Book of Jubilees; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; 2 Esdras; 4 and 5 Maccabees. *b.* Apocryphal: for example, the Apocrypha of our bibles; 3 Maccabees; the 151st Psalm; the Septuagint additions to Job, Samuel, Kings, etc.

(3) Historical: for example, the books of the Maccabees; Josephus, 37 to 103 A. D.; other works, many of them not now extant.

(4) Philosophical: for example, Aristobulus and Aristaeus, second century B. C.; Philo, just before Christ; the early Cabala, in the ancient parts of the books of Jezirah and Zohar; 4 Maccabees.

(5) Pseudohellenic: imitations of Greek classics, now extant only in quoted fragments.

(6) The New Testament books when looked at merely as Jewish literature.

III. Hebraistic writings: in Hebrew or Aramaic.

(1) On the text of scripture. *a.* *Masora*, dealing with the Hebrew text and pronunciation. *b.* *Targums*, translations of the Old Testament into Aramaic.

(2) The Talmuds (Qu. 14).

(3) Additional Tanaite traditions, not found in the Mishna proper: *tosiphtha*, *baraitha*, etc.

(4) Midrash proper: for example, *Midrash Rabboth*; *Pesikta*; *Midrash Tanhuma*, etc.: commentaries on various parts of the bible, and on matters religious and ethical.

(5) Liturgies: beginning in Tanaite times, but changing.

(6) The *Seder Olam*: a chronological work of the second century A. D., with a later addition, the *Seder Olam Zutta*.

18. *The Christian Fathers*.—In the early preaching of Christianity the appeal to the Old Testament was very prominent. Consequently the hundreds of volumes of the Christian secondary sacred literature abound in evidence concerning the Old Testament.

19. *Literature*.—Most of these topics are discussed in the Cyclopaedias. See the bibliographies there given.

On the Talmud see *Introduction to the Talmud*. M. Mielzinger. In that work, pp. 65–102, is an extensive account of the literature of the subject.

In the Seminary library are the *Babylonian Talmud*, Amsterdam, 1644; Schwab's translation into French of the *Jerusalem Talmud*; two or more copies of the Mishna; Ugolino, including many of the secondary sacred writings; Rodkinson's *Babylonian Talmud* in English, now coming out in parts; several editions and copies of the *Ethics of the Fathers*; Hershon's *Talmudic Miscellany*; Polano's *Selections from the Talmud*; De Sola and Raphall's *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna*, etc.

On the Targums see Berliner's *Onkelos*, and other works in the library. On the Hellenistic writings see many volumes in the same alcove, also Bissell's *Apocrypha* in the Lange series, and the Wace edition of the Apocrypha in the revised version.

On the Masora and many other matters, Ginsburg's *Introduction* is valuable. So is the bibliography it contains.

The references made in this syllabus to the Christian fathers are mostly to the Migne edition. Other editions are accessible in the library.

For secondary works see the *Lit.* in Lecture IV and other Lectures.

Part I. The Old Testament from A. D. 1900 Back to its Beginnings.

LECTURE III.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE YEAR 1900 A. D.

20. *The classification in the Hebrew bibles*—This is properly the standard form in which the Old Testament now exists. *a.* The five books of the law. *b.* The eight books of the prophets, including, first, the four books of the earlier prophets, namely Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings; and second,

the four books of the later prophets, namely the three major prophets, that is, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the twelve minor prophets. c. The eleven books of "writings" or hagiographa, including first the three great poetical books, Psalms, Proverbs and Job; second, the five "rolls", Solomon's Song, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther; third, the three books of "the chronicler", namely Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles.

21. *A Variation.*—In this classification we have 39 books, so grouped as to reduce the number to 24. Variantly, Ruth might be combined with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah, thus putting these two into the category of the "prophets", reducing the books called the "writings" to nine, and the whole number to 22, the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. This variation has historical importance.

22. *These writings form a canon.*—*a.* A canon differs from a mere aggregate or a mere collection. A canon is a collected aggregate recognized by competent authority. *b.* The literary question of the canon is separable from the theological question. It is simply a matter of fact that these 39 books stand by themselves, the primary sacred books of the religion of Israel. *c.* So far as the literary question is concerned, canonicity is a tradition accepted by common consent.

23. *Facts that do not invalidate canonicity.*—*a.* Differences of opinion concerning the religious authority of the books; or concerning the fitness of certain books; or the raising of the question of canonicity concerning some of the books; or the dissent of individuals from the received tradition. *b.* The existence of the Old Testament in forms different from that of the Hebrew canon; for instance, the common translations, or special treatments of certain classes of books, or the *Modern Reader's Bible*.

24. *The terms "law", "prophets", "writings".*—The writings composing the Old Testament were produced by a succession of men known as the prophets of Israel. No one disputes this when stated in this general way, though disputes

come in as soon as one begins to particularize. This fact affects the terms that denote the parts of the Old Testament. We need to study these terms, and especially the term "law", in order to be on our guard against misleading uses.

25. "*The law*" in the New Testament—Prove that "law," besides other uses, sometimes denotes: *a.* The Old Testament (John x. 34, xv. 25, xii. 34, 1 Cor. xiv. 21, Rom. iii. 10-19). *b.* The pentateuch (John i. 45, Mat. vii. 12, and many other passages). In view of the fact that the Old Testament includes the pentateuch, can you decide which of these usages most prevails in the New Testament?

26. "*Law*" in the Old Testament.—*a.* *Torah*, "law" and its verb *horah* are derived from *jarah*, which denotes the shooting of an arrow or javelin. *Torah* is used more than 200 times, and *horah* more than 60 times. *b.* They denote authoritative requirement or information, never mere ordinary instruction. *c.* *Torah* always and *horah* nearly always denote a message that comes from God. Instances are given below. Even such cases as Prov. i. 8, vi. 20, xxxi. 26 are probably not exceptions. The subject of the verb is commonly the true God (e. g. Ex. iv. 12, 15, xv. 25, Mic. iv. 2, Isa. ii. 3), or some one acting as his representative (Ex. xxxv. 34, 1 Sam. xii. 23, 2 Ki. xii. 2), but it may be any god (Hab. ii. 18, 19, Isa. xxviii. 26). *d.* *Torah* was sometimes oral, but written *torah* began early (Isa. viii. 16, 20, Hos. viii. 12). It is said that Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 26) and Moses wrote *torah* (e. g. Deut. xxxi. 9, 11, 24, 26, xxviii. 58, 61). *e.* Four syntactical uses of the noun are significant. First, "a law," "laws," "the law" with an objective genitive, used of any particular message given by God through a prophet (Isa. viii. 16, xxiv. 5, Ex. xviii. 16, 20, xvi. 28, Gen. xxvi. 5, Lev. vii. 37-38. xi. 46-47). Second, "a law" may be an aggregate of particular laws (Neh. ix. 14, Deut. xxxiii. 4, Ps. lxxviii. 5, Mal. ii. 6, etc.). Third, "law" is used abstractly without the article (e. g. Isa. ii. 3, Mic. iv. 2, Hab. i. 4, Job xxii. 22, Mal. ii. 7). Fourth, "the law," "the law of Yahweh," "my law," "his law," etc., the noun being used definitely by itself or with only a subjective

genitive, denotes the well known aggregate of divine *torah*, and necessarily implies that there was such an aggregate (e. g. Ex. xvi. 4, xxiv. 12, Am. ii. 4, Hos. iv. 6, viii. 1, 12, Isa. i. 10, v. 24). *f.* "The law" existed in writing from very early times (Hos. viii. 12, Deut. xxxi. 9-13, Josh. xxiv. 26, etc.).

27. It is clear that *the* written law must have been a growing aggregate. This was the case, no matter at what date it began, or what parts were the earliest. From the beginning it might properly be called "the law," because it was regarded as coming from God; or, "the prophets," because it was given through the prophets; or "the writings," to distinguish it from unwritten *torah*. The phenomena prove, contrary to common opinion, that this is the original use of these terms as applied to the Old Testament. Their use as class names for the three parts of the Old Testament came in later.

LECTURE IV.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE YEAR 400 A. D.

28. *Literature.*—Besides other matter, one should read, in connection with this and the following lectures, one or more of the following works: W. H. Green *General Introduction to the Old Testament, the Canon*; Ryle *Canon of the Old Testament*; Briggs *The Study of Holy Scripture*; Sanday *Inspiration*; Buhl *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*; Wildeboer *The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament*; Stuart *History of the Old Testament Canon*. The last named is an old book, but it has some important contents not found in the newer books.

29. *Jewish testimony; the Baba-batra.*—This treatise, contained in copies of the Babylonian Talmud, consists of Baraitha and Gemara. The Baraitha dates from the Tanaite period, that is in its substance from not later than 200 A. D. The Gemara is later comment. After discussion concerning the pentateuch, the tract proceeds:

Baraitha: "The order of prophets is Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the Twelve. The order of 'the writings' is Ruth, Psalms and Job and Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs and Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, [Ezra] and Chronicles.

And who wrote them? Moses wrote his book, and the section of Balaam, and Job. Joshua wrote his book and eight verses in the law. Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms, upon the hands of ten elders upon the hands of Adam the first, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his book, and the book of Kings, and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, whose mnemonic sign is *yimshaq*. The men of the great synagogue wrote Ezekiel, and the Twelve, Daniel and the roll of Esther, whose mnemonic sign is *qendag*. Ezra wrote his book and the genealogy of Chronicles until himself."

Gemara: "This supports Rab, for Rabbi Judah affirmed that Rab said: 'Ezra went not up from Babylon until he had written out his genealogy; then he went up.' And who finished [it]? Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah."

Gemara: "Joshua wrote his book? But it is written there: 'And Joshua died.' Eleazar finished it. But also it is written there: 'And Eleazar the son of Aaron died.' Phinehas finished it.

Samuel wrote his book? But it is written there: 'And Samuel died, and they buried him in Ramah.' Gad the seer and Nathan the prophet finished it." These references are to Josh. xxiv. 29, 33, 1 Sam. xxv. 1 (*Baba-batra*, fol. 14b-15a, as cited in Ugolino, vol. I, cols. 226ff; *Stuart Canon*, pp. 257-268 of ed. of 1872; *Briggs Biblical Study*, p. 175, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 252, etc.).

Compare this list of the Old Testament books with the Hebrew bible.

30. *Jewish testimony: the Hebrew text.*—The Hebrew text itself is of the nature of evidence as to the contents of the Old Testament from a very early period.

31. *Christian testimony: Jerome.*—Translate his *Prologus Galeatus* (Migne's *Latin Patrol.*, vol. XXVIII, col. 598, Ugolino, vol. I, col. 228; *Stuart Canon*, appendix XIV, *Wildeboer Origin of the Canon*, and many other accessible works). Jerome lived A. D. 341-420. He mentions the 39 books, combines them so as to reduce the number to either 22 or 24, preferring the former, and divides them into three classes. In the arrangement which makes 24 books his canon is that of the Hebrew bibles, with a slight difference in the order of the hagiographa.

32. *Other Christian lists of the fourth century.*—At least fourteen are extant. *a.* Ten of them, like that of Jerome, speak of the 22 books, and have the Jewish canon in mind. These agree substantially with Jerome, and so with our Hebrew bibles. *b.* Four are based on Christian ecclesiastical author-

ity, and include Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, etc., as books to be read in the churches. They speak of these as Old Testament books, but do not affirm that they are a part of the Jewish Old Testament.

33. *The Vatican, Sinaitic and Alexandrian Manuscripts.*—The first two were written the latter part of the fourth century, and the third a century later. They are not properly bibles, but bibliothecas, each containing the bible and certain additional religious writings. So far forth as they are bibles, they agree with the Christian ecclesiastical catalogues in the inclusion of apocryphal books, though no two are alike in this.

34. *Conclusions.*—*a.* By common consent of the Jews and Christians of the fourth century, the Jewish bible then consisted of our 39 books and no others, counted as 22 or 24, and arranged in three classes, the line between the second and third classes being slightly fluctuating. *b.* There were translations of these books with other matters added; and some Christians failed to distinguish between the books proper and the additions. *c.* In addition to the Jewish canon, the Christians used some of the Jewish secondary sacred books, and at length accepted them ecclesiastically as a part of the Old Testament for Christian use. *d.* There is no trace of a Jewish Alexandrian canon different from the Palestinian.

LECTURE V.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CENTURIES BEFORE 300 A. D.

35. *Victorinus of Pettau.*—About 290 A. D. Commenting on Rev. iv. 7-10, he says:

“The twenty-four elders are the 24 books of the prophets and the law.”
 “The books of the Old Testament which are received are 24, which thou mayest find in the epitomes of Theodorus” (Migne *Pat. Lat.* V. 324-325).

36. *Origen.*—Lived A. D. 185-253. The greatest Christian exegetical scholar of early times. Eusebius professes to quote Origen word for word, in the following excerpts (Migne *Pat.*

Graec. XII. 1083, XX. 580; Delarue's *Origen* II. 529; Stuart Ap. V; Wildeboer, etc.):

"It must be known that the canonical books, as Hebrews relate, are 22 in number, according to the number of their letters."

"These are the 22 books, according to Hebrews: The book which with us bears the title Genesis is called by Hebrews, from the beginning of the book, *Bresith*, that is 'In the beginning'; Exodus, *Oualesmoth*, that is, 'These are the names'; Leviticus, *Ovikra*, that is, 'And he called'; Numbers, *Am-mesphokodin*; Deuteronomy, *Elle Haddebarim*, that is, 'These are the words'; Joshua the Son of Nun, *Josue ben Noun*; Judges, Ruth (with them in one), *Sophetim*; Kings first and second (among them one), *Samouel*, 'the called of God'; Kings third and fourth in one"—

In this fashion the list continues, including the following books: first and second Chronicles; Ezra first and second; Psalms; Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; Song of Songs; Isaiah; Jeremiah "with Lamentations and the epistle in one, *Ieremia*"; Daniel; Ezekiel; Job; Esther.

"Aside from these there are the Maccabees, which are inscribed *Sarbeth Sarbene El*."

37. *Points concerning Origen's testimony.*—*a.* He excludes the books of Maccabees, speaking of them as ἔξω δὲ τούτων. *b.* There is sufficient proof that he included the book of the twelve minor prophets, its omission in this copy being a copyist's mistake. This book is needed to make out the 22; in his *Hexapla* and other works Origen recognizes all the twelve; the book of the twelve is found in the catalogues made by his disciples, Hilary and Rufinus for example. *c.* On the evidence, his 1 and 2 Ezra are probably our Ezra and Nehemiah, and not, as in some of the later lists, 1 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah. *d.* In Origen's works, alike in the *Hexapla*, the *Homilies* and the *Selecta*, Jeremiah and Lamentations are largely treated, and Baruch and the Baruch epistle not at all; hence it is probable that the words "and the epistle" in this copy of his catalogue are the easy error of some later copyist. *e.* If these points are well taken, Origen's Jewish Old Testament contained our 39 books and no others, grouped as 22, but with no hint of the threefold division. *f.* In his epistle to Africanus and elsewhere, Origen distinguishes between the proper Jewish Old Testament and the additional matters that were con-

tained in the MSS which Christians were accustomed to use, and holds that Christians ought to treat the latter with reverence. Hence his respectful use of some of the Apocrypha does not indicate that he confused them with the primary Jewish sacred writings.

38. *Translations.*—The Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion and at least three others were made in the second century. Also translations into Syriac and Latin. Aramaic Targums were in part at least reduced to writing. Some of these, at least, presuppose an official Hebrew text (Briggs *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 191-192).

39. *Melito.*—About 170 A. D.

“Melito to Onesimus his brother, greeting. Since thou hast often requested, in thy zeal for the word, that selections be made for thee, from the law and the prophets, concerning our Saviour and the whole of our faith; and moreover thou art desirous of learning the exact facts concerning the ancient books, how many they may be in number, and what their order; I have been zealous to accomplish this, mindful of thy zealously concerning the faith, and thy love of instruction concerning the word.”

“Making therefore a journey into the east, and being at the place where it was preached and done, and learning accurately the books of the Old Covenant, I set in order and send to thee. Of which the names are: Of Moses five: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Joshua of Nun, Judges, Ruth, of Kings four, of Chronicles two. The Psalms of David, the Proverbs or Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job. Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel. Esdras. From which also I have made selections, distributing them into six books. (Euseb. iv. 26, in Migne XX. 396, Stuart Ap. V, Wildeboer, etc.).

Melito mentions separately our 39 books excepting Esther, Lamentations and Nehemiah. Counting the omission of Esther as a copyist's error, and connecting the other two with Jeremiah and Ezra, his Jewish Old Testament is the same with ours.

40. *The preface to 2 Esdras.*—Later than 100 A. D.

“Unto whom I will give for leaders Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Hosea, Amos and Micah, Joel, Obadiah and Jonah, Nahum and Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi who is called also the Angel of the Lord” (2 Esd. i. 39-40.)

41. *Certain Jewish traditions.*—*a.* The substance of the Baraita of Qu. 29 belongs to the second century A. D. *b.*

Certain traditions as to the writing of MSS (Baba-batra fol. 13b, cited in Buhl, p. 41, Wildeboer, p. 142).

“Bethus ben Zunin had the eight books of the prophets in one manuscript, which Eleazar ben Azariah approved; but others said, Not so” (a little after 100 A. D.).

“The law by itself, the prophets by themselves, and the writings by themselves” (Judah ben Ilai, middle of second century; his opponent Rabbi Meir held that it was permissible to unite the three in one manuscript).

“There was brought us one copy containing the *torah*, the prophets and the writings, and we sanctioned it” (Judah the holy, latter part of second century).

42. *Discussions concerning canonicity*.—They were prominent in the first third of the second century A. D., though some of the notices are later. The passages most commonly referred to are given in Qus. 43–45.

43. “*Outside books*”.—Rabbi Aqiba, A. D. 90–135, is cited in the Mishna (*Sanhed.* x. 1, printed in Ugol. XXV. 891 as xi. 1) as classifying “the one who reads in the outside books” among those “who have no portion in the world to come”. Probably official reading in public worship is intended. The Gemara intimates that the books to be read are “the law and the prophets and the writings”, and expressly excludes the book of ben Sira, that is Ecclesiasticus. The doctrine taught may be illustrated by a later parallel:

“Whoever introduces into his house more than the 24 books, as for instance the books of ben Sira and ben Toghlah, brings confusion into his house” (*Midrash Ecclesiastes* xii. 2, possibly as late as seventh cent.).

44. *Books that “make the hands unclean”*.—This is the technical phrase for canonicity. The context of the first passage cited treats of the cessation of prophecy.

“The book of ben Sira and all books written from this time and onward do not make the hands unclean” (*Tosephta Yadayim* ii. 13, from 130 to 150 A. D.).

“All holy scriptures make the hands unclean. The Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes make the hands unclean”. “Rabbi Judah says, The Song of Solomon makes the hands unclean, but there is controversy concerning Ecclesiastes”. “Rabbi Jose says, Ecclesiastes does not make the hands unclean, and there is controversy concerning the Song”. “Rabbi Simeon says, Ecclesiastes is of the things in which the house of Shammai is lax, and the house of Hillel strict”. “Rabbi Simeon ben Azzai says, I received it from the seventy two elders in the day when they made Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah president, that the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes make the hands unclean. Rabbi Aqiba said, God forbid! No man of Israel ever contended that the Song does

not make the hands unclean. For the whole world is not worth the day when the Song was given to Israel. For all "writings" are holy, but the Song is a holy of holies! If there was ever any controversy, it was only concerning Ecclesiastes". "Rabbi Johanan ben Joshua, the son of Rabbi Aqiba's father-in-law, has said, As ben Azzai reports, such was the controversy, and such the decision" (Mishna *Yadayim* iii. 5). Early in second century.

"Rabbi Meir says, The book Ecclesiastes does not make the hands unclean, and with respect to the Song of Songs there is controversy. Rabbi Joshua says, The Song of Songs makes the hands unclean, and with respect to Ecclesiastes there is controversy. Rabbi Simeon says, Ecclesiastes belongs to the things which the school of Shammai makes easy and the school of Hillel makes difficult; but Ruth, the Song of Songs and Esther make the hands unclean. Rabbi Simeon ben Menasiah says, Ecclesiastes makes not the hands unclean, because it contains the wisdom of Solomon" (Babylonian Talmud *Megillah* 7a, cited in Briggs SHS, p. 130, Ryle *Canon*, p. 198). Rabbi Meir belongs to the middle of the second century, and Simeon ben Menasiah not much later.

"Rabbi Judah says, Samuel taught that Esther does not make unclean the hands" (Bab. Gemara *M'gillah* fol. 7a).

Late traditions speak of an assembly of eighty five elders, of whom thirty were prophets, who discussed the question whether Esther's feast of Purim was in contradiction with the pentateuch (Jerus. Gemara *M'gillah*, fol. 70d, Schwab VI. 206). We are also told of two men who were covering sacred books for Rabbi Judah;

"But when they came to the roll of Esther they said, This requires no covering. He said, This seems to be Epicureanism" (Gemara *Sanhed.* fol. 100a).

45. *Books to be "stored away"*.—Like a soiled pentateuch roll, deposited in the *g'nizah*, the storeroom of the synagogue. For example, it is said that Hananiah the son of Hiskiah, a contemporary of the Gamaliel who taught Paul, saved the book of Ezekiel from being stored away on account of its seeming inconsistencies with the pentateuch.

"They brought him 300 jars of oil, and he sat in the upper chamber and explained" (*Shabbath* fol. 13b, *Khagiga* fol. 3a as cited in Ugol. X. 190).

But it was felt that the difficulties remained, and in the time of Jerome, persons under thirty years of age were forbidden to read Ezekiel (Jerome *Ad Paulinum*, Ep. liii. 8).

"It was said in the name of Rab, The sages wanted to store away the book of Ecclesiastes, because of its contradictory sayings. Why did they not store it away? Because words of *torah* are its beginning, and words of *torah* its end" (Bab. Talm. *Shabbath*, fol. 30b, Rodkinson I. 48; also Jerome).

“They also sought to store away the book of Proverbs, on account of its containing contradictions. But it was not stored away, because they said, We have looked more deeply into Ecclesiastes and have found the solution; so will we do in this case also” (ibid.).

“At first it was said that Proverbs, the Song and Ecclesiastes are to be stored away. They said, They include parables, and are not of the sacred books; and they rose up to store them away, until the men of the great synogogue came and explained them” (*Aboth of Rabbi Nathan*, c. i; see Rodkinson IX. 3). Date uncertain, but early.

46. *Conclusions from the discussions on canonicity.*—*a.* Light is thrown on them by the fact that these same rabbis of the second century are represented as using Ezekiel, Proverbs, the Song, Ecclesiastes, Esther, appealing to them as authoritative, treating them as they treat the other scripture. The instances are numerous. To Esther in particular is devoted an entire treatise of the Mishna, namely the *M’gillah*, followed by voluminous Gemara. *b.* No one disputes that the Jewish scholars of the latter half of the second century recognized the same Old Testament books as now, including the five that were under discussion. *c.* The discussions both assume and affirm that each of these five books had at that time been already long accepted as scriptural; in each case this was challenged, discussed, and reaffirmed. There is no trace of such a thing as the admitting of new books to the canon.

47. *The 94 less 70 books of 2 Esdras.*—About 100 A. D. The speaker is Ezra. He has been commanded to reprove the men of his generation, and says that he will obey.

“But they that shall be born afterward, who will admonish them? The world therefore lieth in darkness, and they that dwell therein are without light, since thy law is burnt; therefore no man knoweth the things that are done by thee, or the works that shall begin. But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Spirit into me, and I will write all that hath taken place in the world since the beginning, which were written in thy law; that men may find a path, and that they who would live in the later days may live” (2 Esd. xiv. 20-22, in Bissell, p. 663).

His prayer is granted, and he dictates to five scribes.

“In forty days they wrote 94 books. And it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the most high spake, saying, The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and unworthy may read; but keep thou the 70 later ones, that thou mayest deliver them to such as are wise among the people” (vv. 44-46).

48. *Josephus*.—Lived 37–103 A. D. In his different works he testifies in detail to nearly the entire Old Testament. The passage commonly cited is from his work *Against Apion*, i. 8 (Bekker VI. 179, Whiston 581, Shilletto V. 181, Stuart *Canon*, Ap. III). One should read the context.

“ We have not myriads of books, discordant and arrayed against each other; but only 22 books, * * * * And of these 5 belong to Moses, which contain both the laws and the history of the generations of men until his death. * * * * As to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes who was king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in 13 books. The remaining 4 books contain hymns to God and rules of life for men. But from Artaxerxes to our own time everything has indeed been written, but it is not thought worthy of equal faith with the previous [books], by reason of the succession of the prophets not being exact.”

49. *The threefold division*.—Josephus is the earliest writer to distribute the Old Testament books into three classes, though earlier writers mention the three classes indefinitely. He was a Palestinian and a Pharisee, and his classification into 13 books of prophets and 4 of other writings must be regarded as earlier than that of the Baba-batra. The other opinion became prevalent among the Jews, but the Christian lists show traces of the division made in Josephus.

50. *Conclusion*.—From a time earlier than 100 A. D., there was a recognized aggregate of primary Jewish sacred writings. It consisted of our present 39 books and no others. The pentateuch formed a class by itself. The remaining books were regarded as constituting two classes, but the line of division between the two classes was unsettled till the second century or later.

LECTURE VI.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AS RECOGNIZED IN THE NEW.

51. *The “scriptures”, in the New Testament*.—Jesus and his contemporaries were familiar with old Israelitish writings known as “the scriptures,” or “the scripture.” The word occurs fifty or more times in the New Testament (e. g. John

v. 39, Mat. xxi. 42, Mark xii. 24). Derivatives of the passive verb of the same stem, with the translation "written," are used about eighty-five times to indicate something as found in the "scripture" (Mat. ii. 5, iv. 4, etc.). This usage extends through fourteen of the New Testament books.

52. *Are their scriptures now identifiable?*—By means of about 260 direct quotations, and many hundreds of allusions and other modes of recognition, they identify their scriptures with our Old Testament. Read, for example, from a bible with marginal references (preferably, however, from the revised text or from Westcott and Hort's Greek) such passages as Rom. x. 4-21, or ix, or Acts i. 16-20, or 1 Pet. ii. 6-9, or Heb. i. or many of the addresses recorded in the Acts. Large portions of the New Testament are little else than series of excerpts from the Old Testament, with running comment.

But their recognition of 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, Obadiah and Nahum is less distinct than of the other books. Some of these, possibly, they do not refer to at all.

53. *Their scriptures were in three languages.*—Most of their citations are from the Septuagint, often, however, with modifications. Sometimes they follow the Septuagint, even when it differs from the Hebrew (e. g. Acts viii. 32-33). That they were not confined to the Septuagint, but used also the original Hebrew is evident from the fact that they sometimes follow the Hebrew when it differs from the Septuagint (e. g. Mat. viii. 17). That they had Aramaic translations, either complete or incomplete, either written or oral, appears from the fact that the citations in Mat. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34 are Aramaic.

54. *Their scriptures consist of separate books.*—They mention the Psalms, and attribute them to David, and mention books of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Daniel, Joel. There are about 36 of the references to other books than those of Moses, and about as many to Moses (Luke xx. 42, Acts xiii. 33, ii 16, Mat. xiii. 14, xxiv. 15, Rom. ix. 25, and concordance).

55. *They classify the books.*—The law and the prophets (Mat. vii. 12, Luke xxiv. 27 and concordance). Possibly as the law, the prophets and the Psalms (Luke xxiv. 44). Clearly they sometimes speak of the pentateuch as the law, but if, additionally, they distinguished between the prophets and the other books, we have no information as to where they drew the line.

56. *Their scriptures a unit.*—Though they thus speak of particular books and classes of books, they yet regard all their scriptures as constituting a whole, with ascertained limits, separate from other literature. *a.* They appeal to the scriptures as of supreme and recognized authority (e. g. Acts xvii. 2, 11, Mark xii. 24, and Cremer's Lexicon on the word *grapho*). *b.* They separate them in thought from other literature, by calling them "holy," "given by inspiration," etc. (e. g. Rom. i. 2, 2 Tim. iii. 15 rev. ver.. 16). *c.* They recognize these writings as proper to be officially read in the synagogues and thus as differentiated from other writings (Acts xiii. 27, xv. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 15, Luke iv. 16-21). *d.* They apply the term scripture to no other writings than those which they thus recognize as writings to be appealed to. When they speak of other writings, they use different phraseology (Mat. xix. 7, xxvii. 37, John xix. 19, Luke i. 63, xvi. 6, 7, Rev. i. 11, v. 1, etc.). *e.* With just the right exceptions to emphasize the rule, they prefix the article to this term, thus showing that by the scriptures they meant those that were commonly known as such, in distinction from other literature (see *grapho*, *graphie*, *gramma*, in Cremer's Lexicon). *f.* For this collection as a whole, they had not merely one name, but several names, all used as if they were familiarly known: "the law" (John x. 34, xv. 25, xii. 34, 1 Cor. xiv, 21, Rom. iii. 10-19, with Old Testament references); "the prophets," "the prophetic scriptures," etc. (Rom. xvi. 25-27, Heb. i. 1, 2 Pet. iii. 2, Eph. ii. 20); "the law and the prophets," "Moses and the prophets" (see concordance); "oracles" (Rom. iii. 2, Acts vii. 38, Heb. v. 12). *g.* This conclusion is not in the least vitiated by the fact that they use some of the books less than others.

57. *Conclusion.*—The writers of the New Testament recognized the same Old Testament scriptures that were recognized by the generations that followed them (Qu. 50), and by all succeeding generations.

LECTURE VII.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CENTURIES NEXT BEFORE CHRIST.

58. *Philo.*—Lived in Alexandria, an old man when Jesus was a young man. *a.* A probably authentic passage gives a classification of sacred books resembling that of Josephus, but indefinite.

“Laws and utterances oracularly made by prophets, and hymns, *kai ta alla*, by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected” (*De Vita Contemplativa* iii).

b. He makes much use of the classical Greek literature, devotes hundreds of pages to the pentateuch, discusses the prophet's function at length, refers to Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah and other Old Testament books, speaks of ancient auxiliary writings, and ignores the writings that we call the Apocrypha. This is strongly against the theory that there was an Alexandrian canon wider than the Palestinian. *c.* He is the earliest known writer to speak of the books of the law as five (*Life of Abraham* i).

59. *Sundry witnesses.*—Here might be cited the traditions which represent Hillel and his contemporaries (second generation before Jesus) as using the Old Testament writings; those which represent the reading lessons from the prophets as being arranged in the Maccabaeian times; and a large number of particular passages from the secondary sacred books (e. g. 1 Mac. i. 56–57, iii. 48, iv. 47, vii. 17. Tobit ii. 6).

60. *The Prologue to Ecclesiasticus.*—Commonly dated B. C. 133, but perhaps much earlier. We postpone for the present the question of the date. See the passage in some copy of the Apocrypha. The writer speaks of

“the law and the prophets and the other [books] that follow along with them”.

and emphasises the phraseology by repetition. This is the earliest known mention of the threefold division. It is yet more indefinite than that of Philo.

61. *The book of Ecclesiasticus.*—Written by the grandfather of the writer of the Prologue. *a.* Speaks enthusiastically of the law, meaning an aggregate of sacred books, apparently including wisdom books and prophecies, though beginning with Moses (xv. 1, xxxiii. 1-3, xxxix. 1-8, xxxviii. 33, xxiv. 23). *b.* Mentions or cites nearly all the 39 books. *c.* Recapitulates the history (xliii-xlix), drawing from most of the 39 books, and naming Nehemiah latest in its list of worthies. *d.* Groups together the 3 major and the 12 minor prophets (xlviii. 20-xlix. 10). *e.* Says nothing concerning three divisions, or concerning 22 or 24 books, and does not even separate the pentateuch in its list from the books that follow. *f.* Counts the scriptures a river, and itself only a "watering canal" (xxiv. 23-34, xxxiii. 16).

62. *Conclusions.*—*a.* As early as the time of Ben Sira, the aggregate of the primary sacred writings of Israel was mainly the same as now. For the present we waive the question whether it lacked, for example, Daniel and Ecclesiastes, Esther and some of the psalms. *b.* This aggregate was then thought of as ancient, unique, prophetic.

63. *The successive steps in arranging the canon.*—*a.* The recognition of these writings as an aggregate preceded that of the divisions in which they are now classified. *b.* Apparently the first step in classifying them was the grouping together of the major and minor prophets, not later than the writing of Ecclesiasticus. *c.* The separation of the pentateuch was perhaps before the writing of the Prologue; at least it was a good while before Philo. *d.* The attempt to draw a line between the prophets and the hagiographa began before Philo, but the line was not settled for several generations.

64. *Certain corollaries proved by these facts.*—*a.* Our present canon of 39 books was not formed by three processes of selection, the first resulting in the pentateuch, the second adding the prophets, and the third adding the hagiographa. *b.*

It is not true that the hagiographa were made sacred after the time of Ben Sira, by gathering them into a canon. *c.* There is no trace of an Alexandrian Jewish canon different from the Palestinian. *d.* Until a good while after the preaching of Christianity there is no trace of the other writings being regarded as inferior to the pentateuch.

LECTURE VIII.

THE CONTACT OF ISRAEL WITH THE GREEKS.

65. *Four collateral topics.*—To these the present and the three following lectures will be devoted.

66. *Literature.*—On these subjects no one can be intelligent unless he does some reading for himself. For the history, one should read at least the following: Josephus *Antiquities* XI–XIII, *Jewish War* I; First and Second *Maccabees*; some good history of Alexander the great and his successors; good articles on Alexandria and Antioch. For the Maccabæan times, Riggs' *History of the Jewish people during the Maccabæan and Roman Period*. On the Septuagint see the Introduction to Swete's *Old Testament in Greek*.

67. *The earliest Greek contact.*—The Greeks were in contact with the Phœnicians and Egyptians from remote antiquity, and it is impossible that Israel did not share this contact to some extent. In the Babylonian and Persian times there must have been a more extended contact, especially in Egypt. But these are unimportant compared with the contact that followed the conquests of Alexander the great.

68. *Israel during the latest Persian reigns.*—Jewish populations possessing some wealth and importance, in every part of the Persian empire; an especially cultivated and respectable Jewish population in Babylonia; an honorable Israelitish nationality, thanks to Nehemiah, centering in Jerusalem; and another that claimed to be Israelite, centering in Samaria; both, of course, tributary to Persia.

69. *Alexandria.*—Founded by Alexander the great 332 B. C. After his time, the principal seat of the Ptolemies and the Greek-Egyptian empire. Largely a Greek city. Especially a

great literary centre. Israelitish citizens, both Jewish and Samaritan, numerous and influential from the first.

70. *Antioch.*—On the Orontes. There were fourteen other Antiochs. The seat of the Syrian-Greek empire, having been founded 300 B. C. In some respects the rival of Alexandria. Many Jewish citizens, but never such a Jewish seat as Alexandria became.

71. *Other points of contact.*—As in these two cities, so in other centers of population. The Israelites seem to have attracted more attention from the Greeks than did other oriental races. Add to this that the Syrian and Egyptian Greek empires struggled with one another for the possession of Palestine, each alternating between the butchery of the Jews by wholesale and granting them distinguished favors.

72. *The era of the Greeks.*—Beginning with the reign of Seleucus, 312 B. C. Used in the Apocrypha and Josephus for dating events.

73. *The Maccabæan Wars.*—Antiochus Epiphanes took Jerusalem 170 B. C.; profaned the temple December, 168. This was followed by dreadful persecutions, and by armed resistance, led by Judas Maccabæus and his brothers. They were successful, and purified the temple B. C. 165. Epiphanes died the following year, but the war continued. A treaty was made with the Romans B. C. 162. The following year Judas died, and was succeeded by his brother Jonathan; he was made highpriest B. C. 153. In B. C. 143 his brother Simon succeeded him as highpriest, and Judæa became independent. To appreciate the fierceness, the heroism, the fanaticism, the nobility of character and conduct, the cruelty, the lofty patriotism of these times, one must read the history in detail.

74. *Underlying tendencies.*—Out of this close and protracted contact with the Greeks sprang certain conflicting tendencies, which determined the events, both of the external history and of the history of thought, for the times. First, there was what may be called the noble *Hellenizing* tendency. Many Jews who were faithful to their own institutions yet recognized what was good in the civilizations around them,

and were willing to accept it. They were especially eager to bring their institutions to the attention of intelligent Greeks. This tendency has been largely ignored by Christian writers, but it is well represented in the fact of the Septuagint translation, in the author of Ecclesiasticus, in the Alexandrian Greek writers of the two centuries before Christ, in many of the Hellenizing Jews of New Testament times, and in Josephus. Probably its adherents were influential, even if not numerous, from the times of Alexander down. Second was the *ignoble Hellenizing* tendency, represented, for example, by the high-priest Menelaus, that of the men who would have been glad to give up the Jewish religion and institutions, and become Greeks. Third was the *Judaizing* tendency, represented by the Maccabees, the Pharisees, and the Judaizers of the New Testament. This was reactionary from the Hellenizing tendencies, and like all reaction, was noble or ignoble according to circumstances. Its central idea was strict adherence to Israelitish traditions, but, as a matter of fact, its interpretations of tradition often differ widely from the authentic tradition itself. Fourth, in reaction from the Judaizing tendency, arose a *liberal Jewish* tendency, represented in later times by the Sadducees. This was always strongest in the prominent priestly families, among men who had a financial interest in orthodoxy, combined with a disposition to be luxurious. They denied the more puritanical and uncomfortable doctrines of the Judaists, and were mildly skeptical, in a cultured way, in other matters.

LECTURE IX.

THE SEPTUAGINT.

75. *Current statements.*—In the books of a few years ago, it was commonly said that the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament was made in Alexandria, about 280 B. C. In more recent books, the statements made are disputed and con-

tradictory. See articles in the Bible Dictionaries, and in the *Encyc. Britannica* and *Amer. Sup.*

76. *Aristæus*.—Most of the statements made concerning the Septuagint come from the so-called letter of Aristæus, a fiction dating from some part of the second century B. C., purporting to be an account of the event itself, but more particularly of the philosophical discussions in which the distinguished translators engaged in the presence of Ptolemy. Make a digest of this, from the letter of Aristæus, in Hody, or from Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ii, *Preface* 3, *Cont. Ap.* ii. 4).

77. *Information from other sources*.—*a.* For example, Philo (*Life of Moses* II. iv–vii) says that there was a miraculous agreement between the Hebrew and the translation. In the hands of the Christian fathers, this became a miraculous agreement among the translators, when they varied from the Hebrew (Epiphanius in Migne, *Greek Patrologia* XLIII. 242, 374; also Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Augustine, as cited in Smith's *Bib. Dic.*). *b.* The Jewish traditions, besides repeating some of these things, speak of "five elders who wrote the law for Ptolemy the king in Greek," and speak of their changing thirteen places, etc., matters not referred to in Aristæus (Light-foot XII. 579 sq., X. 419 sq.). *c.* Of especial importance are the two following passages. It is testified that the first was addressed to Ptolemy Philometer, 180–146 B. C. The date of the second is about 200 A. D.

"It is evident that Plato followed our law, and he was evidently a careful student of everything in it. For there had been translated before Demetrius Phalereus, through others, before the conquest of Alexander and the Persians, the matters pertaining to the going forth of the Hebrews, our fellow citizens, from Egypt, and the manifestation of all that happened to them, and the conquest of the land, and the detailed account of the whole legislation. * * * * But the whole translation of all things pertaining to the law was in the time of him called king Philadelphus, thy ancestor, * * * * Demetrius Phalereus being active in these matters" (Aristobulus in Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* XIII. xi, Clement *Stromata* I. xv, xxii, in Migne XXI. 1098, VIII. 781, 889 sq.).

"They say the scriptures, both of the law and the prophetic, to have been interpreted from the dialect of the Hebrews into the Greek tongue in the time of King Ptolemy Lagus, or, as some say, of the one called Philadelphus, Demetrius Phalereus bringing to this the greatest ambition, and providing the things concerning the interpretation" (Clement *Stromata*, Migne VIII. 894).

78. *The facts.*—Against these traditions it is alleged that Philadelphus was the enemy of Phalereus, and on coming to the throne at once got rid of him. But this would not apply during the years 285–283 B. C., when Lagus and Philadelphus were reigning together. As to other objections, the story of Aristæus certainly contains fabulous elements. But the Septuagint is a fact, and the standard account of its origin certainly contains some elements of fact. The following points may probably be accepted as historical.

79. *The facts — translation made by Alexandrian Jews.*—This is contrary to the accounts given in the traditions; but the peculiarities of the Greek which the translators have given us, and those of their Hebrew scholarship, put it beyond question.

80. *The facts — two motives for the translation.*—*a.* About 285 B. C., the date at which Ptolemy Philadelphus became king with Lagus, some arrangement was made for putting the Jewish sacred books into the Alexandrian library, and some correspondence was had with the Palestinian Jews for this purpose. The outside testimony confirms the Aristæan account to this effect. *b.* In addition to this, however, both before and after this date the Alexandrian Jews must have had occasion to use their sacred writings in Greek, both for themselves and in their disputes with the Samaritans, and very likely in discussions with Greeks.

81. *The facts—neglected points in traditional account.*—*a.* One of these is that Ptolemy desired and secured accurate transcriptions in Hebrew for his library, as well as the translation into Greek (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 2, 1, 4, 13, and Epiphanius. *b.* Another point is that the pains he took was for the securing of an accurate text, there being plenty of inferior texts already accessible (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 4). *c.* If these statements be accepted as historical, and there is no reason for not accepting them, then the transcription may probably enough have been the work of Palestinian Jews, while most of the translation work was certainly not done by them. There is even no improbability, considering the disputes then prevalent be-

tween the Samaritans and the Jerusalem Jews, in the assertion that an official copy was brought from Jerusalem, to be transcribed and verified under the eye of King Ptolemy's literary men. *d.* If there was then the same contrast which existed for 14 centuries before the art of printing, between the verbal accuracy of the Jewish copyists of the scriptures and the verbal negligence customary among the Greeks, then the accuracy of the transcription, and the tests used for securing it, may constitute the nucleus of fact around which, later, grew the marvelous stories concerning the accuracy of the translation.

82. *The facts—previous translation work.*—But parts of the scriptures had been previously translated. This follows almost of necessity from the nature of the case, and is affirmed, for example, in the passages from Aristobulus and from Clement cited above, cf. *Jos. Ant.* XII. ii. 4. 14.

It follows that the translators of Ptolemy, or their successors, would, of course, incorporate into their work whatever previous work, available for the purpose, they found.

83. *The facts—the text used.*—The external evidence, with which all the internal marks agree, goes to prove that the work was undertaken by men who appreciated the importance of having a good text, but who were also in possession of inferior texts, and whose work, especially the parts of it that were taken from previous translations, was greatly affected by the inferior texts (*Jos. Ant.* XII. ii. 4, etc.).

84. *The facts—the time occupied.*—The different parts of the Greek Old Testament bear the marks of having been translated by different hands, and, possibly, in different generations. It is commonly stated that the accounts say that the pentateuch was first translated, but they do not say this. Very likely, however, it was first translated, as they would be likely to begin at the beginning.

85. *The facts—the plan concerned the Old Testament.*—The Jewish sacred books which Ptolemy's men obtained, or laid their plans to obtain, are called in Josephus (*Preface* 3) the law.

“ But those who were sent to Alexandria on the matter of the *exegesis*, delivered only the books of the law ; but the things set forth by the sacred writings are numberless.”

Josephus gives this as a reason for writing his history, namely, that he may render accessible to Greeks the contents of these other sacred writings that were not included in the law. But long before this time, the whole Old Testament had been translated into Greek, and was familiarly known as the law (Qus. 25-26). It follows that by the law Josephus here means, not the pentateuch, as is often asserted, but the Old Testament.

Aristobulus says the same. So do Clement and Epiphanius and the other Christian fathers. The accounts speak of “ many books of laws ” (Jos. XII. ii. 1), “ the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others ” (ii.4), “ a great desire of knowing our laws, and of obtaining the books of our sacred scriptures ” (*Cont. Ap.*).

The idea that the king wanted less than the whole body of the then celebrated Hebrew literature is inconsistent with his purpose to put into the library all the books in the known world.

Clearly the aggregate of sacred writings which the promoters of the Septuagint had in mind was the Old Testament. For the present we waive the question whether possibly it then lacked a few of the writings it now contains.

It does not follow that the plan was then completely carried out, and all the books translated at that time. The common opinion of scholars is that they were not. When Lagus died, and the influence of Demetrius ceased, it is very likely that many of their plans lapsed. But there is no valid reason for denying that the traditions are correct as far as concerns the existence of this plan.

LECTURE X.

THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.

86. *Specimen traditions.*—*a.* Maimonides (see Qu. 11) sums up the traditions as follows:

“By the consistory of Ezra are understood the men of the great Synagogue to wit, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, Azariah, Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Zerubbabel, and many wise men with them. In all they were 120 elders, the last of whom within the number of 120 was Simon the just, who received the oral law from all these, and was highpriest after Ezra” (Ugol. I. 12).

b. For later statements see Lightfoot IX. 342–343 and X. 527 sq., Elias Levita as cited in Buhl, p. 36, or in Ugolino I 226. or the following: We are told that the great synagogue was

“constituted by Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and many others assembled for reforming the church, after the return from Babylon” (Rabbis Azariah and Gedaliah cited in Buxtorf *Com. on Mas.*, A. D. 1665, cited in Ugol. III. 434. viii; in xiii he adds Daniel).

“The men of the great Synagogue, among whom was Ezra, with Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and other illustrious men of those times” (Schickard, A. D. 1592–1635, in Ugol. XXV. 1207).

c. In the Mishna, with date, say 150 A. D., we read:

“Moses received the law from Sinai, and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the great Synagogue. They said three things: ‘Be deliberate in judgment, train up many disciples, and make a fence for the law.’ Simon the just was of the remnant of the great Synagogue. He used to say: ‘On three things the world standeth—on the law, and on the service, and on gratitude for kindness’” (Young’s translation of *Pirke Aboth* 1–2).

At a date not much later, we have found the Baraita testifying:

“The men of the great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel and the Twelve, Daniel and the roll of Esther” (Qu. 29).

d. Other relatively early traditions are to the effect that “the men of the great Synagogue came and explained” Proverbs, the Song and Ecclesiastes (Qu. 45), and such as the following:

“What did the men of the great Synagogue do? They wrote a book and spread it out in the court of the temple. And at dawn of day they rose, and found it sealed. This is what is written in Nehemiah” (*Midrash Ruth*, per-

haps 278 A. D., cited in W. R. Smith, note 3 on Lect. vi., and referring to Neh. ix. 38).

“Purim is instituted, concerning which there is a discussion by 85 elders, of whom more than 30 were prophets” (Lightfoot X. 525, citing Hieros in *Megil.* fol. 7 col. 4).

“At least the *Megila Jer.* (i. 5) and *Midrash Ruth* (Sec. 3) speak of an assembly of 85 elders, who are probably” the 84 enumerated Neh. x. 1-27, with Ezra. “Another tradition gives the number as 120, which may be got by adding the chief of the fathers enumerated in Ez. viii. 1-14 to the 102 heads of families in Ez. ii. 2-58” (Davidson *Canon*, p. 27).

In the Babylonian Gemara to chapter i of *Megillah* we are informed that the men of the great synagogue made ordinances for the reading of Esther in the synagogues; and a tradition is spoken of, “from our ancestors the men of the great Synagogue” Rod. VIII, *Megillah* pp. 2, 22.

87. *The place of Ezra among the men of the great Synagogue.*—The traditions represent him as the great representative man of the succession. They do not represent him as the earliest of these men, or as the founder of the succession, or as highpriest, or as having lived to the time of Simon the just.

88. *Simon the just.*—He was highpriest, son of Onias, and “was called the just both because of his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation” (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 5).

The Talmuds say he was the highpriest who went out from Jerusalem to meet Alexander the great (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 5). It is said that the most remarkable things happened in connection with his highpriestly ministrations. For example, the scarlet list on the scapegoat’s head turned white; an angel went in and came out with him when he entered the most holy place on the day of expiation, etc. (Lightfoot IX. 343). In his time the temple service was especially magnificent. If he is the Simon of Ecclus. i, he was a statesman and a great builder. He died either about 300 or about 200 B. C. See next lecture.

89. *Views as to an organization called the great Synagogue.*—*a.* An ecclesiastical council, contemporaneous with Ezra (Etheridge). *b.* Extending over several generations, but dominated by the spirit of Ezra (Prideaux). *c.* Merely the convocation described in Neh. viii-x. (W. R. Smith, citing

Graetz and Krochmal). *d.* A permanent body organized at that convocation (McC. and Strong).

90. *The men as distinguished from the organization.—a.* They were certainly historical. The traditions represent the succession of them as beginning in the times of Daniel and Ezekiel, and including the conspicuous men of the next three centuries or more. No one doubts that these men existed, or that they were much occupied with matters of public worship and administration, and with the scriptures and other literature. *b.* As a succession of men they follow the prophets. But many of them, individually, were prophets. Chronologically they fall into two groups, those who lived before the cessation of prophecy, and those who lived later.

LECTURE XI.

CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF DATES AND HISTORICAL SETTING.

91. *Notes on the following table.—a.* The reign of Euergetes I is commonly counted from B. C. 246. But it has recently been discovered that Ptolemy Philadephus for some years used a dating formula which counted his fifteenth year the first year of Euergetes (Mahaffy *Ptol. Dyn.* p. 99). *b.* The dates of the highpriests in the table, back to Eleazar, are taken from books of reference. The same sources assign 19 years to Onias I, 20 years to Jaddua, 32 years to Johanan and 40 years to Joiada, the last being clearly a mistake.

92. *Table of kings and events, in years B. C.*—The first year of a king is the year that begins in March after his accession. The middle column follows the canon of Ptolemy.

	PERSIAN AND GREEK KINGS.	JEWISH HIGHPRIESTS.
	Cyrus, 538-530.	Jeshua.
	Cambyses, 529-522,	
	Dar. Hystaspis, 521-486.	<i>Temple built.</i>
	Xerxes, 485-465.	Joiakim. <i>Esther.</i>
	Art. Longimanus, 464-424.	Eliashib. <i>Reform.</i>
	Darius Nothus, 423-405.	Joiada.
		<i>Nehemiah, 2nd adm.</i>
	Artax. Mnemon, 404-359.	Johanán, 404-373?
		<i>Samaritan schism.</i>
		Jaddua, 372-353?
	Artax. Ochus, 358-338.	Onias I, 352-334?
	Arogus, 337-336.	
	Dar. Codomannus, 335-332.	
—		
	SYRIAN-GREEK KINGS.	
	Alexander, 331-324.	Simon I, 333-294?
	<i>Alexandria built.</i>	<i>The just?</i>
<i>Seleucid era, 312.</i>	Ptolemy Lagus, 323-283.	
Seleucus Nicator, 312-280.		Eleazar, 293-260?
<i>Antioch, about 300.</i>		<i>Ecclus? Septuagint.</i>
Antiochus Soter, 279-261.	P. Philadelphus, 285-247.	Mannasseh, 259-234.
A. Theos, 260-246		Onias II, 233-219.
S. Callinicus, 245-226.	P. Euergetes I, 271-222.	
S. Ceraunus, 225-223.		Simon II, 218-199.
A. the great, 222-187.	P. Philopator, 221-205.	<i>The just?</i>
	P. Epiphanes, 204-181.	Onias III, 198-175.
S. Philopator (Soter), 186-175.	P. Philometer, 180-146.	
A. Epiphanes, 174-164.		Jason (Jesus), 174-172.
		Onias IV (Menelaus), 171-163.
		<i>Maccabæan wars.</i>
A. Eupator, 163-162.		Alcimus (Jacimus), 162-160.
Demetrius Soter, 161-151.		<i>Roman treaty, 162.</i>
Alex. Bala (Epiphanes), 150-146.	P. Euergetes II (Phys- con), 170-117.	<i>Temple in Egypt.</i>
		Interval of 7 years.
Dem. Nicanor, 142-127.		Jonathan, 153-143.
		Simon III, 142-135.
		<i>Judæa independent.</i>
	P. Lathyrus, 116-81.	J. Hyrcanus, 134-104.
	P. Alexander I, 107-89.	<i>Jerusalem taken by Pompey, 63.</i>

93. *Four groups of postexilian events.*—*a.* Rebuilding of temple, etc., B. C. 538–516, reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, pseudo-Smerdis (Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes) and Darius; Zerubbabel and Jeshua leaders (Ezra i–vi, Haggai, Zech. i–viii). *b.* B. C. 515–459, including Esther in reign of Xerxes (Ahasuerus); no Palestinian events. *c.* Reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, B. C. 458–433, seventh to thirty-second of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra vii–x, Neh. i–xi. 2). *d.* Second administration of Nehemiah, after 433 B. C., reigns (probably) of Artaxerxes, Darius Nothus and Artaxerxes Mnemon (Neh. xii. 27–xiii, 1 Chron. ix and Neh. xi. 3–xii. 26, Malachi).

94. *The Samaritan schism.*—Under the influence of the reform enforced by Ezra and Nehemiah, one branch of the Jewish highpriestly family withdrew, and set up a rival temple at Mount Gerizim, claiming that theirs was the true religion of Israel (Jos. *Ant.* XI. vii–viii). Josephus is doubtless correct in saying that this occurred in the time of Nehemiah's contemporary, Sanballat, and in naming Manasseh the brother of the Jewish highpriest Jaddua as concerned in it; and is therefore incorrect in assigning it to the time of Alexander the great.

95. *The latest event of the biblical narrative.*—It is this Samaritan schism, described by Nehemiah in a single sentence.

“And there was a son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite of the sons of Joiada the highpriest, and I expelled him from me” (Neh. xiii. 28).

Josephus says (*Ant.* XI. vii–viii) that this son-in-law was Manasseh, grandson to Joiada and brother to Jaddua; and that the temple at Gerizim was built for him at the instance of Sanballat in the time of Alexander the great. Here as often elsewhere Josephus is mixed in his chronology, and in his identifications of the Persian kings; but he is probably correct in his main facts. So the latest event of the biblical narrative is an act of Nehemiah.

96. *The latest event in the genealogical notes.*—Neh. xi. 3–xii. 26 is a long note, interrupting the narrative. It is in part a duplicate of 1 Chron. ix. 2 sq., and the two bring the the genealogies up to the same point, mentioning the same

citizens, priests, Levites and gatekeepers. *a.* In these notes are two lists of priests. The first list contains a table of priests and Levites "that went up with Zerubbabel" (Neh. xii. 1-9), followed by a table of the highpriests from Jeshua to Jaddua (10-11). The second list mentions two enrollments, the first "in the days of Joiakim" (12-21, especially 12, 26a); and the second "in the days of Eliashib, Joiada and Johanan and Jaddua" (22-23). *b.* The two lists alike terminate with Jaddua, and his enrollment in the succession of the highpriests is the latest event here mentioned.

97. *The date of this second enrollment.*—*a.* The four specifications of the date are: first, "The days of Eliashib, Joiada and Johanan and Jaddua" (22); second, "The days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest the scribe" (26b); third, "Upon the kingdom of Darius the Persian" (22); fourth, "Up to the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib" (23). *b.* The first two of these specifications cover long periods of time. The third limits the date to the time after the accession of Darius Nothus, B. C. 424. The fourth limits it to a time not later than the pontificate of Johanan. *c.* Some books of reference date the accession of Johanan about 371 B. C., but the following reasons prove that this is much too late. First, it is based on the mistaken assertion of Josephus that Jaddua was highpriest at the time of Alexander the great. Second, it involves the inference that the four preceding pontificates covered more than 167 years, which is very improbable. Third, it leaves insufficient room for Simon I. whom the Talmuds declare to have been highpriest 40 years (Qu. 98). If Simon served 40 years, then Johanan became highpriest not far from 404 B. C., about the close of the reign of Darius. *d.* This Darius cannot have been Codomannus, for Codomannus did not come to the throne till from 5 to 40 years after the death of Johanan. *e.* The fact that Jaddua is enrolled in the succession of highpriests, though the list is brought up only to the time of his father, may be accounted for on the natural hypothesis that these lists are connected with the proceedings by which his brother Manasseh was excluded from the suc-

cession. *f.* In any case, this enrollment nearly coincides in date with the latest event of the narrative. Both belong about 400 B. C., while Nehemiah was yet alive.

98. *The date of the life of Simon the just.*—*a.* Josephus says that he was the first Simon (XII. ii. 5, iv. 1). *b.* The Talmuds say the same, and also that he was contemporary with Alexander the great (*Yoma* vii, in Rod. VI. 99, also Buhl *Canon*, p. 37), and was highpriest 40 years (*Yoma* fol. 9, 1 and *Wayyikra Rabba* fol. 189, 1, cited in Lightfoot XII. 399–400). *c.* This is confirmed by the probabilities of the history (Qu. 97), and by those concerning Ecclesiasticus (Qu. 99). *d.* Against this are only certain vague talmudical statements, and the fact that the traditions mention thirteen chief rabbis, twelve of them arranged in pairs, between Simon the just and the Christian era. On this last point our knowledge is too incomplete to be conclusive.

99. *The date of Ecclesiasticus.*—*a.* The Prologue dates the translation soon after “the 38th year upon (ἐπί) king Euergetes.” It is disputed whether this means the 38th year of the reign of the king, or some other 38th year within the reign. The 38th year of the first Euergetes was 234 B. C., that of the second 133 B. C. (Qus. 91, 92). *b.* The book was written in Hebrew by the grandfather (πάππος) or some more remote ancestor of the translator. *c.* In the fiftieth chapter is a panegyric on a highpriest “Simon son of Onias”, probably an acquaintance of the author. The particulars fit the first Simon, rather than the second. *d.* The absence of marks of Greek influence in Ecclesiasticus is a strong argument in favor of the earlier date (Qu. 114). *e.* For some decades it has been the fashion to date this book early in the second century B. C.; but the true date is certainly early in the third century. It is a monument of the same spirit which was exhibited in the plan for the Septuagint translation.

See Dr. Wilson’s article in the *Pres. and Ref. Review* for July, 1900.

LECTURE XII.

THE OLD TESTAMENT 400 B. C. INTERNAL PROOF.

100. *The proposition.*—*a.* There are many items which, when put together, constitute credible proof that the Old Testament was a recognized aggregate of writings about 400 B. C., that is, within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah. *b.* That this aggregate was in the main the same with our 39 books the evidence directly proves; the question whether the two aggregates are in part different will be discussed in Lecture XIV. *c.* We know but little as to the classifications or the order of arrangement of the aggregate of Nehemiah's time. *d.* The opinion that Ezra personally published the Old Testament as a completed canon is mistaken. *e.* The opinion that a collection of the Old Testament writings was officially made and proclaimed by the great Synagogue or by some equivalent ecclesiastical body cannot be proved, but perhaps cannot be disproved.

101. *The lawbook of Nehemiah's time.*—*a.* It was the prominent feature of the period (e. g. Neh. viii, xiii. 1-3, Ezra vii. 6, 12, 14, 25). *b.* The basis of regulations which included public prayer and music, singers, gatekeepers, Nethinim, courses of priests and Levites, and various other matters not legislated upon in the pentateuch; David being made about as prominent as Moses. *c.* A "book of Moses" containing matters not found in the pentateuch, but found in Chronicles (Ezra vi. 18, 1 Chron. xxiii-xxiv). *d.* In their recapitulation passing without a break from the contents of the pentateuch to those of the other books (Neh. ix. 6-21, 22-31). *e.* The parallel case in Daniel (vi. 5, 10 cf. 1 Ki. viii. 44, 48, etc., Ps. lv. 17).

102. *Evidence from the present arrangement of the Old Testament.*—With some variations, and many exceptions in detail, the present arrangement of the books is in the main chronological. The prophetic books taken as a whole belong to times later than the times of the pentateuch, and earlier than those

of the hagiographa taken as a whole. The last six of the minor prophets at least are in the time order. Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles are doubtless the latest written books of the hagiographa.

103. *The Hebrew of the later books.*—The later books, while differing linguistically from the earlier, differ yet more decidedly from the New Hebrew of later times; which is an argument for the antiquity of the Old Testament books. There are differences of orthography, of syntax and of vocabulary (see Qu. 113c).

104. *Persian and Greek marks.*—*a.* In the later books of the bible we find scores of Persian words, persons, events, there being some hundreds of instances in all. From these Persian marks the earlier books are free. *b.* With the exception of the orchestral terms in Dan. iii (cf. v. 29), which may easily be accounted for as of early date, these later books are conspicuously free from Greek marks, while many of the apocryphal books, 1 Maccabees for example, are crowded full of Greek things, persons and events. *c.* These facts alone are well nigh conclusive in favor of the proposition that the Old Testament was completed before the beginning of the Greek period, that is before B. C. 331.

105. *Proof from the latest events recorded in the Old Testament.*—*a.* In Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah there is seemingly an effort to bring the history up to the date of the writer. This has often been noted. *b.* These books contain the latest events definitely mentioned in the Old Testament. Certain alleged allusions to later events, made in Daniel and elsewhere, are at most not specific statements of specific facts. *c.* We have seen in the last lecture that these events occurred within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah. *e.* It is therefore strongly probably that the completion of these accounts and of the books containing them was the completion of the Old Testament, and occurred while Nehemiah was still alive. *f.* This is confirmed by the literary references in these books (Qu. 111c.)

106. *Comparison of canonical books with others.*—The same conclusion would be independently established by comparing

the canonical books with the uncanonical books of the same class. For example, compare Jonah, Daniel, or Esther with the Apocryphal parts of Daniel or Esther, or with Judith or 3 Maccabees; or compare Proverbs or Ecclesiastes with Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Solomon. In such comparisons (in most cases, without dispute), it is at once evident that the canonical books are immensely the earlier.

LECTURE XIII.

THE OLD TESTAMENT 400 B. C. TESTIMONY.

107. *Josephus*.—He testifies (*Cont. Ap.* i. 8, see Qu. 48) that the 22 books were regarded as a separate aggregate, and were all written by the prophets who were contemporary with Artaxerxes, “king of the Persians after Xerxes,” or earlier. Verbally his limit of time is the lifetime of the king, who died 424 B. C.; but actually, it is clear that he had in mind the lifetime of the prophets who were contemporary with Artaxerxes, which would bring the limit two decades or more later.

108. *The Baba-batra*.—*a.* The classical rabbinical passage (Qu. 29) attributes all the later work on the Old Testament to the men of the great Synagogue, mentioning Ezra by name, and ascribing the completion of the work to Nehemiah. *b.* Apparently this passage counts Ezekiel as being, like his contemporary Daniel, one of the men of the great Synagogue. *c.* Even if one understands the passage to say directly no more than that Nehemiah finished the books of Chronicles, all the same the passage represents that as the finishing of the Old Testament. *d.* If it is fair to say that a person wrote a book, meaning thereby that he is the person chiefly responsible for its existence, whether as its author, its projector, or its editor, then there is no strong reason for discrediting these statements of the tradition.

109. *Traditions concerning Ezra*.—*a.* In 4 Esdras it is affirmed that Ezra by inspiration reproduced the whole Old

Testament, after it had been lost, adding a large body of apocrypha (Qu. 47.) *b.* The same statement is made, specifically and with slight variations, by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome and other Christian fathers. *c.* These Christian traditions are supported by very many rabbinical passages.

“Ezra was worthy that the law should have been given to Israel by his hands, if Moses had not preceded him” (Talmud *Sanh.* ii, fol. 21, cited in Ugol. III. 434. Also Jerus. in *Megil.* fol. 71. Wildeboer cites it from Schwab V. 212).

“The law was given to Israel in Hebrew writing and the holy language. It was given again to them in the days of Ezra in Ashurith writing and the Aramæan language. The Israelites chose the Ashurith writing and the holy language” (Talmud *Sanh.* fol. 21. 2, etc., also Jerus. *Megil.* fol. 71, Lightfoot X. 528, 527).

“The Ashurith which was given to them in the days of Daniel. Ezra came and wrote the law therein, to wit in the Ashurith writing” (Talmud *Sanh.* as above).

“When the Torah was forgotten by Israel Ezra came from Babylon and restored it” (*Sukkah* 20a, cited in “Scribes” in McC. and Strong).

“‘And they read in the book of the law’; that was the text. ‘It was made distinct’; that was Targum. ‘And they used trained skill’; those were the accents. ‘And they had discernment in the reading’; that was the masoreth” (Jerus. *Megil.*, gloss, fol. 74. 4, in Lightfoot X. 527).

This is comment on Neh. viii. 8. It is often cited in proof that the traditions refer the accents and vowel points to Ezra, but it does not prove that. *d.* Additional passages might be adduced, the contemporary Christian instances specifying the other books as well as the pentateuch. These traditions contain a large element of fable, though not so large as is sometimes represented; but it is inconceivable that they are without a solid basis of fact. *e.* That Ezra was a leader in work on the Old Testament appears from his character as “the scribe, even the scribe of the words of the commandments of Yahweh” (Ezra vii. 11 and elsewhere). *f.* This is curiously confirmed by the Septuagint translators, who render: “the scribe (writer) of the book of the words”. *g.* It is confirmed by the common opinion of living scholars. Especially, a man who holds that most of the pentateuch and of the other books was written during or after Ezra’s time is precluded from

minimizing the scriptural work which the traditions assign to Ezra. *h.* The work which they assign to him is the completing of the entire Old Testament, though they make a part of this work posthumous.

110. *Traditions concerning the men of the great Synagogue.*—*a.* We have found the traditions saying (Qu. 86) that these men received the law from the prophets; that they, including Ezra and Nehemiah, “wrote Ezekiel and the Twelve, Daniel and the roll of Esther”, and Ezra and Chronicles; that they did written work in Nehemiah’s time; also (Qu. 45) that they protected the canonicity of Proverbs, the Song and Ecclesiastes. Yet other instances will be cited in Lecture XIV. *b.* It has been argued that the traditions which attribute the completing of the Old Testament to the men of the great Synagogue contradict those which attribute it to Ezra; but the argument is silly. *c.* No traditions attribute any part of this work to the postprophetic men of the great Synagogue.

111. *The letter of Judas in 2 Maccabees.*—Ostensibly this letter is dated B. C. 164. It is written from Jerusalem, and addressed to Aristobulus the well known Egyptian Jewish philosopher. It contains fabulous matter, but the statements in the following excerpts so fit into the other parts of the evidence that we must accept them as true.

“And the priests made a prayer while the sacrifice was consuming, both the priests and all [the rest], Jonathan beginning, and the rest responding aloud, as Nehemiah [did]” (2 Mac. i. 23).

“So prayed Solomon also, and the fire came down, and consumed the burnt offerings. * * * * In the same manner, also, Solomon kept the eight days. And the same [things] also were reported in the records, namely, the memoirs of Nehemiah; and how he, founding a library, gathered together the books concerning the kings, and prophets, and those of David, and epistles of kings concerning holy gifts. And in like manner also Judas gathered together all those books that had been scattered by reason of the war we had, and they are with us. If now, possibly, ye have need thereof, send such as will bring them unto you” (2 Mac. ii. 10-15).

a. The first of these excerpts confirms the other evidence to the effect that the highpriest Johanan (Jonathan) was early enough to be the contemporary of Nehemiah. *b.* The second excerpt cites 2 Chronicles (vii. 1-10) as the “Memoirs according

to Nehemiah". c. It also describes—not a canon of scripture, but—a library, collected by Nehemiah. Internal evidences show that exactly such a library was at the command of the writer or writers of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. It contained "the books concerning the kings" (1 Chron. ix. 1, 2 Chron. xvi. 11, xx. 34, etc.), "and prophets" (1 Chron. xxix. 29, 2 Chron. ix. 29, xii. 15, xiii. 22, xx. 34, xxvi. 22, xxxii. 20, 32, etc.), "and those of David" (1 Chron. xxiii. 27, xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xxix. 25, 27, 30, xxxv. 4. 15, Ezra iii. 10, etc.), "and epistles of kings concerning holy gifts" (Ezra vii. 11–26, v. 6–17, vi. 3–12, etc., Qu. 137). Clearly we have here a glimpse into the literary activity that attended the completing of the Old Testament in Nehemiah's time.

112. *The Septuagint*.—All these considerations confirm the interpretation of the traditions concerning the Septuagint that has been given in these notes, and are in turn confirmed by those traditions (Lect. IX). The Septuagint, as we have it, contains the law, meaning by law the Old Testament, and some other Jewish writings. We have seen above that the traditions say that the original plan was to translate the law and some other writings, and that by the law they must have meant a wider body of writings than the pentateuch, presumptively the Old Testament. This plan, the traditions say, was formed about 285 B. C. Doubtless the Septuagint, as it now exists, was not then at once produced. Certainly, the plan then formed could not have included most of the present apocryphal books, since these were not then written. But the mere fact that such a plan was formed implies that the Old Testament had then been in existence for some generations, as a recognized body of writings. This dates the Old Testament in general early in the fourth century B. C.

113. *Ecclesiasticus*.—a. We have found this book testifying that the Old Testament writings existed as an old and well known aggregate soon after 300 B. C. (Qus. 61 and 99). This dates the aggregate not much later than 400 B. C. b. Significantly, the synopsis of Old Testament history closes with Nehemiah (Ecclus. xlix. 13). c. This is strongly confirmed by

the fact that the recently discovered Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus mediates linguistically between the latest biblical books and the so called new Hebrew (*Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, July 1900, pp. 488-506).

114. *The traditions concerning Ecclesiasticus.*—Both the Prologue and other traditions (Qus. 60, 43, 44 and 115) say that the Old Testament writings belong to an older class than Ecclesiasticus. This is the more significant because Ecclesiasticus is very much used in the rabbinical and patristic writings. For example, not far from one hundred citations of or allusions to seventy nine passages in Ecclus. are given from the rabbinical writings in *The original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclus.*, ed. of 1897, pp. xix-xxx.

115. *Traditions concerning the cessation of prophecy.*—*a.* The traditions agree with the New Testament in teaching that the Old Testament was written by prophets. *b.* They teach that the succession of prophets ceased with Malachi the contemporary of Nehemiah. *c.* In proof see Josephus (Qus. 107, 48). Dr. Buhl holds that parts of the Old Testament were written much later than the prophets. Yet he speaks, citing his authority, of

“ the Talmudical passages where the authors of the Hagiographa are spoken of as prophets (*Canon* p. 38, citing *B'rakoth* 13a).

He also cites (p. 36) the following early passage touching the time of Alexander the great:

“ Down to this time the prophets prophesied by the Holy Spirit ; from this time have wrought only the wise ” (*Seder Olam* Meyer ed. of 1706, p. 90).

He also cites (p. 8) the following combination text (see Qus. 43, 44), “the foreign writings” being supposed to be those of the founders of Christianity:

“ R. Aqiba said : Whoever reads in the foreign writings has no part in the world to come. Books, on the other hand, like that of Sirach and other such, which were composed after the age of the prophets had been closed, may be read just as one reads a letter ” (*M. Sanhedrin* 101, *Sanh.* 100b, *Jer. Sanh.* 28a and *Tosephta Yadayim* ii. 13).

The *Seder Olam Zutta*, though late, correctly sums up the traditions as to the latest prophet :

“ Then died Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, * * * * at that time prophecy ceased from Israel.”

And this agrees with the position of Malachi as the last prophetic book in the order of arrangement. *d.* This is not vitiated by the fact that Josephus attributes prophetic gift to John Hyrcanus (*Wars* I. ii. 8), any more than by the fact that the Maccabees claimed supernatural gifts. Rather this emphasizes their recognition of the fact that the succession of the prophets had ceased (1 Mac. ix. 27, iv. 46, xiv. 41).

116. *The descriptive terms used in the traditions.*—Of a piece with what has been said concerning prophecy is the meaning of the terms Tanaim, Mishna, Masora, and other like terms. They all carry the idea that the age of prophecy was past, and the scribe had now nothing to do, save to repeat the message that the prophets had brought.

117. *An argument from silence.*—There is no tradition of the producing of any part of the Old Testament later than Nehemiah, a silence which must be regarded as significant.

LECTURE XIV.

ALLEGED WRITING OF SCRIPTURE LATER THAN 400 B. C.

118. *Are our scriptures the scriptures of Nehemiah?*—That they are mainly so we have already proved. But is there room for holding that some of our 39 books were not in the aggregate left by Nehemiah?

119. *The state of the question.*—*a.* The traditions we have examined, apart from the specific testimony they bear to particular books, testify that all writing of this class dates from the time of Nehemiah or earlier. The proof is strong, and no opposing assertion ought to be admitted without proof that is at least equally strong. *b.* The evidence alleged against it is solely of two classes: first, inferences from the current doctrine of the triple canon of the Old Testament; second, particular facts alleged in regard to particular books and parts of books.

120. *The doctrine of a triple canon.*—*a.* It is alleged that

the present Hebrew classification must be accounted for by regarding the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa as three successive canons. Then it is alleged that the second canon cannot have been formed till the times of Malachi or later, and that the third was not decided upon till many generations later than Malachi. *b.* But if the doctrine of a triple canon were correct, that would not prove that the closing of the third canon was later than Nehemiah; after the second canon was decided upon, no long time would necessarily be required for the third. *c.* If the doctrine of a triple canon were correct, so far as official canon making is concerned, that would not change the facts mentioned in Qus. 24-27, nor the undisputed fact that a large proportion of the prophetic and hagiographic writings were in existence and were regarded by common opinion as sacred, in the time of Nehemiah. *d.* It is not probable that the three divisions represent three processes of canonization. They can be accounted for more naturally (Qus. 63-64). *e.* Hence there is here no basis for inferring that any of the books are later in date than the other evidence in the case indicates.

121. *B. C. 400 or 250?*—No one questions that all the Old Testament books save Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, Esther, Daniel and some psalms are of earlier date than Ecclesiasticus. Those who date Ecclesiasticus about 200 B. C. date most of the latest group of Old Testament writings 250 B. C. or earlier. That this date was about 150 years earlier than 250 B. C. has been sufficiently proved in the last two lectures. On Chronicles see article by K. D. Macmillan in the *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, July, 1900. On Ezra see articles by J. O. Boyd in Apr., July and Oct. numbers of same.

122. *Ecclesiastes.*—The following are the principal alleged proofs of the late date of this book. *a.* It is written in late Hebrew. But not necessarily later than 400 B. C. *b.* It is said to contain Greek ideas. But the same ideas are found elsewhere, and earlier than 400 B. C. *c.* It is said not to be alluded to in the New Testament. But that is disputed, and is not necessarily significant, even if true. *d.* Its canonicity

was questioned early in the Christian era (Qus. 44, 45, 46). That is no proof that it was not then centuries old. *e.* It is alleged that it cites Ecclesiasticus. On the contrary, it is cited by Ecclesiasticus (R. D. Wilson in *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, July, 1900. p. 502). *f.* Its freedom from Greek words or facts, with the express witness of the Baba-batra and other traditions (Qus. 29, 45, 48, etc.), confirm the presumption (Qu. 119a) that it was written before the death of Nehemiah.

123. *Solomon's Song*.—It is on substantially the same footing with Ecclesiastes, though with fewer of the marks of late Hebrew.

124. *Esther*.—This book was questioned by some rabbis, and was by some Christians grouped with Tobit and Judith (Lects. IV, V). Josephus uses the apocryphal additions to Esther (e. g. *Ant.* XI. vi. 6 cf. *Esth.* xiii. 1-7 in K. J. version). In the Septuagint a certain copy of Esther in Greek is dated in or before "the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra," that is either B. C. 177 or 112 (Swete, close of Esther). The use of Esther in the rabbinical writings is remarkably abundant, an entire tract of the Mishna, the tract *M'gillah*, being devoted to this book. For ceremonial reasons it was not read in the synagogue on the sabbath, but its reading at the festival of Purim is greatly magnified (on *Megil.* i in Rod. VIII, *M'gillah*, pp. 1, 6, 9). Interpretations of the book and regulations concerning the reading of it are attributed to the men of the great Synagogue (Rod. VIII. 22, 2). We are told that "the rabbis taught" that the reading of it "was instituted by the prophets alone" (VIII. 37). Esther is spoken of as the latest of the seven prophetesses of Israel, and as clothed with the Holy Spirit (VIII. 38). We have the arguments by which Aqiba and others proved that the book of Esther was dictated by the Holy Spirit (VIII. 15). It is clear that the men who in the second century A. D. raised questions about Esther, believed that the recognition of the book dated from the time before the ceasing of prophecy.

125. *The Maccabæan situation*.—*a.* During the Maccabæan wars, B. C. 170-143, the Jewish population of Palestine was

depleted and impoverished by massacres, persecutions, apostasies, battles, migrations. It was an unfavorable time for culture or literary production. *b.* Certain literature, described as the book or the books of the law or of the covenant, was the object of the intensest devotion of the Jewish patriots, and of the malignity of their enemies. There is no reason for holding that this was merely the pentateuch, for the patriots are represented as familiar with most parts of the Old Testament (e. g. I Mac. ii. 51-61). *c.* Work in the secondary sacred literature is attributed to them: e. g. the regathering of Nehemiah's library (2 Mac. ii. 14), or the two epistles in 2 Mac. i. 1-ii. 18, or the five books of Jason (2 Mac. ii. 23). To the times of the Maccabæan wars and the decades that follow probably belong the book of Enoch, the first and second books of Maccabees, some of the other Apocryphal books and a long list of Alexandrian Jewish writings. These writings mention Greek proper names, war elephants, Greek usages of war, Greek games and gymnasia, dates in the Greek era, and bear numberless other distinct marks of the Greek period (e. g. 2 Mac. xiv. 4, 12, 18, 33, 1 Mac. i. 14, 17, 54).

126. *Writing of scripture in the Maccabæan times?* —That there was none is strongly probable. *a.* The reasons given above (Lects. XII, XIII) in proof that the Old Testament was completed under Nehemiah. *b.* The literary possibilities of the period are immensely overworked if we attribute to it, in addition to the literature that is known to belong to it, these widely different bodies of apocryphal and biblical literature. *c.* The conviction of the non-existence of contemporaneous prophecy, which we have found prevalent in the Maccabæan times would have rendered it impossible that books then written should have been added to the scriptures (Qu. 115). *d.* The accounts we have of these times are so full as to emphasize here the argument from silence. If any scripture writing had been done in them, there would certainly be some tradition of it, but there is none. *e.* If the Maccabæan term *Asidæan* (1 Mac. ii. 42, vii. 13, 2 Mac. xiv. 6) is of biblical origin, from *hesed*, loving kindness, *hasidh*, favored one, saint, godly one

(Pss. lxxix. 2, xcvi. 10, cxxxii. 9, cxlix. 9), that does not prove that the parts of the bible that contain these terms are of Maccabæan date.

127. *Daniel*.—*a*. The correspondence between Dan. vii-xii and the events before and after Antiochus Epiphanes is plausible, though not perhaps, beyond question. If one assumes that supernatural prediction is impossible, he may find here a strong argument to prove that the author lived after these events; but not otherwise. *b*. The late date of Daniel is inferred from certain alleged errors in the historical outline of the book, but the allegations of error are mistaken. *c*. The fact that Daniel is partly in Aramaic is urged in proof of late date, but in this Daniel does not differ from Ezra (cf. Dan. ii. 4, Ezra iv. 7, 2 Ki. xviii. 26). *d*. In one passage in Daniel (Dan. iii. 4-5, 7, 10, 15, cf. "made proclamation", v. 29). are used Greek words for names of musical instruments and for herald. In the case of most of them it is uncertain whether the Aramaic borrowed them from the Greek or the Greek from the Aramaic. But if they were all originally Greek they could be accounted for without supposing that the book was written in the so-called Greek period. In this there is a marked contrast between Daniel and the known works of the Maccabæan period. *e*. We see more fully the significance of this when we observe that at least 15 Persian words are used in Daniel, besides proper names and mentions of Persian events. The instances number several dozen in all (i. 3, 5, 8, ii. 5, 8, etc., Driver *Introd.*, p. 501 ed. of 1897). It is incredible that such writing was done a century and a half after the Persian period had been replaced by the Greek. *f*. The silence of Ecclesiasticus is urged against the early date of Daniel, but Ecclesiasticus is also silent concerning Ezra. *g*. It is said that we must account for Daniel not being in the prophetic division of the Old Testament by holding that this book was not yet written when the second canon was closed. But there is a better reason. The prophetic books are homiletical, and Daniel is not. *h*. There is specific testimony to the effect that the contents of Daniel were regarded in the Maccabæan times as ancient (1

Mac. ii. 51-61, 3 Mac. vi. 3-8), and to the effect that they were old literature in the time of Alexander the great (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 5, XII. vii. 6). *i.* The style of Daniel has points in common with that of "the Chronicler," the writer or writers who put Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah into final form. *j.* This last fact co-incides with all the others in fixing the date of the book of Daniel about 400 B. C. *k.* Most of these points are emphasized by a detailed comparison between the books of Daniel and of Enoch, the latter a true product of the Maccabæan times.

128. *Supposed Maccabæan psalms.*—*a.* There are no synagogues in Ps. lxxiv. 8; the statement is that the enemy, in burning the temple, have burned up all the set feasts. Verse 9 does not imply that the succession of prophets has ceased (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, Lam. ii. 9, Ezek. vii. 26). And so with all similar alleged instances. *b.* It is true that the singing of religious songs is a prominent feature of the Maccabæan times (e. g. 1 Mac. iv. 24, 33, 54); but this makes the silence of the accounts as to the composing of such songs the more significant; and further, the singing is always in celebration of victories, while many of the alleged Maccabæan psalms would not suit such occasions. *c.* Nothing is proved by the mere fact that many of the existing psalms fit certain incidents of the Maccabæan times; for the same psalms equally fit many other incidents, earlier and later than those times. *d.* It seems to be capable of proof that several of the alleged Maccabæan Psalms are cited in Ecclesiasticus (*Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, July, 1900, p. 505).

Part II. The Old Testament from its beginnings to A. D. 1900.

LECTURE XV.

THE SUBJECT OUTLINED.

129. *A principle of classification.*—Neither the classification in the Hebrew bibles nor that in the English bibles will serve the purposes of a historical study. But 16 of the 39

books of the Old Testament consist of four series of historical works, and the remaining 23 books bear certain relations to these series. This gives us a practical basis of classification.

130. *Classification by historical contents.*—*a.* First series: the first six books, commonly known as the hexateuch. Purports to treat of the formative period of the sanctuary and institutions of Israel. With it some have classed Job and Ps. 90. *b.* Second series: Judges, Ruth and 1 and 2 Samuel. Institutions and sanctuary unsettled. With it belong such psalms as were written in David's lifetime. *c.* The third series: 1 and 2 Kings. The time when Solomon's temple was the sanctuary. With it many psalms, Proverbs, the Song, probably Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, the first nine minor prophets. *d.* Fourth series: 1 and 2 Chronicles with Ezra and Nehemiah. Repeats the preceding history, and gives that of the restored sanctuary after the exile. With it Ezekiel, the last three minor prophets, some psalms, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel.

131. *A growing aggregate of sacred writings.*—*a.* Not an accidental aggregate of the extant remains of ancient Israelitish literature. *b.* Not a late selection from Israelitish literature. *c.* But an aggregate recognized as sacred from very early times, and growing by additions made to it from time to time. An aggregate at every stage distinguishable from other literature, and capable of being properly called "law", "prophets", "writings" (Qu. 27).

132. *The five scripture-producing epochs.*—We shall find that the growth of this aggregate, by the account it gives of itself, was not continuous from generation to generation, but that there were five scripture-producing epochs. These may be indicated by the names of Moses, Joshua and Phinehas; of Samuel, David and Nathan; of Hezekiah and Isaiah; of Jeremiah; and of Ezra and Nehemiah. The chronology is in dispute, but according to the biblical numbers Phinehas died before 1400 B. C., Nathan about 1000, Hezekiah not far from 700, Jeremiah it may be about 560, and Nehemiah not long after 400.

133. *Processes of collection and canonization.*—*a.* Neither for the time of Nehemiah nor for any other date have we any account of an official making of a promulgated canon. It is not necessary to hold that there ever was any canon-making process other than the receiving of the books as prophetic from the time when they were written. *b.* But we have explicit though incomplete accounts of sacred collections of writings, from the time of Moses to that of the books that Josephus found laid up in the temple. Witness "the book" (Ex. xvii. 14, 1 Sam. x. 25); the Mosaic law book (Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-26, xvii. 18, 11); that of Josiah's time (2 Ki. xxii. 8, etc.); the work of Hezekiah's men (Prov. xxv. 1); Daniel's books (ix. 2); that read by Ezra (Neh. viii. 3, etc.).

134. *The completing of the Old Testament aggregate.*—The men who completed it, whoever they were, did several varieties of work. *a.* They gathered literary materials—such writings or fragments of writings as they could find, bearing on the history and the sacred institutions of their nation (see Qus. 111c, 137 and references). *b.* They made written studies on subjects of this sort; witness the midr'shim of 2 Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27, and perhaps other works that are mentioned in Chronicles. *c.* They wrote the latest books of the Old Testament. *d.* They collected the Hebrew biblical writings; grouping the three books of the major prophets, and the twelve books of the minor prophets; gathering the last books of the psalms, and putting the five books of the psalms together, partly incorporating and partly redistributing the earlier psalm books (Qu. 194). *e.* To some extent, they probably did a work of revising, annotating, and otherwise changing the scriptural writings they collected. There is now a strong tendency to go to an extreme in attributing to them a great deal of this, but it seems to me that the truth lies nearer the opposite extreme. So far as any doctrine of inspiration is concerned, it may be held that they were inspired for this work. *f.* They did something (not all that the traditions assign to them, but something) in the way of making arrangements for the uncorrupted transmission of the writings.

135. *Order of treatment.*—In the following lectures we are to consider, first, the non-sacred literature of Israel in biblical times; second, the peculiarity known as composite authorship, presented in the biblical writings; third, the structure and origin of the biblical writings for the four periods marked by the four historical series; fourth, the history of the aggregate from the time of its completion.

LECTURE XVI.

EXTRABIBLICAL WRITINGS OF BIBLE TIMES.

136. *The postbiblical writings.*—We have already considered these in Lect. II. But especial attention should now be paid to certain of them, preserved in Josephus and the Septuagint, which treat of the ancient history of Israel (e. g. Jos. *Ant.* II. ix, x, xi, or the Greek of 1 Ki. xii. 24, ii. 35, 46, viii. 53). Do these indicate the existence of extrabiblical Israeli literature? and if so, how early?

137. *Works mentioned in the latest books.*—Examine the use made of each of the following titles of literary works, and make up your mind whether the works referred to are now included in the Old Testament: *a.* The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32); of the Kings of Israel (xx. 34); of the Kings (xxiv. 27). of the Kings of Israel and Judah (xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8). *b.* The Book of the Kings of Israel (1 Chron. ix. 1); Words of the Kings of Israel (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18). *c.* The Midrash of the Book of the Kings (xxiv. 27); Midrash of Iddo (xiii. 22). *d.* The Words of Samuel, Gad and Nathan (1 Chron. xxix. 29); the Words of Nathan, the Prophecy of Ahijah, the Visions of Jedo (2 Chron. ix. 29); the Words of Shemaiah (xii. 15); the Words of Jehu (xx. 34); writings of Isaiah concerning Uzziah and Hezekiah (xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32); “Shemaiah wrote” (1 Chron. xxiv. 6). *e.* Words of my Seers (xxxiii. 19); Lamentations (xxxv. 25); Iddo on Genealogies

(xii. 15). *f.* Liturgical writings of David and Solomon (xxxv. 4 cf. Ezra iii. 10); Commandments of David, Gad and Nathan (xxix. 25). Last Words of David (1 Chron. xxiii. 27). *g.* Book of Moses (Ezra vi. 18, cf. 1 Chron. xxiii-xxvi). *h.* Book of Chronicles (Neh. xii. 23). *i.* Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia (Esth. x. 2). *j.* Books then numerous (Ec. xii. 12).

138. *Literature as recognized in the middle books.*—*a.* Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (1 Ki. xiv. 19 and seventeen other places); of Judah (xiv. 29 and thirteen other places); Book of the Words of Solomon (xi. 41); Solomon's poems, natural history, etc. (iv. 32-33 [v. 12-13]). *b.* The probable dates of the works mentioned in *d* and *f*, Qu. 137? *c.* Instances of doing business in writing (Jer. xxxii. 10-12, 44, Prov. iii. 3, vii. 3, 2 Ki. x. 1, 6, 1 Ki. xxi. 8, 2 Sam. xi. 15, viii. 16, 17). *d.* Other mention of writing (Isa. xxix. 11-12, xxx. 8, Job xiii. 26, xix. 23-24, xxxi. 35).

139. *In the earlier times.*—*a.* Book of Jashar (Josh. x. 12-14, 2 Sam. i. 17-27, not the Greek at 1 Ki. viii. 53); Wars of Yahweh (Num. xxi. 14); Verses (Num. xxi. 16-18, 27-30). *b.* Business in writing (Jud. viii. 14, v. 14, Josh. xviii. 4, 6, 8, 9, Num. xi. 26, v. 23, Deut. xxiv. 1, Isa. l. 1, Ex. xxxii. 31-33). *c.* Other notices of writing (Ex. xxviii. 9-11, 21, 29, 36, xxxix. 6, 14, 30, Num. xvii. 2, 3 [17, 18], Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20). *d.* Kiriath-sepher (Josh. xv. 15, 16, 49, Jud. i. 11-12).

140. *Confirmatory matters.*—*a.* The prophets are said to have been writers, from Moses down (Qus. 137-139 and concordance). *b.* The parts of the Old Testament that give the early history quote literature that is still earlier (e g. Gen. iv. 23-24, ix. 25-27, xxv. 23, xxvii. 27-29, 39-40, Num. xxiii-xxiv, 1 Sam. ii. 1-10). *c.* Some words denoting literary facts are common to the Hebrew, Aramaic, Assyrian, Arabic and other Semitic languages. Probably this denotes early literary development in Israel.

141. *Early contact of Israel with literary peoples.*—*a.* Describe the geographical situation in Palestine, with reference to Egypt and Mesopotamia. *b.* According to the bible, what

were the early relations of Israel to the peoples of those countries? *c.* From articles on Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia, Phœnicia, the Hittites, state how early these peoples had extensive literatures. *d.* How does this bear on the question of the date of the beginning of Israelitish literature?

See Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, the *Records of the Past*, Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, Mariette-Bey's *Monuments of Upper Egypt*, McCurdy's *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, and all that class of books, besides Encyclopædia articles and articles in the recent Teachers' Bibles. See also *Moses and his Recent Critics*, Essay XII, and articles by Osgood, Sayce, and McCurdy, in the *Sunday School Times* for Sept. 20 and Nov. 8, 1890, and Jan. 24, Apr. 11, May 16, June 27, Aug. 8, 1891.

142. *The El-amarna tablets.*—Certain kings of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, known as the heretic kings, moved the capital of Egypt to the locality now known as El-amarna, on the Nile. This is commonly spoken of as in the fourteenth or fifteenth century B. C. It was certainly while the Israelites were in Egypt, whatever date we give it in years B. C. Certain archives of these kings were discovered in 1887, including several hundred cuneiform tablets. Among these were a large number of letters and reports from Palestine, proving that Semitic writing was then a well known thing in those regions.

See articles by Dr. Jastrow in *Journal of Exegetical Society*. Part I, 1892 and Part I, 1893. These give a good bibliography. The letters are accessible in English in Winckler's volume, and in *Rec. of Past*, new series, vols. III-VI.

143. *Results.*—From our inquiries we find that the later biblical writers knew of Israelitish writings enough to form libraries. As the times recede, our information becomes less and less full, but the following three things were true of Israel, from before the exodus: *a.* Many of the people could read and write. *b.* They had poets and prose writers among them. *c.* Everybody knew something of the function of writing and of authorship.

LECTURE XVII.

COMPOSITE AUTHORSHIP.

144. *Explanations.*—The phrase “composite authorship” figures very largely in questions concerning the Old Testament, and a clear idea of its meaning is very important. We can best study it by the help of an instance. The following passage is literally translated from 1 Sam. xxxi and 1 Chron. x. The parts that are common to the two are printed in ordinary type; the parts that are peculiar to Samuel are italicized, and the parts that are peculiar to Chronicles are in capitals.

145. *An instance.*—“1 Now the Philistines *were fighting*¹ with Israel, and the men of Israel fled² from before the Philistines, and fell slain in the mountain of *the* Gilboa. 2 And the Philistines closely pursued AFTER Saul and AFTER his sons, and the Philistines smote *Jehonathan*³ and Abinadab and Malchishua the sons of Saul. 3 And the battle was heavy *unto*⁴ Saul, and the shooters, *men* with the bow, found him, and he was *exceedingly* annoyed from the shooters. 4 And Saul said *to*⁵ his armorbearer: Draw thy sword and thrust me through therewith, lest ⁶ these uncircumcised enter, *and thrust me through*, and make sport of me. And his armorbearer was unwilling, because he was exceedingly afraid; and Saul took the sword, and fell upon it. 5 And his armorbearer saw that Saul was dead, and he also himself fell upon the sword *of him* and died *with him*. 6 And Saul died, and his three sons, and *his armorbearer, also* all his men,⁶ *in that day* together THEY DIED. 7 And ALL the men⁷ of Israel who were *across* the valley,⁸ *or who were across the Jordan*, saw that *the men of Israel*⁹ were fled and that Saul and his sons were dead; and they aban-

1. In Chron. “fought.”

2. Plural in Sam., singular and collective in Chron.

3. In Chron. “Jonathan.”

4. In Chron. “upon.”

5. In Chron. “unto.”

6. In Chron. “all his house.”

7. Plural in Sam., sing. collective in Chron.

8. In Chron. “in the valley.”

9. In Chron. “they.”

done the cities OF THEM and fled; and the Philistines entered and dwelt in them.¹⁰ 8 And it came to pass on the morrow that the Philistines entered to strip the slain; and they found Saul and his *three* sons fallen in the mountain of *the* Gilboa. 9 And they *cut off his head, and* stripped HIM, AND TOOK UP HIS HEAD AND his armor, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to make glad with the tidings *the house of* their idols and the people. 10 And they placed his armor in the house of *Ashtaroth*,¹¹ AND HIS SKULL THEY NAILED UP IN THE HOUSE OF DAGON, *and his body they nailed up at the wall of Beth-shan*, 11 And ALL *the inhabitants of* Jabesh-gilead heard of *it*, ALL that the Philistines had done to Saul. 12 And all men of power arose *and went up all the night and took*¹² the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons¹³ *from the wall of Beth-shan, and came* AND BROUGHT THEM in to Jabesh, *and burned them there*, 13 *and took* and buried their bones under the *tamarisk*¹⁴ in Jabesh,¹⁵ and they fasted seven days. AND SAUL DIED FOR HIS REBELLION WHICH HE REBELLED WITH YAHWEH, UPON THE WORD OF YAHWEH WHICH HE KEPT NOT, AND ALSO FOR THAT HE ASKED OF ONE THAT HAD A FAMILIAR SPIRIT, IN ORDER TO INQUIRE; 14 AND HE INQUIRED NOT OF YAHWEH; AND HE SLEW HIM, AND BROUGHT AROUND THE KINGDOM TO DAVID THE SON OF JESSE.”

146. *Inferences.*—*a.* In writing this passage, the author of Chronicles did not, like a modern writer of history, first study his sources, and then state the facts in his own language. He transcribed verses 1–12 with slight changes, either from the book of Samuel or from the source whence the writer in Samuel obtained them. *b.* His omissions are made systematically, and in the interest of rendering the narrative briefer and more fluent. *c.* In the additions he makes, there are marks of a

10. In Chron. the pronoun is masculine, giving perhaps the meaning “among them” that is, among the Israelites.

11. In Chron. “in the house of their gods.”

12. In Chron. “took up.”

13. For “body” and “bodies” the usual Hebrew word is used in Samuel. In Chron. a word is used which occurs only here.

14. In Chron. “terebinth.”

15. He directive in Sam. and not in Chron.

style of Hebrew later than that of the transcribed passage. *d.* He does not always treat his sources thus, transcribing them. In verses 13–14 he has summarized facts which are given in detail in Samuel. *e.* We need not notice other points, nor touch upon certain matters of Hebrew diction which cannot be shown in the translation.

147. *Various sources in composite authorship.*—An inspection of the instance just given will show us something of the way in which the human authors of the Old Testament did their work. One important point, however, it fails to show; an author might do his work by transcribing from several sources, and not from one source only; and if he did, the transcribed passages would probably follow one another, with the author's own notes interspersed, and without any statements to enable the reader to distinguish one from the other.

148. *Credibility and composite authorship.*—*a.* Within limits it is true that the older elements in a composite narrative are the more trustworthy. *b.* But it is also true that the man who put the earlier writings together in the composite whole had information which we lack; therefore we should not lightly disregard his judgment. *c.* It is further true that the process of dissecting a composite writing into its original parts is nearly always logically defective—like the attempt to determine a space by two lines; hence we cannot trust the results except as we have confirmatory evidence. *d.* Hence the especial importance here of looking at every part of the evidence, and allowing one part to interpret another.

149. *Composite authorship and inspiration.*—The facts are inconsistent with the idea that the scriptures were mechanically dictated by God; they are consistent with any other doctrine of inspiration. The Holy Spirit is as able to guide men in the processes of composite authorship as in any other supposable literary processes.

LECTURE XVIII.

SCRIPTURE WRITINGS OF THE FIRST PERIOD. THE HEXATEUCH.

150. *Limits of treatment.*—The hexateuch constitutes a subject so extensive and complicated that it demands a course of lectures by itself. All that we can now do is to devote one lecture to outlining its contents, etc., and another to outlining the opinions now currently held concerning it.

151. *The three kinds of material in the hexateuch.*—First, poems and addresses; second, legislation; third, narratives

152. *Poems and addresses.*—*a.* For example Gen. xlix. 2–27, Ex. xv. 1–18, Num. xxiii–xxiv, Deut. xxxii. 1–43, Deut. xxxiii. *b.* Deut. i. 3–iv. 40, Josh. xxiii, Josh. xxiv. On a different footing, perhaps, is Gen. xliv. 18–34.

153. *Legislation.*—Sometimes classified as moral, civil and ceremonial. More usefully classified as the covenant legislation, the priestly legislation and the people's legislation.

154. *The covenant legislation.*—*a.* “The ten words”, with the precepts that follow (Ex. xx). *b.* The “covenant code” or “judges' code” (xxi–xxiii), containing civil and religious laws. The civil laws concern, first, Hebrew slaves and slave wives (xxi. 1–11); second, injuries to persons (12–32); third, injuries to property (33–xxii. 15); fourth, conduct in particular cases (xxii. 16–xxiii. 5); fifth, judicial procedure (6–9). The religious laws concern the sabbatical year, sabbath, annual feasts, abstinence from idolatry (xxiii. 10–33). *c.* The “little covenant code” (Ex. xxxiv. 12–26), emphasizing and supplementing these religious regulations.

155. *The priestly legislation.*—*a.* The so called “holiness code” (Lev. xvii–xxvi), laws which the Levite priests were to enforce upon the people, in order to keep them separate to Yahweh. *b.* Laws regulating details of priestly functions. Some of them are partly codified in Leviticus, but in general they are recorded in the most haphazard manner, one law being repeated with variations in several places, and the laws

assuming a great variety of forms. They include narratives or descriptions recording precedents; orders from headquarters; return-reports; manuals for particular services. State the form and the subject of the legislation in each of the following sections: Ex. xi-xiii, Josh. ix, Ex. xxv-xxxi, xxxv-xl, Num. i, ii, iii-iv, v, vi, vii, viii-x, xv-xix, xxv-xxvii, xxviii-xxix, xxx, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, Lev. i-vii, viii-x, xi-xv, xvi, xxvii.

156. *The Deuteronomic legislation.*— Sometimes described as the “people’s code” or the “king’s code.” Mainly contained in Deut. xii-xxvi, though also in other parts of Deuteronomy, and in occasional sections elsewhere. Repeating many of the covenant and the priestly laws, but including other laws. Introduced by a long public address, with much exhortation.

157. *The narrative parts.*—By these the poems and addresses are bound together into a consecutive whole. Different sections differ greatly in literary character. Often a continuous account repeats itself in some parts. In Genesis the word *tol doth*, translated “generations”, is ten times used as a title or inscription. These and similar phenomena are regarded as indicating that the narratives themselves are composite in character.

158. *Alleged inconsistencies in the narrative.*—A multitude of contradictions are charged against these narratives, and it is therefore alleged that the original documents and the men who edited them are alike untrustworthy as to matters of fact. But with no important exceptions the alleged inconsistency is a matter of interpretation, and in most instances it can be made out only by a forced interpretation.

159. *Certain undisputed facts concerning the hexateuch.*—
a. In the hexateuch itself and in other writings down to and including those of the New Testament, there is a full line of testimony to the effect that the hexateuch was written by Moses and men associated with him. Men who deny that it was written thus early say that part of the testimony is fiction, and the rest is either falsehood or mistake. *b.* The testimony

is confirmed by obvious and weighty linguistic considerations. We have found the postexilian books full of Persian words ; there are none in the hexateuch. From the time of Samuel the phrase "Yahweh of hosts" occurs abundantly, while it is not in the hexateuch. In a large number of instances of this kind, all parts of the hexateuch lack phenomena that appear in the rest of the Old Testament. On the other hand, the several parts of the hexateuch have certain uses of masculine forms for feminine, of harsher sibilants in preference to softer, of the accusative after passive verbs, and other like matters, that distinguish them from the other books. Men who hold to a late date for the hexateuch are obliged also to hold that its authors designedly wrote in archaic style. *c.* In dating a literary work, testimony confirmed by linguistic phenomena must be regarded as decisive, unless there are distinctly stronger reasons on the other side.

160. *Mosaic authorship: what does the term mean?*—If Moses wrote such a work as the pentateuch, he probably did it in the way in which other busy public men do similar work: employing not amanuenses merely, but clerks and secretaries; causing reports and papers to be drawn up by other men; gathering older documents; more likely than not leaving a mass of written matter to be edited and supplemented after his death. If he did this he would still be the proper author of the work, since he would be the person mainly responsible for its existence as literature. But there would be a great difference between this and his writing as a scholar in a closet writes.

161. *Phinehas the grandson of Aaron.*—An associate of Moses, but surviving Moses 60 years or more. Next to Moses and Joshua the most prominent man of the times. Highpriest and therefore chief custodian of the "book of the law" (Deut. xxxi. 9) after the death of Moses and Eleazar. Still active (Jud. xx. 1, 28) after the capture of Leshem by the Danites (Num. xxv. 7, 11, xxxi. 6, Ps. cvi. 30, Josh. xxii. 13, 30, 31, 32, xxiv. 29–33; also Josh. xix. 47, Jud. xviii. 29, Jud. i–iii, xvii–xviii, xix–xxi).

LECTURE XIX.

THE HEXATEUCH. OPINIONS CONCERNING IT.

162. *The old tradition and the new tradition.*—*a.* The old has been handed down among Jews and Christians from the times when the Old Testament was written ; the new has obtained a recognized standing within the past forty years, though most of the elements of it are older. Its advocates confidently expect that it will soon displace the old. *b.* The new like the old is a tradition. That is, first, it has gained for itself a constituency, and a recognized standing ; and second, it is true of both the old and the new that most of their adherents receive them on the word of their teachers, and not on the basis of independent original study.

163. *The literary unit.*—*a.* The older tradition has commonly held, or at least negatively assumed, that the pentateuch is a work by itself, Joshua being an additional and different literary work. *b.* The new tradition holds that the hexateuch is the literary unit, Joshua and the preceding five books being compiled from the same documents. *c.* Whether or no we accept the reason assigned, the new tradition is here correct in its conclusion. The hexateuch is certainly a literary unit. It has one subject, the history of Israel in its formative period, and one point of view. The narrative in Joshua is directly continuous with that in Numbers and Deuteronomy, while there is a literary break between Joshua and Judges.

164. *Composite writing.*—*a.* The old tradition has commonly held, or at least negatively assumed, that the pentateuch is mainly a continuous composition by one author, though admitting that he may have incorporated earlier pieces of writing. *b.* The new tradition recognizes the thoroughly composite character of the six books. *c.* The new is here correct. The man or men who gave the hexateuch its present literary shape had in possession a mass of written poems, addresses, legal documents, narratives, and composed the work by putting these papers together, writing in addition whatever parts were needful for the purpose in hand. One ought to recognize

this, even if he holds that Moses was both the writer of all the parts of the pentateuch, and the man who put the parts together.

165. *Particular theories of composite authorship.*—*a.* The advocates of the new tradition are not content with affirming composite authorship in general; they have attempted the solution of the problem of the sources. No two of the solutions are alike, but there is a fairly general agreement in certain outlines. *b.* It is held that the hexateuch was compiled mainly from four earlier documents, each of them the product of still earlier compiling and rewriting. First is J, a Judaite document, using prevailingly the name Yahweh. Second is E, an Ephraimite document, using prevailingly the name Elohim. These combined constituted JE, and included most of the covenant legislation, and the narratives therewith connected. Third is D, the Deuteronomic laws and addresses. Fourth is P, the priestly laws with their accompanying narratives. As they are held to be of different dates, the successive strata are designated P¹, P², P³, etc., the principal document in the series being P². A similar notation is applied to the asserted successive strata of J, E and D. R stands for the work of the redactors who combined the documents, and various combinations of these symbols have evident meanings for denoting the several varieties of the work that was done. *c.* The scholars who have made this analysis have done much good study of biblical phenomena, but it is at every point affected with the logical vice of drawing its conclusions from particular premises only.

166. *Date and authorship.*—*a.* According to the old tradition Moses was the author of the pentateuch, and Joshua of the sixth book, with some difference of opinion concerning the latter. *b.* According to the new tradition it is uncertain how much Moses had to do with even the early history and legislation, to say nothing of written materials. A majority hold that J and E were compiled, one after the other, about the time of the prophet Amos, several centuries after Moses, out of the traditions which had accumulated at Bethel, Dan,

Shechem, Hebron, Beer-sheba and other sanctuaries ; that the nucleus of D was the book of the law found in the temple in Josiah's time, B. C. 621 ; that the several strata of P were written at different times still later, mostly after the exile ; that the hexateuch as a whole was produced in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, about 400 B. C., though parts of it are still later. *c.* This contradicts the evidence. The evidence justifies the proposition that the hexateuch was completed within the lifetime of men who knew Moses, and that Moses and Joshua were essentially responsible for its existence.

167. *Post-Mosaic elements.*—*a.* Many advocates of the old tradition regard these as the result of annotation, at unknown dates and by unknown editors. *b.* The new tradition regards them in general as genuine marks, proving the late date of the documents where they occur. *c.* As a matter of fact, there are frequent allusions in the hexateuch to events after the death of Moses and Joshua, and within the next few decades, for example the mention of Dan (Josh. xix. 47, Deut. xxxiv. 1, Gen. xiv. 14 cf. Jud. xviii. 29 and context), or of Bethel as a city (Josh. vii. 2, viii. 9, xii. 9, etc., Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3, etc. cf. xxviii. 19, xxxv. 6 and Jud. i. 22–26). Whether the hexateuch contains allusions to any later events is a matter of interpretation and dispute. Probably every item in it can be reasonably accounted for as earlier than the death of Phinehas (Qu. 161), who was in his youth associated with Moses.

168. *The work of Ezra and his associates.*—*a.* According to the old tradition they re-edited the hexateuch, and no one knows how much or how little work they did on it. *b.* According to the new tradition they are virtually the authors of the hexateuch as we have it. *c.* The truest view is that which attributes to them the fewest changes.

169. *Truthfulness in matters of fact.*—*a.* The old tradition affirms that the legislation of the hexateuch is genuinely Mosaic, and the narratives historical and trustworthy. *b.* On these points the men of the new tradition exhibit a wide diversity of opinion. Professor Cornill thus states their position :

“ The Israelitish narrative, as it lies before us in the books of the Old Testa-

ment, gives a thoroughly onesided, and in many respects incorrect, picture of the profane history, and on the other hand an absolutely false representation of the religious history of the people, and has thus made the discovery of the truth well nigh impossible" (*Prophets of Israel*. p. 3).

Some advocates of the new tradition are loth to accept this, but unless they accept it, their doctrines are helplessly indefensible (*Homiletic Review*, June, 1900, pp. 501-510).

170. *The argument from the development of the religion of Israel.*—*a.* As their great argument, the advocates of the new tradition say that the other books of the Old Testament show that the pentateuchal institutions were not in existence during the centuries that followed Moses; and that they then came into existence gradually, in the order indicated by the documents J, E, D, P, and at the dates which they assign to those documents. *b.* The advocates of the old tradition deny this. Probably no competent scholar would now deny that the books of Judges, Samuel, Kings and the earliest prophets, as they now stand, presuppose both the institutions and the phraseology of the hexateuch as existing in all the generations from Moses on. The men of the new tradition do not deny this, but explain it by saying that these books have been reworked by men who lived after the writing of D and of P, and that these men introduced the passages that presuppose, respectively, the contents of Deuteronomy and the priestly laws.

171. *The canon of Phinehas.*—If the view we have taken is correct Israel had, at the death of Phinehas, a recognized aggregate of sacred writings, as distinguished from all secular writings—the hexateuch in substantially its present form save for transmissional changes. This aggregate could properly be called the law, as being of divine authority; or the prophets, as coming from men who had the prophetic gift; or the writings, to distinguish it from oral *torah*. For convenience we may call it "the canon of Phinehas", not intending thereby to affirm any particular theory of canon-making. One who thinks that the book of Job, the ninetieth Psalm, etc., were then in existence, would of course include them in this aggregate.

172. *Literature.*—Batten *The Old Testament from the Modern Point of View* is a readable manual presenting the new tradition. Driver *Introduction* is less readable and more thorough. *The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version*, Oxford, 1900, is a very full presentation of the new tradition. For graphic presentations of the same see the successive volumes of the *Polychrome Bible*, or Bacon *Genesis of Genesis*, and *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, or *Die Genesis mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften*, by Kautzsch and Socin, or *Genesis Printed in Colors*, by Bissell, or *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, by Addis. For variant presentations of the new tradition see the introduction to Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, or Dillmann's *Genesis*. The bibliographies in these works will refer you to books amounting to a good sized library. On the other side see Green *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch, Unity of the Book of Genesis, Introduction, Moses and the Prophets*; Stebbins *Study of the Pentateuch*; Bissell *On the Pentateuch; Moses and his Recent Critics*; Rupprecht *Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Räthsel des Fünfbuches Mose, Räthsels Lösung*, etc., Van Hoonacker *Le Sacerdoce Lévitique dans la Loi et dans l'Histoire des Hébreux*, or other like works. Also such books as Robertson's *Early History of Israel*, or Bartlett's *Veracity of the Hexateuch*.

LECTURE XX.

SCRIPTURE WRITINGS OF THE SECOND PERIOD. THE HISTORY.

173. *The writings of this period.*—*a.* First, the historical series, consisting of Judges, Ruth and first and second Samuel, and second, such psalms as were written in the lifetime of king David. *b.* The Hebrew bibles here omit Ruth, and place it among the hagiographa. *c.* As the books of the hexateuch treat of the forming of the institutions and sanctuary of Israel, and the establishing of them in Palestine, so Judges and Ruth and Samuel treat of the period when the sanctuary was wandering, and the institutions fluctuating, before they became fixed by the building of Solomon's temple.

174. *This series differentiated.*—It is as sharply differentiated from the books of Kings which follow it as from the six books that precede it, though the history extends continuously through the three. The books of Kings have a chronological method (e. g. 1 Ki. xv. 1-2), a method of literary reference (e. g. 1 Ki. xiv. 29), a method of announcing a succession

(e. g. 1 Ki. xiv. 31), a formal verdict on the conduct of a king (e. g. 1 Ki. xv. 3, 11), a regularly repeated statement concerning the high places (e. g. 1 Ki. xxii. 43). As tested by these and by many other marks, they belong to a different school of historical writing from the books of Judges, Ruth and Samuel.

175. *The structure of the series.*—A unit, but formed by putting together different previous writings. *a.* Prefatory matters (Jud. i–ii. 5). *b.* Continuous history of the judges (Jud. ii. 6–xiii. 1). This is the only part of the series that has a consecutive chronology. *c.* Six personal stories (Jud. xiii. 2–xvi, xvii–xviii, xix–xxi, Ruth, 1 Sam. i–iv. 1a, ix–x. 16). Each of these stories is complete in itself, could be dropped without leaving any gap, begins with a certain formula introducing the persons of the story, draws its interest mainly from the things that befall these persons. Excepting these six, there are no other stories in the Bible that bear these marks. *d.* Narratives of public history, or of the life of David (1 Sam. iv. 1b to 2 Sam. xx, omitting the story, 1 Sam. ix–x. 16). The first of these narratives (1 Sam. iv. 1b.) takes up the history at the point where the continuous history of the judges (Jud. xiii. 1) leaves it. *e.* Six appendices (2 Sam. xxi. 1–14, 15–22, xxii, xxiii. 1–7, 8–39, xxiv). See *Jour. of Exegetical Society* for 1884, pp. 3–28).

176. *Implications as to composition.*—*a.* Presumably the earlier narratives of public history were written first. *b.* Then the personal stories, and perhaps other narratives of public history. *c.* Then the continuous history of the judges was written, and the stories and the earlier narratives put together by its help. *d.* Last, the later narratives, the prefatory matter in Judges, and the six appendices were added.

177. *The old tradition as to date (Qu. 29, last paragraph).*—*a.* Does it mean that Samuel wrote continuously the part from Judg. i to 1 Sam. xxiv, that is, up to the time of his death, and that, after his death, Gad and Nathan wrote continuously the rest of the books of Samuel? Thus understood, it is not surprising that many treat the tradition with contempt. *b.*

But it is possible to understand it as meaning only that Samuel, Gad and Nathan are the men who are responsible for the literary existence of this series of writings ; that is, that the series was written by them, or under their influence, and before the death of Nathan. Thus understood, the tradition is not merely worthy of respectful treatment, but has a preponderance of proof in its favor.

178. *Testimony of I Chron. xxix. 29-30.*—*a.* In first Chronicles the books of first and second Samuel appear to be extensively used by transcription (1 Chron. x, xi, xiii-xv, xvii-xxi). *b.* It is probable that the author of Chronicles would mention his sources. *c.* The title and description in 1 Chron. xxix. 29 may not fit the books of Samuel by themselves, but they fit the series.

179. *The men were suited to such a work.*—Give a sketch of each of them. *a.* Gad (1 Sam. xxii. 5, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, 19, 1 Chron. xxi. 9-19, xxix. 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 25). *b.* Nathan (2 Sam. vii, xii, Ps. li title, 1 Chron. xvii, xxix. 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 25, ix. 29). For the history of Solomon, Nathan is associated with later men than Samuel and Gad. *c.* Samuel (concordance, and in particular, 1 Samuel, Jer. xv. 1, Ps. xcix, 6, 2 Chron. xxxv. 18).

180. *The times were fit for the production of such writings.*—*a.* The accounts say that the times of Samuel, Gad and Nathan were characterized by a great revival of prophetic activity. Witness such additional names as those of David, Zadok, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, Solomon, Ahijah, Shemaiah (look them up, by concordance), and such passages as 1 Sam. iii. 20-21 contrasted with iii. 1, x. 5-13, xix. 18-21, xxviii. 6, 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3, 5, etc. *b.* And by literary productivity. Nearly all these prophets are spoken of as writers. See also such passages as 2 Chron. ii. 11, 1 Sam. xxi. 13, 2 Sam. xi. 14, 15, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, xxiii. 27, etc. *c.* And of historical research ('recorder' and 'scribe,' 2 Sam. viii. 16, 17, etc ; 2 Sam. xi. 20, 21 cf. Jud. ix. 53, 2 Sam. vii. 6, 8-11, 1 Sam. ii 27-28. xii. 6-11, etc.)

181. *Certain considerations of motive.*—Many parts of the

series bear marks of having been written in the interest of the throne of David, and of the primacy of the tribe of Judah (e. g. Jud. i. 2 sq.). All the six stories, except that of Samson, are Bethlehemite or Ephrathite (Jud. xvii. 7, 8, 9, xix. 1, 2, 18, etc., Ru. i. 1, 19, 22, iv. 11, etc., 1 Sam. i. 1, etc., ix. 5, x. 2 cf. Gen. xxxv. 19-20). All six have the moral that the times when there were no kings in Israel were, at best, no better than later times. If we suppose that some Israelites found David's reign burdensome, and contrasted it with the greater freedom enjoyed by their grandfathers, and that one motive for writing these stories was to counteract this feeling, the supposition fits the case.

LECTURE XXI.

SECOND PERIOD. HISTORICAL SERIES—CONTINUED.

182. *Alleged later dates.*—*a.* Some of the advocates of the new tradition analyze Judges and Samuel about as they do the hexateuch, dating the parts from about 800 to about 400 B. C. (Cornill *Bib. World*, Apr., 1895; Driver in *Introduction*; the volumes of the Polychrome Bible, or of the *Internat. Crit. Com.*). *b.* Others also assign dates variously after the death of Solomon (e. g. *Cambridge Bible*). *c.* Some of those who disconnect Ruth from Judges regard Ruth as postexilian.

183. *Proofs adduced for late date.*—*a.* One who holds that Deuteronomy was written about 600 B. C., and the priestcode about two centuries later, must of course hold that the parts of Judges and Ruth and Samuel that presuppose these were written later still. But really the evidence proves the early date of the pentateuch rather than the late date of the other books. *b.* Men who hold to the literary continuity of Samuel and Kings must date Samuel later than the latest events in Kings, making the book postexilian (2 Ki. xxvi. 27). *c.* It is further alleged that the prophets of Israel were not literary men till the time of Amos, the eighth century B. C., several

generations later than Nathan. But the Old Testament says that Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Ahijah, Shemaiah, Jedo, David, Elijah and others were writers (concordance). *d.* Finally, it is asserted that the books of Judges, Ruth and Samuel contain elements later than Nathan. This assertion is now to be considered.

184. *Judah and Israel.*—It is affirmed that these terms are used, referring to the divided kingdom after Solomon's time (1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4, xvii. 52, xviii. 16, xxvii. 6, 2 Sam. v. 5, xi. 11, xii. 8, xix. 42, 43, xx. 2, xxiv. 1, Ru. iv. 11, 12). But in none of these instances is there any reference to the divided kingdom. The authors of these writings have a special interest in Judah as the Davidic tribe, and this fact explains all the instances, except those which belong to the times of Ishbosheth or of Sheba the son of Bichri, when Judah was in hostility with the other tribes. Cf. Israel and Benjamin (Jud. xx. 14, 18, 20, 21, etc.).

185. *References to the time of the judges.*—It is said that these writings speak of the time "when there was no king in Israel" (Jud. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25) and "when the judges judged." (Ru. i. 1) as belonging to a remote antiquity. But these phrases would be as appropriate in David's time as in any later time.

186. *Unto this day.*—A similar argument is based on the phrase "unto this day." But it occurs often, in these writings, where it must be referred to times as early as those of David, and never where it is impossible so to refer it (Jud. i. 21, 26, 1 Sam. viii. 8, xxix. 3, 6, 8, and concordance. See especially 1 Sam. xxvii. 6).

187. *Allusions to Rehoboam.*—There are two of these in the Septuagint, but none in the Hebrew (2 Sam. viii. 7, xiv. 27).

188. *Archaisms.*—It is said that these writings abound in explanations such as show that the writer thought of his facts as archaic, and unfamiliar to his readers, e. g. the location of Shiloh (Jud. xxi. 19), "the seer" (1 Sam. ix. 9), Tamar's dress (2 Sam. xiii. 18). But the instances all fail.

189. *Changes of names.*—The use of the names Ishbosheth,

Mephibosheth, Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. ii. 8, etc., iv. 4, etc., xi. 21) for Eshbaal, Meribbaal, Jerubbaal (1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39, viii. 34, ix. 40, Jud. vi. 32, etc.). But there is no proof that this custom of changing names did not exist in David's time; and if it came in later, still the change may be regarded as merely transmissional.

190. *Particular passages.*—*a.* "Until the day when the land went into exile" (Jud. xviii. 30). Explained by ver. 31. *b.* The numerals in 1 Sam. xiii. 1 are not well explained by supposing that the chronology was so ancient that it had been lost, and are well explained by supposing that the passage was written before the technical chronological style had been adopted. *c.* Resemblance between Jud. ii. 11-23 and 2 Ki. xvii. 7-23. But this is explained if the writer of the passage in Kings had read Judges, and been impressed by it.

191. *Result from these instances.*—In fine, the instances alleged not only fail to prove that any part of these writings is later than the lifetime of Nathan, but strongly indicate the contrary. If the writer had lived much later than David's time, he would have mentioned later events, incidentally, just as, in the history of the judges, he incidentally mentions events up to the time of David.

192 *What do these things prove?*—*a.* No one disputes that portions, at least, of the materials of these books came from Samuel and Gad and Nathan, or passed through their hands. *b.* The evidence strongly preponderates in favor of the proposition that the books themselves came from them.

LECTURE XXII.

SECOND PERIOD. PSALMS OF THE TIME OF DAVID.

193. *Limits of treatment.*—Strictly speaking, we should at this point consider only those psalms that were written by David and his contemporaries. This involves, however, the consideration of the book of Psalms. And we have no room

to take up the case of particular psalms, but must confine ourselves to a general treatment.

194. *Collections of the psalms.*—As we now have them they consist of five books, separated by the doxologies at the close of Pss. xli, lxxii, lxxxix, cvi. They include certain lesser collections, e. g. the psalms of Degrees (cxx–cxxxiv), the psalms of Asaph (lxxiii–lxxxiii) and the psalms to the Sons of Korah (xlii–xlix and lxxxiv–lxxxviii) They also exhibit traces of yet earlier collections, different from the present arrangement (lxxii. 20, for instance)

195. *The date of a psalm.*—This is to be determined: *a.* By the testimony of other writings—notably by that of the Old and New Testaments. *b.* By the Hebrew titles of the psalms. *c.* By the different titles in the Septuagint and other translations. *d.* By the language and contents of each psalm.

196. *Davidic poetry and music.*—The history attributes to the times of David great activity, particularly in musical and lyrical matters (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, i. 17, iii. 33–34, 1 Sam. xvi. 16–18, 23, etc., Amos vi. 5, 2 Chron. vii. 6, xxix. 25–27, 30, Neh. xii. 24, 36, 45–47, etc.).

197. *Davidic psalms.*—More specifically, the Old and New Testaments attribute our present psalms in general, and many particular psalms among them, to the time of David. *a.* In the following nine passages, excluding duplicates, the New Testament connects the name of David with the following seven psalms: with Ps. cx Luke xx. 42–44 and parallels, and Acts ii. 34; with Ps. lxix. 25, 22–23 Acts i. 16, 20, Rom. xi. 9–10; with Ps. cix. 8 Acts i. 20; with Ps. xvi Acts ii. 25, 29–34 and xiii. 36; with Ps. ii. 1–3 Acts iv. 25–26; with Ps. xxxii Rom. iv. 6; with Ps. xcv. 7 Heb. iv. 7. Evidently the New Testament writers regard most or all of these particular psalms as written by David personally; yet more evidently, they ascribe the psalms in general to him. *b.* The Old Testament books testify that a group of psalms with the title or refrain “for his mercy endureth forever” (like cvi, cvii, cxxxvi, for example) were in use from the days of David to those of Cyrus (1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41, 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, 6, xx. 21, Isa. liv.

8, Jer. xxxiii. 11; Pss. c. 5, cxxxviii. 8, Ezra iii. 11, etc.). *c.* In 1 Chron. xvi. 7-36 it seems to be testified that Pss. cv, xcvi, cvi were placed by David in the hands of his singers, when the ark was brought to Jerusalem. In 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42, it seems to be affirmed that Ps. cxxxii was used at the dedication of Solomon's temple. 2 Sam. xxii attributes itself, and therefore its duplicate, Ps. xviii, to David.

LECTURE XXIII.

SECOND PERIOD : THE PSALMS—CONTINUED.

198. *The Hebrew Titles.*—These are now written as if they were a part of the text of the psalms. That they are so can neither be proved nor disproved. That they are older than the Septuagint translation, and have been connected with the psalms as far back as we can trace the text, is indisputable. They attach the name of David to seventy-three psalms, and the names of David's contemporaries, Asaph, Heman, Ethan and Solomon to fourteen more. That they are always infallibly correct we need not assert. That they sometimes indicate some other relation of these men to the psalm than that of authorship, is very likely. But they must be regarded as indicating authorship, except as the language or contents of a psalm prove the contrary. And apart from their evidence in the case of any particular psalm, they prove, in general, the Davidic origin of the psalms (see "The Inscriptions of the Psalms" by C. Martin, *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, Oct., 1900).

199. *Additional titles in the versions.*—In the Septuagint, or in some copies of it, or in the Vulgate, or in both Septuagint and Vulgate, are found the following classes of inscriptive matter, in addition to that found in the Hebrew (or English): *a.* Additions to the Hebrew title, connecting the psalm with incidents in the life of David (cxliii, cxliv, xxvii, xxix). *b.* Connecting the psalms with the exodus, the creation, the sabbath, or the resurrection (xxix, perhaps, civ, xciii,

xciv, xxiv, xxxviii, lxvi). *c.* With "the Assyrian" (lxxiii, lxxvi, lxxx). *d.* With Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and their times (lxv, lxxi, cxxxvii). *e.* With the second temple, or with Haggai, or Zechariah, or both (xcvi, cxii, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxlvi, cxlvii, cxlvii. 12, cxlviii, cxlix, cl). *f.* They prefix the name of David, when the Hebrew does not (xxxiii, lxvii, lxxi, xciii, xciv, xcv, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, xcix, civ, cxxxvii). *g.* They connect the name of David freely with the names and events of later times (lxv, lxxi, xcvi, cxxxvii, cxxxviii, cxxxix, etc.).

The editors evidently held that the name of David might be prefixed to a psalm without intending to say that he wrote it, but also that the Hebrew titles were correct, and that the psalms generally, both those so entitled in the Hebrew and others, were from David. Further, they show no disposition to disguise their opinion that some of the psalms are of late date, or to date back psalms of this sort.

200. *Historico-critical evidence in the psalms themselves.*—This precisely tallies with the external testimony, as just recapitulated. Certain psalms, written late, do not at all disguise that fact (e. g. cxxxvii). But a large proportion of the psalms are free from allusions to events later than the time of David. This fact comes out with distinctness in the case of the Hebrew titles, as compared with the Greek titles, and in the case of the psalms that recapitulate the history of Israel (lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxxii, lxxxiii, lxxxix, cv, cvi, cxxxvi, etc.), especially in contrast with such instances as Neh. ix, or Ecclus. xlv-1.

201. *Inconclusive opposing arguments.*—In this question we are considering only the psalms that make some claim to have originated in the time of David. As these often mention the law and the pentateuchal institutions, one who holds that the latter are postexilian must hold that the ostensibly Davidic psalms are, in general, still later. Cheyne pronounces all the psalms postexilian except xviii. But if there is evidence that any psalm was written in David's time, the contrary is not proved: *a.* By the absence of a title, since several of the

psalms mentioned in Qu. 197 have no title. *b.* By its speaking of Israel as distressed, or captive, or seeking restoration, since there were situations of this sort in and before the time of David. *c.* By its mentioning the temple, since there had been a temple in Eli's time, and also, anticipatory mention is possible. *d.* By its mentioning the Mosaic law or institutions. *e.* By Aramaisms, since these belong to earlier stages of Israelitish writings as well as to later.

202. *Conclusions.*—*a.* A large proportion of the psalms, especially those spoken of in Qus. 197, 198, must be regarded as written in the time of David. *b.* It does not follow, however, that the psalms as a whole were the sacred song book of Solomon's temple. The indications are rather that, first, one or more collections were made in the time of David or soon after, for popular use (Ps. lxxii. 20, etc.). Then, second, there was also from David's time a collection for temple use (e. g. the "mercy endureth forever" psalms.) Third, other psalms of David's time were handed down in other ways, and collected later. *c.* The writing of the latest psalms and the final collection of the five books belong to the times when the Old Testament was completed (Qu. 134).

203. *Literature.*—Besides commentaries and articles in Bible Dictionaries, see "Psalms" in *Encyc. Brit. and Amer. Sup.*; Murray *Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, 1880; Cheyne *The Origin of the Psalter*, 1891; Robertson *The Poetry and Religion of the Psalms*, 1898.

204. *The canon of Nathan.*—*a.* The indications of the evidence thus far examined are to the effect that the prophet Nathan, dying in Solomon's time, had an aggregate of recognized sacred writings consisting of the hexateuch (Qu. 171) the books of Judges and Ruth and Samuel, and many psalms. This aggregate was then capable of being spoken of, or even of being classified, under the terms now familiar, the law, the prophets and the writings. *b.* The recapitulatory psalms (lxxviii, lxxxii, cv, cvi,) indicate no separation between the pentateuch and the other books (Qus. 61e, 101d), whatever be the date of the psalms.

LECTURE XXIV.

SCRIPTURE WRITINGS OF THE THIRD PERIOD. BOOKS OF KINGS.

205. *The third historical series.*—This consists of the two books of Kings. It is clear that they are largely transcribed from earlier writings. The tradition (Qu. 29) makes Jeremiah the author of the books as distinguished from the earlier writings. Perhaps there is not much to confirm the tradition, but there is no valid objection to it. The books were completed later than the death of Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 562 (2 Ki. xxv. 27). The earlier writings may have been largely contemporaneous with the events recorded.

206. *Compiled in part from public archives.*—One group of sources consists of the books of "Chronicles," whether of Israel or Judah, referred to in about thirty places (e. g. 1 Ki. xiv. 19, xv. 7). The title naturally indicates official public records, and none of the current objections to this understanding of it are valid.

207. *And in part from writings of prophets.*—The writings of Nathan, Ahijah, Jedo (not Iddo), Shemaiah, Jehu, and Isaiah (2 Chron. ix. 29, xii. 15, xx. 34, xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32, etc.) were probably writings of prophets, used as sources by the author of Kings. Note especially 2 Chron. xx. 34, xxxii. 32, and trace the above names in the successive parts of Kings (1 Ki. i. 8 sq., xi. 29 sq., xii. 22 sq., xiii. 1 sq. [Josephus calls this prophet Jadon, *i. e.* Jedo] xvi. 1 sq., etc.). Whether the author of Chronicles had these writings, except as he found them in Kings, is a question to study. As the author of Kings had them and had the "book of the Words of Solomon" (xi. 41), so he doubtless had other written sources.

208. *Frequent reworking.*—It is confidently asserted that the authors of the books of Kings cannot have had access to the original documents, particularly the original public records, and that therefore the books of Chronicles which they quote must have been earlier compilations from the original docu-

ments; in other words, that our present books are the reworking of earlier digests. Of this there is no proof and no probability.

209. *The other biblical writings of the period.*—*a.* They are more numerous and varied, and more directly assigned to their authors, than those of the two preceding periods. *b.* Of the so called literary prophets they include, first, the minor prophets that preceded Isaiah or were contemporaneous with him; second, Isaiah; third, the middle group of minor prophets; fourth, Jeremiah. *c.* Of other writings they include two *wisdom* books, the Song, Lamentations and some psalms.

LECTURE XXV.

THIRD PERIOD. THE EARLIER MINOR PROPHETS.

210. *The order in which the minor prophets are arranged.*—With an exception that will be presently noted, the last six are in the order of time. That renders it certain that those who made the arrangement regarded the first six as earlier than the others. Among these six, however, Hosea is not the earliest, but seems to have been placed first on account of its larger size, while the order of the others varies in different copies.

211. *Joel.*—A single prophecy. Dated only by the historical situation in it, and by its being presupposed by Amos (e. g. compare Am. i. 1 with Joel iii. 16). I connect Joel with the invasion of Hazael (2 Ki. xii. 17 sq., 2 Chron. xxiv. 23 sq.). This was probably 848 B. C. by the chronology given in the bible, 797 B. C. by that commonly followed by Assyriologists. Some scholars assign Joel to a still earlier historical situation. Most regard Joel as either the earliest or the latest of the literary prophets. As it presupposes the priestly legislation (i. 9, 13, ii. 14, etc.), some scholars of the new tradition give it a very late postexilic date. Against this see Lect. XIV.

212. *Obadiah*.—A single prophecy. Two historical situations, the earlier (10-14, 16) describing a wrong done by Edom, and the later (1-9, 15-16) describing Edom's punishment. I think that the earlier situation is that of the Hazael invasion, the same as in Joel; and the later that of the overthrow of Edom by Amaziah (2 Ki. xiv. 7, 2 Chron. xxv. 11-12), about 835 or 784 B. C. The vivid description of Edom's punishment is quoted at length by Jeremiah (xlix. 7-22) and Ezekiel (xxv. 12-14), and this has led some to assign Obadiah to the same date with Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

213. *Jonah*.—He lived not far from the beginning of the reign of Jeroboam II of Israel (2 Ki. xiv. 25), at about the date just assigned to the situation in Obadiah. The events of the book belong to his lifetime. As it has no title, we have no means of knowing whether it was written by this prophet or later.

214. *Amos*.—A collection of prophetic discourses, all uttered at one date, the date being given in the title as a specified year about 800 or 750 B. C.

215. *Hosea*.—A collection of prophecies uttered at different dates, with a title (i. 1), and other notes of time. Beginning as a younger contemporary of Amos, Hosea outlived most of the men of the next succeeding generation. His latest prophecies seem to me to be dated within the six years between the accession of Hezekiah and the fall of Samaria, B. C. 724-718.

216. *The two prophecies, Zech. ix-xi and xii-xiv*.—The historical situation of these is at a time when the Assyrian is dominant, the northern kingdom of Israel in existence, and foreign deportations begun (ix. 10, x. 6, 10, xiv. 4 sq., etc.) They are precisely parallel with some of the prophecies of Hosea, and with the earlier prophecies of Isaiah, and probably belong to that date. Some conservative scholars, however, insist that they are of the same date with the first chapters of Zechariah. Some of the scholars of the new view date them as late as the third century B. C. The phenomena of the book are against this, and so are the considerations mentioned in Lect. XIV.

217. *Micah*.—A collection of prophecies of different dates before and after the downfall of Samaria in B. C. 718 (i. 1, 5–6, etc.). Micah was contemporary with Isaiah, though beginning later.

LECTURE XXVI.

THIRD PERIOD. ISAIAH.

218. *General statements*.—The book purports to be a collection of prophecies of different dates, uttered during four reigns (i. 1). Tradition says that Isaiah lived over into a fifth reign, and was martyred by Manasseh. If so, his career, according to the biblical numerals, covered more than 60 years; it was contemporary with the last 40 years of Hosea, Micah being the contemporary of the two 20 years or more. If we follow the current interpretation of the Assyrian chronology, these numerals become smaller and entirely uncertain; but the three prophets were in any case contemporary for some years before the overthrow of Samaria in B. C. 718.

219. *Isaiah i-xxxix*.—*a*. The prophecies seem to distribute themselves as follows. First, introduction, reign of Manasseh? (i). Second, reign of Uzziah (ii–iv, v). Third, reign of Jotham (vi). Fourth, early in Hezekiah's reign, but recapitulating several prophecies of the reign of Ahaz (vii–xii). Fifth, book of burdens (xiii–xxiii), various dates (e. g. xiv. 28, xx. 1). Sixth, sundry prophecies, mostly in the reign of Hezekiah (xxiv–xxxv). Seventh, certain songs and messages (xxxvii. 7, 22–35, xxxviii. 10–20, xxxix. 5–7) with narrative explanations (xxxvi–xxxix). *b*. Some of the advocates of the new tradition crumble these prophecies into bits, and regard Isaiah the son of Amoz as the author of only a small and inferior portion of them (e. g. the treatment in the Polychrome Bible.) *c*. The principal proofs by which they justify this treatment are the following. First, certain theories of the evolution of religious thought; but these count for nothing

unless confirmed by facts. Second, these prophecies presuppose the ideas and phraseology of Deuteronomy and the priestly narratives of the hexateuch. These scholars hold that D and P were written several generations after Isaiah the son of Amoz, and hence infer that these prophecies were uttered still later. The true inference is that D and P were written long before Isaiah's time. Third, they say that the Babylonian references in these prophecies (xiii. 1, 19, xiv. 4, 22, xxi. 9, xxxix. 1, etc.) connect them with the times of Nebuchadnezzar and later. But in the time of Isaiah the son of Amoz, Tiglath-pilezer, Shalmanezer, Sargon and Sennacherib were emperors of Babylon as well as of Assyria, and Merodach-baladan of Babylon was in revolt against this Assyrian dynasty. That is, Babylon was part of the time itself the great oppressing power, and part of the time tempting Judah into perilous alliances against the Assyrian oppressor. The Isaian allusions to Babylon fit this situation, while they require trimming to make them fit the situation after Nebuchadnezzar. *d.* Most of these prophetic discourses as they stand present each a marked literary unity; the crumbling processes disregard these unities, and this is a strong argument against their validity. In compact discourse, unity is the product of original thought, not of patchwork.

220. *Isaiah xl-lxvi.*—*a.* This is a poem, a unit made up of what are commonly called cantos. Some of the cantos are complete poems. Probably they are of different dates. It has been held that there are 27 of the cantos, grouped in threes and nines, but there is difference of judgment about this. Concerning the unity of the poem in its present arrangement, there is no real room for dispute. Its purpose is to encourage God's people, who are in trouble (xl. 1-2.) Its theme is "The word of our God standeth forever" (xl. 8). Throughout the 27 chapters it never swerves from this purpose or this theme. Its mode of progress is homiletical, appealing in the earlier parts to the intellect and the imagination, but later becoming personal and practical in its appeal to conscience. As a personal appeal it increases in intensity to the end. *b.* Many

scholars formerly regarded it as a sustained description of the times of Cyrus, written a hundred and fifty years beforehand, by Isaiah the son of Amoz. Many now refer it to the times of Cyrus, and infer that it was written in those times or later. But there is no reason for referring it to the time of Cyrus, except in particular passages (e. g. xliv. 26-xlv. 7. lxiv. 9-12). In most parts the situation is Palestinian, not Babylonian. Jerusalem is standing among her daughter cities (e. g. xl. 9). The calamities principally emphasized are those of recent war, devastation, imprisonment, personal ill treatment (e. g. xlii. 22, 25, lxi. 1, etc.). This fits the condition of the Jews in the time of Nebuchadnezzar or Sennacherib, but not of Cyrus. *c.* Among men who assign a late date to these chapters, the idea that they were written by a "second Isaiah," a "great unknown," has largely given way to the idea that they are a patchwork of bits from many unknown authors (the polychrome bible, also Driver *Int.* ch. iii). *d.* The alleged proofs of late date are of the same character with those used in regard to the first half of Isaiah, and of the same weakness (Qu. 219cd). Further, it is certain that the author of Ecclesiasticus attributed these chapters to Isaiah the son of Amoz (xlvi. 24), and it is not easy to doubt that the men of the New Testament held the same opinion (Mat. iii. 3, viii. 17, xii. 17, Luke iii. 4, iv. 17, Jo. i. 23, xii. 38, cf. 39-41, Acts viii. 28, 30, Rom. x. 16, 20, 21).

221. *Conclusions.*—It is not necessarily dishonoring to this book to hold that it was written in its present form later than Isaiah, or that it contains the utterances of other prophets than he; but such things ought not to be held without sufficient proof. The facility with which recent scholarship leaps from one unproved theory to another is very confusing, and has mischievous effects.

LECTURE XXVII.

THIRD PERIOD. THREE MINOR PROPHETS AND JEREMIAH.

222. *Nahum*.—A single prophecy. Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xi. 3) makes Nahum a contemporary of Micah. But it is generally held that Nahum refers (iii. 8) to the sack of Thebes by Assurbanipal, B. C. 663, and that the book was written soon after that event. Perhaps (i. 15) in connection with the reformation under Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13sq.), say about 646 B. C.

223. *Habakkuk*.—Two prophecies. Dated by its contents a little earlier than Jeremiah.

224. *Zephaniah*.—One prophecy. A highly finished poem. Reign of Josiah (i. 1), which began 638 B. C. Its contents belong early in the reign.

225. *Jeremiah*.—A collection of prophecies of various dates. Jeremiah began to prophesy the thirteenth year of Josiah (i. 2, xxv. 3, 1), 626 B. C. He lived no one knows how long after the destruction of the temple in 586 B. C.

226. *Contents of the book*.—*a.* A collection of rough sketches of prophecies, in six parts, with a scheme of differing titles to separate the parts and the single prophecies (i. 4—iii. 5, iii. 6—vi, vii—x, xi—xiii, xiv—xvii, xviii—xx). *b.* Sixteen dated prophecies—not collections, but single prophecies—arranged in haphazard order (xxi—xxxvi), except that the prophecies of the return are placed together (xxix—xxxiii). Some of these are the same prophecies that appear in the rough sketches. *c.* A continuous narrative, including some addresses (xxxvii—xliv). *d.* Woes on the nations. A series of poems, with the little Baruch poem placed as prefatory (xlv—li). *e.* Narrative appendix (lii.)

227. *Reason for this arrangement*.—It is certainly due to lack of editing, rather than to ignorant editing. Noting that the first twenty chapters are an older collection incorporated into the present one, we see that the first, third, fourth and fifth divisions of the book are in their natural order. The

collector had nothing more to do save to put the sixteen dated prophecies where as a whole they belong, without taking the trouble to arrange them more carefully. The different order found in the Septuagint is no improvement.

LECTURE XXVIII.

THIRD PERIOD. OTHER WRITINGS.

228. *Lamentations*.—A series of short poems, artificially constructed, but full of feeling, connected with the downfall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. Attributed by the traditions to Jeremiah, and certainly either from him or his immediate disciples.

229. *Solomon's Song*.—A little dramatic piece, to be rendered with singing, and perhaps with dancing (vi. 13). It has been principally used as an allegory of the love between God and his worshipers, but its proper motif is the excellence of a pure monogamic love (viii. 6-7). Many casts have been made of it (e. g. *The lily among thorns*, by Dr. W. E. Griffis, 1889). The simplest cast is the best. No characters are needed save a wife, a husband and the chorus. According to its title (i. 1), it was written either by Solomon or in the person of Solomon. It presents an ideal in contradiction with Solomon's experience, but perhaps that is an argument in favor of his having written it. The tradition (Qu. 29) attributes it to the men of Hezekiah.

230. *Psalms of the third period*.—To mention only a single group, several of the psalms of Korah, for example, seem by their contents to belong to the times of Jehoshaphat, or of Hezekiah (xlv, xlii, xliv, etc., compared with 2 Chron. xx. 19, xxix. 13, 14).

231. *The wisdom books*.—Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes. In the secondary sacred literature these are followed by Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon, and other lesser works. The "wise men" differ from the prophets, though a man might

be both prophet and wise man. The wisdom literature connects itself peculiarly with Solomon. *Hokmah*, wisdom, as defined by an induction of instances, is knowledge and good sense and discipline applied in the conduct of life.

232. *Proverbs*.—The book is in six parts, each introduced by a title (i. 1, x. 1, xxiv. 23, xxv. 1, xxx. 1, xxxi. 1). The wise sayings in it come predominantly, but not exclusively, from Solomon. The tradition (Qu. 29) attributes the book to the men of Hezekiah.

233. *Job*.—Like Proverbs in being a wisdom book, but unlike Proverbs in that it is a connected poem, commonly spoken of as an epic. The scene is laid out of Israel, and, apparently in a time earlier than the history of Israel. This perhaps accounts for the tradition (Qu. 29) attributing it to Moses. It has strong literary affiliations with Proverbs, and is now commonly assigned to the same date with that book or a little later. Of course there are men who date both after the exile. Professor Genung's book on Job is an appreciative literary treatment.

234. *Alleged interpolations*.—Certain critics confidently allege the existence of interpolated passages in substantially all these writings, the speeches of Elihu, for example, in Job, and generally, the passages that seem to be predictions, or that mention certain of the hexateuchal institutions. Generally speaking these allegations have relatively little weight with one who holds to the early origin of the hexateuch, and to the possibility of miraculous prediction. If we accept the criteria by which these interpolations are made out, they prove that all the extant writings of an entire national literature have been reworked, which is not very probable. It is more likely that the alleged criteria are mere characteristic peculiarities of the literature itself.

235. *Canon of the men of Hezekiah*.—They are mentioned in Proverbs (xxv. 1) and in the traditions (e. g. Qu. 29) as having done something important in the production of the scriptures. Beyond this we have no information concerning them. We naturally think of them as under the leadership of Isaiah,

and as furnishing their quota of martyrs in the time of Manasseh (2 Ki. xxi. 16). They may have recognized an aggregate of sacred writings including that known to Nathan (Qus. 171, 204), augmented by the writings of Isaiah and the earlier minor prophets, and by Solomon's Song, Proverbs and Job. There is no absurdity in supposing that the "book of the law" found in the temple a few decades later, in Josiah's time (2 Ki. xxii. 8 sq.), was this aggregate as recognized by the men of Hezekiah, though we have no means of proving that it was. Whether it was this larger aggregate or the hexateuch or the pentateuch or Deuteronomy or some part of Deuteronomy, there is no reason for affirming that it was the only copy in existence; though it is likely that Manasseh had done his utmost to destroy copies of the law.

236. *Canon of Jeremiah.*—The aggregate of sacred writings recognized at the time of the death of Jeremiah, by the Jews of the exile (cf. Dan. ix. 2 and Qu. 132), may have included the above, together with the books of Kings, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah and Lamentations.

LECTURE XXIX.

SCRIPTURE WRITINGS OF THE FOURTH PERIOD. THE HISTORY.

237. *The Historical Series.*—1 and 2 Chronicles, with Ezra and Nehemiah. Not necessarily by one author, but forming one series. Repeating the history contained in the previous books, and bringing it up to the close of the biblical period. Omitting most of what the books of Samuel and Kings say concerning Saul, concerning the faults of David and Solomon, and concerning the northern kingdom; adding much matter concerning genealogies, the public worship, the priests, etc. This history might be called priestly and Judaic, and the books of Kings and Samuel, Israelite and prophetic. State contents, in the following sections, mentioning instances where they illustrate the distinctive character of this series of writ-

tings: 1 Chron. i-ix, x-xxi, xxii-xxix, 2 Chron. i-ix, x-xvi, xvii-xxii, xxiii-xxviii, xxix-xxxiii, xxxiv-xxxvi, Ezra, Nehemiah.

238. *Who wrote Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah?*—As we have seen, the latest events recorded in the Old Testament happened within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah (Qus. 95, 96, 97). Coupling this with the evident unity of the work, and with the fact that the deeds of Ezra and Nehemiah are often related in the first person (Ezra viii. 15, etc., Neh. i. 1, etc.), we may conclude that this work was written by Ezra and Nehemiah, or under their influence. Other evidence confirms this. It is a convenient device, however, to call the author or authors of this series “the Chronicler.”

239. *Historical trustworthiness of the Chronicler.*—Many impugn it, alleging the following reasons. *a.* That these books, especially Chronicles, have been less carefully preserved than some of the other books. The fact is admitted (e. g. “Jehoahaz,” “forty-two,” xxi. 17, xxii. 2), but not to the extent of its greatly impairing their credibility. *b.* That the Chronicles were written many centuries after most of the events they record. But though this might account for their untrustworthiness, if that were proved, it does not prove them untrustworthy. *c.* That the writers of Chronicles, to a greater extent than the others, show a disposition to preach—stating the facts for the purpose of influencing men, rather than for the sake of the facts themselves. Admitted; but a man may state facts correctly, even when he preaches. *d.* That the books of Chronicles abound in incredible statements, and in statements that contradict those of Samuel and Kings. But in general the instances are capable of denial, or of satisfactory explanation. *e.* That many of these instances are most naturally to be explained as the result of prejudice on the part of the authors of Chronicles. But this allegation cannot be sustained, though some of the instances are quite plausible. *f.* That the authors had no ancient sources save the writings now found in our bibles; so that whatever statements they make in addition to those found in the earlier books must be

regarded as merely the expression of their opinions. But if this were true, it would still be also true that their opinions might be correct, and, further, that their being inspired might give special value to their opinions. See also next question.

240. *The sources used by the Chronicler.*—*a.* In regard to Nehemiah's library, see Qus. 111, 137. *b.* It is to be admitted that the first nine chapters of Chronicles may have been mostly (not entirely, e. g. iv. 9-10) gathered from the older parts of the bible; that x-xxi are made up of transcriptions, slightly abbreviated, of parts of 1 and 2 Samuel, with considerable sections of additional matter; that xxii-xxix are mostly new matter; that 2 Chronicles is made up of transcriptions from Kings, with added materials. *c.* It is correct to go as far as possible in identifying the books of Kings, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, etc., mentioned in Chronicles, with our present books of Samuel and Kings (Qus. 137, 138, 207). *d.* But many of the writings referred to cannot be thus identified. Among these are writings of the times of David (2 Chron. xxxv. 4, 1 Chron. xxiii. 27, xxiv. 6, xxvii. 24, Ezra vi. 18 [cf. 1 Chron. xxiv-xxvi] and 2 Chron. xxix. 25, xxxv. 15, 1 Chron. ix. 22, xxvi. 28); genealogical writings (2 Chron. xii. 15, 1 Chron. ix. 1); the two *midr' shim* (2 Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27); "The Words of the Kings of Israel," "The Words of Hosai," "The Lamentations," (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19, xxxv. 25). From these works the author of Chronicles may have drawn most of the statements which he has added to the history as given in Samuel and Kings. And it is unscientific to assume that none of these sources were ancient or trustworthy. *e.* As a rule the Hebrew of the added sections is, linguistically, the late Hebrew of the times when the Chronicles were written; but this does not necessarily prove that there were no ancient sources for these sections; it may be that the author treated his sacred sources mainly by transcription, but other sources mainly by rewriting the facts. *f.* On the whole we must conclude that the Chronicler, having sources of information no longer accessible, is thereby entitled to respect, both in regard to the facts he states and in regard to his interpretation of facts.

LECTURE XXX.

FOURTH PERIOD. OTHER WRITINGS.

241. *The list*.—Four books of prophets; Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, some psalms; possibly Jonah (Qu. 213).

242. *Ezekiel*.—A collection of prophecies, mostly dated, addressed to Jews in exile in Babylonia, before and after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Mostly not later than parts of Jeremiah and Kings, but not Palestinian like them. State the nature of the contents of i-xxxix, mainly homiletic, and of xl-xlviii, mainly apocalyptic. B. C. 593 till after 570 (i. 2, xxix. 17)

243. *Haggai*.—Five rough and brief syllabi of prophecies addressed to the returned exiles who were building the temple, August to December, B. C. 520 (i. 1-11, 12-15, ii. 1-9, 10-19, 20-23).

244. *Zechariah*.—*a*. First part. Three prophecies, dated respectively 520, 519 and 517 B. C. (i. 1-6, i. 7-vi, vii-viii). *b*. Second part. Two prophecies very different from the former (ix-xi, xii-xiv). See Qu. 216.

245. *Malachi*.—A full and careful syllabus of a prophetic address. Shown by its contents to belong not far from the beginning of the second administration of Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 27-xiii), after B. C. 433.

246. *Ecclesiastes*.—A discussion of the doctrines of materialistic pessimism. The writer speaks in the person of the *Koheleth* or Preacher (i. 1, etc). The *Koheleth* is either Solomon, or a composite figure whose traits are mostly those of Solomon. But, on linguistic grounds, most scholars now regard this book as one of the very latest in the Old Testament. The tradition (Qu. 29) attributes it to the men of Hezekiah. If there were proof that Solomon wrote it, its form might perhaps be accounted for by some theory of translation from the Aramaic (Qu. 122).

247. *Esther*.—A story illustrating the workings of providence. Its events are dated between 483 and 473 B. C., and a

little later (i. 3, iii. 7, 13, etc.). There is no reason for dating the book more than two generations later (Qu. 124).

248. *Daniel*.—*a*. This book contains, first, a narrative framework (i. and the adjustment of the parts); second, five stories (ii, iii, iv, v, vi); third, four apocalyptic visions (vii, viii, ix, x-xii). *b*. The historical person Daniel (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3) had a career extending from B. C. 605 (Dan. i. 1) to B. C. 536 (i. 21, x. 1), or later. The book of Daniel has literary affiliations with the work of the Chronicler, about 400 B. C. (Qu. 127).

249. *Exilian and postexilian psalms*.—Of these there are a good many (e. g. cxxxvii, lxxviii, perhaps cxlvi-cl, etc.). See Qu. 199.

250. *Two notable classes of scriptural writings*.—*a*. The providential wonder stories, Jonah, Esther and the stories in Dan. ii-vi. In each, one or a few Israelites, with Yahweh to help, is pitted against the world empire of his time, and comes out victorious. *b*. Apocalyptic writings, giving a somewhat connected disclosure of future events, through symbols that are described somewhat in detail. The most noted apocalypses are in Ezek. xl-xlviii and Dan. ii. 31-45 and vii-xii.

251. *The canon of Nehemiah*.—Apparently the scriptural aggregate recognized at the time of his death was the same with our Old Testament. Not that all work on the scriptures ceased at that time. There still remained open a work of identifying and arranging, and critical work of all sorts. But the aggregate was complete when the 150 psalms were differentiated, and the last of the other books written. It then existed, and had for hundreds of years existed, as a growing body of sacred literature, capable of being described as the law, the prophets, and the other writings. In this sense, certain men completed the Old Testament and closed its canon. Whether they closed it in the different sense of official definition and promulgation, is a very different question. (Qus. 133, 134).

LECTURE XXXI.

THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

252. *Preexilic text.*—*a.* Before the exile, the Phœnician or old Hebrew character was used in Israelitish writing. The present “square” character was perhaps formed gradually. It is found in inscriptions of 176 B. C., and no one knows how much earlier (Mitchell’s *Ges. Heb. Gram.*, secs. 1–5). The old character is found on the Maccabæan coins, and later on the coins of Bar-Cocheba, the second century A. D. The Samaritan pentateuch is in the old alphabet. *b.* The traditions say that the change to the square alphabet, in the writing of scripture, was made by Ezra, that is to say, was made before the death of Nehemiah. This cannot now be proved, though it is not disproved, as the writers in Smith’s Bible Dictionary hold it to be, by the fact that the old character was used later on coins.

253. *Text of the men of the great synagogue.*—*a.* They left the scripture written in consonants and *matres lectionis*, without vowels (Smith’s *Bib. Dic.* “Old Testament” A. 1). *b.* There is no evidence that it was ever customary to use abbreviations, or to use letters for numerals, *in the text* of carefully written copies, though these usages are found on the earlier coins and elsewhere. *c.* Words were written separately, not together as in the Greek uncial MSS. In the old alphabet, the separation was made by points (see Moabite stone, or Samaritan pentateuch). *d.* The separation into 39 books is, I believe, a part of the original text. The 22 or 24 books are formed by grouping the 39, and not the 39 by dividing some of the 22.

254. *Later modifications.*—*a.* A division into verses, perhaps differing somewhat from ours, is very ancient (Smith’s *Bib. Dic.* “Old Testament” A. 1). *b.* The division of the pentateuch into the 54 *parshioth*, or Sabbath lessons, preceded the selection of the *haphtharoth*, the synagogue lessons from the prophets, since the latter are based on the former. Whether the division into lessons preceded the Christian era is uncertain.

The New Testament mentions the reading in the synagogues, but is silent as to a cycle of lessons (Luke iv. 17, Acts xiii. 15, xv. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 14). It cites books by name, and the psalms by number (Acts xiii. 33, 35), but beyond this cites the Old Testament by subjects, rather than by artificial divisions (Mark xii. 26, Luke xx. 37 [ἐπὶ τῆς Βάπτου], Rom. xi. 2 [ἐν Ἡλείᾳ], Acts viii. 32 [ἡ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς]). *c.* The present chapter division was made by Christians about 1250 A. D. An older division is that into *s'darim* and into the *little parshioth* now marked by Samekh or Pe (Baer-Delitzsch *Genesis*, page 92, etc.). *d.* The present system of writing the vowels dates from the sixth century of the Christian era, or later. The accent system is later than the vowel system. The Masoretic notes and accessories date from the Tanaite times to the ninth or tenth centuries after Christ. Some of the notes in the printed bibles are yet later.

See Ginsburg *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, and Green *Introduction*, vols. I and II.

LECTURE XXXII.

OLD TESTAMENT TEXT CRITICISM.

255. *Supposable results.* A complete study of this subject may supposably lead to any one of three results: first, that the existing Masoretic text is satisfactory; or, second, that it is unsatisfactory, but incapable of being materially improved; or, third, that it can be amended and ought to be.

256. *Sources of Old Testament text criticism.*—They may be classified as follows:

A. Documents. I. Hebrew copies: 1. Copies with the Masoretic text, whether voweled or unvoweled; *a.* Printed. *b.* Synagogue rolls. *c.* Other copies. 2. Non-Masoretic copies—the Samaritan text of the pentateuch, and a few fragmentary or doubtful MSS. II. Translations, especially: *a.* The Septuagint and other early Greek versions. *b.* Tar-

gums. *c.* Old Latin, and Vulgate. *d.* Syriac. *e.* Samaritan version. III. Citations and statements found in other writings, especially: *a.* The New Testament and earlier writings. *b.* Masora. *c.* Origen's Hexapla. *d.* Midrash, using the term in wide meaning. *e.* Patristic writings. Read articles on "Versions," and on the several terms used in this list.

B. Conjecture. Read up on the subject of conjecture in text criticism, in some work on New Testament criticism.

257. *Two periods in the history of the text.*—In the existing state of opinion, it will be useful provisionally to distinguish two stages in the transmission of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament: *a.* The period of the established text, variously dated as beginning from 100 to 400 A. D.; a period of abundant external evidence. *b.* The period of alleged uncertain text, closing where the other begins; the external evidence becomes less and less as we go back from 400 A. D.

258. *The period of the established text.*—Within it the consonant text has been preserved unchanged, but the written vowels and accents have been added.

259. *The lateness of the written points.*—Is this an element of weakness in the Masoretic text? *a.* As a matter of fact, the actual questions in dispute concerning the text depend only in a slight degree upon the vowels. *b.* The way in which proper names and other words are transliterated into Greek shows variations in the phonetic values of the points, but seldom any in their grammatical values. *c.* Even if the vocalization were admitted to be merely conjectural, the mere fact that the writings make sense would prove that the vowels were, in general, correct; the evidence in their favor would be considerably stronger, for example, than in the case of the Assyrian literature.

260. *The vowel points not conjectural.*—There is proof, however that the vowels were handed down by tradition. *a.* There is no absurdity in the supposition that men were trained to read correctly, while the vowels were unwritten. *b.* The Jewish and Christian traditions affirm that the vowels were actually handed down in oral reading. *c.* Any system of con-

jectural vocalization must have followed its rules with something like mechanical exactness; the existing system does not; evidently the rules are generalizations from the instances, and the actual written vowels preceded the formulating of the rules.

261. *A genuine textus receptus.*—It is beyond dispute that during the period of the established text, the Hebrew Old Testament has been handed down with remarkable and scrupulous care. This might be illustrated: *a.* From the notes of the ordinary Hebrew bibles: The K'thib and Q'ri; the character of the variant readings marked Nun Aleph; the letters that are annotated because they are too large, or too small, or suspended, or the vowels that violate the ordinary usage of the pause accent; the enumeration of verses, letters, middle verses, etc., at the end of the books. *b.* From the rules for writing MSS., as mentioned in books of reference. *c.* From the contents of the Masora. *d.* From the results of the collation of existing Hebrew copies. See accounts of the work of Kennicott and DeRossi. Or compare the Baer-Delitzsch or Ginsburg texts with other Hebrew texts.

262. *Variant readings between Hebrew bibles.*—They are mostly confined to the accents, and seldom affect the meaning, even to the smallest degree. The Baer-Delitzsch texts differ much less from the well printed Hebrew bibles that are least like them than the Westcott and Hort text from the Greek text that is most like it. Perhaps no two editions of the so-called *textus receptus* of the New Testament can be found that differ so little as the two well printed Hebrew bibles that differ most.

What is true of the Masoretic copies is true, though less exactly, of all the other documentary evidence for the period of the established text. And while these statements hold, in the strictest sense, only of the consonant text, they are yet pretty minutely true of the text as now voweled and accented. The results thus reached go back to a time many generations before our present system of written vowels.

263. *Relative importance of conjectural criticism.*—It is

sometimes said that conjecture is relatively more important in Old Testament text criticism than in the case of the New Testament, and also that the versions are more important, relatively to the copies in the original, than in the case of other works. There may be a sense in which these statements are true ; but we should remember that conjectures or translations have no more actual value as evidence, and that we have no more right to accept unproved conclusions, in this case than in other cases.

LECTURE XXXIII.

TEXT CRITICISM. EARLIER PERIOD.

264. *The earlier period of the text.*—Did the Old Testament, prior to the existence of the present established text, pass through a period when the text was fluctuating, uncertain and affected by actual corruptions? It may be conceded that the presumption at the outset favors the affirmative, inasmuch as most ancient writings have been thus affected. In support of this presumption several considerations are urged.

265. *Documentary evidence for the text.*—This is scarce for the time before Origen. But the fact has no great weight. If the evidence abounded, presumably it would corroborate the Masoretic text, as does the evidence of the time of Origen and later.

266. *Charges made by the Christian fathers.*—Some of them say that the Jews corrupted the Hebrew text, in order to rid it of Christian doctrine. But scholars, like Origen and Jerome, evidently took no stock in these charges, and wherever they are made specific, they are clearly mistaken.

267. *The duplicated passages.*—Much is made of the differences of text in these (e. g. 2 Sam. xxii. and Ps. xviii, or the parts in which Chronicles repeats Samuel and Kings). But to a large extent, at least, these changes are evidently editorial, and not transcriptional. It is difficult to prove that any of

them have been made since the later of the two duplicates was written. The fact that the differences have been maintained, in spite of the natural tendency to assimilate the passages, is proof of care on the part of the copyists.

268. *Proof from the Septuagint.*—This is regarded as strongest of all. It is asserted that the Greek differs so from the Hebrew as to show that the translators must have had a Hebrew text differing greatly from ours. But: *a.* The oldest copies of the Septuagint we have are younger than the establishment of the present Masoretic text, even according to the views of those who date this text latest. *b.* The copies of the Greek Old Testament vary among themselves even more than is usual with Greek texts; it is known that the copies have so varied since before the times of Origen. The text of the Septuagint is less well ascertained than almost any other text connected with the scriptures. *c.* No one disputes that the translators, prior to all transmissional changes that have come into the present Greek text, had freely admitted uncritical elements into their translation work. *d.* It would be a mistake to infer from this, as many do, that the Septuagint is of no value, or of small value, for determining the text of the Old Testament; it is a still greater mistake to treat it as if it had about the same value with the Masoretic Hebrew. As compared with the latter, it is the testimony of a witness habitually ill informed and careless, beside that of a witness remarkably well informed and careful.

269. *New testament quotations.*—It is further alleged that the New Testament writers quote prevailingly from the Septuagint, and that this shows that they regarded the Septuagint text as superior to the Hebrew. The fact is admitted, but the inference does not follow. Where an author uses both the original and a translation, as the New Testament writers do, he must be regarded as counting the original the more authoritative unless he explicitly says the contrary. This the New Testament writers do not do; they do the very opposite, for they sometimes, apparently, correct their Greek text by the Hebrew.

270. *Conjectural criticism.*—Various points are made. See Lecture XXXIV.

271. *Arguments against the theory of a corrupted text.*—Of these two have decisive weight: that from the peculiar history of the Hebrew text, and the arguments from silence.

272. *Argument from the history of the text.*—*a.* From the time of Origen, the consonant text of the Masoretes has been a genuine *textus receptus* of the Hebrew Old Testament. preserved with no important variations; up to the last century, there were no such texts of Greek writings. As this state of things can be traced back for some thirteen or fourteen centuries, there is no improbability that we should be able to trace it a few centuries further, if we had the marks to trace it by. *b.* The claim has steadily been made that this *textus receptus* dates from the times when the old Testament books were written; this claim, of course, being modified by the admitted fact of the change of alphabet, in Ezra's time or later. *c.* In the time when the Septuagint translation was planned, we find, apparently, traces of a remarkable care used in the preservation of the sacred text (Qu. 81).

273. *Arguments from silence.*—The absence of all traces of pre-Masoretic Hebrew texts essentially differing from the Masoretic; and the absence of historical notices of any change in the manner of transmitting the Old Testament. *a.* From some time before the Christian era, there were copies of the whole or of parts of the Old Testament, in the hands of Jews and of others, in many parts of the earth. From the time when Christianity began to spread, copies were numerous, in the hands of Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, and were constantly studied and appealed to, as authority in religious discussions. *b.* In the circumstances, the Masoretic text could not have been differentiated, at any time between the translation of the Septuagint and the third century A. D., without attracting attention and causing discussion. If a radical change in the mode of handing down the Old Testament, involving the acceptance of certain copies, and the discrediting of all other copies, had then been made, it is

incredible but that some account of it would have survived ; it is also incredible but that some copies of the older forms of the text would have come down to us. But no one claims that there are any traces of any such account, or of the existence of any such text. *c.* In proof that it was possible thus to introduce an official text of the Old Testament, and extirpate all copies taken from other texts, it is customary to cite the official text of the Koran, made by the order of caliph Othman about 650 A. D. But the analogy utterly fails in two essential points. First, there were then but few copies of the Koran, all within a relatively narrow region and in the hands of one religious sect, and the caliph who made the change was the despotic head of the sect. Secondly, it attracted attention, and an account of it was handed down.

LECTURE XXXIV.

TEXT CRITICISM. RULES FOR CONJECTURE.

274. *Certain principles.*—*a.* The leading rule for all textual criticism is that the testimony of existing transcriptions is, where it exists, the best evidence for the text of a document. *b.* Among subordinate principles, the most important is that contained in the rule : That reading is to be preferred which best accounts for all other readings.

275. *Difficult readings.*—A reading is sometimes to be preferred because it removes a difficulty ; but this rule must be limited by another : Where variations are likely to have been made by design, the more difficult reading is probably the original reading. *a.* A construction that involves barbarisms of language, or false syntax, or a nonsensical or a false meaning, may be the result of carelessness in copying, and it may supposably be possible to identify and correct the error. *b.* The fact that a passage, as it stands, is in conflict with some critical theory, is commonly a reason for mending the theory rather than for mending the text. *c.* The fact that a passage

in verse fails to meet the requirements of some theory of Hebrew metre might justify us in making emendations, provided only a few such emendations were required. If a large percentage of the existing lines fail to fit the theory, it is the theory that needs emendation. *d.* In many cases it is more credible that the original writer should have committed barbarisms, than that these should have come in by the agency of copyists. In such writings as those in the Old Testament, if there were no literary infelicities, that very circumstance would create a suspicion that blunders had been removed by editing.

276. *Fuller and briefer readings.*—The rule that the briefer reading is to be preferred is greatly overworked, when applied to the Old Testament. *a.* This rule is, of course, absolute, as favoring all that the briefer reading contains in common with the longer. *b.* As a rule for excluding what is not in the briefer reading, or for preferring the details of the briefer reading where these differ from those of the longer reading, the rule applies only where there is some reason for thinking that the copyist has lengthened the text, as for instance, where the longer text is magniloquent, or where the difference consists in the repetition of a familiar phrase, found elsewhere in a similar connection (e. g. Matt. xx. 16, 22, 23, cf. xxii. 14, Mc. x. 38, 39); or where a gloss has apparently been incorporated into the text; or where there is an evident theological (or other) motive for the enlargement. *c.* On the other hand, a copyist may supposably omit, by design or through carelessness; he is especially likely to do this, if he writes from memory or from dictation. The longer text is probably the true text, when it is marked by genuine poetic or religious feeling, or by poetic delicacy; for the *outspinning* copyist is seldom a true poet. The longer text is the original when the shorter bears the marks of systematic abbreviation, made in the interest of fluency, as in most of the duplicate passages in Chronicles.

277. *Result.*—Many statements to the contrary notwithstanding, the Masoretic Hebrew text is of the highest character, as compared with the other best known texts of ancient

writings. In the present condition of thought, it would be well to consider with care every proposed emendation; but the emendations that have any real claim to be accepted are very few.

Questions for Review.

1. State and define the subject of these Studies.
2. Inspiration as related to the present investigation?
3. Mention the sources, principal and supplementary.
4. *a.* Distinguish between evidence from testimony and evidence from critical phenomena. *b.* What is evidence from historical allusion?
5. Give the rule touching the validity of testimony.
7. Should we start by asserting the minute historical truthfulness of the bible? Give reasons.
8. Should we start by asserting its lack of truthfulness? Give reasons.
9. Explain the point of view of provisional historicity.
10. How extensive is the early Jewish and Christian literature?
11. Give some account of Maimonides.
12. *a.* Explain the term *midrash*. *b.* The term *sopherim*.
13. Classify the Jewish secondary sacred writings chronologically.
14. Explain the terms Tanaim, Mishna, Gemara, Amoraim, Talmud.
15. Classify the Jewish secondary sacred writings geographically.
16. Explain the terms *halaka* and *hagada*.
17. Give the literary classification, mentioning the principal works.
18. Speak of the Christian fathers as sources on the Old Testament.
20. Classify the Old Testament books as in the Hebrew bibles.
21. Speak of the numbers 24 and 22 in this classification.
22. What is meant by calling these books a canon?
23. Mention some facts that do not invalidate canonicity.
25. Speak of two uses of the term "law" in the New Testament.
26. *a.* Derive the noun *torah* and its cognate verb. *b.* What kind of instruction do they denote? *c.* The source from which *torah* comes? *d.* Speak of *torah* as oral or written. *e.* Mention four syntactical uses of the noun. *f.* Speak of *the* written law, and the date when it began.
27. Speak of the law as a growing aggregate.
29. Give the substance of the testimony of the Baba-batra concerning the Old Testament. The date of this testimony?
30. How far can we infer the early contents of the Old Testament from its present contents?
31. Give the substance of the testimony of Jerome. Its date?
32. Speak of other Christian lists of the fourth century A. D.

33. Speak of the testimony of the great manuscripts.
34. *a.* What was the Jewish bible of the fourth century? *b.* The confusion made in some translations? *c.* The Christian use of secondary books? *d.* Was there an Alexandrian canon differing from the Palestinian?
35. State the testimony of Victorinus of Pettau.
36. Give the substance of the testimony of Origen.
37. *a.* Prove that Origen does not include the books of Maccabees in the scriptures. *b.* Prove that he includes the minor prophets. *c.* What were his books of Ezra, first and second? *d.* What of "the epistle", as mentioned in the list? *e.* The books of the Old Testament, according to Origen? *f.* Does his use of some of the apocrypha prove that he regarded them as primary sacred writings?
38. Speak of translations of the Old Testament before 200 A. D.
39. Give the substance of the testimony of Melito.
40. That of the preface to 2 Esdras.
41. That of the traditions concerning the copying of the books.
43. That concerning "outside books."
44. That of passages concerning books that "make the hands unclean."
45. That concerning books that were to be "stored away."
46. *a.* What use did these men make of the books they speak of as disputed? *b.* What conclusion did they reach as to the canonicity of each of our Old Testament books? *c.* What did they hold as to the time when these books became canonical?
47. Give the substance of the passage from 2 Esdras xiv.
48. Give the substance of the passage from Josephus.
49. Compare his threefold division with that of the Baba-batra.
50. Of what consisted the Old Testament aggregate in the first century A. D.?
51. Speak of the terms "scripture" and "written" in the New Testament.
52. By what means may we identify the "scriptures" mentioned in the New Testament?
53. Prove that their scriptures were in three languages.
54. Prove that their scriptures were in separate books.
55. Speak of their classification of the books.
56. Prove that they regarded the scriptures as a definite aggregate.
57. What books were included in their scriptures?
58. *a.* Tell what Philo says about three classes of sacred writings. *b.* Speak of his use of the Old Testament writings. *c.* The earliest known mention of the books of the law as five?
60. Give the substance of the statement in the prologue to Ecclesiasticus.
61. Give the substance of the testimony of the book of Ecclesiasticus.
62. What was the scriptural aggregate as known to Ben-sira?
63. The order of the processes of arranging the sacred aggregate?
64. *a.* Does the Old Testament consist of three successive canons? *b.* Was it after Ben-sira that the hagiographa were first regarded as sacred? *c.* Was there an Alexandrian Jewish canon different from our present canon? *d.* In

the time of Christ and earlier were the other scriptures regarded as inferior to the pentateuch?

67. Give dates for the contact of Israel with the Greeks.
68. Speak of Israel in the latest Persian reigns.
69. Give some account of Alexandria.
70. Of Antioch on the Orontes.
71. Of other geographical points of contact.
72. Explain the term "the era of the Greeks."
73. Give some account of the Maccabean wars.
74. *a.* Describe the noble Hellenizing tendency. *b.* The ignoble Hellenizing tendency. *c.* The Judaizing tendency. *d.* The liberal Jewish tendency.
76. Tell the Aristaeon story of the Septuagint.
77. Speak of information from other sources, touching the Septuagint.
78. How far are these accounts historical?
79. Prove that the translation was not made by Palestinian Jews.
80. *a.* Was there a plan for putting these books in the Alexandrian library?
b. What other motives were there for the translation?
81. *a.* Do the traditions say that the library obtained a translation? or a transcription? or both? *b.* What is the reason assigned for sending to Jerusalem for a copy? *c.* What part may the Jerusalem Jews have had in the matter?
d. What nucleus is there for the stories of miracle that arose in later times?
82. Speak of previous translation work, and the use made of it.
83. Speak of the character of the text used.
84. Speak of the time occupied in making the translation, and the order in which the books were translated.
85. Prove that the plan concerned a well known aggregate of books, much more extensive than the pentateuch.
86. *a.* Give the substance of Maimonides' statement concerning the men of the great Synagogue. *b.* Of those of the rabbis cited by Buxtorf and Schickard.
c. Of that of the *Pirke Aboth.* *d.* Of other passages.
87. Speak of Ezra as represented in these traditions.
88. Speak of Simon the just as represented in these traditions.
89. Speak of the great Synagogue as an organization.
90. Speak of the men of the great Synagogue.
93. Mention the four groups of postexilic events.
94. Give an account of the Samaritan schism.
95. Speak of the latest event of the biblical narrative.
96. Of the latest event in the genealogical notes.
97. *a.* Give the specifications by which this event is dated. *b.* What are the limits of date? *c.* Prove that this date was about 400 B. C. *d.* Prove that the Darius here mentioned is Darius Nothus. *e.* How is the enrollment of Jaddua to be explained? *f.* How do these dates compare with the lifetime of Nehemiah?
98. Mention the date of Simon the just and give proof.
99. The date of Ecclesiasticus, giving reasons.
100. What was the status of the Old Testament about 400 A. D.?

101. Give proofs that the "book of the law" of Nehemiah's time was a larger aggregate than the pentateuch.
103. Prove the antiquity of the Old Testament from its linguistic character.
104. The argument for date, from Persian and Greek marks?
105. The proof of date from the latest events recorded?
106. The proof from the comparing of the canonical books with others?
107. Show that Josephus dates the complete Old Testament about 400 B. C.
108. Show that the Baba-batra gives the same date.
109. Mention traditions concerning Ezra, giving the same date.
110. Give similar traditions concerning the men of the great Synagogue.
111. Give the substance of the passage in the letter of Judas in 2 Maccabees.
a. Show that it makes Johanan contemporary with Nehemiah. *b.* Under what title does it cite matters now found in Chronicles? *c.* Compare the library it describes with the one used by the Chronicler.
112. What proof from the Septuagint as to the date when the Old Testament was completed?
113. What proof from the book of Ecclesiasticus?
114. What proof from the traditions concerning Ecclesiasticus?
115. From the traditions concerning the cessation of prophecy?
116. From such terms as Mishna, Masora, Tanaim, etc.?
117. Give an argument from silence.
119. What strength of evidence is needed to prove that some Old Testament books were written later than Nehemiah?
120. Show that the threefold division of the Old Testament affords no basis for arguing the late date of some of the books.
121. Show that the date 400 B. C. is more probable than 250 B. C.
122. Give reasons for and against dating Ecclesiastes later than the life of Nehemiah.
123. Give like reasons in the case of Solomon's Song.
124. Give like reasons in the case of Esther.
125. *a.* Show that the Maccabaeian times were not favorable to literary production. *b.* Speak of the book of the law in the Maccabaeian times. *c.* Speak of the known literary works of those times.
126. Show the improbability of scripture writing in the Maccabaeian times.
127. Give the reasons that decide the question of the date of Daniel.
128. Speak of the question of a Maccabaeian origin for some of the psalms.
130. Classify the Old Testament by its historical contents.
131. What is meant by calling it a growing aggregate?
132. Mention the five scripture-producing epochs.
133. Speak of the "laying up" of sacred writings at various dates.
134. The six kinds of work involved in the process of completing the Old Testament aggregate?
137. Speak of literary works mentioned in the latest biblical books.
138. Of literature and writing as mentioned in the middle books.
139. Of the same as mentioned in the earlier times.
140. Of other indications of early literary activity in Israel.

141. Of the early contact of Israel with literary peoples.
142. Of the El-amarna tablets.
143. Of Israel as a literary people in early times.
146. Explain what is meant by composite authorship.
147. Speak of composite authorship and the question of sources.
148. How is credibility affected by composite authorship?
149. Composite authorship and questions concerning inspiration?
151. The three kinds of materials in the hexateuch?
152. *a.* Mention some of the poems. *b.* Some of the addresses.
154. Give an account of the covenant legislation.
155. Give an account of the priestly legislation.
156. Give an account of the Deuteronomic legislation.
157. Give an account of the narrative parts of the hexateuch.
159. *a.* How full is the testimony to the effect that the hexateuch was written by Moses and his associates? *b.* Mention some linguistic considerations that confirm this. *c.* How much do these items weigh in settling the question?
160. What is the proper meaning of the statement that the pentateuch was written by Moses?
161. Give some account of Phinehas.
162. The two traditions concerning the hexateuch?
163. Compare the two views, as respects the literary unity of the hexateuch.
164. State and estimate them, in the matter of composite writing.
165. In that of the theories of composite authorship now prevalent.
166. In the matter of the dates and authorship of the hexateuch.
167. In the matter of its postmosaic elements.
168. In the matter of the work done on it in Ezra's time.
169. In the matter of its truthfulness in matters of fact.
170. Estimate the argument from the history of the religion of Israel.
171. What was the aggregate of sacred writings at the death of Phinehas?
173. *a.* Mention the Old Testament writings of the second period. *c.* The subject treated in the historical series.
174. Mention differences between this history and the books of kings.
175. *a.* Mention the five parts of which this historical work is composed. *b.* How does this continuous history differ from the other parts? *c.* Give the subjects of the six personal stories. *d.* How is the fourth part related to the second? *e.* Mention the contents of some of the six appendices.
177. State and define the tradition as to the authorship of Judges and Ruth and Samuel.
178. The testimony of the books of Chronicles on this point?
179. Show that the men were fit for writing such a work: *a.* Gad. *b.* Nathan. *c.* Samuel.
180. Show that the times were fit: *a.* In prophetic activity. *b.* In literary productivity. *c.* In historical research.
181. Speak of the motive for such writing in the time of David.
182. Mention two theories of later date for these books.
183. Estimate the alleged proofs of later date: *a.* From their presupposing

Deuteronomy and the priestly legislation. *b.* From the alleged literary oneness of the books of Samuel and Kings. *c.* From the alleged date when the prophets became writers. *d.* From alleged late elements in the books.

184. Give the argument from the mention of Israel and Judah.
185. From the references to the time of the judges.
186. From the use of the phrase "unto this day."
187. From allusions to Rehoboam.
188. From alleged archaisms.
189. From the substitutions of *bosheth* for *baal* in names.
190. From other passages.
191. Show that these facts positively limit the date to the time of Nathan.
192. What part had Samuel, Gad, and Nathan in writing these books?
194. Speak of the five books of the psalms, and of the earlier collections.
195. How is the date of a psalm determined?
196. Speak of poetry and music in the times of David.
197. *a.* Mention New Testament testimony to Davidic psalms. *b.* Testimony to the "mercy endureth forever" psalms? *c.* Other Old Testament testimony?
198. Give some account of the Hebrew psalm titles.
199. Of the additional titles in the versions.
200. The limit of date in the historical allusions in the psalms.
201. *a.* Show that late date is not proved by the absence of a title. *b.* By the mention of Israel as afflicted. *c.* By mention of the temple. *d.* By Aramaisms.
202. Give the general conclusion as to the date of the psalms.
204. What was the aggregate of sacred writings at the death of Nathan?
205. The tradition as to the authorship of Kings.
206. Speak of the "Chronicles" mentioned in Kings.
207. Speak of prophetic writings used as sources.
208. How about the theory of frequent reworking?
210. Which are the minor prophets of the earliest group?
211. Speak of Joel.
212. Of Obadiah.
213. Of Jonah.
214. Of Amos.
215. Of Hosea.
216. Of the last two prophecies in Zechariah.
217. Of Micah.
218. Give a general account of Isaiah.
219. *a.* Give an analysis of Isa. i-xxxix. *b.* The view taken by some advocates of the new tradition? *c.* Estimate the proofs alleged for this view. *d.* Literary unities as an argument in such a case?
220. *a.* Give an account of Isa. xl-lxvi. *b.* The relation of these chapters to the history of Cyrus? *c.* The theory of a "second Isaiah"? *d.* The evidence and the theories of a late date?
221. Give conclusions concerning Isaiah.
222. Give an account of Nahum.

-
223. Of Habakkuk.
224. Of Zephaniah.
225. The date of the life of Jeremiah?
226. Mention the contents of the book of Jeremiah.
227. Account for the order of the prophecies of Jeremiah.
228. Give an account of the book of Lamentations.
229. Of Solomon's Song.
230. Of psalms written between Solomon and the exile.
231. Of the "wise men" of Israel and their works.
232. Of the book of Proverbs.
233. Of the book of Job.
234. The question of the probability of interpolations.
235. The scriptural aggregate of "the men of Hezekiah"?
236. The scriptural aggregate at the death of Jeremiah?
237. Describe the historical series of the fourth period.
238. Who probably wrote this series?
239. Discuss the historical trustworthiness of the Chronicler.
240. Give an account of the sources used by the Chronicler.
242. Give an account of the book of Ezekiel.
243. Of the book of Haggai.
244. Of the book of Zechariah.
245. Of the book of Malachi.
246. Of the book of Ecclesiastes.
247. Of the book of Esther.
248. Of the book of Daniel.
249. Of exilian and postexilian psalms.
250. *a.* Speak of the providential wonder stories. *b.* Of the apocalyptic writings.
251. What was the scripture aggregate at the death of Nehemiah?
252. *a.* In what alphabet was the Old Testament first written? *b.* When was the square alphabet adopted?
253. *a.* What characters were used in the original text? *b.* How about abbreviations, etc? *c.* The separation of words? *d.* Of books?
254. *a.* The verse divisions? *b.* The reading lessons? *c.* The chapters? *d.* The vowels, accents, and notes?
255. The three supposable results of text criticism?
256. Mention the sources of Old Testament text criticism?
257. The two periods in the history of the text?
259. How far does the lateness of the written vowels weaken the text?
260. Prove that the vowels are not merely conjectural.
261. Illustrate the care with which our text has been transmitted.
262. What is the amount of the variant readings in the Hebrew.
263. In what sense is conjecture here especially important?
264. The presumption as to early carelessness in the text?
265. The significance of the scarcity of documents?
266. What do the early Christian charges of corrupt text amount to?

267. The duplicated passages as proving corruption of text?
268. *a.* The relative age of the Septuagint and the Masoretic text? *b.* The present condition of the Septuagint text? *c.* Uncritical elements in the original Septuagint? *d.* The value of the Septuagint in text criticism?
269. The New Testament citations, and questions of text?
272. The history of the text as proof of its integrity?
273. Arguments of silence in proof of incorrupt text?
274. *a.* The leading principle of text criticism? *b.* The most important subordinate principle?
275. Mention principles applicable in cases of difficult readings.
276. Principles applicable in cases of fuller or briefer readings.
277. What is the value of our present Hebrew text?

HEXATEUCHAL QUESTIONS.

REVISION OF 1901.

HEXATEUCHAL QUESTIONS.

Revision of 1901.

LECTURE I.

PRELIMINARY.

1. *Literature*.—See the bibliography in *Old Testament Studies*, Qu. 172. A few additional works are Kuenen *Religion of Israel*, and *Hexateuch*; Wellhausen *Prolegomena of the History of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1885; W. R. Smith *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*; C. A. Briggs *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, and *Biblical Study*, and *Study of Holy Scripture*, also article in *Pres. Review* for Jan. 1883; W. H. Bennett *Primer of the Bible*; articles in the Herzog or in the Schaff-Herzog Cyclopædias, in the *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition, in the new *Dictionary of the Bible*, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Uncolored treatments may be found in *The Elements of the Higher Criticism*, by Professor A. C. Zenos, and in Professor Cave's book on *Inspiration*. Treatments favoring the older tradition are the introductions in the *Pulpit Commentary*; the chapters on the Pentateuch in Harman's *Introduction*; W. H. Green *Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes*; articles in the *Amer. Sup. to the Encyc. Brit.*

2. *General statement of the problem*.—From the syllabus on *Old Testament Studies* make a statement on each of the following points: *a.* The contents of the hexateuch (Qus. 151-157). *b.* The term "composite authorship" (144-149). *c.* The term "law" (24-27). *d.* The term "Mosaic authorship" (160-161). *e.* The views held concerning the origin of the hexateuch (162-168).

3. *The history of the discussion*.—Prepare a sketch in the form of a brief statement of the work done by the following scholars: Spinoza, Astruc, Eichorn, Geddes and Vater, DeWette, Ewald, Hupfeld, Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Dillmann (See sketches in Briggs, Zenos and other authors).

4. *The test proposition*.—*a.* No one would question that the division into J, E, JE, P, D, etc., has value as a classification of phenomena. *b.* There is room for difference of opinion on

the question how far the phenomena are to be accounted for by difference of authorship, and how far in other ways—by difference of subject matter or difference in the author's mood, for example; but these differences, if disconnected from questions of date or of truthfulness, are unimportant. *c.* The important differences between the old tradition and the new are on questions of dates. For purposes of discussion the whole problem can be put compactly into this form: Did the hexateuch originate within the lifetime of men who knew Moses?

In the following lectures we will consider the arguments on this question: first in the affirmative, and then in the negative.

5. *First argument in the affirmative. Evidence versus opinion.*—As against the proposition that new ideas are to be received because they are new, or old ideas because they are old, we should plant ourselves firmly on the ground that this is a question to be decided purely by evidence, by evidence scientifically tested and weighed.

LECTURE II.

THE TESTIMONY. CLAIMS MADE IN THE HEXATEUCH.

6. *Second argument in the affirmative: the testimony in the case.*—It is conceded that the testimony is wholly in favor of the affirmative. The only reason for adducing it at any length is that we may obtain some idea of its abundance and great weight.

7. *Deuteronomy.*—The book consists of a general title (i. 1-2), three addresses (i. 3-iv. 40, iv. 44-xxvi, xxvii-xxx), two poems (xxxii. 1-43, xxxiii), with four bits of narrative (iv. 41-43, xxxi. xxxii. 44-52, xxxiv). Every part testifies to Mosaic authorship.

8. *General title.*—It testifies that what follows was uttered by Moses in localities bounded by Perea, Horeb and Kadesh-barnea (i. 1-2).

9. *First discourse.*—*a.* Its inscription declares that it is a divine “law” published by Moses at a specified date (i. 3–5). *b.* The narrative following it apparently describes the occasion on which it was given (iv. 41–43 cf. iii. 12–17). *c.* Moses speaks in the first person, recapitulating events of his lifetime (i. 9, 12, 13, 15, 20, ii. 26, iii. 12, iv. 14, 21, etc.). *d.* First person plural (i. 19, ii. 1, iii. 1, etc.). *e.* Speaks to the persons he addresses as having been engaged in the events of the exodus (ibid. and i. 10, 14, 22, 26, 27, iii. 12, 18, iv. 11, 12, 23, etc.). *f.* The burden of the address is that they shall be obedient to the laws given at Sinai, and that they shall not be afraid of giants (i. 28, ii. 10–12, 20–23, iii. 11), and this fits the date specified for the address.

10. *Second discourse.*—*a.* Two parts, the first part consisting mainly of a recital of facts, with added exhortation (iv. 44–xi), and the second part of laws (xii–xxvi). *b.* It has an inscription (iv. 44–49), declaring it to be a divine “law” given by Moses at nearly the same date with the previous discourse. *c.* As in the previous discourse (Qu. 9cdef), it assumes throughout that the speaker and his auditors participated in the events of the exodus. *d.* The legislation is ostensibly given to take effect when Israel shall have crossed the Jordan (e. g. xi. 29, xii. 1, 9–10, etc.), and it fits that situation and none later, and especially not the time of Josiah (see Bissell).

11. *Third discourse.*—Expanding the precept for the blessing and cursing (xi. 26–32), it gives details for the ceremony (xxvii), then a connected declaration (xxviii), then an inscription entitling this “The Covenant . . . in the Land of Moab” (xxix. 1 [xxviii. 69]), and then an address by Moses (xxix–xxx). *a.* The inscription attributes it to Moses, and dates it. *b.* The two parts of it open in the name of Moses (xxvii. 1, xxix. 2 [1]). *c.* It continues in his name (xxvii. 9, 11). *d.* First and second personal pronouns (xxvii. 1, 4, 10, xxviii. 1, 15, xxix. 4, 5, 10, xxx. 1, 2, 11, 15, etc.). *e.* “This day” (same passages). *f.* Allusions to recent and coming events (xxvii. 2–8, 12, xxix. 2–9, xxx. 16, etc.).

12. *The two poems.*—In similar ways these both claim to be

by Moses, or by him and Joshua, and of the same date with the discourses (xxx. 19, 30, xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 1, etc.).

13. *Oral or written.*—*a.* It is not absolutely said that Moses gave all these discourses and poems in writing, though it is said that these are the discourses and poems he gave. That they were written is an implication which it is difficult to avoid. *b.* But it is explicitly said that the law of blessing and cursing was to be written (xxvii. 3, 8). *c.* It is said that Moses and Joshua wrote the song (xxx. 19, 22). *d.* And much is said concerning "the book of the law" written by Moses, which is mentioned in the narrative (xxx. 9-13, 24-26), in the second discourse (xvii. 18-20, 8-11), in the third discourse (xxviii. 58, 61, xxix. 20, 21, 27 [19, 20, 26], xxx. 10). *e.* "The law," in Deuteronomy sometimes denotes this book of the law (iv. 8 and probably xxix. 29, xxxii. 46, xxxiii. 4, 10), and sometimes a particular address or passage (i. 5, iv. 44, xxvii. 3, 8, 26).

14. *What was this book of the law?*—*a.* The passages cited seem to show that it is identifiable, at least in a general way, with Deuteronomy. *b.* In particular, there is no reason for saying that it was the pentateuch. *c.* The record carefully differentiates it from the two tables of stone. First, It was written by Moses, and they by God himself (Ex. xxiv. 12, xxx. 18, xxxii. 15, 16, 19, xxxiv. 1, 4, 28 [*he* is Yahweh, and not Moses], 29, Deut. iv. 13, v. 22 [19], ix. 9-11, x. 1-5). Second, the tables were in the ark, the law beside it, other things before it (Deut. x. 2, 5, 1 Ki. viii. 9, 2 Chron. v. 10, 1 Sam. vi. 19, and Ex. xxv. 16, 21, xl. 20; Deut. xxx. 9-13, 24-27, Josh. viii. 34-35, Deut. xvii. 18-19, 8-11; Ex. xvi. 33, 34, Num. xvii. 10, 4, Ex. xl. 4-5, 22-27, Heb. ix. 1-5).

15. *Other writings of the time of Moses.*—*a.* "The book of the covenant," written by Moses after the "ten words" had been given orally, but before the two tables were given (Ex. xxiv. 3-8, Heb. ix. 19-20, Deut. iv. 14, v. 2-3, 31 [28], Ex. xxi. 1, and compare Ex. xix, xx. 1, Deut. iv. 12, v. 5, and context). Is Ex. xix-xxiii this book of the covenant? *b.* The "ten words," written by God himself (Qu. 14c). *c.*

Something written when the second pair of tables was given (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28). *d.* "The book"—not "a book" (Ex. xvii. 14). *e.* "Their goings out" (Num. xxxiii. 1-2). *f.* Very many matters attributed to Moses, but not expressly said to have been written (Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8, Lev. vii. 37-38, etc., Num. i. 1, ii. 1, iii. 5, etc.). These include nearly the whole of the priestly legislation in Ex., Lev., and Num. *g.* The natural implication is that these laws existed in writing in the time of Moses. This implication is strengthened by the many passages which speak of the art of writing as then well known in Israel (Num. xvii. 2, 3, 17, 18; xi. 26; v. 23; Deut. xxiv. 1, 3; vi. 9, xi. 20; Ex. xxviii. 9, 11, 21, 36, xxxix. 6, 14, 30; Josh. xviii. 4, 6, 8, 9; Ex. xxxii. 32, 33).

16. *Joshua also a writer.*—Joshua is an associate and successor of Moses in this work (Deut. xxxi. 19, xxxii. 44, Josh. xxiv. 26).

17. *The bearing of this testimony.*—*a.* It affirms that Deuteronomy, the Ten Words and the Book of the Covenant in Exodus, and other undesignated portions, were written in the time of Moses and Joshua; and that in their time substantially all the pentateuchal legislation existed in fixed form, presumably in writing. *b.* The old tradition accepts this testimony as fact, while the new regards the definite parts of it as ranging in value from fiction to falsehood. The alleged proofs that it is not fact we will consider in due time. For the present we proceed with the testimony.

LECTURE III.

THE TESTIMONY. WHAT BECAME OF THE MOSAIC WRITINGS.

18. *The line of the argument.*—If the testimony we have been examining is true to fact, we may expect to be able to trace the history of the writings said to have been produced in the time of Moses and Joshua. If it is not true to fact, this will be impossible,

19. *The Book of the Law in hexateuchal times.*—*a.* We have found that the book of the law was to be kept in a certain place, that is, beside the ark; in the custody of certain persons, namely the priests and “all the elders of Israel”; for certain purposes (Deut. xxxi. 9-13, 24-26, xvii. 18-20, 8-11). *b.* The purposes mentioned are, first, that Israel may obey; second, that the Levite priests may teach it authoritatively (e. g. Deut. xxxiii. 10, xxiv. 8, Lev. x. 11); third, that it may be used in a certain pageant (Deut. xxvii. 3-8, 26); fourth, that it may be publicly read once in seven years (Deut. xxxi. 9-12); fifth, that the future king may have a copy (xvii. 18-20); sixth, for use in appealed cases (xvii. 8-13). *c.* The testimony affirms that it was handed down to Joshua and obeyed (Josh. i. 7-8, viii. 31, xxii. 5, xxiii. 6, etc.); was used at the pageant (viii. 32-34); was publicly read (viii. 35 cf. Deut. xxxi. 9, 11, 12). *d.* Joshua added to it (xxiv. 25-28). See MRC (*Moses and his Recent Critics*), pp. 176-182.

20. *The testimony in the times from Joshua to David.*—*a.* No one disputes that the Old Testament books that record the history from Solomon on contain abundant testimony to the existence of Mosaic writings. But it is alleged that the books of Judges and Ruth and Samuel discredit this testimony, first, by their silence as to such writings, and second, by exhibiting Israelite institutions inconsistent with them. The institutions we will consider later. At present we have to show that these books are not significantly silent. *b.* For the date of the books see OTS, Lects. XX, XXI.

21. *These books as they stand presuppose all parts of the hexateuch.*—This is no longer in dispute. The scholars of the new tradition teach that the earlier parts of Judges and Samuel are virtually continuations of J and E, reworked later to make them agree with D, and again reworked to make them agree with P. Of the 41½ pages of Judges in the Polychrome bible in English, nearly 3 pages in all are printed in green to denote the hand of D, and more than 6 pages in yellow to indicate a postexilic date like that of P. The same peculiarities appear in First and Second Samuel, though to a less

extent. The case was different as late as a dozen years ago, but no one now claims that these books are silent concerning the hexateuch, till he has first gone through the books and suppressed all the passages that seem to him to recognize the hexateuch.

22. *Instances of citation from the hexateuch.*—We can look at only a few out of many. *a.* Judges i. and ii. 6–10 mainly duplicate parts of Joshua, especially Josh. xxiv. 28–31. *b.* Early in the time of the judges, it is said (Jud. ii. 1–3), a message came from Yahweh to Israel at Bochim. The message is made up of eight or more characteristic phrases of the hexateuch, pieced together (e. g. Ex. iii. 17, Deut. vi. 10, Lev. xxvi. 44, Gen. xvii. 7, Ex. xxxiv. 12–13, Deut. xxviii. 62, Ex. xxiii. 28, Num. xxxiii. 55 and Josh. xxiii. 13, Ex. xxiii. 33). *c.* At a later date Jephthah, negotiating with the Ammonites (Jud. xi. 12–28), is represented as using phrase after phrase taken from the narrative in Numbers (xx–xxi). *d.* The language which describes the misconduct of Samuel's sons and the consequent demand of the elders for a king (1 Sam. viii. 3, 5) borrows the phrases of Deuteronomy (xvi. 19, xvii. 14), and is made significant by the borrowing. *e.* The account of the giving of the great promise to David (2 Sam. vii) presupposes a considerable number of passages from Deuteronomy and other parts of the hexateuch (2 Sam. vii. 1, 11, Deut. xii. 10 cf. Deut. xxv. 19, iii. 20, Josh. i. 13, xxii. 4, xxi. 44, xxiii. 1, Heb. iv. 8; 2 Sam. vii. 12, Gen. xv. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 24, Deut. xxvi. 17–18, Lev. xxvi. 45, Gen. xvii. 7).

On these and many other passages see MRC pp. 200–209.

23. *The bearing of such instances as these.*—*a.* They affirm the existence and use of some of the hexateuchal writings in the times of the incident at Bochim, and of Jephthah and Samuel and David and other ancient men, and not merely in the time of the author who wrote their history. *b.* It is no part of the plan of the authors of Judges and Samuel to give a full account of the hexateuch, but they certainly are not silent concerning it.

24. *Witness of the psalms.*—*a.* Certain psalms are by their

titles, or by the testimony of other writings (especially 1 Chron. xvi, and the New Testament), attributed to David, or to his contemporaries. Asaph, Heman, Ethan; and nothing in their contents discredits this. *b.* These often mention *torah*, commonly meaning written divine revelation given through prophets; and they so refer to the contents of the hexateuch as to identify them as *torah*, and connect them with Moses and his times (xix. 7 [8], xxxvii. 31, xl. 8 [9], lxxviii. 1, 5, 10, lxxxix. 30 [31], cv. 45; the verb, xxv. 8, 12, xxvii. 11, xxxii. 8, lxxxvi. 11.) *c.* They habitually cite hexateuchal phraseology (Ps. iv. 5 [6], Deut. xxxiii. 19; Ps. xviii. 15 [16], Ex. xv. 8; Ps. xxxiii, especially 9, Gen. i. especially 3, 6, etc.; and hundreds of other instances). *d.* Some of them recapitulate the hexateuchal narratives (cv [1 Chron. xvi. 7-22], cvi [1 Chron. xvi. 7, 34-36], lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxx, lxxxii). *e.* Whether or no all these psalms are of the time of David, the testimony of the psalms to the early origin of the hexateuch can be got rid of only by affirming the very late origin of substantially all the psalms.

LECTURE IV.

THE TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE MOSAIC WRITINGS

CONTINUED.

25. *For the time from Solomon to Manasseh.*—Read 1 Kings and 2 Kings i-xxi, with the parallel parts of Chronicles, noting especially instances that are to the point (e. g. 1 Ki. ii. 3, viii. 9, 53, 56-57, 2 Ki. x. 31, xii. 2 [3], xiv. 6, xvii. 13, 34, 37, 27-28, xviii. 4, 6, 12, xxi. 7-8). *a.* They represent that the written law of Moses was in operation from the time of David onward. *b.* They attribute the law to Moses himself. *c.* So far as they identify the law, it includes the hexateuch—prevailing Deuteronomy (MRC pp. 192-200).

26. *Time of Josiah.*—Read with care the account of Josiah's

reformation in 2 Ki. xxii-xxiii and 2 Chron, xxxiv-xxxv. *a.* The things in the book that was found which are said to have made an impression are things now found in Deuteronomy (xxii. 13, 16-19, etc.). *b.* The "book of the covenant" which was read (2 Ki. xxiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30) was relatively brief. It may well have been the Moabite covenant book now constituting Deut. xxvii-xxx (Deut. xxix. 1, 9, 12, 14, 21, 25 [xxviii. 69, xxix. 8, 11, 13, 20, 24]); or it may possibly have been a longer part of Deuteronomy. *c.* This book of the covenant was identical with either the whole or a part of the "book of the law" that was found in the temple, the second alternative being quite as probable as the first (2 Ki. xxii. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, xxiii. 3, 21, 24, 25, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, 15, 18, 19, xxxv. 26). *d.* The account nowhere either affirms or implies that this was the only copy of the book of the law then known to be in existence. On the contrary it affirms that Josiah had for some years been already engaged in the reforms required by this book. The excitement arose from its being a special copy, and not from its being the only copy. *e.* Whether the book found in the temple was a part of Deuteronomy, or the whole of Deuteronomy, or the pentateuch, or a collection of the sacred writings up to Isaiah's time, in any case the narrative in Chronicles recognizes other parts of the hexateuch as then in existence, and also ritual writings of the times of David (xxxv. 1-18). *f.* These narratives give us to understand that the book that was found dated from Moses; though in this instance the fictional hypothesis would serve with less difficulty than in most of the other instances.

27. *The preexilian prophets: general view.*—*a.* It is alleged that they do not corroborate the testimony of the books of Kings, and that we must therefore reject that testimony. *b.* Read them through (Isa., Jer. and the first nine minor prophets), or use a concordance, and note what they have to say about torah, written torah, Moses. Thus verify the proposition: They were familiar with sacred writings, among which were writings which they attributed to the times of Moses and

Joshua; and the contents of the latter can be partly, and perhaps entirely, identified with those of our hexateuch.

28. *The preexilian prophets: details.*—*a.* From the earlier group, taken as they stand, note a few specimens. “Book of Yahweh” (Isa. xxxiv. 16); written ceremonial law (Hos. viii. 12); “the law” (Isa. xlii. 4, 24, li. 7); “law” (Isa. xlii. 21, li. 4, xxiv. 5); “teach” (Isa. xxviii. 9, 26). As bearing on the interpretation of such statements, note that these books abound in hexateuchal phraseology, and in allusions to the hexateuchal legislation and events (Joel i. 9, 13, 16, and context, Isa. xlv. 2 cf. Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26, Isa. lxiii. 11–14, Mic. vi. 4–5, Isa. xl. 26, 28, xlii. 5, xlv. 12, 18, and scores of other places *b.* The later preexilian prophets magnify the law (Hab. i. 4, ii. 18, 19, Zeph. iii. 4, Jer. ii. 8, vi. 19, viii. 8, ix. 13, xvi. 11, xviii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxxi. 33, xxxii. 23, xlv. 10, 23), and are saturated with Deuteronomy; though they name Moses only once (Jer. xv. 1). *c.* To break this conclusion, the advocates of the new view set aside the portions of these writings that are richest in testimony of this sort, as being later writings, or interpolations. They do not dispute that the parts thus set aside abundantly recognize the hexateuch and its institutions. Of the prophets earlier than Jeremiah, the parts which Kuenen retains slightly exceed in bulk the gospel by Luke. These parts use the noun *torah* about ten times, and the verb as many more, and in the other usual ways recognize the earlier writings (Am. ii. 4, Hos. iv. 6, viii. 1, Isa. i. 10, ii. 3, v. 24, viii. 16, 20, xxx. 9, Mic. iv. 2, and Isa. ii. 3, xxx. 20, ix. 15 [14], Hos. x. 12, Mic. iii. 11, iv. 2, etc.). Even in these selected parts, is the recognition of the written law any less full or less explicit than it is in the gospel by Luke? (*Pres. Rev.* for Oct. 1882, page 731 sq.).

29. *Preexilian prophets: conclusions.*—*a.* Their testimony corroborates that of the historical books in an immense number of points, and contradicts it in none. *b.* It cannot be proved that these prophets habitually use the term *law* as equivalent to our term *pentateuch*. They use both the noun and the verb in a sense wide enough to include all written

revelation given through prophets, and, perhaps, oral revelation also. All the same, their torah included the writings which they counted as coming from Moses. To them, Moses was the beginner of the whole line of revelation through prophets, and not of the pentateuch merely.

LECTURE V.

TESTIMONY TO THE MOSAIC WRITINGS. POSTEXILIAN.

30. *The postexilian Old Testament books.*—*a.* At the close of the 70 years of exile, B. C. 538–516, the records represent that Israel had the written law of Moses, which is especially identified in its contents with the pentateuch (Dan. ix. 11, 13, cf. ix. 1, Ezra iii. 2 and context), but sometimes thought of as more extensive than the pentateuch (Ezra vi. 18, Dan. vi. 5, 10 cf. Dan. ix. 2, 10, x. 21). *b.* For the time of Ezra, Nehemiah, and their successors, beginning 458 B. C., the written law is greatly emphasized (Ezra vii. 6, 10, 12, 25, 26, Neh. viii. 18, x. 34, 36, etc.). It included the hexateuch in substantially its present form (Ezra ix. 1–2, Neh. i. 5–10, ix. 6–23, x. 31, 35–36, xiii. 1–3, Mal. i. 2–3, 8, 13–14, iii. 8, etc.). They attribute to Moses the law as a whole, and pentateuchal details in particular (Ezra vii. 6, Neh. i. 7, 8, viii. 1, 14, ix. 14, x. 29, xiii. 1, Mal. iv. 4, etc.). But they do not sharply separate the pentateuch or the hexateuch from other writings which they regard as prophetic and sacred (Neh. ix. 20–31). *c.* No one disputes that this teaching is abundant in Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Daniel and the other latest books (MRC, pp. 182–192).

31. *Later testimony.*—*a.* it is very abundant in the apocrypha and other writings, but we need not delay for these. *b.* No one disputes that in the New Testament times the complete hexateuch existed, or that the pentateuch was then currently regarded as written by Moses, or that the men of the New Testament used without rebuke the current phrases in

which this opinion was expressed. *c.* Look up the New Testament passages, nearly 80 in number, where the name of Moses occurs. The following are a few specimens taken at random. The law of Moses (Lc. ii. 22, xxiv. 44, John i. 17, etc.). The Book of Moses (Mc. xii. 26, 2 Cor. iii. 15). Moses a giver of precepts (Mat. viii. 4, xix. 7-8, xxii. 24). Giving them in writing (Mc. xii. 19, John i. 45). *d.* Formerly the advocates of the new tradition met the New Testament testimony by minimizing it—trying to make it mean something less than that Moses is properly to be called the author of the pentateuch. Now they commonly meet it by saying that Jesus and his associates were not critical scholars, and did not know. This question is too serious to be treated negligently. If men come commonly to believe that the writers of the New Testament were in the habit of making affirmations that they did not know to be true, and especially if they come to believe that Jesus had that habit, the consequences will be such as no lover of Jesus and of the gospel likes to contemplate.

LECTURE VI.

LITERARY CORROBORATIONS OF THE TESTIMONY.

32. *Third argument in the affirmative: from general literary characteristics.*—*a.* Other books of the Old Testament were written at or near the several dates to which the new tradition assigns the parts of the hexateuch. The literary phenomena are inconsistent with the idea that the hexateuch was written contemporaneously with these, but prove that the whole of it was earlier than the other books. *b.* In this argument we compare two relatively large bodies of literature. The results are simpler and more cogent than if the comparison were between small fragments.

33. *Early and late Hebrew.*—*a.* The grammars have heretofore taught that the Hebrew of the hexateuch, especially that of the pentateuch, is of an earlier type than that of the

other Old Testament books. To meet this fact, some advocates of the new tradition say that the various authors of D and P practised an archaic style of writing. That a succession of men did this for two and a half centuries, at that stage of the world's progress, is not very probable. *b.* Even with views modified from those of the older grammarians, we shall still find it true that the diction of the hexateuch differs significantly from that of the other books. *c.* The proof of this consists of an immense number of particulars. We can examine but a few specimens. For discussions concerning the earlier and later Hebrew see the grammars (e. g. Gesenius Sec. 2), or *Encyc. Brit.* XI, p. 596.

34. *Grammatical and verbal forms.*—*a.* In these the hexateuch differs from the other books in many important groups of instances. *b.* One group is the personal pronouns. The pentateuch often has *hu* instead of *hi* (e. g. Gen. iii. 12, Lev. ii. 6, 15, Deut. ii. 20). The hexateuch uses *anoki* of the first person eighty per cent as often as it uses *ani*, the other books only thirty-five per cent. *El* for *elleh* is found seven times in the pentateuch, and but once elsewhere (MG, i. e. Mitchell's Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, pp. 13, 99, 100). *c.* As another group, the harsh sibilant of early times is softened later. For example, *tsa'aq* commonly in hexateuch, but commonly *za'aq* elsewhere (e. g. Deut. xxii. 24, Hos. viii. 2); *tsakhaq* in Gen. and Ex., but *sakhaq* nearly always outside the hexateuch (e. g. Gen. xviii. 13, 2 Sam. vi. 5).

35. *Vocabulary.*—*a.* For example, look up in concordance the following words that are frequent in the other books, but seldom or never appear in the hexateuch: *m'dinah*, *pekhah*, *Eloah*, *nebel*, *heykal*; and the following, frequent in the hexateuch but not elsewhere: *Tol'doth*, *ason*, *ishsheh*. *b.* Look up *halal* in the two meanings "to praise" and "to praise God"; *yadah*, "to confess guilt" and "to give thanks"; *gaal*, "redeem" and "pollute"; *maseth*, "assessment" and other senses. *c.* Look up the uses of the following words: *'eth* and *z'man*, "time"; *laqakh* and *qibbel*, "take"; *malak* and *shalat*, "reign"; *sa'ir* and *ts'phir*, "he goat."

36. *Syntax.*—*a.* For example, look up the use of the accusative sign *eth* with passive verbs (the grammars and Gen. xvii. 5, 14, 25, xxix. 27, Deut. xii. 22, xx. 8, Ex. x. 8, etc.). *b.* The article as a relative before verbs (MG p. 420 and Ezra viii. 25, x several instances).

37. *Phrases.*—*a.* "Jehovah of hosts", "Jehovah, God of hosts," first used in 1 Sam. i, 3, 11, and growingly frequent from then in most of the books. *b.* "Holy one of Israel," not in hexateuch, but often in 2 Ki., Pss., Isa., Jer., Ezek. *c.* Descriptive names of deity, virtually compounds of *El*, "God most high", "God all-seeing", "God almighty", "God eternal", "God most jealous", "God most compassionate", "God all-living", (e. g. Gen. xiv. 18, xvi. 13, xvii. 1, xxi. 33, Ex. xx. 5, Deut. iv. 31, Josh. iii. 10), occur more than 20 times in the hexateuch. Elsewhere they are rare in poetry (e. g. Isa. ix. 6, x. 21, xlv. 21), and probably occur in prose only as echoing some hexateuchal passage (e. g. Ezek. x. 5). *d.* It is said that the phrase "sons of Israel" occurs about 392 times in the last five books of the hexateuch, but less than 100 times in Sam., Ki., Chron., Ez., Neh. and Ezek. combined, where the proportion would require 600. On the other hand, "men of Israel" occurs 5 times in the hexateuch and 49 times in Jud. and Sam. *e.* "The sons of" before the name of a place or a leader (e. g. "the sons of Bethlehem", Ez. ii. 21) occurs scores of times in the other books, and never in the hexateuch. *f.* "The house of Elohim" is not in the hexateuch, and "the house of Yahweh" is rare, while both are frequent elsewhere.

38. *Deuteronomy and the book of Jeremiah.*—*a.* The two have marked literary resemblances. This is claimed as proof that Deuteronomy originated in the time of Josiah, when Jeremiah began to prophesy (Jer. i. 2). *b.* But the resemblances are sufficiently accounted for by the historical fact that the men of that generation were deeply impressed by Deuteronomy. *c.* The differences (such differences as are mentioned in Qus. 33–37) are even sharper than the resemblances, Deuteronomy bearing archaic marks. It would be possible to make an additional list of details, solely from the

data afforded by these two books. *d.* The new tradition virtually concedes this, for it affirms that Deuteronomy and Jeremiah cannot be by the same author.

39. *The priestcode and the postexilian books.*—These bear strong literary resemblances. *a.* The resemblances may be accounted for by the fact that Ezekiel, Ezra, Nehemiah and the others were greatly interested in the priestly legislation so that their style was influenced thereby. *b.* These writings have other classes of peculiarities, mainly of the nature of modernisms, from which all parts of the hexateuch are free. Prominent among these, besides instances in 33–37, are Persian words and Persian facts and events by the score (e. g. Ezra iv. 11, 13, 17, 18, v. 8, vii. 23). *c.* The priestly parts of the hexateuch have peculiarities (Qus. 33–37), largely such as indicate earlier date, which do not appear in the exilian and postexilian books.

LECTURE VII.

OTHER CORROBORATIONS OF THE TESTIMONY.

40. *Fourth argument in the affirmative: certain probabilities.*—When we take up the probabilities adduced on the negative side, we shall find that many of them really favor the affirmative. Meanwhile there are a few points that may be presented independently.

41. *Did Israel's great men leave any work behind them?*—If the new view is correct, then the nobodies did nearly everything in Israelitish history and literature, and the men whose names have been handed down in history did substantially nothing. Is this probable?

42. *Was the age of Moses a literary age?*—Formerly the alleged improbability of this was made one of the strong arguments against Mosaic authorship. Through archaeological discoveries this alleged improbability has utterly vanished (OTS, Lect. XVI), and a presumption has been established in

favor of the existence of Israelitish writings in the time of Moses.

43. *Institutions later than the hexateuch.*—The hexateuch makes no allusion to any service of song, or any arrangements for public fasting, connected with the permanent institutions of Israel. Would this probably be the case, had the ceremonial law been written later than David?

44. *The hexateuch and postexilic movements.*—*a.* Nehemiah and his companions made new regulations additional to those in the hexateuch (Neh. x, etc.). If they were then promulgating a new code, would they not rather have promulgated these in the code itself? See *Old and New Test. Stud.* for Dec., 1899, p. 346 sq. *b.* The great reform law enforced by Ezra and Nehemiah, the separation from all foreign wives, is not in the hexateuch save by interpretation. Would this be the case if the hexateuch had been written at that time, in the interests of that reform?

LECTURE VIII.

THE OTHER SIDE. THE MODERN VIEW. TESTIMONY.

45. *First argument in the negative: the modern view.*—The argument that is practically most effective is the claim that the new tradition is modern and scientific, with a group of other related considerations. It is needless to say that the opponents of the new tradition do not concede to it a monopoly of scientific method or spirit.

46. *The authority of experts.*—They claim this, in large measure. But we cannot accept permanently the authority of one who claims to be an expert, unless he justifies his claim either by results reached or by reasons given. In this case there are no practical results that will serve, and therefore the claim is not to be accepted unless so proved that a layman can understand the proof.

47. *Independent agreement.*—*a.* Years ago the opponents

of the new tradition made effective use of the disagreements among its advocates. The latter now claim that they are substantially agreed, and that agreement among so many independent investigators proves that they are genuine experts, and that their conclusions are correct. *b.* The agreement is a fact only to a limited extent. See, for example, the respective views (A. D. 1884 to 1898) of Cornill, Seinecke, Maurice Vernes, Horst, Oettli and Addis, dating Deuteronomy at various times from before Hezekiah to long after the exile; or the contradictory opinions of Stärk, Steuernagel, Kusters, Addis and Driver (1894 to 1898) as to the critical partition of Deuteronomy (*Addis Docs. of Hex.* II, pp. 3-20). *c.* So far as the agreement is a fact, it is largely due to the new views having acquired the dignity of a tradition.

48. *Arguments from utility.*—*a.* The new tradition claims apologetic value. It has a convenient way of solving many of the "hard things" of the bible by relegating them to the domain of fiction. In some of the instances the solution is correct. This commends the tradition to many minds. But by its wholesale rejection of the biblical facts it creates more difficulties than it obviates. *b.* Some say that the new tradition enables them better to appreciate the bible. But the better appreciation results from better methods and more careful study—characteristics which the new may have in common with the old. In no instance, probably, does it result from the factors that are peculiar to the new tradition—the particular theory of the sources and the asserted late dates.

49. *The argument from alternatives.*—It is often argued that since some particular form of the older tradition is certainly mistaken or inadequate, therefore the new tradition must be true. Such reasoning leaves a wide gap between the premises and the conclusion.

50. *Second argument in the negative: testimony.*—The account in 2 Kings xxii-xxiii is sometimes claimed as testimony to the effect that Deuteronomy was written in Josiah's time. The history of Ezra and the various traditions in which he is named are sometimes called testimony to the work done on

the hexateuch in postexilian times. But this testimony is at every point, until after it has been manipulated, against the new tradition. The claim makes conspicuous the fact that the new tradition has no testimony to offer. Its evidence is entirely of a different kind.

LECTURE IX.

IS THE AFFIRMATIVE EVIDENCE VALID ?

51. *Third argument in the negative : attempt to break down the affirmative proof.*—As we have seen, the testimony and its corroborations are perfectly conclusive, provided they are allowed to stand. The men on the other side meet this evidence by minimizing it, by belittling it, by denying its validity.

52. *Minimizing the evidence.*—*a.* Some stress is laid on the fact that the Old and New Testaments are silent as to the number and the titles of the books attributed to Moses. But this is not particularly significant. *b.* It is said that such phrases as “the books of Moses” may mean no more than that Moses is the central figure in the books. So they may, but the testimony contains other phrases concerning which this cannot be said. *c.* It is said that our Savior and others, speaking of Moses as the author, may simply have followed custom, without expressing any opinion of their own. But is there any proof that they did this ?

53. *Belittling the evidence.*—*a.* They ignore most of the testimony, and all the corroborative evidence. *b.* They speak contemptuously of the testimony. *c.* They quote disparagingly the analogies of other religions. *d.* Especially they ridicule the “harmonizing” hypotheses to which the advocates of the older tradition sometimes resort in defending the testimony. On this point they should be careful, for their own constructive argument consists entirely of these same harmonizing hypotheses.

54. *Denying the validity of the evidence.*—This is the main

argument. Ignoring the rest of the proof, they allege that the presumptions against the testimony, the incompetence of the witnesses, and its internal weaknesses, are such that we ought mostly to reject it.

55. *The presumption against human testimony.*—*a.* Some go so far as to affirm that no testimony to ancient events is to be believed except as it is corroborated and interpreted by monuments. *b.* This is an overstatement. Testimony is to be believed, at least provisionally, unless there is reason to the contrary. *c.* In this case we have monuments—existing Israel and his institutions, Christianity and Islam, Palestine, etc. *d.* These things render the biblical testimony unique, and we should be justified in making unique claims for it. It is sufficient for our purpose, however, that it be treated like other reputable testimony.

56. *Alleged incompetency of the witnesses.*—*a.* Against the various biblical witnesses who testify to the existence of the hexateuchal writings from the time of Moses and Joshua, they allege, first, their late date, though a late date cannot be proved for them all; second, their lack of critical acumen, though this might not prevent their judging facts sensibly; third, their religious prejudices, the analogy of other religions being cited. *b.* These three points, even if fully admitted, do not prove incompetency, though they might account for it if proved.

57. *Internal proofs of lack of historicity.*—It is alleged that these exist in great numbers, in the form of incredible statements, and statements that conflict one with another and with other evidence. To meet this in detail one would have to go through the chapters of the Old Testament, one by one.

58. *Suppose that there are unhistoric elements.*—*a.* Whether their presence would impugn the authority of the records would depend on their nature. Christ taught in parables. *b.* If the writings were proved not merely to contain un-historical elements, but to be actually untrustworthy in some points, that would not so discredit their evidence as to the point in hand but that it ought to be considered and test-

ed; and the evidence we have examined consists so largely of incidental statements, and includes so much of the element of apparently undersigned coincidences, as to entitle it to respect, independently of other considerations. Even without discussing the historicity of the scriptures, we are entitled to use their testimony to the point in hand, except as it can be disproved by evidence.

59. *Lack of historicity not proved.*—*a.* Much the strongest argument alleged against the historicity of these books is the assertion that such accounts as those of the crossing of the Red Sea or of the Jordan, or that of the four encampments in the wilderness, are incredible in the nature of things; doubtless they are so on the *baby-story* understanding of them, but not when intelligently understood. *b.* It is alleged that many passages contain contradictory accounts of the same events, and therefore are not to be depended upon (Gen. vi. 18-20 and vii. 2, 3; xxi. 31 and xxvi. 33; Num. xxii-xxiv. and xxxi. 8-16; Ex. xxxii. 28 and 30, etc.). But there is no improbability in the idea that events of a certain character should repeat themselves, with slight differences; and there is no difficulty in so understanding all these narratives, that the discrepancies vanish. *c.* In these lectures, we have consulted the Old Testament many hundreds of times, in search of matters of fact, and have found always the appearance of trustworthiness. This argument is positive, and not merely negative, when we consider the nature of the statements. If we continue to find this state of things, we apply the best possible test of historicity to these writings. On the basis of these and other reasons, the charge of historical untrustworthiness can safely be denied.

LECTURE X.

ISRAELITISH INSTITUTIONS. THE ARGUMENT STATED.

60. *Fourth argument in the negative: from the institutions of Israel.*—It is regarded as the most important and convincing of all. It is drawn in part from general analogies, and in part from the history as specifically recorded.

61. *The law that institutions grow.*—It is argued that if these books are the work of Moses and Joshua, they represent the Mosaic institutions as coming suddenly into existence, and are therefore false, since such institutions must have arisen by growth. *a.* God can originate institutions by miracle, if he chooses. *b.* There were ages enough before Moses for the growth of these institutions.

62. *Was Israel's religion evolved from lower forms.*—*a.* If so, there was time for the evolution before Moses, and not time for it after him. *b.* But one has no right to assume that it was evolved. A unique product may have had a unique origin.

63. *The law of the order of development in religion.*—It is alleged that an elaborate ritual in a religion indicates a later stage of development than its prophetic, creative period; and therefore that the Israelitish ceremonial law must date, not from the time of the beginning, under Moses, but from the times of the exile, and later. But *a.* As the religion of Israel is admitted to be in many particulars exceptional, no one can deny beforehand that it may be exceptional in this particular. That is, no one is qualified to say that it may not have started with an elaborate ritual. *b.* If the Mosaic period began a cycle of religious development, then it also closed an older cycle. It is not incredible that this older cycle closed, at the close of the sojourn in ritualistic Egypt, with the formulating of elaborate ceremonial laws, even if these laws were largely neglected, afterward, until the later stages in a new cycle of religious movement.

64. *Two mistaken ideas of interpretation.*—In studying

these cases, we need to guard against two errors that have been made in the interests of orthodox Christianity, and that are now strongly used in attacking those interests. *a.* It is sometimes said, for the purpose of magnifying the miraculous element in revelation, that the Mosaic institutions came suddenly into being, and were new throughout, Israel having come out of Egypt an unorganized mob. On the contrary, the scripture account is that these, in every department, incorporate previously existing elements into themselves. *b.* For the purpose of magnifying the freedom of Christianity, as contrasted with the older dispensation, stress is often laid upon a certain supposed preternatural rigidity with which the pentateuchal laws are to be interpreted. This is contrary to the whole genius of the Old Testament. The Mosaic legislation should be understood by a liberal, common sense interpretation.

65. *The argument from the specific history of the institutions.*—It is alleged: *a.* That the other Old Testament books do not mention the peculiar institutions of the hexateuch, till they reach the times of the later Jewish kings. *b.* That the institutions they mention as existing earlier are incompatible with those of the hexateuch. *c.* It is inferred that the hexateuchal institutions and the books describing them began to exist during the times of those kings.

66. *Auxiliary argument from development.*—It is alleged that the gradual development of the hexateuchal institutions, in these later times, can be traced: *a.* The legislation of J and E to the times before Hezekiah and Josiah. *b.* That peculiar to Deuteronomy to these times and later. *c.* According to one view, the priestly legislation begins with Ezekiel; according to another, Ezek. xl–xlviii (B. C. 572, during the 70 years of exile) is a defence of the ancient priestly legislation against Deuteronomic innovations.

67. *The argument claims to be cumulative.*—They regard it as based independently on each of the great institutions, that is, on the sacrifices, the priesthood, the sabbath, the national feasts, and also on other institutions less important.

68. *Things not claimed in this argument.*—Or, if claimed, the claim is too weak to deserve consideration. *a.* It is not claimed that no institutions mentioned in the hexateuch are spoken of in the accounts of the judges and earlier kings. These institutions are frequently spoken of there; but those who press this argument say that they existed, in the earlier times, not as the products of the hexateuchal system, but as elements, out of which that system was afterward formed. *b.* It is not claimed that the books as they stand fail to testify either to the hexateuch or to its institutions. The claim is that the parts of the bible that testify thus are either later than they seem to be, or else have been subjected to interpolation.

LECTURE XI.

ISRAELITISH INSTITUTIONS. THE PROOF. MINOR INSTANCES.

69. *Limit of treatment.*—In presenting the argument from the institutions for the late date of the hexateuch, we cannot go over the whole ground, but we can cover representative sections of it. In the present lecture we will discuss a few minor institutions, and in subsequent lectures the great case of the central sanctuary.

70. *The cities of refuge.*—*a.* In the hexateuch: first, the earlier law (Ex. xxi. 13–14); second, the later law (Num. xxxv. 6–33, Deut. iv. 41–43, xix. 1–13, Josh. xx, xxi). *b.* Is the earlier in conflict with the later? *c.* The cases of Absalom, Adonijah, Joab, etc. (2 Sam. xiii. 38–39, etc., xiv. 11, etc., 1 Ki. i. 50, ii. 28, etc.). *d.* Do these instances prove that the hexateuchal passages had not then been written?

71. *The Yabam.*—*a.* Does the bible represent that the institution of levirate marriage originated with Moses (Gen. xxxviii. 8, Deut. xxv. 5–10, Ruth i. 15, ii, iii, iv)? *b.* Is the institution as it appears in Ruth inconsistent with the law in Deuteronomy?

72. *The goel.*—*a.* The hexateuchal institution (Gen. xlvi. 16, Ex. vi. 6, etc.; Lev. xxv. 25–55, xxvii, Num. v. 8, xxxv, Deut. xix, Josh. xx). *b.* Later mention (2 Sam. iii. 27, xiv. 11, 1 Ki. xvi. 11, Ruth iii, iv, Jer. xxxii. 7–8, Ezek. xi. 15, and Hos. xiii. 14, Prov. xxiii. 11, Job xix. 25 and concordance). *c.* How does the later mention bear on the question whether the hexateuch then existed in writing?

73. *The Nazirite.*—Num. vi. cf. Lev. xxv. 5, 11, Gen. xlix. 26, Deut. xxxiii. 16. Compare with Jud. xiii. 5, 7, xvi. 17, Am. ii. 11, 12, Lam. iv. 7, and the whole account of Samson and Samuel. Does this prove a late date for the pentateuchal passages?

74. *Masseboth.*—This is regarded as an especially important instance—the prohibiting of *masseboth* (Deut. xvi. 22, Lev. xxvi. 1), as distinguished from that of the worship of the false gods (Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, etc.), and in alleged contrast with Isa. xix. 19, Ex. xxiv. 4, Gen. xxviii. 18, 22, etc. This is claimed as proof that Deuteronomy is much later than all the approving passages. In fact, the “pillar” is at all dates condemned in a certain use in connection with altar worship, and never in any other use.

LECTURE XII.

PROOF FROM INSTITUTIONS. GENERAL SANCTUARY LAWS.

75. *Outline of the argument.*—If the hexateuch was substantially completed within the lifetime of a contemporary of Moses, then the Mosaic law for a *single sanctuary* (the centre for the sacrifices, the priesthood, and the yearly festivals) was in existence throughout the period of the judges, and every succeeding period. But it is alleged that the history of the judges is not merely silent concerning a central sanctuary, but positively disproves its existence in those times; and that in the subsequent history the idea can be traced as gradually developing, until the sanctuary in its completeness was estab-

lished by Hezekiah and Josiah. It is therefore argued that the legislation defining the central sanctuary must be as late as these times.

In this lecture we will consider the sanctuary laws, and afterward the facts and their bearings.

76. *Sanctuaries and sacrifices before Moses.*—*a.* Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are said to have built altars and offered sacrifices at various places, where Yahweh “appeared,” e. g. Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, Moriah, Beer-sheba, Mizpeh of Gilead (Gen. xii. 6–7, xiii. 4, 18, xxii. 9, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 1, 3, 7, xxxi. 54). *b.* Israel, at the exodus, had priests, sacrifices, altars, facilities for approaching “before Yahweh,” and a “tent of meeting,” previous to the building of the “tent of meeting” of Sinai (Ex. xix. 22, 6, 24; xviii. 12; xvii. 15, xxiv. 4; xvi. 9, xxxiv. 30 sq.; xxxiii. 7–11).

77. *The sanctuary law of Exodus.*—During these periods the *first* law for a sanctuary (Ex. xx. 24–26) was applicable. Doubtless this law, when given, was a correct digest of existing usage; this did not render it any the less a law divinely given.

78. *The sanctuary law of Leviticus.*—*a.* During the thirty-nine years in the wilderness, and during part of the administration of Joshua, the sanctuary was the movable “tent of meeting” at the various stations in the wilderness, and afterwards at Gilgal, etc. (see “tabernacle of the congregation” in a concordance, also Josh. vi. 24, ix. 23, etc.). *b.* To Israel “in camp” around the tabernacle, applied the *second* sanctuary law (Lev. xvii. 1–9). By its terms it applies to all who belong to the camp, whether they are physically within the camp limits or not; it does not apply to Israelites not living in camp around the tent of meeting—e. g. to the two and a half tribes residing east of Jordan, during Joshua’s war of conquest, or to the masses of Israel scattered through the wilderness, during the thirty-nine years (Deut. xii. 8). *c.* Apparently, this law might be suspended in case of theophany, on account of the immediate divine presence.

79. *The sanctuary law of Deuteronomy.*—*a.* Published

while Israel was in camp, in the last year of Moses, as a permanent law (Deut. xii. 4-11, xiv. 23, xvi. 2, 6, 11, xxvi. 2. Cf. Neh. i. 9, Ezra vi. 12, etc.). *b.* By its text it has four limitations. First, applicable only in the promised land. Second, when Yahweh has given Israel rest from all his enemies round about (xii. 10). Third, and has chosen a place for his name (11). Fourth, merely private sacrificial feasts are exempted (xii. 15, 21). *c.* In the nature of things, also, the operation of the law might be temporarily suspended: first, by the presence of the ark in any place; second, by theophany; third, by special revelation to a prophet.

80. *The construction of these laws.*—It is not fair so to construe the second and third of these laws as to render them contradictory; nor to construe them as designed to prohibit the public worship of Yahweh by sacrifices in all circumstances except those to which the laws apply; on the contrary, wherever these two laws are inapplicable, we must infer that the law regards the obligation to worship Yahweh as in force, and therefore as regulated by the more general precept of Ex. xx. 24-26.

LECTURE XIII.

INSTITUTIONS. CENTRAL SANCTUARY. SHILOH.

81. *Sweeping statements.*—It is claimed that there are such statements declaring that most of the pentateuchal institutions were inoperative and therefore nonexistent till late in the history. *a.* Does Neh. ix. 34 affirm that “the Levitical law was never observed till after the exile”? *b.* Does Neh. viii. 17 affirm that the feast of tabernacles properly originated in the time of Nehemiah? *c.* Does 2 Ki. xxiii. 22 and 2 Chron. xxxv. 18 affirm that the complete form of the passover feast did not exist till Josiah’s time? *d.* Does Am. v. 25 teach that the pentateuchal sacrifices did not exist in the time of Moses? *e.* How much weight have statements of this kind for revers-

ing the direct testimony that the hexateuch originated with Moses and Joshua?

82. *Three periods in the history.*—From Joshua to Eli, from the death of Eli to the dedication of Solomon's temple, from the dedication forward.

83. *Shiloh and Jerusalem.*—*a.* The scriptures especially recognize these as the two places of the national sanctuary (Jud. xviii. 31, Ps lxxviii. 60, 67-68, Jer. vii. 12, 14). *b.* But the whole pre-Davidic period is regarded as one in which the "rest" given by Yahweh was yet incomplete, and in which therefore, the sanctuary was wandering (2 Sam. vii. 6, 1 Chron. xvii. 5). *c.* Jerusalem is regarded as its first place of strictly permanent location; the connection of the building of the temple with the arrival of the promised "rest," and the fact that the "rest" was brought about through the conquests of David, are especially emphasized (2 Sam. vii. 1, 11, 1 Ki. viii. 16, 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 10, 18, etc., xxiii. 25-26, xxviii. 2, 2 Chron. vi. 5, 41, Ps. cxxxii. 8, 13-14, et al.). *d.* It is represented that others besides David were looking forward to this full rest-time (1 Chron. xxvi. 28).

84. *Shiloh in the time of the surviving associates of Moses.*—*a.* Before the death of Joshua, it was understood that Yahweh had "given his people rest" (Josh. xxi. 44, xxiii. 1, xxii. 4); and the tabernacle was located as a central sanctuary at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, xix. 51, xxi. 2, xxii. 9, 12, 19, 29, etc.; but Josh. xxiv. 1, 25-26). *b.* Its permanent location was at Shiloh in the days of the old age of Phinehas (Jud. xxi. 12, 19, 21), though some of its functions were exercised temporarily at Bethel, and perhaps elsewhere (Jud. xx. 18, 23, 26, xxi. 2, but not xix. 18).

85. *Shiloh in Eli's time.*—*a.* The sanctuary was a temple at Shiloh, with doorposts and doors (1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3, 15, not inconsistent with 1 Ki. iii. 2). *b.* The tabernacle was there, presumably within the temple inclosure (ii. 22); and so was the ark (iv. 3, 4, 13), the priests, the sacrifices, and one or more annual feasts (i. 3, 9, 21, ii. 13, 14, 19, etc.). *c.* There was the "house of Yahweh" (i. 7, 24, iii. 15); "before Yahweh" (i.

12, 15, 19, 22, ii. 17, 18, 21); and the custom of eating there (i. 9 cf. Deut. xii. 7, xiv. 23, 26, 29). *d.* This sanctuary was for Israel (i. 17, ii. 29, 30, 32, iii. 11); for all Israel (ii. 22, 28, iii. 20, iv. 1).

86. *The bearing of this testimony.*—*a.* If the record is to be believed, Shiloh was the fulfilling of the Deuteronomic law. The marks of identification are indisputable, in spite of the fact that the institution is on a scale very inferior to the ideal given in Deuteronomy and the priestly legislation, the inferiority being easily accounted for by the stress of the times. *b.* That the record affirms this the men of the new tradition concede. They defend their position by marking some of the statements as Deuteronomic or priestly interpolations, by rejecting some as false, by ignoring others. To justify this they affirm that these statements are in contradiction with other parts of the record. In particular they cite what the record says concerning Samuel at Shiloh, and what it says concerning sacrifices at other places than Shiloh.

87. *Samuel and Shiloh.*—This case is especially insisted upon for proving that the pentateuchal institutions were not yet in existence. *a.* It was a temple at Shiloh, not the tent of meeting. Ans.—Both were there. *b.* Samuel slept in the edifice. Ans.—Not in the tent. *c.* No inner sanctuary, and consequently no service of atonement. Ans.—Prove it. *d.* Samuel an attendant there, though not of priestly descent. Ans.—He was a Levite (1 Sam. i. 1, 1 Chron. vi. 33, etc.). *e.* Samuel became a priest, though not so by descent. Ans.—No proof that he ever performed a priestly act; if he did, it may have been in virtue of his authority as prophet. *f.* He wore a highpriest's ephod and robe, though a little boy. Ans.—No, a little boy's ephod and robe (ii. 18, 19).

88. *Alleged instances of other sanctuaries.*—Can you find any alleged instance of an altar or sacrifice away from the central sanctuary, to which one of the following explanations does not apply? *a.* No altar or sacrifice is mentioned in connection with the instance (Jud. xi. 11). *b.* The altar or sacrifice is said to be illegal, or at least is not mentioned with approval

(Jud. viii. 27 et al.). *c.* Or the instances are of merely memorial altars, or of private sacrifices, or are otherwise not within the terms of the law (Josh. viii. 30, xxii. 10, 23, 26, 27 cf. 1 Sam. ix. 12-13, xx. 6, etc.). *d.* Or the circumstances were such that the conditions of "rest" and of an accessible place chosen by Yahweh for his name did not exist. In other words, the law was, by its very terms, in abeyance. In such a case, it is not to be assumed that the intention was to prohibit worshipping Yahweh at all by public sacrifice. Worship by sacrifice would still be legal, very likely under the older law (Ex. xx. 24-26). See 1 Ki. xviii. 30-32, xix. 10, 14, and some of the sacrifices of the time of Samuel or Saul. *e.* Or the instance is a case of theophany, or of the presence of the ark, or of direct revelation through a prophet (Jud. ii. 5, vi. 11-28, xiii. 16 sq., xx. 26, etc.).

LECTURE XIV.

INSTITUTIONS. CENTRAL SANCTUARY. AFTER SHILOH.

89. *The sanctuary after the death of Eli.*—The history of the sanctuary is here obscure, till David established it in Jerusalem. *a.* Some say, in the interest of orthodoxy, that the Philistines destroyed Shiloh, directly after they captured the ark. No proof. *b.* Others say, in the same interest, that Israel had no central sanctuary during this period. Inconsistent with 1 Sam. x. 25, xxi. 1 and xxii. 9, 11, 19, xxi. 6, 7, 9 (7, 8, 10), Mat. xii. 3-4, Mark ii. 26, Luke vi. 3-4. The statement should be that Israel had no such central sanctuary as rendered the observance of the Deuteronomic law possible. *c.* After its return by the Philistines, the ark was in the custody of the men of Kiriath-jearim, either in a hill near that city, or perhaps in the city of Gibeah (1 Sam. vi. 21, vii. 1, 2, 2 Sam. vi. 2, 1 Chron. xiii. 3-6). But even during this time, the ark was not wholly out of the charge of the high priest (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, not contradictory to 1 Chron. xiii. 3). *d.*

During the early part of Saul's reign, Gilgal was a place (perhaps *the* place) of national sacrifice (1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 14-15, xiii. 4, 8-12, 15, xv. 12, 15, etc.). *e.* Later, some of the sanctuary functions, at least, were located at Nob (xxi, xxii.). *f.* In the latter part of David's reign, the sanctuary and tabernacle were at Gibeon, the ark being then at Jerusalem (1 Ki. iii. 4-5, ix. 2, 2 Chron. i. 3-5, 6, 13 and v. 5, 1 Chron. xvi. 39-40, xxi. 29, 2 Sam. vi, vii, etc.).

90. *What is said to have become of the tabernacle.*—Two words for the same thing are *ohel* and *mishkan*. *a.* In existence up to David's time (2 Sam. vii. 6, "ohel and mishkan;" 1 Chron. xvii. 5, "From ohel to ohel and from mishkan to mishkan"). *b.* Formerly at Shiloh (1 Sam. ii. 22 [ohel], Ps. lxxviii. 60 [mish. and ohel]). *c.* Both expressions are familiar in the psalms attributed to the times of David (see "tabernacle" in a concordance). *d.* First, set up by David at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39, xxi. 29, 2 Chron. i. 5 [mish.]; 1 Chron. xxiii. 32, 2 Chron. i. 3, 6, 13 [ohel]). Second, with brasen altar that Bezaleel made (2 Chron. i. 5-6, 1 Chron. xxi. 29, cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 40). Third, services held there (1 Chron. vi. 32, 48 [17, 33] [mish.]; vi. 32 [17], ix. 19, 21, 23 [ohel]). Fourth, function of Levites changed from carrying the mish. (1 Chron. xxiii. 26). *e.* The statements of 1 Ki. are less full, but are explicit. First, the altar at Gibeon, and the great place of sacrifice there (iii. 4). Second, "the tent of Yahweh" and "the horns of the altar", accessible, and a place of refuge (ii. 28, 29, 30). Third, "the horn of oil from the tent" (i. 39). It is not important whether this oil, or that of 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13, are to be identified with "the anointing oil" of Ex., Lev., and Num. *f.* Both Kings and Chronicles say that the tent and its furnishings were carried up, with the ark, to Solomon's temple (1 Ki. viii. 4, 2 Chron. v. 5). *g.* From that time, the ohel or mishkan is thought of as merged in the temple (2 Chron. xxix. 6 [mish.] and concordance).

91. *Allegations to discredit the record.*—*a.* That the sacrifices of Israel at this time were offered at many places, all equally counted as legal. But all the recorded instances are

either at the place that was at the time supposably *the* sanctuary (Qu. 89def), or were before the ark (1 Sam. vi. 14-15, 2 Sam. vi. 13, 17, 18), or were cases of theophany or of special prophetic revelation (1 Sam. vii. 9-10, xvi. 1-5, 2 Sam. xxiv. 21-25), or of private sacrificial feasts (1 Sam. ix. 12-13, xx. 6, 29, 2 Sam. xv. 7-12. *b.* That the ritual practices of the time violate the pentateuchal laws. But there is no proof that David's ephod (2 Sam. vi. 14) was priestly, nor that he or Samuel or Saul ever performed priestly acts. His sons being priests and his carrying the ark on a cart (2 Sam. viii. 18, vi. 3) were incorrect, but after the rebuke through Uzzah's death he corrected one error (2 Sam. vi. 13, 1 Chron. xv. 2, 15), and presumably the other.

92. *Solomon's temple.*—*a.* The scriptures represent that from the time it was built it was the sanctuary and the place of the ark (Qus. 83, 90, 2 Ki. xxi. 7, etc.). *b.* But that the highplace worship was illegally practiced in Judah till the reign of Hezekiah (1 Ki. xi. 7-8, xiv. 21-23, xv. 11-14, xxii. 43, 2 Ki. xii. 3, xv. 4, 35, xvi. 4, etc.). *c.* That Hezekiah suppressed it, succeeding where his predecessors had failed (2 Ki. xviii. 3-4, 2 Chron. xxix-xxxii). *d.* That the worship in the highplaces in northern Israel, particularly the calf worship of Yahweh in Bethel and Dan, was rebellion against Yahweh (1 Ki. xii. 26-28, 31, 32, xiii. 2, 32, 33, 33, 2 Ki. xvii. 9, etc. and 1 Ki. xiv. 16, xv. 26, 30, 34, etc.). *e.* That the strictly proper course for a northern Israelite was to remain true to the Jerusalem sanctuary (1 Ki. xii. 27, xv. 17, 2 Chron. xi. 13-17, xiii. 9 sq., xv. 9, xix. 4, etc.). *f.* That there might be circumstances, however, in which a plurality of altars was proper for northern Israelites (1 Ki. xix. 10, 14, xviii. 30-33 cf. Ex. xx. 25, Deut. xxvii. 5, Josh. viii. 31).

93. *The contrary view, held by the new tradition.*—*a.* That the highplace worship, up to the time of Hezekiah, was the normal religion of both Israel and Judah, the Jerusalem temple being only one of many highplaces. *b.* In proof is cited the testimony of Sennacherib (2 Ki. xviii. 22, Isa. xxxvi. 7, 2 Chron. xxxii. 12), but this is inadequate. *c.* In further

proof is cited the alleged testimony of the contemporary prophets. But on the contrary, the prophets condemn the highplace worship as distinctly as do the historical books (e. g. Amos. iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5-6, vii. 9, 13, viii. 14, Hos. x. 8; and they yield no different evidence except under forced interpretation.

94. *The biblical explanation of the facts.*—If we accept the testimony of the bible as proving the existence of the highplace worship, we ought to pay some respect to the testimony of the very same passages in explanation of the fact that the worship existed. From the time when the central altar was set up in Shiloh, the bible nowhere represents that altar worship elsewhere was in itself approved by Yahweh. *a.* It was tolerated, under the compulsion of circumstances (1 Ki. iii. 2). *b.* It is condemned as always incorrect, and as showing, when practiced by preference, the rebellious disposition of Israel. For both Judah and Israel the condemnation is formal, and often repeated (Qus. 92, 93). *c.* In the books of Judges, Ruth and Samuel, the condemnation is not as formal as in Kings, but that does not prove that these earlier authors regarded the practice as legal.

95. *The facts summed up.*—*a.* If it were proved that the central sanctuary law was mainly inoperative until the reign of Hezekiah, it would still remain possible that the laws might have been written in the time of Moses; he might have this idea in his mind, with perfect clearness, and might commit it to writing, even if his successors for centuries failed to reduce it to practice. If there was development in later times, it may have been development in doing what the ancient law required. The proof fails, even if the fact be admitted, unless the details are such as to furnish the required evidence. *b.* But the details actually show that the idea of one central sanctuary for all Israel was in existence, and in limited operation, from Joshua on. And if the idea, however imperfectly realized, was in existence, it clearly may have existed in the form of a written law.

96. *Conclusion.*—In fine, the net outcome of our study of

the institutions of Israel is that the history of these institutions strongly confirms the testimony to the early date of the hexateuch, instead of overthrowing that testimony.

LECTURE XV.

LATE ELEMENTS IN THE HEXATEUCH.

97. *Fifth argument in the negative: from postmosaic elements.*—We are now to look at the passages in the hexateuch which are adduced as referring to events later than the time of Moses and Joshua, and as therefore proving the later date of these writings. *a.* The alleged instances of this kind may be arranged in two classes: first, events which are claimed as of late date, but only on proof that depends on the historical theory of the new tradition; second, events that are late irrespective of theories of the history. *c.* We have already (Lectures X–XIV) sufficiently considered the instances of the first of these classes—for example the prohibition of *masseboth*, or the requirement of a central sanctuary—and are now ready to consider those of the second class. There are some hundreds of them, falling into about fifty groups.

98. *Not a new thing.*—The recognition of these instances is not a recent device of the advocates of the new views on the bible. Most of the instances have been noticed in the church traditions of the past, and explained as either predictive or as annotations by later and unknown hands.

99. *Points to notice.*—It is convenient to take Phinehas (OTS 161) as a typical surviving associate of Moses. In the instances we have to examine, answer three questions: *a.* Is the fact mentioned certainly later than the death of Moses? *b.* Is it certainly later than the death of Phinehas? *c.* Is the passage properly a part of the text? or is it a note?

100. *A group of important events.*—*a.* The death of Joshua and the elders (Josh. xxiv. 29, 31, 33) brings the history up to the old age of Phinehas. *b.* The capture of Leshem, with the

change of name to Dan (Josh. xix. 47). Dan is mentioned in both Deuteronomy (xxxiv. 1) and Genesis (xiv. 14). Details are given in Judges (xviii and xx. 1, 28), from which it appears that the capture occurred within the lifetime of Phinehas. *c.* Jacob's blessing on his sons (Gen. xlix. 1-28) contains allusions to the geographical location of the tribes in Palestine. If not miraculously predictive, it was written after the distribution of the land under Joshua, but not necessarily later than the lifetime of Phinehas. *d.* It has been asserted that the details in the account of the manna (Ex. xvi, Num. xi. 6-13) indicate that the author lived later than the events; and, further, that he was still alive after the manna ceased (Ex. xvi. 35, Josh. v. 12). If so, he outlived Moses, but there is no proof that he outlived Phinehas. *e.* Deuteronomy contains a law for *mas*, that is, forced labor by aliens (xx. 11 cf. Ex. i. 11, Gen. xlix. 15). In Joshua it is said that this law was extended to the Canaanites who remained among the Israelites (xvi. 10, xvii. 13, mainly repeated in Jud. i. 28, 30, 33, 35. Add Josh. ix, though the word is not there used). Have we here proof that these parts of the hexateuch are later than Solomon (1 Ki. v. 13-14 [27-28], ix. 15, 21, etc.)? There is no absurdity in supposing that this policy had already been adopted in the time of Phinehas (see Jud. ii. 1-5, xix. 11, Josh. xv. 63). *f.* The book of Jashar (Josh. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18, but not the Greek of 1 Ki. viii. 53) seems to have been a collection of hero songs. It may have been a growing collection, and therefore may have been in existence at a very early date, though additions were made to it as late as the time of David. *g.* "The hill country of Israel and its lowland." "From all the hill country of Judah and from all the hill country of Israel" (Josh. xi. 16, 21). As the Anakim were especially formidable in Judah, this may mean the hill country of Judah and of the rest of Israel (cf. Benjamin and Israel in Jud. xx. 39, 41, etc.). Hence this phraseology does not necessarily prove a late date.

101. *Certain uses of geographical names.*—*a.* By a concordance look up Bethel and Luz in the hexateuch. Luz was

the city, and Bethel the place of worship near by, the name of the city being changed to Bethel after the death of Joshua (Jud. i. 22–26). With these facts compare the use of the name Bethel in Gen. xii. 8, 8, xiii. 3, 3, Josh. vii. 2, viii. 9, 12, 17, xii. 9, 16, etc., and the use of Luz in Gen. xxxv. 6. *b.* Ephrath, Ephratah (Gen. xxxv. 16, 19, xlvi. 7, 1 Chron. ii. 19, 50, iv. 4). *c.* Hormah (Deut. i. 44, Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 3, Jud. i. 17). *d.* Hebron (concordance). *e.* Debir (Josh. x. 38, 39, etc., cf. xv. 15, 49, Jud. i. 11). *f.* The list of names in Num. xxvi. *g.* Havvoth Jair (Deut. iii. 14, Num. xxxii. 41, Jud. x. 4). *h.* Jerusalem (Josh. x. 1 and eight other places). The name is on the El-amarna tablets. *i.* Cabul (Josh. xix. 27, 1 Ki. ix. 13). *j.* Agag (Num. xxiv. 7).

102. *Other instances.*—*a.* Death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 5). *b.* “Not a prophet since,” etc. (Deut. xxxiv. 10). *c.* Passages where “until this day” occurs. First, in Gen. xlvi. 15, Ex. x. 6, Josh. xxii. 3, 17, xxiii. 8, 9, the phrase indicates a date in the times of Joshua or earlier. Second, how is it in Gen. xxii. 14, xxvi. 33, xxxv. 20, xlvii. 26, Deut. ii. 22, iii. 14, xxxiv. 6, Josh. vii. 26, viii. 28, 29, ix. 27, x. 27, xiii. 13, xiv. 14, xv. 63, xvi. 10? *d.* Passages where Moses is spoken of in the third person. He may have been the author. What is the probability? *e.* Pentateuchal passages that compliment Moses (Num. xii. 3, Deut. xxxiv. 10, etc.).

LECTURE XVI.

LATE ELEMENTS IN THE HEXATEUCH. CONTINUED.

103. *Instances in which Israelite kings are mentioned.*—*a.* Legislation concerning them (Deut. xvii. 14–20, xxviii. 36). Mere political sagacity might lead to such prevision as this; and all the more on the part of men who believed that God had promised that kings should descend from Abraham and from Jacob (Gen. xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11). *b.* What is said concerning the Edomite kings (Gen. xxxvi, especially 31). First,

no proof, from names or otherwise, that any of these kings were later than the events of the hexateuch. Second, no proof that there were kings in Israel before it was written.

104. *Certain geographical phrases.*—*a.* “Across the Jordan” to denote the country east of Jordan (Deut. i. 1 and many other places). Compare “beyond Jordan” or “Perea” (Mat. iv. 25, xix. 1, Mc. iii. 8, x. 1, Jo. i. 28, etc.) or the current expression “trans-Jordanic”. Compare also “across the River” (Ezra iv. 10, 11, 16, 17, 20, v. 3, 6, viii. 36, Neh. ii. 7, 9, iii. 7, etc.). *b.* “Negebward” for south (Ex. xxvi. 18, xxvii. 9, etc.). *c.* “Seaward” for westward (Deut. iii. 27, Gen. xii. 8 and fourteen other places). These three geographical terms denote, not that the author was in Palestine west of the Jordan when he wrote, but that the Hebrew language originated there. Hence they have no bearing on the question of date.

105. *Other Deuteronomic instances.*—*a.* “As Israel has done to the land of his possession” (ii. 12). *b.* “Within thy gates” (v. 14, xii. 12 and many instances, Ex. xx. 10). *c.* Removing landmarks (xix. 14, xxvii. 17). *d.* Military enlistments (xx. 5–9). *e.* Return to Egypt in ships (xxviii. 68 cf. Jer. xliii. 7). *f.* Central judiciary (xvii. 8 sq., 2 Chron. xix. 8–11). *g.* “Host of heaven” (iv. 19, xvii. 3). Is this necessarily a late form of idolatry? *h.* Og’s bedstead (iii. 11). *i.* Hermon, Sirion, Senir (iii. 9). *j.* Gilgal (xi. 30 cf. Josh. v. 9).

106. *Yet other instances.*—*a.* The conquests of Caleb (Josh. xv. 13–19, Jud. i. 8–15 cf. Josh. x. 36–39). *b.* “The Canaanite being then in the land” (Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7). *c.* “While the sons of Israel were in the wilderness” (Num. xv. 32). *d.* The land of the Hebrews” (Gen. xl. 15). *e.* The gap in the chronology (Num. xx. 1). *f.* The condition of Assyria and Nineveh, when these writings were made (Gen. ii. 14, x. 11–12, xxv. 18). *g.* “The mountain of Yahweh” (Gen. xxii. 14). *h.* Like phraseology (Ex. xv. 13, 17).

107. *The creation and flood narratives.*—To these there are parallel Babylonian accounts, transmitted to us through Assyrian sources, differing from the Hebrew accounts mainly by the presence of polytheistic and grotesque elements. It is

held that our bible narratives are these Babylonian accounts purified, and therefore date from the time of the Assyrian contact with Israel in the reign of Ahab and later. *a.* Israel was in contact with Babylonia from the days of Abraham. *b.* The more probable theory is that the biblical accounts are nearest the original form, the Babylonian accounts being corruptions.

108. *Conclusion.*—There is much difference of opinion in regard to many of the instances; it seems evident, however, that elements later than the life of Moses are scattered through the six books. They are so numerous that they cannot be regarded as annotations of unknown date, without seriously impugning the integrity of the writings. They affect all the books. Few of them, however, perhaps none, are of later date than the lifetime of Phinehas.

This is not merely a refutation of objections, but is of the nature of positive evidence that the hexateuch was completed at about that date. If the date were later, marks of it would appear, just as the marks of the events up to the time of Phinehas appear in the narratives concerning the patriarchs.

LECTURE XVII.

THE PARTITION. ITS BEARING ON THE QUESTION OF DATE.

109. *Sixth argument in the negative: from the partition.*—Suppose one accepts as correct the current partition of the hexateuch into the parts known as J and E and D and P, with their various strata and redactions, what bearing will that have on the question of the dates? In the present lecture we will consider this aspect of the case, and in subsequent lectures the subject of the partition itself.

110. *The partition gives no new marks of date.*—*a.* There is nothing in the separated parts that was not in the whole before the separation. The arguments based on the partition are mostly a mere repetition of those which we have already

considered. *b.* It is said that the minute study required by the analysis adds force to the arguments by calling attention to them in detail. But that only emphasizes their weakness provided they are really weak.

111. *The documents extend through the books.*—*a.* It is said that the documents J and E and D and P run through the six books, showing that all four of them were as late as the career of Joshua or later, and the compilation of the hexateuch from them later still. *b.* The statement needs modification, but if it were completely true it would not disprove the Mosaic character of the contents of the hexateuch, nor prove that it was completed later than the time of Phinehas.

112. *The documents as restored.*—It is alleged that when the several papers J, E, D, P, are restored to their original form, they display such differences as prove that they originated in different conditions of civilization, many generations apart. But as long as it is in dispute whether J is earlier than E, or the reverse, and whether the successive Ps are earlier or later than D, this argument can have little weight. And the situations as to civilization are really no farther apart after the dissection of the record than before.

113. *The several documents as affiliated with historical facts.*—Or with certain books, as those of Samuel or Kings or Ezekiel or Ezra and Nehemiah. If these marks of date are not in the hexateuch taken as a whole, they will not be in it after it is separated into parts. Arguments of this sort drawn from the partition are nothing but variant statements of the arguments from the institutions and from the post-mosaic elements.

114. *Converging probabilities.*—In the processes of the partition historical considerations are brought into contact with linguistic and other literary data, thus giving opportunity for combining independent probabilities. That “when a number of probabilities converge in a common conclusion, their strength in combination is much greater than” it would otherwise be (*Hexateuch*, p. 14) is a correct law of reasoning. As we study the partition we must watch for applications of this law. The

value of converging probabilities, however, depends much on the question whether they have to be bent in order to make them converge.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE PARTITION. GENERAL PROOFS OF ITS VALIDITY.

115. *Bearings*.—The following two arguments are valid for proving that the hexateuch had sources. There would be no objection to conceding that they prove the existence of J, E, D, P as sources, provided this question be separated from that of the untruthfulness and the late date of the records. In fact, however, they prove nothing in favor of the alleged four documents.

116. *The variety of style*.—*a*. It is alleged that the differences of literary character are so great, in different parts of the hexateuch, as to indicate that they are by different authors, of different historical periods. *b*. The differences are really quite marked; but on the supposition that the hexateuch was completed within the lifetime of the associates of Moses, several things go to account for the differences. First, a man writes differently on different subjects, and especially in different classes of composition. Second, a man's style changes as he grows older. Third, there is no telling how many older papers may have been incorporated; compilation was possible in early times, as well as later. Fourth, in writing, and especially in writing laws, orders, etc., and digesting older documents, public men like Moses, Joshua, and Phinehas are likely to have employed, not merely amanuenses, but secretaries. *c*. That the differences are such as to indicate that the authors lived in different ages is incapable of proof. *d*. Of course, the accounts were written later than the events, and put together later than the date when they were written; but so far as appears, not much later.

117. *The analogies of other literature*.—It is alleged that other pieces of literature have originated by the process of ac-

cumulation, layer upon layer, and that this favors the idea of a like origin for the hexateuch. *a.* Homer has heretofore been the great instance, but this instance is now withdrawn. *b.* In *Hex.* (*The Hexateuch*, London, 1900) the following instances are cited. First, the other parts of the Old Testament (pp. 1, 11-13), Second, Asser's Life of Alfred, and other monastic chronicles (4-5). Third, the collections of early English laws (5-6). Fourth, the Buddhistic and Brahmanical sacred writings (6-8.) Fifth, Tatian's Diatessaron (8-11).

118. *The value of this argument.*—*a.* Reasoning of this sort is incapable of being conclusive. At most, such analogies lessen an improbability; they never prove a fact. *b.* As bearing on a theory of the composition of the hexateuch, the inferences to be drawn are only general, not specific. *c.* The alleged facts concerning the analagous instances include a large element of mere theory. *d.* None of the cases mentioned is at all points analagous with that of the hexateuch.

119. *Alleged inconsistencies.*—The instances that are used for proving the untrustworthiness of the statements of the hexateuch (Lect. IX) are also used in proof of the composite character of the text. It is held that these numerous alleged inconsistencies are to be accounted for by the hypothesis of different sources. *a.* This might not be a good account of the inconsistencies, if they were as numerous as alleged. *b.* As a matter of fact, the inconsistencies do not exist. In testing the alleged instances five things should be remembered. First, provided these accounts are historical, they are not complete histories, but statements of a few facts, selected for the religious lessons they teach. Second, they belong to the category of pictorial writing, and are to be tested accordingly. Third, these two considerations will account for variations in the order in which events are mentioned. Fourth, other things being equal, the interpretation which agrees with all parts of an account is to be preferred. Fifth, the final authors of the hexateuch, whoever they were, were not idiots, and their ideas of what was true and consistent should not be utterly disregarded.

120. *Test instances.*—*a.* In the light of these principles examine the alleged contradictions between Gen. i-ii. 3 and Gen. ii. 4-iv. *b.* Between Gen. ii. 4-iv and Gen. v.

LECTURE XIX.

THE PARTITION. MARKS OF JUNCTION.

121. *Duplicated sections of an account.*—*a.* Study carefully Gen. vi. 13-22 and vii. 1-5; Gen. vii. 6-10 and 11-16; Gen. viii. 20-22 and ix.1-7. *b.* It is plausible at least to account for these doublets by saying that the author copied alternately from two earlier accounts. *c.* Is there proof that the accounts were contradictory?

122. *Duplicated narratives.*—These play an exceedingly prominent part in the case of the men of the new tradition. But the instances are not clear. *a.* Deuteronomy i-iv and v-xi are not duplicates of parts of Exodus, but discourses based on the facts as given in Exodus. The speaker assumed that his auditors were familiar with the facts as given in Exodus, so that there was no need for him to repeat them except as his purpose demanded. When one attends to this the apparent discrepancies vanish. *b.* Genesis ii. 4-iv is not a duplicate of Gen. i-ii. 3, but a supplementary account, starting from the events of the third-sixth day, as given in the first account. *c.* Gen. xv and xvii are not duplicate accounts of the giving of a covenant, but accounts of two different covenant solemnities. *d.* Gen. xii. 11-20, xx, xxvi. 6-11, are not three variant accounts of an event, but accounts of three somewhat similar events. *e.* So with other alleged instances.

123. *Seams.*—*a.* Abrupt transitions from prose to poetry or the reverse, or from any style of writing to a marked different style. *b.* Repetitions or rough syntax combined with capability of dissection. *c.* Explain these phenomena in Gen. xxxvii. 28, ii. 10-15, iii. 22-iv. 15, etc.

124. *Points to be heeded.*—*a.* Not every rough juncture or

every repetition of phraseology is an indication of plural sources; but only those that are better accounted for in this way than in any other. *b.* In marks of this kind, taken by themselves, there is nothing to indicate whether the final author drew directly from the original sources, or used intermediate documents. *c.* Explanations of the phenomena are vicious in proportion as they needlessly assume that the statements are inconsistent.

LECTURE XX.

THE PARTITION. CONCEPTUAL CRITERIA,

125. *Classes of criteria.*—The criteria by which scholars claim to determine which parts of the hexateuch belongs to respectively to J, E, D and P, may be arranged in three classes—the conceptual, the linguistic and the historical.

126. *The conception of God as expressed in the use of the divine names.*—*a.* Only J, it is said, uses the personal name *Yahweh* from the beginning. *b.* P uses the abstract name *Elohim*, "deity", till he reaches the period when God reveals himself to Moses as *Yahweh*. Until then he recognizes no worship of the supreme being by sacrifice. *c.* E for the time before Moses uses the name *Elohim*, and avoids the name *Yahweh*, but recognizes worship by sacrifice.

In Gen. i, iv, xxii, point out these peculiarities.

127. *Alleged basis of fact for this distinction.*—Read Gen. xvii and Ex. vi. 2-8. The Exodus passage is cited as affirming that the name *Yahweh* was unknown to men until Moses. What it actually says is that in the covenant of circumcision God did not use this name, but the less significant name *El Shaddai*.

128. *The manner of God's manifestation.*—*a.* In J and E God appears in the form of a man or angel, and attended by angels. He uses means, both natural and miraculous. He has feelings analagous to human feelings. He tests men, and is

tested by them. He authenticates himself by symbols, the burning bush, the pillar of fire, the lamp passing between the pieces. In P, on the contrary, all this is absent. God thinks and plans and promises, but no mention is made of the links that intervene between his fiat and the resulting product. As to men, he commands, and expects obedience. *b.* J and E use local terms in speaking of God, while P speaks of him as universal, as dealing with all flesh, as eternal in his relations, and infinite in his holiness. *c.* These differences are sharp enough, but whether they indicate difference of authorship is another question. It has always been a usual thing that a theist shall emphasize both these ways of thinking of the supreme being.

129. *Other instances.*—Many similar arguments are used, based on a large variety of subjects (*Hex.* pp. 56–61). Regarded as charges of inconsistency or contradiction, they all break down on examination. Regarded as proving variant points of view in the authorship of the hexateuch, many of them have genuine value. How far this indicates difference of authorship is another question. Concerning some things every person has more than one point of view, and Shakespeare was not the first myriad minded man.

LECTURE XXI.

THE PARTITION. LINGUISTIC CRITERIA.

130. *Examples for practice.*—*a.* Look up in some work, e. g. Driver, especially pp. 131–135 (pp. 123–128 of ed. of 1891), or *Hex.* pp. 34–38, 61–67, 183–221). *b.* Read Gen. xvii, xix, xx, xv, applying the criteria, and dissecting the narrative into J and E and P.

131. *The nature of the criteria of this class.*—*a.* They are of the same general character as those instanced above (Qus. 32–39) as literary corroborations of the testimony. *b.* But their value largely depends on the number of the instances, and is greatly reduced when the blocks of literature compared are too small to furnish a sufficient number.

LECTURE XXII.

THE PARTITION. HISTORICAL CRITERIA.

132. *Relative importance.*—With one accord the advocates of the new tradition recognize this as by far the most important class of criteria.

133. *Criteria from hexateuchal events.*—See *Hex.* pp. 45–56, or other works. *a.* J and E speak of sacrifices before Moses, P does not. *b.* J and E of many places of sacrifice, P of one only. *c.* J and E of *minhah* in general sense, P in sense of meal offering. *d.* J and E only of *minhah*, burnt offering and peace offering, D of additional forms of sacrifice, and P of yet others. *e.* E of tent of meeting outside the camp, P in the camp. *f.* J a different decalogue, and a different account of the ark. *g.* J and E no separate priesthood, D Levites, P priests and Levites. *h.* J and E one set of national feasts, D a different set, P a set still different. *i.* E, D and P three different laws for the seventh year and “release”. *j.* Variant laws concerning slaves.

Read extensively, applying these and the other criteria, and see whether you can work out the partition for yourself.

134. *Criteria from extrahexateuchal events.*—The alleged connection of various things in the hexateuch with the events of the post-Mosaic history has been discussed (Lects. X–XVI). Add the argument from Ezekiel (xl–xlviii, especially xlv. 6–16, Driver p. 139). Does this prove that up to Josiah’s time the distinction between priests and Levites was unknown?

LECTURE XXIII.

CONCLUSIONS.

135. *Results as stated in the Polychrome Bible.*—*a.* The following passages conform to the criteria of P (i–ii. 3, xi. 10–26, xxiii). No other complete passages, and very few pass-

ages of as many as 15 verses, conform to the criteria of either P or J or E or JE, until they have been reduced to conformity by hypothetical changes of text (e. g. ii. 4b, 5, 7, etc., iii. 1, iv. 22, 25, xii. 6, 9, xvii. 1, etc. *b.* Taken in blocks of 15 or more verses, about one third of the contents of Genesis can be made to conform to the criteria of either J or E or P, without very extensive changes (e. g. ii. 16–iii. 19, v, ix. 1–17, xvii, etc.). *c.* The remaining two thirds consists of mixed passages, which can be made to conform to the criteria only by conjectural dissections, aided by unlimited harmonizing hypotheses. It is through these processes that a fairly consistent result is reached.

136. *The claim as to the order of the documents.*—*a.* That D presupposes J and E, and P presupposes D. From this the alleged late dates are inferred. *b.* But, first, if this were made out, it would not prove that many years intervened between the successive documents. Second, it is made out only by a large use of harmonizing hypotheses. In particular, as the evidence reaches us, P is largely presupposed by D (Driver pp. 135–140, *Hex.* pp. 66–78). The silence of D concerning the tent of meeting and concerning circumcision is to be accounted for by the circumstances, and not by ignorance on the part of the author.

137. *Things proved and things not proved.*—*a.* The phenomena make it clear that the hexateuch drew from a plurality of sources. *b.* They show that these sources may supposably have existed in the alleged forms of J, E, D and P; but they lack much of showing that they actually so existed. Other hypotheses are possible. *c.* Those parts of the argument which attribute contradictions and late dates to the several parts of the hexateuch are an utter failure.

138. *The argument summed up.*—The doctrine that the hexateuch was substantially completed within the lifetime of men associated with Moses is in itself simple, and is supported by a large body of testimony, strongly corroborated. The weakest point in its defences is the fact that many of the phenomena need explanation in order to show that they are in

agreement with it. But a larger proportion of the phenomena need explanation, and need it to a greater extent, to harmonize them with the doctrine of the new tradition; while that doctrine is in itself complicated, and is in contradiction with the corroborated testimony. This seems to me a fair statement of the case as a whole. If it is so, the case goes against the new tradition.

Questions for Review.

4. What is the most important question at issue concerning the hexateuch?
5. On what basis is this question to be settled?
6. What is the reason for considering the testimony at length?
7. Mention the parts of the book of Deuteronomy.
8. Give the substance of the general title.
9. Mention the ways in which the first discourse claims Moses for author.
10. *a.* Describe the two parts of the second discourse. *bcd.* Mention the ways in which it claims Mosaic authorship.
11. Give an account of the third discourse and its claims as to authorship.
12. The same for the two poems.
13. *a.* Speak of the implication that Moses gave these discourses in writing. *b.* How about the law of blessing and cursing? *c.* The song?
- d.* Give an account of the "book of the law." *e.* Of the term "the law" as used in Deuteronomy.
14. Show what this book of the law probably was, and what it was not.
15. Speak of other writings attributed to Moses.
16. Speak of Joshua as a writer.
17. *a.* What are the facts affirmed in this testimony? *b.* How do the old tradition and the new differ in their estimate of it?
19. *a.* Where and in whose custody was the book of the law to be kept?
- b.* For what purpose? *c.* Prove that it was so kept and used in Joshua's time.
- d.* Show that it was open to additions after the death of Moses.
20. What does the new tradition allege as to the testimony of Judges and Samuel to the hexateuch?
21. Show that these books as they stand presuppose the hexateuch.
22. *a.* Speak of the citing of the hexateuch in the introductory part of Judges. *b.* In the message given at Bochim. *c.* In the affair of Jephthah.
- d.* On the occasion when Israel demanded a king. *e.* In the account of the great promise to David.
23. At what dates, according to these passages, was the hexateuch in existence?
24. Speak of the testimony of the Psalms to the hexateuch.
25. Of the testimony of the history from Solomon to Manasseh.
26. Of that of the time of Josiah.
27. Of that of the preexilian prophets in general.
28. *a.* Of the "book" and the "law" in the earlier preexilian prophets.
- b.* In the later preexilian prophets. *c.* Show that the attempt to set aside the earlier prophetic testimony is a failure.
29. Give conclusions from the testimony of the preexilian prophets.
30. Speak of the testimony of the postexilian Old Testament books.
31. Of that of the New Testament.
32. State in general how the literary phenomena corroborate the testimony.

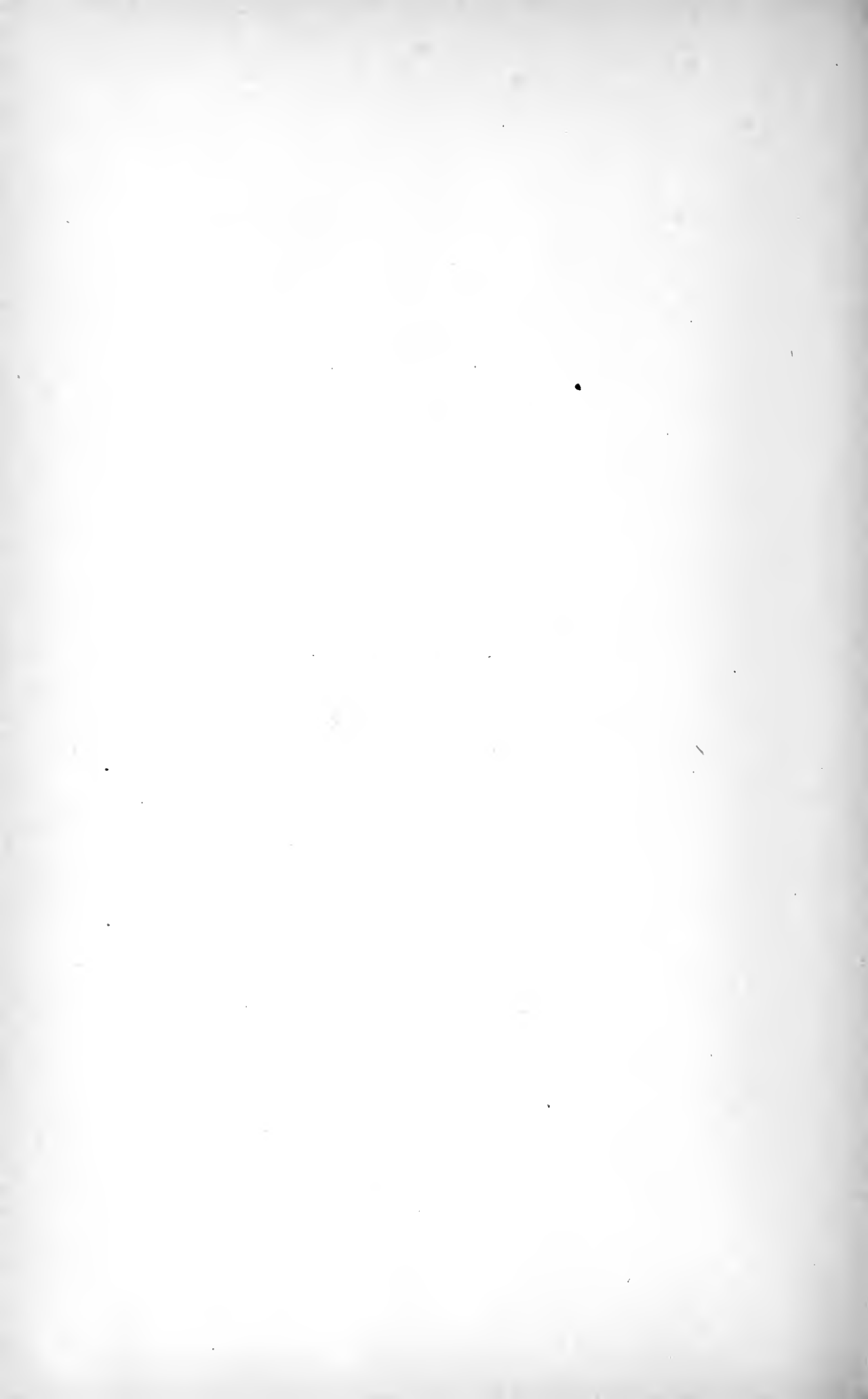
33. The difference between early and late Hebrew, and its bearing on this question.
34. Mention some differences of forms between the hexateuch and the later Hebrew.
35. Some differences of vocabulary.
36. Some differences of syntax.
37. *a.* The use of the phrase "Jehovah of hosts." *b.* That of the phrase "Holy one of Israel." *c.* Of the divine names made up of *El* and an attribute. *d.* Of the phrases "sons of Israel" and "men of Israel".
38. Give the argument from the resemblances and differences between Deuteronomy and Jeremiah.
39. Between P and the postexilic books.
41. How does the case stand as between the great men and the nobodies?
42. The argument from the history of literature before Moses.
43. From the omission of song and fasting in the hexateuchal institutions.
44. From the differences between the hexateuchal institutions and those of Ezra and Nehemiah.
45. What is practically the most effective argument of the new tradition?
46. How must an alleged expert justify his claim to be believed?
47. Estimate the proof from the alleged independent agreement of the men of the new tradition.
48. State and estimate their arguments from utility.
49. Explain the common fallacy in arguing from alternatives.
50. Estimate the testimony offered on the negative side.
52. Speak of the attempts to minimize the evidence.
53. Of the attempts to belittle the evidence.
55. *ab.* What is the rule as to the credibility of testimony? *c.* Speak of existing facts that corroborate the testimony of the bible. *d.* Of the claim of the bible testimony on our belief.
56. *a.* What charges of incompetency are made against the witnesses who speak in the bible? *b.* What do these charges amount to?
58. Admitting that there are unhistorical elements in the scriptures, how far does this discredit their testimony?
59. *a.* Speak of the charge that the wonderful events narrated in the scriptures discredit their historicity. *b.* Of the alleged contradictions as affecting their historicity. *c.* Of the results of frequent use as testing their trustworthiness.
61. How does the law that institutions grow bear on the question of the date of the hexateuch?
62. The bearing of the hypothesis of the evolution of the religion of Israel?
63. The bearing of the law of the order of development in religion?
64. *a.* What does the bible say on the question whether the Mosaic institutions came suddenly into existence? *b.* On the question whether they are to be interpreted with exceptional rigidity?
65. State the argument from the specific history of the institutions.
66. State the argument from alleged development.

-
67. Speak of the claim that the argument is cumulative.
 68. Mention two limitations to the claim from this argument.
 70. State and estimate the argument from the cities of refuge.
 71. From the institution of levirate marriage.
 72. From that of the *goel*.
 73. From the Nazirite institution.
 74. From the prohibition of the *masseboth*.
 75. Outline the argument from the law for a single sanctuary.
 76. *a.* What do the scriptures say concerning sanctuaries and sacrifices in the patriarchal times? *b.* In the first months of the exodus?
 77. State the sanctuary law of Exodus.
 78. State and limit the sanctuary law of Leviticus.
 79. *a.* When does the Deuteronomic sanctuary law claim to have been given? *b.* State its substance and its expressed limitations. *c.* Its implied limitations.
 80. The principles on which these laws are to be construed.
 81. *a.* State and estimate the claim made from Neh. ix. 34. *b.* That from Neh. viii. 17. *c.* That from 2 Ki. xxiii. 22. *d.* That from Amos v. 25. *e.* How much weight have these statements for reversing the testimony? *f.* Add Ezek. xliv. 10, 11, 13, 15.
 83. Speak of the testimony concerning Shiloh and Jerusalem.
 84. Of Shiloh in the times next after Moses.
 85. Of Shiloh in the time of Eli.
 86. How does the new tradition meet this testimony?
 87. Mention and estimate the points made concerning Samuel and Shiloh.
 88. Speak of the alleged instances of other sanctuaries than Shiloh.
 89. Of the history of the sanctuary after Eli's death.
 90. Of the relations of the tabernacle to the temple.
 91. *a.* Of alleged sacrifices at many places. *b.* Of alleged incorrect ritual practices.
 92. *a.* Of Solomon's temple as the sanctuary. *b.c.* Of the highplace worship afterward in Judah. *def.* Of the highplace worship in northern Israel.
 93. Of the contrary view of the men of the new tradition.
 94. Of the biblical explanation of these facts.
 95. Give a summary of these facts.
 96. State the conclusion from this argument.
 98. How far is the alleging of post-Mosaic elements in the hexateuch a new thing?
 100. *a.* Speak of the account of the death of Joshua and the elders, and its bearing on the question of date. *b.* Of the accounts concerning Dan. *c.* Of Jacob's blessing on his sons. *d.* Of the accounts of the manna. *e.* Of the statements concerning forced labor. *f.* Of those concerning the book of Jas-har. *g.* Of the passages that speak of the hill country of Judah and of Israel.
 101. Of Bethel, Luz and other like names.
 102. Of certain passages that speak of Moses.
 103. Of the passages that speak of Israelitish kings.

104. Of the geographical terms that indicate directions.
105. Of other Deuteronomic instances.
106. Of yet other instances.
107. Of the narratives of the creation and the flood.
108. Give a conclusion from the alleged post-Mosaic instances.
110. To what extent does the partition into documents afford additional proof as to the dates?
111. If J, E, D, P extend through the hexateuch, how much does that prove in regard to the dates?
114. State the doctrine of "converging probabilities" and its application in the present case.
116. State and estimate the argument from the variety of style.
117. That from the analogies of other literature.
118. Speak of the value of this argument from analogy.
119. Speak of the argument from alleged inconsistencies for proving the necessity of partition.
124. *a.* When do rough junctures indicate plural sources? *b.* What force have they for proving dates?
126. Speak of the divine names as criteria.
127. Discuss the question whether P affirms that the name *Yahweh* was unknown till the time of Moses.
128. Speak of differences of representation as to the way in which deity manifests himself.
133. Of historical criteria, from hexateuchal events.
134. Of historical criteria from extrahexateuchal events.
135. According to the Polychrome Bible, to what extent do these criteria apply?
137. Distinguish between the things proved and those not proved in this argument.
138. Make a summary of the whole matter.

OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY AND
HISTORY.

REVISION OF 1902.



OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOL- OGY AND HISTORY.

Revision of 1902.

LECTURE I.

PRELIMINARY.

1. *The historical character of the bible.*—Manifestly, either the scriptures are inspired by God, or they are not. Those who hold that they are not inspired yet regard them as of great historical and spiritual value. We who hold that they are inspired hold that God gave them mainly by the process of first causing history to be transacted, and then causing a record to be made of the transactions. In either case, the historical element is of the greatest importance.

Yet what we call bible history is seldom of the nature of a continuous record of the events, but is nearly always of the nature of a selection of historical facts made for religious purposes.

2. *Historical knowledge versus spiritual knowledge.*—The chief uses of revelation are spiritual. One may have valuable insight into the spiritual truths of the bible, even if his understanding of the historical meaning is imperfect or perverted. Nevertheless, the best understanding of the history helps to the best knowledge of the spiritual truths.

3. *The inner meaning and the external facts.*—In its central inner meaning the Old Testament is the history of redemption as provided by God for mankind. But this inner meaning is expressed through the medium of external facts — mainly the facts concerning the people that God chose for the purposes of his redemption.

4. *The starting point in the historical credibility of the Old Testament.*—We who hold that the scriptures are inspired hold that they are historically trustworthy, some holding that

they are so to the degree of miraculous inerrancy. Some of those who deny their inspiration assign to them lower degrees of trustworthiness. What is the proper position to take at the outset: that they are inerrant? or that they are highly trustworthy? or that their trustworthiness is uncertain?

If we begin by seeking to understand the history as recorded, attempting this on the hypothesis that the record is strictly correct, we shall thus test the record itself as we proceed; and this is the true method.

5. *Certain laws of method.*—Four principles, among others, are especially important. First, seek the meaning which the author conveyed to his first readers. Second, test a statement by an induction of the particulars contained under it. Third, use all the evidence. Fourth, sift carefully.

6. *The meaning as understood by the earliest readers.*—Of course, a statement is to be understood by defining and analyzing its terms. But in doing this, we need to guard against carrying back our own ideas, and finding them in the statement because we have first put them there. We should ask the question, How would an intelligent uninspired man of the author's time understand this? This does not necessarily give us a final result; for we may mistake the position of the person of the author's time; or the author may have intended a meaning beyond his time; or he may have uttered such a meaning unwittingly. None the less, attention to the times of the author will assist us in understanding his meaning.

7. *An induction of the particulars included in a statement.*—There are two ways of mastering the meaning of a statement. One way is by analysis and definition, and the other by examining the details included under the statement. The latter of these processes is often the more important of the two, and in any case it is needed in order to test the results reached by the former.

8. *Use all the evidence.*—When we attempt to interpret a statement by an induction of the particulars it includes, our induction must often go beyond the terms of the statement itself. It may include: *a.* Particulars furnished from other

biblical statements. *b.* From the literary phenomena of the bible. *c.* From permanent facts of geography, topography, and the like. *d.* From what we know in regard to the fixed order of nature. *e.* From trustworthy information from any source.

9. *Sift the evidence.*—This wide inductive process needs to be carefully guarded against misuse. *a.* We have no right to argue that the writer meant so and so merely because we can prove that the facts were so and so. In such a case, the facts may interpret the author's meaning, or they may prove that he spoke falsely. In any given instance, we must decide which effect they have. *b.* Evidence thus gathered from every quarter is not all of equal value. Discrimination is necessary in using it.

10. *Elements of weakness in the current interpretations of bible history.*—*a.* Denying or mistaking or unduly emphasizing the miraculous elements. *b.* The effect of traditions that have come down through many generations of ill informed interpreters. *c.* Theological bias. *d.* Homiletical bias. *e.* The baby-story interpretation. *f.* Inadequate methods of study in general. See "Historical Evidence vs. Critical Evidence," in *Christian Thought* for Nov.-Dec., 1884.

11. *Space and Time.*—All external events of history come to pass in space and in time. Hence they need to be studied in the light of geography and of chronology. The present course will accentuate the importance of looking at the events in their proper time relations.

For sacred geography, we may depend upon published works, especially those which are the results of actual survey. For sacred chronology, the case is different. Hence the especial need of study along this line.

LECTURE II.

POINTS IN OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY.

12. *The chronological data found in the Old Testament.*—They are of various kinds :

(1) Numerals : *a.* Cardinal numbers, giving the time an event lasted. *b.* Ordinal numbers, giving the date when an event occurred or began or ended. *c.* Long numbers, giving the interval between two distant events, e. g. the 480 of 1 Ki. vi. 1.

(2.) The nature of the events narrated : *a.* As themselves occupying time. Here, notably, generations of men, or periods in some one human life. *b.* As so related as to show the order in which they must have occurred. *c.* As belonging to certain seasons of the year.

(3.) Connective words, or time phrases, such as “afterward” or “before this,” indicating the order in which events occurred (e. g. Neh. xiii. 4, 2 Sam. viii. 1, x. 1, vi. 1).

(4.) The order in which the events are narrated. This is commonly, though not always, that in which they occurred.

(5.) Points for comparison with data from external sources, notably : *a.* Eclipses or other astronomical data. *b.* Extra-biblical historical testimony, especially Josephus and the oriental monuments and other writings. *c.* Real or supposed laws of historical development.

13. *The connecting link between current chronology and that of the Old Testament.*—The first year of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon was the year that began in March, 604 B. C., and was the fourth year of Jehoiakim of Judah (Jer. xxv. 1 et al.).

14. *Limits of Old Testament chronology.*—For the times earlier than the downfall of Samaria, there is no agreement among experts as to the dates B. C. in Old Testament events, and the dates commonly given are misleading. Yet in most cases the order of the earlier events can be ascertained, and they can be dated relatively to each other.

15. *The Old Testament year.*—For the names of months, etc., see articles in the bible dictionaries on “Month” and “Year.” *a.* Give proofs: First, that the men of the Old Testament had a fixed year, beginning near the vernal equinox (Ex. xii. 2, xiii. 4, xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18, 22, Lev. xxiii. 5–16, Josh. v. 10, 11). Second, that this year was appointed by law (*ibid.*). Third, that it was their sacred year (Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 5, 24, 27, etc., Num. ix. 1, 5, 11, xxviii. 16, xxix. 1, 7, etc., 2 Chron. v. 3, vii. 10, etc., Ezra vi. 19, Neh. vii. 73, viii. 2, 14, 1 Ki. xii. 32, 33). Fourth, that it was used in reckoning secular affairs (Jer. xxxvi. 22, 23, 2 Ki. xxv. 25 *cf.* Jer. xl. 10, xli. 8, Ex. xvi. 1, xix. 1, xl. 2, 17, Num. i. 18, x. 11, xx. 1, Deut. i. 3, Josh. iv. 19). Fifth, that it was used in counting the regnal years of kings (2 Chron. xxix. 3, 17 *cf.* xxx. 1–3, 13, 15, and xxxi. 7, Esth. iii. 7 *cf.* 12, viii. 9, ii. 16, iii. 13, 1 Ki. vi. 1, 37, *cf.* 2 Chron. iii. 2, 1 Ki. vi. 38, Zech. vii. 1, i. 7, Hag. i. 1, 15 *cf.* 11). *b.* Can you find proof that any other way of reckoning years was regularly practiced in Old Testament times? See for example the Bible Dictionaries, Josephus *Ant.* I. iii. 3, Ex. xii. 2, Lev. xxv. 4, 9, Ex. xxiii. 16 and xxxiv. 22, Jer. i. 3, Neh. i. 1 and ii. 1, Gen. vii. 11.

16. *Mode of counting time, in the bible.*—Four closely related peculiarities should be noticed. First, the authors of the bible count time by units only, disregarding fractions. Second, hence broken terminal units are liable to an ambiguous interpretation. Third, so are ordinal numbers. Fourth, a series is sometimes spoken of with reference to its final terminus only.

17. *Reckoning by units only.*—*a.* According to the view commonly received, what were the three days (in Mt. xii. 40, “three days and nights”) that our Saviour lay in the grave? *b.* From this as a typical instance, explain the difference between the bible method of reckoning time, and our common method.

The bible method is to count by units only, disregarding fractions. In the biblical use of numbers, such units as years and days are not thought of strictly as measures of time, but

as current periods wholly or partly covered by the event spoken of.

18. *Broken terminal units.*—The broken year within which one king dies and is succeeded by another is always counted, as one year, to the outgoing king. Sometimes it is also counted to the incoming king, and so counted twice. For example, Harrison succeeded Cleveland as president in March, 1889. By the mode of reckoning most common in the Old Testament, the year 1889 was the fourth year of Cleveland, the year 1890 was the first year of Harrison, and each administration was four years. But by a mode of reckoning which is also not infrequent, the year 1889 is the first year of Harrison as well as the fourth year of Cleveland, and the reign of Harrison is five years. Thus reckoned, the four years of Cleveland and the five years of Harrison taken together make eight years, and not nine. By the mode of counting that chiefly prevails in the Old Testament, Harrison was president for ten months before his first year began. In the Assyrian records, a sharp distinction is made between a king's accession year and his first year.

19. *The ambiguity in ordinal numbers.*—When it is stated that a king began to reign in a certain year of another king, the meaning may be that his first year is coincident with the designated year of the other king, or it may be that his actual accession occurred during that year, that is, that his accession year is coincident with the designated year of the other king.

20. *Counting to the final terminus only.*—When a longer period is itself thought of as a unit, the same mode of conception may prevail. That is, an event completed in the last year or day of a period may be spoken of as if it covered the period, even when it did not begin with the period. For instance, Samson's wife is said to have wept upon him "the seven days that their feast lasted" (Jud. xiv. 17 cf. 14), though she certainly did not begin her weeping earlier than the fourth of those days. See also Num. xiv. 33, Gen. xv. 13, Ex. xii. 40, Jud. iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28.

LECTURE III.

METHOD. DIVISION. EXTRABIBLICAL MATERIALS.

21. *A method of chronological study.*—We have found that the bible states numerical facts in ways different from ours, and that a certain proportion of its statements are capable of being understood in more than one meaning. This does not necessarily render its statements uncertain, or difficult to understand. As a matter of fact, the true meaning is nearly always clear, provided we pursue a correct method. But the matter of method is exceedingly important. Many problems in biblical chronology cannot be solved by processes of mere addition and subtraction or averaging or conjectural correction, but only by some process of tabulation such as shall make the numbers check and interpret each other.

Procure a blank book of ruled paper with twenty-five lines or more to the page. In the middle of every right hand page rule five vertical columns, each, say, three eighths of an inch in width. The three left hand columns will ordinarily be used in tabulating the dates as you come to them, the other two being reserved to be filled up in later studies. Twenty-five lines on a page are a convenient number because twenty-five is an even divisor of one hundred. If you have fewer lines, you will have too many pages; and if you have fifty lines instead of twenty five, your page will be unwieldy. The remaining space on the page, with all the space on the left hand page, you will need for explanations and notes.

An important advantage of this simple piece of apparatus is that by it you can record the results of your present studies in a form in which they will be left open for additions in the future.

22. *The true principle of division for bible history.*—On what basis ought we to proceed in dividing the history recorded in the Old Testament into periods? Shall we make the division on the basis of the inner meaning or of the outward facts(Qu. 3)? Many attempt to divide on the basis of the

inner meaning, finding in it a certain number of successive stages in the progress of redemption. To these attempts there are two objections. First, the divisions thus made commonly disagree with those found in the Old Testament itself. Second, there is no sufficient uniformity of opinion as to the limits of the successive stages of the process of redemption. And on the other hand, the division made in the Old Testament itself, the division on the basis of the external facts, is admirably simple and sufficient.

23. *The four periods of the history.*—Central among the external facts of the history of the chosen people stands the national sanctuary, which the writers of the Old Testament regard as the nucleus of the people's worship and of the national institutions and achievements. The Old Testament includes four series of historical works, treating of four successive periods in the history of the sanctuary. The first of these is the hexateuch, treating of the formative period of the sanctuary and its institutions; the second is the books of Judges and 1 and 2 Samuel, with or without Ruth, treating of the period when the sanctuary was wandering; the third is the first and second books of Kings, treating of the period when the sanctuary was Solomon's temple; the fourth is the first and second books of Chronicles, with Ezra and Nehemiah, reviewing these three periods and treating of the times when the sanctuary was the second temple.

24. *Extrabiblical data for the chronology.*—The data of the Septuagint translation often differ from those of the Hebrew, and sometimes supplement them. The differences are especially important for the pre-Abrahamic times, but there are differences for the later times. The Samaritan Pentateuch differs from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint. The numerals of Josephus sometimes differ from those of the bible, and he gives a good deal of additional chronological material, much of it of no value, from Hebrew, Tyrian, Egyptian and other sources. Among classical writers, Herodotus (B. C. 445), Diodorus Siculus (B. C. 44 nearly) and Strabo (died 25 A. D.) abound in chronological materials,

more or less trustworthy, in regard to the peoples with which the Israelites came into contact. Works often referred to are the *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, and the work of the monk Georgius Syncellus of the ninth century A. D., through which these more ancient works have come down to us. The *Seder Olam* is a Jewish chronological work written early in the Christian era, the *Seder Olam Zutta* being an appendix to it written many centuries later.

Sufficient information in regard to these can be had from books of reference. Of especial importance to the biblical student are the Egyptian chronology as given in Manetho and the monuments, which will be considered in Lecture VIII; and the Assyrian and Babylonian chronologies as given in Berossus and the monuments, consideration of which belongs properly at the opening of the third period.

PART I.

FORMATIVE PERIOD—ADAM TO JOSHUA.

DIVISION I. *Pre-Abrahamic History.*

LECTURE IV.

ANTEDILUVIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY, Gen. I-V.

25. *Subdivision of the formative period.*—*a.* This period naturally divides itself into two parts: the preliminary history, including the times before the migration of Abraham to Palestine (Gen. i-xi); and the beginning of the history of the chosen people, from the migration of Abraham to the death of Joshua. The preliminary history may again be di-

vided into two periods, the antediluvian and the postdiluvian, each of which has a chronology of its own given in the book of Genesis. The history of the chosen people divides itself into the topics hereafter given. *b.* The antediluvian chronology is ethnical and not biographical (Gen. v, vii. 6, ix. 28-29, xi. 10-25), and we have no key to the duration of time there intended.

LECTURE V.

FROM THE FLOOD TO THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM,
Gen. VI-XI.

PART I, SECOND DIVISION. *Beginnings of the History of the Chosen People.*

LECTURE VI.

ABRAHAM IN CANAAN, Gen. XII-XXV. 11.

26. *The chronological basis.*—For the time from Abraham to Joshua there is nothing to indicate whether the numbers are to be reckoned inclusive of both terminal units, or of one terminal unit only. It is convenient to adopt the former way of reckoning, which is the usual way in the bible. The difference does not amount to more than a year or two for any date, and is unimportant.

27. *A standard of measurement.*—At the head of the middle column in your ruled book, write *A Mig.*, “Migration of Abraham.” Then fill the column for four pages with the numerals from 1 to 100. These will indicate the years of the period beginning when Abraham came to Palestine, and will serve as a standard with which to compare other chronological data.

28. *Events that are explicitly dated.*—*a.* At the head of the next column to the left write “Abraham,” and fill the column with the years of the life of Abraham, beginning with 75. In the space to the right of your five columns, on the same line with 1 and 75, write “Abr. 75 when he came to Canaan (xii. 4),” and opposite 175 of the life of Abraham write “Abr. d. aged 175 (xxv. 7)”. Opposite 100 in the years of Abraham write “Isaac b. (xxi. 5, etc.),” and fill the column to the left with the years of Isaac, making his first year correspond to the 100th year of Abraham. In the space to the right, opposite the 60 in the years of Isaac, enter “Esau and Jacob b. (xxv. 26),” and write the years of Jacob in a short added column to the left, making his first year the same with the 60th year of Isaac. Then in their proper places in the space to the right enter the following items: the birth of Ishmael (xvi. 16); the covenant of circumcision (xvii. 1, 24, 25); the theophany at Mamre (xviii. 10 cf. xvii. 17, 21, etc.); the destruction of Sodom (xviii. 10, xix); the death of Sarah (xxiii. 1 cf. xvii. 17); the marriage of Isaac (xxv. 20).

29. *Events approximately dated.*—*a.* Enter them under the date where you judge that they belong: Abraham in Egypt (xii); separation of Abraham and Lot (xiii); rescue of Lot by Abraham, and the interview with Melchizedek (xiv); the covenant of the parts (xv); the sending away of Ishmael (xxi); the covenant with Abimelech (xxi. 22-34); the Isaac sacrifice (xxii); the marriage with Keturah (xxv. 1); Abraham's ante-mortem arrangements (xxv. 1-6). *b.* Enter the following according to your best judgment: the births of Moab and Ammon (xix. 30-38); the Abimelech affair (xx); the marriage of Ishmael (xxi. 21).

30. *The geography.*—*a.* Look up the physical geography of Palestine. *b.* Locate the following regions and places: Ur, Haran, Egypt, Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, the circuit of the Jordan, Sodom and the sister cities, Beer-sheba, Beer-lahai-roi, Gerar, the land of the Philistines.

31. *Ur as Abraham left it.*—For the early history of Baby-

lonia see McCurdy, vol. I, or Sayce *Babylonians and Assyrians*, or other works.

32. *Palestine as Abraham found it.*—*a.* Three kinds of inhabitants, perhaps more (xii. 6, xiv. 13, xxiii. 3, etc.; xiv. 2, etc.; xiv. 5, 6, etc.; perhaps xxi. 34 cf. xxvi. 1, 8; xiv. 18, etc.) *b.* Many different independent peoples (ibid and xxxv. 5). *c.* Idolatrous religions, probably, and human sacrifices. *d.* A civilization pretty well advanced (xxiii, e. g.). *e.* The rudiments, at least, of the Hebrew language. *f.* A region which had already been more than once swept by the conquering armies of Egypt or of Mesopotamia (xiv).

33. *Abraham and his fellow immigrants.*—*a.* How numerous were they (xii. 5, xiii. 6, xiv. 14, etc.)? *b.* Was their longevity exceptional, or were their contemporaries generally as longlived as they? *c.* The relation of his retainers to the covenant (xvii. 12, 13, 23, 27).

34. *Abraham's religion.*—*a.* Altars (xii. 7, 8, xiii. 18, cf. xxvi. 25). *b.* Theophanies (especially xiii. 14 sq., xv, xvii, xviii, xxii). *c.* Different names for God (e. g. xii. 1, xxii. 1, xvii. 1, xiv. 22, xvi. 13, xxi. 33, xviii. 3, xv. 1): *d.* The great divine purpose, promise, covenant (e. g. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xvii. 4 sq.). Who are the parties to it? Who are its human beneficiaries? What did an ordinary sensible retainer of Abraham understand in regard to the relations of Abraham to "all the families of the ground"?

35. *Summary.*—*a.* On the basis of the table of events which you have written, give an account of Abraham's life in Palestine, in a proper setting of time and place. *b.* Discuss the question whether this is biography or ethnical legend.

LECTURE VII.

ISAAC AND JACOB IN CANAAN. Gen. xxv. 11—xlvii. 12.

36. *Dated events.*—*a.* Extend your column of the years of the Migration to 225; your column of the years of Jacob to

the same limit; your column of the years of Isaac to the end of his life. *b.* Enter in their proper places the following events: Esau's first marriages (xxvi. 34); Jacob going to Egypt (xlvii. 9); the first and seventh of the years of famine (xlv. 6, 11; the first and seventh of the seven years of plenty (xli. 53-54, etc.); the birth of Joseph (xli. 46); the first and sixth of the six years of service (xxx. 25 sq., xxxi. 41, 38); Jacob's return to Palestine; the birth of Benjamin (xxxv. 16 sq.); death of Ishmael (xxv. 17); Joseph taken to Egypt (xxxvii. 2); death of Isaac (xxxv. 28).

37. *Events approximately dated.*—*a.* Enter in their probable places the following events: the affair of Shechem and Dinah (xxxiv, xxxv. 5); the births of Dinah, Simeon and Levi (xxxiv. 25, xxx. 21, xxix. 33, 34, 35 and xxx. 14-21); the births of Jacob's remaining eight sons (xxix-xxx); Jacob's fourteen years of service (xxix. 18, 20, 27, 30, xxxi. 41, 38); Esau's Ishmaelite marriage (xxviii. 9); Jacob going to Paddan-aram (xxviii); the affair of the birthright (xxv. 29-34); Isaac with the Philistines (xxvi). *b.* Also the following: marriage of Judah to the daughter of Shua (xxxviii. 2); marriage of Er and Tamar (xxxviii. 6); birth of Perez and Zerah (xxxviii); Esau abandoning the land of promise (xxxvi. 6).

38. *The geography.*—Locate Paddan-aram and Jacob's route thither, Galeed, the Jabbok, the region of Seir, Dothan, the regions occupied respectively by Isaac, Jacob and Esau after Jacob's return to Palestine, the route of Joseph into Egypt.

39. *The related peoples.*—*a.* Gather what information you can in regard to Laban's people. *b.* How about their language as compared with that of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 47)? *c.* Using a concordance, get together what information you can in regard to the Ishmaelites, the Medanites, and the Midianites, up to the time when Israel went into Egypt.

40. *Who were the Israelites that went into Egypt?*—In a general sense, they were the seventy persons indicated in Gen. xlvi. 8-26, with their women and their retainers, many thousands in all. See Gen. xlvi. 27, Ex. i. 5, Deut. x. 22,

Acts vii. 14. Note Gen. xlvi. 27, 7, 15, 17. Note also Gen. xlvi. 12. Finally, note such passages as Gen. xii 5, xiii. 6, xiv. 14, xxiv. 35, xxvi. 16, xxxii. 5, 13, 23, xxxvi. 7, xlvi. 6, compared with xvii. 12, 13, 23, 27, Ex. xii. 44, 48. We should think of Joseph's brothers, buying corn, not as ten men with ten asses and no more, but as ten merchant princes, with a sufficient retinue.

41. *The industrial condition of the Israelites at this time.*—Were they nomadic? Or should they be classed as an agricultural people (Gen. xxvi. 12, xxxiii. 19, xlii. 1, etc.)?

42. *Religious and ethical questions.*—*a.* Altars (Gen. xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 1, 3, 7). *b.* Theophanies (xxvi. 2, xxviii. 11-22, xxxi. 11-13, 24, 29, xxxii. 1, 24-32, xxxv. 1, 9-13, xlvi. 2-4). *c.* The vow at Bethel and its fulfillment (xxviii. 22, xxxv). *d.* The religious training of Jacob's ten elder sons (xxxii. 19, 30, 34, 35, xxxv. 2-4). *e.* The birthright, the blessing, the reparation (xxv. 29-34, xxvii. 1-40, xxxii-xxxiii). *f.* The change of name and character (xxxii. 24-32, xxxv. 10). *g.* The great promise (xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, and the references above).

43. Sketch the life and character of Isaac.

44. Sketch the life and character of Jacob, not neglecting his great spiritual experiences.

45. Sketch the life and character of Esau, and the processes by which he lost his birthright.

LECTURE VIII.

THE HEXATEUCH AND EGYPTOLOGY.

46. *Sources of information.*—All the encyclopædias have articles on Egypt. Among the best of the many recent works are *A History of Egypt*, 7 vols., by W. M. Flinders Petrie and others, published by the Scribners, and *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, by Brugsch. Rawlinson's *History of Ancient Egypt* and Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* are well known works. Dr. A. H. Kellogg's book *Abraham, Joseph and*

Moses in Egypt (N. Y. 1887) is sufficiently definite and careful to be of great use.

The best known ancient source is the writings of Manetho, who wrote in Greek, at Alexandria, probably in the third century B. C. Fragments of his history of Egypt are preserved in Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i. 14 sq., 26 sq.), and in the *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus (about 220 A. D.) This work of Africanus is itself extant only in the fragments quoted by Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (about 325 A. D.), and in the citations made, in part from the *Chronicon* and in part from a copy of Africanus, by Georgius Syncellus, of the ninth century A. D. Manetho as thus handed down is often contradictory and unintelligible, but is still our most important source for Egyptian chronology.

In the old series of the *Records of the past*, the even numbered volumes are made up of Egyptian documents. The new series contains much Egyptian material, including extensive selections from the El-amarna records, and a treatment of Manetho.

47. *The shepherd kings.*—The Hyksos, or shepherd kings, were foreigners of Semitic race. Six of them reigned in a group directly before the accession of the eighteenth dynasty. The sum of the years of the six is 260 according to Manetho as quoted in Josephus, 284 according to Manetho as quoted in Africanus. Egyptologists now commonly hold that the six reigns covered a period of less than 200 years. Salatis was the first of the six, and Apôphis was either the fourth or the sixth. The Hyksos were worshippers of Sutech, and to some extent persecutors of the native Egyptian religion.

48. *The eighteenth dynasty.*—This dynasty came in by the bloody overthrow of the shepherd kings. It was a Theban dynasty. It included perhaps 15 sovereigns. Manetho makes its duration to be, according to Josephus 246 years, according to Africanus 263 years, according to Eusebius 348 years. Rawlinson and others estimate it at a little less than 200 years. In this dynasty the priests were in high favor.

Its fifth sovereign was Queen Hatasu, who is prominently

mentioned on the Egyptian monuments, though her name is omitted in the monumental list of kings. The sixth was Thothmes III. As conqueror, builder and patron of history he is nearly the greatest of Egyptian kings. His armies overran Syria and Mesopotamia. The ninth was Amenôphis III, Amen-hotep, Memnon, who reigned more than 36 years, and was noted for justice and kindness, and for his Asiatic affiliations. His successor was Amenôphis IV, also known as Khuen-aten "or light of the Solar Disc." He reigned twelve years or more, was very peculiar looking, effected a religious revolution, establishing sun worship, got the enmity of the priests, founded a new capital, Khu-aten, at El-amarna on the upper Nile. Among the archives of his reign are the celebrated El-amarna tablets, including reports and letters to him and to his father from various parts of Palestine. These show that all that region had been subject to Egypt, but that the power of Egypt there was now broken and declining.

49. *The nineteenth dynasty.*—The kings of this dynasty were related in blood to those of the eighteenth. They are: first, Rameses I, a year and four months; second, Seti I, perhaps 30 years or more; third, Rameses II, 67 years or more, either including or excluding a co-reign with his father, one of the greatest Egyptian builders and conquerors; fourth, Men'phthah, eight years or more after the death of Rameses; fifth, three more kings, known by various names, whose reigns were brief and troubled, and are imperfectly known. The Pharaohs of the oppression were Seti I and his successors, and the Pharaoh of the exodus was one of the four successors to Rameses II.

50. *The twentieth dynasty.*—It was founded by Set-nekht, of the same family with the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, who after a very brief reign was succeeded by Rameses III, who reigned 32 years. They rescued Egypt from a condition of anarchy, in which a Syrian invader named Aarsu figures largely. Rameses III was distinguished for his good government, and for pushing the arms of Egypt as far as into Mesopotamia.

51. *The Lepsian date for the exodus.*—An Egyptian Sothic cycle of 1460 solar years terminated 139 A. D. It began therefore 1322 B. C. The cycle was known as the “era of Menōphres”. Nobody knows anything about Menōphres. But if he was a king of Egypt, and if the name is misspelt, and ought to be Menōphthes, and if Menōphthes is one more variant for Men’phthah, which appears in the Greek variously as Menephthes, Amenephthes, Armenōphthes, Amenōphis, and if this particular Men’phthah was the Amenōphis to whose reign Manetho and Josephus assign the exodus, and if they are correct in so assigning it, then it follows that the exodus occurred somewhere about 1320 B. C. This theory is supposed to be supported by other data, but they are even more shadowy than those just given. It is held to be strongly confirmed by the fact that the El-amarna tablets (see *Records of the past*, new series, ii. 57 sq., iii. 55 sq.) show that Amenōphis IV. was contemporary with Burnaburyas of Babylonia, and Assur-yuballidh of Assyria, kings who are said to have flourished about 1430 B. C. Apparently the acceptance of this date involves the rejection of the bible numerals by the wholesale. Ten years ago it was generally accepted by men of certain mental habits.

52. *Mahler’s chronology.*—It has become fashionable within the past few years. Professor Petrie’s version of it dates the first year of Men’phthah as 1207 B. C. (*A Hist. of Egypt* II p. 32). Like the Lepsian and many other schemes, it is a chain of solid links of fact tied together in places by rotten bits of the twine of conjecture. None of these schemes are to be accepted as final.

LECTURE IX.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT. Gen. XXXIX–L, Ex. I–VII. 7.

53. *Dated events.* —a. Extend your column of the years of Abraham’s migration to 475, and your column of the years of

Jacob to his death. *b.* Enter the following events: the death of Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 28); the death of Joseph (l. 22, 26); the death of Levi (Ex. vi. 16). *c.* Assuming that the last year in Egypt was the year 430 of the migration of Abraham (Ex. xii. 40, 41), enter the following: the birth of Moses (Ex. vii. 7); the birth of Aaron (Ex. vii. 7); the flight of Moses to Midian (Acts vii. 23, 30); and, conjecturally, the deaths of Leah, Kohath, Amram (Gen. xlix. 31, Ex. vi. 18, 20). *d.* From the materials in the bible how nearly can you date the law for throwing the male children into the Nile? How nearly can you date the beginning of the oppression?

54. *The Pharaohs of Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph.*—The Pharaoh of Abraham was probably one of the shepherd kings (Gen. xii. 15–20). The famine when Isaac was forbidden to go to Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2) may have been that which occurred (*Encyc. Brit.*, “Egypt,” p. 736) in the reign of the last shepherd king. Had Isaac then gone to Egypt, he might have become mixed up in the bloody revolution in which the Hyksos dominion perished. It is often said that the Pharaoh of Joseph was Apôphis of the Hyksos dynasty, but that is impossible. As Joseph was in Egypt 93 years, and in power 80 years, he must have been contemporary with several Pharaohs. It was a dynasty which was in close affiliation with the Egyptian priesthood (Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlvi. 20, xlvii. 22, 26); a dynasty in which the Egyptians of the court were ceremonially separated from shepherds and from the men of Joseph’s race (xlvi. 34, xliii. 32); a dynasty when horses and chariots abounded (xli. 43, xlvi. 29, xlvii. 17, l. 9). These and many other indications show that Joseph’s exaltation occurred not earlier than the latest years of Thothmes III, and the coming of Israel to Egypt not later than the early years of Amenôphis III.

55. *Duration of the sojourn in Egypt.*—It closed with the close of the year 430 of the migration of Abraham. The first 214 years preceded the sojourn, leaving 216 years for the sojourn itself. The opinion is very prevalent, however, that the sojourn occupied the whole 430 years. See Ex. xii. 40,

41, with the readings of the different copies of the Septuagint, and of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gal. iii. 17, Jos. *Ant.* II. xv. 2, VIII. iii. 1, II. ix. 1, Gen. xv. 13, 16, Acts vii. 6, and synchronous Egyptian history.

56. *Geography*.—Locate the route of Jacob's funeral (Gen. l). Locate the region occupied by Israel in Egypt, noting in particular the extent of the region, considering their number and the fact that they dwelt to some extent mingled with other inhabitants (Ex. xii. 23, 35, 36, e. g.).

57. *The Oppression*.—State the nature of the labor oppression to which they were subjected. Especially compare the word *mas* (Ex. i. 11) with the same word as used in the times of David and Solomon. In what sense were the Israelites "slaves" (Ex. xiii. 3, 14, xx. 2, etc.)?

58. *Joseph*.—Sketch his life and character.

59. *The residence in Egypt and the oppression*.—Sketch them.

LECTURE X.

THE EXODUS AND THE MARCH TO SINAI. EX. I-XVIII.

60. *Dated events*.—*a*. Opposite the year of the Migration 431 enter "The exodus (Qu. 55)." *b*. On the left hand page, make a list of the following details: the months preceeding the first month of the exodus year (Ex. ii. 23-xii cf. vii. 7, xvi. 35, etc., Deut. xxxiv. 7, etc.); the first half month (xii. 3-6, etc.); the month of time following (xvi. 1); the next half month (xix. 1); three days (xix. 11, etc.); periods of forty days (xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28. Deut. ix. 9, 11, 18, 25, x. 10); Jethro (xviii, especially 5); the first day of the next year (Ex. xl. 2, 17).

61. *The numbers of Israel*.—*a*. Should we connect the 600,000 of Ex. xii. 37 with either or both the enumerations in Numbers (Num. i, ii, iii, xxvi)? *b*. Was the census a count of individuals? or a count of companies, that is, of hundreds, fifties, etc.? *c*. Would the differences between these two ways

of counting make any difference in the whole number? *d.* How does the number of the "firstborn males" (Num. iii. 43) compare with the total number of the people? *e.* Note any points in which these questions may be significant.

62. *Geography.*—*a.* Locate the route of the main column to the place where they crossed the sea. *b.* Look up different views in regard to this. *c.* The route and principal camping places of the main column from the place of crossing to the Sinai region, as traditionally located. *d.* Where were the Israelites the evening before the fifteenth of Abib? *e.* Is it said or implied that they made miraculous marches in order to join the main column? *f.* Is it said or implied that either they or their flocks and herds subsisted by miracle, while they remained in Egypt? *g.* How large a proportion of the people were in the main column, when it crossed the Red sea? *h.* Did the miracle at the crossing give freedom to those who then crossed only? or to the rest of the nation as well?

63. *The great miracles of the deliverance from Egypt.*—Sketch them: *a.* The plagues of Egypt. *b.* The Red sea crossing (Ex. xiv, xv). *c.* The supply of water (xv. 22–26, xvii. 1–7). *d.* The supply of food (xvi). *e.* The defeat of Amalek (xvii. 8–16).

64. *Israel's religion, just before the legislation from Sinai.*—*a.* Altars, sacrifice, priesthood, etc. (Ex. xvii. 15, xxiv. 4, 6, iii. 18, v. 3, 8, 17, viii. 8, 26, 27, 28, 29 [4, 22, 23, 24, 25], x. 25, xii. 27, xviii. 12, xxiv. 5, xix. 22, 24, etc.). *b.* The earlier "tent of meeting," Ex. xxxiii. 7–11. *c.* Theopanies (iii, vi. 2 sq., xiii. 21, etc., xix–xx). *d.* The great promise: the covenant, oath, etc., with Abraham (Ex. ii. 24, iii. 6, 7, 15, 16, iv. 5, vi. 3, 8). *e.* The priest nation (xix. 5–6).

65. *The exodus movement.*—Sketch it in its relations to time, place, and miracle, from the burning bush to the arrival at Sinai.

LECTURE XI.

THE GIVING OF THE HEXATEUCHAL LEGISLATION.

66. *This legislation classified.*—First, the covenant legislation; second, the priestly legislation; third, the Deuteronomic legislation.

67. *The earlier covenant legislation.*—First, “the Ten Words”; second “the Judgments” (Ex. xxi. i); third, the short “Covenant.” They should be distinguished from the later covenant legislation of Deuteronomy. As we shall see, the three are all said to have been reduced to writing by Moses between the third and the seventh months of the first year of the exodus. Many scholars now hold that they were written in the eighth century B. C., or a little earlier.

68. *The Ten Words.*—So the Hebrew regularly designates what we are accustomed to call the ten commandments (Ex. xxxiv. 28, Deut. iv. 13, x. 4). *a.* Given orally and accepted by the people (Ex. xx. 1, 18–21, Deut. iv. 10, 12, 15, 33, 36, x. 4, etc.). *b.* Rehearsed orally, along with the Judgments, as the basis of the covenant (Ex. xxiv. 3). *c.* Written by Moses in “the book of the covenant,” and again solemnly accepted (Ex. xxiv. 4, 7). *d.* The “testimony” copy of them first given more than forty days later, written by the finger of God on two tables of stone (Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, Deut. iv. 13, v. 22 [19], etc.). *e.* This copy having been broken, a duplicate given eighty days later (Ex. xxxii. 15, 16, 19, xxxiv. 1, 4, 28, 29, Deut. ix. 9–11, 18, 25, x. 1–5, 10, etc.). *f.* “The tables of the covenant” (Ex. xxxiv. 28, Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15, etc.). *g.* These two tables, later, placed in the ark, being its sole contents, in distinction from other objects that were placed before it or beside it (Deut. x. 2, 5, 1 Ki. viii. 9, 2 Chron. v. 10, 1 Sam. vi. 19, and Ex. xl. 3, 20, xxv. 16, 21; Deut. xxxi. 26 cf. the following: xvii. 18–19, 8–11, xxxi. 9–13, 24–27, Josh. viii. 34–35; Ex. xvi. 33, 34, xl. 4–5, 22–27, Num. xvii. 10, 4, Heb. ix. 1–5), and constituting it “the ark of the testimony” (Ex. xxvi. 33, 34, xxx. 6, 26, xxxi. 7, xl. 21, etc.), and the “ark of the covenant” (Num. x. 33, xiv. 44, Deut. x. 8, etc.).

69. *The Judgments.*—Otherwise known as “the covenant code” or “the judges’ code” (Ex. xxi–xxiii cf. Ex. xx. 18–26, Deut. v. 22–31, vi. 1 sq., etc.). Made the basis of the covenant, first orally and then in writing, along with the Words (xxiv. 3–8).

70. *The little covenant code.*—A repetition of that part of the covenant code which concerns the national religious observances, given in connection with the second pair of tables (Ex. xxxiv. 10–27).

71. *The Priestly legislation.*—It includes the “holiness code,” the tabernacle code, the sacrificial manual, and much other legislation, ceremonial and civil.

72. *The holiness code.*—This is the name given by many scholars to the compact body of laws (Lev. xvi–xxvi) which the Levite priests were to enforce upon the people for keeping them separate to Yahweh. These laws claim in detail to have been given in the lifetime of Moses (xvii. 1, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 1, 16, 24, xxiii. 1, 9, 23, 26, 33, 44, etc.), and claim as a whole (xxvi. 46) to have been given “in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses,” that is, not later than the early part of the second year of the exodus. On the question whether Moses gave them in writing they are silent.

The scholars who hold to the late date of the pentateuch regard this as the earliest part of the priestly legislation, later than the covenant laws, but either pre-exilian or at least not much later than the exile.

Lev. xxvii (see verses 1, 34) is an appendix to this code, and makes the same claim as to date.

73. *The tabernacle code.*—The digested laws for the “tent of meeting” and its priesthood and worship, given in two parts: first, “the pattern” (Ex. xxv. 9, 40) or construction-plan (Ex. xxv. 1–xxxi. 11); and second, the return-report (xxxv. 4–xxxix. 43). It claims to have been given during the forty days before the giving of the first tables. The nature of its contents suggests the probability that it was given in writing. In the critical views now current, this is regarded as among the latest parts of the hexateuch, dating long after the exile.

74. *The manual of sacrifice (Lev. i-vii)*—It purports to have been given to Moses (iv. 1, v. 14, etc.), while Aaron was alive (vii. 34, 35), at mount Sinai (vii. 35-38), after the tent of meeting was built (i. 1). Whether given in writing is not stated, but such a law must necessarily have been given in very definite form.

75. *Other priestly laws.*—Many of them are dated, either by their contents or by the order of the narrative, in the first or the second year of the exodus (e. g. Lev. viii-x and xvi, and most of the laws in Num. i-xiv). Others are dated in or before the first forty days at Sinai (e. g. laws of passover, firstborn and sabbath, in Ex. xii, xiii, xvi, xxxi. 12-17, xxxv. 1-3). Others are only dated by being attributed to Moses, or to Moses and Aaron (e. g. Lev. xi-xv, Num. xv. sq.). But there is scarcely a section that is not in some way specifically assigned to the times of Moses. A few of the later laws in Numbers seem to be attributed to the latter part of the forty years.

76. *The Deuteronomic legislation.*—In Deut. i. 3-iv. 43 and iv. 44-xi there is much exhortation, based on the covenant legislation. In chaps. xii-xxvi is a body of laws, sometimes described as "the people's code," in part duplicating the covenant and the priestly laws, and in part independent. Included in chapters xxvii-xxx are "the words of the covenant which Yahweh commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb" (xxix. 1, Heb. xxviii. 69). All these parts of Deuteronomy purport to have been uttered during the last part of the fortieth year of the exodus, in the form of public addresses to the people (i. 1-3, iv. 44 sq., xxvii. 1, 9, 11, etc., xxxi. 9 sq., 24 sq., etc.), and all, or at least nearly all, claim to have been then put in writing. Much current criticism holds that the main part of Deuteronomy was written in the time of King Josiah of Judah, a little before 621 B. C.

77. *The art of writing in the time of the exodus.*—The verb *kathabh* occurs nearly forty times in the accounts of the

exodus period, and in such connections as to indicate that writing was well known and widely practiced among the Israelites who came out from Egypt. This is in agreement with all that we know from other sources as to the probabilities in the case. Writing is not mentioned in the Old Testament till the times of the exodus, though the poems that are quoted (e. g. Gen. iv. 23-24, ix. 25-27, xxvii. 27-40, etc.) indicate the existence of literature from much earlier times.

78. *The exodus legislation and earlier institutions.*—The narratives do not represent that Israel came out from Egypt an unorganized and uncivilized mob. *a.* In Egypt they had elders (Ex. iii. 16, 18, iv. 29, and many places), “officers” (*shot'rim*, different from their Egyptian taskmasters, v. 6, 10, 14, 15, 19), and princes, *n'sim*, ruling in the tribes by hereditary right or influence, (Ex. xvi. 22, xxxiv. 31, Num. i. 16, 44, ii. 3, 5, etc.). A few months after they left Egypt, this was supplemented, at Jethro's suggestion, by the decimal plan of captains of thousands, hundreds, etc. (Ex. xviii). Later (Num. xi. 16-30, Deut. i. 9-18), the council of seventy was organized. This council is not spoken of in Ex. xxiv. 1, 9. The phrase there is indefinite, “seventy of the elders of Israel.” *b.* There is every reason to think that the exodus legislation incorporated earlier usages into itself, and was largely made up of materials so incorporated (Qu. 64).

LECTURE XII.

THE FORTY YEARS. Ex. xl, Num. I-XIX.

79. *Their beginning and end.*—They began with the first month of the year, the month when Israel left Egypt, and ended with the close of the year, just before the first month (Josh. iv. 19, v. 10, cf. Deut. i. 3, also Ex. vii. 7 and Acts vii. 23, 30, with Deut. xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 7 and Num. xxxiii. 38, 39).

80. *Dated events of the second year.*—Enter the following on the left hand page: tent of meeting reared (Ex. xl. 1, 17);

twelve days' offering (Num. vii. 1, 12, 18, etc., to 78); pass-over kept (ix. 1, 3); command to number the people (i. 1, 18); second passover (ix. 11 and context); the start from Sinai (x. 11); first march (x. 33); fire, quails, the seventy, the plague (xi. 19, 20, 21 and context); distance from Horeb to Kadesh (Deut. i. 2); waiting for the spies (Num. xiii. 25); the season of the year (xiii. 23); the stay at Kadesh (Deut. i. 46, Num. xx. 1, 23-29, xxxiii. 38, Deut. ii. 14). The date in Num. xx. 1 is connected with the events that follow, that is, with the fortieth year. According to Deut. ii. 14, Israel remained in Kadesh after the return of the spies till some time in the third year of the exodus.

81. *Geography*.—Point out Sinai, Horeb, Taberah, Hazeroth, mount Seir, Paran, Kadesh-barnea, the South country, Hebron, Hamath, Eshcol, Hormah.

82. *Duration and incidents of what is called "the wandering."*—Commonly spoken of as 40 years (see "forty" in concordance). Actually about 37 1-2 years (see Qu. 80). Apparently the incidents preserved are that of the sticks on the sabbath, that of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, that of Aaron's rod (Num. xv-xvii).

83. *Manna and quails*.—To what extent, according to the bible, did they subsist on these (Ex. xvi, Num. xi, Deut. viii. 3, 16, xxix. 6, Josh. v. 12, Ps. lxxviii. 24-25, Neh. ix. 20, John vi. 31, 49, 58, Heb. ix. 4, Rev. ii. 17, and Ex. x. 9, 24, xii. 32, 38, xvii. 3, xix. 13, xxxiv. 3, xxii. 5, 6, 9, Num. iii. 41, 45, xi. 22, vii, ix, Lev. xvii, Num. xx. 19, xxxii, Deut. iii. 19, Ex. iii. 22, xii. 36, xxxii, Deut. ii. 6, 28)?

84. *The quadruple camp*.—How are we to understand the order of encampment and of march described in Num ii and x?

85. *The religious deterioration in the wilderness*.—*a*. In the matter of sacrifice, as measured by the levitical laws (Deut. xii. 8 and context). *b*. In the matter of circumcision (Josh. v. 2-9).

86. *The manner of life in the wilderness*.—Sketch it (Num. xxxii. 13, xiv. 33, Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5).

LECTURE XIII.

THE FORTIETH YEAR. Num. xx-xxxvi, DEUTERONOMY.

87. *Dated events.*—Enter the following on the left hand page, opposite the year 470, specifying the dates, when these are given: the regathering at Kadesh (Num. xx. 1); the message to Edom (xx. 14-21); the start from Kadesh (22); the death of Aaron (Num. xx. 23-29, xxxiii. 38), and the mourning (xx. 29); the serpent of brass (xxi. 1-11); Zered (xxi. 12, Deut. ii. 14 and context); the conquest of Sihon (Num. xxi. 13-30, Deut. ii. 24-37, Jud. xi); the conquest of Og (Num. xxi. 31-35, Deut. iii); they encamp in the Jordan valley (Num. xxii. 1); Balaam (Num. xxii-xxiv); war with Midian (xxv, xxxi); second census (xxvi); the two and a half tribes (Num. xxxii and Deut.); cities of refuge (Num. xxxv, Deut. iv. 41-43); the giving of Deuteronomy, general (Deut. i. 1-2); the parts of Deuteronomy, specific (Deut. i. 3-5, iv. 46, etc.); death of Moses, and mourning for him (Deut. xxxiv. 5-8).

88. *Geograph.*—Point out Kadesh barnea, Edom, mount Hor, Zered, Arnon, Moab and Ammon of the time of the exodus, the dominions of Sihon, of Og, the Ar'both of Moab, Pethor by the River, Pisgah, Midian.

89. *The kindred peoples at the time of the exodus.*—Make a study of them, using concordance: Edom, Moab, Ammon, Midian, Amalek, Jethro's people (Jethro, Reuel, Raguel, Hobab the Kenite).

90. *Egyptian-Palestinian history.*—*a.* During the sojourn in Egypt. *b.* During the 40 years. *c.* For the decades following the 40 years.

91. *The history of the fortieth year.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XIV.

THE CONQUEST BY JOSHUA. Josh. I-XXIV.

92. *The extent of the land to be conquered.*—From the Mediterranean to the Euphrates (Josh. i. 4 and parallel passages).

93. *Physical geography.*—*a.* Give an account of the *Arabah*, the Jordan valley, with its extensions north and south. *b.* Of the *Mishor*, the plateau to the east of the Jordan valley. *c.* Of the Bashan region, including the volcanic *Argob*. *d.* Of the *hār*, the mountain country west of the Jordan. *e.* Of the *Shephelah*, the Mediterranean lowlands. *f.* Of the *Ashdoth*, the slopes. *g.* Of the *Negeb*, the south country. *h.* Of the *Midhbar*, the wilderness. *i.* Of the Lebanon and Hermon region.

94. *The inhabitants and their geographical location.*—Besides the kindred peoples, the Moabites, Ammonites, etc., who were exempt from conquest, there were: *a.* Giants: Og and his Rephaim, other Rephaim (Josh. xvii. 15), Anakim, Avvim. *b.* Philistines. *c.* Canaanitic peoples: First, the Canaanite proper, lowlanders, either including or excluding the Phoenicians. Second, the Amorite, highlanders. Third, the Jebusite, the Hivvite, the Perizzite, the Girgashite. *d.* The Hittite, mainly to the north. *e.* Aramaean peoples, doubtless, to the northeast.

95. *Possibilities of formidable resistance.*—These peoples existed in the form of a great number of petty kingdoms. But they had a traditional way of banding themselves together for war under the dictatorship of some one king, which made them a military power not to be despised even by the great empires of Egypt or Assyria.

96. *The principal events.*—Extend your column of the years of the migration of Abraham, and place the following events: *a.* Accession of Joshua (Josh. i. 1-9). *b.* Crossing the Jordan and capture of Jericho and Ai (i.10-viii.29). On the left hand page note the following dated events: the spies (ii.

16, 22); the preparations for moving (i. 11, iii. 2); the night by the river (iii. 1, 5 cf. 7); the crossing (iv. 19); the recircumcision (v. 2-9); the passover (v. 10); Jericho (vi. 1, 4, etc.). *c.* Solemnities at Ebal and Gerizim (viii. 30-35), perhaps at the time of the feast of booths (viii. 34-35 cf. Deut. xxxi. 10-13), the intervening weeks having been occupied in overrunning the region from Ai northward. *d.* The surrender of the Gibeonites (ix). *e.* The battle at Gibeon, the first of the two great battles of the conquest, fought with a confederacy of southern kings and followed by the subjugation of the region to the south (x). *f.* Battle of the waters of Merom, the second great battle, fought with a confederacy of northern kings (xi-xii). *g.* Second assignment of territory (xiii-xvii). The first assignment had been that of the region east of the Jordan to the two and one half tribes; the second assignment now is to Judah, Ephraim and the other half of Manasseh, and covers much more than their share of the territory west of the Jordan. *h.* In connection with this assignment, the incident of Caleb (Josh. xiv. 6-15); enter it as a dated event, dating also this division of territory (xiv. 7, 10 cf. xi. 18; also xiii. 1, xxiii. 1, cf. Ex. xvii. 9, xxiv. 13, etc.) *i.* Third assignment of territory—to the remaining seven tribes (xviii-xix); much of the land that had in the second assignment been given to Judah and Joseph is now given to the other tribes. *j.* Cities of refuge and Levite cities (xx-xxi). *k.* Return of the 40,000 (xxii). *l.* Final arrangements (xxiii-xxiv). Josephus says that Joshua lived 25 years after the death of Moses. More probably he died soon after the 7 years of xiv. 10.

97. *Events later than Joshua.*—*a.* Caleb's conquests (xv. 14-19 cf. Jud. i. 10-15). *b.* Capture of Leshem (xix. 47-48 cf. Jud. xvii-xviii). *c.* The tribute service arrangement (xvii. 12-13, xv. 63, etc.). *d.* (xxiv. 29-33). *e.* Other instances, likely.

98. *The incompleteness of the conquest.*—*a.* In the extent of the territory overrun, as compared with that promised. *b.* In the unsubdued parts of the territory that was overrun (Josh. xiii. 1-6, Jud. iii. 1-6, ii. 1-5). *c.* In the losing either

temporarily or permanently of many places once captured, e. g. Bethel, Hebron, Debir, and many others. *d.* In the suddenness with which the conquest ceased. Inferred from comparison between the second and third assignments of territory.

99. *The extermination of the Canaanites.*—Its ethical aspects.

100. *Caleb.*—Sketch his career and character.

101. *Phinehas.*—Sketch his career with especial care (Num. xxv. 7, 11, xxxi. 6, Ps. cvi. 30, Josh. xxii. 13, 30, 31, 32, xxiv. 29–33, Jud. xx. 1, 28 cf. xviii. 27–29 and the context).

102. *Joshua.*—Sketch his life and the history of Israel under him.

LECTURE XV.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL AS JOSHUA ESTABLISHED THEM.

103. *Israel at rest.*—The “rest” promised in Deut. xii. 10 was regarded as established; though doubtless as but imperfectly established (Ex. xxxiii. 14, Ps. xcv. 11, Deut. xxv. 19, iii. 20, Josh. i. 13, 15, xxi. 44, xxii. 4, xxiii. 1).

104. *The national sanctuary.*—The centre of national worship was the ark and the tent of meeting. These were movable. If they moved separately, the ark was the centre. In the later years of Joshua these were located, though with the possibility of removal, at Shiloh, thus giving to Shiloh more of the character of a national capital than was possessed by any other place (Josh. xviii. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, xix. 51, xxi. 2, xxii. 9, 12, 19, 29, etc., but cf. xxiv. 1, 26).

105. *Literature in Joshua's time.*—*a.* Business in writing (Josh. viii. 32, xviii. 4, 6, 8, 9). *b.* Literature (Josh. xv. 15, 16, x. 12–14, Num. xxi. 14, etc.). *c.* Sacred writings (Josh. i. 8, viii. 31, 34, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 26, and all the places in the Hexateuch in which writing is mentioned).

106. *Sacred laws.*—The priests—the Levites—the cities of refuge—the worship at the tent of meeting, etc.

107. *The great promise.*—Exhibited chiefly in the establishing of the institutions of Israel.

PART II.

PERIOD OF THE CHANGING SANCTUARY—

JOSHUA TO DAVID.

LECTURE XVI.

INTRODUCTORY.

108. *The name of the period.*—It is taken from 2 Sam. vii. 6, 1 Chron. xvii. 5.

109. *Its characteristic.*—Israel in the promised land, imperfectly at rest. The rest that began in Joshua's time (Qu. 103) is thought of as disturbed and broken, in contrast with the more complete rest that came, under David, with the arrangements for the permanent temple (2 Sam. vii. 1, 11, 1 Chron. xxii. 9-11, 18-19, xxiii. 25-26, xxviii. 2, 1 Ki. v. 4-5, viii. 56, 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42. Ps. cxxxii. 8, etc.). The centre of national worship is the ark, ordinarily kept in the tent of meeting, long located at Shiloh, but movable. There is equally a lack of a permanent national capital.

110. *Limits of the period.*—Strictly, from the division of the land under Joshua to the building of the temple by Solomon. But it is practically the same thing to count the events from the death of Joshua to the death of David, and this is actually done in the bible records. The point of division between Samuel and Kings, or between First and Second Chronicles, is the accession of Solomon. The chronology is counted from the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua.

111. *Biblical sources of information.*—*a.* The principal

work, Judges, Ruth, and 1 and 2 Samuel. *b.* 1 Chronicles. *c.* Other mentions in the bible, particularly in the book of Joshua, and in the psalms that purport to be of the time of David.

112. *The principal historical series for the period.*—It is a unit, made up as follows: *a.* Prefatory matters (Jud. i–ii. 5). *b.* Continuous history of the Judges (ii. 6–xiii. 1); this is the only part that has a consecutive chronology. *c.* Six personal stories (xiii. 2–xvi, xvii–xviii, xix–xxi, Ruth, 1 Sam. i. 1–iv. 1a, ix. 1–x. 16). *d.* Narratives of public history or of the life of David (1 Sam. iv. 1b to 2 Sam. xx, omitting 1 Sam. ix. 1–x. 16); the first of these narratives takes up the history at the point where Jud. ii. 6–xiii. 1 leaves it. *e.* Six appendices (2 Sam. xxi. 1–14, 15–22, xxii, xxiii. 1–7, 8–39, xxiv). Some of the narratives for the time of David are out of chronological order, and the six stories and six appendices are placed without regard to chronological order. Jewish tradition attributes this series to the prophets Samuel, Gad, and Nathan, and no one disputes that they may at least have furnished the materials for it. The earlier narratives of public history may have been written before the death of Samuel; most of the other parts of the series were written as late as the reign of David; notwithstanding many strong assertions to the contrary, the series bears no marks later than the probable lifetime of Nathan, within the limits of the reign of Solomon.

113. *First Chronicles.*—*a.* Genealogies, with incidents interspersed (i–ix). *b.* Passages transcribed with slight changes from 1 and 2 Samuel (x. 1–12, e. g.), alternating with abridgements from 1 and 2 Samuel (x. 13–14, e. g.), and with sections of new matter (xii, e. g.), the new matter consisting mainly of details, or of statements concerning the temple (x. 1–xxii). *c.* The making of Solomon king the first time (xxiii. 1–xxix. 22a). *d.* The making of Solomon king the second time, abridged from 1 Ki. i (xxxix. 22b–25). *e.* Closing statements and “*Lit.*” (xxix. 26–30). Written perhaps 200 years after the destruction of Solomon’s temple.

114. *Divisions.*—The second great period is properly divided into four parts: the time of the hero judges, Joshua to the death of Gideon; the time of the successive judges, the death of Gideon to that of Eli; the time of Samuel and Saul, beginning with the death of Eli; the time of David.

115. *Especial difficulties.*—Four such, among others, are presented by the history of this period: first the alleged vagueness of many of the statements; second, the alleged inconsistency of the statements with each other and with probability; third, especially, the alleged unnatural multiplying of forties in the chronology; fourth, the alleged weakness of the long numbers. The detailed study of these belongs with the details of the history, but certain general considerations should be noticed as preliminary.

116. *Alleged uncertainty and inconsistency of statement.*—We may escape many difficulties of these classes: first, by not confusing the character of the time of the hero judges with that of the successive judges, as is commonly done; second, by duly regarding the marks of literary structure; third, by correctly interpreting the chronological numerals; fourth, by being watchful to arrange the events in their true order; fifth, by carefully noticing the time data, as given in the events themselves; sixth, by avoiding the vicious conjectures and hypotheses that have here been so much used as a substitute for careful study, e. g. the hypotheses that some of the judges were local.

117. *The forties.*—In the history of this period the chronological number 40 appears in seven instances, and the number 80 once. It is alleged to be incredible that so many events occurred occupying each just 40 years, and the chronology is therefore alleged to be untrustworthy. But we shall find that the first three of these forties and the 80 form a group by themselves, marking the peculiarly computed chronology of a period of 200 years. The 40 of Jud. xiii. 1 applies to the same event with that 1 Sam. iv. 18. The books of Samuel represent that the reign of David was properly 41 years, as years are usually counted in the bible, the number 40 being applied to it only

in a general way. It thus appears that the reigns of Eli and of Saul are the only two events of the period which are said to have lasted just 40 years. That there should be two such events is not incredible, even if we add that the exodus and the reign of Solomon, just before and just after this period, each lasted also 40 years. In itself it is likely that some of these forties are general and inexact, but not to the extent of vitiating the chronology.

118. *The long numbers.*—Accord 1 Ki. vi. 1, the fourth year of Solomon was the 480th year “to the coming out of the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt.” This phrase “the coming out from Egypt” is applied in Josh. v. 5 cf. 4, to the whole period of the 40 years in the wilderness. In Deut. xxiv. 9 it is applied to an event in the second year of the 40, and to the last year of the 40 in Deut. iv. 45, 46, xxiii. 4 (5), and other places. When it is used for giving a date, we may be sure that the date is counted from either the beginning or close of the 40. The statement in Kings, therefore, is that the fourth year of Solomon was 480 years after either the beginning or the close of the 40 years of the exodus. It is alleged that this contradicts Acts xiii. 20, which speaks of the time of the judges as 450 years to Samuel, there being 90 years between Samuel and Solomon. Evidently there is no contradiction if the author of Kings counts from the close of the 40 years of the exodus, and Paul from their beginning. It is further alleged that both those numbers disagree with the detailed numbers given in Judges and Samuel; but we shall see that the alleged disagreement vanishes when we simply give to the detailed numbers their natural meaning. One needs to settle these questions before discussing the longer chronology given by Josephus and other ancients, or the shorter, advocated by many moderns.

PART II. FIRST DIVISION.

LECTURE XVII.

THE HERO JUDGES. Jud. I-VIII, XVII-XXI.

119. *Marks of distinction.*—*a.* After the death of Gideon, and not before, the years of each judge are given. *b.* Before the death of Gideon, and nowhere else, we find periods when “the land was quiet forty years” (iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28). *c.* Up to Gideon the judges are all heroes, raised up for special exigencies; after Gideon, one judge immediately succeeds another, and none are heroes save Sampson and Jephthah. *d.* In Gideon’s time, it was proposed to modify the theocratic constitution of Israel by establishing hereditary monarchy (Jud. viii. 22–23); at his death the constitution was evidently changed, though not to this extent.

120. *The forty year periods of quiet.*—Under the successive judges the chronology is counted, as was usual in ancient times, in the years of the ruling chief magistrate. It could not be so counted for the earlier time, because there were then no successive chief magistrates. Hence, a different chronological method was needed for that time, and this method is found in the successive forties of years when the land “was quiet.” *a.* These forties cover the whole time, the other numerals that are given being included in them. *b.* The counting by forties is to the final terminus only (Qu. 20). The meaning is, in each case, that the land remained quiet to the close of the forty year period then current (cf. 1 Sam. vii. 15, xiv. 52, and the references under Qu. 20). *c.* The 80 (Jud. iii. 30) is the statement of the second and third forties. In this continuous part of his history the author mentions no event of the second 40 years, and so he combines the second with the third.

121. *Method.*—Read Lectures I, II and III of this syllabus, attending especially to Qus. 15a, 17, 18, 19, 21.

Have a book ruled as required in Qu. 21. If you use a book of 240 pages, begin the work for Lecture XVII about page 93, so as to leave room for the earlier parts of the history in their order.

Write at the head of the middle ruled column the letters A. T. J. (Anno Transitus per Jordanem, the year of crossing the Jordan), and fill the column with the numerals 1, 2, 3, etc., up to 200, using 25 lines on a page. This will give you a standard by which to arrange and compare the chronological data given in the Bible.

In the first narrow column to the left of your column A. T. J. write the numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., for the years mentioned in Qu. 123 *a.* writing the event itself and the biblical reference in the broad column to the right. From this point you will be able to follow the directions given in the syllabus.

122. *The generic process of the history.*—State it (Jud. ii. 11–23).

123. *The first 40 years.*—*a.* Enter the 7 years of Josh. xiv. 7, 10; and enter where you think they belong the 8 years of the first oppression (Jud. iii. 8). *b.* Sketch the incidents after the death of Joshua (Jud. i. 1–ii. 5). *c.* How important an affair was the oppression of Cushan-rishathaim (iii. 7–11)? *d.* Give an account of Othniel, the first judge.

124. *The second 40 years.*—*a.* Enter the events of the story, xvii–xviii. *b.* Those of xix–xxi. *c.* The probable close of the life of Phinehas (Qu. 101).

125. *The third 40 years.*—*a.* Enter the 18 years of the oppression by Eglon (iii. 14). *b.* Sketch this oppression, and the deliverance by Ehud, comparing this with the previous oppression.

126. *The fourth 40 years.*—*a.* Place the 20 years of the oppression of Jabin (Jud. iv. 3). *b.* Sketch this oppression and the rescue under Deborah and Barak (iv–v). *c.* The contemporary oppression and rescue under Shamgar (iii. 31, v. 6).

127. *The fifth 40 years.*—*a.* Place the 7 years of the Midianite oppression (Jud. vi. 1). *b.* Sketch the oppression, and the rescue under Gideon, and the subsequent events (vi–viii).

128. *Summary.*—Make a review of the history of the period, the events, the conditions of civilization disclosed, etc.

PART II. SECOND DIVISION.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE SUCCESSIVE JUDGES. Jud. ix–xvi, Ruth, 1 Sam. i–iv.

129. *Dated events.*—*a.* Continue your A. T. J. column to 400 years. *b.* In the column next to the left enter the years of the successive chief magistrates of Israel: Abimelech (Jud. ix. 22); Tola and Jair (x. 2, 3); Samson (xv. 20, xvi. 31); the Ammonite oppression (x. 8); Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon (xii. 7, 9, 11, 14); Eli (Jud. xiii. 1. 1 Sam. iv. 18).

130. *Abimelech.*—*a.* Sketch his career. *b.* Are the exploits attributed to him mostly national or local? *c.* Was he ‘captain of Israel’ (ix. 22) nationally? or was he a mere local chieftain?

131. *The Ammonite oppression.*—Should the numeral in Jud. x. 8, be included in the chronological scheme, along with those for the reigns of the judges?

132. *Samson.*—*a.* The name seems to be derived from *Shemesh*, the sun. Samson’s strength was in his hair, and the sun’s strength is in his rays. The story is full of marvels, though less so than would seem from the current interpretation. Do these things prove that the story is a sun-myth, and not historical? *b.* The story is in two parts (xiii. 2–xv. 20, and xvi; note especially the *tense* in the last clause of each part). Do the 20 years that Samson was judge belong mainly with the first part? or with the second part? or between the two parts? *c.* Is it represented that Samson’s great strength was persistently with him? or was it a special gift, bestowed on particular occasions (xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14, xvi. 17, 20, 28)? *d.* Is it represented that Samson was a leader of men? or merely that he was by himself a strong man (xv. 4, 15, 20, etc.)? *e.* How

about Samson as a humorist? *f.* As judge, was he a success? In particular, did he effect a deliverance from the Philistines (xiii. 5; also xiv. 4, xv. 11-12, etc., compared with the fact that in xvi the Philistines keep on their own side of the border)? *g.* Four Philistine oppressions are mentioned: first, that of Shamgar (iii. 31, x. 11); second, that before the Ammonite oppression (x. 7); third, that of the time of Eli; fourth, that of the time of Saul. To which of the four does Samson belong? *h.* Was Samson judge of Israel? or merely a local judge? *i.* His character, as a man who would keep fooling with temptations?

133. *Jephthah.*—*a.* Sketch his career. *b.* Does the 300 (Jud. xi. 26) fit the chronology of the period as you have thus far written it?

134. *Eli.*—*a.* The Philistines were interested to prevent Israel from being united under a chief magistrate (1 Sam. vii. 7, 2 Sam. v. 17). *b.* Note three remarkable things concerning Eli: First, he was a high-priest descended from Ithamar and not from Eleazar (see concordance). Second, the only high-priest who acted as judge. Third, his administration coincided with a Philistine oppression. *c.* In view of these things: First, is it probable that the administration of Eli began with devastating wars? Second, how about the material prosperity of Israel during the later years of Eli (1 Sam. i-iv, especially iv. 2, 10)? *d.* Conjecture the date of the birth of Samuel, and enter it in your chronology.

135. *The incidents of the book of Ruth.*—Jesse the father of David was an old man in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xvii. 12). Samuel was an old man at the beginning of Saul's reign (viii. 1). That is to say, Samuel apparently belonged to the same generation with Obed, the father of Jesse (Ruth iv. 21-22). *a.* Supposing Obed to have been born early in the second decade of Eli's administration, how does that fit the ten years of Ruth i. 4? and how does the story fit the rest of what we know in regard to the period? *b.* In all the genealogies, Salmon is the only link mentioned between Boaz and Nahshon (Ru. iv. 20, 21, 1 Chron. ii. 11, Mat. i. 4-5, Luke iii. 32), Nah-

shon being prince of Judah in the first year of the exodus (Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12, 17, x. 14). According to Mat. i. 5, Salmon married Rahab, apparently the Rahab of Josh. ii. Does this prove that some of these accounts are unhistorical? or that we must date the incidents of the book of Ruth earlier in the times of the judges? or that the period of the judges must all be compressed into the time of two or three generations? or that the genealogies omit several generations between Salmon and Boaz? *c.* Sketch the story of Ruth. *d.* The Canaanites Shua, Tamar, Rahab, and the Moabite Ruth are mentioned by name as among the ancestors of David; what significance is there in this?

136. *The Shiloh sanctuary in Eli's time.*—*a.* Gather particulars as to the sanctuary and the worship there. *b.* Compare these with the particulars required in the pentateuchal laws for the national sanctuary.

137. *Summary.*—Sketch the history of the period, especially noting differences between this and the period of the hero judges.

PART II. THIRD DIVISION.

LECTURE XIX.

SAMUEL AND SAUL. 1 Sam. v-XXXI.

138. *Dated events.*—*a.* Extend your column of the years from the close of the exodus to 480 or more. *b.* In the column to the left, write the years that Israel lamented after Yahweh (1 Sam. vii. 2); opposite 480 write 4 (1 Ki. vi. 1); backward from that point, fill the left hand column with the first 4 years of Solomon, the 41 years of David (2 Sam. v. 5), the 40 years of Saul (Acts xiii. 21); fill the remainder of the column with the years of Samuel.

139. *Length of Samuel's administration.*—*a.* How old do you judge that Samuel was at the death of Eli? *b.* How old

at the close of the 20 years (1 Sam. vii. 2)? *c.* How old when he died (xxv. 1, xxviii. 3)? *d.* How old when he made his sons judges (viii. 1)? *e.* How old at the accession of Saul? *f.* Is the period of 18 or 19 years given to Samuel in your Dated Events long enough and not too long?

140. *The interregnum of 20 years.*—*a.* The position of Samuel at the beginning of it (iii. 19–iv. 1). *b.* The principal events (v. 1–vii. 2). *c.* The policy of Samuel during this period (vii. 2–4). *d.* To what extent was it probably a period of material prosperity?

141. “*All the days of.*”—Samuel remained judge till his death (vii. 15); though after the accession of Saul, the judge was no longer chief magistrate, being outranked by the king. Israel remained successful against the Philistines as long as Samuel continued chief magistrate (vii. 13), this not being contradicted by x. 5.

142. *Samuel's administration.*—The account of it is so brief that one might easily miss the fact that it is represented as remarkably successful. *a.* His accession (vii. 5–12). *b.* Military successes (vii. 7–14). *c.* His judicial arrangements (vii. 16–17). If Gilgal of the Jordan valley and Mizpeh of Gilead are meant, his circuit was geographically national. *d.* Peace with the Amorite (vii. 14). *e.* The nation that he handed over to his successor (xi. 8, xv. 4, xiii. 5, etc.). *f.* The desire for a king was due to anxiety for the future, not to any lack of present prosperity. *g.* With these points in mind, sketch the history.

143. *The establishment of the kingdom.*—Become familiar with the several steps taken (viii–xii).

144. *The reign of Saul.*—It is best considered in three divisions: first, his early years, when he and Samuel were in accord (x. 17–xiii. 2); second, the years when he and Samuel had differences (xiii. 3–xv. 35); third, the time after Samuel's withdrawal from the government (xv. 35).

145. *The first part of Saul's reign.*—*a.* He was distinctly a young man. That is the impression made by the narrative, and it is confirmed by the tradition or conjecture interpolated

into the revised version (xiii. 1). He may have been a married man, having one or more little children. *b.* The defeat of Nahash occurred near the close of his first year, and the confirmation of the kingdom soon after the beginning of his second year (xii. 17 and the whole context). *c.* He dismissed the people, establishing his headquarters, with 2,000 men, at Michmash "and in the mountain country of Bethel," while another thousand guarded his home and the crown prince Jonathan at Gibeah, near by. Presumably Jonathan was now a little boy. *d.* Then followed a period of uneventful prosperity, lasting till Jonathan was a warrior grown (xiii. 3). The prosperity is proved by the tremendous effort the Philistines found it necessary to make (xiii. 5) to recover their lost power. *e.* These specifications show that the king James version correctly interprets xiii. 1. The text should be printed with a paragraph division after xiii. 2, and careful attention should be given to the circumstantial clauses in xiii. 3, 4, 5. *f.* This view not contradicted by xiv. 52, which is an expression that contemplates the final terminus only.

146. *The second part of Saul's reign.*—The following events are mentioned: war with the Philistines precipitated by the act of Jonathan (xiii. 3); quarrel with Samuel (xiii. 8-15); utter subjugation by the Philistines (xiii. 3-23); successful revolt (xiv. 1-46); the Amalekite war (xv); the final disagreement with Samuel (xv. 9-35). The summary introduced among these narratives (xiv. 47-52) mentions other important exploits of Saul, which we have no means of dating, but which give additional importance to his reign.

147. *The third part of the reign of Saul.*—From 1 Sam. xvi on, David becomes really the subject of the narratives. They describe how God caused Samuel to anoint David, and then the successive steps by which David, while remaining loyal to Saul, became his successor. The accounts we have of Saul relate principally to his desperate wars with the Philistines, or to his attempts to destroy David. Read the narrative with sufficient care so that you can tell the story.

148. *Special problems in regard to Saul.*—*a.* His evil spirit.

b. The witch of Endor. c. The two accounts of his death.

149. *Geography*.—You will not properly understand this part of the history unless you read it, carefully tracing on the map all its recognizable geographical features.

150. *Sanctuary problems*.—*a.* What became of Shiloh after the ark was captured? *b.* In what capacity did the men of Kiriathjearim take charge of the ark (concordance)? *c.* How about the “hill” where they kept it (see concordance, remembering that “hill” is “gibeah”)? *d.* How about 1 Sam. xiv. 18-19? *e.* How about altars or sacrifice or sanctuary at Bethshemesh, Mizpeh, Ramah, Gilgal, Bethlehem, Nob, Aijalon (1 Sam. xiv. 31)? *f.* How about “the house of the Lord,” or the place “before the Lord,” in the times of Samuel and Saul?

151. *Samuel*.—Sketch his life and public services.

152. *The history of Israel*.—Sketch it for the times of Eli, Samuel and Saul.

PART II. FOURTH DIVISION. *History of David.*

LECTURE XX.

EARLIER HISTORY OF DAVID. 1 Sam. XVI-2 Sam. IV.

153. *Difficulties*.—The traditional interpretation of the bible account of the life of David represents it as a series of alternations between the highest moral and spiritual excellence, and the grossest wickedness; between the most perfect reverence for the ceremonial laws of Israel and the most reckless neglect of those laws; and, further, represents David as performing the most taxing and conspicuous labors of his life, those described in 1 Chron. xxiii-xxix, after he had become physically and mentally helpless (1 Ki. i). It is not surprising that many, assuming the common interpretation to be correct, reject much of the history, and especially that part of it which attributes many of our existing psalms to David.

But the traditional interpretation is palpably incorrect,

especially in its neglect of three important facts clearly given in the narratives of the bible. *a.* David brought up the ark to Jerusalem, not at the beginning of his reign, but after his wars of conquest (1 Chron. xiii. 5.). *b.* It follows that the phrase "after this," 2 Sam. viii. 1, x. 1 et al., is a phrase transferred from narratives that were here copied into our present accounts, and does not indicate that the events occurred in the order in which they are narrated in our present books. *c.* There should be a paragraph division in the middle of 1 Chron. xxix. 22, like that which the revisers have made in 1 Sam. iv. 1. In these last chapters of 1 Chronicles we have an account of Solomon's being made king (xxiii. 1-xxix. 22a), followed by an account of his being made king "a second time" (xxix. 22b-25), this second account being evidently a condensation of 1 Ki. i. *d.* When proper attention is paid to these three facts, the biblical events of the life of David fall into intelligible order, and most of the difficulties vanish.

154. *Divisions.*—The reign of David may be divided into four parts: the time when he was king of Judah; the time of his wars, defensive and offensive; the time of rest; and the time of domestic troubles. The present lecture will treat of his pre-regnal life and his reign over Judah.

155. *The ages of certain persons.*—David was 30 years old at the death of Saul (2 Sam. v. 4). Mephibosheth, Jonathan's son, was then 5 years old (2 Sam. iv. 4). Ishbosheth, one of Saul's younger sons, was forty at about that time (ii. 10). Saul and his uncle Abner were not yet incapacitated by age. We may conjecture that Jonathan was not quite 45, and that Saul was under 70. When David slew Goliath, he may have been 20, Jonathan perhaps 32, and Saul about 56.

156. *David the stripling.*—*a.* Anointed (1 Sam. xvi. 1-13). *b.* Saul's minstrel and armorbearer (xvi. 14-23). *c.* Goliath (xvii. 1-54, 1 Chron. xi. 12-14, 2 Sam. xxiii. 9-10). First, was David then already Saul's armorbearer (xvii. 15, xviii. 5-10)? Second, how about Saul and Abner not knowing him (xvii. 55-58)? Third, "to Jerusalem" (54). Fourth, Goliath's sword (xxi. 9, xxii. 10). Fifth, Ps. cli, in the Septuagint. *d.* David's character at this time?

157. *David in office under Saul.*—*a.* General statement (xviii. 5, 30). *b.* How came it about (6–16). *c.* “Israel and Judah” (16). *d.* Merab and Michal (17–29). *e.* David’s growing reputation (30). *f.* His character at this stage?

158. *David a fugitive.*—*a.* Repeated attempts on his life (xix–xx, Ps. lix). *b.* The prophets favor him (xix. 18–24). *c.* The priests favor him, to their own destruction (xxi. 1–9, xxii. 7–23, Ps. lii, title). *d.* Flight to the Philistines (xxi. 10–15, Pss. xxxiv, lvi). *e.* Gathers followers (xxii. 1–2). *f.* Takes his father and mother to Moab (xxii. 3–5). *g.* Abiathar joins him, bringing ephod (xxii. 6–23, xxiii. 6–13). *h.* Keilah (xxiii. 1–13). *i.* Ziph and Maon (xxiii. 14–29, Ps. liv). *j.* Wilderness of Engedi, Saul’s skirt (xxiv, Pss. lxiii, lvii, cxlii). *k.* David’s character thus far?

159. *David after the death of Samuel.*—*a.* Nabal (xxv. 1–39). *b.* David becomes a polygamist (40–44). *c.* The sons of Zeruiah appear on the scene (xxvi. 6). *d.* Saul’s spear and cruse (xxvi). *e.* Changes in David’s character?

160. *The sixteen months with the Philistines.*—*a.* Ziklag (xxvii. 1–7, 12). *b.* Brigandage (8–11). *c.* His willingness to fight against Israel (xxviii. 1–2, xxix). *d.* Smiting of Ziklag and revenge for it (xxx. 1–25). *e.* David’s ethical progress (including xxx. 7–8 as well as the rest of the story).

161. *The reign of Ishbosheth.*—Sketch it as specifically as possible, giving dates (2 Sam. ii–iv).

162. *Saul.*—Sketch his character and career.

163. *Abner.*—Sketch his deeds and his character.

164. *Jonathan.*—*a.* Make a sketch of his life and his friendship with David (1 Sam. xiii. 2 sq., xviii. 1–4, xix. 1–7, xx, xxiii. 14–18, 2 Sam. i. 17–27). *b.* At what date did David’s practical gratitude to Jonathan manifest itself (2 Sam. iv. 4, and ix especially ver. 12).

165. *David king of Judah.*—*a.* News from the battle of Gilboa (2 Sam. i). *b.* Courtesies to chiefs of Judah (1 Sam. xxx. 26–31). *c.* Anointed in Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 1–4). *d.* Period of contest with the northern tribes (ii–iv).

166. *His treatment of the house of Saul.*—*a.* Avenging the

deaths of Saul and Ishbosheth. *b.* His elegy (2 Sam. i. 17-27), and his expressions of kind feeling (ii. 5-7). *c.* Michal (iii. 12-16). *d.* His honoring Abner, but not avenging him (27-39). *e.* The silence as to his doing anything for Jonathan's family.

167. *Other points in his conduct at this stage.*—*a.* His consulting Yahweh (ii. 1). *b.* His conciliatory policy toward northern Israel. *c.* His conduct was in many respects admirable, but have we any distinct evidence that he maintained, at this time, a high moral or spiritual standard?

LECTURE XXI.

DAVID'S WARS. 2 Sam. v, x-xii, xxi. 15-22, xxiii, viii.

168. *Made king of all Israel.*—Become familiar with the particulars (2 Sam. v. 1-16, 1 Chron. xi. 1-9, xii. 1-40, xiv. 1-7). *a.* The feeling that led to it (2 Sam. v. 1-3, 1 Chron. xi. 1-3). *b.* Jerusalem captured (2 Sam. v. 6-8, 1 Chron. xi. 4-6). *c.* The competition for the office of general in chief (1 Chron. xi. 6). *d.* The new capital (2 Sam. v. 9-16, 1 Chron. xi. 8-9, xiv. 1-7), noting that these events cover several years.

169. *Philistine wars.*—Enter the following as dated events, assuming that there was a war for each year. *a.* David's first defensive campaign against the Philistines (2 Sam. v. 17-21, xxiii. 13-17, 1 Chron. xiv. 8-12, xi. 15-19). Show that this campaign was a desperate one. *b.* His second defensive campaign (2 Sam. v. 22-25, 1 Chron. xiv. 13-17). *c.* His four aggressive campaigns against the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, 1 Chron. xx. 4-8). *d.* The outcome of these six campaigns (2 Sam. viii. 1, 1 Chron. xviii. 1).

170. *David's retirement from active military service.*—*a.* Date it (2 Sam. xxi. 15-17). *b.* How did it come about? *c.* How was his military prestige afterward kept up (2 Sam. xii. 26-31)? *d.* How did he occupy himself (2 Sam. v. 9-16, 1 Chron. xi. 7-9, xiv. 1-7)? *e.* The probable effect on his character?

171. *David's wars of conquest.*—Enter them, according to your best judgment, as dated events, remembering that the summary, 2 Sam. viii, 1 Chron. xviii, refers in part to the same events which are elsewhere recorded more in full: *a.* The occasion that opened David's career of conquest (2 Sam. x. 1-5, 1 Chron. xix. 1-5, together with Ruth and 1 Sam. xxii. 3-5, noticing the close relations that existed between Moab and Ammon). *b.* The Medeba campaign, in Moabite territory, against Moab, Ammon, the Hadarezer Aramaeans (Zobah, Rehob, Tob, Maacah) and mercenaries from Mesopotamia (2 Sam. x. 6-14 cf. viii. 2, 1 Chron. xix. 6-15 cf. xviii. 2). *c.* The Helam campaign, against the Hadarezer Aramaeans and those from Mesopotamia (x. 15-18, viii. 3-4, 1 Chron. xix. 16-18, xviii. 3-4, title of Ps. lx). *d.* The campaign against Hadarezer and the Damascus Aramaeans (2 Sam. viii. 5, 1 Chron. xviii. 5, 1 Ki. xi. 23-25). *e.* Outcome in the subjugation of the Aramaeans (2 Sam. viii. 6-8, x. 19, 1 Chron. xviii. 6-8, xix. 19). *f.* Submission of Hamath (2 Sam. viii. 9-11, 1 Chron. xviii. 9-10). *g.* Final successes against Ammon (2 Sam. xi, xii, 1 Chron. xx 1-3). *h.* Against Moab (2 Sam. viii. 2, 12, 1 Chron. xviii. 2, 11). *i.* Against Edom (2 Sam. viii. 13-14, 1 Chron. xviii. 12-13, 1 Ki. xi. 14-24, Ps. lx).

172. *David's empire.*—*a.* Trace his conquests geographically. *b.* Indicate the extent of his dominion at the beginning and at the close of them. *c.* The nature of his dominion over the Edomite, Moabite, Ammonite, and Aramaean regions (2 Sam. viii. 2, 6, 1 Chron. xviii. 2, 6). *d.* To what extent did these conquests probably place Israelitish residents within those regions (2 Sam. viii. 6, 1 Chron. xiii. 5)? *e.* The probable effect of these conquests on Israel, in such matters as luxury, architecture, art, literature, culture, etc.

173. *Organization of David's government.*—*a.* Note the duties of the several heads of departments (2 Sam. viii. 15-18, 1 Chron. xviii. 14-17). *b.* Some of David's sons were now grown men; how does this fit the dates you have obtained from the campaigns? *c.* How about the office held by David's sons? Does it indicate that he, at this time, knew and respected the pentateuchal laws?

174. *David's great sin.*—*a.* Date it (2 Sam. xi. 1, during the siege of Rabbah, see Qu. 171g. *b.* The season of the year (2 Sam. xi. 1, 11, 1 Chron. xx. 1)? *c.* Was the birth of Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 24–25 cf. 1 Chron. iii. 5) before the completion of the wars of conquest? or after? *d.* Was the rebuke of Nathan and the birth of the first child of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. xii. 1–23) before the capture of Rabbah? or after? *e.* Ps. li.

LECTURE XXII.

THE PERIOD OF REST IN DAVID'S REIGN. 2 Sam. vi, vii, ix.

175. *The date of the first attempt to bring the ark to Jerusalem.*—For this David gathered his officials from Hamath to Shihor of Egypt (1 Chron. xiii. 5). *a.* Was this before his wars of conquest? or after? *b.* Before his repentance for his sin in the matter of Uriah? or after? *c.* Was his carrying the ark on a cart of a piece with his making his sons priests (2 Sam. viii. 18)? and do the two belong to the same part of his reign?

176. *The attempt itself.*—The law required that the ark should be carried by rods on the shoulders of Levite priests. David, instead, attempted to bring it on a cart (2 Sam. vi. 1–11, 1 Chron. xiii). The death of Uzzah was an admonition to him and his people. They were right in attempting to restore the national worship of Yahweh, but it was their duty to take the trouble to learn how to do it correctly. Their failure to do this was disrespectful to God, and needed to be severely rebuked.

177. *The ark brought in.*—*a.* Carried by men, with sacrifices, music, and dancing (2 Sam. vi. 12–23, and more in detail in 1 Chron. xv, xvi). *b.* Placed in a tent in Jerusalem, and arrangements made for religious services before it (2 Sam. vi. 17–18, 1 Chron. xvi). *c.* Arrangements for other services, including morning and evening burnt offering, at Gibeon, near by

(1 Chron. xvi. 39-43). *d.* In connection with 1 Chron. xvi read Pss. cv, xcvi, cvi, cxxxii.

178. *The significance of this act.*—After four centuries of uncertain prosperity and unsettled institutions, the nation now at last has a fixed capital and a permanent religious centre. The “rest,” imperfectly given in Joshua’s time (Qu. 103) is now more fully given (see “Rest” in concordance). After the centuries during which the ark has moved from place to place, Yahweh has at last chosen a place to put his name there (Deut. xii. 10-11, 2 Chron. vi 4-6, 2 Sam. vii. 5-11, 1 Chron. xvii. 4-10, etc.).

179. *David’s spiritual history.*—(1) For the time before the death of Samuel, David is presented to us as spiritually sensitive, and as attaining to remarkable heights of moral excellence. During this time, many psalms are connected with his name. For the time following his repentance for his great sin, many psalms are also attributed to him, and great excellence of character, though he is hampered and sorrowful, by reason of the disabilities he has brought upon himself. In contrast with both is the time between the death of Samuel and the repentance of David. For this period he displays many public virtues, including a certain regard for God and religion, and none of his conduct is worse than that of other men of his time, similarly situated. But for this part of his life: *a.* No psalms are attributed to him. *b.* Nor any zeal for the national worship. *c.* Nor any especial religious excellence of any kind. *d.* Nor any adequate recognition of his debt of friendship to Jonathan. *e.* Nor, in short, any distinct marks of moral improvement, to balance the many marks of moral deterioration. (2) In the matter of David’s sin: *a.* Make a list of points in aggravation of its moral badness. *b.* A list of points in aggravation of its evil effect on David’s position. (3) A man of David’s insight and susceptibility cannot have been indifferent to these things. *a.* What is likely to have been his state of mind during the interval between his sin and God’s accepting his repentance? *b.* Is there any connection between this and his cruelties, just at this time, to the peoples he conquered?

(4) In the moral history of David as thus understood we have not a series of alternations from the loftiest heights to the lowest depths. We have him first on the heights ; then for more than twenty years he deteriorates ; then suddenly plunges to the lowest depths ; then repents, and from that time on remains faithful, though hindered by the burdens with which he has loaded himself.

180. *Mephibosheth*.—The incidents of 2 Sam. ix apparently occurred after the birth of Mephibosheth's son, and therefore after the wars of conquest. If the Ammiel of ix. 4, 5, is to be identified with Ammiel the father of Bathsheba (1 Chron. iii. 5), she and Mephibosheth had probably been playmates, and it may have been through her influence that David at last showed affection for the son of his old friend.

181. *The fate of the house of Saul*.—*a*. The statement that Michal had no son (2 Sam. vi. 23) is only a statement of fact, and not a statement that she was punished for her despising David. This historian regards the fact as important, both because he has set himself the task of telling what became of the house of Saul, and because the son of David's senior wife, had there been one, would have had strong claims to be David's successor. *b*. Notice the fate of the two sons of Rizpah and the five sons of Merab (2 Sam. xxi. 1-14, 1 Sam. xviii. 17-19). *c*. Date the three years of famine (2 Sam. xxi. 1). The stronger probabilities are those which favor a date a few years after the bringing up of the ark.

182. *The great promise*.—Study the details of it, as given in 2 Sam. vii and 1 Chron. xvii. *a*. Made to David when God had given him rest from all his enemies. *b*. Made in response to his wish to build a house for Yahweh. *c*. The promise is, centrally, that Yahweh will build David a house, that is, will give him a "seed," that is, a line of descendants, who shall reign eternally ; and this is irrevocable, even for their sins. *d*. This "seed" shall build the house for Yahweh. *e*. David evidently recognizes in the promise a distinguished renewal of the great covenant to Abraham and to Israel at the exodus. *f*. Read Pss. xviii and ii, noting how they celebrate David's victories in the light of this promise.

183. *Solomon born.*—After the giving of this promise, and therefore after the bringing up of the ark (1 Chron. xxii. 8–10). Named Solomon in view of his peaceful reign, and in view of the wider reign of peace of the “seed” of David; and Jedidiah, “beloved of Yahweh,” as being in the line of succession of the “seed” (2 Sam. xii. 24–25).

LECTURE XXIII.

LAST YEARS OF DAVID. 2 Sam. XIII–XXIV, 1 Chron. XXI–XXIX.

184. *Dated events.*—Assuming that the phrase “from an end of forty years” (2 Sam. xv. 7) designates the close of the fortieth year of David’s reign; assuming also that Josephus is correct (*Ant.* VII. ix. 1) in saying that “four years had elapsed since his father’s reconciliation to him”; enter the following as dated events: *a.* Absalom’s four conspicuous years. *b.* His two years of seclusion in Jerusalem (xiv. 28). *c.* His three years of banishment (xiii. 38). *d.* His two years of waiting for vengeance (xiii. 23).

185. *David suffering from retributive justice.*—In these successive events and those that followed, he is graphically represented as reaping the bad harvests from the bad seed he has sown in his polygamy, his politic deference to bad men, his lust and murder, his failure to punish crime, his neglect of spiritual duties.

186. *The temple-building policy.*—This seems to have been the controlling idea of the later years of David’s reign. *a.* Liturgical preparation for the service of the new temple: the cultivation of a magnificent worship at the tent in Jerusalem, and the highplace in Gibeon; musical training; the organization of priests, Levites, assistants, singers, gatekeepers, etc. (1 Chron. xv–xxix); the writing of sacred songs (e. g. Pss. cxxxii and xxx). *b.* The making of written plans (1 Chron. xxviii. 11–19). *c.* The providing of materials, by personal gifts and by solicitation from the principal Israelites (2 Sam.

viii. 10-12, 1 Chron. xxix, etc.). *d.* The providing of a building force, including foreign architects and levies of forced labor upon the Canaanitic peoples that remained in the land (in concordance see "Hiram," "Hiram," *mas*, translated "tribute"). *e.* The accession of Solomon, to the exclusion of his older brothers.

Inevitably, this policy must have provoked strong opposition. Ahithophel, identifying himself with Absalom, doubtless regarded himself as a true legitimist and conservative, opposing unwarranted innovations.

Apparently the six stories (Qu. 112c) were written in view of this situation, to foster the idea that the times when the judges ruled and every man did that which was right in his own eyes were not after all more satisfactory than the times now current.

187. *The thirty-ninth and fortieth years of David.*—We must regard 1 Chron. xxi. 28-xxii, xxiii-xxix. 22a as a series of papers connected with a definite event. In xxiii. 1, xxix. 22, etc., that event is said to be the making of Solomon king, when David was old, at a great public assembly of Israel. The included papers describe the ripening of the arrangements for that event, and date this (xxvi. 31) in the fortieth year of David. These maturing arrangements were affected by the breaking off of the census made by Joab (1 Chron. xxvii. 24, xxi, 2 Sam. xxiv). As this census was in progress for nine months and twenty days (2 Sam. xxiv. 8); it must have begun the previous year. We have therefore, the following cast of events: *a.* The census begun shortly before the middle of the 39th year, and broken off early in the 40th year. *b.* The three days of pestilence (2 Sam. xxiv. 13, 1 Chron. xxi. 12). *c.* The sacrifice at Ornan's threshing floor, wheat threshing season (1 Chron. xxi. 20). *d.* The floor chosen as the temple site (1 Chron. xxii. 1). *e.* Under the impetus of this, special activity throughout the year in preparation for the temple and the enthroning of Solomon. *f.* Of course, this stimulated the secret activity of the Absalom faction, and they were helped by the calamity of the pestilence. Doubtless the census was

also unpopular in itself, as possibly indicating that new burdens were to be imposed.

188. *The forty-first year of David.*—*a.* At the opening of the year the assembly and the enthroning of Solomon (1 Chron. xxiii-xxix. 22a). *b.* Directly after, the outbreak of Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xv. 7), before harvest (xvii. 19, 28). *c.* The course and the overthrow of the rebellion, and the bringing back of the king. *d.* Sheba's rebellion (2 Sam. xx. 1-22). *e.* The government (xx. 23-26) *f.* David's illness; the attempt of Adonijah, the legitimist party being reinforced by Joab and Abiathar; Solomon made king the second time (1 Ki. i, 1 Chron. xxix. 22b-30).

189. *Psalms of the forty-first year.*—*a.* How do Pss. iii, iv, vii, fit the time of Absalom's rebellion? *b.* How do Pss. xli, lv, xxxviii-xl fit the time of the affair of Adonijah?

190. *Joab.*—His character, his career, and his influence over David.

191. *Ahithophel.*—His character, career and motives.

192. *Absalom.*—His character and personal and public history.

193. *Abiathar.*—His position in the history.

194. *David.*—His life and times.

PART III.

PERIOD OF FIXED SANCTUARY—BUILDING TO BURNING OF TEMPLE.

LECTURE XXIV.

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

195. *Divisions of Part III.*—The subordinate periods may be named after the successive great empires with which Israel came in contact: the pre-Assyrian period, the early Assyrian,

the middle Assyrian, the late Assyrian, the Babylonian, and later the Persian.

196. *The pre-Assyrian period.*—It includes the reign of Solomon, and the dynasties of Jeroboam and Baasha of the northern kingdom, with the corresponding history of the southern kingdom. In this and the three following lectures we will consider, first, the dated events of Solomon's reign; second, other facts for his reign, and then the disruption that followed; third, the history for the time of the first two northern dynasties.

197. *Dated events in Solomon's reign.*—*a.* Fill out your column of the years of Solomon (1 Ki. xi. 42), and extend your column A. T. J. to the close of Solomon's reign. *b.* In the space to the right, enter, at the proper places, the following dated events: the first year of Solomon; the death of David and accession of Solomon; the founding and the completing of the temple (1 Ki. vi. 1, 37-38); beginning and completing of Solomon's house (1 Ki. vii. 1, ix. 10, 2 Chron. viii. 1); dedication of temple (1 Ki. viii. 2, 65, 2 Chron. v. 3, vii. 8-10); death of Shimei (ii. 39).

198. *Other events.*—On your left hand page enter the following events, with notes indicating the approximate dates: *a.* Death of Adonijah (1 Ki. ii. 12-25). *b.* Of Joab (28-34). *c.* Retirement of Abiathar and of Shimei (26-27, 35, 36-38). *d.* Solomon's dream (1 Ki. iii. 4-15, 2 Chron. i. 2-13). *e.* The two women (iii. 16-28, especially 28). *f.* Negotiations with Tyre and preparations for building (1 Ki. v, 2 Chron. ii). *g.* Solomon's second vision (1 Ki. ix. 1-9, 2 Chron. vii. 12-22). *h.* Marrying Pharaoh's daughter, and other foreign wives (1 Ki. iii. 1, vii. 8, ix. 16, 24, xi. 1-10, 2 Chron. viii. 11). *i.* Visit of the queen of Sheba (1 Ki. x. 1-13).

199. *Solomon's marriages and family.*—*a.* Pharaoh's daughter (Qu. 198h). *b.* Other non-Israelite wives (1 Ki. xi. 1-2). *c.* Especially Rehoboam's mother (1 Ki. xiv. 21, 31, xi. 1, 5, 2 Chron. xii. 13). *d.* Many wives in all (xi. 3). *e.* His daughters (1 Ki. iv. 11, 15). *f.* His purpose in polygamy was doubtless to strengthen his kingdom by a display of magnificence, and by ties of affinity; what was the actual result?

200. *Age of Solomon at his accession.*—Fourteen years, says Josephus; twelve years, says the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint, and common Jewish tradition. “Little child” (1 Ki. iii. 7). “Hath made to me a house” (1 Ki. ii. 24), coupled with the statements as to the age of Rehoboam (1 Ki. xi. 42, xiv. 21, 2 Chron. ix. 30, xii. 13) may indicate that Rehoboam was born not later than the first year of Solomon’s reign. But see Qu. 221c.

201. *Solomon’s reign.*—Sketch it externally, guiding your sketch by the events referred to in the preceding numbers.

LECTURE XXV.

QUESTIONS TOUCHING THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

202. *Extent of his dominions.*—*a.* Locate the frontiers on a map (1 Ki. iv. 21, 24; 2 Chron. ix. 26). *b.* Compare Gen. xv. 18, Josh. i. 4, etc.; also the actual extent of the conquests under Joshua.

203. *His commissary districts.*—*a.* Twelve officers and one officer in chief (1 Ki. iv, especially 5a, 19b). *b.* Specifications as to their duties (iv. 7, 22–23, 27–28). *c.* Locate their twelve districts on the map (iv. 7–19).

204. *Three kinds of subjects.*—*a.* Israelites, from Dan to Beer-sheba (1 Ki. iv. 25, Qu. 203, 2 Sam. xvii. 11, xxiv. 2, 7, 15). *b.* Subject nations, paying tribute (1 Chron. xiii. 5, 1 Ki. iv. 21, 24, 2 Chron. ix. 26, cf. 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6 and 1 Ki. ii. 39, xi. 14–25). *c.* Canaanitic inhabitants performing *mas* (1 Ki. ix. 15, 20–22, 2 Chron. viii. 7–10, ii. 2, 17, 18, 1 Ki. v. 13–18).

205. *The mas.*—It was arranged for by David (2 Chron. ii. 17, 1 Chron. xxii. 2, 15). It had existed earlier (Josh. xvi. 10, xvii. 13, Jud. i. 28, 30, 33, 35, cf. Deut. xx. 11 and Josh. ix. 21, 27, etc.). It was like the service of Israel in Egypt (Ex. i. 11 cf. Gen. xlix. 15). From the latter part of David’s reign, it was a governmental department (2 Sam. xx. 24 [not viii. 16–18], 1 Ki. iv. 6, xii. 18, 2 Chron. x. 18).

206. *Prosperity*.—*a*. Positive statements (1 Ki. iv. 20, 25, x. 27; 2 Chron. ix. 27, i. 15). *b*. Limiting facts (1 Ki. xi. 9, 2-8, 9-40, xii. 4, ix. 16).

207. *Commerce*.—*a*. Traders in general (1 Ki. x. 15, 2 Chron. ix. 14). *b*. Horse and chariot trade (1 Ki. x. 28, 29, 2 Chron. i. 16-17, ix. 28). *c*. Trade with Phœnicia for building materials and skilled labor (1 Ki. v. 6, 8-12, ix. 11-14, 2 Chron. ii. 7-16, viii. 2). *d*. Voyages (1 Ki. ix. 26-28, x. 11, 12, 22, 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18, ix. 10, 11, 21). The probable course of Solomon's Tarshish ships? *e*. Probable overland trade—Tadmor (1 Ki. ix. 18, 2 Chron. viii. 4).

208. *Solomon's revenues*.—*a*. Very large (1 Ki. x. 14, 2 Chron. ix. 13). *b*. Four kinds of tribute: first, Qu. 204b; second, compliments to his wisdom (1 Ki. x. 23-25, 2 Chron. ix. 22-24, e. g. 1 Ki. x. 1-10, 13, 2 Chron. ix. 1-12); third and fourth, "the kings of the mixed peoples, and the pashas of the land" (1 Ki. x. 15, 2 Chron. ix. 14b). *c*. The commissary levies (iv. 7-28). *d*. The *mas* (Qu. 205). *e*. Commerce (Qu. 207).

209. *Solomon's building operations*.—The temple, the king's house, the house of Pharaoh's daughter, the house of the forest of Lebanon, Tadmor in the desert, Millo, Gezer, other cities, fortifications, etc. (concordance).

210. *The arts of civilization*.—*a*. In regard to the condition of architecture, decorative art, music, learning, literature, etc., what is to be inferred from the accounts of the edifices and cities built by Solomon? *b*. From the fine woodwork and musical instruments (1 Ki. x. 12, 2 Chron. ix. 11), the targets and shields (1 Ki. x. 16-17, 2 Chron. ix. 15-16), the ivory throne (1 Ki. x. 18-20, 2 Chron. ix. 17-19), the gold drinking vessels (1 Ki. x. 21, 2 Chron. ix. 20) and other like details? *c*. What from the elegance of his household and court, as seen by the queen of Sheba? *d*. What from the services at the dedication of the temple? *e*. What from the accounts given of Solomon's wisdom (Qu. 211)?

211. *Solomon's wisdom*.—*a*. Great and widely appreciated (1 Ki. x. 23-24, xi. 41, v. 7, 12, 2 Chron. ix. 22-23, Neh. xiii.

26). *b.* Included literary and scientific culture and learning (1 Ki. iv. 29-34). *c.* And mental acuteness, evinced in dealing with hard questions (1 Ki. x. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 2 Chron. ix. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7). *d.* And practical shrewdness in affairs (1 Ki. iii. 9, 11, 12, 28, ii. 6, 9, 2 Chron. i. 10-12.) *e.* And much of moral and spiritual purpose (*ibid.*). *f.* But so far falling short of the highest wisdom, that Solomon was practically a failure. (1 Ki. xi. 3-9, Neh. xiii. 26, etc).

212. *Organization of the public service.*—*a.* “Servant” is used for citizens of all grades, from cabinet minister to private person (e. g. 1 Ki. x. 5, 8, v. 9 [23]). *b.* “Head” is used similarly (1 Ki. viii. 1, 2 Chron. v. 2, i. 2). *c.* The terms *nasi* (prince), *shoter* (officer), and judge and elder (2 Chron. i. 2, v. 2, 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29, xxvi. 1, 2 Chron. v. 2, 4, 1 Ki. viii. 1, 3). *d.* Two classes of “superintendents,” *n’tsibhim*, *nitsabhim*, *m’nats’him*: first, commissary superintendents (1 Ki. iv. 5, 7, 19, 27 [v. 7]); second, superintendents of forced labor (1 Ki. v. 16 [30], ix. 23, 2 Chron. viii. 10, ii. 2, 18 [1, 17]). *e.* Captains, *sarim*, of the ordinary varieties, the captain of the host, captains of thousands, hundreds, etc., captains of warriors, of chariots, of the bodies of men engaged in the temple service. etc. *f.* Two special kinds of *sarim*: first, the superintendents of forced labor (1 Ki. v. 16 [30], ix. 23, 2 Chron. viii. 10); second, heads of departments (1 Ki. iv. 2-6), including departments of record, of war, of worship, the commissary department, that of the household, and that of forced labor.

LECTURE XXVI.

QUESTIONS TOUCHING SOLOMON’S REIGN, CONTINUED.

213. *Numerical discrepancies.*—*a.* 1,400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen (1 Ki. x. 26, 2 Chron. i. 14); compare “40,000 *uroth* of horses for his chariots” (1 Ki. iv. 26 [v. 6]), and “4,000 *uryoth* of horses and chariots” (2 Chron. ix. 25), the 12,000 horsemen being mentioned in all four places. *b.* 250

superintending captains (2 Chron. viii. 10), and 550 (1 Ki. ix. 23), and 3,300 (1 Ki. v. 16 [30]), 3,600 leaders (2 Chron. ii. 2, 18 [1, 17]). *c.* 420 talents (1 Ki. ix. 28), and 450 (2 Chron. viii. 18).

214. *The national worship.*—*a.* Where was the ark, before and after the dedication of the temple (2 Sam. vi. 17, 2 Chron. i. 4, etc., 1 Ki. viii. 1–9, 22, etc.)? *b.* Same question as to the tent that Moses made, and its altar and furniture (2 Chron. i. 3, 5–6, 13, 1 Chron. xvi. 39, vi. 32, ix. 19, 21, 23, xxiii. 32, 2 Chron. v. 5, 1 Ki. iii. 4–5, ix. 2, etc., ii. 28, 29, 30, i. 39)? *c.* The high-place worship before and after the building of the temple (1 Ki. iii. 2, 3, 4, 1 Chron. xvi. 39, xxi. 29, 2 Chron. i. 3, 13, 1 Ki. xi. 7–8)? *d.* The three great feasts (1 Ki. ix. 25, viii. 2, 65, 66, 2 Chron. viii. 12–16, vii. 8–10)? *e.* Is there pentateuchal authority for the temple music and song, its gatekeepers, the public prayer at the dedication, etc.?

215. *Additional legal questions.*—*a.* Solomon's horses and Deut. xvii. 16? *b.* The cities of refuge and the cases of Adonijah and Joab in 1 Ki. ii, cf. Ex. xxi. 14?

216. *Prophets in the time of Solomon.*—Nathan, Solomon, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, Ethan, Shemaiah, Ahijah, Jedo, wrongly spelled Iddo (concordance).

217. *Scriptures.*—How are the following, in their production and contents, related to the times of Solomon: the hexateuch; Judges, Ruth and Samuel (1 Chron. xxix. 29); Proverbs; Job; Canticles; Ecclesiastes; certain of the Psalms?

218. *Messianic ideas.*—*a.* The temple for mankind, and not for Israel only (1 Ki. viii. 41–43). *b.* The eternal throne of David (1 Ki. ii. 45, 33, viii. 25). *c.* The temple building is constantly connected with the great promise to David (1 Ki. v. 3–5 [16–18], viii. 15–21, 24–26, etc., cf. 2 Sam. vii).

219. *Elements of disintegration.*—*a.* Religious defection (1 Ki. xi. 1–13). *b.* Hadad (14–22). *c.* Rezon (23–25). *d.* Jeroboam (26–40).

220. *The disruption.*—*a.* Sketch it (1 Ki. xii. 1–24, 2 Chron. x. 1–xi. 4). *b.* Additional particulars from the addition to the Septuagint at 1 Ki. xii. 24.

221. *Certain time elements in the disruption.*—*a.* The addition to 1 Ki. xii says that Jeroboam married in Egypt after the death of Solomon, and remained there till after the birth of his son; whether one year or many years it does not say. *b.* The breaking up of such an empire may have taken place suddenly, or may have occupied considerable time. *c.* If Rehoboam was 41 years old at his accession (2 Chron. xii. 13, 1 Ki. xiv. 21), then his extreme youthfulness (1 Ki. xii. 6-14, 2 Chron. xiii. 7) was the youthfulness of inexperience, and not of years. The discrepancy cannot be remedied by amending the text, and making the numeral less than 41, for that will render several of the numerals for the succeeding kings absurd. The addition to the Septuagint says that Rehoboam was 16 at his accession. The hypothesis that he was 16 at the death of Solomon, and 41 when the separation became an accomplished fact, is worthy of careful consideration. But on the whole the evidence is against this hypothesis.

LECTURE XXVII.

DYNASTIES OF JEROBOAM AND BAASHA.

222. *A new block of the chronology.*—Leaving one full page blank, enter at the head of your middle column the letters A. Di. (Anno Discidii, the year of the Disruption), and fill the column for four pages. Review Qus. 17, 18, 19.

223. *Regnal years.*—*a.* Write in the column to the left the years of Jeroboam (1 Ki. xiv. 20). *b.* In the column to the right the years of Rehoboam (xiv. 21). *c.* The years of Abijam, making his first year correspond to the eighteenth year of Jeroboam (xv. 1-2). *d.* The years of Asa, making his first year begin at the close of the twentieth year of Jeroboam (xv. 10, 9). *e.* In the column to the left the years of Nadab, making his first correspond to the second of Asa (xv. 25). *f.* The years of Baasha, his first being the third of Asa (xv. 33). *g.* The years of Elah, his first being the twenty-sixth of Asa (xvi. 8, 10).

224. *Other dated events.*—*a.* Apostacy of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 17, xii. 1). *b.* Invasion by Shishak (1 Ki. xiv. 25, 2 Chron. xii. 2). *c.* Ten years of quiet (2 Chron. xiv. 1 [xiii. 23]). *d.* Great religious gathering (xv. 10). *e.* Final defeat of Zerah (xiv. 15, xv. 10–11). *f.* The invasion by Zerah (xiv. 9). *g.* War with Baasha (xv. 19, xvi. 1, assuming that these count from the accession of Rehoboam.

225. *Variant dates.*—*a.* Perhaps the two last mentioned. *b.* The Sept. (Vat. copy) dates the accession of Asa the twenty fourth year of Jeroboam.

226. *Sketch the history for this period.*—*a.* Events common to the two kingdoms. *b.* Separate events in the northern kingdom. *c.* In the southern.

227. *Jeroboam's religion.*—*a.* It was worship of Yahweh, whether of other gods or not. *b.* The accounts represent it as wrong: first, because it was idolatrous; second, because its priesthood was non-levitical (2 Chron. xiii. 9, 10, 1 Ki. xii. 31); third, because its priesthood was unworthy (1 Ki. xiii. 33); fourth, because its sacred year and its details of worship differed from those which Yahweh had prescribed (1 Ki. xii. 32, 33, 2 Chron. xiii. 9–11); fifth, because its sanctuaries were high places, and not the one national sanctuary (1 Ki. xii. 26–27, 31, etc.). *c.* The accounts represent that the proper course for the northern Israelites was to worship at Jerusalem (1 Ki. xii. 27, xiii. 1–4, xv. 17, 2 Chron. xi. 13–17, etc.), though, in the circumstances, Yahweh might accept sacrifices offered elsewhere.

228. *Religion in the southern kingdom.*—The accounts represent that Judah had the national sanctuary, the law, and the elaborate public service, and ought to have been faithful, but was far from it (2 Chron. xiii. 4–12, etc.).

229. *Prophets.*—*a.* Shemaiah, Ahijah, Jedo (2 Chron. ix. 29, 1 Ki. xiii, Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ix), Oded, Azariah, Hanani, Jehu. Make a sketch of each. *b.* Had these any hand in writing our scriptures?

LECTURE XXVIII.

THE EARLY ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

230. *Its duration.*—The time when Shalmaneser II of Assyria and his next successors came into contact with Israel. It covers the dynasties of Omri and of Jehu. See histories of Assyria, and articles on “the Black Obelisk.” For accounts of inscriptions, etc., see my notes in Butler’s *Bible Work* VII, p. 44 sq., and *Old and New Testament Student*, Sept. 1885, p. 25 sq., Jan. 1888, p. 154 sq.

231. *The principal sources for oriental chronology.*—The list is taken with slight changes from Butler’s *Bible Work* VII, p. 43. *a.* The biblical numerals. *b.* The history contained in the bible, often throwing light on the numerals. *c.* The Assyrian Eponym Canon, a list of officers, one officer for every year, containing, in the imperfect copies now known, about 265 names, in a series backward from B. C. 647. The existing copies date, perhaps, from a time before the downfall of Assyria. There are some slight discrepancies, but the canon is in a high degree trustworthy. Some copies have historical notes appended, and these are not always confirmed by the other Assyrian records. Translations may be found in Smith’s *Assyrian Canon*, in *Records of the Past*, new series I, in Schrader II, in the *Assyrische Lesestücke* of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, and in other works. *d.* Assyrian records, variously throwing light on the canon. Among these are annals of Shalmaneser II, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhad-don, Assur-bani-pal, and other kings, giving dated accounts of their exploits, year by year; and other accounts less well dated, of Tiglath-pileser III and others. *e.* Ancient Babylonian documents, especially what may be called, in a general way, the *Babylonian Chronicles*, written in the Persian period or earlier, including lists of kings, with the years they reigned, other lists with dated records of exploits in the reign of each king, and the so-called “synchronous history” of Babylonia and Assyria. These documents carry the chronology back to

a very early date, but they are so marred at various places as to break up the continuity of it. Translations may be found in the new series of the *Records of the Past*, vols. I, IV, V. *f.* The Canon of Ptolemy, a list of Grecian, Persian and Babylonian kings, with the years of their reigns, back to 747 B. C. Made after Christ by an Alexandrian astronomer, and undervalued in the Ussher chronology, but now certainly known to be correct. The part of it that belongs to the Assyrian and Babylonian periods may be found in Smith's *Canon* and in *Records of the Past*, new series, I. *g.* Calculated eclipses, especially an eclipse of the sun B. C. 763, the tenth year of Assur-daan, king of Assyria. *h.* Certain "long numbers." See notes in Butler on A. Di. 241, 265, 361, 390, 396.

232. *Literature.*—The various popular books, however excellent, are of little use for our purposes. We need to go nearer the original sources. The following are accessible, and constitute a fairly good working library :

Records of the Past, old series, twelve small volumes, Samuel Bagster & Sons, London. *Records of the Past*, new series, six small volumes, same publishers. George Smith *Assyrian Canon*. George Smith *Assyrian Discoveries*. Schrader *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. A set of the *Transactions* and a set of the *Proceedings* of *The Society of Biblical Archaeology*. A large amount of additional material is to be found in volumes and in journals of learned societies and in other periodicals. See also McCurdy *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, I, pp. xxiii, xxiv, and the lists in the articles in encyclopædias. Also Lect. XXXVI.

LECTURE XXIX.

THE DYNASTY OF OMRI.

233. *Regnal years.*—*a.* Enter the years of Omri, making his twelfth year correspond to the 38th of Asa (1 Ki. xvi. 23, 29). *b.* The years of Ahab, making his first correspond to the 38th of Asa (*ibid.*). *c.* The years of Jehoshaphat, making his first begin at the close of the fourth of Ahab (xxii 41–42). *d.* Of Ahaziah of Israel, making his first year the same with the 17th of Jehoshaphat (xxii. 51). *e.* Of Jehoram of Israel, making his first year the same with the 18th of Jehoshaphat (2 Ki. iii. 1). *f.* Of Jehoram of Judah, his first year being the same

with the fifth of Jehoram of Israel (2 Ki. viii. 16). *g.* Enter Ahaziah of Judah, his year being the twelfth of Jehoram of Israel (2 Ki. viii. 25). beginning at the close of the eleventh of Jehoram (ix. 29, cf. 2 Chron. xxi. 19, Hebrew.)

234. *Coreigns and variants.*—*a.* Ahaziah of Israel was coregnant with Ahab, reigning alone but a few weeks or a few months ; and Jehoram of Judah was four years coregnant with Jehoshaphat. *b.* According to 2 Ki. i. 17, Jehoram of Judah had a previous coregnancy with Jehoshaphat, corresponding in time with Ahaziah's reign, and ceasing, apparently, with the death of Ahab, and the beginning of Jehoshaphat's reformation (2 Chron. xix). Enter these two years, provisionally, in colored ink, and notice how they fit the facts in the case. *c.* In your columns, the first of Omri's 12 years is the 27th of Asa. But his reign is said to have begun the 31st of Asa (1 Ki. xvi. 23). Josephus says, the 30th of Asa. It is natural to think that this indicates the first year of his accession after the death of Tibni (1 Ki. xvi. 21-22). Therefore, in colored ink, note, provisionally, four years for Tibni as Omri's rival. *d.* Some copies of the Septuagint (1 Ki. xvi. 28) make Jehoshaphat begin the 14th of Omri, and Ahab the second of Jehoshaphat. Enter this in colored ink, as a coreign of Asa and Jehoshaphat.

235. *Additional dated events.*—*a.* Birth of Jehoshaphat (1 Ki. xxii. 41-42). *b.* Of Jehoram of Judah (2 Ki. viii. 16-17.) *c.* Of Ahaziah of Judah (2 Ki. viii. 25-26, ix. 29). *d.* Marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah (2 Chron. xviii. 1 cf. 1 Ki. xxii, 2 Chron. xxii. 1, 2, xxi. 6, 2 Ki. viii. 18, 25-26, etc.) *e.* Of Ahab and Jezebel (1 Ki. xvi. 31). *f.* The forming of the alliance with Tyre. *g.* The conquest of Moab. The Moabite stone says that Omri and his dynasty oppressed Moab 40 years (2 Ki. i. 1). *h.* Founding of Samaria (1 Ki. xvi. 23-24). *i.* Asa's disease (1 Ki. xv. 23, 2 Chron. xvi. 12). *j.* Jehoshaphat's teaching mission (2 Chron. xvii. 7-9). *k.* Second defeat of Benhadad (1 Ki. xx. 22-43, xxii. 1-2), and 3 years of peace. *l.* First defeat of Benhadad (1 Ki. xx. 1-22). *m.* Revolt of Mesha (2 Ki. i. 1). *n.* Jehoshaphat's judging mission

(2 Chron. xix). *o.* Great invasion (2 Chron. xx and perhaps Ps. lxxxiii). *p.* Defeat of Mesha (2 Ki. iii). *q.* Revolts and disturbances (2 Ki. viii. 20-22, vi, vii, 2 Chron. xxi. 8-xxii. 1). Moab independent (Moabite stone).

LECTURE XXX.

DYNASTY OF OMRI, CONTINUED.

236. *Assyrian synchronisms.*—Shalmaneser says that in his sixth year he defeated Benhadad and Ahab, and in his 18th year he defeated Hazael, and received tribute from Jehu. In your second left hand column set down the 18th year of Shalmaneser opposite the 12th year of Jehoram of Israel (the accession year of Jehu), and fill the column backward with the years of Shalmaneser, the 25 years of his predecessor, Assurnazir-pal (the king of our slab), the six years of Tiglath-uras II, the 22 years of Rimman-nirari II. Add expeditions to Palestine in the 1st, 6th, 10th, 11th, and 14th years of Shalmaneser. Read his inscriptions in *Records of the Past*, old series. vols. III and V, and the extracts in Smith's *Assyr. Canon* or in Schrader.

237. *The mode of resistance to Assyria.*—*a.* Hegemony under Benhadad. *b.* Thirty-two kings (1 Ki. xx. 1, 24); kings of the Hittites, etc. (2 Ki. vii. 6). *c.* Subordination versus subjection (1 Ki. xx. 2-9). *d.* Naaman, and the fact that Shalmaneser had to annihilate this confederacy several times. *e.* Note the dates given by Shalmaneser, and the answering dates of peace, war, or revolt, in the biblical history.

238. *Baal in Israel.*—*a.* Ahaziah, Athaliah, Jehoram, were all named for Yahweh. *b.* The attempt to destroy the worship of Yahweh in favor of that of Baal cannot have begun before the marriage of Athaliah to the prince of Judah; and it ended before the Syrian wars. Enter the 3 years of 1 Ki. xviii. 1, James v. 17. *c.* There is no reason to think that the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah was at the time displeasing

to the adherents of Yahweh in the two kingdoms; and no strong reason against the theory that Ps. xlv was written on that occasion. *d.* There arose a strong Baalite party in the southern kingdom, with Jehoram and Athaliah at its head. *e.* Will this and the Assyrian invasions account for the temporary coreign of Qu. 234b, supposing that coreign to be a fact?

239. *The prophets.*—*a.* Jehu, Jahaziel, Eliezer, Micaiah, Elijah, Elisha, the sons of the prophets, prophets by the hundred. *b.* Elisha was active, and promised the Shunamite's son, before the persecutions began (2 Ki. viii. 1-3 cf. iv. 13, 18). Enter this promise and the seven years of famine, among the dated events. *c.* The career of Elisha as a miracle worker. *d.* The careers of Elijah and Elisha as political leaders. *e.* The slaughter at Carmel (1 Ki. xviii), and the tearing of the boys, and the fire from heaven (2 Ki. i, ii. 24) are to be judged by the ethics of war:

240. *The external history.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XXXI.

THE DYNASTY OF JEHU.

241. *To classes beginning with this Lecture.*

Read Lectures I, II and III of this syllabus, attending especially to Qus. 15a, 17, 18, 19, and the description of the method in Qu. 21.

Have a book, ruled as required in Qu. 21. If you use a book of 240 pages, begin the work for Lecture XXXI about page 145, so as to leave room for the earlier parts of the history in their order.

Write "A. Di." at the head of your middle narrow column (Qu. 222). Write in that column the numbers 76, 77, etc., twenty-five lines on a page, representing the years from the disruption, till you have reached the limit of 225 years, as required in Qu. 242a.

In the next column to the left are to be written the numbers that indicate the years of the kings of northern Israel. In that column write "Jehu" opposite the number 90 of the column A. Di., and fill the column with the years of Jehu, as directed in Qu. 243a, making his first year correspond with the year 91 A. Di.

The column next to the left is for the years of the kings of Assyria. At the head of it write "Shalmaneser II." Making his fourth year correspond with the year 76 A. Di., fill the column as required in Qu. 242b. In regard to the Assyrian chronology see Lecture XXVIII and Qu. 282.

The column to the right of the column A. Di. is for the years of the kings of Judah. Enter the years of Athaliah according to Qu. 243b and its biblical reference, and then the other kings of Judah and Israel, in their places, as directed in Qu. 243 *c* to *l*.

In this work, follow where your numbers lead, as a surveyor in plotting a tract would follow the numbers in his field-notes. Ordinarily, the first year of a king follows the last year of his predecessor, but the numbers may indicate that the two overlap, or that there was an interval between them.

Write the biblical references of Qu. 243 and the Israelitish events of Qu. 245 in their proper chronological places in the broad column to the right. Do the same with the Assyrian and other foreign events in the broad column to the left. Use the left hand page for notes. In cases in which the broad columns do not afford sufficient space for the list of events, write these on the left hand page, and make references to them in the column of events.

This is the region of the chronology where the possibilities of variation and the actual differences of opinion are greatest. We shall best get at the merits of the differences of opinion if we begin by formulating the statements afforded by the biblical numbers, taken at their face value, and consider the different views later. In cases where variant interpretations of the numbers are possible, follow, for the sake of our keeping together in our work, the directions given in the syllabus, re-

serving, however, your right to prefer other interpretations if they seem to you the more tenable.

242. *Chronological standard.*—*a.* Extend your column A. Di. to 225 years. *b.* In the Assyrian column complete the 35 years of Shalmaneser II, and enter the 13 years of Samas-rimman, and the 29 of Rimman-nirari III (see Smith's *Assyr. Canon*).

243. *Regnal events.*—*a.* Enter the years of Jehu, his first year being 91 A. Di. (2 Ki. x. 36). *b.* Of Athaliah, her first being the first of Jehu (xi. 3). *c.* Of Jehoash of Judah, his first being the 7th of Jehu (xii. 1). *d.* Of Jehoahaz, his first being the 23rd of Jehoash (xiii. 1). *e.* The coreign of Jehoash of Israel, 37th year of Jehoash of Judah (xiii. 10). *f.* The years of Jehoash, following the 17 of Jehoahaz. *g.* Of Amaziah, his first being the second of Jehoash (xiv. 1-2). *h.* Of Jeroboam II, his first being the 15th of Amaziah (xiv. 23). *i.* Of Uzziah, his first being the 27th of Jeroboam (xv. 1-2). *j.* The six months of Zechariah, in the 38th year of Uzziah (xv. 8). *k.* The 30 days of Shallum, in the 39th year of Uzziah (xv. 13). *l.* The years of Menahem, his first beginning at the close of the 39th year of Uzziah (xv. 17).

244. *Variants.*—The apparent contradictions with the Assyrian chronology will be considered later. The Ussher chronology gets rid of the interregnum between Amaziah and Uzziah by pushing back the accession of Jeroboam II eleven years, making him for that time coregnant with his father.

245. *Other dated events.*—*a.* Overthrow of the dynasty of Omri; sketch it in detail. *b.* Shalmaneser, 21st year, conquers Hazael again. *c.* Samas-rimman, first year, subdues a great revolt. *d.* Second and third years, Assyrians at the Mediterranean. *e.* Temple repairs pushed (2 Ki. xii. 6). *f.* About the 17th of Jehoahaz, Hazael reduces Israel low, takes Gath, attacks Jerusalem (2 Ki. xiii. 1-9, xii. 17-18, 2 Chron. xxiv. 23-25). *g.* Rimman-nirari's expedition to Manzuat, near the plain of Jezreel (*Assyr. Canon*), his 15th year. This was probably the expedition when he took tribute from all the region, and crushed Mariha of Damascus (*Canon*, p. 115, Mc-

Curdy I, p. 298). *h.* Jehoash beats Benhadad (2 Ki. xiii. 24-25). *i.* Amaziah beats Edom (2 Ki. xiv. 7, 2 Chron. xxv. 5-16). *j.* Jehoash captures Jerusalem (2 Ki. xiv. 8-14, 2 Chron. xxv. 17-24). *k.* The prosperity under Jeroboam and Uzziah (2 Ki. xiv. 21-xv. 7, 2 Chron. xxvi). *l.* Birth of Amaziah (2 Ki. xiv. 2). *m.* Birth of Uzziah (xv. 1-2).

246. *External history.*—*a.* Two generations of subjection, humiliation, and misfortunes to the northern kingdom (see references above, and 2 Ki. x. 32, xiii. 20, and Moabite stone). and in a less degree, to the southern. *b.* Large prosperity in the times of Jeroboam and Uzziah. *c.* Sketch the events.

247. *Nature of the prosperous situation.*—*a.* Not one of hostility between the two kingdoms. *b.* Not procured by tribute to Assyria. *c.* Made possible by a temporary failure of the power of Assyria, after Assyria had broken Damascus. *d.* The extensive dominion of Jeroboam was little more than a headship over confederated peoples. *e.* To this Uzziah presumably succeeded after the death of Jeroboam.

248. *Prophets.*—Zechariah son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 20). Joel (Qu. 245 f). Obadiah (Qu. 245 i).

LECTURE XXXII.

THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

249. *Its duration.*—It includes the time when Tiglath-pileser III and his next predecessors and his successor, Shalmaneser IV, were in relations with Palestine.

250. *Regnal years.*—*a.* Extend your column of years A. Di. to 400. *b.* Enter the years of Pekahiah, his first being the 50th of Uzziah (2 Ki. xv. 23). *c.* The years of Pekah, his first being the 52nd of Uzziah (xv. 27). *d.* The years of Jotham, his first being the second of Pekah (xv. 32-33). *e.* The years of Ahaz, his first beginning at the close of the 17th of Pekah (xvi. 1-2). *f.* Of Hoshea, his first year beginning at the close of the 12th of Ahaz (xvii. 1). *g.* Of Hezekiah, his

first beginning at the close of the 3rd of Hoshea (xviii. 1-2, 9, 10). *h* Of Manasseh (xxi. 1). *i*. Of Amon (xxi. 19), his first year following the last of Manasseh. *j*. Of Josiah (xxii. 1), his first year being the second of Amon. *k*. Of Jehoiakim (xxiii. 36).

251. *The Canon of Ptolemy.*—*a*. Look it up in books of reference, those mentioned in Qu. 231 or others. *b*. Rule an additional column to the left, and head it C. of Pt. *c*. Enter the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, to correspond with the 4th of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxv. 1, Jos. *Ant.* X. vi. 1). *d*. Backward from this enter Nabopolassar 21 years, Isiniladanus 22, Saosduchinus 20, Esar-haddon 13, interregnum 8, Mesesmordakus 4, Iregibelus 1, Apronadisus 6, Belibus 3, interregnum 2, Sargon 5, Merodach-baladan 12, Ilulæus 5, Porus 5, Nabius 2, Nabonassar 14.

252. *Assyrian synchronisms.*—In your Assyrian column enter the 13 years of Esar-haddon parallel to those in the canon of Ptolemy, and backward from this Sennacherib 24 years, Sargon 17, Shalmaneser IV 5, Tiglath-pileser III 18, Assurnirari II 10, Assur-daan III 18. Shalmaneser III 10.

From A. Di. 276 you no longer need your column for Israel, and can use it for one of these other lists.

253.—*Years of the Christian era.*—The first year of Nebuchadnezzar was 604 B. C. Enter this in your second right hand column, marking that column B. C., and fill the column back through the reign of Assur-daan.

254. *An eclipse.*—The Assyrian records mention an eclipse of the sun the tenth year of Assur-daan. Calculations show that it occurred June 15, 763 B. C.

255. *A verified chronology.*—The lists are thus positively verified, back to the accession of Assur-daan, 772 B. C. They are further verified by many synchronisms of dated events, back to the times of Manasseh. Over the events back of 700 B. C. there is much dispute. If the Assyrian eponym list is continuous, it assigns half a century less to these events than is apparently assigned to them in the bible. Many hold that it is certainly continuous, and that the biblical numerals are

to be rejected by the wholesale. But the continuity of the Assyrian canon for the period directly before Assur-daan is not vouched for by astronomical or historical facts, as in the case of the later dates ; though it is assumed in certain records of the times of the later Assyrian kings. There are probably but three alternatives that need to be considered. Either the Assyrian state writers deliberately omitted a period of 51 years, perhaps because the events were discreditable to Assyria ; or, secondly, the biblical numerals overlap one another ; or, third, the biblical accounts are untrustworthy. The third of these alternatives is actually held by many who would object to having it squarely attributed to them. For creditable attempts to work out the second, see the article "Chronology" in the new Bible Dictionary of Dr. Davis, and the article by the Rev. L. F. Badger in the *Old Testament Student* for June, 1886. See Qu. 282.

LECTURE XXXIII.

THE TIMES OF UZZIAH.

256. *Prophecies of Jeroboam's time.*—*a.* Jonah, presenting a historical situation in which Nineveh, the capital city of Assyria, barely escapes utter overthrow. *b.* Amos, representing Israel as wealthy and prosperous, but in unappreciated danger from Assyria ; rebuking greed, public corruption, and the separate sanctuaries of northern Israel, as well as of Judah. In the matter of accumulated wealth (cf. 2 Ki. xv. 19-20), the situation requires all the time assigned by the bible for the reign of Jeroboam. *c.* Hosea i-ii. Like Amos, but with the perfectly specific proposal that Yahweh's discarded wife, Israel, shall now return to him, by the union of the two kingdoms under a Davidic king (see especially i. 11).

257. *Prophecies of the interregnum ?*—*a.* Hos. iii-v. 7, proposing that Israel shall remain "many days" "without king" and without national worship, and afterwards return "and seek

Yahweh their God and David their king." *b.* Hos. v. 8-viii, several prophecies, urging this return to Yahweh, and denouncing the Israelites because, instead of this, they engage in intrigues with Egypt and Assyria, especially with a certain king Jareb.

258. *The military greatness of Uzziah.*—This cannot well be accounted for except on the theory that he was at the head of a confederacy (2 Chron. xxvi).

259. *Assyrian testimony.*—The first Palestinian note since the time when Rimman-nirari was taking tribute from all this region (Qu. 245g and Schrader I. 206), is found in two much mutilated inscriptions which are ascribed to Tiglath-pileser III, though they do not contain his name, and present a situation different from any in his authenticated inscriptions (W. A. I. vol. III, p. 9, nos. 2, 3, *Smith Assy. Discov.*, pp. 275-281, *Assyr. Canon*, pp. 117-120, *Records of the Past*, old series, V. 45 sq., Schrader under 2 Ki. xv, etc.). These speak of certain districts of Hamath and the Lebanon country as having turned in revolt to Azariah king of Judah. Apparently, also, they speak of a great victory gained over the forces of Azariah. They speak of tribute taken from eighteen peoples, including Tyre, Gebal, Menahem of Samaria, Damascus Syria. This indicates: *a.* That there had been a period of Assyrian weakness, during which her Palestinian dependencies had fallen away. *b.* That Uzziah was actually at the head of a confederacy. *c.* That there were certain great events, not mentioned in the bible, that strongly affected the biblical events.

260. *The next group of prophecies.*—*a.* Isa. ii-iv, threatening a great calamity, and, among other things, bewailing the childishness and incompetence of rulers (iii. 4, 12). *b.* Isa. v, speaking of this calamity as having fallen, so that the world of the dead was overfull, but also as still in progress. *c.* Zech. ix-xi, speaking of Hadrach, Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, the Philistines (ix. 1-7), of defeat suffered by Judah and Ephraim (10, 13, etc.), of captives in Assyria and Egypt (x. 10, 11), of a general covenant with the peoples, that was broken (xi. 10),

of a brotherhood between Judah and Israel, also broken (14), of cruel shepherds (Menahem, for example?) ill using the flock, so that they become "the most miserable of sheep" (7, 15-17, 3-5), of the cutting off of shepherds, and notably, of "the three shepherds in one month" (xi. 8, x. 2-3).

261. *Putting these things together.*—Assuming that the retirement of Uzziah by leprosy (2 Ki. xv. 5, 2 Chron. xxvi. 16-23) was coincident in time with the revolution by which Shallum overthrew Zechariah and was overthrown by Menahem, this might well be the cutting off of the three shepherds in one month. It left the affairs of Israel and the whole brotherhood of peoples in the hands of inexperienced leaders. The result was a great overthrow, and the breaking up of the confederacy, the members of it one after another returning to the Assyrian allegiance. Menahem submitted, for one. I suppose the overthrow mentioned by the prophets to be that mentioned in the Assyrian inscription.

262. *The date.*—The bible says that the king who took tribute from Menahem was Pul, that is Tiglath-pileser. But we cannot make the reigns of Menahem and Tiglath-pileser synchronous, except by rejecting several biblical statements. But Tiglath pileser was a founder of a dynasty, and was doubtless a general of the kings that preceded him, and in this capacity, he may well have had charge of this affair. In one of the inscriptions, an account follows of the events of the ninth year of the Assyrian king. Date the overthrow, provisionally, the eighth year of Assur-daan. That year the Assyrian canon assigns to him an expedition to Hadrach.

263. *Other dated events.*—*a.* Enter with approximate dates the prophetic situations and the historical events mentioned in the preceding questions. *b.* The birth of Jotham (2 Ki. xv. 32-33). *c.* Of Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 1 Heb. and Vss.).

264. *The history.*—Sketch it, for the two kingdoms.

LECTURE XXXIV.

PEKAH AND HOSHEA.

265. *Dated events.*—Enter the following: *a.* Birth of Hezekiah (2 Ki. xviii. 1-2). *b.* Tiglath-pileser warring in Babylonia, accession year and first year; at Arpad, 15 miles north-east of Aleppo, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th years; regions farther north, 6th and 7th years; hard fighting in Media, 8th year; Armenia, 9th and 10th years; Palestine, 11th year; Damascus, 12th and 13th years; Babylonia, 14th year, becoming king of Babylon. *c.* Deportation from east of Jordan (1 Chron. v. 6, 26 cf. Jos. *Ant.* IX. xiv. 1). *d.* Rezin and Pekah invade Judah (2 Ki. xv. 37, 2 Chron. xxviii. 1-15). *e.* They again attempt invasion (2 Ki. xvi. 5 sq., Isa. vii); Ahaz seeks help from Tiglath-pileser; Philistine and Edomite invasion (2 Chron. xxviii. 17-18). *f.* Tiglath-pileser in Palestine; deportation from the north (2 Ki. xv. 29, Rawlinson III. 10, no. 2 and II. 67, 53-63, Layard pl. 29, 66, 72, cited in McCurdy I. 420. Smith's *Assyr. Discov.* 284-286, *Rec. of Past V.* 52, etc.); Pekah slain and succeeded by Hoshea (ibid. and 2 Ki. xv. 30). *g.* Hoshea claims independence, but is reduced by Shalmaneser (2 Ki. xvii. 3). *h.* Can you account for the variant number in 2 Ki. xv. 30?

266. *The religious situation in northern Israel.*—Infer it from 2 Ki. xvii. 2, 2 Chron. xxx. 1, 5, 10-12, 18, 21, xxxi. 1-6 etc., and notices in Qu. 268.

267. *Deportations from Israel and Judah.*—Draw inferences: *a.* From Qu. 265bcd. *b.* From 2 Chron. xxix. 8-9, etc. *c.* From prophecies mentioned in Qu. 268.

268. *Prophecies.*—*a.* Isa. vi. *b.* The prophecies summarized in Isa. vii. 1-9, 10-25, viii. 1-4, 5-8, 11-16. *c.* First prophecies in Micah. *d.* Zech. xii-xiv. *e.* Isa. xiii-xiv. 27. *f.* Hos. ix-xiii.

269. *The history.*—Sketch it, up to Hoshea's declaration of independence.

LECTURE XXXV.

THE LATE ASSYRIAN PERIOD. SARGON.

270. Sargon came to the throne B. C. 722, the tenth month of the vernal year (McCurdy §358). Like Tiglath-pileser, he was the founder of a dynasty. In each case, the revolution, whether it was in itself violent or not, was attended by rebellions in all parts of the empire. Doubtless Sargon was a mature man. Probably he was a general of Shalmaneser. For the Assyrian literature on Sargon and Sennacherib see *Old Testament Student*, Nov. 1885, pp. 120, 123, and McCurdy I. 424.

271. *Assyrian dated events.*—*a.* Sargon captured Samaria and reimposed the tribute, accession year. *b.* Merodach-baladan's first year. *c.* Sargon operates against Samaria, Damascus, Hamath, Sebek of Egypt, etc., second year. *d.* Deportations and importations, 3rd to 10th years. *e.* Expedition to Ashdod, 11th year (Assyr. records and Isa. xx). *f.* Subdues Merodach-baladan, 12th year. *g.* First year as king of Babylon, 13th year.

272. *Biblical dated events.*—*a.* Hezekiah's first complete year (2 Chron. xxix. 3). *b.* Siege of Samaria begun (2 Ki. xvii. 1 sq.) *c.* Downfall of Samaria (ibid.). *d.* Hezekiah rebels, and smites the Philistines (2 Ki. xviii. 7-8) *e.* Sennacherib's first invasion (Isa. xxxvi. 1, 2 Ki. xviii. 13-16). *f.* Hezekiah's illness (xx. 6, Isa.). *g.* Ambassadors of Merodach-baladan (xx. 12 sq., Isa.).

273. *Variants.*—*a.* Our numbers as given exclude Shalmaneser from any part in the final siege of Samaria. But there is another Assyrian account which places the accession of Sargon two years later, and thus apparently extends the reign of Shalmaneser two years (Smith *Assyr. Dis.*, chap. XV and Schrader), and so agrees with 2 Ki. xviii. 9. Against this is the Babylonian Chronicle, which says that Shalmaneser died in his fifth year. *b.* Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 1) dates the fall of Samaria the 7th of Hezekiah. *c.* If our dates are correct,

and if Sennacherib invaded Judah the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, he was then a subordinate of Sargon.

274. *Prophecies.*—*a.* Isa. xiv. 28-32. *b.* Isa. ix. 8-x. 4. *c.* Isa. vii-xii as a whole. *d.* Isa. xx and other prophecies. *e.* Hosea xiv. *f.* Micah.

275. *Hezekiah's reform work.*—*a.* As a whole (2 Ki. xviii. 1-6, 2 Chron. xxix-xxxii). *b.* What it shows as to the ceremonial law (*ibid.*). *c.* The central sanctuary problem (*ibid.* and Isa. xxxvi. 7, 2 Ki. xviii. 22).

276. *The history.*—Sketch it.

277. *Special number.*—How is the 65 (Isa. vii. 8) to be understood?

LECTURE XXXVI.

LATE ASSYRIAN PERIOD. THE SARGONIDÆ.

278. *Assyrian dated events.*—*a.* Sennacherib fighting in Babylonia, 1st and 3rd years; places Bel-ibni on the throne there. *b.* His great expedition to Palestine, 4th year; battle of Eltekeh; read this up carefully (Assyr. records, 2 Ki. xviii. 17 sq., Isa. xxxvi. 2 sq., 2 Chron. xxxii). *c.* Babylonia: the gods carried in flight across the Persian gulf; he makes his son Assur-nadin-suma king of Babylon, 5th year (Taylor Cylinder III, lines 55-57, 63-64, and Nebbi-yunus inscr., lines 8-11 [*Rec. of Past*, I. 40 and XI. 50]). *d.* Operates in the Nipur mountains, 6th year. *e.* Operates against Elam and Babylonia, crossing the Persian gulf, and bringing back the fugitive gods, 7th year. *f.* Operates with great vigor against Elam, 8th year; in December compelled by a storm to return to Nineveh (Taylor Cyl. IV. 75-79, Nebbi-yunus inscr. I. 42-43). *g.* Elam and Babylonia more formidable than ever, but terribly defeated, 9th year. *h.* The Elamites dethrone Assur-nadin-suma, 11th year. *i.* Sennacherib again conquers Babylon and devastates Elam, 12th year. *j.* Slain by his son, 24th day of 10th month; insurrection in Assyria to 2nd day of 12th

month (Bab. Chron. cf. 2 Ki. xix. 37); nominal accession of Esar-haddon, 24th year. *k.* Early in his reign Esar-haddon operated against Sidon; in undated inscriptions he claims Manasseh and all the neighboring kings as tributary. *l.* Sidon finally subdued, 5th year (Bab. Chron.). *m.* In Egypt, 6th year (Bab. Chron.). *n.* Severe and decisive fighting in Egypt. 10th year. *o.* At death of Esar-haddon, accession of Assur-bani-pal in Assyria and Saul-suma-yukina in Babylon (Bab. Chron.); the gods of Accad move from the city of Assur to Babylon; to your Assyrian column add 42 years for Assur-bani-pal. *p.* Death of Tirhakah of Egypt, B. C. 664 (Apistelae, Schrader on Nahum iii. 8). *q.* Earlier, Assur-bani-pal invaded Egypt, took tribute from Judah and 21 other kingdoms on the way, and captured Thebes, after which Tirhakah revolted. *r.* After Tirhakah's death, Assur-bani-pal sacked Thebes, and subdued Egypt and Ethiopia. *s.* Some years later, Saul-suma-yukina fomented rebellion among the peoples of Syria and the coast. *t.* The 20th year of Saul-suma-yukina, Assur-bani-pal captured Babylon by a terrible seige, and caused him to die by fire. *u.* Later he took vengeance on his brother's allies, including ultimately the peoples of the seacoast. *v.* Downfall of Nineveh B. C. 607.

279. *Dated Judaite events.*—*a.* Invasion by Sennacherib (Qu. 278b). *b.* Agriculture resumed (2 Ki. xix. 29). *c.* Vengeance on Sennacherib (2 Ki. xix. 7, 28, 9, 32-33, 35-37). *d.* Manasseh born (2 Ki. xxi. 1). *e.* Carried to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). *f.* Return and reformation (xxxiii. 13). *g.* Josiah born (2 Ki. xxii. 1). *h.* Jehoiakim born (2 Ki. xxiii. 36). *i.* Jehoahaz born (xxiii. 31). *j.* Josiah begins to seek God (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3). *k.* Begins reform (ibid.). *l.* His great passover (2 Ki. xxii. 3 sq., 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 sq.) *m.* The long number in Jos. *Ant.* X. iv. 4 *n.* Birth of Zedekiah (2 Ki. xxiv. 18). *o.* Of Jehoiachin (xxiv. 8).

280. *Prophets.*—Isaiah; Nahum (iii. 8-10 and Qu. 278r); Zephaniah, beginning of Josiah's reign; Habakkuk; Jeremiah (i. 2. xxv. 3, 1).

281. *The external history.*—Sketch the principal events.

282. *Assyrian long numbers.*—*a.* A tablet of Sennacherib, quoting a tablet of Rimman-nirari as having been buried and found again after 101 years (*Assyr. Canon* pp. 77, 205). *b.* In Sennacherib's Bavian inscription. (ll. 48-50, *Rec. of Past* IX. 21 sq.), he speaks of bringing back the gods that had been in Babylon 418 years, from the time of Marduk-nadin-akhi, king of Akkad, and Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria. *c.* There are other instances, of the times of Nabonidus, going back to earlier times (*Rec. of Past*, new series, III and V). Such data tend to prove that the later Assyrian scribes held the eponym list, as we have it, to be continuous. See Qu. 241.

LECTURE XXXVII.

THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD.

283. *Chronological standard.*—Fill out your column of the Canon of Ptolemy with 43 years for Nebuchadnezzar, 2 for Evil-merodach, 4 for Neriglissar, and 17 for Nabonidus, and extend the columns A. Di. and B. C. to the same limit. The Assyrian column is now to be discontinued.

284. *Regnal years and dated events.*—*a.* To the years of Jehoiakim add those of Zedekiah (2 Ki. xxiv. 18). *b.* The expedition of Pharaoh necho (2 Ki. xxiii. 29, *Jos. Ant.* X. v. 1). *c.* The three months of Jehoahaz (2 Ki. xxiii. 31). *d.* Daniel and others carried into exile (*Dan.* i. 1). *e.* Battle of Carchemish (*Jer.* xxv. 1, 3, xlvi. 1, 2, *Jos. Ant.* X. vi. 1). *f.* Baruch writes and reads a book of Jeremiah's prophecies (xxxvi. 1 sq., xlv. 1 sq.). *g.* Baruch's book again (*Jer.* xxxvi. 9-32). *h.* Jehoiakim rebels (2 Ki. xxiv. 1, *Jos. Ant.* X. vi. 2). *i.* Daniel expounds Nebuchadnezzar's dream (*Dan.* ii. 1, i. 5, 18). *j.* Jehoiakim revolts again (*Jos. Ant.* X. vi. 1). *k.* 3023 persons deported (*Jer.* lii. 28). *l.* Short reign of Jehoiachin; the great deportation (2 Ki. xxiv. 6-16, etc.). *m.* Jeremiah's letter (xxix). *n.* His prophecy concerning Elam (xlix. 34, 39). *o.* Zedekiah's special act of homage (*Jer.* li. 59). *p.*

Ezekiel's first prophecies (i. 2). *q.* Jerusalem invested (2 Ki. xxv. 1). *r.* 832 persons deported (Jer. lii. 29). *s.* Egyptian interference (Jer. xxxvii, Ezek. xxix). *t.* Fiery furnace (Sept. of Dan. iii. 1). *u.* Jerusalem taken and burned (2 Ki. xxv, etc.) *v.* Gedaliah; the flight to Egypt, etc. (Jer. xl-xliv). *w.* 745 persons deported (Jer. lii. 30). *x.* Nebuchadnezzar in his 37th year invades Egypt. *y.* Release of Jehoiachin (2 Ki. xxv. 27-30, Jer. lii. 31-34.)

285. *The history.*—Sketch it (*Old Test. Stud.*, June 1888)

286. *Chronological points.*—*a.* The first year of "our captivity" (2 Ki. xxv. 27, Jer. lii. 31, Ezek. i. 2, xxxiii. 21, xl. 1) is the 11th of Jehoiakim. The other numerals in Ezekiel (e. g. xxiv. 1 cf. 2 Ki. xxv. 1; or xxvi. 1 cf. 2 Ki. xxv. 2) count the first year of Zedekiah as the first year. *b.* 390 (Ezek. iv. 5). *c.* 40 (Ezek. iv. 6). *d.* 130 years, 6 months, 10 days (Jos. *Ant.* X. ix. 7). *e.* $470\frac{1}{2}$ cf. 80 (X. viii. 5, VIII. vii. 8). *f.* $514\frac{1}{2}$ (X. viii. 4). *g.* $514\frac{1}{2} + 18 = 532\frac{1}{2}$ (XI. iv. 8, some copies, cf. VI. xiv. 9).

PART IV.

PERIOD OF RESTORED SANCTUARY—FROM BURNING OF TEMPLE.

LECTURE XXXVIII.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD. BUILDING OF SECOND TEMPLE.

287. *Chronological standard.*—Extend your column of the C. of Pt. to include the 9 years of Cyrus, the 8 of Cambyses, the 36 of Darius Hystaspis, the 21 of Xerxes, the 41 of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the 19 of Darius Nothus, the 46 of Artaxerxes Mnemon, the 21 of Artaxerxes Ochus, the 2 of Arogus; the 4 of Darius Codomannus, the 8 of Alexander the great; and extend accordingly your columns A. Di. and B. C.

288. *Extrabiblical sources.*—*a.* 1 Esdras. Remove v. 7–73a, and insert it after ii. 15, and it will then at once become evident that the book is merely free translation of parts of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, with the story of Zerubbabel's victory in debate added. *b.* Inscriptions concerning Cyrus (*Rec. of Past*, new series, V. 144 sq., *Old and New Test. Stud.* for July and Sept. 1889, pp. 34, 35, 171, and the references given in these). *c.* The Behistun inscription (*Rec. of Past*, old series, I, VII). *d.* Other inscriptions, and the Greek historians. *e.* Particularly the citations in *Jos. Ant.* XII. xi, and *Cont. Ap.* 19–20.

289. *The Israel of the exile.*—The deportations by Nebuchadnezzar extended over twenty-four years of time, and included, so far as known, a few tens of thousands of people. But from the time of Tiglath-pileser onward, the kings of Assyria and Babylonia had been deporting Israelites of both the northern and southern kingdoms. To all appearance, the numbers deported by Tiglath-pileser and Sargon and Senacherib were much larger than by Nebuchadnezzar.

Weigh the following reasons for holding that the earlier exiles, from both Israel and Judah, became mingled with those of Nebuchadnezzar, constituting the Jewish people, as it has ever since existed. *a.* The known character of the Israelites for race persistence. *b.* The geographical statements as to where the exiles, from Tiglath-pileser on, were located (1 Chron. v. 26, 2 Ki. xv. 29, xvii. 6, xviii. 11, Jer. xxiv. 5, xxviii. 4, 6, l. 8, li. 6, Ezek. i. 1, 3, etc.), but also passages that represent them as in the north, and as scattered among many nations (Jer. xxix. 14, 7, iii. 18, Ezra i. 1, 3, 4, Esth. ii. 5–6, iii. 8, viii. 8–17, etc.). *c.* Jeremiah's testimony that Israel of the ten tribes was living in the north, scattered among the nations; in his time (iii. 12, 18, xxxi. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and very many passages). *d.* His promise that Israel as distinct from Judah shall be restored (*ibid.* and xxxi. 18–20, l. 19, etc.) *e.* The frequent representation that Judah and Israel are dwelling together in the north country, and will return together, the differences between them being effaced (Ezek. xxxvii. 16–

22, Zech. viii. 13, Jer. xxxi. iii. 18, xxx. 3, l. 20, li. 5, etc.)
f. Israel after the exile is in various ways represented to be the twelve-tribe nation: all the tribes, apocalyptically (Ezek. xlvi. 8, xlvi. 13, 21, 22, 23, Mat. xix. 28, Lc. xxii. 30, Acts xxvi. 7, Jas. i. 1, Rev. xxi. 12, etc.); Judah, Benjamin, Levi, Asher (Rev. v. 5, Ezra i. 5, Rom. xi. 1, Lc. ii. 36, Acts iv. 36, etc.).
g. The number of the Jews, as they appear in Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, is too great to be accounted for by supposing that they were all descendants of those whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away.

290. *Belshazzar*.—The inscriptions mention him as the son of Nabonidus, but say nothing of his being king. Mark his reign provisionally, in colored ink, as coinciding with the last three years of Nabonidus.

291. *Darius the Mede*.—There is no trace of him outside the bible. Provisionally regard him as Cyrus under another name, and assign to him two years.

292. *Pseudo-Smerdis*.—Otherwise known as Gomates, Bardes, etc. Spoken of by the Greek historians, and in the Behistun inscription. He was on the throne part of the last year of Cambyses, and a little while in the first year of Darius. Mark him in colored ink. Provisionally regard him as the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7, Ahasuerus (iv. 6) being Cambyses.

293. *Dated events, extrabiblical*.—*a.* Cyrus conquers Media; 6th year of Nabonidus (*Rec. of past*, new series, V. 159). *b.* Captures Babylon "without fighting" in July, B. C. 539.

294. *Dated events, biblical*.—*a.* Daniel's vision of lion, bear leopard and fourth beast (vii). *b.* Of ram, he goat, etc. (viii). *c.* His prayer for Jerusalem (ix). *d.* His last vision (x-xii, especially x. 1 cf. i. 21). *e.* Belshazzar's feast (v). *f.* Lions (vi). *g.* Decree for the return (Ezra i). *h.* Dedication of altar (iii. 1-6). *i.* Founding of temple (iii. 7-13). *j.* Work suspended (iv. 17-24). *k.* Work resumed (iv. 24, v. 1-2, Hag. i. 12-15). *l.* Continued and completed (v. 2-vi. 18). *m.* Pass-over (vi. 19-22). *n.* Five prophecies of Haggai (i. 1, 13, ii. 1, 10, 20). *o.* Three dated prophecies of Zechariah (i. 1, 7, vii. 1).

295. *Traditional view of Cyrus.*—The idea that he was a monotheist and an iconoclast, and that the Babylonians and their gods suffered extraordinarily at his hands, is mainly derived by false inferences from prophecy, and is contradicted by the inscriptions.

296. *The history.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XXXIX.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD. ESTHER.

297. *The historical value of the book of Esther.*—Consists mainly in the situation presented, and is independent of the question whether the story is itself history or fiction.

298. *Dated events.*—*a.* Defeat of the generals of Darius by the Greeks at Marathon, B. C. 490. *b.* Revolt of Egypt from Persia, and accession of Xerxes, 486 B. C. (Herodotus *Polymnia* 1-4.) *c.* He reconquers Egypt, his 1st and 2nd years (ibid. 5-6). *d.* Prepares to invade Greece, 2nd to 5th years (ibid. 7-19). *e.* His feast, and Vashti deposed (Esth. i, especially ver. 3). *f.* Defeated at Salamis, September of 480 B. C. ("Persia" in *Encyc. Brit.*) *g.* Remembers Vashti (Esth. ii, especially 16, 12). *h.* Mardonius defeated at Plataea, Sept. 479 B. C. *i.* Esther taken to the house of Xerxes (ii. 16). *j.* Haman casting lots (iii. 7, 12); Mordecai's letter sent out (viii. 9); the days of destruction (iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 1, 15-19).

299. *Situation in Palestine.*—For 57 years we have no direct information. From the condition of things found by Ezra and Nehemiah, we must infer that the history had not been one of rapid or uninterrupted progress.

300. *Condition of the Jews out of Palestine.*—*a.* In all lands from India to Ethiopia, among peoples of different races and languages (iii. 8, 12, 14, viii. 9, ix. 30). *b.* Very numerous (ibid. and ix. 6, 15, 16, etc.). *c.* Many of them rich and influential (iii. 9, viii. 15, and the whole account). *d.* Faithful to their own laws (iii. 8). *e.* Receiving proselytes (viii. 17).

LECTURE XL.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD. EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

301. *Dated events.*—Enter the details in each instance. *a.* Ezra goes to Jerusalem (vii. 7–9, viii. 31–33). *b.* The convocation in the rain (x. 9). *c.* The trying of the cases for marrying foreign wives (x. 16, 17). *d.* Nehemiah hears bad news (i. 1 sq.). *e.* Goes to Jerusalem, repairs the wall, holds the great convocation (ii. 1, v. 14, vi. 15, viii. 2, 13, 18, ix. 1.) *f.* Arranges for permanent services, and for bringing inhabitants to Jerusalem (x. 32–xi. 2.)

302. *Ezra.*—He was probably an old man when he first went to Jerusalem; a typical “scribe” of the law of Israel; a proof that Israelites in exile were paying great attention to the sacred writings and customs of the nation; but not a success in administration.

303. *Nehemiah.*—At the beginning of his career a mere boy, a king’s page, but with rare administrative gifts; doubtless guiding himself by Ezra’s great learning and by Ezra’s views of the law; succeeding where Ezra failed.

304. *The condition of Israel.*—Ezra found the temple and its service in operation, but on a mean and unworthy scale, and took up with him trained Levites and large resources for making it more magnificent. Apparently, he also found Jerusalem fortified, and the Jews with a quasi political existence, as one of the subject peoples of the Persian empire. But they had given up the zeal which they showed in Zerubbabel’s time for keeping themselves separate, and were intermarrying with other peoples. The implication is pretty distinct that the Palestine Jews were inferior to the Babylonian in wealth, standing, character and zeal for the national usages. Nehemiah found Judaea in great calamities, probably resulting from the hostility of the relatives of the foreign wives whom Ezra had caused to be put away.

305. *The law.*—The distinctive feature of the reform made by Ezra and Nehemiah consisted in their enforcing “the law

of Moses'' as the law of the Persian empire for Judaea. It is commonly assumed that this law was the pentateuch; but this has very important limitations: *a.* The accounts make no sharp distinctions between the pentateuch and the other sacred writings (Neh. ix, e. g.). *b.* Many of the most important matters which they enforced are not in the pentateuch: the courses of priests and Levites; singers; gatekeepers; Nethinim; public song in the sanctuary service; public prayer; public fasting; the place Casiphia; the prohibition of foreign marriages in the form in which they used it, etc. *c.* They made new regulations, suited to the time, but different from any in the pentateuch (Neh. x, e. g.).

306. *The history.*—Sketch it.

LECTURE XLI.

PERSIAN PERIOD. SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF NEHEMIAH.

307. *The closing sections of Nehemiah.*—The narrative of Nehemiah's first administration closes with xi. 2. Then follows a series of genealogical notes (xi. 3-xii. 26). All that follows belongs to his second administration. And the genealogical notes include certain notices of events in his second administration.

308. *Dates for the second administration.*—Nehemiah returned to the king 433 B. C. We have no statement as to when he came back to Palestine, or how long his second administration lasted. It is certain, however, that he came back within a few years, for Ezra was yet alive (Neh. xii. 36). Josephus says that he lived to a great old age, a statement probable in itself, and confirmed by all the evidence. Hence his second administration may have lasted fifty years or more.

309. *The events.*—*a.* The dedication of the wall, the renewed provision for the service, and the renewed expulsion of foreigners (xii. 27-xiii. 14). *b.* Sabbath reform (15-22). *c.* Re-

newed struggle against foreign wives (23-31). *d.* Various events (Qu. 310).

310. *The latest event in the genealogical notes.*—*a.* 1 Chron. ix. 2 sq. is in part a duplicate of Neh. xi. 2 sq., and brings the events up to the same point with Neh. xi. 3-xii. 26. First, Sallu of "sons of Benjamin" (ix. 7 and xi. 7). Second, same priests (ix. 10 and xi. 10-11, ix. 12 and xi. 12). Third, same Levites (ix. 14-16 and xi. 15-17). Fourth, same gatekeepers (ix. 17 and xi. 19 cf. xii. 25). *b.* In these notes are two lists of priests: The first contains a table of priests and Levites "that went up with Zerubbabel" (Neh. xii. 1-9), followed by a table of the high priests from Jeshua to Jaddua (10-11). The second list mentions two enrollments, the first "in the days of Joiakim" (12-21, especially 12, 26a); and the second "in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua" (22-23). The two lists alike terminate with Jaddua, and his enrollment in the succession of the high priests is the latest event here mentioned.

311. *The date of this latest event.*—*a.* As the first enrollment of the second list was in the days of Joiakim, so the second was in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra (xii. 12, 26). *b.* The second enrollment is dated: First, in the days of Eliashib and his three successors (22). This is general. Second, "up to the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib" (23). This is specific. Although the enrollment includes Jaddua, it was made before he became highpriest, for it was "up to the days of" his father. Third, "upon the kingdom of Darius the Persian" (22). This is most naturally Darius Nothus. Efforts to identify him with the later Darius fail, for the later Darius did not come to the throne till after the days of Johanan. An enrollment begun under Nothus might have been carried forward under his successor, and that is what this description necessarily means. *c.* This fits the following: First, among the gatekeepers connected with the latest enrollment are Talmon and Akkub (xii. 25) who are also named in 1 Chron. ix. 17 and Neh. xi. 19. Second, among the men in the lists common to 1 Chron. ix and Neh. xi are some who were pres-

ent at the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 32-43). *d.* The beginning of the pontificate of Johanan is traditionally dated about 371 B. C., about 73 years after Nehemiah first came to Jerusalem, and it is not incredible that he was still alive at that date. But a more probable date for the accession of Johanan is 404 B. C. See *O. T. Studies, Rev. of 1900*, Qus. 92, 97, 98.

Thus the date we obtain for this latest event is early in the fourth century B. C., and within the probable lifetime of Nehemiah.

312. *The latest event mentioned in the narrative.*—“ And there was a son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite of the sons of Joiada the high priest, and I expelled him from me” (Neh. xiii. 28). Josephus says that this son-in-law was Manasseh, grandson to Joiada, and brother of Jaddua; that he became, with the aid of the Sanballat family, the founder of the Samaritan religion; and that the Samaritan temple was built in the time of Alexander the Great (*Ant.* XI. vii). Here as often elsewhere, Josephus is mixed in his chronology, and in his identifications of the Persian kings, but is doubtless correct in his main facts.

This latest event of the narrative fits the latest event of the genealogical notes (Qu. 310), and explains the one thing that there needs explanation, namely, how it came to pass that Jaddua was enrolled in the succession of high-priests before he came to be high-priest; for it is natural to think that on Manasseh's marriage and expulsion, Jaddua may have been formally enrolled in the succession, in order formally to exclude Manasseh. See *O. T. Studies, Rev. of 1900*, Lect. XI.

MAR 15 1902

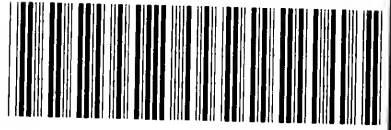
1 COPY DEL. TO CAT. DIV.

MAR. 15 1902

MAR. 20 1902

BS
116

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 014 327 405 6

