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Constructive Studies in
*The Priestly Element
in the Old Testament*

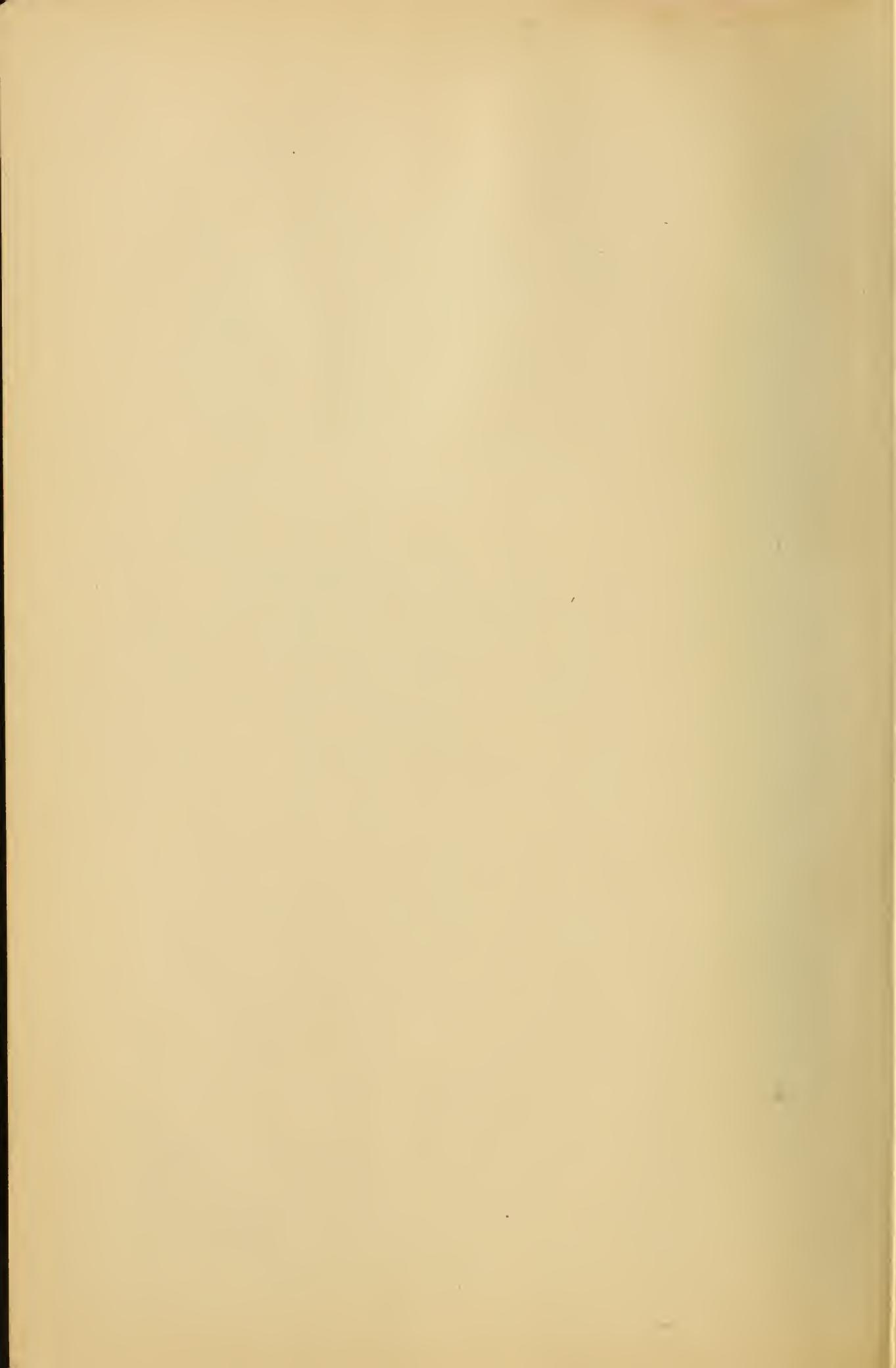


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CONSTRUCTIVE BIBLE STUDIES

EDITED BY

WILLIAM R. HARPER AND ERNEST D. BURTON

THE PRIESTLY ELEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY

WILLIAM R. HARPER

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES
IN
THE PRIESTLY ELEMENT
IN THE
OLD TESTAMENT

AN AID TO HISTORICAL STUDY

FOR USE IN ADVANCED BIBLE CLASSES

BY

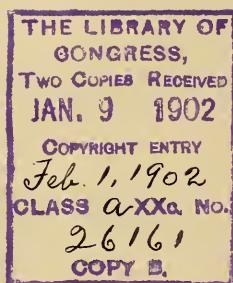
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PREFACE.

THIS treatment of the Priestly Element in the Old Testament is intended to serve as a guide for students who wish to take up the questions relating to the subject from an historical point of view. The materials for a preliminary study of the various topics are gathered together, and arranged with suggestions as to order and method of procedure.

It is thought that the work proposed is within the reach of the more mature pupils in the Sunday school, although the needs of college and theological students have been kept especially in mind.

The general results of modern historical criticism have been taken as a basis for the work, since it is only from the point of view of history that these subjects may now be considered intelligently. Each special topic connected with the general subject of the Priestly Element furnishes a beautiful illustration of the growth and development of Israelitish and Jewish thought under the controlling influence of a conception of God which became more and more pure with the advancing centuries.

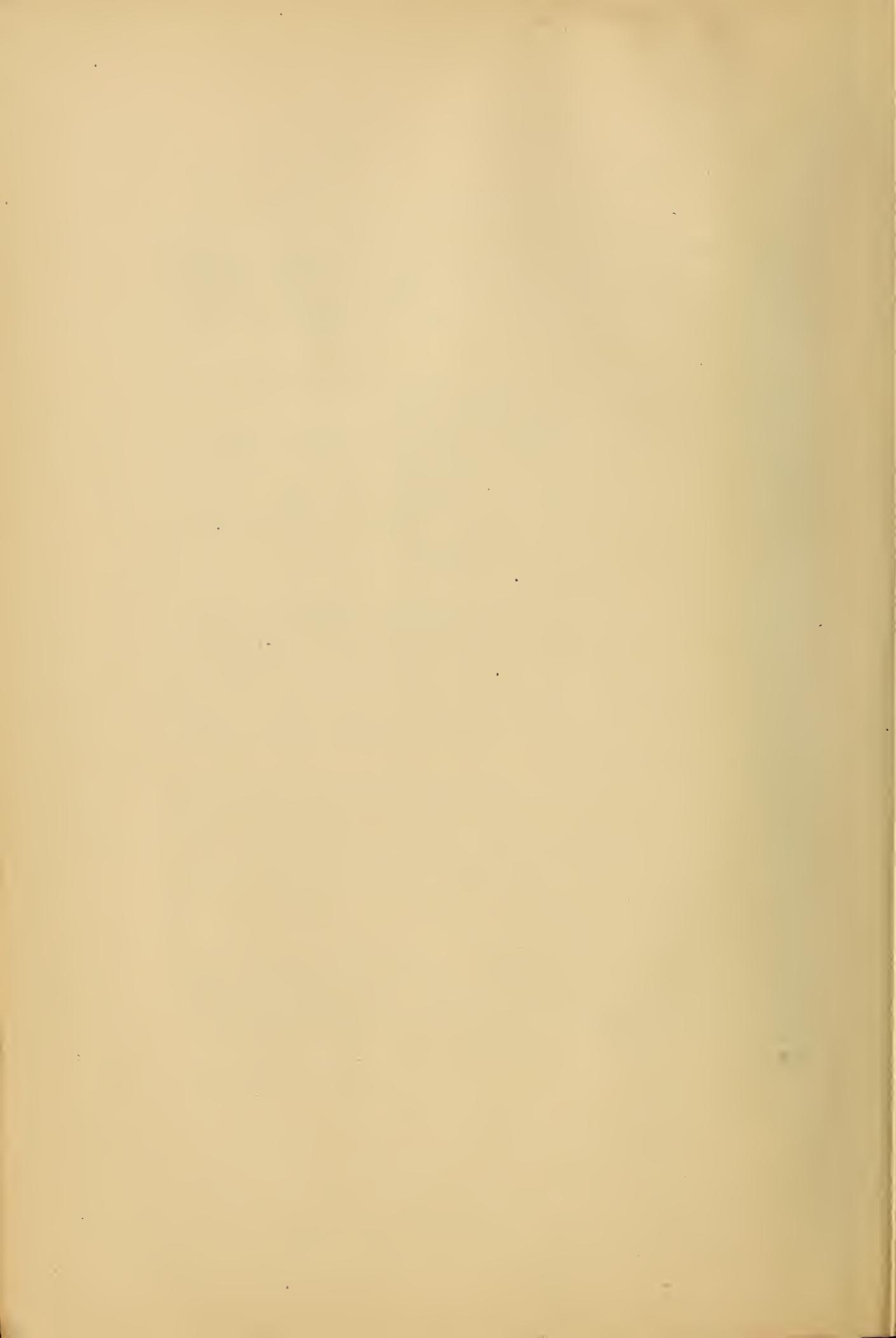
Three methods of treatment have been employed, each being deemed best adapted to the case in hand, viz.: in Chapter I, a systematic statement of the scope of the Priestly Element; in Chapters II-IV, an *historical* statement covering in barest outline the story of the Priestly Element *as a whole*, in its progress and development; in Chapters V-XI, a *classified* and *comparative* examination (indicated by questions and suggestions based upon the material presented) of the more important special factors which, taken together, constitute the Priestly Element.

Some effort has been made to indicate definitely and fully the more accessible literature on each topic. I wish to express my appreciation of the assistance rendered me by my colleague, Dr. John M. P. Smith, especially in the arrangement and verification of the scriptural references, and the references to the literature on the various topics. For obvious reasons the latter have been arranged chronologically, the literature in languages other than English being placed by itself.

A second series of studies, designed to supplement and complete the present work, is in process of preparation. In these it is proposed to take up (1) the priestly literature of the Old Testament, viz., the priestly histories, the codes of legislation, the Psalms; (2) the priestly ideas as a whole; and (3) the relation of the Priestly Element to the work of Old Testament Prophecy and Wisdom.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

December 1, 1901.



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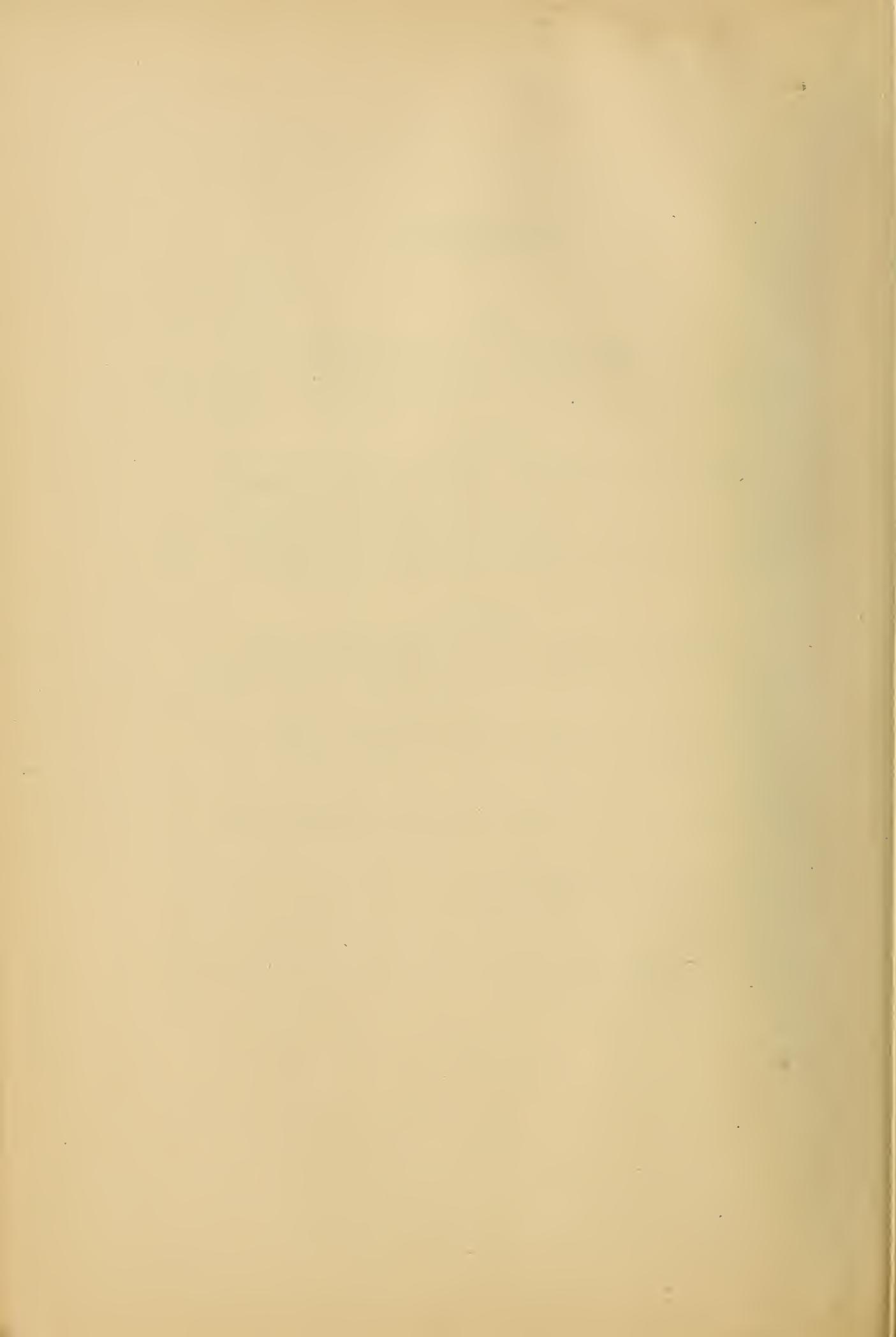
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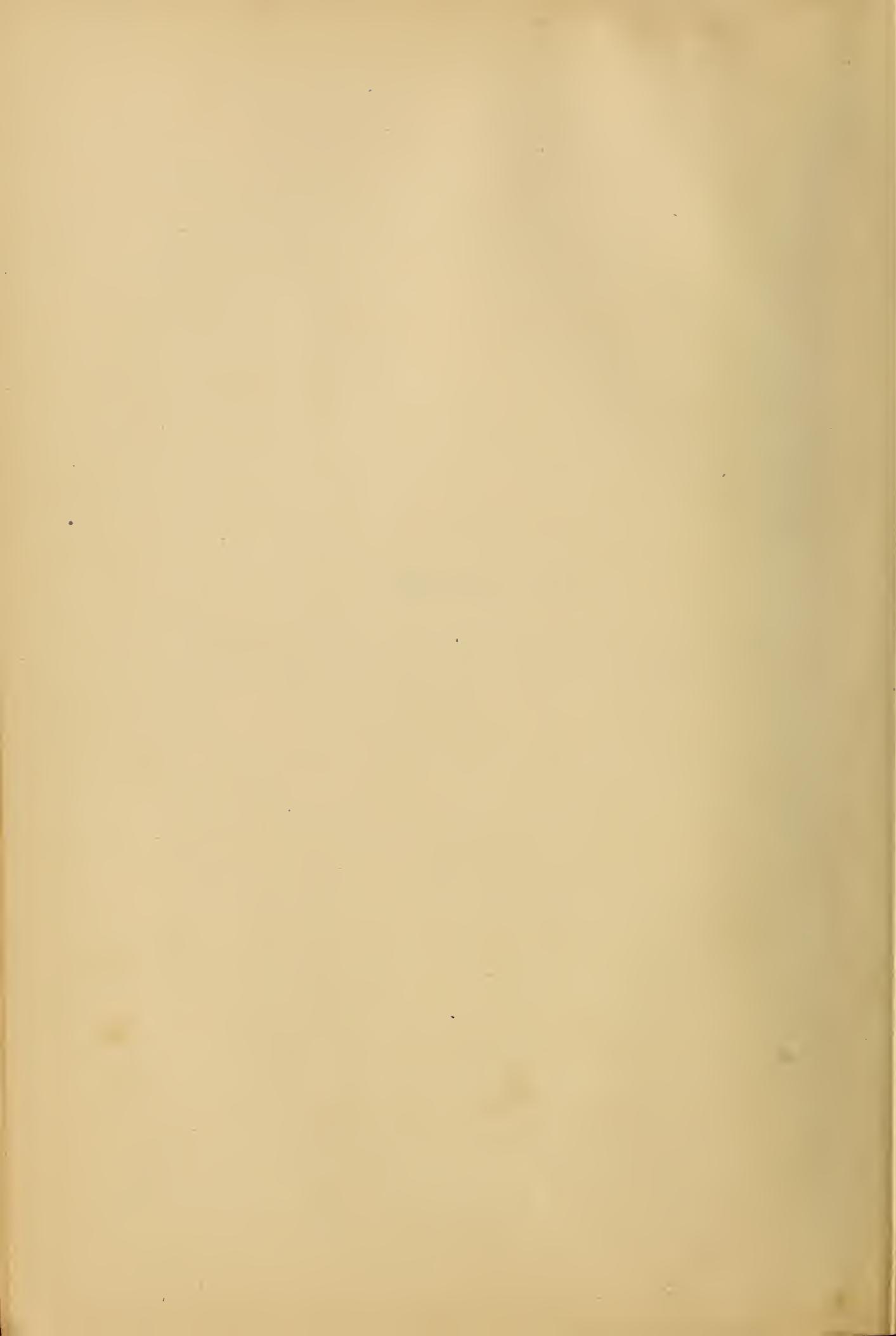
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PART FIRST

I. GENERAL SCOPE OF THE PRIESTLY ELEMENT IN THE OLD
TESTAMENT.



CHAPTER I.

THE GENERAL SCOPE OF THE PRIESTLY ELEMENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 1. Three Elements Enter into Religion.—The religion of an individual or nation depends upon the prominence given to one or another of these elements:

(1) *Worship*, or, more technically, *cult*, a word which Pss. 103:1; 150. expresses the general attitude of the individual or group of individuals toward an outside higher world of supernatural or divine existence, and includes the outward acts that in various forms symbolize the inward thought.

(2) *Belief*, or, more technically, *creed*, a word which Deut. 6:4;
John 3:36. expresses the peculiar intellectual position entertained by an individual or group of individuals concerning certain facts supposed to be essential, and their explanation.

(3) *Conduct*, or, more technically, *ethics*, which includes Mic. 6:8;
Isa. 1:16, 17;
James 1:27. all the acts and feelings of man in so far as they are related to his duties to himself and to his fellows, and to the fundamental ideas of right and wrong.

§ 2. Three Great Channels of Revelation are found in the Old Testament; through these, separately and together, there has come down to us a wonderful story of the interworking of God and man. These are:

(1) The *word* of the prophet, including the utterances through centuries of that unique order established to give to the Hebrew nation and to the world the "word" of God. Jer. 18:18;
Jer. 1:11.

(2) The *counsel* of the sage, including the wise sayings and philosophical teachings (in the form of proverbs, riddles, essays, dialogues, etc.) found, for example, in the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes. Jer. 18:18;
Prov. 1:5, 25,
30; 8:14.

(3) The *instruction* (or law) of the priest, which forms the subject of consideration in this and the following studies. Jer. 18:18;
Ps. 19:7.

§ 3. The Place of Worship is First of All to be Noticed.
—In ancient times because it seemed to men that *certain*

places were more favored by the gods than were others, in modern times because men fancy that a certain environment is especially conducive to the spirit of worship, the *place* has always been a subject of greatest importance. The place was in early days something *connected with nature*:

Kings 14:23;
1 Chron. 21:29;
Exod. 19:2, 3, 12.

Gen. 12:6; 13:18.

Gen. 16:13, 14.

Gen. 31:44-54;
Gen. 28:18-22.

(1) *High places*, or hills, were especially sought as being the abode of God.

(2) *Trees* of a notable character are frequently referred to as connected with worship.

(3) *Springs, or wells*, are places by the side of which angels were thought to dwell.

(4) *Sacred stones* are mentioned as places to which the god came to meet his worshiper, and on which food was placed or libations of oil poured out.

In each of these places Jehovah had shown his presence, and it was for this reason that the hill or tree or spring or stone was sacred. (From Numb. 22:41 it is to be seen that this idea of sacred places was found among other nations; cf. also Isa. 16:12.)

The place was also often something of a more or less *artificial* character, as is seen in the use of—

Exod. 20:24-26;
1 Kings 7:48;
2 Kings 16:10-15;
Exod. 27:1-8;
1 Kings 2:28-30.

Josh. 4:11;
1 Sam. 4:3-6;
2 Sam. 6:2-17;
Exod. 25:10-21;
Exod. 25:22.

2 Sam. 7:2-6;
Exod., chap. 26;
Exod. 33:7-9;
Numb. 17:4, 12, 13.

1 Kings 6:1, 2, 11-
14, 37, 38;
Ezek. 43:1-12;
Hag. 1:4-14;
Ezra 3:12, 13;
6:13-18.

(5) *The altar*, which was sometimes only of loose earth thrown up; at others, of unhewn stone; at still others, of gold and precious stones. This altar was the refuge and asylum of him who fled the hand of vengeance, the witness of vows, the place on which the sacrifice was laid.

(6) *The ark, or chest*, a sacred box in which certain sacred things were deposited; which was used in case of war, because it was thought to afford protection; and was designated as a place of communion with God.

(7) *The tent, or tabernacle*, a dwelling in which the ark was preserved, and around which the holiest associations clustered. Moses made most practical use of it, and it came to occupy an important place in Hebrew thought and tradition.

(8) *The temple*, which with the progress of civilization (the establishment of courts and the building of palaces) took the place of the tent, as being more dignified than

a *tent*. There was (*a*) Solomon's temple, erected at a significant period of national development; (*b*) the temple of Ezekiel's vision, which was destined to play an important part in the history of Israel's religious thought; and (*c*) the second temple, erected with some disappointment, after the return from exile.

It is to be noted, once more, that communion with God is sought and obtained in connection with natural places (hills, trees, springs, stones) and with places constructed by man (altars, ark, tent, temple). It will be at a later time, when temples are destroyed, men are scattered, groups living here and there, when the realistic conception gives place to the idealistic, and the material to the spiritual, that synagogues and churches will spring into existence, and, thus in still another form, satisfy the inward craving of humanity for a *sacred place*, in which to offer worship to the unseen powers.

Exod. 3:2-5;
Ps. 137.

§ 4. The Priest, or Minister of worship, was the second necessity of worship, the first being the place. It was the *priest* who conducted the-worship.

(1) His function was threefold: to carry the ark, to minister to Jehovah, to bless in his name. In the earliest times the need of having some such priest was felt, his presence being thought to be attended with peculiar blessing.

Deut. 10:8;
Judg. 17:7-13;
18:3-6;
Lev. 8:1-10.

(2) The priest-idea became so strong in Israel that the nation itself was understood to be a nation of priests, or a priestly nation, set apart to minister to the other nations of the world. After the exile, kings ceased to sit on Israel's throne; and priests, under the form of a hierarchy, controlled the affairs of the nation. This fact shows how great a rôle the priest played in Israelitish history.

Deut. 14:2;
Exod. 19:6;
Ezra 7:21, 25, 26.

(3) Besides the priests and prophets who served and spoke for Jehovah, there were at many times in Israel's history priests and prophets whose lives were devoted to the service of other gods.

1 Kings 18:19-22;
2 Kings 23:4, 5;
Ezek. 8:15, 16.

§ 5. Sacrifice was the most significant act of worship in ancient times.

Gen. 18: 1-8;
1 Sam. 1: 3-8;
9: 23-25;
Chron. 16: 1-3.

(1) At first this was a social meal, a banquet in which the offerer and his friends participated and to which the deity was invited. There are frequent references to such sacrificial meals in which the members of a family, or of a clan, or, indeed, of a whole nation took part. This meal was full of joy, sometimes boisterous. Those who participated were eating and drinking with the deity ; it was a communion of the worshiper and his god.

Ps. 51: 18, 19;
Isa. 1: 11-17;
Lev., chaps. 1-7;
8-10; 11; 12-15;
etc.

(2) In later times *sacrifice* became more formal, and gradually grew into an exclusively religious act. The prophets strongly denounced sacrifice in which the true spirit of worship was lacking, or which in itself, without a proper life, was thought to gain Jehovah's favor. The book of Leviticus is devoted to the subject of sacrifice, viz., the method, the kinds, etc., etc. This more formal and exclusively religious conception of sacrifice came to prevail universally in the last centuries of Israel's history.

(3) Several different kinds of *offerings* or sacrifice were distinguished, according as each expressed a particular purpose, or was presented by a particular method ; among these were :

Gen. 8: 20;
Lev., chaps. 4, 9.

(a) *The burnt-offering*, which consisted of the burning of a whole animal of the proper kind upon an altar as an offering to Jehovah.

Lev. 3: 1-6;
Judg. 20: 26.

(b) *The peace-offering*, which was also an animal sacrifice, but differed from the burnt-offering in that it provided for the giving of only the blood and certain specified parts of the animal to Jehovah, the rest being eaten by the sacrificial guests.

Gen. 35: 14;
Exod. 29: 40, 41;
Numb. 28: 7.

(c) *The drink-offering*, which was a libation of wine, or oil, usually made in connection with other offerings.

Exod. 30: 1, 7-9;
Numb. 4: 16.

(a) *The incense-offering*, in which fragrant spices were burned with the thought that the rising fragrance was acceptable to Jehovah.

Lev., chaps. 5, 7,
14;
Numb. 6: 12.

(e) *The trespass-offering*, which was made for the purpose of expiating offenses against Jehovah and man in which the damage could be estimated and covered by compensation ; the blood of the animal was poured out to Jehovah, the fat was burned on the altar, and the rest was the perquisite of the priests.

(f) *The sin-offering*, which occupied a very important place in the cultus and of which the emphasis placed upon the shedding of blood is a conspicuous feature; the specifications for this part of the ritual are very complete and detailed.

Lev. 4:24-34;
Lev., chap. 16;
Numb., chap. 7;
15:27.

(g) *The wave-offering*, consisting of certain portions of the sacrifice that were given over to the priests and were waved by them before the altar as a token of the fact that they belonged to Jehovah, but had been given over by him to the priests.

Deut. 12:6-17;
Numb. 15:19-21;
Numb. 18:8-29;
Exod. 29:27, 28.

(4) Great care was taken as to the materials which might enter into a sacrifice. These were in general flesh, fine flour or meal, incense, oil, wine, cakes of dough, salt. Here again important conceptions were associated with each of the materials, and regulations were enacted prescribing the exact character and amount of materials to be used.

Exod. 20:24;
29:40; 30:1;
Lev. 2:1, 4, 13;
7:12; 23:13.

§ 6. **The Times of Worship** were an important item, for these were the feast occasions; these were often merely the social meals of a clan; or, in other cases, were connected with a pilgrimage. They had their origin in connection with the times of the moon and the seasons, arising, as they did, out of the pastoral or agricultural life. Men whose hearts have the same tendencies are drawn together, and in the act of association there is worship; for the more closely they are united, the nearer they may come to God. To know more of God is itself to worship him, and the highest form of worship is, perhaps, that which involves communion with others as well as with God.

1 Sam. 9:12, 13,
22-24;
1 Sam. 1:3, 4.

(1) There were three great feasts, the first coming in the springtime, the second in the early summer, the third in the autumn. These correspond roughly to the more modern Easter, Pentecost, and Thanksgiving seasons.

Exod. 23:14-17.

(2) There were also special feasts and feast days, Hos. 2:11. which in early times seem to have been of a joyous character.

(3) There were days, like the Day of Atonement, Lev. 16:29 34. which were days of affliction rather than of joy.

Zech. 7:3-5;
Esther 9:28-31.

(4) There were also fast days, as well as feast days, celebrating some great calamity.

§ 7. Other Acts of Worship.—In connection with and forming a part of worship were several specific acts, such as—

Gen. 24:12 ff.;
1 Sam. 1:10; 8:6;
1 Kings 8:23-53;
Isa. 38:2, 3;
Neh. 1:4-11; 2:4.

(1) *Prayer*; this was always implied in the act of sacrifice, but very frequently it was independent of sacrifice. If the deity is a person, and if he has real interest in his clan or tribe or people, he will surely listen to them, when in distress their heart appeals for succor; and also when in joy they express appreciation of some great favor which he has shown them. Abraham's prayer for the city in which his relatives dwelt is characteristic of the earliest and the latest periods of civilization, and is thoroughly typical of humanity.

Judg. 11:30-39;
1 Sam. 1:11;
Judg. 13:3-7;
Numb. 6:1-12.

(2) *The vow* was a kind of prayer, very common in ancient times, and, when once made, regarded as inviolable. It sometimes involved a simple gift; at other times, perhaps, as in the case of Jephthah, the sacrifice of a human life; and again, as in the case of the Nazirite, it signified setting apart to the service of God.

1 Kings 6:19;
Exod. 28:30;
Gen. 20:3; 28:10,
18.

(3) *The oracle and dream*, as methods of ascertaining the divine will, must be counted as acts of worship. In these methods, as in all the others, the Israelites did not differ from the other ancient nations in the midst of whom they dwelt.

Isa. 47:9;
Jer. 27:9;
Mal. 3:5;
Dan. 2:2;
Deut. 18:9-13.

(4) *Sorcery* was employed in many forms, for there were diviners, augurs, enchanters, charmers, consulters with familiar spirits, wizards, and necromancers; but acts of this kind were always forbidden.

Gen. 4:21;
Amos 5:23;
Isa. 30:29, 32;
Jer. 48:36;
Numb. 10:2;
31:6;
Josh. 6:4 ff.;
Pss. 137:2; 33:2;
2 Sam. 16:14;
Exod. 15:20;
Pss. 149:3; 150:4.

(5) *Music and dancing* were accompaniments of worship. If worship is the expression of the heart in communion with God, it must include melody and rhythm, sound and movement. Music has always formed a part of worship, and in many cases dancing has accompanied, not only festival, but worship.

§ 8. Songs and Hymns of Worship.—These furnish us, perhaps, the highest product of the priest-work; for, although much of the Psalter is prophetic in its character, by far the greater part is the high and holy expression

of the soul of individual or nation in its deepest communion with God; and nowhere in all literature may religious songs of so tender and deep a character be found as in the Hebrew Psalter, the hymn-book of the Hebrew temple, the work of the Hebrew priest. These have been variously and quite minutely classified; but here reference may be limited to—

(1) Songs of thanksgiving, in which gratitude is expressed for great favors received from Jehovah and his praises are gladly sung. Pss. 103; 134; 136.

(2) Songs of petition and prayer, in which the poet pleads for the intervention of Jehovah in behalf of himself or of Israel, bringing deliverance from difficulty and danger, or restoration to divine favor. Pss. 80; 88; 102.

(3) Songs of penitential confession, in which the sinner pours out his confession of sin and guilt. Pss. 51; 116; 130.

§ 9. Laws Regulating Worship and Life were, likewise, largely formulated, promulgated, and executed by the priests. Legislation, therefore, in its stricter sense, was the function of the priests, rather than of the prophets or sages. The priest's work included something more than the various elements which enter into or are connected with what we would today call *worship*. In those days the religious life and the secular life were the same. Religion and politics were the same. This means that it was impossible to draw a line between religious life and ordinary life. The priest's work dealt with both. It had to do, consequently, with such matters as the treatment of one's neighbor's cattle, the treatment of birds, the building of a house. There were laws, for example, concerning the harvest, the oppression of the poor, the treatment of defectives, tale-bearing, etc., etc. These are a few examples only, taken from the great law-books, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy. It is to be understood, of course, that these laws, as they were from time to time formulated, included the teachings of the prophets and sages, as they appeared and did their work and passed away. But in addition to these laws of sociological character there were the laws which regulated

Deut. 22: 1-12;
Exod. 21: 1-35;
22: 1-27.

Lev. 19: 9-37;
Exod. 23: 1-9.

*Exod. 23:18, 19;
Deut. 30:15-20;
Lev., chap. 21.* the details of worship in all respects, *e. g.*, the priest, his dress, his maintenance, the offerings, their material, etc., etc. These more strictly come into consideration in connection with topics already discussed (*cf. §§ 3, 7*).

*2 Chron. 5:2-7:2;
cf. 1 Kings,
chap. 8.* § 10. **The History of Worship** was naturally written or compiled by priests, and thus constitutes a part of the priest-work of the Old Testament. The history of Israel, as we find it in the books of Samuel and Kings, had already

*1 Chron., chaps.
15, 16;
cf. 2 Sam. 6:12-19.* been written (about 550 B. C.). This history was prepared from a wholly prophetic point of view. It was intended

*Chron., chaps.
29-32;
cf. 2 Kings, chaps.
18-20.* to teach prophetic lessons, especially those connected with the idea of the enormity of sin and its disastrous consequences. At a later date (about 300 B. C.) the priests undertook to traverse the field of sacred history, and in so doing used, to some extent, the same original

*2 Chron. 35:1-19;
cf. 2 Kings
23:21-23.* sources. This *priestly history* is found in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. In these books the thought always uppermost is that of the *history of worship*. Its purpose was to assist in establishing regular service in the second temple, and to kindle in the hearts of the people a national life and spirit, and respect for the institutions of the national religion. The differences in matter, tone, and spirit between the prophetic and the priestly histories is easily seen by a comparison of the treatment which each gives to the same subject, *e. g.*:

(1) The dedication of the temple.

(2) The transfer of the ark to Jerusalem.

(3) The accession of Solomon.

(4) The account of the plague in David's reign.

(5) The sin of David with Bathsheba, which is not mentioned in Chronicles.

(6) The organization of the priests and Levites and temple officials, which is treated in full in Chronicles, and not mentioned in Samuel and Kings.

It is proposed, after this general view of the work of the priests as a whole, to undertake to do five things in the following series of studies :

(1) To trace the history of worship from the beginning to the end of the Old Testament times, through the early, the middle, and the late periods.

(2) To classify and note the elements of worship in the Hebrew Psalter, the Christian's Book of Psalms.

(3) To analyze and present the essential points of interest in the histories which the priests themselves prepared, and which are found in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

(4) To determine the great ideas which entered into and controlled the priest-work.

(5) To explain as far as it may be possible (*a*) the purpose and spirit of this *priest-element* as it appears in its various forms in Israelitish history and literature; (*b*) the permanent, as distinguished from the transitory, elements which it contained; (*c*) the contribution which it made to Christianity, or, in other words, its relationship to Christianity.

PART SECOND

THE HISTORY OF WORSHIP

- II. HISTORY OF WORSHIP IN THE EARLIER OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD.
- III. HISTORY OF WORSHIP IN THE MIDDLE OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD.
- IV. HISTORY OF WORSHIP IN THE LATER OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF WORSHIP IN THE EARLIER OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD.

§ 11. Worship Alone Constituted Religion in the earliest times. It was later that greater and greater emphasis came to be placed on *conduct* and *belief* (see § 1). A ceremony or religious rite was associated (in the various ancient religions) with some fact, or supposed fact, or legend, or myth. But it was the *rite* which constituted the religious element, and not any belief concerning the origin of the rite. "It made no difference what the worshiper believed concerning the ceremony, if only he performed it regularly and accurately." "What was obligatory or meritorious was the exact performance of sacred acts prescribed by religious traditions." It was the prophets and sages who introduced at the same time higher conceptions of God and higher conceptions of life.

See W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (2d ed.), pp. 17-22; MENZIES, *History of Religion*, pp. 6-13, 64 f.; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 52-5.

§ 12. A Semitic Period in the Development of Worship preceded the earliest Hebrew worship, and formed the basis of it. It will be remembered that the Semitic family (1) gave to the world the two earliest civilizations of which we have knowledge, the Egyptian and the old Babylonian, and controlled the world's political history for forty or fifty centuries; (2) has been intermediary, not only in the field of commerce and between man and man, but also in that higher field of religion between God and man, in that they have proved to be the religious teachers of the world, since through them have come the world's three highest faiths—Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.

See G. A. SMITH, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 28 ff.; W. R. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-83; C. G. MONTEFIORE, *The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (Hibbert Lectures, 1892), pp. 22-30; J. F. McCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, Vol. I, pp. 5-11; FRITZ HOMMEL, *The Civilization of the East*, pp. 25-7.

§ 13. The Most Ancient Form of Semitic Religion, the parent of all others, was that found in the old mother-home of Arabia. It was a

religion well adapted to the condition of the people, who, at that time, were still in clans. The Hebrews, together with the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, had "their root in a state of society when there was no large and orderly community, but only a multitude of small and restless tribes; when there was no written law, but only custom; and when there was no central authority to execute justice, but it was left to a man's fellow-clansmen to avenge his murder." In this time—

(1) *There was a god for each clan*, and this god was thought to be a very remote ancestor. To leave the clan meant to leave the god. This clan-god was closely connected with every undertaking of the clan, whether of peace or war; and his name everywhere was "Lord," "King," "Mighty One."

See MENZIES, *History of Religion*, pp. 74-6; W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (2d ed.), pp. 35-9; D'ALVIELLA, *Origin and Growth of the Conception of God* (Hibbert Lectures, 1891), pp. 204-7.

(2) *The worship* of the clan-god was important, because every detail of life was dependent on his favor. His favor or anger was shown at certain spots, which thenceforward became *sacred places*, and here those who inquired of him would find him. The god could not, of course, be worshiped *anywhere outside* of the land which belonged to him; and if one left that land and entered another, he must at once transfer his worship to the god of the new land.

See MENZIES, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 f.; BUDDE, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, pp. 53-5.

(3) *The present life* played a larger part than the future life; for, while the early Semites believed in the continued existence of the departed, they regarded them as destitute of energy, as "shades laid in the ground." "After death, it was held, even religion came to an end. A man must enjoy the society of his god in this life; after death he could take part in no sacrifice, and could render to God no thanks or service."

See MENZIES, *op. cit.*, p. 161; C. G. MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-7; R. H. CHARLES, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 51-4.

(4) This explains, in some measure, *the rites of worship* which existed in these primitive times, viz.:

(a) *The sacrifice*; the man sought a sacred place (*i. e.*, a place where the god was likely to be found), killed an animal, put the blood of the animal on a stone; the god touched the blood, the man touched

it, and this act was a renewal of the declaration that the man and the god were of the same blood, and that the covenant between them was renewed.

See MENZIES, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-8, 162; SCHULTZ, "The Significance of Sacrifice in the Old Testament," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. IV, pp. 257-61; G. S. GOODSPED, "The Atonement of Communion," *Biblical World*, Vol. XVII, pp. 96-106.

(b) *The feast or banquet*; at this the god was supposed to sit with his people and to receive his share of the animal just slain. In late times, when the god was thought to live above, his share was burned and he received the savor or smell of the sacrifice. The feast included dancing, and even gross kinds of indulgence. All was joyful. Happiness, reaching even to "orgiastic ecstasy," was universal.

See W. R. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-8; SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. I, pp. 188 f.

§ 14. Three Great Periods are seen in the development of this primitive Semitic worship, as it appears in the Old Testament history. Two opinions exist as to whether the writing of the Pentateuch (or five books of the law) was practically finished in the days of Moses, or in the days of Ezra. Josh. 24: 2,3.

See GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, pp. 31-58; BRIGGS, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, 1897, pp. 156-62; DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (6th ed.), pp. 82-98, 123-6, 135-59; CARPENTER AND HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 17-23.

This question does not concern us here; for all students agree that, whatever may have been the date of writing, the date of adoption of the laws and ceremonies by the masses of the people is definitely announced in Scripture, viz.:

(1) *The Levitical law in all its fulness* and the Levitical ritual of worship were not adopted until the times of Ezra (440 B. C.). Neh., chap. 8.

(2) *The Deuteronomic law*, as laid down in Deuteronomy, did not come into force until Josiah's time (621 B. C.). It is clear that there was 2 Kings 22:8—
23:3.

(3) *An earlier legal code* and an earlier form of worship which served to connect the old Semitic worship with the Deuteronomic. This earliest of the three Exod. 20:23—
23:19.

periods is first to be considered and presents itself in three different stages, viz.:

Gen. 47:1-10.

(a) *The primitive Hebrew stage*—that which existed during the days of the patriarchs, and while Israel was still a nomadic people, wandering from place to place.

**Judg. 1:1-4;
2:11-19.**

(b) *The Canaanitish stage*—that in which the primitive form came into contact with the corrupt and licentious practices of the Canaanitish religion; it was at this time that Israel was settling down to an agricultural life.

**Hos. 11:1-4;
12:10, 11;
Amos 2:10-12;
Isa. 2:6-9.**

(c) *The prophetic stage*—that in which the prophets made heroic struggle against the corruption and idolatry of Israel, by pointing out a truer conception of God, the adoption of which affected both the conduct and the worship of the nation.

Josh. 24:3-7.

§ 15. In the Primitive Stage of the Early Period the Worship was, of course, only slightly different from that common Semitic worship described above. The people were still wandering about. Leaders had been raised up by God whose work would in time lead the people higher and higher toward a proper conception of God and of his worship. But, as the Old Testament so clearly shows, the people hung back; refused to follow the divinely appointed leaders; and only after fifteen hundred years of instruction finally acknowledged Jehovah to be the only God. The facts concerning worship are these:

**Gen. 12:6-8;
13:4, 18;
26:24 f.;
32:22-32;
35:14 f.**

(1) *The place* selected for worship by the patriarchs was the place in which they pitched their tent; *e. g.*, Abraham worshiped at Shechem, and near Bethel; Jacob at Beersheba, and at Peniel, and at Bethel. *Trees, springs, and stones* are also mentioned.

Gen. 31:46.

The *altar* must have been something very simple, consisting only of stones gathered together, or of earth thrown up.

Gen. 31:19, 34 f.

Teraphim, or household gods, were found in Jacob's family. There seems not to have been an ark or chest in use.

**Gen. 22:13; 27:25;
28:18;
Exod. 24:4-8.**

(2) *The priest* was the leader, whoever he may have been, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, or Moses. There was no class of priests.

(3) *The sacrifice* was a family meal, or a clan meal, *i. e.*, Gen. 26:28-30; a banquet. It consisted of flesh, specially prepared; its Gen. 8:20, 21; savor was smelled by Jehovah; it was eaten by representatives of the deity. Gen. 18:1-8.

(4) *The times* were irregular; sacrifice was offered at Cf. references given above. any time. There is no reference to the observance of dates marked by the *moon*, or of the *sabbath*.

(5) *Other acts of worship* are seen in —

(a) The *prayer* of Abraham for the deliverance of Gen. 18:23-33; Lot, of Abraham's servant for guidance in the pursuit of 24:12 ff.; 32:9-12. his mission, and of Jacob for deliverance from Esau.

(b) The *vow* of Abraham paid to Melchizedek; and Gen. 14:18-24; that of Jacob made on his journey to Laban, the Syrian. 28:20-22.

(c) The *dreams* of the patriarchs, which as methods Gen. 15:12-21; of receiving communications from the deity are to be 28:10-18; 35:9-13; 37:5-10. classed with acts of worship.

(d) The *cup* of divination of Joseph, and the *teraphim* Gen. 44:1-5. (see p. 16).

(6) *Songs and hymns, laws, and history-writing* had Gen. 49:1-26; Exod. 15:1-18; Exod. 20:1-17. not yet taken formal shape; or, at all events, they have not come down to us in the form which existed in these early days. The present literary form of pieces like the "Blessing of Jacob," the "Song of Moses at the Red Sea," and the "Decalogue" comes from a time later than the settlement in Canaan.

§ 16. In the Canaanitish Stage of the Early Period the Judg. 2:1-5. worship was greatly changed. This was due partly to the change from nomadic to agricultural life, and partly to contact with *Canaanitish* forms of worship, which were peculiarly rich and fascinating. The name of the Canaanitish divinity, Baal, meant "lord." It is easy to see that the Israelite would feel that he was not doing justice to his God, if he did not pay him every possible honor, or at least the honors paid their gods by his neighbors, the Canaanites. Consequently much that was Canaanitish was now appropriated.

(1) *Places and representatives;* here arise —

(a) The *high places*, all over the land, which soon Judg. 6:25-32; 1 Sam. 1:3. became centers of corruption and licentiousness.

Judg. 3:7; 6:25,
30; 9:6; 10:6.

Judg. 20:27 f.;
1 Sam. 4:3 ff.

Cf. Exod. 32:8,
19-24;
Numb. 21:8 f.;
2 Kings 18:4.

1 Sam. 14:41;
28:3-6.

Judg. 17:7;
Judg. 18:3-5, 19,
20;
Judg. 6:19; 13:19;
17:5; 6:25-27;
11:31, 39.

Judg. 6:19-21, 26-
28; 13:16-23;
1 Sam. 1:3-5, 9,
13-15.

1 Sam. 20:5, 6,
18, 24, 27, 29;
Judg. 9:27; 21:19;
1 Sam. 1:3, 13.

Judg. 13:8;
15:18; *1 Sam.*
1:10, 12-17.

Judg. 11:30, 31,
35-40; 21:1, 7,
18;
1 Sam. 1:11.

Judg. 13:3-5,
9-21;
1 Sam. 3:1-18.

1 Sam. 28:7-14.

(b) The *pillars* and the tree trunks, or *Asherim*, which were to be found at the high places and were taken over into the Jehovah-worship which was carried on at these places.

(c) The *ark* or *chest*, which was thought to represent the deity, and which the people carried with them when they went to battle, as in Eli's days.

(d) The image of the *serpent*, or of the *bull*, which was adopted, now and again, as the proper representation of deity.

(e) The *Urim and Thummim*, which were carried in a pocket of the priestly ephod, were in use as a means of discovering the divine will with reference to any course of action.

(2) The *priest* was sometimes a professional, bearing the name Levite, and cultivated a certain professional tone by which he was recognized as a Levite. He seems to have been more acceptable than the patriarch or oldest son, who in the past had performed priestly duties. The priest went about wherever he could find employment. But the old family priesthood still continued, and sacrifice was not restricted to any class of priests.

(3) *Sacrifice* was the same as before, an act of communion with the deity. The burnt-offering seems to have occupied a more prominent place.

(4) *Times and seasons*.—Now there arose feasts of the moon; the sabbath was also observed, probably as a time of rejoicing; there were also the Feasts of Harvest and Vintage, because Israel had now become an agricultural people. These feasts furnished opportunity for drunkenness and licentiousness.

(5) *Other acts*.—We read of the—

(a) *Prayers* of Manoah, Samson, and Hannah.

(b) *Vows* of Jephthah and of Hannah, and of the tribes of Israel against Benjamin, because of its outrage upon the Levite's concubine.

(c) *Visions* of Samson's parents, and of the child Samuel, during his sojourn in the temple at Shiloh.

(d) *Sorcery and witchcraft* in connection with Saul's attempt to learn the outcome of his contest with the Philistines.

(e) *Music and dancing* in connection with the yearly feasts at Shiloh, with the sons of the prophets, and, a little later, on the part of David. This was characteristic of the joyous spirit that permeated the religion of these times.

(6) *Songs and hymns* are seen in the exodus song, with its refrain; the song of Deborah; and the song of Hannah.

(7) *Laws* were unquestionably taking form, under divine guidance, as the codification of custom. To what extent this was true is a matter of dispute between (a) those who believe that the Israelitish legislation, as it has come down to us, was the work of one generation, and of one man, Moses, and (b) those who believe that this legislation is the product of seven or eight centuries of history, although based upon and growing out of the work of Moses (*cf.* references to literature on § 14).

§ 17. In the Prophetic Stage of the Early Period great influences were at work to purge and purify the corruption which had entered into Israel's worship, and to teach a conception of God which, in itself, would lead to a higher type of worship. This period begins roughly with Samuel's work of reformation and closes just before Josiah's reformation (621 B. C.). The great names of the period are Samuel and David; Elijah, Elisha, and Jonah; Amos and Hosea; Isaiah and Micah; and, last of all, Zephaniah and Jeremiah, in whose days the reformation came. The details of this reformation belong to the second or middle period; but the preparation for the great changes wrought in 621 B. C. was made by the prophets of the preceding centuries. The actual practices of this sub-period were full of superstition. Let us first note what they were and then the attitude of the prophets toward them.

(1) *Places of worship.*

(a) *The high places* were still used in different parts of the country, as is seen in the cases of Samuel, whom Saul first met at the sacrifice on the high place; of Solomon, even when the temple had been built; of Jeroboam; of the people of Judah in Rehoboam's time and under later kings; and of Ahaz.

Judg. 21:19-21;
1 Sam. 10:5;
16:16-22; 18:6,
7, 10; 19:9.

Exod. 15:1-21;
Judg., chap. 5;
1 Sam. 2:1-10.

Amos, chap. 5;
Hos., chap. 4;
Isa., chap. 1.

2 Kings 23:1-3.

2 Kings 23:4-14.

1 Sam. 9:12-14,
19, 25;
1 Kings 3:3, 4;
cf. 11:7;
12:31 f.; 14:23;
2 Kings 2:3; 14:4;
15:4; 17:9, 11,
29, 32; 18:4;
etc.

¹ Kings 14:23;
² Kings 3:2;
 10:27; 17:10;
 Hos. 3:4; 10:1, 2.

² Sam., chap. 6;
 cf. 1 Chron.,
 chaps. 13, 15, 16.

¹ Kings, chaps. 5,
 6; 7:13-8:66;
 cf. 1 Chron.,
 chap. 17; 22: 2-
 19;
² Chron., chaps.
 2-7.

¹ Sam. 28:1-25.

¹ Kings 12:25-33;
² Chron. 11:14, 15;
 Hos. 8:5, 6.

¹ Kings 12:31-33;
² Sam. 6:13, 14;
¹ Kings 3:15;
¹ Kings 2:26, 27;
² Kings 11:4, 9,
 12, 15, 17; 12:2;
² Kings 16:12-16.

¹ Kings 8:62-65;
 Hos. 2:11;
 Exod. 23:18;
 Exod. 23:19;
 Mic. 6:7;
² Kings 17:17.

(b) *The pillars and Asherim* occupied even a larger place than before, continuing in general use until the reign of Josiah.

(c) *The ark* was transferred with great solemnity to Jerusalem, when that city became under David the nation's capital. This supreme act of worship was accompanied by music and dancing.

(d) *The temple* was built by Solomon; this act was full of significance for the future history of worship. As the king had his palace, so Jehovah was to have his temple. The ceremonial would now be better organized; a basis was furnished for future development; priests and singers must be provided for regular service. While at this central place the worship would henceforth be conducted in a purer form, but at the same time with luxurious magnificence, the old routine continued in all its corruption throughout the country at large.

(e) *The spirit of Samuel*, called Elohim (*i. e.*, God), was thought to have been called forth after death by the witch of Endor, in order to speak with Saul at his request.

(f) *The calves set up* at Bethel and Gilgal were figures of Jehovah, intended to be worshiped by the Israelites of the north, in order that they might not be induced to go to Jerusalem for worship.

(2) *The priest* now became a more important personage; the professional element increased. The bond between those engaged in the same work was strengthened by association. The Levite was gaining ground, as over against the older patriarchal priest. The temple required professional service. Samuel was a priest, and in his time the monarchy took shape, which meant a separation of the state and church. With the royal sanction the priestly order was greatly strengthened; but the king maintained supremacy and, according to the old patriarchal idea, offered sacrifice as head. Since the priest was judge, he formulated decisions, which in later times were to become *law*.

(3) *Sacrifice* was offered, sometimes upon a great scale; the old idea of communion with God continued; and a great feature of the sacrifice was the element of

joy. The sacrifice might not be offered with leavened bread. The first-fruits of the ground were called for. Sometimes human sacrifice was offered.

(4) *Times* were now more definitely fixed.

Exod. 20:8;
Exod. 23:12;
Hos. 2:11;
2 Kings 4:23.
II:5, 7, 9;
16:18.

(a) The *sabbath* was an established institution, whatever may have been its origin.

(b) The beginnings of a *sabbatical year* were made, in the custom of allowing the land to lie fallow every seventh year.

(c) Three agricultural *feasts*, with dates dependent upon the climate, were observed, viz.: the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Easter time), in celebration of the departure from Egypt; the Feast of Harvest, when the first-fruits were gathered; and the Feast of Ingathering, in the autumn.

(5) *Other acts.*

(a) *Prayers* continued to be offered, as in the case of Samuel at Mizpah, and on the occasion of the people's demand for a king; of David, after Nathan had made known to him Jehovah's purpose to establish his house in Israel, and on the occasion of the death of Bathsheba's child; of Solomon, at the time of the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem; of Elijah, for the restoration of the widow's son to life, and on Mount Carmel; and of Hezekiah, for deliverance from Sennacherib.

1 Sam. 7:5, 8, 9;
8:6; 12:23;
2 Sam. 7:18-28;
12:16;
1 Kings 8:22-54;
1 Kings 17:20-22;
18:36, 37;
2 Kings 19:15-19.

(b) *Vows* were still made, as, for example, in the case of Absalom, and of the Nazirites.

2 Sam. 15:7, 8;
Amos 2:12.

(c) *Oracles and dreams* are seen in David's inquiry of Jehovah after the death of Saul, and before the battle with the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim; in Jehovah's message to David through Nathan; in Solomon's dream at Gibeon; in Ahab's consultation of the prophets before advancing upon Ramoth-Gilead; and in the use made of the brazen altar by King Ahaz. The visions of Amos and Isaiah may also be mentioned in this connection.

2 Sam. 2:1; 5:23,
24;
2 Sam. 7:4;
1 Kings 3:5ff.;
22:5-28;
2 Kings 16:15;
Amos 7:1-9;
8:1 ff.;
Isa., chap. 6.

(d) *Sorcery* was practiced, for it was distinctly opposed by Saul and Samuel (although Samuel himself is said to have been called from the grave by a witch), and by later prophets.

1 Sam. 28:3-20;
Isa. 8:19; 19:3;
Mic. 5:12.

¹ Sam. 10:5;
Amos 5:23; 6:5;
² Sam. 6:5, 14,
16;
Isa. 30:29;
¹ Kings 1:40.

¹ Sam. 18:7;
² Sam. 1:19-27;
² Sam. 3:33 f.;
18:33;
² Sam., chap. 22
=Ps. 18.

Amos 7:9;
Hos. 10:8;
Mic. 1:5;
¹ Kings 14:22, 23.

Hos. 4:6-9; 5:1;
6:9;
Mic. 3:11;
Zeph. 3:4.

Amos 4:4; 5:22;
Hos. 4:13, 14;
12:11; 13:2;
Mic. 6:6-8.

Amos 5:21;
6:4-6;
Hos. 2:11;
Isa. 1:13, 14.

Isa. 1:15;
Mic. 3:4.

Isa. 8:19; 19:3;
Mic. 5:12.

(e) *Music and dancing* were greatly developed in connection with the feasts and the worship on the high places, and the regular services of the temple at Jerusalem which contributed much to the enrichment of the worship of Jehovah.

(6) *Songs* were sung, sometimes of a secular character, as when the women of Israel praised the warlike deeds of Saul and David, and when David lamented the death of Saul and Jonathan, or that of Abner, or of Absalom; at other times of a religious character, as perhaps when David sang upon the occasion of his deliverance from Saul (but see § 19).

§ 18. The Prophets' Attitude toward the actual practice of the people, as it was conducted by the priests, was that of undisguised opposition. It is asserted many times that —

(1) The high places were an occasion of sin, and aroused Jehovah's anger, and must therefore be destroyed. They were one of the most effective channels of corruption to the worshipers of Jehovah.

(2) The priests were altogether corrupt and self-seeking; they were the leaders in sin, going to the farthest extremes of debauchery and licentiousness, and carrying the people down to destruction along with themselves.

(3) Sacrifice was displeasing to Jehovah, since the people were multiplying offerings with the thought that this was all that was necessary to secure Jehovah's blessing; whereas justice and mercy were alone pleasing to him.

(4) Feast days and seasons had become occasions of orgiastic revelry and must be brought to an end. These were in large measure borrowed from the Baal-worship, and were not yet wholly purified.

(5) Prayer was in vain, no matter how fervent and frequent, since it came from people whose hearts were evil, and their hands red with blood.

(6) Sorcery and witchcraft were condemned and regarded as unworthy of a people whose worship should be given to Jehovah.

§ 19. *The Songs and Hymns of the Early Period* furnish one of the most difficult questions within the entire realm of biblical study. Modern scholars, for the most part, teach (1) that *the law* is the product of many centuries of history conducted by God in such a manner as to produce that law, the basis being found in the work of Moses; and (2) that to ascribe the whole to Moses permits no opportunity for *gradual* unfolding of the divine plan. So they teach (1) that most of the seventy-three psalms ascribed by tradition to David belong to a later age, when ideas of God were higher and purer than in David's times, and when the worship of God by leaders and people had become pure and spiritual; and (2) that to ascribe these psalms, or most of them, to David is to turn the history of Israel's religious thought wrong side foremost, and to presuppose in David's times a condition of spiritual life on the part of David and the people which could not have existed until centuries later. This very serious and important question may not be taken up here. It is to be noted, however, that in the case of the *psalms*, as in the case of the *law*, whatever may have been the date of origin, the people never reached a position in which they could use these psalms (with a few exceptions) as the expression of their spiritual communion with God, until (a) the prophets had preached long centuries, (b) the priests themselves had united to purge and purify a corrupt worship, (c) the city of Jerusalem was destroyed and the land laid waste, (d) the inhabitants were carried away into a foreign country, and (e) the nation was taught, once for all, what had many times been said, but never actually believed, viz., that there was *one God*, and *one only*. The psalms as a distinct part of the priests' work will receive further consideration in a later chapter.

See EWALD, *Commentary on the Psalms*, Vol. I, pp. 60-71; PEROWNE, *Book of Psalms* (second edition), Vol. I, pp. 1-21; MURRAY, *Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, pp. 127-43; CHEYNE, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, pp. 190-225; KIRKPATRICK, *The Psalms* (*Cambridge Bible*), Vol. I, pp. xxxi-xxxviii; DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (6th ed.), pp. 373-80; STANLEY, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, Lecture XXV; articles on "David" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible* and CHEYNE'S *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

The views of some of the most important commentators concerning the number of psalms that may be assigned to David are :

- (1) Binney, all, or nearly all, assigned by tradition.
- (2) Olshausen, Lengerke, Cheyne, Baethgen, Duhm, Wellhausen, probably none.
- (3) Hitzig, 3-19, except 5, 6, 14.
- (4) Ewald, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 18, 19, 24, 29, 32, 101, and some fragments.
- (5) Delitzsch, 3-19, 22-24, 25, 28-30, 32, 34, 36-39, 41, 51, 52, 54, 56-63, and some others doubtful.

(6) Perowne grants that some of those ascribed to David cannot have been written by him, but thinks that he "personally contributed more than any other individual" to the Psalter, and was the founder of a school of sacred poetry. Similarly also Kirkpatrick.

Exod. 20:1-17;
Deut. 5:6-21;
Exod. 34:10-28;
Exod. 20:22-
23:33.

§ 20. The Laws of the Early Period may be classified under three heads: the decalogue, in two editions; the small book of the covenant; and the larger book of the covenant. Before considering these separately, a few points may be suggested concerning them as a whole:

(a) However early or late they may have taken on their present literary form, they themselves certainly go back to the period of Israel's earliest history.

(b) They contain much material which, of course, had an existence long before the days of Moses; e.g., there had been prohibition of murder and of stealing centuries before Moses.

(c) They reflect, in general, an early and, indeed, primitive stage of society; but this stage is the agricultural, and therefore later than the nomadic.

(a) They are arranged in groups of ten, or of five.

(1) *The decalogue.*

Exod. 20:1, 22;
Exod. 24:12;
Deut. 5:4;
Acts 7:53;
Gal. 3:19;
Heb. 2:2.

Exod. 34:28, 29;
Deut. 4:13;
Deut. 5:2; 9:5;
10:4.

(a) It is said to have had its origin in different ways; e.g., as having been (1) spoken by God, (2) given through angels, (3) written by the finger of God.

(b) It is given different names; e.g., (1) the ten words, (2) the words of the covenant, (3) tables of the covenant, (4) covenant, (5) testimony, (6) two tables of testimony.

Exod. 20:8;
cf. Deut. 5:12;
Exod. 20:12;
cf. Deut. 5:16;
Exod. 20:17;
cf. Deut. 5:21.

(c) It has two forms, viz., that in Exod. 20:1-17, and that in Deut. 5:6-21; and although both are said to have been engraved on stone, there are many differences; e.g., (1) the first word of the fourth commandment; (2) the reason assigned for observance of the fourth commandment, viz., the creation and rest of God in the one, the bringing of Israel out of Egypt in the other; (3) the two additional clauses in the one form of the fifth commandment; (4) the different order of the first two clauses and the addition of "his field" in the tenth commandment.

(d) It has been suggested that originally all the commandments consisted, like the sixth, seventh, and eighth,

of one or two words, and that the remainder, *e. g.*, in the second, third, and fifth, was added at a later time.

(e) It is divided (1) *into ten words*, but the division is not clear, since the Lutheran and Romish churches combine the first and second as one and divide the tenth; (2) *into two tables*, but, here again, Jewish and Christian scholars, ancient and modern, fail to agree, three methods being advocated, according as the two tables contained, the first, three commandments, and the second, seven; the first, four, and the second, six; the first, five, and the second, five.

(2) *The small book of the covenant*, the laws of which may thus be grouped : (a) five on the duty of worshiping only Jehovah; (b) one on image-worship; (c) five on the offering of firstlings; (d) five on feasts; (e) four on sacrifices and offerings. These laws seem to have been written in groups of five or ten, groups (b) and (e) having lost part of their number. They are all directly concerned with worship.

(3) *The large book of the covenant*, which contains : (a) five enactments on *worship*;¹ (b) five on rights of slaves; (c) five on slave concubines; (d) five on acts of violence. Then follows one (a fragment) on the reviling of father and mother. After that (e) five on personal injuries; (f) and (g) ten on injuries in connection with property, slaves, and cattle; (h) five on theft and damage to property; (i) and (j) ten on breaches of trust. Then follow three fragments on sexual crimes, *magic, sacrifice to other gods*. After that (k) five on the dealings with the weak and poor; (l) five on *reverence and offerings*. Then follow two on purity. After that (m) five on testimony. Then follow two on kindness. After that (n) five on justice, and (o) and (p) ten on *feasts and offerings*. In all there are sixteen groups of five, and eight fragments of groups, each of which probably consisted of five.

A study of the subjects given above, and a reading of the enactments, will show the early character of these laws as contrasted with those given in Deuteronomy and Leviticus. It is to be noted (1) that the greater part of

Exod. 34:12-14;
34:17; 34:19, 20;
34:21, 18, 22,
23; 34:25, 26.

Exod. 20: 23-26;
21: 2-6; 21: 7-
11; 21: 12-16;
21: 17; 21: 18-
25; 21: 26-22: 1;
22: 2-6; 22: 7-
17; 22: 18-20;
22: 21-27;
22: 28-30;
22: 31; 23: 1-3;
23: 4-5; 23: 6-9;
23: 10-19.

¹ In this classification the laws relating to worship are *italicized*.

this code is concerned with subjects which are not today thought of as religious, but that in early times there was no distinction between "religious" and "secular"—everything was religious; (2) that all the enactments concerning religion, in the narrower sense of the word, have to do with its objective features—feasts, sacrifices, offerings, ritual, etc.—all of which is included in *worship*. It is these enactments that lie back of the teaching of the prophets down to about 650 B. C.

In the next study it will appear that great and fundamental changes are to occur after 650 B. C. in all the regulations which concern the subject of worship and its allied subjects.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF WORSHIP IN THE MIDDLE OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD

§ 21. **The Middle Old Testament Period** (see § 14 (2)) had for its most striking event the discovery and publication of the book of the law, known in these later times as *Deuteronomy*. It is impossible here, as in the history of any period, to draw sharp lines of separation.

(1) Just *when* this middle period began cannot be fixed definitely. But this much is clear, that the work of the prophets (*cf.* § 18) in the years preceding 621 B. C. (*a*) pointed out the evils which had crept into the worship of the people; (*b*) presented such conceptions of God's justice, love, holiness, and unity as would furnish a basis for higher and more spiritual forms of worship than those which were already in existence; and this (*c*) prepared the way for something which, up to this time, the people could not appreciate.

<sup>2 Kings 22:8—
23:3.</sup>

<sup>Amos 5:24; 9:7;
Hos. 8:5, 6, 14;
14:1-4;
Mic. 6:6-8;
Isa. 1:12-17;
6:1-5; etc.</sup>

(2) Just *when* this middle period ended is likewise indefinite, but it is evident that after and out of this period there came a still higher form of worship, destined in God's providence (*a*) to endure through a period of great political and religious upheaval, and (*b*) to serve as the basis for a worship still higher in its ideals and in its spiritual character.

§ 22. **Three Distinct Stages May be Traced** in the history of the middle or Deuteronomic period. These may be classified as :

(1) *The pre-exilic stage*, which ended with the removal of the people from their land and with the destruction of the temple around which the whole system of worship centered.

^{2 Kings 25:8-21.}

(2) *The exilic stage*, during which the people were in Babylon, away from all the familiar scenes of worship

and under the influence of an entirely new religious environment.

Ezra, chap. 1;
7:1-10.

(3) *The post-exilic stage*, beginning with the return from exile, including the building of the second temple, and ending approximately with the visit of Ezra to Jerusalem.

2 Kings 18:4;
cf. Isa. 36:7.

Amos 7:9;
Hos. 10:1, 2;
Isa. 30:22; 31:7.

2 Kings 23:13.

2 Kings 18:13;
cf. 18:33-35.

2 Kings 19:20-37.

Deut. 12:2-19.

§ 23. **The Deliverance of Jerusalem in Hezekiah's Day** (701 B. C.) had exerted a marked influence on worship. To Hezekiah is ascribed an important work as reformer, in that he (1) removed the high places, (2) broke the pillars, (3) cut down the Asherim, (4) broke in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made, which, in his day, was worshiped as a representation of God in Jerusalem. In so far as these things were accomplished, Hezekiah was acting in accordance with the commands of the prophets (see § 18). But it seems that the work was not as thorough-going as it might have been, since in Josiah's times, seventy or eighty years later, the high places erected by Solomon near Jerusalem were still in existence. Hezekiah's reformation, however transient, was closely connected with the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib and the Assyrian army in 701 B. C. This invasion had two results : (1) The outlying villages with their high places were destroyed and dishonored, and the country people came to see that the worship as practiced in the high places was of no avail in times of great distress. (2) Jerusalem, the temple, and the God whose worship was conducted in the temple (a worship beyond question comparatively pure) were *delivered*, and thereby greatly honored, for the whole nation had therein a positive experience of Jehovah's power. This paved the way for the exaltation of the temple-worship and the destruction of the worship in the high places, changes which together form the great characteristic of the middle period.

See W. R. SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel* (2d ed.), pp. 353-64; CORNILL, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 67 f.; DRIVER, *Isaiah, His Life and Times*, pp. 66-83; the article "Hezekiah" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, p. 377; and the corresponding article (§ 1) in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II.

§ 24. Manasseh's Reign Brought a Great Reaction.—

This came about because (1) the prophetic party (that is, the party of reformers) pushed forward more rapidly than the people could follow, *e. g.*, (*a*) in destroying the objects and places of worship held in veneration by the people for many centuries, and (*b*) in holding up conceptions of God and of life which the people were still too ignorant and debased to appreciate; (2) the people were disappointed in the hope, raised by the prophets, that with Jerusalem's deliverance Assyria would perish, when, as a matter of fact, Assyria still remained powerful, subduing Egypt and taking tribute from Judah; (3) the people believed that this failure of their desires and the consequent adversity had their origin in the proposed reforms of the prophets, and that these very reforms (*e. g.*, the breaking down of the high places) were displeasing to Jehovah.

The reaction exhibited itself in (1) the murder of the prophets and their partisans; (2) setting up again the idols, and the Asherim; (3) giving permission to enchanters and augurs and witches and wizards to practice their arts; (4) encouraging human sacrifice; (5) introducing the worship of other gods even within the temple itself, *e. g.*, the host of heaven—the chariots of the sun being placed within the temple.

§ 25. The Discovery of the Deuteronomic Law followed a generation or so of prophetic silence. This silence was occasioned by persecution, and had for its result the production of a work which, in itself, summed up prophecy and furnished the text-book of worship for a long time to come. While the mouth of the prophet was closed, his pen worked. In this work the lessons of Manasseh's reaction were taken into account; for the new order of worship, while revolutionary in some aspects, was, after all, an evolution from that which preceded it. The new cult went as far as possible in retaining old usages and old ceremonies, thus avoiding the difficulties occurring in connection with the earlier attempts at reformation. Many other things were learned anew from the experience of the reaction, *e. g.*,

2 Kings 18:4;
2 Kings 19:19.

2 Chron. 33:11.

Cf. Jer. 44:15-19.

2 Kings 21:16;
Jer. 2:30.
2 Kings 21:3-5.

2 Kings 21:6.

2 Kings 21:6;
23:10;
Mic. 6:6, 7.

2 Kings 21:3, 4;
23:11, 12.

Deut. 4:15-19;
Deut. 6:14, 15;
Deut. 17:14-20.

Deut. 15:19;
Deut. 16:16.

Deut. 12:2-4.

the demoralizing influence of the high places, and the necessity of purging and purifying the ritual. These were incorporated in the written document.

See CHEYNE, *Jeremiah, His Life and Times*, pp. 62-4; CORNILL, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82; DRIVER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, pp. xlix-lxii.

**Jer. 1:1, 2;
Zeph. 1:1.****2 Kings 22:1, 2.****Kings 22:3-8.****2 Kings 22:8-10.****2 Kings 22:11-14.****2 Kings 22:15-20.****2 Kings 23:1-3.**

No opportunity, however, presented itself under Manasseh or Amon for the promulgation of this book. It was put away in the temple. In Josiah's reign, (1) when the hearts of the people were being turned to Jehovah by the terror aroused in connection with the Scythian invasion; (2) when Jeremiah and Zephaniah were preaching with all the vigor of the older prophets; (3) when Josiah, a young man, was turning his face in the direction of the true God; (4) when the temple was being cleansed and repaired, in order that Jehovah might be thereby honored—*then* this book, the book of Deuteronomy, was discovered, brought to the king, read to him, and read again to the people. The immediate circumstances of this discovery are described in some detail; *e.g.*:

(1) The book was found by Hilkiah, the high-priest, and given by him to Shaphan, the scribe, who read it, took it to King Josiah, and read it to him. (2) The king was greatly grieved as he listened and realized how far short of the demands of this book the religious life of Israel had fallen. He at once sent a delegation of leading men to Huldah, a prophetess, to inquire Jehovah's will concerning the book. (3) She declared that the judgments it contained would fall upon Israel because of their desertion of Jehovah and their worship of other gods, but that Josiah would reign in peace because of his faithfulness to Jehovah. (4) Upon hearing this, Josiah called a great meeting of all the people, read the newly found book to them, and caused them to join him in a covenant with Jehovah to conform to Jehovah's requirements as laid down therein. Thereupon the work of reform was begun throughout the land.

§ 26. The Results of the Finding of Deuteronomy are very fully given us in the sacred narrative. These results constituted what is called Josiah's reformation, and included:

- (1) The destruction of the *high places and altars* throughout the land. 2 Kings 23:8, 12, 13, 15, 19.
- (2) The breaking down of the *pillars and Asherim*. 2 Kings 23:6, 14.
- (3) The removal of the *teraphim* and other *idols*. 2 Kings 23:24.
- (4) The destruction of the *horses and chariots of the sun*. 2 Kings 23:11.
- (5) The deposition and destruction of *idolatrous priests* and of the *priests of the high places*. 2 Kings 23:5, 8, 9, 20.
- (6) The abolition of *human sacrifice*. 2 Kings 23:10.
- (7) The observance of the *Feast of the Passover*. 2 Kings 23:21-23.
- (8) The prohibition of *sorcerers and wizards*. 2 Kings 23:24.
- (9) The purification of worship involved in doing away with the *Sodomites*. 2 Kings 23:7.

Two things may be said: (a) There is nothing essential commanded in Deuteronomy which Josiah did not try to do; (b) every single act of the reformation will be found commanded in Deuteronomy.

§ 27. The Teaching of Deuteronomy on the more important points of worship may be briefly summarized as follows:¹

- (1) *Object of worship*.—Jehovah only is to be worshiped; all idols and other objects of worship must be destroyed. Deut. 6:4; 10:20; 13:6-11; 17:2-5; 16:21 f.; 7:5, 25.
- (2) *Place of worship*.—Worship is permitted only at one central sanctuary, viz., the temple at Jerusalem. All local shrines are to be destroyed. Deut. 12:2-7, 11, 17 f., 26-28.
- (3) *Priests*.—These now become a distinct class, the tribe of Levi being set apart to perform the priestly function. There are, of course, more Levites than are needed for priests; these are to be teachers and judges. The duties of the Levites at the local sanctuaries being abolished, many of them are naturally without means of support, and special provision has to be made for them in the law. Deut. 10:8, 9. Deut. 18:1-8.
- (4) *Sacrifice*.—The continuance of sacrifice is taken for granted, but every sacrifice is to be offered at the central sanctuary. All firstlings are, as before, especially designated as sacrifices to Jehovah. Deut. 12:13 f.; 15:19 f.

¹ The examination of this book as a code of laws will be taken up later in this course of study.

Deut. 5:12-15. (5) *Days and seasons.*—Set times of worship are appointed to be observed: (a) The *sabbath* is preserved unchanged. (b) The *sabbatical year* becomes established, and is extended to the cancellation of all debts owed by Hebrews to their fellow-countrymen and to the release of all Hebrew slaves. There was an unsuccessful attempt to enforce this provision with reference to slaves in the reign of Zedekiah. (c) Three annual *feasts* are fixed, as before, in connection with the agricultural seasons; but, like all other acts of worship, they are to be celebrated at Jerusalem. New elements appear in the fixing of the duration of the Feast of Tabernacles at seven days, and of Pentecost at one day, and in the connection of the Passover with the exodus from Egypt. No reference is made to *feasts of the moon*.

Deut. 14: 3-21. (6) *Other acts of worship.*—(a) A list of *clean and unclean* animals is given; this classification probably had a religious basis; (b) faithfulness in the performance of *vows* is enjoined; (c) a *triennial tithe* is imposed which is to be given to the Levite, the widow, and the poor; (d) perverted acts of worship, such as *human sacrifice, sorcery, etc.*, are prohibited; (e) *prayers* of Moses are recorded.

See CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-7; DRIVER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, pp. xix-xxxiv; article "Deuteronomy" (§§ 27-32) in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I; and corresponding article (§ iv) in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I.

§ 28. The Full Significance of the Deuteronomic Principles, the Spirit with which These are Presented, and the Great Changes Wrought by Their Adoption are difficult to appreciate. Some of these points may be noted:

Deut. 6:4; 4:28; 10:17. (1) The fundamental idea is that there is but one god worthy to be called God; other gods are wood and stone.

Deut. 4:32-36; cf. Exod. 19:6. (2) With such a God dealing directly with the nation, Israel's life must be high and holy; for otherwise it will be unworthy.

Deut. 12: 2-7. (3) There shall be only one place of worship, and that the temple in Jerusalem; in this way the licentious nature-worship can be done away with.

Deut. 10:8. (4) The conduct of worship must be guarded, and

consequently it is placed under the control of a special tribe, the Levites.

(5) The method of presentation is a wonderful one, being twofold, prophetic and priestly; viz., (a) exhortations of the most "sweetly impressive" character, full of spiritual strength; (b) laws, many of them dating from the earliest times, others from a later period; some of them apparently arbitrary in their tone, others full of the reasons which should lead to their observance.

(6) The spirit throughout is the spirit of love, and is akin to that exhibited in the book of Hosea. "The primal love of Jehovah to Israel fills the foreground of each writer's discourse, and all human relationships within the Israelitish community are rooted in this."² But this love is no sentimental love; Israel's God is a God of justice as well as of love.

(7) The restriction of worship to *one* place is "tantamount to a suppression of religion in the whole country outside of Jerusalem."³ How can the country people now consult Jehovah? The neighboring altar to which the fugitive might flee and be safe is done away with, and distant cities of refuge are only a partial substitute; while the function of the altar as a place to which the people might come and receive judgment is given to the gates of the cities and to the temple at Jerusalem. Israel in the country must now live without God, with whom before he had lived so closely.

(8) The feasts are beginning to be denaturalized; that is, they are losing their agricultural significance, and are to be more and more closely associated with historical events—the Feast of Unleavened Bread, with the flight from Egypt; the Feast of Weeks, with the giving of the law on Sinai; the Feast of Tabernacles, with the journey in the desert. Religion is a matter of fixed days and seasons, rather than an everyday affair.

(9) The setting apart of priests, and the placing of

See article "Feasts" (§§ 9, 10) in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 91 f.; CORNILL, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

² CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ CORNILL, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

**Deut. 18:3; 21:5;
26:3, 4;
Deut. 17:9, 12;
20:2-4; 24:8.**

**Deut. 14:24 f.;
16:16.**

**Deut. 4:40; 6:1-
9, 24, 25; 7:11;
8:1, 6, 11;
30:10.**

all worship in their hands, thus compelling the people to make use of them, while beforetime the use of a priest was voluntary, draws the line sharply between laity and clergy. The priest changes his function ; for he is now preëminently a sacrificer, while before he consulted the oracle and announced the divine will.

(10) The significance of the sacrifice is greatly changed. Sacrifice being lawful only at the one central sanctuary, it was offered for the most part only in connection with the three great yearly festivals when all Israelites were required to be at Jerusalem. The popular, joyous aspect of it as a banquet and as an offering of joy and thanksgiving, made frequently and in connection with any suitable occasion, now begins to disappear, and a more and more solemn and expiatory character is given to all sacrifice.

(11) What is it henceforth to be religious ? To do the thing laid down in a book. The day that saw Deuteronomy accepted, its ritual of worship adopted, and its teaching concerning priest and sacrifice recognized—that day saw the beginning of the *death* of prophecy. It was, of course, the prophets' own work ; but they had established the agency by which, later, they themselves would be strangled ; because from this time forward the *voice* of the *prophet* is unnecessary.

See CORNILL, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

(12) The adoption of Deuteronomy signified the separation of church and state. This was necessary, for the state is soon to die—within thirty-five years. This separation made it possible for the church to live, after the death of the state.

See CORNILL, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

(13) The act of Josiah and his people in accepting Deuteronomy was the first step toward the canonization of Holy Scripture—the first step in a long line of similar events which have given us the Bible with our modern conceptions of inspiration.

(14) *In a word*, worship, whether viewed narrowly or broadly, is henceforth *almost* a new thing. The Israelitish religion seems to have been revolutionized. Of course,

a closer study shows that all this was evolution, not revolution; the prophets had prepared the way; the prophets and priests worked together. A priest found the book and gave it to the king, and the priests received through this book privileges they had never before enjoyed.

See BUDDE, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, pp. 171-9.

§ 29. A Second Reaction followed after thirteen years of successful work on the part of Jeremiah and Josiah.

(1) Jeremiah at the beginning of the reformation had preached the contents of this book throughout the villages of Judah, sometimes incurring the opposition and persecution of his friends. Jer. 11:1-6, 18-23.

(2) The times that followed for thirteen years were quiet and prosperous; the king and the people lived before God and received his blessing.

(3) Perhaps during this time the work of the sages began to flourish. *Cf.* Prov., chaps. 1-9; Jer. 18:18.

(4) Assyria was losing ground; Necho of Egypt (608 B. C.) began to encroach upon the Assyrian territory. Josiah met him at the battle of Megiddo and was slain. The reformation failed. The people believed the king's death was a divine punishment for changing the forms of worship in their religion. The opposing party gained control, and then followed the series of events which resulted, in a few years, in the downfall of the kingdom. 2 Kings 23:29; 2 Chron. 35:20-24.

2 Kings 23:36 f.;
24:8 f.

§ 30. The Significance of the Babylonian Exile in its Relationship to Worship cannot easily be overestimated. Its effect upon some of the principal ideas and institutions may be noted here:

(1) *Object of worship.*—The removal to Babylonia involved the leaving behind of all idolatrous objects of worship, or their confiscation or destruction by the conqueror. The leaders of Israel's religious life looked upon idolatry as one of the chief causes of the exile. The removal from the land with which Jehovah had always been associated to a land which was the dominion of another god also involved either an acknowledgment of the power of this foreign god, or else the maintenance 2 Kings 25:13-17
Ezek. 6:11-14;
8:3-18.

Isa. 40:12-31;
44:9-20; 45:5-7
46:5-7.

of a belief in Jehovah's supremacy and universality. That this higher conception of Jehovah prevailed is clear from the fact that we hear nothing of idolatry after the return from the exile, and especially from the teachings of Isa., chaps. 40-66.

(2) *Place of worship*.—The temple being destroyed, and all the familiar scenes of worship being left behind, together with all material and external reminders of Jehovah's presence, the worshipers were necessarily led to a more spiritual conception of God. Moreover, absence from the temple developed an ability to do without the temple services which was in part responsible for the origin of synagogues.

Isa. 45:18-22;
48:12;
Isa. 51:12, 13.

Ezek, chaps. 40-48.

Isa. 61:6.

Isa. 43:22-24;
56:7.

Isa. 56:2, 4, 6;
58:13; 66:23.

Isa. 58:3-5.

Isa. 63:15-64:12;
56:7.
Isa. 52:1, 11.

Isa. 65:1-7, 11;
66:3, 4.

Cf. Ezek. 10:9-22.

(3) The occupation of the *priests* was gone, in so far as it was dependent upon the temple. The book of Ezekiel furnishes an illustration of one phase of priestly activity during these days. The thought of Israel as a nation of priests appears.

(4) *Sacrifice* could no longer be offered, but it did not lose any of its importance in the thought of the people.

(5) *Times and seasons*.—(a) The *sabbath*, being an institution which was independent of the temple, could still be kept, and it received much emphasis during and after this period. Sabbaths were also observed by the Babylonians. (b) *Feasts*, which had always been occasions of joy, could no longer be observed legally, and emphasis was laid on (c) *fasts*, which were of an exactly opposite character and were not dependent upon the temple.

(6) *Other acts of worship*.—(a) In the absence of all the regular public means of worship, those who worshiped "in spirit and in truth" naturally had frequent recourse to *prayer*. The future temple is thought of as a house of *prayer*. (b) The recognition of the captivity as a punishment for sin led to an exalted conception of Jehovah's holiness and to the laying of great emphasis upon ceremonial *cleanness*. (c) It is probable, however, that many became apostates from the Jehovah-worship and took up the worship of their conquerors.

(7) *The influence of the Babylonian worship* on Israel's ritual is evident in succeeding ritualistic legislation, as

also in some of Ezekiel's imagery. Jehovah through the exile again brought Israel into contact with a great religion, as he had already done in the case of Baalism. Just as Israel had learned some truths through Baalism, and to some extent had enriched the cultus of Jehovah thereby, so was she to do through the agency of Babylon's worship.

§ 31. The Priest-Prophet of the Captivity, Ezekiel, occupied an important place in the further development of the ritual of worship. His place may only be touched upon here. With prophetic idealism, legalist though he was, his vision pictured a future temple, a future service, and a future priesthood, as follows :

(a) *The temple.*—While the temple of Solomon had been virtually a part of the royal palace, the new temple is to be wholly separate from the royal dwellings and from all other ordinary habitations ; for it is the earthly habitation of the most holy God, who had abandoned the former city and temple because of their profanation by sin and uncleanness. To prevent any such profanation of Jehovah in future

Ezek. 45:1-8.

the sacred "oblation," the domain of the priests, Levites, prince, and city, is placed in the center of the restored tribes, Judah on one side of it and Benjamin on the other. In the midst of this oblation is the portion of the priests, that of the Levites lying on one side, and that of the city on the other. In the middle of the priests' portion stands the temple. This is a great complex of buildings, around which on all sides lies a free space or suburbs. Then comes a great wall surrounding the whole buildings, forming a square of five hundred cubits. Within this wall is an outer court, and within this an inner court. . . . In this inner court stands the altar, and to the back of it the temple house. The house has also a graduated series of compartments increasing in sanctity inwards—an outer apartment or porch, an inner or holy place, and an innermost, where the presence of Jehovah abides.⁴

(b) *The priests.*—The sons of Zadok only are to be priests ; all other Levites are to be subordinate ministers, performing the more menial tasks of the sanctuary.

⁴ DAVIDSON, *The Book of Ezekiel* (Cambridge Bible), p. 290.

Foreigners are not to be permitted to enter the temple, as heretofore, to perform any tasks. The distinction between clergy and laity is clearly marked; none of the latter—not even the prince—may enter the inner court of the temple. The sanctity of the priests as the ones ministering in the presence of Jehovah is strongly emphasized and guarded in many ways, such as the requirement that they wear special garments while discharging their sacred functions. They live upon their share of the sacrifices of the people.

Ezek. 44:17-28.

Ezek. 44:29, 30.

Ezek. 43:18-26;
42:13; 44:27.

Ezek. 43:27;
44:11.

Ezek. 42:13.

Ezek. 46:13-15.

Ezek. 46:19-24.

Ezek. 44:24.

Ezek. 45:17-
46:11.

(c) *Sacrifice* occupies an important place in the ritual. The various kinds mentioned are: (1) the *sin-offering*, which is much emphasized; (2) *burnt-offerings*, which are numerous; (3) the *trespass-offering*, which was a variety of the sin-offering; (4) the *meal-offering*; (5) the *peace-offering*; (6) the *continual burnt-offering* made every morning. Special places are provided for the cooking of the offerings that are to be eaten by priests and people.

(d) *Times and seasons*.—The old times are all to be observed, viz., the *sabbath*, the *new moons*, and the three *feasts*, the Passover receiving special notice.

§ 32. The Priestly Character of the Prophetic Work of These Times appears most strongly. This means that the priest-work was gaining ground, while the prophetic work was losing ground. But it will be noted that (a) a new situation was coming in which the priest-work would be more greatly needed; and (b) the priest-work had taken into itself all that had been contributed by the prophets. It is true, therefore, that not the priest-work pure and simple, but the priest-work as strengthened by, and as containing, the truth proclaimed through prophets, was the power that now held the forefront.

This priestly element is seen—

Jer. 1:1.

Deut., chaps. 12-
26.

Deut. 18:5;
cf. Judg. 17:7-13.

(1) In the priestly birth and character of the prophet Jeremiah, whose home was at Anathoth, one of the headquarters of the priests.

(2) In the priestly character of a large portion of the book of Deuteronomy.

(3) In the position now occupied by the priests as compared with their former position.

(4) In the priestly character and service of Ezekiel. Ezek. 1:3; chaps.
40-48.

§ 33. The Return of the People from the Babylonian Exile introduced an entirely new situation. It was one, however, in which for eighty years (538-458 B. C.) the book of Deuteronomy and its regulations were supreme. It was a time of discouragement; the high hopes of the returning exiles were dashed to the ground in the presence of desolated homes, wasted lands, failure of crops, loss of political independence, and the destruction of Jerusalem. The struggle against these adverse conditions seems to have absorbed most of their energies during the first years after the return, the requirements of worship being largely neglected. We may note the attitude toward some of the principal institutions.

(a) *The temple.*—Partly because of opposition on the part of certain enemies, but chiefly on account of discouragement and indifference, the foundation of the temple was not laid until December, 520 B. C., eighteen years after the return, and the work was not finished until 516 B. C. Because of the poverty of the people, this new temple fell far short of the splendor of the old. The religious leaders were convinced that prosperity and glory could come to Israel only if the temple were first restored. This shows how large a place it had come to occupy in religious thought and practice.

(b) *The priest* was gaining more and more importance in the life and worship of the people. Of the returning exiles a large proportion consisted of priests and other temple servants. There seems to have been developing the distinction between priests and Levites which was to become fixed later. That the distinction was not yet clearly made is evident from the fact that the two titles appear to be synonymous in some passages, just as they are in Deuteronomy. One priest had already achieved prominence as the leader of his brethren, and he appeared side by side with the prince in all important concerns, and was superior to him in religious affairs. A high standard was set up for the priests by Malachi, and their corruption was severely denounced.

Ezra 2:64 f.

Cf. Hag. 2:15-19.

Ezra 5:2;
Hag. 2:18;
Ezra 6:15.

Hag. 2:3;
Ezra 3:12.

Ezra 5:1, 2.

Hag. 1:9, 10.

Ezra 2:36-39.

Ezra 6:18, 20.

Ezra 8:20; 10:5;
Mal. 3:3.

Zech. 3:1-9;
6:11-13;
Hag. 1:1, 12;
2:2, 4.

Mal. 2:5-9; 3:3.

Mal. 3:8, 9.

Tithes for the support of the priests were still in force, but were reluctantly paid.

Ezra 3:2, 3.

(c) *Sacrifice* was at once renewed at Jerusalem upon the return from exile, if, indeed, it had ever wholly ceased. One of the earliest acts was the erection of an altar of burnt-offering upon the site of the former temple, that the regular sacrifices might be offered to Jehovah. These sacrifices were probably those provided for in Deuteronomy (*cf.* § 27 (4)) and earlier laws. Malachi denounces those who bring maimed, imperfect, and polluted offerings, and insists upon the best of everything as an offering to Jehovah.

Mal. 1:7, 8; 12-14;
Mal. 3:8.,

Ezra 3:4, 5;
6:19-22;
Zech. 7:1-7;
Zech. 8:18, 19.

Ezra 3:10, 11.

Mal. 1:14.
Mal. 3:5.
Neh. 1:4-11; 2:4;
etc.

(d) *Times and seasons.*—These probably continued the same as they had been under the Deuteronomic law. Specific mention is made, in the literature that comes from these days, only of the Feast of the New Moon, the Feast of Tabernacles, the Passover, and of four fasts which had been observed every year since the beginning of the exile.

(e) *Other acts of worship.*—(1) *Music and singing* are mentioned in connection with the laying of the foundation stone of the temple. (2) *Vows* were still made. (3) *Sorcery* was not even yet wholly uprooted. (4) That the habit of *prayer* was not discontinued is clear from Nehemiah's statements concerning himself at a little later time.

§ 34. The Priestly Character of the Prophetic Work of these later years is seen in —

Hag. 1:8-10;
Zech. 1:16; 4:9;
6:12-15.

Zech. 3:1-10;
4:2, 3; 6:11;
7:1-7; 8:18, 19.

Mal. 1:6-14;
2:1-9;
Mal. 3:1-4;
3:8-10;
Mal. 4:4.

(a) The emphasis laid upon the necessity of building the temple as a prerequisite to the enjoyment of Jehovah's favor. This is the main theme of Haggai's prophecy.

(b) The prominence given to priestly interests in the utterances of Zechariah, who speaks of the temple, the high-priest, fasts, feasts, etc.

(c) The large place given to matters pertaining to worship in the book of Malachi, which probably comes from the very end of this period. The main interest of the author seems to be centered in an effort to reform the ritual and those who have charge of it.

§ 35. The Songs and Hymns of the Middle Period are very numerous. Their spirit may be gathered from the following examples :

(1) Songs celebrating the deliverance of Jerusalem, Pss. 46; 48. as in the days of Hezekiah.

(2) Songs describing the wickedness of the times, Pss. 36; 54; 64. as in the days of Manasseh.

(3) Songs depicting the destruction of Jerusalem Pss. 80; 31. and the going into captivity.

(4) Songs expressing the sense of loneliness and Pss. 137; 22; 69; 88. wretchedness experienced during the exile.

(5) Songs celebrating the joy and gladness of the Pss. 126; 115. return from exile.

(6) Songs of the second temple, written particularly Pss. 106; 107. for congregational worship.

It is to be noted concerning the songs thus classified—

(a) That those of earlier date were considerably modified in the later days when the use of songs in congregational worship was more thoroughly established.

(b) That it is exceedingly difficult to fix exactly the date of many psalms because of the lack of historical indications; *i. e.*, references to historical events.

(c) That many psalms which seem to express individual experiences and aspirations are really congregational in their character; *i. e.*, they were written to express the feelings of a community.

(d) That a fuller treatment of this part of the element of worship will be presented later.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF WORSHIP IN THE LATER OLD TESTAMENT PERIOD.

§ 36. The Later Old Testament Period in the history of worship is the story of *Judaism*, that is, the Jewish religion, which was the daughter of the Hebrew religion. The period, rightly considered, (1) begins with the Babylonian exile (§ 30), for at that time were set in motion the great ideas, and the modifications of old ideas, which finally made up Judaism; but (2) the time in which the distinct *establishment* and substantial development of Judaism took place falls within the two centuries of *Persian supremacy* (538–332 B. C.); while (3) the century and a half from 332 B. C. to 165 B. C., the period of *Greek influence*, had for its great achievement the final testing and rounding-out of Judaism.

See KENT, *A History of the Jewish People during the Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods*, pp. v–vii; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 500 f.

§ 37. Some of the Most Striking Characteristics of this period are these:

(1) It is the *last* division of the Old Testament period. Is it a climax or an anti-climax? Is it a step higher in the development of the true religious conception, or is it a step lower than has hitherto been taken?

Cf. Ezra 1:5.

(2) It is prevailingly *priestly* in its character, for (a) a king no longer sits on Judah's throne; (b) the prophet's voice and authority are now largely a thing of the past; while (c) it is the high-priest who occupies the place of supremacy alike in church and state. In Israel's earliest days the king acted as priest; now the priest acts as king.

Zech. 3:1-7;

6:11.

(3) It is distinctly an *ecclesiastical* situation which presents itself to our view; in fact, we are studying the history of a *church*, not that of a state.

Neh., chap. 8.

(4) In view of all this, it is natural enough to find that the great event which characterized this period, the

event which the sacred historians chronicled with especial emphasis, was the promulgation of the *Levitical law* by Ezra. With this we may compare the giving of the Deuteronomic law, in its relationship to the middle period (§ 28).

§ 38. The Situation Culminating with the Building of the Temple, 516 B. C., presents the following, among other, elements which may be taken as directly growing out of the exile and *leading up* to this later period :

(1) Jeremiah's teaching of *individualism*, which emphasized the fact that each individual sustained a distinct personal relation to Jehovah in addition to his relation to him as a part of the nation. Each man is responsible for his own sins and for those only, and his acceptance with God depends upon himself alone.

*Jer. 31:29-34;
Ezek., chap. 18;
Deut. 24:16.*

(2) Ezekiel's teaching of the *new community*, a new city in which no government will be needed, for there will be no crime and no injustice. God will be judge. He will bestow upon the people all that they need. The city will have no obligation to provide for the welfare of the people. God will fight Israel's battles, and Israel's only work will be to bury the corpses of the slain. What, now, will prince and people do? *Engage in worship, continual worship.* The only object of care will be the temple and its materials ; the only taxes will be church taxes. This is Ezekiel's vision of the kingdom of God on earth.

*Ezek. 39:1-16;
cf. Isa. 65:17-25;
Ezek. 17:25-30.*

(3) There is general recognition of the idea that Israel's religion, and, indeed, its national existence, was not dependent upon a monarchy, nor, indeed, upon any particular form of government.

*Ezek., chap. 18;
Zech. 8:20-23.*

(4) There exists a more general readiness to accept the teachings of the prophets, which at the time of their utterance were unheeded or rejected.

*Zech. 1:1-6;
7:1-7;
cf. Joel 2:28, 29.*

(5) The necessity for meeting together in small groups for worship, and the nature of the exercises possible under the circumstances, viz., public reading of scripture and prayer, are leading to the organization of *synagogues*.

*Ezek. 8:1;
20:1-3;
cf. Ps. 74:8*

**Exod. 20:23—
23:33.**

**Ezek., chaps. 40—
48;
cf. Isa. 51:17-20.**

*Cf. Ezra 1:2-4;
Ezra 6:1-12;
Ezra 7:11-26;
Neh. 2:1-9.*

Jer. 24:1-10.

**Hag. 2:6-9;
Zech. 2:9-13.**

**Zech. 6:9-12.
Zech. 3:8.**

**Ezra, chap. 5;
cf. Neh., chap. 6.**

(6) With the book of the Covenant (§ 20), and the book of Deuteronomy (§ 25), which had become the adopted code of religious life, and the more recent and more elaborate program of worship suggested by Ezekiel (§ 31), all in existence, and all rendered *impossible of observance* by the circumstances of the people, there is seen to be a great indefiniteness and uncertainty in the situation, which, while confusing, signified most clearly that the "Law" was not yet finished, and prepared the minds of the people for the more *definite and final* formulation still to be made.

(7) The broad and generous *policy of Cyrus* and his successors on the Persian throne, a policy of state and religion very different from that of preceding history, as well as from that of still later times, made possible in the way of progress and growth what otherwise would have been impossible.

(8) The higher character of the Babylonian Jews, and the special circumstances of their environment, as distinguished from that of the Jews who remained in Judah, forms an important factor in the movement toward national *exclusiveness* which is henceforth to be so prominent.

(9) The expectations, publicly announced, of Haggai and Zechariah that in the political upheavals of the day (*i. e.*, the revolts of the Babylonians in 519 and 515 B. C. against the Persian rule) deliverance and glory would come to Israel; the embassy of four Jews from Babylon, bringing gifts of silver and gold which are made into a crown for Zerubbabel (not Joshua); and the fact that Zerubbabel had been given the name Branch or Sprout—all this points to the suggestion that there were many who still expected a descendant of David to sit upon Israel's throne; but the hope was impossible of realization because (*a*) the whole trend of events was toward the priestly rule, and (*b*) perhaps the Persian authorities may have interfered to prevent an act which would certainly have led to treason, just as they did in the case of the building of the temple.

See CHEYNE, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 15; KENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 f.

(10) The residence in Babylon brought the Jews into close touch with an elaborate system of sacrifice, the most important characteristic of which was the *propitiatory* idea. This is significant in view of the fact that henceforward the greatest possible emphasis will be placed upon sacrifice as an *atonement*, and upon prayer for *forgiveness*.

Lev., chap. 16;
Neh. 1:4-11.

See PAUL HAUPT, "Babylonian Elements in the Levitical Ritual," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55-81; JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 668.

(11) Because in Babylon there was no chance to offer sacrifice, such a thing being utterly inconceivable, *fasting* came into great prominence, since "by denying themselves their ordinary food they gave expression to the intensity of their feelings, and at the same time laid before Jehovah a gift which could be presented at any time and at any place."

Isa. 58:3 ff.;
Ezra 8:21;
Neh. 1:4;
Joel 1:14;
Zechar. 7:3-5.

See KENT, *op. cit.*, p. 43; BENZINGER, article "Fasting," § 6, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; STANTON, article "Fasting," §§ 1b and 3, in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*; CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11.

(12) It was, likewise, because in Babylon the great feast days could not be properly or regularly observed, that greater and greater attention was given to the observance of the *sabbath*, for this could be done anywhere. The nature of the observance was probably much influenced by the customs in vogue in Babylon.

Ezek. 20:12-24.

(13) The removal to another land, and residence in that land, took away the narrow conception of a national god which had always existed among the masses; and now the time has come when first the people as such will accept the great and fundamental doctrine of *one god, i. e., monotheism*. But Jehovah, in becoming the creator of the world, and the ruler of the universe, will not seem to be in as close touch as formerly with his people. He will be holy, in the sense of being separated. He will be higher and more majestic; less familiar and more dignified, because *greater*.

Isa. 44:6.

Isa. 40:28.

Isa. 40:12-17.

See MONTEFIORE, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (= Hibbert Lectures, 1892), pp. 228, 268 f.; SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. I, pp. 175 f.; DAVIDSON, article "God," § IV, (4), in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Neh. 13:15-28.

Mal. 3:16-18.

Hag. 2:3;
Ezra 3:12, 13.

Mal. 2:17.

Isa. 59:9-15.

Cf. the prophet
who speaks in
Isa. 42:18-25.

Cf. Ps. 15.

Neh. 5:1-12;
Mal. 3:5;
Mal. 2:10.

(14) According to the manner in which the individual Israelites meet these new and strange conditions they will divide themselves into two classes: (*a*) those who break away from their old religion because of inability to adopt a larger faith and a broader conception of God, or because of personal advantage gained by giving up the old; and (*b*) those who, in spite of calamity and misapprehension, maintain themselves steadfast and true. This means a purging of the people, the growing stronger of those who are strong, and the weeding out of those who are weak.

See KENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 221 f.; MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 291 ff.

(15) When it was realized quite clearly that the promises of the prophets were not to be fulfilled at the time of the return from exile, there was disappointment and despair on every side. Some became indifferent to God, for they put on *him* the blame for their disappointment. Others, the more devout, took the blame upon *themselves*. With full faith in God's ability to do the things which he had promised, they reasoned in their hearts that this glorious future must have failed of realization because of Israel's sin; yes, because of their own unworthiness this glory was being postponed. They reasoned further: We, who have sinned and have thus made it impossible for the great day of deliverance to be ushered in — *we* must change our ways; we must become more holy; we must increase our piety; our lives must be of such purity that *God will be compelled to keep his promises*. It was this situation and this interpretation of it that prepared the way for "the legalism and the salvation by works of the later Judaism."

See CORNILL, *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 155-9.

§ 39. A Great Reaction Came after the Building of the Temple in 516 B.C., which lasted nearly three-quarters of a century. Concerning this it will be noted —

(1) That, in all probability, only a few of the Babylonian Jews had yet returned;¹ the weak, narrow, and

¹ The question of dates, always a more or less difficult one, is in this case especially difficult. Cf. KENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 ff.; H. E. RYLE, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Cambridge Bible), pp. xxxviii-xlv; CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-81; C. C. TORREY, *The Composition*

selfish elements were in control; the rulers were greedy of gain, oppressing the poor.

(2) There was in the community a strong tendency toward skepticism. The so-called "scorners" were in the majority, and included in their number not only rulers but priests, and these openly expressed doubts as to all the religious practices and opinions of the times, *e. g.*, (a) weariness of the routine of sacrifice; (b) what real Mal. 1:13. benefit comes from serving God? (c) why not just as Mal. 3:14, 15. well worship the heathen gods? (d) what difference does Mal. 2:17. it make whether a man does right or wrong?

(3) Under these circumstances the condition of worship was greatly degraded. This was seen in—

(a) The complaint of the priests as to the weariness Mal. 1:13. of their occupation.

(b) The low character of the high-priests, who were Neh. 13:4-9, 28. among the most guilty.

(c) The readiness of the people to cheat Jehovah in Mal. 1:6-14. their sacrifices.

(d) The attitude of the priests in general toward the Mal. 1:8; 2:8,9. entire service, including the sacrifice, so that the whole ceremonial came into contempt.

(e) The failure of the people to pay their tithes, Mal. 3:8-12. so that the support of the entire system was about to fail.

(f) The marriage of the priests into families of outside Neh. 13:23-28;
Mal. 2:10-16. nations who served other gods.

(4) But there still remained the company of "faithful ones," who feared Jehovah, and were called "the just," Mal. 3:16-18;
Pss. 69:32-36;
101:6; 113:7. "the poor and needy" (*cf.* above, § 38, (14), (15)).

§ 40. Nehemiah's Coming 444 B. C. Was a Great Event in the history of Judaism.

(1) His work as a reformer and upbuilder of Jerusalem included—

(a) The rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem as a protection against attack, and as a means of separating the Jews from their heathen neighbors.

and *Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, pp. 51-65; W. H. KOSTERS AND T. K. CHEYNE, article "Ezra" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; L. W. BATTEEN, article "Nehemiah" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Neh., chap. 11.

(b) The repopulating of Jerusalem by bringing in Jews from the surrounding country to dwell there.

Neh. 13:23-28;
Neh. 13:1-3.

(c) The prohibition of marriages with heathen peoples and the driving out of all foreigners from the Jewish community.

Neh., chap. 5.

(d) The restoration to its original owners of all property that had been acquired by mortgages and usury, and the remission of all interest.

Neh. 13:15-22.

(e) The institution of a stricter observance of the sabbath, which had heretofore been freely violated.

Neh. 13:10-13;
Neh. 10:32-39.

(2) But in addition to all this he turned his attention to the temple and its service. Finding that this was being neglected because the Levites were under the necessity of working in the fields for their support, he took steps to secure the regular payment of the tithes, and appointed faithful officials to distribute them to the Levites. He also made regulations for the proper observance of sacrifices, offerings, and feasts.

§ 41. **The Work of Ezra**, in all probability, followed that of Nehemiah, the latter having by his masterful skill prepared the way (*cf.* § 40). The steps in his eventful career may be summarily classified as follows:

Ezra 7:1-9;
8:21-23.

(1) The *journey* took place in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, occupied a period of four months, and was made without military escort, since Ezra refused to manifest distrust in Jehovah's protection by asking the aid of Artaxerxes.

Ezra 7:15-23;
8:24-34.

(2) The *gifts* said to have been offered by Artaxerxes and his princes for the temple at Jerusalem and its service, together with the requisition made by the king upon the governors of the western provinces and the free-will offerings of the Babylonian Jews themselves, were of great value, and were faithfully guarded and handed over to the temple officials.

Ezra 7:14-27.

(3) The immediate *purpose* was to establish more securely and develop more elaborately the facilities for worship in the temple. Matters relating to the service and to the temple seem to have occupied the entire time and attention of the reformers for a couple of months after their arrival.

§ 42. The Formal Adoption of the Law took place at Neh., chaps. 8-10.
 a public assembly of all the people. The method of procedure was in general the same as that used when the Deuteronomic law was publicly adopted by the nation (see § 25). The law was first read aloud in the hearing of the people. This produced a sense of sin and shortcoming on the part of all, and was followed by public confession. After this a solemn covenant was entered into by all the people to observe the requirements of the new law, and this covenant was signed by the representatives of the people, viz., the princes, priests, and Levites.

§ 43. The Law as Thus Proclaimed and Accepted—

(1) Is described in Nehemiah as—
 (a) Prohibiting marriages with the surrounding Neh. 10: 30.
 heathen.

(b) Providing for a strict observance of the *sabbaths* Neh. 10: 31.
 and *holy days*.

(c) Enforcing the observance of the *sabbatical year*, Neh. 10: 31.
 with the accompanying remission of all debts.

(d) Imposing an annual *tax* of one-third of a shekel Neh. 10: 32, 33.
 per capita for the support of the services of the temple,
 including the offerings.

(e) Arranging for the *wood to be furnished* for the Neh. 10: 34.
 burnt-offerings at stated intervals.

(f) Enjoining the bringing of all *first-fruits* and *first-lings* to the priests at the temple. Neh. 10: 35-37.

(g) Requiring that the people give *tithes* to the Neh. 10: 38.
 Levites in the various cities, and that the Levites bring a
 tithe of these tithes to the temple at Jerusalem.

(h) Calling for a hearty support of the temple and Neh. 10: 39.
 constant faithfulness to it.

(2) Contains regulations unknown to Deuteronomy, Neh. 10: 31b;
 e. g., the requirement that the land lie fallow every sab- cf. Deut., chap.
 batical year; the tax of one-third of a shekel for the tem- 15;
 ple services; the arrangement for the provision of Neh. 10: 38;
 fire-wood; and the law concerning tithes, which departs cf. Deut. 14:
 widely from the Deuteronomic law. 22-29; 26: 12-15.

(3) Was substantially the body of regulations found in Exod., chaps. 25-31; 34: 29—40: 38; Leviticus, and Numbers; in other words, the so-called *Levitical code*.

See KENT, *op. cit.*, p. 212; CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 f.; MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 315 ff.; J. ESTLIN CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 137-41; WELLHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-10.

§44. The Significance of This Important Event lies in the following points:

*Cf. Neh. 10:30, 31
with 13:15-24;
Ezra 9:1.*

(1) The immediate connection of these new regulations with the times. They grew out of the effort to improve the existing moral and religious condition of the people, and they contain the principles that formed the basis of the work of reform.

(2) The fact that, although some additions remained still to be made to this code, it was substantially complete.

(3) The adoption and incorporation into this code of the important teachings of the prophets. It presented in the concrete and tangible form of specific precepts the great general truths that the prophets had long endeavored to inculcate. It presented truth and duty objectively, and thus met with a greater immediate success than the prophets' work had ever achieved.

*Cf., e.g., Lev. 16:1
—17:9; 22:1—
24:9; 25:11—
26:2.*

*Lev. 14:10-32;
22:17-33;
Exod. 29:38-42.*

Neh. 10:37, 38.

(4) The overwhelming preponderance of material in the code relating to service or worship.

(5) The place occupied in it by sacrifice, and the emphasis (see § 38, (10)) placed upon the idea of propitiation and forgiveness.

(6) The great advance made by the priests and Levites; their support is no longer a matter of fitful charity, as it was under the Deuteronomic law, but is made a standing obligation upon the people, over the discharge of which the priests and Levites themselves are given control.

*2 Kings 17:6, 24-
41; cf. 25:11, 12.*

§45. Another Important Headquarters for Worship, the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim, grew out of this priestly reformation. The Samaritans were a mixed race, whose ancestors were the poorer Israelites left behind after the deportation of the more influential classes to Assyria at the time of the fall of Samaria, and the Babylonian colonists who were brought to Israel in place of the deported captives. Their religion was thus naturally a corrupt mixture of Israelitish and Babylonian ideas and practices. They seem to have been influenced by Josiah's reformation, at least to the extent of regarding Jerusalem

as the only lawful place of worship. Hence, when the Ezra, chap. 4. effort to rebuild the temple was begun, the Samaritans sought to have a part in the work ; but, being denied this privilege by the stricter Jews, they seem to have used their influence to obstruct the work. Nehemiah's attitude toward them was one of uncompromising opposition. Neh. 2:18-20. They, for their part, opposed and hindered him greatly Neh. 4:1-23; 6:1-19. in his work of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. The climax of Nehemiah's hostility to them was reached when Neh. 13:28. he expelled the grandson of the high-priest from Jerusalem because he had married the daughter of Sanballat, one of the Samaritan princes. The new law, adopted when feeling was at such a pitch, of course gave the Samaritans no part in the worship at Jerusalem. Consequently they withdrew and built a temple for themselves on Mount Gerizim. In all probability many Jews who had contracted heathen marriages went over to the Samaritan community, to which they were so closely bound by family ties, and thus the community of the faithful was freed from many troublesome elements.

See MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 f.; CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-35; WELLHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 498; GUTHE, article "Israel," §65, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

§46. The Last Century of Persian Rule (425-332) witnessed—

(1) The return of many Jews from the lands in which they had been scattered ; for this return, like the first entrance into Canaan, was very gradual.

(2) The growing influence of those who thus returned as over against that of those who had remained.

(3) Great opportunity at first for free growth and expansion because of the weakness of the government of Persia.

(4) Serious calamity, later, because of the contest between Egypt and Persia, a contest in which the Jews were compelled to take part, and in which they suffered as perhaps never before in their history. From psalms Pss. 74; 79. of this period we learn that the enemy entered Jerusalem and the temple itself, in which they set up their heathen standards and committed ruthless acts of vandalism, even setting the temple on fire. Not satisfied

with this, they burned all the synagogues of the land and slaughtered the people mercilessly, so that blood ran like water in the streets of Jerusalem.

See EWALD, *History of Israel*, Vol. V, pp. 165-206; CHEYNE, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, pp. 357-63; W. EMORY BARNES, article "History of Israel," § 10, in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*; GUTHE, article "Israel," § 66, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; KENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-8.

§ 47. The Religio-Political Organization of Judaism, which had thus become crystallized, considered as to its outer form, was a *hierarchy*, a government by priests; for—

Exod. 28:1-39;
Lev. 16:1-3, 17.

(1) The chief ruler was the high-priest, who had despotic authority over the people, was robed in the royal purple, and alone represented the people before Jehovah in the holy of holies.

(2) The ruling aristocracy was made up of priests, many of them related to the high-priest.

Numb. 18:1-7.

(3) The servants of the priests and the sanctuary were the *Levites*.

Ezra 7:6, 10-12,
21;
Eccles. 12:11.

(4) The religious and civil functions are performed by one class, the priests. There is now no nation; it is a church.

(5) The *scribes* come forward in response to the need of the times. Since the regulations concerning life and worship were now fixed and written down, there arose a demand for copies of the written law for the use of synagogues and individuals. The scribes who prepared these copies, being naturally better educated than the great majority of the people and spending most of their time in the study of the law, soon came to be looked to as peculiarly well-fitted to interpret the law to those less conversant with it.²

See MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-6.

§ 48. The Place and Acts of Worship are Adjusted to the New Situation.

Pss. 76:1, 2;
79:1.

(1) The *temple* more and more came to be the center of the whole religious system. The thought of it as the place where Jehovah especially manifested his presence gave it a peculiar sanctity, so that none but the holy

²The scope of the activity of the scribes is well set forth in a saying ascribed to Simon the Just (300-290 B.C.): "Our fathers have taught us three things, to be cautious in judging, to train many scholars, and to set a fence about the Law."

people might enter its precincts. The worst crime of which an enemy could be capable was desecration of the temple. But, while emphasis was thus laid upon the temple, there was growing up alongside of it the *synagogue* ^{Ps. 74:8.} with a function of a different kind. These were organized wherever there were a few Jews settled who wished to study the law. They especially supplied the religious needs of the many Jews scattered in many lands who were unable to make frequent visits to Jerusalem in order to participate in the splendid worship of the temple. While the temple services centered about sacrifices and offerings, the service of the synagogue centered in the reading and interpretation of the law.

See MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 390 f.

(2) *Sacrifice* now took on more and more a propitiatory character, being looked upon chiefly as atonement for sin. The most minute regulations were made as to the details of every sacrifice, the manner in which the offering must be laid upon the altar, the disposition to be made of the fat and the blood, the garments to be worn by the officiating priest, etc. It seems as though the temple services must have been a constant succession of sacrifices.

<sup>Lev. 6: 24—7: 9;
16: 1-34;
Numb., chaps. 28;
29.</sup>

(3) *Times and seasons* received more attention than ever before. The *sabbath* was particularly insisted upon as a sign of the covenant between Jehovah and his people. The penalty for performing any work on the sabbath was death.

<sup>Lev. 19: 3;
Exod. 31: 12-17.</sup>

(4) The *sabbatical year* was now made wider in scope, ^{Lev. 25: 1-7.} so as to include the land itself which was to be allowed to lie fallow. Furthermore, every fifty years an additional *year of jubilee* was to be celebrated, thus making two sabbatical years in succession. At this time all Hebrew slaves were to be released, and all land bought during the preceding forty-nine years was to revert to its original owners.

^{Lev. 25: 8-55.}

(5) The *feasts* provided for were the *Passover* and *Feast of Unleavened Bread*, the *Feast of Tabernacles*, the *New Moon*, the *Feast of Weeks*, the *New Year's Feast*, and the *Day of Atonement*. They were all definitely dated

<sup>Lev. 23: 4-8,
33-36, 39-44;
Numb. 28: 11 ff.,
26 ff.;
Lev. 23: 15 ff.;
Numb. 29: 1-6;
Lev., chap. 16.</sup>

by month and day, and thus were still farther removed from their agricultural origin. The Feast of Tabernacles was now celebrated in remembrance of the fact that the Israelites dwelt in tents during their journey in the wilderness. There was little difference in the manner of celebrating the various feasts—the most characteristic feature of them all is the endless sacrifices that accompanied them. They were all to a large extent of an expiatory nature; nevertheless it was felt necessary to devote one day per year to the special work of expiation, viz., the Day of Atonement.

(6) The public *fasts* which had been observed during the exile in commemoration of the exile and of the disasters connected with it were not incorporated into the new law, but seem to have come to an end in Zechariah's time. That fasting in general was highly esteemed as a means of propitiating Jehovah, and frequently practiced when occasion seemed to demand it, is clear in view of the place given to it in the regulations for the Day of Atonement, and the references to it in Joel and Nehemiah.

Lev. 23:32;
Numb. 29:7;
Joel 1:14;
2:12, 15;
Neh. 1:4; 9:1.

Ezra, chap. 9;
Neh. 1:4-11;
2:4; 5:19;
6:9, 14; 9:5-38;
13:22.

Neh. 7:1; 11:23;
12:27-29, 42,
45-47.

Lev. 19:26, 31;
Lev. 20:6, 27.

Lev. 22:18, 21, 23;
27:1-8.
Ps. 84:1, 2.

(7) *Other acts of worship.*—Constant recourse was had to *prayer* on the part of pious Jews. The chief objects of prayer seem to have been deliverance from dangers, help in trouble, and forgiveness of sin with resulting bestowal of blessings.

That *singing and music* occupied a large place in worship is clear from the allusions to the singers in connection with the dedicatory exercises held when the wall of Jerusalem was completed, and from the large number of psalms that come from this period (see § 50).

Soothsaying and magic seem to have been still practiced, but were prohibited by the law, as was also *necromancy*.

Vows were recognized and provided for by the law.

§ 49. **The Full Significance of This New Régime** is hard to grasp. The comfort afforded by it to the people cannot be questioned. This strange system, which seems to us, in our love of freedom, so distasteful, was, after all, the highest result yet achieved in the development of Israel's religion. It was based upon the doctrines

of the prophet-priests, viz., individualism and solidarity. Its keynote was *monotheism*. Its God was a God whose supreme attribute was holiness, and who expected in every individual of the sacred community a holiness like his own. The underlying thought was the overwhelming *sense of sin*. Now, for the first time, the preaching of the prophets through all the centuries has found its place in the hearts of the people. The prayers are prayers of confession. God has grown greater, and man more humble in the sight of God. God is the God of the whole world. Israel is a company of individuals in a sacred community. Every act of life must be holy. The religious feeling is deeper than ever before and more universal. Men are anxious. The people, burdened as they are with their anxiety, smitten as they are in their consciousness of sin, humbled by their ideal of God, take upon themselves the severest yoke ever placed by religion upon the neck of man. A service worthy of this supreme God must be regulated in its most minute details. The service everywhere presents the thought of sin. Sacrifice is now the great act, and is no longer accompanied by gladness and joy. It represents purification from sin. It is "the chief symbol, and the great mystery of their faith." To be holy one must wash; one must touch no unclean thing; one must not eat what is unclean; one must observe the sabbath, the day of God; and all these acts of worship cultivated the spirit of exclusiveness. Then followed that haughty spirit. "Man who would go up to the hill of Jehovah must now be the one who has not eaten shellfish or pork, nor opened his shop on the sabbath, nor touched a dead body, nor used a spoon handed him by a gentile without washing it." We know the outcome of all this, as it is shown us in the New Testament, but "it kept the people separate from the world and constant to their faith, and made them endure the greatest temptations and the severest persecutions, and so enabled them to preserve the precious treasure committed to them until the time should come when the world was to receive it from their hands."

Lev. 19:1-4;
20:26; 22:15,
16, 31-33.

Pss. 106:6-47;
130.

Lev. 4:1-6:7.

Lev., chap. 15;
Lev., chap. 11;
Exod. 31:12-17.

Lev. 21:1-24.

See CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-81; KENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 f., 249 ff.; MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-552; WELLHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

§ 50. The Psalms of the Second Temple are now Written,
 and one fails to see the deeper meaning of all this if he
 forgets that in this period the *greatest number* of the
 Pss. 118; 121; 67. psalms were written. The old prophetic ideas, which the
 people in the times of the prophet had refused to accept,
 are now a part of the people's creed and are sung by
 Pss. 95; 46. them with joyous hearts in the congregation. Sacred
 Pss. 122; 138; 145; 148-150. song becomes preëminently an act of worship. The
 worship of Jehovah in this act is as joyous and as delightful
 as it may be sad and grawsome in the act of sacrifice.
 Pss. 143:10; 139; 125. In these very days, when such emphasis is laid upon the
 letter of the law, the service of song teaches that to obey
 Jehovah and to trust in him, to surrender one's self
 absolutely to him, is the end of all religion. Whatever
 may be the experience of life, it finds expression in these
 psalms ; whether it be "penitence, intellectual perplexity,
 domestic sorrow, feebleness, loneliness, the approach
 Pss. 102; 91; 130; 109; 116; 123. of death, the excitement of great events, the agony of
 persecution, or the quiet contemplation of nature." For each experience there is expression, and the heart-utterances which formed a part of the worship of this period, sung, to be sure, in the midst of the bleating of the lambs which are being slaughtered for the sacrifice, have proven to be the most satisfying utterances for the soul, in its deepest communion with God, which have ever reached the heart of man. The ritual may have been narrow, but the heart of every Jew was free. He was restrained outwardly, but no such restraint hindered him in the working of his mind and heart. Here was contradiction, to be sure, but contradiction no greater than is found in the tendency to substitute the synagogue for the temple, which now exhibits itself in spite of the exclusiveness that was the end and the result of the Levitical system.

§ 51. The Greek Period of Influence, 332-165 B. C., added nothing essential to the content or form of service. It furnished the test of Judaism for which the work of Ezra and Nehemiah had been an unconscious preparation. In the crisis through which the true religion was

to pass the form given to it by these men was of inestimable value. In the words of Cornill:²

That the development of Judaism took this special direction was a necessity of the history of religion.

For the heaviest struggle of Judaism still awaited it; the struggle against Hellenism. One hundred and twenty-five years after Ezra, Alexander the Great destroyed the Persian empire and made the Greeks the sovereign people of the eastern world. Through this a profound transformation was begun, which spread with startling rapidity and irresistible might, and led finally to the denationalizing of the East. That which the Assyrian had undertaken by brute force the Hellenes surmounted by the superior power of mind and culture. Greece destroyed the nationalities of the East by amalgamating them with itself and conquering them inwardly. Only one eastern nation withstood the process of dissolution, yea, more, absorbed into itself the good of Hellenism, and thus enriched and strengthened its own existence; and that was the Jewish. If it were able to do this, it was because Ezra and Nehemiah had rendered it hard as steel and strong as iron. In this impenetrable armor it was insured against all attacks, and thus saved religion against Hellenism. And, therefore, it behooves us to bless the prickly rind to which alone we owe it that the noble core remained preserved.

With this we may close our rapid survey of the *history* of the development of Israel's *worship*. In the light of this survey we shall next consider the more important special divisions included in it, viz., the laws, the histories, and the psalms.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 162 f.

PART THIRD

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE LAWS AND USAGES OF WORSHIP

- V. LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING THE PRIEST.
- VI. LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING THE PLACE OF WORSHIP.
- VII. LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING SACRIFICE.
- VIII. LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING FEASTS.
- IX. LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING THE SABBATH.
- X. LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.
- XI. LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING PRAYER AND RELATED FORMS
OF WORSHIP.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING THE PRIEST, CONSIDERED COMPARATIVELY.

§ 52. To Speak of the History of Worship, as It is Presented in the Old Testament, is to take for granted (1) that there were periods, (2) that these periods differed from each other to a greater or less extent, and (3) that there was either growth or decay, or perhaps both. The brief survey, just finished, distinguished three such periods, each with its peculiar characteristics, and presented what seemed to be a striking case of development, *i. e.*, growth from a lower and less complicated form of worship to one higher and more complicated. These periods were called early, middle, and later.

§ 53. Each Period Had a Lawbook or Code of Legislation Peculiar to Itself, viz.: (1) the *Covenant* Code (§ 14, (3)) for the early period, (2) the *Deuteronomic* Code (§ 27) for the middle period, and (3) the *Levitical* Code (§ 43) for the later period. Injunctions concerning nearly every topic relating to worship are found in each of these codes. These injunctions are sometimes couched in language almost the same; in other cases there are to be noted differences (additions or variations) of an important character; in still other cases they are quite contradictory. These differences, it is clear, exist because through succeeding centuries the people (*a*) changed their place of abode, *e. g.*, from the desert to Canaan, from Canaan to Babylon, and back again; (*b*) changed also their form of life, passing from the nomadic to the agricultural, and from the agricultural to the more centralized or city life; (*c*) changed their form of government, passing from a tribal form to the monarchical, and from that to a theocratic or hierarchical form; (*d*) came into contact with different nations, from whom much was learned, *e. g.*, the Canaanites, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, and the Greeks; (*e*) were given great leaders, lawgivers, kings, and prophets, through whom, from time to time, new and better ideas of God and worship were taught.

Now, the different codes named above, as they severally appear and are adopted by the nation, reflect the onward and upward movement of the people toward the great goal of the nation's history, the time when Jesus Christ shall come and teach as men had never taught

before. These codes, then, are different expressions of the usage and law of successive epochs. To understand any special topic connected with worship, one must examine systematically what each code contains on that topic. This is the *comparative study* of the laws relating to worship.

§ 54. The Constructive Study of a Subject is Possible Only on the Basis of the Comparative Study.—It is not the earliest usage in a particular case, *e. g.*, a distinction between the priest and the laity, nor the latest, that gives us a true idea of Israelitish thought and custom; it is, rather, the latest as growing out of and including, not only the earliest, but all the intervening steps between the two. At no one time did growth or decay stop; and it is only when we have the whole process before us that we begin to understand its significance.

§ 55. Side by Side with the Codes We Find in the Hexateuch Also Histories which refer frequently to customs of worship. It is interesting to note that each code is imbedded in a separate history; *e. g.*, (*a*) the Covenant Code is a part of a great *prophetic* history beginning with the creation and continuing down to the times of the Judges; (*b*) the Deuteronomic Code (Deut., chaps. 12–26) is a part of a history which is found, not only in the earlier part of Deuteronomy, but also in some places in Joshua, and elsewhere; while (*c*) the Priest Code is also closely connected with a history which begins with Gen. 1:1 and continues through Numbers. In studying the subject of worship, it is of interest to note what is said in these histories concerning each subject considered.

§ 56. The Later Histories contained in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles give especial attention to the subject of worship. Just as the history in the books of Samuel and Kings is written from the prophetic point of view, that in these later books is written from the priestly point of view (see § 10), and hence gives much information concerning the institutions of worship as they existed at the time these books were written.

§ 57. The Prophets Were Always Deeply Interested in Matters of Worship; sometimes, as opponents of the ideas and practices existing in their day, they were trying to introduce new and better ideas; at other times, as allies of the priesthood, they were striving to awaken the zeal of the nation in behalf of the worship of Jehovah. In either case their writings contain much that is of value in a study of the development of Israel's ideas concerning worship.

§ 58. The Priest Code, Manifestly, Is the Great Source of Information upon the subject of worship, because (*a*) it contains the fullest

presentation of each subject; (*b*) it is from the hands of the priests themselves, who were most deeply interested; and (*c*) it presents the latest stage of growth. But this Priest Code is itself a growth, and contains at least four strata of material, each of which represents a different age and stage of development. These are:

1. The Holiness Code, contained in Lev., chaps. 17-26, a body of laws which, as the name implies, lays especial emphasis upon the thought of the holiness of God and the necessity of corresponding holiness on the part of his people.
2. A collection of priestly teachings in reference to various sacrificial and ritualistic matters.
3. A set of miscellaneous materials, such as genealogical lists, elaborations of laws, and illustrative narratives.
4. A historical narrative from the creation up to the settlement in Canaan, which forms the basis of the P document, the three preceding elements having been incorporated into it.

See DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed., pp. 126-59; ADDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II, pp. 169-91; J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 121-57.

§ 59. **The Priest of Early Times**, that is, as described in (*a*) the Covenant Code; (*b*) the historical material of J and E; (*c*) the pre-Deuteronomic portions of Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and (*d*) the pre-Deuteronomic prophetic utterances.¹

1. The only allusion in the Covenant Code.²

Exod. 20:26.

¹ On the date, character, contents, and limits of these various documents see DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*; also J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*; W. E. ADDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*; BRIGGS, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*; WELLHAUSEN AND CHEYNE, article "Hexateuch" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; F. H. WOODS, article "Hexateuch" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*, KUENEN, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Hexateuch*; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 228-391; STEUERNAGEL, *Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (=Handkommentar zum Alt. Test., I. Abtheilung, 3. Band, pp. 249-86); W. R. HARPER AND W. H. GREEN, "The Pentateuchal Question," in *Hebraica*, Vol. V, pp. 18-73, 137-89, 243-91; Vol. VI, pp. 1-48, 109-38, 161-211 241-95; Vol. VII, pp. 1-38, 104-42; Vol. VIII, pp. 15-64, 174-243.

For a discussion of these questions from a different point of view see especially W. H. GREEN, *The Hebrew Feasts*; cf. also BISSELL, *The Pentateuch, Its Origin and Structure*; W. H. GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch and Moses and the Prophets*.

² The following references are from the J document: Gen. 8:20 f.; 12:8; 22:13 Exod. 33:7-11; 19:22; 32:25-29; 4:14-17; 32:1 ff.; and the following from the E document: Exod. 20:26; 24:4-8; Deut. 33:8-11; 10:6; Josh. 24:33.

2. Non-priests frequently do priestly work.
Gen. 8:20 f.; 12:8; 22:13; Exod. 33:7-11; 24:4-8; Judg. 13:19; 1 Sam. 7:1; 13:8-14; 2 Sam. 6:14-18; 1 Kings 18:30-38.
3. The story of Micah's priest.
Judg., chaps. 17 and 18.
4. The consecration of the priest.
Exod. 19:22; Judg. 17:5, 12; 1 Sam. 7:1.
5. The service rendered by the priest.
1 Sam. 4:4; 7:1; 1 Kings 1:34; 1 Sam. 21:1-9; Hos. 4:6; Mic. 3:11; Isa. 28:7.
6. Priests were consulted as soothsayers.
Judg. 18:5, 6; 1 Sam. 23:6-13; 30:7 ff.
7. The tribe of Levi.
Exod. 32:25-29; Deut. 33:8-11.
8. Aaron and his descendants.
Exod. 4:14-17; 32:1 ff.; Deut. 10:6; Josh. 24:33.
9. The sons of Eli and their behavior.
1 Sam. 1:3; 2:22-25; 4:4; 1 Kings 2:27.
10. Elijah and the priests of Baal.
1 Kings 18:19-40.
11. The prophets' estimate of the priest.
Hos. 4:6-9; 5:1; 6:9; Amos 7:10-17; Mic. 3:11; Isa. 28:7
12. The priest's dress and equipment.
1 Sam. 2:18; Judg. 17:5; 18:14, 20; 1 Sam. 23:6, 9-12; 30:7, 8.
13. The priest's maintenance.
Judg. 17:10; 18:4; 1 Sam. 2:12-17; 2 Kings 12:16.
14. The high-priest.
2 Kings 12:10 (?).

§ 60. Questions and Suggestions.

1. What is the significance of the lack of any reference to *priest* in the Covenant Code (see § 15, (2))?
2. What connection is there between this lack of reference and the fact that laymen in early times acted as their own priests? Is there evidence that in cases where non-priests offered sacrifice they were doing so (*a*) through regularly appointed priests, or (*b*) by special divine authority?
3. Consider from the story of Micah's priest (*a*) the character of the times, (*b*) the existence of idolatry, (*c*) the place of the priest (*cf.* § 16, (2)).

4. How early and in what way were priests set apart or consecrated?
 5. Formulate a list of the various functions performed by the priest in those days.
 6. To what extent did people consult the priest about the ordinary affairs of life? Cf. the case of Samuel (1 Sam. 9:6 ff., 19 f.).
 7. With what events and in what connection do the references to the tribe of Levi in this period appear?
 8. Trace the line of Aaron as it is indicated down to later times. What, according to the tradition, was Aaron's official relation to Moses?
 9. From the story of Eli's sons, point out (a) the basis of their right to be priests, (b) their functions as priests, (c) the various ways in which they abused their office.
 10. Consider, in the story of Elijah and the priest-prophets of Baal, (a) the significance of the large number of prophets of Baal, (b) the non-priestly character of Elijah.
 11. Enumerate, one by one, the shortcomings of the priests which are criticised by the prophets, and consider whether this state of things owed its existence (a) to a growing formality and emptiness of the Israelitish religion, or (b) to the influence exerted on the Israelitish religion by the neighboring religion, which was very sensual in its character, or (c) to the fact that now for the first time the prophets are holding up these high ideals, the priest-practice in Israel, as among other nations, having always been upon a low plane.
 12. Consider the references to the priests' dress and equipment, and explain particularly the ephod, the Urim, and Thummim.³
 13. What evidence is there that the priest in this period had any special perquisites or any regular maintenance?
 14. How much may fairly be inferred as to the functions and authority of the high-priest in this period?
- ³ See the article "Ephod," by G. F. MOORE, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; the article "Ephod," by S. R. DRIVER, in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*; VAN HOONACKER, *Le Sacerdoce lévitique*, pp. 370 ff.; KÖNIG, *Religious History of Israel*, pp. 107 ff.; G. F. MOORE, *Judges*, p. 381; KÖNIG, *Hauptprobleme*, pp. 59-63; FOOTE, "The Biblical Ephod," in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, May, 1900. On "Urim and Thummim" see SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (1893); KIRKPATRICK, *The First Book of Samuel* (Cambridge Bible Series), pp. 217 f.; KALISCH, *Exodus*, p. 544; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 394 f.; W. R. SMITH, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d ed., p. 292, note 1; T. WITTON DAVIES, *Magic, Divination and Demonology*, p. 75; RYLE, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Cambridge Bible Series), p. 33; NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, Vol. II, pp. 93 f.; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, pp. 382, 407 f.; BAUDISSIN, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums untersucht*, pp. 26 f.; STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 471-3, 505 f., 517 f.

§ 61. Constructive Work.—Upon the basis of the material considered, write a paper on “The Priest in Early Israelitish History,” observing the following suggestions: (1) include only what can be corroborated by references to the literature of this period (see above); (2) use great caution in making general statements upon the basis of few facts; (3) remember that much may be gained by ascertaining what did *not* exist.

§ 62. The Priest of the Deuteronomic Period, that is, as described (*a*) in the laws of Deuteronomy, (*b*) in the Deuteronomic portions of the books of Samuel and Kings, and (*c*) by the prophets of the Deuteronomic period.⁴

1. The Levites, that is, the priests, become a distinct class.

Deut. 10:8; 18:1; 1 Sam. 2:28; Jer. 1:18; 8:1; 13:13; 23:33 f.; 26:7 f., 11, 16; 28:1, 5; 33:21; 34:19.

2. The service rendered by “the priests the Levites.”

Deut. 10:8; 21:5; 33:8-10; 26:3 ff.; 27:14; 17:18; 31:9; 17:8, 9, 12; 19:17; 20:2; 24:8; Jer. 18:18.

3. The prophets’ estimate of the priest.

Jer. 2:8; 5:31; 6:13; 14:18; 23:11; 32:32; Zeph. 3:4.

4. A later view of the wickedness of Eli’s sons.

1 Sam. 2:27-36.

5. The relative authority of priest and prophet.

Jer. 29:25 f.; 5:31; 20:1 ff.; 11:18-23; cf. 1:1.

6. Differences of rank within the priestly order.

2 Kings 23:4, 8, 9; Jer. 52:24; 29:25 f.; 19:1; Deut. 18:6 f.

7. Maintenance of “the priests the Levites.”

Deut. 10:9; 12:12; 18:1-8; 14:27, 29.

8. Residence of priests.

Deut. 18:6, 7; Jer. 1:1; cf. 11:21, 22; 32:6 ff.; Jer. 29:1.

9. Priests consulted as soothsayers.

Deut. 33:8.

§ 63. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider the circumstances which, ordinarily, would encourage the building up of a special priest class. What connection existed between the centralization of worship in Jerusalem (§ 27, (2); cf. Deut., chap. 12) and the growth of a special class of priests? What is implied in the constantly recurring phrase “the priests the Levites”

⁴ References printed in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

(*cf.* Deut. 17:18; 18:1; 21:5; 27:9; 31:9)? Does it mean (*cf.* Deut. 10:8) that all priests were Levites and all Levites priests?

2. Formulate the different functions which together made up the service of "the priest the Levite," distinguishing between regular and special functions. Consider the difference between the work of the prophet, the wise (man), and the priest (Deut. 18:18; Jer. 18:18).

3. What, according to the prophets, is the priest's attitude toward Jehovah and the true religion?

4. Compare the later view (1 Sam. 2:27-46) of the wickedness of Eli's sons with the former (1 Sam. 2:12-17, 22-25), note the points of change, and consider to what extent this is in harmony with Deuteronomic representations.

5. Recall the authority of the prophet (*a*) in the days of Saul, David, Solomon; (*b*) in the days of Elijah and Isaiah; and (*c*) consider to what extent, in the days of Jeremiah, the prophet had lost authority, while the priest had gained it.

6. Indicate the extent to which differences of rank had come to exist among the priests, and the significance of this fact.

7. Enumerate very accurately the sources of income and maintenance which were enjoyed by "the priests the Levites."

8. Were there special places of residence assigned to "the priests the Levites"? Did priests own property?

9. Is there anything additional to be said about the use of Urim and Thummim?

§ 64. Constructive Work.—Upon the basis of the material considered, write a paper on "The Priest in the Middle Period of Israelitish History"—that is, the so-called Deuteronomic period—discussing particularly (*a*) the class system, (*b*) the higher position now occupied, (*c*) the functions, (*d*) the maintenance provided by law.

§ 65. The Priest as Described by Ezekiel.

1. Ezekiel himself was a priest.

Ezek. 1:3; 4:14.

2. Priesthood was limited to the sons of Zadok.

Ezek. 44:15 f.; 40:46; 43:19, 24-27; 44:6-31; 48:11.

3. The priest's dress.

Ezek. 42:14; 44:17-19.

4. Special "holiness" was required of priests.

Ezek. 4:14; 44:20-22, 25-27, 31.

5. Service rendered by priests.

Ezek. 44:11, 14, 15, 16, 23 f.; 40:46; 43:21, 24, 27.

6. Residence of priests.
Ezek. 48:10-14; 42:13 f.; 46:19-24.
7. Maintenance of priests.
Ezek. 42:13 f.; 44:28-30.

§ 66. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider the significance of the fact that Ezekiel, and also Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi—all the later prophets—were priests. Note that Ezekiel preached his visions of Israel's glorious future after the fall of Jerusalem. Consider the circumstances which led him to foresee and proclaim a system so exclusively *ecclesiastical*.
2. What limitation of the priesthood does he introduce, and why? In what respect is this an advance upon the Deuteronomic usage?
3. Consider the regulations made concerning the priest's dress; what was their purpose?
4. Enumerate the particular requirements made of the priests which were intended to mark their holiness, and show, in each case, how this was to be secured. In what sense is the word "holy" to be understood?
5. Indicate in what particulars the service required of the priest in Ezekiel's code differs from that of the Deuteronomic Code (§ 62, (2)); and show the principles underlying these changes.
6. What was to be the place of the priests' residence, and its extent? The meaning of the word "oblation"?
7. Prepare in detail a list of the items mentioned which should serve as the maintenance of the priest. Is there any variation from those mentioned in Deuteronomy?

§ 67. **Constructive Work.**—Prepare a paper showing how the priest, as seen in Ezekiel's vision, differed from the priest of the Deuteronomic times.

§ 68. **The Priest of the Later Period**, that is, as described (*a*) in the laws of the Levitical Code, (*b*) by the priestly prophets, and (*c*) in the priestly histories, *e. g.*, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.⁵

1. Distinction between priests and Levites everywhere presupposed.
Numb. 4:1-15, 19; 8:14-26; 18:1-7; 17:1-11; 25:10-13; 1 Chron. 6:49-53.
2. Special holiness required of priestly class.
Lev. 21:1-9, 17-23; 22:1-8; 10:6; Exod. 30:19.
3. Service rendered by priests.
Lev. 10:8-11; Numb. 4:4-14, 16; Lev. 16:32; 6:20-22; Hag. 2:11-13; Mal. 2:4-7; Numb. 18:1-7; 27:21; 2 Chron. 19:8, 11.

⁵ References to the Levitical Code are in bold-face type.

4. Service rendered by Levites.

Numb. 4:1-3, 15, 21-33; 2:17; 3:23-26, 29-32, 35-38; 18:1-7; 3:5-10; Ezra 6:20; Neh. 11:15-18, 22; 1 Chron. 6:31-48; 15:2; 23:27-32; 26:20-32; 2 Chron. 5:4f.; 19:8, 11.

5. Influence and numbers of priestly class.

Lev. 16:32; Numb. 4:19, 27 f., 33; 3:1-4; 4:34-49; 35:25-34; Hag. 1:1, 12, 14; Zech. 3:1-10; 6:9 ff. (?); Ezra 1:5; 2:61-63, 70; 3:2, 8-13; 5:2; 6:16; 7:7, 13, 16; 8:15-20, 29 f.; Neh. 11:15-18, 22; 12:1-26; 3:20, 22, 28; 5:12; 1 Chron. 6:1-47; 9:10-34; 23:1-24.

6. Place and work of the high-priest.

Numb. 35:25-34; Lev. 16:4-32; 6:22; Exod. 29:9; Numb. 27:21; Zech. 3:1-10; 6:9 ff. (?); Neh. 13:4, 28-30.

7. Consecration of high-priest.

Lev. 21:10-15; 6:20-22; 8:12, 14-36; Exod., chap. 29; Lev., chap. 9; Numb. 20:23-29.

8. Dress of priests.

Neh. 7:70-73; Lev. 6:10 f.; 8:1-9, 13, 30; Exod., chap. 28; 39:1-31; 40:13 f.

9. Residence of priests.

1 Chron. 6:54-81; Josh. 21:1-42; Numb. 35:2-8; Neh. 11:3; Numb. 2:17; 3:23-26, 29-32, 35-38.

10. Maintenance of priests.

Lev. 22:4-7; 7:35; Numb. 3:46-48; Ezra 7:24; Neh. 12:44-47; 13:10-14.

11. Courses of priests and Levites.

Ezra 6:18; 1 Chron. 24:1—26:19; 2 Chron. 5:11 f.; 8:12-15.

12. Prophets' estimate of the priests.

Hag. 2:11-13; Zech. 3:1-10; 6:9 ff.; Mal. 1:6-10; 2:4-9; 3:3; Isa. 61:6; 66:21; Joel 1:9, 13; 2:17.

§ 69. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Is it possible to find anywhere in the post-exilic literature a passage in which the words "priest" and "Levite" are synonymous? Cf. Deut. (§ 62, (1)), and consider (a) the circumstances which have led to this differentiation, (b) its significance, and (c) the great change which has taken place since the time when everyone might be his own priest (cf. §§ 58, (2); 15, (2)).

2. What special limitations were imposed upon the priests (Aaron's sons) to secure their holiness?

3. Enumerate carefully the kinds of service expected of the priests

(Aaron's sons), and note how it differs from that required in Deuteronomy of "the priests the Levites."

4. Enumerate the kinds of service required of the Levites, and note the extent to which this service was in older times the work of "the priest the Levite."

5. What are the facts concerning the numbers of the priestly classes in this later period? Are they larger or smaller? Is their influence greater or less? What is the full significance of these facts?

6. What part has the high-priest played in the priestly work of earlier times? What is his place and work at this time?

7. What are the details of the consecration of the high-priest, and their interpretation?

8. Is more care now given to the peculiar dress of the high-priest? If so, in what details, and for what reason?

9. What special places are set apart for the residence of priests? Consider from various points of view the cities of refuge, noting especially the absence of any reference to them as Levitical cities in Deuteronomy (19:1-13).

10. What additions appear to the sources of income of the priests and Levites? Can the priests any longer be classed with the fatherless and widow as in Deut. 14:28, 29?

11. What is to be understood by the classification of the priests and Levites into courses and divisions?

12. How did the prophet, although himself a priest, estimate the priests of his times?

§ 70. Constructive Work.—Upon the basis of material in § 69 write a paper on the priest in later Israelitish history, noting especially such points as indicate changes in comparison with preceding periods.

§ 71. Literature to be Consulted.

STANLEY, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, Lecture XXXVI (1865); S. I. CURTISS, *The Levitical Priests* (1877); WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1878), pp. 121-51; KUENEN, *National Religions and Universal Religions* (Hibbert Lectures, 1882), pp. 314-17; GREEN, *Moses and the Prophets* (1883), pp. 78-83, 127-31; KALISCH, *Commentary on Leviticus*, Part I, pp. 559-659; SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ* (1886); Second Division, Vol. I, pp. 207-305; W. R. SMITH, article "Priest" in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1889); MONTEFIORE, *The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (Hibbert Lectures, 1892), pp. 65-70, 116-18, etc.; SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology* (1892), see Index; KITTEL, *History of the Hebrews* (1892), see Index; E. H. PLUMPTRE, article "Priest" in SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, 2d ed. (1892); DRIVER, *Deuteronomy* (International Critical Commentary, 1895), see Index; MENZIES, *History of Religion* (1895), pp. 70, 183; BRIGGS, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* (1897), p. 104; PICK, "The Jewish

High Priests Subsequent to the Return from Babylon," in *Lutheran Church Review*, 1898, pp. 127-42, 370-75, 655-64; JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898), see *Index*; TOY, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Polychrome Bible, 1899), pp. 193 f.; W. R. HARPER, "The Priestly Element in the Old Testament as Seen in the Laws," *Biblical World*, Vol. XIV (1899), pp. 258-66; DUFF, *Old Testament Theology* (1891-1900), see *Index*; G. A. COOKE, article "Levi" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1900); McCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* (1895-1901), see *Index*; WALKER, "The Levitical Priesthood," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1900, pp. 124-37; BERLIN, "Notes on Genealogies of the Tribe of Levi in 1 Chron. 23-26," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XII (1900), pp. 291-8; LAIDLAW, "The Priest and the Prophet," *Expository Times*, 1900; H. M. CHADWICKE, "Ancient Teutonic Priesthood," *Folk-Lore*, Vol. XI (1900), pp. 268-309; ADAMS, *The Mosaic Tabernacle: Studies in the Priesthood and the Sanctuary of the Jews* (1901).

GRAF, "Zur Geschichte des Stammes Levi," in MERX, *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, Vol. I (1867), pp. 68-106, 208-36; MAYBAUM, *Die Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums* (1880); SMEND, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (1880), pp. 360-62; KITTEL, "Die Priester und Leviten," in *Theologische Studien aus Würtemberg*, Vol. II (1881), pp. 147-69; Vol. III, pp. 278-314; KUENEN, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1885), Vol. I, pp. 281 ff.; STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1887), Vol. I, pp. 152 ff., 468 ff.; BAUDIS-SIN, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889); H. VOGELSTEIN, *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiels. Eine historisch kritische Untersuchung* (1889); KUENEN, "Die Geschichte des Jahwepriesterthums und das Alter des Priestergesetzes" (1889), in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 465-500; SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1st ed. 1893, 2d ed. 1899), see *Index*; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 405-28; NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (1894), Vol. II, pp. 87-130; MARTI, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (1897), pp. 44 ff., 50, 72, etc.; H. BOURY, *Les Prêtres d'Israël* (1898); HUMMELAUER, *Das vormosaïsche Priesterthum in Israel* (1899); VAN HOONACKER, *Le Sacerdoce lévitique* (1899), and "Les Prêtres et les Lévites dans le livre d'Ezéchiel," *Revue biblique*, 1899, pp. 177-205.

See also the commentaries of Delitzsch, Dillmann, Holzinger, and Gunkel on Genesis; of Dillmann, Holzinger, and Baentsch on Exodus; of Dillmann and Baentsch on Leviticus; of Steuernagel and Bertholet on Deuteronomy; and of Davidson, Bertholet, and Kraetschmar on Ezekiel.

§ 72. Supplementary Topics.

1. Consider that the Psalter was the songbook of the temple, and from an examination of Pss. 78:64; 99:6; 105:26; 106:16, 30 f.; 110:4; 115:10, 12; 118:3; 132:9, 16; 133:2; 134:1-3; 135:19 f. formulate the thought relating to the *priest* which is found in the Psalter.

2. Why do no direct references to the work and life of the *priest* occur in the Wisdom Literature, *i. e.*, in Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs?

3. Consider briefly the subject of the *priest* in New Testament writings, *e. g.*, Matt. 2:4; 8:4; 12:4 f.; 16:21; 20:18; 21:15; 26:3; 27:1; Mark 2:26; Luke 1:5, 8, 9; 10:31; 17:14; John 1:19;

Acts 4:1, 36; 6:7; Heb. 2:17; 3:1; 4:14 f.; 5:1, 5 f., 10; 6:20; chap. 7; 8:1, 3 f.; 9:6 f., 11, 25; 10:11, 21; 13:11; 1 Peter 2:5, 9; Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6; etc., and indicate such points of difference, as compared with the position and work of the priest in the Old Testament, as seem most important.

4. Compare roughly the place of the priest among the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, and note points of similarity and difference as compared with that of the priest among the Hebrews.

See W. R. SMITH, article "Priest" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*; the articles "Pontifex" and "Sacerdos" in HARPER'S *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*; MARTHA, *Les Sacerdotes athéniens*.

5. Consider the original meaning and exact usage of the words for priest, in Hebrew **נָבִי**, Greek *ἱερεύς*, Latin *sacerdos*.

Cf. W. R. SMITH, article "Priest" in *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. XIX, p. 746; NOWACK, *Hebr. Arch.*, Vol. II, pp. 89 f.; WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Vol. III, pp. 130 f.

6. Consider the place of the priest among the Assyrians, the Arabs, and the Canaanites, who were closely related Semitic nations, and note points of similarity and difference as compared with his place among the Hebrews.

See especially JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (*Index*); W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (*Index*); McCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* (*Index*); HAUPT, "Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55-81; SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians: Life and Customs*, pp. 249 ff.; L. W. KING, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, pp. 210 ff.

7. Consider the conception which existed among the Israelites that their nation was a kingdom of priests (*cf.* Exod. 19:6), the basis of this conception, the extent to which it was held, the influence which it exerted, and its connection with other Israelitish ideas, *e. g.*, with the idea of God, with the idea of the Day of Jehovah, and with their conception of their relation to the world.

8. Consider, in general, what may be called the *outside functions* of the priest, *i. e.*, those functions which were not distinctly priestly; *e. g.*, his place in war, Deut. 20:2; Numb. 10:1-9; 1 Sam. 4:4, 11; in education, Lev. 10:11; Neh. 8:2, 9, 13; in administration of justice, Deut. 17:8 f., 12; 19:17; 21:5; in prophecy, Deut. 33:8; Jer. 1:1; Ezek. 1:3; 4:14.

9. From a study of the books of Maccabees prepare a statement showing what were the place, the function, the character, the influence, the dress, the place of residence, and the maintenance of the *priesthood* about 165 B. C.

See, *e. g.*, 1 Macc., chap. 2; 3:45-51; 4:38, 42 f.; 5:6 f.; 7:9, 14 ff., 20-25, 33-38; 10:20 f., 32; 11:23-27, 57 f.; 12:5-23; 13:36 ff., 42; 14:20, 23, 27-49; 15:1 f., 6, 21, 24; 16:11 ff., 24; 2 Macc. 1:15 ff., 19-36; 2:17; 3:1, 9, 15 f., 21, 32-36; 4:7 ff., 24, 29; 11:3; 14:3, 7, 13; 15:12.

10. Take up more seriously the general relation of the priest to the prophet; *e. g.*, (a) Was there an early time and a later time when the two offices were not clearly distinguished? (b) What were the circumstances, in each case, which led to this lack of distinction? (c) How far may the priest be said always to have been engaged in struggle with the prophet? (d) What was the relation of each to the other (1) in order of time, (2) in order of thought?

11. Consider the significance of the priest as a mediator between God and the people. What influences led to the idea that this class of men could obtain access to God more readily than other men? What was the relation between the growth of the idea of priestly mediation and the acceptance of larger ideas of God?

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING THE PLACE OF WORSHIP, CONSIDERED COMPARATIVELY.

§ 73. **The Place of Worship in the Early Period**, that is, as described in (*a*) the Covenant Code, (*b*) the historical material of J and E, (*c*) the pre-Deuteronomic portions of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and (*d*) the pre-Deuteronomic prophetic utterances (see § 59, note 1).

1. The only reference in the Covenant Code.¹

Exod. 20:24 ff.

2. The patriarchs had sanctuaries in various places, according to convenience.

Gen. 8:20; 12:6-8; 13:18; 26:24 f.; 28:17, 22; 35:14; Judg. 20:18, 26 ff.; 21:4.

3. A tent of meeting was used as the place for seeking God.

Exod. 33:7-11; Numb. 11:16 f., 24 f.; 12:4-10; 1 Kings 2:28-30.

4. There was a chest or ark which contained articles emblematic of the divine presence.

Numb. 10:33-36; Josh., chap. 3; Judg. 20:27.

5. There were local shrines, at which offerings were made.

Exod. 3:1; 20:24; Numb. 23:1-6, 14-17; Judg. 6:18-26; 13:15-23; 20:18, 26 ff.; 21:4; 1 Sam. 1:3, 21; 2:14; 3:1-21, 10:8; 14:35; 1 Kings 3:4; 18:30-38; Deut. 27:5-7.

6. In course of time a temple was built for the worship of Jehovah.

2 Sam. 7:1-7; 24:21-25; 1 Kings 6:1-38; 2 Kings 12:4-16; 15:35b; 18:15 f.

7. The altar was used as a place of refuge, and as such was sacred.

1 Kings 2:28-30.

8. The prophets make reference to places of worship.

Amos 2:8; 3:14; 4:4; 5:5; 7:9, 13; 8:14; 9:1; Isa. 1:12; 6:1, 4; 8:14; Hos. 4:13, 15; 8:1; 9:4, 8, 15; 10:8; 12:11; Mic. 3:12.

§ 74. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider, in reference to Exod. 20:24-26, (*a*) the meaning of the emphasis laid on *earth* as the material for the altar; (*b*) the reason

¹The following are J-references: Gen. 8:20; 12:6-8; 13:18; 26:24 f.; 35:14; Exod. 33:7-11 (?); Numb. 11:16 f., 24 f.; Josh., chap. 3 (in the main); Numb. 23:1-6, 14-17 (?). The following are E-references: Gen. 28:17, 24; Exod. 20:24 ff.; Numb. 12:4-10; 10:33-36; Exod. 3:1; Deut. 27:5-7.

for objection to stone as a material; (*c*) the reason for objection to steps; and (*d*) the general primitive character of the whole regulation. (*Cf.* § 15.)

2. What connection was there between this primitive form of the altar and the custom of the patriarchs to build an altar wherever they pitched their tents? (*Cf.* § 15 (1).)

3. Consider the occasions on which reference is made to the tent of meeting, and note the uses made of it.

4. Was the use made of the ark or chest one which elevated Israel, or one which, upon the whole, encouraged a low conception of God?

5. Was there anything to indicate that this or that place should be used as a shrine or place of worship? Was there danger that in the use of these widely scattered shrines corrupt practices might be introduced? (*Cf.* § 18 (1).)

6. What were the political and social factors that were connected with the building of the temple? What immediate effects upon worship might be expected to follow? (*Cf.* § 17 (1) (*d*).)

7. On what principle did the use of the altar as an asylum or place of refuge rest? Was this a usage among other nations?²

8. What impression does one gather from the references made by the prophets to places of worship?

§ 75. Place of Worship in the Middle Period, that is, as described in (*a*) the laws of Deuteronomy, (*b*) the utterances of the Deuteronomic prophets, and (*c*) the Deuteronomic histories.

1. All local sanctuaries are prohibited.³

Deut. 12:2-4, 13, 17; 16:5; 2 Kings 23:1-20.

2. Jerusalem is the only authorized place for worship.

Deut. 12:5-8, 11, 12, 14, 18, 26 f.; 14:23-26; 15:19 f.; 16:2, 5-7, 11, 15 f.; 26:2; 1 Kings 12:25-13:6; 21:7; 22:3-8.

3. The temple at Jerusalem becomes the supreme court of justice.

Deut. 17:8 ff.

4. The ark is the receptacle of the two stone tables of the law.

Deut. 10:1-5, 8.

5. The prophets' teaching concerning the temple.

Jer. 7:1-5, 10-15; 12:7; 17:12, 26; **Zeph.** 3:4; **Hab.** 2:20.

² Cf. W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., pp. 148 f.; G. F. MOORE, article "Asylum" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; J. G. FRAZER, "The Origin of Totemism and Exogamy," *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1899; STENGEL, article "Asylon" in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*; BARTH, *De Asylis Graecis*.

³ References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

6. The destruction of Solomon's temple.

2 Kings 25:9, 13-16.

§ 76. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider the *circumstances* which, in the course of centuries, led to the prohibition of local sanctuaries. What was to be gained by this revolution in practice? (*Cf.* § 28 (3).)

2. What must have been the sociological changes which followed the centralization of worship in one place, *e. g.*, its effect on commerce; on the general intelligence of the people; on the relative position of men and women; on habits of life? (*Cf.* § 28 (7).)

3. What would naturally follow such a change of practice in the relative desirability of city and country life, and what would be the effect upon Jerusalem as the center of political and judicial life?

4. Consider the material of which the chest was made and the use to which it was put.

5. Note how in this period the temple had fallen into disrepute in the opinion of the prophets, and why this happened.

6. Consider the details and the significance of the destruction of Solomon's temple.

§ 77. The Place of Worship in Ezekiel.

1. There is evidence of the existence of irregular altars.

Ezek. 6:3, 4, 6, 13.

2. The temple at Jerusalem is represented as the only lawful sanctuary.

Ezek. 20:40.

3. The temple is desecrated by those who profane its use.

Ezek. 8:3-18; 23:38 f.; 44:6-8.

4. Feeling toward those who took part in the destruction of the temple.

Ezek. 25:3.

5. The future temple.

Ezek. 37:26-28; 40:5—43:17; 44:9; 45:3; 46:1-3; 46:19-24; 48:8 f., 21.

§ 78. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider the fact that at so late a time as that of Ezekiel there still existed irregular altars, and what was involved in this fact.

2. Note Ezekiel's statement as to the proper place of worship in the future (*cf.* § 31 (a)).

3. What were the prophet's feelings as to the abuse of the temple in his times?

4. Consider the relation of Ezekiel's temple (*i. e.*, the temple of his vision) to that of Solomon, (*a*) architecturally, (*b*) in the prominence it is to occupy in the routine of worship.

§ 79. The Place of Worship in the Later Period, that is, as described (*a*) in the laws of the Levitical Code, (*b*) by the priestly prophets, and (*c*) in the priestly histories, *e. g.*, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.

1. Worship may be conducted only at one central sanctuary.⁴

Lev. 17:1-9; Exod. 29:42-45; 2 Chron. 11:16; Neh. 8:16; cf. Isa. 19:19.

2. Ancient sanctuaries are condemned.

Lev. 26:27-31; Josh. 22:9-34; Isa. 27:9; 1 Chron. 21:28 f.; 2 Chron. 1:1-5; 32:12; 33:17.

3. Description of the tabernacle and its furnishings.

Exod. 25:8—27:19; 35:4—40:38; Numb. 8:1-4; **Exod. 27:20 f.;** **Lev. 24:1-4;** Numb. 7:1-83.

4. Description of the ark.

Exod. 25:10-22; 37:1-9; 2 Chron. 1:1-5.

5. The building of Solomon's temple.

1 Chron. 17:1 ff.; 21:15 ff.; 21:28 f.; 22:6 ff.; 23:1 ff.; 28:1-3 11-21; 2 Chron. 2:1-5:1; chaps. 6 and 7.

6. The building of the second temple.

Ezra 1:2 ff.; 2:68; 3:8-13:5:2-5; 5:6 ff.; 6:3 ff., 14 ff.; 7:19-23

7. A later view of the place of the tabernacle in religious life.

Numb. 9:15-23.

8. Later views of the place of Solomon's temple in Israel's worship.

2 Chron. 20:28; 24:4-15; 27:2 f.; chap. 29.

9. The sanctuary as the place of God's self-manifestation.

Exod. 25:22; 29:43; Numb. 16:41 ff.; Mal. 3:1; Numb. 7:89.

10. The altar of burnt-offering.

Lev. 1:10 ff.; 6:9-13; Numb. 16:36-40; 7:84-88.

11. The prophets' attitude toward the sanctuary.

Isa. 56:7; 60:7; Hag. 1:2-4, 7 f.; 2:3, 9; Zech. 1:16; 4:9; 6:12-15; 8:9; 14:16 ff.; Mal. 3:1; Mic. 4:1-4; Joel 1:9, 13 f. 16; Dan. 8:11; 9:17; 11:31.

12. Holiness of the sanctuary.

Lev. 26:2; 19:30; 8:10 f.; Numb. 3:31 f.; 4:4-15; Neh. 6:10 f.; 13:4 ff.; 2 Chron. 33:4, 7, 15; 36:17; Dan. 8:11; 9:17; 11:31.

⁴ References to the Levitical Code are in bold-face type.

§ 80. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Note that what was represented as a matter of reform in the middle period, viz., the restriction of worship to a single central sanctuary, now appears as a fundamental principle, everywhere taken for granted.
2. Consider the attitude of writers of this period to the sanctuaries which had existed in earlier times.
3. Note (*a*) the great detail with which the tabernacle is described; (*b*) the elaborate character of the tabernacle from an artistic point of view ; and consider whether this description is to be taken (1) literally, a tent of this kind having actually existed in the earliest times, or (2) as a piece of splendid idealization; similar in some respects to Ezekiel's vision. What is involved in each of these propositions?
4. What, in general, was the ark, and what, in particular, was the purpose it was intended to serve?
5. Compare the references in Chronicles to the building of Solomon's temple with those in Kings (§ 73 (6)), and classify the results of the comparison.
6. Consider in the case of the second temple (*a*) the date of its erection ; (*b*) its relative size and character in comparison with the first ; (*c*) the special circumstances under which it was built.
7. What was the later view of the place of the tabernacle in Israel's religious life, as seen in Numb. 9: 15-23?
8. Consider later views also as to the place of Solomon's temple in Israel's worship.
9. To what extent was Israel's God believed to use the sanctuary as a place for manifesting his presence?
10. What was the altar of burnt-offering and its peculiar function?
11. How did the later prophets regard the sanctuary and its service?
12. What is meant by the *holiness* of the sanctuary, and in what did this consist ?

§ 81. Literature to be Consulted.

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1859, pp. 110-20; FRIES, "Zu Kamphausen's Bemerkungen über die Stiftshütte," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1859, pp. 103-10; POPPER, *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte* (1862); RIGGENBACH, "Die mosaische Stiftshütte: Selbstanzeige," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1863, pp. 361-8; H. PIERSON, *De heilige steenen in Israel* (1864 ff.); H. OORT, "De heiligdommen van Jehovah te Dan en te Bethel vóór Jerobeam I.," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1867, pp. 285-306; DUHM, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875), pp. 312-20; BAUDISSIN, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. II (1878), pp. 143-269; KÜHN, "Ezechiel's Gesicht vom Tempel der Vollendungszeit," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1882, pp. 601-88; KOHLBRÜGGE, *Die Stiftshütte und ihre Geräthe* (1882); STADE, "Der Text des Berichtes über Salomos Bauten, I Kö. 5-7," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1883, pp. 129-77; SMEND, "Ueber die Bedeutung des jerusalemischen Tempels in der alttestamentlichen Religion," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1884, pp. 689-740; SCHÜRER, article "Tempel Salomo's" in RIEHM'S *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (1884); H. PAILLOUX, *Monographie du temple de Salomon* (1885); STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1887 f.), Vol. I, pp. 325-43, 446-67; Vol. II, pp. 45 ff., 113-28, 245-51; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste des arabischen Heidenthums* (1887), pp. 42-60, 98-105, 113, 171; TH. FRIEDRICH, *Tempel und Palast Salomos u. s. w.* (1887); O. WOLFF, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem und seine Masse* (1887); H. L. SCHOUTEN, *De tabernakel Gods heiligdom by Israel* (1888); C. CHIPIEZ ET G. PERROT, *Le temple de Jérusalem et la maison du Bois-Libanon, restitués d'après Ezechiel et le livre des Rois* (1889); F. V. ANDRIAN, *Der Höhenkult asiatischer und europäischer Völker* (1891); PIEPENBRING, "Histoire des lieux de culte et du sacerdoce en Israel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. XXIV (1891), pp. 1-60, 133-86; E. DE BROGLIE, "La loi de l'unité de sanctuaire en Israel," *Compte rendu du congrès scientifique international des catholiques*, 1892, 2d sect., pp. 69-89; MARTI, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (1897), pp. 27-31, 98-103; SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1st ed. 1893, 2d ed. 1899), pp. 128-38; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 243-9, 364-404; NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (1894), Vol. II, pp. 1-86; DILLMANN, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1895), see Index, s. v. "Tempel;" H. A. POELS, *Le sanctuaire de Kirjath-Jearim* (1895); S. A. FRIES, *Den israelitiska kultens centralisation* (1895); E. SCHURÉ, *Sanctuaires d'Orient, Égypte, Grèce, Palestine* (1898); AUG. FREIHERR VON GALL, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten* (1898); B. A., "Die heiligen Stätten in Palästina," *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1898), No. 221; F. TOURNIER, "Notes sur les temples païens de furrière à l'époque romaine," *L'Université catholique*, 1899, pp. 361-92; BASSET, "Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa," *Journal asiatique*, 1900; MEINHOLD, *Die Lade Jahves* (1900); ERNST SELLIN, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil*, Vol. II (1901), pp. 44-56; B. STADE, "Die Kesselwagen des salomonischen Tempels, I Kö. 7:27-39," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XXI (1901), pp. 145-90; K. BUDDE, "Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Lade Jahwe's," *ibid.* (1901).

§ 82. Supplementary Topics.

1. Consider the following citations from the book of Psalms: 5:7; 11:4; 20:2; 22:25; 24:3; 26:6-8, 12; 27:4-6; 28:2; 29:9; 36:8; 40:9; 42:4; 43:3 f.; 46:4; 48:1 f., 8 f.; 51:18 f.; 52:8; 55:14; 61:4; 63:2; 65:1, 4; 66:13; 68:15-17, 24, 29; 69:9;

73:17; 74:2 ff.; 76:2; 77:13; 78:54, 58, 60, 68 f.; 79:1-13; 84; 87; 92:13; 93:5; 96:6-8; 99:9; 100:4; 102:13 ff.; 114:2; 122; 125:1; 127:1 (?); 132; 134; 135:1 f.; 138:2; and formulate a statement concerning *the place of worship* as it stands related to the idea of worship as expressed in the Psalter.

2. Examine the allusions to *the place of worship* found in the apocryphal books, *e. g.*, 1 Macc. 4:36-59; 5:1, 68; 6:7, 18, 26, 51, 54; 7:33-38; 9:54-57; 10:41-44; 11:37; 13:3, 6; 14:15, 48; 16:20; 2 Macc. 1:8, 15 ff., 18, 32-34; 2:1 ff., 17-19, 22; 3:2, 12, 14 ff.; 4:14; 5:15-21; 6:2-5; 8:17; 9:16; 10:1-8, 26; 13:8, 23; 14:4, 31-33, 36; and note any important modifications which seem to have been made.

3. Consider *the place of worship* as it is referred to in the New Testament, *e. g.*, in Matt. 4:3; 6:2, 6; 9:35; 12:4-6, 9; 13:54; 21:12-14, 23; 23:16-22, 35; 24:1 ff., 15; 26:61; 27:5; Mark 1:21-29; 3:1; 5:22, 35 ff.; 6:2 ff.; 11:15 ff., 27; 12:41 ff.; 13:1 ff., 9; 14:58; Luke 1:8-23; 2:22 ff., 41 ff.; 4:16, 20, 28, 33, 38, 44; 6:6; 8:41, 49; 13:10; 19:45 ff.; 21:1-6, 37 f.; 22:52 f.; John 2:13-22; 4:19-24; 7:14, 28; 11:55 ff.; 16:2; Acts 1:13 f.; 2:1 ff., 46; 3:1 ff.; 4:1; 6:13 f.; 9:1 f., 20; 13:14 f., 43; 14:1; 16:16; 17:1 ff., 10, 17; 18:4, 8, 19; 19:8 f.; 20:7 ff.; 21:26 ff.; 22:19; 25:8; 28:30 f.; 1 Cor. 8:10; 16:19; Eph. 2:19-22; 1 Tim. 3:15; Philem., vs. 1; Heb. 8:1 f.; 9:1-12, 24 f.; 10:19 f.; 12:18 ff.; 13:10 ff.; Rev. 8:3; 9:13; 11:1 f., 19; 14:15, 18; 15:5-8; 21:3, 22; and formulate the points of difference which appear.

4. Study the origin and development of the synagogue, noting (*a*) its relation to the temple, (*b*) the different character of its services as compared with those of the temple, (*c*) its origin in response to a great religious need, and (*d*) its historical significance as the forerunner of the church, the Christian place of worship. See, *e. g.*, Ezek. 8:1; 20:1-3; Ps. 74:8; Matt. 9:35; 12:9; Mark 5:35; 6:1 ff.; Acts 9:1 ff.; 13:13 ff.; 14:1; 17:1, etc.⁵

5. Study the causes which led to the building of the Samaritan

⁵See article "Synagogue" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*; E. H. PLUMPTRE, article "Synagogue" in SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*; SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. I, pp. 428 ff.; MONTEFIORE, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (see *Index*, s. v. "Synagogue"); SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. II, Vol. I, pp. 52-83; EDERSHEIM, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. I, pp. 430-50; FERGUSON, *The Synagogue Service in the Time of Christ*; KENT, *A History of the Jewish People* (see *Index*).

temple on Mount Gerizim. Was this movement a source of strength or of weakness to the Jewish community in Jerusalem? What was the attitude of Jesus toward the Samaritan temple? See, *e. g.*, Ezra, chap. 4; Neh. 2:18-20; 4:1-23; 6:1-19; 13:28; John 4:19-24 (*cf.* § 45).

6. Consider the causes which have led to the change of view as to the function of the place of worship seen in the fact that originally a temple was looked upon as the abode of the deity, while now it is regarded primarily as a meeting-place for worshipers.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING SACRIFICE, CONSIDERED COMPARATIVELY.

§ 83. **Sacrifice in the Early Period**, that is, as described in (*a*) the Covenant Code, (*b*) the historical material of J and E, (*c*) the pre-Deuteronomic portions of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and (*d*) the pre-Deuteronomic prophetic utterances (see § 59, note 1).

1. Kinds of offerings.¹

Gen. 28:18; 35:14; Exod. 8:20 f.; 10:24 ff.; 18:12; 20:24; 24:5;
Judg. 6:26; 1 Sam. 10:8; 21:6; 1 Kings 3:4; 12:26-35; 2 Kings
16:12 f.; Isa. 1:11-13; Hos. 4:13; 9:4; 11:2.

2. Materials of sacrifice.

Gen. 4:3; 15:9 ff.; 8:20 ff.; 22:1-13; 28:18; 35:14; Exod. 20:24;
Numb. 23:1-4, 14; Judg. 13:16-19; 6:18-24, 26; 1 Sam. 7:9 f.;
21:6; 1 Kings 8:5.

3. Manner of sacrifice.

Exod. 34:25; 23:18; Numb. 23:1-4, 14; 1 Sam. 2:13-17; 2 Sam.
6:13; 1 Kings 18:30-38; 2 Kings 16:12 f.

4. Occasion and purpose of sacrifice.

Gen. 46:1b; Exod. 23:15c; 34:20c; Numb. 23:1-4, 14; Judg.
6:18-24; 13:16-19; 1 Sam. 1:3 ff.; 6:15; 7:9 f.; 11:15; 20:29;
2 Sam. 6:13, 17 f.; 24:22-25; 1 Kings 8:5; 18:30-38.

5. Sacrifice was often a social or family meal.

Gen. 18:1-8; 31:54; Exod. 18:12; Numb. 22:40; Deut. 27:6b, 7;
1 Sam. 1:3 ff.; 9:12 f.; 16:2, 5; 20:29.

6. Human sacrifice was not unknown.

Gen. 22:1-13; Hos. 13:2 (?).

7. Sacrifice to idols was common.

Exod. 32:6; 1 Kings 12:26-33; 2 Kings 5:17 (?); 10:19, 24 f.;
Hos. 4:13; 11:2.

8. The priest was given a share of the sacrifice.

1 Sam. 2:13-17.

¹The following are J-references: Gen. 4:3; 8:20 ff.; 18:1-8; 35:14; Exod. 8:20 f.; 34:20c, 25; Numb. 23:1-4, 14 (?); Deut. 27:6b, 7 (?). The following are E-references: Gen. 15:9 ff.; 22:1-13, 28:18; 31:54; 46:1b; Exod. 10:24 ff.; 18:12; 20:24; 23:15c, 18; 24:5; 32:6; Numb. 22:40.

9. The prophets' attitude toward sacrifice.

Amos 4:4 f.; 5:22-25; Hos. 3:4; 4:13, 19; 6:6; 8:13; 9:4; 11:2; 13:2; Isa. 1:11-13; 34:6.

§ 84. Questions and Suggestions.

1. What were the various kinds of offerings made in this period? What significance attached to each kind—for example, what was the meaning of the burnt-offering? of the peace-offering? of the pass-over offering? Consider to what extent (*a*) sacrifice in this period was equivalent to a social meal; (*b*) the eating of meat was a sacrificial act; (*c*) the spirit of joy accompanied the act.

2. Note the kinds of material used in sacrifice, for example, the flesh of animals (what animals? animals of what age?), oil, wine, meal. What was the reason underlying the use of each of these kinds of material?

3. Why was leavened bread not to be used in connection with a sacrifice? Why was no part of the sacrifice to be left over until the morning of the following day? What points concerning sacrifice may be noted in connection with Balaam's sacrifice (Numb. 23:1-4, 14, 27-30)? Consider the custom of the priests in Samuel's time, and what it involved. Study Elijah's sacrifice on Gilgal, and note the bearing of the details on the subject.

4. Upon what occasion, and under what circumstances, were sacrifices offered? What purpose lay in the mind of the offerer? What was sought for in the act?

5. When sacrifice was only a social or family meal, what was the religious element? Was the deity ever thought to partake of the meal? Was the deity ever supposed to be related to the family? What was the connection between this social act and the spirit of joy which, in early times, seems to have characterized the act of sacrifice?

6. Consider the willingness of Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac, and what was involved in this willingness? Explain to yourself the custom of human sacrifice; how could it have arisen? what wrong ideas did it rest upon?

7. Note some of the instances in which sacrifice was offered to idols. Since the idols were believed to represent deities, either that of Israel or those of other nations, was this not something clearly to have been expected?

8. Note that in this period the priest, whatever other kind of support he may have received, was given a share of the sacrifice.

9. Formulate a statement containing the substance of the prophet's

attitude toward sacrifice; and consider whether the prophet was opposing (*a*) the act of sacrifice itself; or (*b*) a cold, indifferent, hypocritical spirit, with which men in those days had become accustomed to offer sacrifice; or (*c*) the feeling, which had become quite general, that sacrifice was enough to gain Jehovah's pleasure, that this was all that he expected, and that this, without reference to conduct, constituted religion.

§ 85. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement on *sacrifice in the early period*, embodying the material presented above.

§ 86. Sacrifice in the Middle Period, that is, as described in the laws of Deuteronomy, in the Deuteronomic prophecies, and in the Deuteronomic portions of the books of Samuel and Kings.

1. Kinds of offerings.²

Deut. 12:4-7, 16; Mic. 6:6-8; Jer. 17:26; 33:11, 18.

2. Materials of sacrifice.

Deut. 16:2-4; Mic. 6:6-8; Jer. 6:20; Isa. 43:23 ff.; 1 Sam. 2:27.

3. Manner of offering.

Deut. 12:27; 16:7; Jer. 33:18; 1 Sam. 2:27.

4. Occasion and purpose of offerings.

Deut. 16:2-4; 1 Sam. 3:14; Jer. 33:11.

5. Social element in sacrifice.

Deut. 12:4-14; 1 Kings 3:15.

6. Slaughter and sacrifice are no longer synonymous terms.

Deut. 12:15, 20-28.

7. Priest's portion of the sacrifice.

Deut. 18:3, 4; 1 Sam. 2:28, 36.

8. Human sacrifice still existed.

Mic. 6:6-8.

9. Prophets' attitude toward sacrifice.

Zeph. 1:7, 8; Mic. 6:6-8; Jer. 6:20; 7:21 f., 29; 17:26; 33:11, 81; 46:10; Isa. 43:23 f.

§ 87. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Note in Deut. 12:4-7 (*a*) the kinds of offerings mentioned (including tithe, heave-offering, free-will offering), and (*b*) the spirit of rejoicing in which these offerings are to be made. Consider in Mic. 6:6-8 (*a*) the possibilities of sacrifice (including that of one's own child), (*b*) the purpose of sacrifice, and (*c*) the requirement of Jehovah.

2. Consider the materials used in sacrifice, as mentioned in passages

² References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

cited above, and note any variations in comparison with those used in the earlier age.

3. Consider (*a*) the use made of the blood; its pouring on the altar; (*b*) the roasting of the flesh; (*c*) the eating of the flesh; (*d*) the employment of men "to burn meal-offerings and to do sacrifice."

4. Consider the connection of the Passover with the going-up of Israel out of Egypt, (*a*) in relation to time (was there not a spring feast celebrated by the ancient nations before the exodus?); (*b*) in relation to ceremony (why was unleavened bread to be used?); (*c*) in relation to the purpose of the act. Was the sacrifice intended to purge or purify from sin? Was sacrifice intended also to be an expression of gratitude for some favor already received?

5. Is the social element still to be seen in this period, that is, does the family or clan meal, with all its social accompaniments, constitute a sacrifice?

6. What new distinction has arisen as between the slaughter of animals and the act of sacrifice? Wherein does the distinction consist? What led to the making of the distinction? What, naturally, will follow as a result of making this distinction?

7. Note (*a*) the particular portions of each animal sacrificed, which are assigned as the portion of the priest, that is, for his maintenance; (*b*) the additional perquisites he receives in the way of grain, oil, wine, and meal; and (*c*) the ground for these gifts.

8. What evidence is there that in this period human beings are still used for sacrifice?

9. Consider the attitude of the prophets of this period toward sacrifice, and determine (see § 84, 9) the real meaning of this attitude.

§ 88. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement which will contain, in some detail, the differences between the usages of the middle period in respect to sacrifice, and those of the early period.

§ 89. Sacrifice as Presented by Ezekiel.

1. Kinds of offerings.

Ezek. 40:39; 42:13; 46:12; 45:13-17; 20:40.

2. Materials of sacrifice.

Ezek. 44:15; 46:4-7.

3. Manner of sacrifice.

Ezek. 40:38-43; 44:11, 15; 46:4-15, 24.

4. Occasion and purpose of sacrifice.

Ezek. 46:4-15; 43:18-27; 45:13-25.

5. Sacrifice was still thought of as a banquet.
Ezek. 39:17-20; 46:24.
6. Sacrifice was still offered to idols.
Ezek. 20:28-31.
7. Human sacrifice.
Ezek. 16:20 f.; 23:39.
8. Priests retained a share of the sacrifice.
Ezek. 42:13.

§ 90. Constructive Work.—Consider the various allusions to sacrifice in Ezekiel, under the topics suggested above, and prepare a statement covering (*a*) the points of resemblance and difference in comparison with the facts of the early and middle periods; (*b*) the more formal and official character with which sacrifice seems to be invested by Ezekiel; (*c*) the exceedingly elaborate system of sacrifice provided for, *e. g.*, in 46:4-15; (*d*) the fact that, notwithstanding all this, the earlier idea of sacrifice as a banquet still exists (39:17-20; 46:24).

§ 91. Sacrifice in the Later Period, that is, as described in (*a*) the laws of the Levitical Code, (*b*) by the priestly prophets, and (*c*) in the priestly histories, *e. g.*, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.

1. Kinds of offerings.³

Lev. 7:1, 11; 6:8, 14, 25; 8:22; 23:10b, 11, 13; Exod. 25:30; 30:7;
Numb. 15:19; 5:11-31.

2. Materials of sacrifice.

Lev. 1:1-3, 10, 14; 2:1, 4 f., 7, 11, 13-15; 3:1, 3 f., 6 f., 9 f., 12, 14 f.,
16 f.; 5:6 f., 11; 6:1-7, 15, 19f.; 7:3-5, 11 ff.; 9:1-4; 12:6-8; 14:10,
49; 24:5-9; Numb. 15:1-21; Exod. 29:1-3, 22 f., 38-42; Numb.,
chap. 28; Exod. 30:34-38; Lev. 22:18-25, 27 f.; 23:10b-14.

3. The fat and blood are regarded as especially sacred.

Lev. 7:22-27; 8:15, 23 f.; 9:19-21; 17:6; etc.

4. Manner of sacrifice.

Lev. 1:3-9, 11-13, 15-17; 2:1 f., 4-16; 3:1-17; 4:1-35; 5:8 f., 12;
6:1-7, 8-13, 14-18, 19-23, 24-30; 7:1 ff., 11-21; 8:14-30; 9:8-11,
12-14, 15-24; 14:10-32, 49-53; 16:3-28; 24:5-9; Numb. 5:11-31;
19:1-22; Exod. 29:10-42; 30:7-10; Lev. 22:29 f.; 19:5-8.

5. Occasion and purpose of sacrifice.

Lev. 4:1-3, 13 f., 20, 22-28, 31, 35; 5:1-6, 13-15, 17-19; 6:1-7, 30;
9:7; 12:6-8; 14:20, 31, 53; 15:13-15, 28-30; 23:10b-21; Numb.
5:11-31; 15:17-21, 22-28; 19:1-22; chap. 28; Exod. 30:7-10.

³ References to the Levitical Code are in bold-face type.

6. The priests' share of the sacrifice.
Lev. 2:3, 10; 5:13; 6:16-18, 26, 29; 7:6-10, 14, 28-38; 8:31; 10:12-20; Numb. 5:5-10; Exod. 29:27-32; Numb. 18:8-20.
7. All slaughter is sacrificial.
Lev. 17:1-9.
8. Few references to idolatrous sacrifices.
Lev. 17:7.
9. Attitude of the prophets toward sacrifice.
Isa. 19:21; 56:7; 66:3; Mal. 1:7-9; 3:3-5; Joel 1:9, 13; 2:14; Dan. 9:27.
10. Sacrifice is given a large place in the later histories.
1 Chron. 15:26; 16:1; 21:26 ff.; 29:21 f.; 2 Chron. 1:5; 2:4; 5:6; 7:4 ff.; 8:12 f.; 11:16; 13:11; 15:11; 24:14; 29:20-36; 30:15 ff.; 31:2 ff.; 33:16 f.; Ezra 3:2 ff.; 6:17; 7:17; 8:35; 10:19; Neh. 10:33 f.; 12:43 f.
11. Prominence of the idea of sin in connection with sacrifice.
Lev. 4:35; chap. 16; 9:3; 10:16 ff.; Numb. 15:22-31; 19:1-9.

§ 92. Questions and Suggestions.—How much in detail the various topics concerning sacrifice in the later period shall be taken up will be determined in some measure by one's archæological interests. In any case, these topics deserve consideration because of their sociological, as well as their religious, bearing :

1. Prepare a list of the kinds of offerings, viz., burnt-offering, peace-offering, sin-offering, etc., including vows, the offering involved in Naziritism, the offering of purification. From the passages describing each, and from a study of the name (in English and, if possible, in Hebrew), differentiate these various offerings from each other and determine what was distinctly characteristic in each case. Consider, now, whether any principle of classification exists; *e. g.:* (a) Are they, in each case, voluntary or obligatory? (b) Are they, in each case, self-dedicatorily, eucharistic, or expiatory? Suggest any other possible bases for classification.

2. Take up, one by one, the materials which might be used in sacrifice, noting, (a) in reference to animal offerings: (1) the particular animals which were deemed acceptable; (2) the possible explanations of the selection of these animals with the rejection of others; (3) whether the distinction between clean and unclean animals⁴ was in any way connected with the choice for sacrifice; (b) in reference to vegetable

⁴ Cf. Lev., chap. 11; Deut. 14:3-21; and see G. A. SIMCOX, article "Clean and Unclean," § 8, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and chap. x.

offerings: (1) the particular vegetables authorized; (2) the reason or reasons for this selection; (c) the character of offerings worthy of being accepted; (d) other possible gifts outside of animals and vegetables, *e. g.*, one's hair,⁵ one's virginity,⁶ one's blood;⁷ (e) objects connected more or less closely with sacrifice, *e. g.*, wine, incense, salt, oil, blood, fat, leaven, honey; (f) the meaning or significance of each kind of material as employed in sacrifice.

3. Note the particularly important emphasis placed upon the use of the blood and fat, and consider what was involved in this, and the principle underlying it.

4. Study, in detail, the method of sacrifice, viz., (a) the ceremonial of the animal sacrifice which included (1) the circumstances connected with the presentation of the victim, *e. g.*, the laying on of hands, the time, the place, (2) the slaughter, (3) the use made of the blood, (4) the flaying of the animal and its dissection, (5) the burning, (6) the washing, (7) the waving and heaving, (8) the sacrificial meal; (b) the ceremonial, in similar fashion, of the vegetable offering; (c) the ceremonial of the drink-offering; (d) the distinction involved between burning the offering and eating it; (e) the distinction involved between consuming all and only a portion.

5. Study the occasion and purpose of sacrifice as it appears in the later period, considering (a) how far it is *national*, *i. e.*, offered for the nation as a whole (*cf.* Exod. 29:38-42; Numb. 28:9—29:6); (b) how far it is *official*, *i. e.*, offered for certain officers of the state, the priest, or the ruler (*cf.* Numb. 4:22-26); (c) how far it is *individual*, *i. e.*, offered for the ordinary man as an individual; (d) how far it is *festal*, *i. e.*, associated with feasts, *e. g.*, the Passover, the Feast of Harvest; (e) how far it is *extraordinary*, *i. e.*, connected with special rather than regularly recurring events; (f) how far it is *local* or *centralized*, *i. e.*, offered where one chanced to be, or at some place selected from all other places, and authorized as the proper and only proper place; (g) how far it is, in this period, a gift or offering, rather than the payment of a demand or of something due.

6. Put together the various elements which made up the priest's

⁵ See Lev. 19:27; 21:5; *cf.* Jer. 7:29, and W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., pp. 323-35.

⁶ Cf. 1 Kings 14:24; 15:12; 22:47; 2 Kings 23:7; NOWACK, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Vol. II, pp. 132 f.; W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 454 ff; FRAZER, *Golden Bough*, Vol. II, pp. 225 ff.

⁷ Cf. Ps. 50:13; W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (see *Index*, *s. v.* "Blood"); H. C. TRUMBUll, *The Blood Covenant*.

due, and consider whether (*a*) upon the whole he was properly repaid for his services, (*b*) he deserved any longer to be classed with the widow and orphan, as in Deuteronomy.

7. Note that all slaughter of animals for purposes of eating is sacrificial; that every animal must be formally presented at the appointed place; and that punishment is to be inflicted upon those who do not recognize this fact.

8. Observe that offerings to idols have almost fallen into disuse.

9. Consider the attitude of the later prophets toward sacrifice; are they hostile? or indifferent?

10. Make a list of the events narrated in the later histories with which sacrifice is connected, and note (*a*) how large a place sacrifice is given; (*b*) how much more frequently the priest-writers recount the act of sacrifice than do the prophetic writers of Samuel and Kings; (*c*) the significance of this in connection with the greater importance attached to sacrifice in this later period.

11. Consider (*a*) the intimate connection, whether expressed or implied, between all this detail of ceremonial and the idea of *sin*; (*b*) the intimate connection between the idea of sin thus expressed and the conception of God which had come to exist in this period; (*c*) the suggestive fact that, side by side with this objective expression of the appreciation of sin and of longing for communion with God, there should have been written so many of the psalms, which express subjectively and spiritually the same idea.

§ 93. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement which will present in the form of a summary the essential differences between the later and preceding periods in reference to sacrifice, including (*a*) the chief points of practice, and (*b*) the essential principles involved.

§ 94. Literature to be Consulted.

J. H. KURTZ, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament* (1863); ALFRED BARRY, articles "Sacrifice," "Sin-Offering," "Meat-Offering," "Burnt-Offering," etc., in SMITH's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1863); EWALD, *The Antiquities of Israel* (3d ed. 1866, transl. 1876), pp. 23–111; KALISCH, *Commentary on Leviticus* (1867–72), Part I, pp. 1–416; Part II, pp. 9, 217 ff., 290 ff.; KUENEN, *Religion of Israel* (1869 f., transl. 1874 f.), Vol. I, pp. 236 f.; OEHLER, *Old Testament Theology* (1870, transl. 1883), pp. 261–323; TYLOR, *Primitive Culture* (1874), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" SAYCE, "On Human Sacrifice among the Babylonians," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. IV (1876), pp. 25–31; E. PARK, "On the Question of the Divine Institution of Sacrifice," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1876, pp. 102–32; A. CAVE, *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement* (1877); WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1878), pp. 52–82; R. COLLINS, "An Essay on Sacrifice," in *The Pulpit Commentary on Leviticus* (1882), pp. i–xiv; ALFRED CAVE, "The Levitical Sacrifices

Literally Considered," in *The Pulpit Commentary on Leviticus* (1882), pp. i-xxxii; H. C. TRUMBULL, *The Blood Covenant* (1885), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" LEIGHTON, *The Jewish Altar* (1886); A. HOVEY, "Shekhar and Leaven in Mosaic Offerings," *Old Testament Student*, 1886, pp. 11-16; H. CROSBY, "The Sacrifices," *Old Testament Student*, 1886, pp. 249 f.; W. R. SMITH, article "Sacrifice" in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1887); SAYCE, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures, 1887), pp. 77-82; F. GARDINER, "On the Reason for the Selection of Certain Animals for Sacrifice," *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1888, pp. 146-50; W. H. WARD, "On Some Babylonian Cylinders, Supposed to Represent Human Sacrifices," *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1888, pp. xxviii-xxx; KITTEL, *History of the Hebrews* (1888-92, transl. 1895), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (1st ed. 1889, 2d ed. 1894), pp. 213-340; ROBERTSON, *Early Religion of Israel* (1889), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" P. A. NORDELL, "Old Testament Word-Studies: 7. Sacrifice and Worship," *Old Testament Student*, Vol. VIII (1889), pp. 257 ff.; W. M. RODWELL, *The Mosaic Sacrifices in Lev. I-III* (1890); SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology* (1892), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" DUFF, *Old Testament Theology* (1891-1900), see *Indices* to Vols. I and II; TH. E. SCHMAUCK, "The Paschal Lamb," *Lutheran Church Review*, 1891, pp. 127-63; C. J. BALL, "Glimpses of Babylonian Religion. I: Human Sacrifices," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XIV (1892), pp. 149-53; MONTEFIORE, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (1892), see *Index*; H. B. TRISTRAM, "Sacrifices in Babylonia and Phœnicia," *Sunday School Times*, 1894, No. 1; H. C. TRUMBULL, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (1894), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" A. HARPER, "The Prophets and Sacrifice," *Expositor*, 1894, pp. 241-53; T. K. CHEYNE, "The Date and Origin of the Ritual of the Scapegoat," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1895, pp. 153-6; PH. J. HOEDEMAKER, "The Atonement Money," *The Thinker*, 1895; A. A. BERLE, "The Real Meaning of Semitic Sacrifice," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1895, pp. 342-6; MENZIES, *History of Religion* (1895), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" TRUMBULL, *The Threshold Covenant* (1896), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice;" WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1897), see *Index*, s. v. "Offerings;" JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898), see *Index*, s. v. "Sacrifices;" A. FAIRBANKS, "The Significance of Sacrifice in the Homeric Poems," *The New World*, June, 1898, pp. 335-48; A. F. SCOT, *Offering and Sacrifice: An Essay in Comparative Customs and Religious Development* (1899); TRUMBULL, *The Covenant of Salt* (1899), pp. 83-96; BOYS-SMITH, "Sacrifice in Ancient Religion and in Christian Sacrament," *Expository Times*, December, 1899; January, 1900; S. R. DRIVER, article "Offer, Offering, etc.," in *HASTINGS' Dictionary of the Bible* (1900); GAST, "Idea of Sacrifice as Developed in the Old Testament," *Reformed Church Review*, January, 1900; HERMANN SCHULTZ, "The Significance of Sacrifice in the Old Testament," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. IV (1900), pp. 257-313; DAVIS, "The Sin-Offering," *Bible Student*, February, 1900; EDWARD DAY, *The Social Life of the Hebrews* (1901), pp. 39-46; McCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* (1895-1901), §§ 738, 1006 f., 1014; D. MCKENZIE, *Exposition of Old Testament Sacrifice* (1901).

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seinem Wesen und seiner Geschichte (1860); OEHLER, revised by VON ORELLI, article "Opferkultus des A. T.'s," *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theol. und Kirche* (2d ed., 1883); MENANT, "Les sacrifices sur les cylindres chaldéens," *Gazette archéologique*, 1883, Nos. 7-9; FRANZ DELITZSCH, article "Opfer" in RIEHM's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (1884); WELLHAUSEN, *Reste des arabischen Heidenthums* (1887), pp. 110-28; STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1887 f.), Vol. I, pp. 492-8; Vol. II, pp. 253-64; L. GLAHN, "Soningen i den gammeltestamentlige Offerkultus," *Festskrift Borcks Colleg.*, pp. 281-3 (1889); FRIEDR. NITZSCH, *Die Idee und die Stufen des Opferkultus* (1889); C. PIEPENBRING, "Histoire des lieux de culte et du sacerdoce en Israel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1891, pp. 1-60, 133-86; TH. NAVILLE, *Les sacrifices lévitiques et l'expiation* (1891); A. SCHMOLLER, "Das Wesen der Sühne in der alttestl. Offerthora," *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1891, pp. 205-88; SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestl. Religionsgeschichte* (1st ed. 1893, 2d ed. 1899), pp. 138-45; NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (1894), Vol. II, pp. 203-75; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 431-64; P. SCHANZ, "Der Opferbegriff," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1894, pp. 179-222; G. A. SIEGRIST, *L'idée du sacrifice dans l'A. T.* (1894); DILLMANN, *Handbuch der alttestl. Theologie* (1895), see *Index*, s. v. "Opfer;" STADE, "Die Eiferopferthora," *Zeitschrift für die alttestl. Wissenschaft*, 1895, pp. 166-78; KAMPHAUSEN, *Das Verhältnis des Menschenopfers zur israelitischen Religion* (1896); MARTI, *Geschichte der israelit. Religion* (1897), pp. 103-7, 225-31; LÉVI, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brahmânas* (1898); G. DE ALVIELLA, "La théorie du sacrifice et les recherches de Robertson Smith," *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles*, April, 1898; M. LAMBERT, "Le mot שְׁלֵמָה," *Journal asiatique*, Vol. XI (1898), pp. 326 f.; C. SCHMIDT, *Die Entwicklung der alttestamentlichen Opferidee* (1899); A. LOISY, "Notes sur la Genèse. VI: Le sacrifice d'Isaac: Gen. 22:1-19," *Revue de l'histoire et de la littérature religieuses*, 1899, pp. 458-62; P. VOLZ, "Die Handauflegung beim Opfer," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1901; LEFÉBURE, "Le sacrifice humain d'après les rites de Busiris et d'Abydos," *Sphinx*, Vol. III, No. 2; CHWOLSON, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, Vol. II, pp. 142-55.

§ 95. Supplementary Topics.

1. Study the principal references to sacrifice found in the Psalter, e. g., Pss. 4:5; 20:3; 40:6; 50:5, 8-14, 23; 51:16 f., 19; 54:6; 56:12; 66:13, 15; 96:8; 106:28, 37 f.; 107:22; 116:17; 118:27; and consider (a) the attitude in general of these song-writers; (b) how far they have spiritualized the subject; (c) the relationship between the Levitical ceremonial and the spirit of the Psalms.

2. What did the sage have to say about sacrifice? Cf. Job 1:5; 22:27; 42:8 f.; Prov. 7:14; 15:8; 21:27; Eccles. 9:2.

3. From an examination of the books of Maccabees—e. g., 1 Macc. 5:54; 7:33; 11:34; 12:11; 2 Macc. 1:8, 18, 23, 26, 31; 2:9 ff.; 3:3, 6, 32; 4:14; 6:7; 9:16; 12:43; 13:23; 14:31—determine the spirit in which sacrifices were offered during the Maccabæan period, and note any changes that present themselves.

4. Consider the subject of sacrifice as it appears in the epistle to

the Hebrews, *e. g.*, Heb. 5:1-3; 7:26 f.; 9:6; 10:18, 26; 11:17; 13:10-16.

5. Consider the meaning and usage in the several documents of the various Hebrew words for sacrifice, viz., זָבֵחׁ ; מִנְחָה ; שְׁלֹמִים ; עֹלֶה ; תְּנוּפָה ; תְּרִימָה ; אַשְׁם ; קָרְבָּן ; נְדָבָה ; נְסָךְ ; אַשָּׁה ; חֲטֹאת .
כָּלִיל .

Cf. S. R. DRIVER, article "Offer, Offering, Oblation," in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

6. Compare the usages relating to sacrifice among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and note points of similarity and difference as compared with the usages of the Hebrews.

See W. R. SMITH, article "Sacrifice" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

7. Compare the usages relating to sacrifice among the Assyrians, the Arabs, and the Canaanites, and note points of similarity and difference as compared with the usages of the Hebrews.

See especially PAUL HAUPT, "Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55-81; JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (*Index*, s. v. "Sacrifice"); W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*; L. W. KING, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, pp. 210 ff.; A. H. SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 245-9.

8. Consider the question of the *origin* of sacrifice.

See W. R. SMITH, article "Sacrifice" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*; A. F. SCOT, *Offering and Sacrifice: An Essay in Comparative Customs and Religious Development*.

9. Prepare a definition of sacrifice which may be considered biblical.

10. Consider the teachings inculcated by sacrifice, and whether these teachings (*a*) constituted the purpose and end of the Jewish service, or (*b*) pointed to something beyond and above.

11. Consider the relation of sacrifice, as it is represented in the Old Testament, to the Christ of the New Testament.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING FEASTS, CONSIDERED COMPARATIVELY.

§ 96. **The Feasts of Early Times**, that is, as described in (*a*) the Covenant Code; (*b*) the historical material of J and E; (*c*) the pre-Deuteronomic portions of Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and (*d*) the pre-Deuteronomic prophetic utterances (see § 59, note 1).¹

1. The Feast of Unleavened Bread.²

Exod. 34:18; 23:15; 13:3-10.

2. The Feast of Weeks.

Exod. 34:22; 23:16a.

3. The Feast of Tabernacles.

Exod. 34:22b; 23:16b; 1 Kings 8:2, 65 f.; 12:32; Judg. 9:27; 21:19 ff.

4. There were three feasts at which attendance was required by law.

Exod. 34:23 f.; 23:14-17; 1 Kings 9:25; 1 Sam. 1:3.

5. The feasts were connected with agriculture.

Exod. 23:15 f.; 34:22; Judg. 21:19 ff.

6. The feasts were always of a joyous and social character.

Exod. 32:5 f.; Judg. 21:19 ff.; 1 Sam. 1:3, 7, 13 ff.

7. A feast often involved a pilgrimage to some shrine.

Exod. 10:9; Judg. 11:40 (?); 1 Sam. 1:3, 7; 2:19.

8. The Passover.

Exod. 34:25; 12:21-27.

9. The Feast of the New Moon.

Hos. 5:7 (?); 1 Sam. 20:5 f.; 18:24 ff.; 2 Kings 4:23.

10. Special feasts were held, *e.g.* the Feast of Sheep-Shearing; the Feast of Jephthah's Daughter.

1 Sam. 25:2; 2 Sam. 13:23; Judg. 11:40.

11. Idolatrous feasts.

Exod. 32:5; 1 Kings 12:32 f.; 2 Kings 10:20.

12. Attitude of the early prophets toward the feasts.

Amos 5:21; 8:10; Hos. 2:11; 5:7 (?); 9:5; 12:9; Isa. 1:13 f.

¹ The following references are from J: Exod. 34:18-25; 12:21-27; 13:3-10; 10:9; the following are from E: Exod. 23:10-17; 32:5.

² References in bold-face type are from the Covenant Code.

§ 97. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider, in connection with the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*, (a) the duration; (b) the date (to what part of our year did Abib correspond?); (c) the nature and significance of "unleavened bread;" (d) the meaning of the phrase, "none shall appear before me empty;" (e) the association of this feast with the exodus from Egypt, and the point of connection; (f) the seeming identification of two entirely different things, viz., the Passover (see below) and the Feast of Unleavened Bread.
2. Consider, in connection with the Feast of *Weeks*, (a) other names for the same feast, viz., Harvest, First-Fruits (Pentecost, cf. Acts 2:1; 20:16; 1 Cor. 16:8); (b) the duration (cf. Deut. 16:9-12); (c) the date; (d) the connection of this feast with the close of the grain harvest; (e) the fact that there is no historical mention in the Old Testament of its observance (but cf. 2 Macc. 12:32 and the New Testament passages indicated above).
3. Consider, in connection with the Feast of *Tabernacles*, (a) other names, viz., Booths (Deut. 16:13), Ingathering; (b) the duration (cf. Deut. 16:13-15); (c) the date, late in the autumn; (d) the connection of this feast with the completion of the harvest of fruit, oil, and wine; (e) the lack of any specific regulations in the earlier legislation; (f) the fact that historical mention is made of only this feast among the three great feasts (1 Sam. 1:1 ff.; 1 Kings 12:32; 6:38); (g) the fact that this feast seems to have had its origin among the Canaanites (Judg. 9:27); (h) the important religious significance involved in the idea that the deity was the *lord* of the land and the dispenser of its fruits.
4. Consider, in reference to these meetings for festal purposes, (a) the number; (b) the distribution of these throughout the year; (c) the class of persons who were expected to be present; (d) the meaning of the phrase "appear before the Lord;" (e) the guarantee given of safety upon the journeys involved in attending the feasts; (f) the custom in Solomon's times. Are any places mentioned as the seats of a festival?
5. To what extent were these feasts of an agricultural character, that is, connected with agricultural pursuits, e. g., harvest, ingathering of fruit, etc.? or how far were they solar feasts, that is, connected with certain seasons of the year? What was the usual time for harvest in Palestine? When did the end of the Jewish year come, and with what feast was it connected? Consider the connection of the feast at Shiloh with the vineyards near at hand. What particular characteristics

are associated with agricultural as distinguished from historical feasts? Would the climate, for example, to some extent determine the date? Would the harvest feast take place at the same time in localities in which there was a difference of two or three weeks in the period of the ripening of grain? What kind of feasts would be expected among people leading a pastoral life, as distinguished from an agricultural life? If these feasts are of agricultural origin, could Israel have observed them before becoming an agricultural people, that is, before settling in Canaan?

6. Are not harvest and vintage feasts generally occasions for joy? Are not eating and drinking and dancing the usual accompaniments of a feast? How far did the idea that the deity was sharing in the festivities contribute to the joyousness of the occasion? Did not the eating, etc., contribute to this end? Was not the very purpose a joyous one? Was there yet any conception of God or sin such as would interfere with this interpretation? Was there, at this time, any feeling of the need of an atonement?

7. (1) Does a man ordinarily feast by himself? (2) If the social element is important, would it be necessary to have places at which many might conveniently come together? Would this not necessarily involve a pilgrimage? (3) Consider the use of sacred places, like Shiloh, for such meetings. (4) What would be the social and political influence of such pilgrimages?

8. Consider (1) whether the *Passover*, although forming a part of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, is not treated independently of that feast; (2) whether, in its very nature, it is not pastoral (that is, of nomadic origin), rather than agricultural; (3) the meaning of the name "Passover";³ (4) the time of year in which it was observed; (5) the evidence in Exod. 7:16; 10:24, that the Hebrews observed a spring festival with offerings from their flocks before the days of Moses; (6) the original significance of the Passover, viz., a sacrificial meal in which those who partook united themselves more closely and came into closer communion with their God—all this, for greater security; (7) the connection of this very early festival at a later time (*a*) with the historical event of the exodus, and (*b*) with the Feast of Tabernacles.

³ Cf. article "Passover" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*; J. MÜLLER, *Kritischer Versuch über den Ursprung des Pesach-Mazzothfestes*; NOWACK, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Vol. II, pp. 147 ff., 172 ff.; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, pp. 470 ff.; RIEDEL, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XX, pp. 319-32; STADE, *ibid.*, pp. 333-7; C. H. Toy, "The Meaning of פֶסַח," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 f.

9. Is the Feast of the *New Moon* agricultural, or rather astronomical? Is it recognized in the earlier legislation? Consider (1) its wide observance among Semitic peoples;⁴ (2) its association with ancient family sacrifices; (3) its connection with the sabbath; (4) its possible use by prophets as a time for religious assembly; (5) its mention by the prophets (see below); (6) its great antiquity.

10. Consider the Feast of *Sheep-Shearing*: (1) Was not this, like the Feast of the New Moon, a pastoral rather than an agricultural feast? (2) Was it recognized in legislation? (3) Could it be observed elsewhere than in a cattle-producing portion of the country? (4) How late in Israel's history does it appear to have come down? (5) Did it ever take on any special religious significance? (6) What, in general, did it celebrate? Consider the mourning-feast in connection with the devotion of Jephthah's daughter to a life of perpetual virginity, and compare the similar cases in other history.⁵

11. Notice how special feasts are celebrated in addition to those which became authorized, as in the case of (1) Aaron and the calf, (2) Jeroboam at Bethel, (3) Jehu in honor of Baal.

12. Consider now the place occupied in the religious life by these feasts, and their influence: (1) To what extent did the feasts constitute the religion of the people? (2) How far would men postpone religious observances until the time of a feast? (3) How much store did the ordinary Israelite set by the feasts? Would the threat of their extinction disturb him? (4) In what way would such feasts serve to develop national feeling? to provide an education for the people? to encourage the spirit of unity? (5) To what extent would these assemblies serve to increase facilities for business transactions? (6) Is there any evidence that, in this period, the people as a whole (*cf.* later times) engaged in a great feast or festival? Or is it rather the custom of families and households? (7) What did the prophet say of the religious value of the feasts? To what did he make objection? (a) the lack of heart manifested? (b) or the fact that they were held in honor of other gods? or (c) the fact that the people thought the holding of these feasts to constitute the whole of religion, and neglected all that seemed pure and good in a religious life?

⁴ Cf. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, see Index, s. v. "Moon," "Zag-muk," "Festivals," etc.; I. ABRAHAMS, article "New Moon" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*. See also HOMMEL, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* (1900), pp. 149-65.

⁵ Cf. GOLDZIHER, *Mythology among the Hebrews*, pp. 96 ff., 104; STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I, p. 68; G. F. MOORE, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, pp. 304 f.

§ 98. **Constructive Work.**—Prepare a tabular statement which will present in systematic form the facts concerning the feasts of the earlier period, as follows: (1) name, (2) origin, (3) date, (4) duration, (5) characteristic ritual, (6) meaning of name, (7) religious significance.

§ 99. **Feasts of the Deuteronomic Period**, that is, as described (*a*) in the laws of Deuteronomy, (*b*) in the Deuteronomic portions of the books of Samuel and Kings, and (*c*) by the prophets of the Deuteronomic period.⁶

1. Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread are now combined.
Deut. 16:1-8.
2. Feast of Weeks.
Deut. 16:9-12.
3. Feast of Tabernacles.
Deut. 16:13-15; 31:10 f.
4. All feasts must be held at the one central sanctuary.
Deut. 16:5-7, 11, 16; 31:11.
5. The law still requires attendance at three feasts.
Deut. 16:16 f.
6. Feasts are still occasions of joy.
Deut. 12:8; 14:26; 16:11, 14 f.; 24:11; Isa. 9:3.
7. Feasts are still on an agricultural basis.
Deut. 16:9, 13; cf. 16:1.
8. Attitude of the prophets toward feasts.
Nah. 1:15; Jer. 51:39; Lam. 1:4, 15; 2:6 f., 22.
9. Josiah's Passover.
2 Kings 23:21-23.

§ 100. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Concerning the Feast of the *Passover and Unleavened Bread*, consider (1) that the two feasts, distinct in origin, are now observed together; (2) the association of the Passover with the exodus; (3) the connection of this rite with that of the firstlings (*Deut. 15:19 ff.*); (4) the duration; (5) the lack of any designation of the day of the month; (6) the significance of the unleavened bread, and its historical connection; (7) the treatment of any remaining flesh; (8) the place at which this feast shall be observed; (9) the change in ritual and conception which takes place in the case of the Passover feast, and the reason for this; (10) the circumstances leading to the coalescence of the two feasts.

⁶ References in **bold-face** type are from the code of laws contained in the book of Deuteronomy.

2. Concerning the Feast of *Weeks*, notice (1) that the time is fixed in connection with that of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, viz., seven weeks, the fiftieth day; (2) the duration; (3) the persons who are to be invited to the feast; (4) the place; (5) the joyous character; (6) the historical reminiscence suggested.

3. Concerning the Feast of *Tabernacles*, consider (1) the name and its origin (*cf.* 1 Sam. 1 : 8); (2) the time (no particular day designated); (3) the persons who are to participate; (4) the duration; (5) the place; (6) the motive; (7) the joyous character.

4. Consider the meaning of the constantly recurring phrase, "in the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there;" is it (1) a place, at one time in one locality, at another time in another locality, and consequently, in the course of time, are several places thus designated? Or (2) is it one central place for all time, viz., Jerusalem? (3) Consider some of the consequences which would follow such centralization; *e. g.*: (a) Would the feast thus transferred to Jerusalem continue its agricultural or pastoral character? (b) If a particular day is fixed, could the harvest feast any longer be connected with the harvest, which, on account of difference of climate, occurred at widely separated dates? (c) Would the historical be likely to supplant the natural interpretation of the feast? (d) Would the original ritual also lose its significance? (e) Could the firstlings actually be taken to Jerusalem to be sacrificed? (f) Could the head of a family take the entire family and dependents to Jerusalem? (g) Would he sell his own animal or grain, and then go to Jerusalem and buy (Deut. 14 : 24-26)? Would this affect commerce? (h) Could a man, in this case, arrange a sacrificial meal in Jerusalem and have his family and friends with him, as in the village or country? (i) Would not this lead to an entire change in the feeling connected with the observance of the feast? Would the observance become more general and less individual, more formal and serious, and less joyous?

5. Although the law still required attendance at these feasts, is it possible to suppose that any considerable proportion of the people could leave their homes and their work, and go to Jerusalem three times in a year? Would this have the effect of depriving these people of religious privileges?

6. Although the feasts are represented as still continuing their joyous character, could the old feeling actually have existed under the new régime, cut off as the worshiper was from friends and family, lost as he must have been in the great crowds gathering at Jerusalem?

7. Although feasts are still nominally on an agricultural basis (*cf.* the names, the method of determining the date, etc.), will it be possible for the agricultural character to be long maintained in view of (1) the detachment of the feasts from the exact season (one time being fixed for the entire country, although the harvest took place at different dates on account of climate); (2) their association with historical events and the emphasis thus placed on the idea of commemoration; (3) the necessary sale of one's own effects, and the purchase of others for the purpose of the feast?

8. Upon the supposition that the prophets themselves had to do with the formulation of the policy presented in Deuteronomy, and in view of the opinions expressed by Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, what may we understand to have been their general position on the subject of these feasts and festivals? Did they represent the feasts as being an essential element in the religious life? Did they wish to see them modified in their character? Was it for this reason that they joined with the priests in those reforms, recorded in Deuteronomy, which in the end largely revolutionized the whole system? Did they think that the people were placing a false value upon these feasts in comparison with a pure and simple life?

9. Upon the acceptance of the book of Deuteronomy by Josiah and his people in 621 B. C., (1) what attitude was taken by the king toward the various corrupt forms of worship which existed at that time (*cf.* Deut. 23:4-20)? (2) What was the command issued as to the observance of the Passover? Does this mean that it had fallen into disuse? If so, how is such disuse to be explained? (3) What was the character of the Passover observed on this occasion?

§ 101. Constructive Work.—Write a statement covering three points: (1) the feasts which now no longer seem to be observed, and the reasons; (2) the modifications which have come to exist in the feasts transmitted from the earlier period, and an explanation of these modifications; (3) the progress, if any, which has been made in the adaptation of the ceremonial of worship (so far as it concerned feasts) to the religious life; or, to use the form of a question, was Israel in a better or worse position for the cultivation of the religious life, with the changes which had now come about?

§ 102. Constructive Work.—From Ezek. 36:38; 45:17, 18-21, 22-25; 46:1, 3, 6 ff., 9, consider (1) whether, in general, Ezekiel has much to say upon the subject. Is this because his development lies along other lines, or because the development has already reached its

highest point? (2) Is there evidence (if so, what?) that the Deuteronomic system of feasts is accepted? (3) In what cases are definite dates now given, in which, hitherto, the time has been left undesignated? (4) What, now, is the relation of the Feast of the Passover to that of Unleavened Bread? (5) Present the evidence, if any is to be found, that the feasts have now lost their joyous character. (6) Is the centralization of worship involved in the arrangements which Ezekiel proposes?

§ 103. **The Feasts in the Later Period**, that is, as described (*a*) in the laws of the Levitical code, (*b*) by the priestly prophets, and (*c*) in the priestly histories, viz., Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.⁷

1. Feast of the Passover and Unleavened Bread.

Lev. 23:4-8; **Numb. 28:16-25**; **9:1-14**; **Exod. 12:1-20, 43-50**; **2 Chron. 8:13**; **30:13-27**; **35:1-19**; **Ezra 6:19-22**.

2. Feast of Weeks.

Lev. 23:15-21; **Numb. 28:26-31**; **2 Chron. 8:13**.

3. Feast of Tabernacles.

Lev. 23:34-36, 39-44; **Numb. 29:12-38**; **2 Chron. 5:3 ff.**; **7:8-10**; **8:13**; **Ezra 3:4**; **Neh. 8:13-18**.

4. Feast of the New Moon.

Numb. 28:11-15; **1 Chron. 23:31**; **2 Chron. 8:13**; **31:3**; **Ezra 3:5**; **Neh. 10:33**.

5. Feast of Trumpets.

Lev. 23:23-25; **Numb. 29:1-6**; **10:10**.

6. Definite dates are fixed.

Lev. 23:5, 6, 23, 27, 34, 39; **Numb., chaps. 28, 29**; **Esther 9:21**.

7. Agricultural significance is wholly lost.

Lev. 23:42 f.

8. Celebration of feasts at Jerusalem is taken for granted.

Zech. 14:16-19; **1 Chron. 23:31**; **2 Chron. 35:1-19**.

9. Sacrifices are multiplied in connection with feasts.

Numb., chap. 29:15:3; **2 Chron. 2:4**; **30:24**; **35:7-9**.

10. Attitude of the prophets toward feasts.

Zech. 14:16-19; **Joel 1:14**; **2:15**.

11. Thought of sin predominant in feasts.

Lev. 23:19; chap. 16; **Numb. 28:15, 22, 30**; **29:5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38**; **Exod. 30:10**.

12. Day of Atonement.

Lev. 23:27-32; **chap. 16**; **Numb. 29:7-11**; **Exod. 30:10**.

⁷References in bold-face type are from the Levitical code of laws.

13. Feast of Purim.

Esther 8:17; 9:15-32.

§ 104. Questions and Suggestions.

1. In the later regulations and references relating to the Feast of the *Passover and Unleavened Bread*, note (1) the new phrases, "set feasts," "holy convocations," "appointed seasons;" (2) the exactness with which the date is fixed; (3) the absence of "servile work;" (4) the burnt-offering, and the meal-offering prescribed, the sin-offering which accompanies, and all this beside the continual burnt-offering; (5) that in time (*cf.* Exod. 12:1-20) the opinion comes to prevail that the Passover had been established before the exodus "in order that Jehovah might spare the firstborn of Israel, not because he had spared them;" (6) the restrictions placed upon participation in the Passover (Exod. 12:43-50); (7) the observance according to Chronicles (2 Chron. 30:13-27) of the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Hezekiah's times; (8) Josiah's Passover (2 Chron. 35:1-19); (9) Ezra's Passover; (10) the place of all these observances; (11) their general character; (12) that the offerings have the nature of fixed dues, rather than of voluntary gifts.

2. In the references to the Feast of *Weeks*, note (1) that the same general characteristics appear as in the case of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (see above); (2) that after the fall of Jerusalem it becomes a feast commemorating the giving of the law on Sinai, and is no longer considered a nature feast.

3. In the references to the Feast of *Tabernacles*, note (1) the same points as were considered above in the case of the preceding feasts, viz., fixing of date, multiplication of various kinds of offerings for each day, no servile work, etc.; (2) the chronicler's account of Solomon's observance of this feast in connection with the bringing up of the ark (2 Chron. 5:3 ff.); (3) Solomon's dedication of the temple in connection with this same feast (2 Chron. 7:8-10); (4) the observance in connection with the beginning of the second temple (Ezra 3:4); (5) the dwelling in booths in Ezra's time (Neh. 8:13-18).

4. The system of feasts now includes more definitely the Feast of the *New Moon*, concerning which it may be noted, (1) that a regular ceremonial is instituted; (2) that frequent mention is made of it in connection with the sabbath. Consider (3) what has led to this larger emphasis.

5. Consider, in the case of the Feast of *Trumpets*, (1) its connection with the sabbatical system;⁸ (2) the provisions given for its

⁸See chap. ix.

observance; (3) the general provision for the blowing of trumpets with various feasts.

6. In all the cases presented consider (1) the fact that now the exact day of the month is prescribed; (2) the significance of this fact, as compared with the looser designations of earlier regulations.

7. In all the cases presented consider (1) the fact that the agricultural significance has been lost; (2) the fact that, even in the case of the Feast of Tabernacles (the last of all to receive this treatment), a historical meaning has been suggested and adopted; (3) the significance of these facts as seen in the routine of the ceremonial and the general character of the feasts.

8. Consider (1) whether, although no explicit statement occurs in the legislative material covering the point, it is not everywhere taken for granted that all feasts shall be celebrated at one place, viz., Jerusalem; and (2) whether this is not the understanding of the prophets and historians of the period.

9. Consider, in the case of all the feasts, (1) whether the largest emphasis is not now placed upon the sacrifice; (2) whether, in fact, with the great multiplication of sacrifices, everything else is not practically ignored; (3) the influence of this upon the people; (4) the explanation of it.

10. What appears to have been the attitude of the later prophets toward these feasts? Is there any longer indifference, lack of appreciation, or hostility? Why has this change of attitude come about? Does Judaism (Israel's religion after the exile) adopt an entirely new policy in reference to feasts, as compared with prophetism (Israel's religion before the exile)? Were the prophets of this period really priests, and, in consequence, in sympathy with everything priestly? Had prophecy now died?

11. Is it a fact that the idea of *sin* is now everywhere prominent? that, indeed, this idea is the controlling idea? that, therefore, confession instead of rejoicing is the order of the day? If this is the fact, how is it to be explained?

12. Concerning the *Day of Atonement*, one may undertake to answer the following questions: (1) Was it observed in the early or middle period, or did its observance arise only in the later period? (2) Is there any connection between it and Ezekiel's days of atonement (45:18-20)? (3) Or with the days of fasting held in commemoration of national calamities mentioned in Zech. 7:35; 8:19? (4) Or with the day of fasting (the twenty-fourth day of the month) mentioned in

Neh. 9:1? (5) What was the fundamental idea in this observance? Was propitiation thought of as being made in behalf of the individual or of the nation? Were the sanctuary and the land also included? (6) What evidence does the ritual furnish as to the fundamental idea? (7) What is the meaning of the phrases "sabbath of solemn rest," "afflict your souls" (Lev. 16:31)? (8) What conception of God gave rise to the idea of sin involved in this institution?

13. In the case of the Feast of *Purim* consider (1) its origin and occasion; (2) its date; (3) the question of its connection (*a*) with a Persian feast, (*b*) with a Babylonian feast; (4) the meaning of the name; (5) the method of observance.⁹

§ 105. **Constructive Work.**—Prepare a statement which will show the more important differences in the observance of the feasts between the usage of the middle period and that of the later period.

§ 106. Literature to Be Consulted.

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⁹ Cf. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 686 ff.; ZIMMERN, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XI, pp. 157-69; DE LAGARDE, *Purim—Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Religion*; SAYCE, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XIX, pp. 280; JENSEN, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. VI, p. 70; C. H. Toy, "Esther as a Babylonian Goddess," *New World*, Vol. VI, pp. 130-45; ALEXANDER KOHUT, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XIV, pp. 192 f.

Babylonian and Jewish Festivals," *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Vol. IV (1890), pp. 34-8; C. J. BALL, article "Festivals," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (2d ed. 1893); H. C. TRUMBULL, *The Blood Covenant* (1893), see *Index*, s. v. "Feasting;" *idem*, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (1894), see *Index*, s. v. "Feast;" *idem*, *The Threshold Covenant* (1896), pp. 203-12, 266; H. B. TRISTRAM, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, (1894), pp. 69-86; SAYCE, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XIX (1897), pp. 280 f.; E. E. HARDING, article "Feasts and Fasts," HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898); S. R. DRIVER AND H. A. WHITE, article "Day of Atonement," HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898); A. KOHUT, "The Talmudic Records of the Persian and Babylonian Festivals Critically Illustrated," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XIV (1898), pp. 182-94 (cf. *Revue des études juives*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 256-71); MORRIS JASTROW, JR., *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898), see *Index*, s. v. "Festivals;" C. H. TOY, "The Meaning of **תְּמִימָה**," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVI (1898), pp. 178 f.; I. BENZINGER AND T. K. CHEYNE, article "Day of Atonement," *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1899); W. W. FOWLER, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (1899); WARREN, "Dates on Which Paschal Full Moons Occur," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1900; FAIRBANKS, "Festival Epidauria at Athens," *Classical Review*, November, 1900; FRAZER, "The Saturnalia and Kindred Festivals," *Fortschrittly Review*, October and November, 1900; DUFF, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II (1900), see *Index*, s. v. "Feasts;" I. ABRAHAMS, article "New Moon," HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1900); I. BENZINGER, article "Feasts," *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1901); WILLIS, *The Worship of the Old Covenant*, pp. 190-214; WATSON, *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, pp. 411-17; FARRELL, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. II, pp. 648 f.; McCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* (1895-1901), see *Index*, s. v. "Feasts."

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XVII (1883), pp. 207-12; MÜLLER, *Kritischer Versuch über den Ursprung des Pesach-Mazroothfestes* (1883); ADLER, "Der Versöhnungstag in der Bibel, sein Ursprung und seine Bedeutung," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III (1883) pp. 178-85; ORELLI, articles "Passah," "Pfingstfest," *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (2d ed. 1883); FRANZ DELITZSCH, article "Passah," RIEHM's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (1884); RIEHM, article "Feste," RIEHM's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (1884); ORELLI, article "Versöhnungstag," *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (2d ed. 1885); DE LAGARDE, "Purim; ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte," *Mittheilungen*, Vol. II (1887), pp. 378 ff.; IV, p. 147, note 1; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums* (= *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Vol. III, 1887), pp. 75-98; B. STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1887 f.), Vol. I, pp. 497-503; II, pp. 182, 258-60; I. BENZINGER, "Das Gesetz über den grossen Versöhnungstag, Lev. XVI," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. IX (1889), pp. 65-88; RIEHM, *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1889), pp. 121-3; H. ZIMMERN, "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge des Purimfestes," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1891, pp. 157-69; SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1st ed. 1893, 2d ed. 1899), see *Index*, s. v. "Feste;" W. NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (1894), Vol. II, pp. 138-203; I. BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 464-78; EERDMANS, "Der Ursprung der Ceremonien des Hosein-Festes," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. IX (1894), pp. 290 f.; S. KARPPE, "Mélanges de critique biblique et d'assyriologie," *Revue sémitique*, Vol. II (1894), pp. 146-51; DILLMANN, *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1895), see *Index*, s. v. "Feste," "Passah;" K. MARTI, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (1897), see *Index*, s. v. "Feste," "Pesach," "Laubhüttenfest," etc.; F. BUHL, "Gottesdienstliche Zeiten im Alten Testament," *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (1899); SCHAEFER, *Das Passah-Mazrooth Fest* (1900); ERBT, *Purimsage in der Bibel* (1900); MOSSA, "Bedeutung des Passahfestes," *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1900, No. 2; RIEDEL, "Miscellen 5.6.: בְּצָאת הַשָּׁנָה פָּסֶחֶת," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XX (1900), pp. 319-32; B. STADE, "Nachwort zu Lic. W. Riedel's 5. Miscelle: פָּסֶחֶת," *ibid.*, pp. 333-7; C. BROCKELMANN, "Das Neujahrsfest der Jezidîs," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. LV (1901), pp. 388 ff.

§ 107. Supplementary Topics.

1. Consider the few references to the celebration of feasts and feast days in the Psalter, viz., Pss. 4:7; 81:3; and note especially the so-called Psalms of Ascents, viz., 120-134, and their use in worship.¹⁰

2. Put together the references to feasts in the books of Maccabees, viz.: 1 Macc. 1:39, 45; 4:52-59; 7:49; 10:34; 13:50-52; 2 Macc. 1:9, 18; 2:9, 16; 6:6 f.; 7:42; 8:33; 10:5-8; 12:31 f.; 15:36; and make such a statement as the material thus examined will warrant.

3. Consider the principal references to feasts in the New Testament, viz.: Matt. 26:2, 5, 17 ff.; 27:15; Mark 14:1 f., 12, 14, 16;

¹⁰ Cf. WELLHAUSEN, *The Book of Psalms—A New English Translation*, p. 210; KIRKPATRICK, *The Psalms, Books II, III* ("Cambridge Bible"), p. xxv; MURRAY, *Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, pp. 292-5; PEROWNE, *Book of Psalms*, Vol. I, pp. 86 f.; SMITH, "The Songs of the Ascent," *Expository Times*, November, 1900.

15:6; Luke 2:41 f.; 22:1-15; 23:17; John 2:13, 23; 4:45; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2-14, 37; 10:22; 11:55 f.; 12:1, 12, 20; 13:1, 29; 18:28, 39; 19:14; 1 Cor. 5:7; Heb. 11:28.

4. Take up for critical study the principal Hebrew words used to designate the feasts, viz.: חָגֶת הַקְצִיר, חָג שְׁבֻעוֹת, פֶּסְחָה; מְצֻוָּת הַדָּבָרִים; מְצֻוָּת הַדָּבָר; etc.

5. Compare, in a very general way, the usage concerning feasts among the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, and note points of similarity and difference.¹¹

6. Consider the place of feasts among the Assyrians, noticing especially the great number of them and the many points of similarity existing between the usages of Assyrian feasts and those of Hebrew feasts, e. g., the pervading spirit of joyousness, the agricultural connection of some of them, the similarity between the feast of Zagmuk and the Jewish New Year's festival, and the Babylonian origin of the Feast of Purim.¹²

7. Study the Hebrew feasts in their relation to (a) the Arabic feasts or pilgrimages, (b) the Canaanite agricultural feasts.¹³

8. Consider comparatively the three great factors entering into and controlling the origin and development of feasts, viz., the element involved in a nomadic or pastoral life, that in an agricultural life, and that in a city life.

9. Consider (1) the conception of God which had come to be supreme in Israel after the exile, viz., holiness; (2) the relation of this conception to the teaching concerning sin prevalent in the same period; and (3) the influences of these conceptions upon the development of the feast system.

¹¹ See W. W. FOWLER, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*; FAIRBANKS, "Festival Epidauria at Athens," *Classical Review*, November, 1900; FRAZER, "The Saturnalia and Kindred Festivals," *Fortnightly Review*, October and November, 1900; WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1897), see *Index*, s. v. "Festivals."

¹² Cf. especially MORRIS JASTROW, JR., *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, see *Index*, s. v. "Festivals."

¹³ See SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *Het Mekkaansche Fest*; DOUGHTY, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*; and other literature cited in § 106.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING THE SABBATH AND KINDRED INSTITUTIONS, CONSIDERED COMPARATIVELY.

§ 108. **The Sabbath and Kindred Institutions in the Early Period**, *i. e.*, as described in (*a*) the Covenant Code, (*b*) the historical material of J and E, (*c*) the pre-Deuteronomic portions of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and (*d*) the pre-Deuteronomic prophetic utterances (see § 59, note 1).¹

1. The law of the sabbath.²

Exod. 34:21; 20:8-11; 23:12.

2. Customs connected with the sabbath.

2 Kings 4:23; 11:5, 7, 9.

3. Attitude of the prophets toward the sabbath.

Amos 8:5; Hos. 2:11; Isa. 1:13.

4. The law of the sabbatical year.

Exod. 23:10 f.; 21:2-11.

§ 109. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider, in examining the statements made concerning the sabbath, (1) why the sabbath is the only religious institution mentioned in the decalogue; (2) the first word, *remember*, and compare the first word in Deut. 5:12, *observe*. (3) Was either of these in any sense a warning equivalent to "take care," "be on the lookout for"? (4) What is the logical relation of the fourth commandment to the third, second, and first? Does this consist in its having originally had to do with the deity, as do the preceding? (5) Are there other variations between the two forms of the commandment given in Exod., chap. 20, and Deut., chap. 5? What are the variations? How shall we explain the existence of any variations at all? Is it possible that Exod. 20:9-11 and Deut. 5:13-15 are later additions made at different times to an earlier form, which, as in the case of the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments, consisted of only two or three words,

¹The following references are from E: Exod. 20:8-10; 23:10-12; 21:2-11; the only reference in J is Exod. 34:21.

²References in bold-face type are from the Covenant Code.

"Observe (or remember) the sabbath day to keep it holy"?³ (6) What was involved in the command *to keep it holy?* (7) What may be said of the antiquity of the sabbath? Was it probably observed by the Hebrews in Egypt? (8) Was it originally connected with the new moon? (9) What are the chief considerations offered to show that it was originally a day for securing the good-will of the deity, *i. e.*, a day on which Jehovah rested *from his anger*, and was, therefore, more easy to propitiate; a day, however, which might prove to be unfavorable, but which might be changed to a favorable day by doing or not doing certain things?⁴ (10) What, if this view is adopted, would be understood in particular to be the meaning of the word *rest?* of the word *observe?* (11) How did such strong emphasis come to be placed upon the idea of cessation from labor?

2. In respect to the usages which connected themselves with the sabbath, consider (1) the custom of visiting the man of God on the sabbath; (2) the custom of dividing the temple guard according as it came in or went out on the sabbath; (3) other early (?) customs, codified in later times, *e. g.*, remaining inside the house (Exod. 16:29), kindling no fire (Exod. 35:3), no gathering of wood for the fire (Numb. 15:32-36), no baking or cooking (Exod. 16:23). (4) So far as the *early* records are concerned, are there any other ideas than those of cessation from labor and of humanitarian motive?

3. What is to be gathered from the few allusions to the sabbath made by the prophets? (1) What are the people desiring to make of the sabbath, according to Amos? What restraint is evidently upon them? (2) Does Hosea's statement seem to place the sabbath in the same category with days of rejoicing and mirth? (3) What is the significance of the frequent association (as in Isa. 1:13) of the sabbath with the new moon?

4. Consider (1) regulations relating to the release of Hebrew servants after six years of labor; did this imply a regularly recurring seventh year in which all servants were released? Had this anything to do with a sabbatical year? (2) The regulations prescribing that the crop of every seventh year shall be given to the poor and the beasts; does the regulation say that all land was to lie fallow in the

³ This is the view held, for example, by EWALD, *History of Israel*, Vol. II, p. 159; DILLMANN, *Exodus*, p. 201; SPEAKER'S *Commentary*, p. 336; DRIVER, *Introduction*, etc., p. 34; BRIGGS, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, pp. 181-7; MARTI, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*; *et al.*

⁴ JASTROW, *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 312-52.

same year? Was this the recognition of a sabbatical year? (3) The motives underlying these regulations.

§ 110. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement which will indicate the most important factors entering into the significance of the sabbath, and its characteristics as it appears in the earliest period.

§ 111. The Sabbath and Kindred Institutions in the Middle Period, *i. e.*, as described in the laws of Deuteronomy, in the Deuteronomic prophecies, and in the Deuteronomic portions of the books of Samuel and Kings.⁵

1. The law of the sabbath in the Deuteronomic decalogue.

Deut. 5:12-15.

2. The attitude of the prophets toward the sabbath.

Jer. 17:19-27; Isa. 56:2, 4, 6; 58:13, 14; 66:23; Lam. 1:7; 2:6.

3. The law of the sabbatical year.

Deut. 15:1-18; 31:10.

4. Release of slaves in Jeremiah.

Jer. 34:8-17.

§ 112. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider now in detail the Deuteronomic version of the sabbath law, including (1) the word *observe*, (2) the reference to Jehovah's former command (vs. 12), (3) the provision for the rest of the servants, (4) the reason given for the observance of the sabbath, viz., the deliverance from the bondage of Egypt; is this an implication that the sabbath was not observed by the Israelites in Egypt? How is it to be reconciled with the reason given in Exod. 20:11? (5) the effect upon the observance of the sabbath of the centralization of worship at Jerusalem; would this not take away the ritualistic observance and emphasize the humanitarian idea?

2. In an examination of the prophetic and historical allusions to the observance of the sabbath, consider (1) the small number of such references; is there any satisfactory reason? (2) the several items said by Jeremiah to have been commanded by Jehovah, viz., (*a*) as to burdens, (*b*) as to work, (*c*) as to hallowing the day; (3) the attitude of the people (Jer. 17:23); (4) the promises and threats in reference to its observance (Jer. 17:24-27); (5) the position assigned to the sabbath in connection with the observance of the covenant (Isa. 56:2, 4, 6); (6) the meaning of the phrases *from doing thy pleasure*, and *call the sabbath a delight* (Isa. 58:13), and the rewards offered; (7) the sabbath

⁵ References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

as a time, like the new moon, for worship (Isa. 66:23); (8) the forgetting of the sabbath in the exile.

3. Consider, in comparison with the regulations cited above (§§ 108, 4; 109, 4), the Deuteronomic regulations concerning (1) the year of release of debts: (a) to whom it shall and shall not apply; (b) does it mean that the debt, if not paid, will be forgiven or become outlawed; or that no interest will be exacted during this seventh year; or that no proceedings will be taken against the debtor during that year? (c) the reward promised; (d) the motive for this law; (e) does it imply an advanced commercial development? (f) is the year a fixed seventh year? (g) would it encourage or discourage business? (2) the regulations for the release of the Hebrew servant, noting the slight variations from the law given in Exodus; (3) whether Deuteronomy has any regulation concerning the rest of the land (*cf.* Exod. 23:10 f.); (4) the reading of the law prescribed for the Feast of Tabernacles during the year of release at the end of every seven years.

4. Consider the points involved in the story of the release of slaves in Jeremiah's time.

§ 113. Constructive Work.—Prepare a brief statement showing the nature of the changes which are being made, and the general trend.

§ 114. The Sabbath as Described by Ezekiel.

1. The purpose of the sabbath.

Ezek. 20:12, 20.

2. The sabbath a *holy* day.

Ezek. 44:24.

3. General profanation of the sabbath.

Ezek. 20:13-24; 22:8, 26; 23:38.

4. Special worship and sacrifices for the sabbath.

Ezek. 45:17; 46:1-5, 12.

5. The year of liberty.

Ezek. 46:17.

§ 115. Questions and Suggestions.

1. What, according to Ezekiel, was the original purpose which the sabbath was to subserve? Compare the purpose also of the statutes (Ezek. 20:11), and the way in which both statutes and sabbaths had been treated by Israel.

2. What, in Ezekiel's time, was meant by *hallowing* or *keeping holy* the sabbath?

3. What was meant by *profaning* and *hiding the eyes from* the sabbath? Did the Israelites simply ignore it, or did they intentionally do that which brought it into disrepute?

4. Note the special character of the offerings indicated in Ezekiel's scheme for the sabbath day. What was the significance of this? Consider how the sabbath is still associated with the new moon.

5. Note the contents of the single reference in Ezekiel to the year of release or liberty.

§ 116. Constructive Work.—Summarize the position of Ezekiel, and indicate the relation of Ezekiel's attitude on this question to his general place in prophecy.

§ 117. Sabbath and Kindred Institutions in the Later Period, i. e., as described in (a) the laws of the Levitical Code, (b) by the priestly prophets, and (c) in the priestly histories, viz., Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.

1. The law of the sabbath.⁶

Lev. 23:3; Exod. 31:12-17; 35:1-3.

2. Special days observed as sabbaths.

Lev. 23:7 f., 24-32, 39; 16:29-31; Numb. 28:11-15, 18, 25 f.; 29:1, 7, 12, 35.

3. Reasons assigned for the observance of the sabbath.

Gen. 2:2 f.; Exod. 20:11; 31:12 f., 17.

4. Special offerings made on the sabbath.

Lev. 23:38; Numb. 28:9 f.; 1 Chron. 23:31; 2 Chron. 2:4; 8:13; 31:3; Neh. 10:33.

5. Emphasis laid on observance of the sabbath.

Lev. 19:3b, 30a; 26:2a; Exod. 16:22-30; 31:14-16; 35:2; Numb. 15:32-36; Neh. 10:31; 13:15-22.

6. Use of the sabbath as a fixed point of time.

Lev. 23:15 f.; 24:8; 1 Chron. 9:32; 2 Chron. 23:4, 8.

7. Sabbath *made known* on Sinai.

Neh. 9:14.

8. Law of the sabbatical year.

Lev. 25:1-7; 26:34, 35.

9. Exile conceived of as a sabbath for the land.

Lev. 26:34 f.; 2 Chron. 36:21.

10. Law of year of jubilee.

Lev., chap. 25; 27:17-24; Numb. 36:4.

⁶References in bold-face type are from the Levitical Code.

§ 118. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider (1) the form of the sabbath observance which must have existed during the exile, viz., the humanitarian and not the ritualistic; the adaptation of this to the possibilities of worship in this period, and the distinctive character which it must have given the Jewish community. (2) What is the meaning of the new phrases *solemn rest, holy convocation, sabbath unto Jehovah?* (3) What is the purpose of the sabbath (*cf. Ezekiel*)? the penalty for its non-observance? the connection between sign and perpetual covenant? (4) The reason assigned for its establishment (*cf. Exod. 20:11*)? (5) Why should the kindling of fire have been prohibited in particular?

2. Note how the idea of rest now attaches itself to other days, viz., first day of the Passover, first day of the Feast of Trumpets, first and eighth days of the Feast of Booths, the Day of Atonement.

3. Consider the reasons assigned for the sabbath's observance: (1) because God rested on the seventh day; was there any connection between this reason and the fact that the teaching concerning God as Creator is greatly emphasized in the exilic and post-exilic periods? (2) because it is to serve as a sign between God and Israel; did this mean that it distinguished Israel from other nations which did not observe it?

4. Note the details and significance of the special offering made on the sabbath.

5. Consider the rigidity with which the sabbath law was now to be enforced: (1) on the same plane with the honoring of father and mother, and the reverencing of a sanctuary; (2) penalty of death imposed for non-observance; (3) the story of the man who gathered sticks on the sabbath day and suffered death by stoning; (4) the gathering of a double amount of manna on the sixth day and the absence of manna on the sabbath; (5) the agreement to refrain from commercial dealings on the sabbath; (6) Nehemiah's judicial procedure in the case of those violating the law.

6. Note how the sabbath, having become a fixed date, every seventh day, is used as a point from which to calculate other feasts.

7. Note the tradition preserved by Nehemiah that the sabbath was (first?) made known on Sinai.

8. Study the details of the law of the sabbatical year: (1) Is all agriculture to be remitted? (2) What is to be the disposition of the fruit and grain that grows of itself? (3) Was Palestine a land subject to severe famines? If so, could such a law have been observed?

(4) Could it have been observed while the people were mainly agriculturists, *i. e.*, before trade and commerce had come in? How would the people living in rural districts spend their time? (5) Is there any evidence that it was observed before the exile? or that it was not (*cf.* Lev. 26: 34, 35)? (6) Did not its observance in later times cause great distress (1 Macc. 6: 49, 53)? (7) What connection was there between this sabbatical year, with its fixed time of recurrence, and the year of release for slaves and debt in Deuteronomy (§§ 111, 3; 112, 3)?

9. Consider the idea suggested that the entire period of exile is a period of sabbaths, now enforced because formerly unobserved.

10. Concerning the Year of Jubilee, consider (1) the meaning of the name; (2) the time fixed; was it the fiftieth year following the seventh sabbatical year, that is, was it the second of two successive years of rest? or did it coincide with the forty-ninth year? (3) the procedure; was it, in general, like the sabbatical year? (4) what was the regulation concerning sowing, reaping, gathering? (5) concerning the restoration of real property? (6) the special provision concerning dwelling-houses in walled cities; the houses of the Levites; (7) the regulation concerning Hebrew and non-Hebrew slaves; (8) concerning land dedicated to Jehovah and its redemption; (9) concerning the inheritance of daughters as affected by these laws. (10) How were the people to live during this period of abstinence from work? (11) Is it possible that the law of the jubilee year is an outgrowth of the law of the sabbath? (12) What led to the choice of the fiftieth year? (13) Is there any evidence that this law existed before the time of the exile? (14) Was the Year of Jubilee ever observed? (15) Was it a practical law, or an ideal law? (16) What, in general, is meant by ideal legislation?

§ 119. Constructive Work.

Prepare a statement including (a) an explanation of the fact that such an exceedingly large place is occupied by the sabbatical system in the legislation and thought of this period; (b) an enumeration of the various points of difference between the laws and usages of this period and those of the Deuteronomic period; and (c) a brief study of the development of the sabbatical idea in the course of Israel's history.

§ 120. Literature to be Consulted.

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See also the Mishnah tracts on "The Sabbath" and "The Book of Jubilees," chap. 50.

§ 121. Supplementary Topics.

1. Study the meaning of the word "sabbath," its derivation, its usage.

2. Examine the following texts in which the root **שְׁבַת** occurs, with a view to determining the meaning of the root, viz.: Gen. 2:2 f.; 8:22; Exod. 16:30; 12:15; 23:12; 34:21; Josh. 5:12; Isa. 13:11; 14:5; 30:7; Ps. 8:3; Prov. 20:3.

3. Study the passages in which the word **שְׁבָחוֹן** (ordinarily translated "solemn rest") occurs, viz.: Lev. 23:3, 24, 32, 39; 16:31; 25:4; Exod. 16:23; 35:2; 31:15, with a view to determining its meaning.

4. Examine the words **יְמִלֵּה** ("jubilee"), **דְּרוּר** ("liberty").

5. From an examination of 1 Macc. 1:39, 43, 45; 2:32-41; 6:49; 9:43 ff.; 10:34; 2 Macc. 5:24-26; 6:6, 11; 12:38; 15:1-5, prepare a statement concerning the sabbath in Maccabean times.

6. Is the sabbath referred to in the Wisdom books, or in the Psalms (*cf.* the title of Ps. 92)? Why not?

7. From a study of the following references from the New Testament discuss the attitude of Jesus and the several New Testament writers toward the sabbath: Matt. 12:1 f., 5, 8, 10 ff.; 24:20; 28:1; Mark 1:21; 2:23 f., 27 f.; 3:2, 4; 6:2; 15:42; 16:1; Luke 4:16, 31; 6:1 ff., 5 ff., 9; 13:10, 14 ff.; 14:1, 3, 5; 23:54, 56; John 5:9 f., 16, 18; 7:22 f.; 9:14, 16; 19:31; Acts 1:12; 13:14, 27, 42, 44; 15:21; 18:4; 21:27; 28:14; Col. 2:16; Heb. 4:4; Rev. 1:10.

8. Compare, in general, the observance of special rest-days among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and determine whether there is any possible connection between these days and the sabbath.⁷

9. Compare, in general, the observance, on the part of the Assyrians,

⁷ Cf. MASPERO, *Romans et Poésies au Papyrus Harris*, No. 500, pp. 38 f. 41; CHABAS, *Le calendrier des jours fastes et nefastes de l'année égyptienne*; WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Egyptians*, pp. 263 f.; JASTROW, "Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, p. 350, note 116; BUDGE, *Egyptian Magic*, pp. 224-8; IHERING, *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, pp. 145, 309-58 ff. (in English translation = *The Evolution of the Aryan*, New York, 1897); H. COHEN, "Der Sabbath in seiner culturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung," *Zeitgeist* (Milwaukee, Wis.), 1881, pp. 4 ff.; DOZY, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, pp. 34 f.; KUENEN, *Religion of Israel*,

Arabs, and Canaanites, of special rest-days, and determine whether there is any connection between these days and the sabbath.⁸

10. Consider, in general, the whole sabbatical system, and show (a) its origin, (b) its various stages of development, (c) its social bearings, (d) its religious significance, (e) its idealism, (f) its practical character.

11. Consider the relation of the sabbath to the moon, the new-moon feast, etc. Was the sabbath originally a lunar festival? Cf. §§ 97 (9), 104 (4).

12. Consider the origin and significance of the use of the number seven in the Old Testament, as seen, e. g., in the sabbatical system, in the proceedings connected with the capture of Jericho, in the Hebrew verb "to swear, take oath" (literally—"to seven oneself" or "be sevened"), in the seven kine of Pharaoh's dream, etc.

13. What is the relation of the Old Testament sabbath to the "Lord's day" of the New Testament, (a) as to the day observed, (b) as to the spirit characteristic of the observance?

Vol. I, pp. 262 f.; LEPSIUS, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, Vol. I, pp. 22, 132 ff.; BRUGSCH, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. III, p. 271; NOWACK, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Vol. II, pp. 141 f.

⁸ Cf. MORRIS JASTROW, "Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 312-52; SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians: Life and Customs*, p. 245; SCHRADER, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 343-53; FRANCIS BROWN, "The Sabbath in the Cuneiform Records," *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, pp. 688-700. (See also § 120.)

CHAPTER X.

THE LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, CONSIDERED COMPARATIVELY.

§ 122. **The Clean and Unclean in the Early Period**, *i. e.*, as described in (*a*) the Covenant Code; (*b*) the historical material of J and E; (*c*) the pre-Deuteronomic portions of Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and (*d*) the pre-Deuteronomic prophetic utterances (see § 59, note 1).¹

1. Traces of totemism.

Gen. 43:32; 46:34; Exod. 8:26.

2. Distinction between clean and unclean is ancient.

Gen. 7:2, 8; 8:20.

3. Sources of uncleanness.

Gen. 35:2; 2 Sam. 11:4; 2 Kings 5:10-14; Isa. 30:22.

4. Non-Israelitish lands are unclean.

Amos 7:17; Hos. 9:3.

5. Forbidden food.

Exod. 23:19b; 34:26b; 22:31.²

6. Cleanliness is necessary to participation in religious exercises.

Gen. 35:2; Exod. 3:5; 19:10; 1 Sam. 20:26; Judg. 13:4, 7, 14; Isa. 6:5; 2 Kings 10:22; 2 Sam. 6:14.

7. Attitude of prophets toward clean and unclean.

Amos 7:17; Hos. 9:3; Isa. 1:16; 6:5; 30:22.

§ 123. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Consider (1) the meaning of "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians," and what is involved in the statement; (2) the meaning of "sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians;" (3) whether that which is called an "abomination" may have been something sacred or holy, *i. e.*, something worshiped, for example, an animal; (4) whether, as a matter of fact, there existed in Israel cases of special association between certain kinds of animals and certain tribes or certain towns;³

¹ The following references are from J: Gen. 7:2, 8; 8:20; 43:32; 46:34; Exod. 8:26; 34:26b. The following are from E: Gen. 35:2; Exod. 22:31b; 23:19b.

² These references are from the Covenant Code.

³ Cf. Nun (Fish), Exod. 33:11; Terah (Ibex), Gen. 11:27; Leah (Wild Cow), Gen. 29:16; and see R. G. MURISON, "Totemism in the Old Testament," *Biblical World*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 170 ff.

(5) whether there are not cases in which animals are regarded as having superhuman power;⁴ (6) whether the second commandment does not imply that the Israelites were addicted to animal-worship; (7) whether actual historical proof of this is not found in the story of the worship of the calf (*Exod.* 32:7-24) and of the brazen serpent (*Numb.* 21:8 f.; *2 Kings* 18:4); (8) the meaning and significance of *totemism*.⁵

2. Note (1) the distinction between clean and unclean animals made in the narrative of the deluge, and consider (2) whether the words *unclean* and *sacred* may not be used synonymously; that is, was not the *unclean thing* (whether animal or person or object) something in connection with which "a superhuman agency of a dangerous kind" was supposed to be acting, and which, therefore, was, from one point of view, sacred, from another, unclean? (3) whether this is not to be closely associated with the usage existing among many nations and called *taboo*.⁶

3. Consider the source of uncleanness in the case of (1) Jacob's household, (2) Bathsheba, (3) Naaman the Syrian, (4) the graven images (*Isa.* 30:22); and formulate a statement which will (a) classify these sources and (b) explain the idea of uncleanness in each case.

4. Consider the idea that for an Israelite any other land than his own was unclean, and explain the basis on which this idea rests.

5. Note the prohibition of eating (1) a kid boiled in its mother's milk,⁷ (2) the flesh torn of beasts; and explain the significance of the usage in each case. Are there in the Covenant Code other prohibitions concerning the eating of food?

6. Explain (1) the "washing of garments" in *Exod.* 19:10; (2) the reason assigned by Saul for Jonathan's absence (*1 Sam.* 20:26); (3) the connection of "eating no unclean thing" with the Nazirite (*Judg.* 13:4); (4) Isaiah's confession of unclean lips (*Isa.* 6:5); (5) the putting off of shoes (*Exod.* 3:5); (6) the use of the vestments (*2 Kings* 10:22); (7) the use of the linen ephod (*2 Sam.* 6:14).

7. How far were the current ideas concerning clean and unclean

⁴ Cf. *Gen.* 3:1 ff.; *Numb.* 21:8 f.; *Ezek.* 8:10 f.

⁵ See especially J. G. FRAZER, *Totemism*; W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (2d ed.), pp. 125 ff.; and other literature cited in § 134.

⁶ See especially J. G. FRAZER, article "Taboo," *Encyclopædia Britannica*; W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (2d ed.), pp. 152 ff., 446 ff.

⁷ See KALISCH, *Commentary on Exod.* 23:19b, and W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites* (2d ed.), p. 221.

accepted by the prophets? Consider, for example, (1) the view held concerning foreign lands; (2) the exhortation to wash and become clean (*Isa. 1:6*); (3) Isaiah's feeling concerning himself (*6:5*); (4) the treatment of graven images (*Isa. 30:22*).

§ 124. Constructive Work.—From the material furnished prepare a general statement upon the idea of the clean and unclean in the earliest period.

§ 125. The Usages and Laws Concerning Clean and Unclean in the Middle Period, i. e., as described in the laws of Deuteronomy, in the Deuteronomic prophecies, and in the Deuteronomic portions of the books of Samuel and Kings.⁸

1. Traces of totemism.

Deut. 32:17; 2 Kings 22:12; Jer. 36:10; cf. 2 Kings 18:4 and Ezek. 8:7-12.

2. Forbidden food.

Deut. 12:16, 23 ff.; 14:3-21; 15:23.

3. Sources of uncleanness.

Deut. 21:22 f.; 23:10 f.; 23:12-14; 7:25 f.; Jer. 16:18; Lam. 4:14 f.

4. Cleanliness necessary to participation in religious exercises.

Deut. 12:15; 15:21 f.; 26:13 f.; Isa. 52:1, 11.

5. Prophetic attitude toward clean and unclean.

Jer. 2:7, 23; 13:27; 16:18; 33:8; Lam. 4:14 f.; Isa. 52:1, 11.

§ 126. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Note that individuals and heads of clans still bear the names of animals, *e. g.*, Shaphan (=Rock Badger), Achbor (=Mouse). What is the significance of this in view of the fact that as recently as the days of Hezekiah the image of a serpent was still being worshiped, and that Ezekiel testifies to the existence of similar worship just prior to the exile?

2. Consider (1) the regulation concerning the eating of blood, and the ground on which it rests; (2) whether in this case the principle of *taboo* is not clearly found; (3) the general command concerning eating anything "abominable"; (4) the animals which might be eaten, and their general characteristics; (5) the animals which might not be eaten, and their general characteristics; (6) the general principles which seem to underlie the selection; (7) the character of a selection arising in this way; (8) the fact that the number of clean quadrupeds is *ten*; (9) whether this distinction was something objective imposed

⁸ References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

upon the people for a purpose (if so, was this purpose (*a*) to train the people in obedience, or (*b*) to provide hygienic dietary laws, or (*c*) to teach important religious truth by an allegorical method, or (*d*) to separate the Israelites from other nations, or (*e*) to prevent the worship of certain animals ?); or, rather, something subjective, of gradual growth, and expressive of certain instinctive feelings (for example, (*a*) that of aversion, or (*b*) appreciation of utility or beauty, or (*c*) experience of the use of this or that kind of flesh); or whether the origin is to be connected with some form or other of totemism ; (10) the absence of any list of clean and unclean animals in the Covenant Code, and the significance of so fully developed a list in the Deuteronomic Code.

3. Consider (1) some of the sources of uncleanness as cited, *e. g.*, the body of a man who has been hanged; issues of the body; graven images; "carcasses of detestable things;" contagion; and (2) the method suggested for purification.

4. Note the necessity of cleanliness on the part of one who is to engage in a religious exercise, and in this connection (1) the fact that the flesh of certain animals may be eaten alike by those who are clean and by those who are unclean; (2) the prohibition of the lame, the blind, or the blemished in sacrifice; (3) the synonymous use of the words "uncircumcised" and "unclean."⁹

5. Study the prophetic attitude toward infringement of the regulations concerning "clean and unclean," and the punishment which is to follow this infringement. How far do the prophets of this period seem to have shared the ideas of their times on this subject? Does their attitude relate to the minute particulars of the system, or to the general question of loyalty or obedience?

§ 127. Constructive Work.—Compare, in general, the minuteness of the regulations of this period in contrast with those of the earlier period; characterize these regulations as a whole; and consider whether they are (1) really new usages which had their origin after the formulation of the book of the covenant, or (2) old usages, for the most part, which are now codified for the first time; (3) in the former case, whence may they be supposed to have come? (4) in the latter case, to what influence are we to ascribe their codification?

§ 128. The Laws and Usages Concerning Clean and Unclean in Ezekiel.

1. Traces of totemism.

Ezek. 8:7-12.

⁹ For a further study of the subject of circumcision see §§ 164 f.

2. Forbidden foods.
Ezek. 4:14.
3. Sources of uncleanness.
Ezek. 4:14; 22:24; 36:17, 25, 29, 33; 37:23; 39:12, 14, 16, 24; 43:7-9; 44:25.
4. Instruction concerning clean and unclean is an important part of the priestly function.
Ezek. 22:26; 44:23.
5. Everything connected with religion must be clean.
Ezek. 22:26; 43:20-26; 44:25; 46:19-24.
6. Methods of purification.
Ezek. 36:25; 43:18-26; 44:26 f.

§ 129. Questions and Suggestions.—Ezekiel's intermediate position and the peculiar situation to which his work is addressed make the material of his sermons especially interesting.

1. Consider the significance of the fact (1) that seventy elders are present, and that the idols (*i. e.*, likenesses of reptiles and abominable beasts) are being worshiped; (2) that the presiding priest was the head of one of the animal clans (viz., the Cony). Does this indicate that even in this late period animal-worship prevails?
2. Note Ezekiel's contention concerning his own cleanness, and the formulation of his idea of uncleanness.
3. Consider the representations made by Ezekiel of uncleanness, including that of the land, and note the various occasions which give rise to uncleanness.
4. Observe the part which the priest is to play in giving instruction upon the subject of cleanness and uncleanness.
5. (1) Note that "clean" now means "holy," "unclean" means "common;" to fail to make the proper distinction is to "profane" Jehovah; and (2) consider how this later and more developed idea has arisen out of the earlier. (3) Observe, also, that every act connected with a religious observance must be ceremonially clean. (4) Consider the bearing on this idea of the establishment of boiling-houses.
6. Consider the methods by which purification from uncleanness might be secured.

§ 130. Constructive Work.—Formulate the new phases and details of the idea of "clean and unclean" which appear in Ezekiel, and discuss the relation of all this to Ezekiel's idea of God.

§ 131. The Laws and Usages Concerning Clean and Unclean in the Later Period, that is, as described in (a) the laws of the Levitical Code,

(b) by the priestly prophets, and (c) in the priestly histories, *e.g.*, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.¹⁰

1. Traces of totemism.
Isa. 65:4 f.; 66:17; Lev. 19:28.
2. Forbidden food.
Lev. 17:10-16; 19:26; 11:1-23, 29 f., 41-47; 7:16-19; 19:7; 7:22-27; 3:14-17; Gen. 9:3 f.; Isa. 65:4 f.; Dan. 1:8.
3. Sources of uncleanness.
Lev., chaps. 13 and 15; 20:20 f.; chap. 12; 18:19; 19:11-13; Numb. 5:19, 28; 31:13 ff.; 35:33 f.; 5:1-4; 2 Chron. 34:5; Ezra 9:11; Neh. 13:9, 30; Josh. 22:17; Isa. 65:4 f.; Dan. 1:8.
4. Uncleanness is contagious.
Lev. 13:45 f.; 14:46 f.; 15:4-12, 19-23, 26 f.; 11:8, 24-28, 31-40; 22:4-6; 5:2 f.; 7:19; 6:10 f., 27-30; 19:7-16, 22; Hag. 2:10-14.
5. Methods of purification.
Lev., chaps. 14, 15; 12:6-8; 6:27 f.; 16:19; Numb., chap. 19; 6:10-21; 35:33 f.; 8:1-21; 31:13-24.
6. Everything connected with religious acts must be clean.
Lev. 10:14; 27:11, 27; chap. 21; 22:1-25; 7:19b-21; 4:11 f.; 6:10 f.; 16:19; Numb. 6:6-9; 18:11, 15; 8:1-21; Exod. 29:36; 2 Chron. 23:19; 30:17-20; 29:15 f., 18 f.; Neh. 13:9, 22; Isa. 66:20.
7. Exemption from the requirement of cleanliness is made in the case of the Passover.
2 Chron. 30:17-20; Numb. 9:6-14.
8. Non-Israelitish land is unclean, and Israel's land also is unclean.
Josh. 22:19; Ezra 9:11; Numb. 35:33 f.; Zech. 13:1 f.
9. All foreigners are unclean.
Isa. 35:8; Ezra 9:11; Neh. 13:30.
10. Instruction as to clean and unclean is an important part of priestly functions.
Lev. 10:10 f.; 20:25 f.
11. Traces of ancestor-worship.
Lev. 19:28, 32.

§ 132. Questions and Suggestions.

1. Observe (1) that the old totem-sacrifice still survives in the sacrificial eating of swine, mice, and other abominable animals; did they eat these because they thought that in so doing they were eating the flesh of the deity, and that this meant participation in the virtues

¹⁰ References in bold-face type are from the Levitical Code of laws.

of the deity, as well as in the mystic life of the tribe? (2) that the old customs of cutting the flesh and of tattooing exist; were these associated with the old idea of ancestor-worship, and was ancestor-worship connected with totemism?

2. (1) Classify according to the later usage, the various kinds of food forbidden; and (2) compare closely the lists of clean and unclean animals given in Leviticus with that of Deuteronomy (see §§ 125, 2, and 126, 2); (3) note what is implied in the case of Daniel and his companions.

3. Note and classify the sources of uncleanness as they are indicated in the writings of this period.

4. Consider (1) the various cases of uncleanness (*e. g.*, leprosy, plague, bodily issue, unclean food, etc.), and the fact that a person or object, when brought into contact with an unclean thing, itself became unclean. (2) What was the underlying thought of this usage, and its practical working? (3) In what way did a holy thing, when brought into contact with persons or objects, convey its holiness to them?

5. Arrange and classify the various ways adopted in this period for securing purification from uncleanness, and compare them in general with the methods of the middle period.

6. Consider now the extreme emphasis laid upon ceremonial cleanliness: (1) the injunctions to this end; (2) the historical facts cited; (3) the practical working out of these commands; (4) the rigidity of the ceremonial as now maintained, in comparison with that of earlier days and other peoples; (5) the explanation of the origin of this rigid ceremonial, viz., the desire to secure the favor of God and the fulfilment of the prophetic promises (which, for the most part, still remained unfulfilled) by bringing the individual Israelite into such a state of piety and obedience as would literally compel God to fulfil his promises; (6) the relation to all this ceremonial of the highly spiritual element found in the Psalter, which was largely the product of this period; (7) the conception of God which was implied in this ceremonial, which, indeed, permeated the ceremonial.

7. Consider (1) the exemption from ceremonial cleanliness made in the case of the Passover feast, and (2) the explanation of it; (3) the historical case cited in 2 Chron. 30: 17-20.

8. Observe that (1) the idea of the uncleanness of non-Israelitish land still prevails; and also that (2) the land of Israel itself has become unclean; but (3) for what reason?

9. Note that the spirit of exclusivism has become so strong that

all foreigners are regarded as unclean. Consider the part played by this idea in the conflict which later arose between Judaism and Hellenism.

10. Observe (1) that it is now a most important function of the priest to give instruction concerning the clean and unclean, and consider (2) how difficult it must have been to educate all the people in this regard, in view of the great multitude of details involved; and (3) the general effect upon the priesthood of such an occupation of their time and attention.

11. Is there still a survival of the old tendency toward ancestor-worship in (1) the custom of cutting themselves for the dead, which is prohibited, and in (2) the special command to revere the old men?

§ 133. **Constructive Work.**—Prepare a statement which will show the new points which characterize the later period in the development of the idea of the clean and unclean.

§ 134. Literature to be Consulted.

HENRY HAYMAN, articles "Unclean Meats" and "Uncleanness," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); EWALD, *Antiquities of Israel* (3d ed. 1866, transl. 1876), pp. 144-60; SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology* (1st ed. 1869, transl. 1892), Vol. II, pp. 65-78; J. F. MCLENNAN, *Fortnightly Review*, 1869 f.; KUENEN, *Religion of Israel* (1869 f., transl. 1874 f.), Vol. II, pp. 94-7; KALISCH, *Commentary on Leviticus*, Part II (1871), pp. 1-163; OEHLER, *Old Testament Theology* (1st ed. 1873, 3d ed. 1891, transl. 1883), §§ 142 f.; E. B. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture* (1871, 2d ed. 1873), see *Index*, s. v. "Totem Ancestors;" IDEM, *Early History of Mankind* (3d ed. 1878), pp. 284 f.; SPENCER, *Principles of Sociology* (1879), Vol. I, p. 367; W. ROBERTSON SMITH, "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament," *Journal of Philology*, Vol. IX (1880), pp. 75 ff.; IDEM, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1st ed. 1881, 2d ed. 1892), p. 366; IDEM, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885), chap. vii; SCHÜRER, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (1885, transl. 1890), see *Index*, s. v. "Clean and Unclean;" JOSEPH JACOBS, "Are there Totem-Clans in the Old Testament?" *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VIII (1885), pp. 39-41; ANDREW LANG, *Custom and Myth* (2d ed. 1885), pp. 260 ff.; PIEPENBRING, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (1886, transl. 1893), pp. 73-9; ANDREW LANG, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1st ed. 1887, 2d ed. 1899), see *Index*, s. v. "Tabu," "Totem," etc.; SAYCE, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures, 1887), see *Index*, s. v. "Clean and Unclean," "Totemism;" BENNETT, *Diseases of the Bible* (1st ed. 1887, 3d ed. 1896); J. G. FRAZER, *Totemism* (with numerous references to literature; 1887); IDEM, articles "Taboo" and "Totemism," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1887); W. R. SMITH, article "Sacrifice," *ibid.* (1887), Vol. XXI, p. 135; IDEM, *Religion of the Semites* (1st ed. 1889, 2d ed. 1894), additional notes A, B, C, and I; J. G. FRAZER, *Golden Bough* (1890), see *Index*, s. v. "Taboo," "Totem," etc.; F. W. DAVIES, "Bible Leprosy," *Old and New Testament Student*, Vol. XI (1890), pp. 142-25;

MCCCLINTOCK AND STRONG's *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, articles on "Unclean" and "Uncleanness" (1891); J. LUBBOCK, *Origin of Civilization* (1892), p. 260; MONTEFIORE, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (Hibbert Lectures, 1892), pp. 473 ff.; MENZIES, *History of Religion* (1895), pp. 55, 71, 131, 275; DRIVER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (1895), pp. 70, 164, 291 f.; J. F. McLENNAN, *Studies in Ancient History* (1896), pp. 492-569; FARRELL, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. I (1896) pp. 88-101; WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1897), see *Index*, s. v. "Animals," etc.; J. HASTINGS, article "Clean," *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I (1898); MORRIS JASTROW, JR., *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898), pp. 397 f., 662 f.; J. G. FRAZER, "The Origin of Totemism," *Fortnightly Review*, April and May, 1899; BUDGE, *Egyptian Magic* (1899), pp. 232 ff.; PAUL HAUPT, "Medical and Hygienic Features of the Bible," *The Independent*, New York, July 13, 1899, pp. 1906 f.; G. A. SIMCOX, article "Clean and Unclean," *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1899); F. J. SCHAMBERG, "The Nature of the Leprosy of the Bible," *Biblical World*, Vol. XIII (1899), pp. 162-9; PAUL HAUPT, "Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIX (1901), p. 60, and note 113; McCURDY, article "Animal-Worship," *Jewish Encyclopædia* (1901); ANDREW LANG, *Magic and Religion* (1901), pp. 257-69; R. G. MURISON, "Totemism in the Old Testament," *Biblical World*, Vol. XVIII (1901), pp. 176-84; E. CLODD, *Myths and Dreams*, pp. 99 f.

SPENCER, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus* (1727); HEBENSTREIT, *De cura sanit. publ.* (1783), Vol. II, pp. 15 f.; BEYER, *De haemorrh. ex lege Mosis impuris* (1792); BLEEK, "Beiträge zu den Forschungen über den Pentateuch," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1831, pp. 498 f.; BÄHR, *Symbolik des mosaischen Kultus* (1839), Vol. II, pp. 159 ff., 462 ff.; SOMMER, *Biblische Abhandlungen* (1846), pp. 183-367; SAALSCHÜTZ, *Das mosaische Recht mit Berücksichtigung des späteren jüdischen* (1st ed. 1846, 1848; 2d ed. 1853), chaps. 22-32; KURTZ, "Ueber die symbolische Dignität des in Num. 19 zur Tilgung der Todesunreinigkeit verordneten Ritus," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1846, pp. 629 ff.; DANIELSEN ET BOECK, *Traité de la Spedalskhed* [Norwegian = leprosy] ou *Elephantiasis des Grecs* (transl. from the Norwegian, 1847); CHWOLSOHN, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (1856), Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.; C. WOLFF, "Die Lepra Arabum," in VIRCHOW's *Archiv für path. Anatomie und Physiologie*, Vol. XXVI (1861); S. FINÁLY, "Ueber die wahre Bedeutung des Aussatzes in der Bibel," *Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilidologie* (1870); SCHENKEL, article "Reinigkeit," SCHENKEL's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. V (1875); KÖHLER, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte*, Vol. I (1875), pp. 409-19; L. KOTELMANN, *Die Geburtshilfe bei den alten Hebräern* (1876); BAUDISSIN, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. II (1878), pp. 100 ff.; FRANTZ DELITZSCH, "Die Aussatzora des Leviticus," *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Vol. I (1880), pp. 3-10; E. KÖNIG, article "Reinigungen," *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (2d ed. 1883); KAMPHAUSEN, article "Reinigkeit und Reinigungen," RIEHM's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (1884); FRANTZ DELITZSCH, article "Reinigungsopfer," *ibid.*; NÖLDEKE, "Robertson Smith's Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL (1886), pp. 157-69; STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I (1887), pp. 481 ff.; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (= *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, III, 1st ed. 1887, 2d ed. 1897), pp. 52, 106, 156, 176 ff.; M. SANDRECZKY, "Studien über Lepra," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. XVIII (1895), pp. 34-49

(from the English in *The Lancet*, London, August 31, 1889); RIEHM, *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1889), pp. 124 ff.; SCHWALLY, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892), see *Index*, s. v. "Taboo" and "Unrein;" BAENTSCH, *Das Bundesbuch* (1892), pp. 105 f.; G. N. MÜNCH, *Die Zara'ath der hebräischen Bibel. Einleitung in der Geschichte des Aussatz*, in *Dermatologische Studien*, by G. UNNA (1893); SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1st ed. 1893, 2d. ed. 1899), see *Index*, s. v. "Reinheit," "Tabu," "Totemismus;" H. SCHURTZ, *Die Speiseverbote* (1893); A. EINSLER, "Beobachtungen über d. Aussatz im heiligen Lande," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. XVI (1893), Heft 4; NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (1894), Vol. I, pp. 116 ff.; II, pp. 275-99; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 152, 297, 478-89; DILLMANN, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1895), see *Index*, s. v. "Reinheit," "Unrein," etc.; ZINSSER, "Bemerkungen über den jetzigen Stand der Lepraforschungen," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. XVIII (1895), pp. 41-4; A. WIENER, *Die jüdischen Speisegesetze* (1895); A. SACK, *Was ist die Zaraath der hebräischen Bibel?* (*VIRCHOW's Archiv für path. Anatomie und Physiologie*, Band 144, Supplementheft, 1896); STADE, *Theologische Litteratur-Zeitung*, 1896, No. 1, col. 10; BERTHOLET, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896), see *Index*, s. v. "Reinheit," "Reinigung;" MARTI, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (1897), pp. 24 f., 30, 42, 104, 193, 221 f.; FREY, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel* (1898), pp. 173-87; N. COHN, *Die Vorschrift betreffs die Zar'ath nach dem Kitab al Kafi* (1898); D. H. MÜLLER, *Südarabische Altertümer im kunsthistorischen Museum zu Wien* (1899); J. PIKLER AND F. SOMLÓ, *Der Ursprung des Totemismus* (1899); J. C. MATTHES, "De begrippen rein en onrein in het Oude Testament," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. XXXIII (1899), pp. 293-318; J. HALÉVY, *Revue sémitique*, Vol. VII (1899), pp. 267 ff.; GRÜNEISEN, *Ahnenkultus und Urreligion Israels* (1900); EBSTEIN, *Die Medizin im Alten Testament* (1901).

See also the treatises in the Mishnah entitled *Niddah*, *Parah*, *Tehoroth*, *Zabbim*, *Celim*, *Miscath Arlah*; and the commentaries on Lev., chaps. 11-15, especially those of DILLMANN (1880), BAENTSCH (1900), BERTHOLET (1900), and DRIVER AND WHITE (*Polychrome Bible*, 1898).

§ 135. Supplementary Topics.

1. Consider the following references to clean and unclean in the Psalter: 73:1, 13; 19:9, 12; 51:2, 7, 10; 24:4; 18:20; 119:9; and summarize their teachings.

2. Examine the following references in the books of Job and Proverbs: Job 11:4; 33:9; 17:9; 15:14 ff.; 25:4; 9:30; 37:21; 36:14; Prov. 14:4; 16:2; 20:9; and also Eccl. 9:2; and summarize their teachings.

3. Study the allusions to clean and unclean in the books of the Maccabees and formulate a statement covering them: 1 Macc. 1:37, 46 ff., 54, 62 f.; 2:12; 3:51; 4:38, 43 f., 48 f., 54; 13:47 f.; 2 Macc. 1:18, 33, 36; 2:8, 16, 19; 3:12; 4:14; 5:27; 6:2, 5, 7 f., 18 ff.; 7:1 ff.; 10:3, 5; 11:24; 12:40; 13:8; 14:36.

4. What, in general, is the attitude of New Testament writers toward the idea of clean and unclean as gathered from a study

of the principal allusions: Matt. 8:2 f.; 10:1, 8; 11:5; 12:43; 23:25-27; Mark 1:23, 26 f., 40-44; 3:11, 30; 5:2, 8, 13; 6:7; 7:25; Luke 4:27; 5:12 ff.; 6:18; 7:22; 8:29; 4:33, 36; 9:42; 11:24, 39, 41; 17:14, 17; John 15:3; Acts 5:16; 8:7; 10:14 f., 28; 11:8 f.; Rom. 1:24; 6:19; 14:14; 1 Cor. 7:14; 2 Cor. 6:17; 7:1; 12:21; Gal. 5:19; Eph. 4:19; 5:3, 5, 26; Col. 3:5; 1 Thess. 2:3; 4:7; Heb. 9:13; James 4:8; 2 Pet. 2:10; 1 John 1:7, 9?

5. Make a study of the Hebrew words for "clean," viz., קָדוֹשׁ, בָּרְךָ, בָּרוּךְ, זָהָר, and "unclean," viz., טָמֵא; cf. טָמֵן, קָשֶׁר, שָׁקִין, etc.; trace their usage in the cognate languages (especially Assyrian and Arabic), and endeavor to determine their primary meaning and their exact significance in Hebrew literature.

See especially BAUDISSIN, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft II, pp. 1-40; G. A. SIMCOX, article "Clean and Unclean," *Encyclopædia Biblica*; ZIMMERN, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. I, p. 105; WHITEHOUSE, *Thinker*, 1892, p. 52; and the various lexicons.

6. Compare the similarities between the usages connected with clean and unclean and those connected with the *ban* = חֲרֵם. How may these be most satisfactorily explained?

See § 146, and cf. W. H. BENNETT, article "Ban," *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

7. Study the phenomena similar to the Hebrew "clean and unclean" found in other Semitic nations, e. g., the prohibition among the Syrians against eating swine; the putting off of ordinary everyday garments while engaged in sacred acts at Mecca and other ancient Arabic sanctuaries; the Arabian custom and method of removing the impurity of widowhood; the impurity of menstruation, which is recognized by all Semites; and the many parallels found in Egyptian customs and worship. What is the common basis of all these customs?

See especially W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., pp. 441-56; W. MAX MÜLLER, article "Egypt," § 19, *Encyclopædia Biblica*; FRAZER, articles "Taboo" and "Totemism," *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

8. Consider the possible bases of classification of the clean and unclean animals, birds, fish, etc. Is the hygienic motive satisfactory? Is the idea that certain things are prohibited because of an instinctive feeling of abhorrence for them applicable to all cases? Does the prohibition of certain things have any connection with their sacrificial or non-sacrificial character? Can certain cases be explained as due to a belief that the animals in question were inhabited by demons? Can

any clearly marked line of demarcation be drawn between clean and unclean beasts, etc.? Is a combination of motives probable?

See especially DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*, p. 164; W. R. SMITH, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 365 f. and note; G. A. SIMCOX, article "Clean and Unclean," *Encyclopædia Biblica*; NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, Vol. I, pp. 116-19.

9. Study the idea of "holiness" carefully in the light of the teaching concerning "clean and unclean." Was it thought of originally as a relation sustained to the deity, or as an inherent quality? What is the history of the conception from this point of view?

10. Consider the close relationship of the idea of "clean and unclean" to the idea of God, and the mutual influence of the two ideas. Note that in the earliest times everything thought to be associated with the deity was regarded as unclean, and that in the later period the exalted idea of God's holiness was expressed concretely by a wide extension of the circle of "uncleanness." Trace the parallel development of these two conceptions through the course of Israel's history.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAWS AND USAGES CONCERNING PRAYER AND RELATED FORMS OF WORSHIP, CONSIDERED COMPARATIVELY.

§ 136. With *prayer*, offered at times to secure deliverance from trouble or danger, at other times to obtain the presence of the deity and his guidance, there may be associated, for purposes of classification, (1) the vow, which was a promise made to the deity in case of the granting of a request; (2) blessings and curses, which were prayers for good or evil to one's friends or enemies; (3) the ban or sentence to destruction, which was a formal curse or anathema; (4) the oath, which was an invocation of the deity, or a solemn statement in the name of the deity. The following may also be regarded as indirectly connected with prayer, viz.: (5) fasting, a means of making impression upon the deity, and thus securing favor; (6) consultation through oracles, Urim and Thummim, the ephod, and the lot, which were various means of ascertaining the divine will; (7) practice in connection with sorcery, or witchcraft, or magic, or divination, all of which was, likewise, effort to communicate with the spirit or deity and to secure knowledge of the divine will; (8) mourning customs, many of which had their origin in the superstition that the departed spirit had power for evil or good over those who were living, a power to be propitiated or averted by certain acts; (9) circumcision, which was an act of dedication to the deity.

It might be said that every act of worship was really *prayer*; that is, approach to the deity. Sacrifice, for example, was acted prayer.

§ 137. Prayer.

1. The early period: readings, questions, and suggestions.¹

(a) Divine mercy and aid are sought through prayer.

Gen. 18:22-33; 19:18-22; 20:7, 17(E); 25:21; 30:6, 17(E), 22; 32:9-12; 35:3(E); Exod. 3:7, 9; 5:22 f.; 8:8, 12, 29 ff.; 9:28 ff.; 10:17 ff.; 14:10, 15(E); 15:25; 17:4, 8-15(E); 32:11-14; 32:30-32 (E); Numb. 11:1-3 (E), 10-15, 18; 12:13(E); 14:13-19(E); 21:7 (E); 23:10(E); Josh. 7:6-9; 10:12-14; 24:7(E); Judg. 10:10, 14 f.; 15:18; 16:28; 1 Sam. 7:8 f.; 15:11; 2 Sam. 15:31; 24:10, 17; 2 Kings 4:33; 6:17-20; 19:1, 4, 14-20.

¹All the references to the Hexateuch are from J, except those followed by (E).

Study different typical cases of prayer for mercy and aid, and consider (1) the persons who are represented as praying; (2) the nature of the petitions offered, *e.g.*, requests for healing, for children, for relief from frogs, hail, etc., for rescue from Pharaoh, for deliverance of Israel from immediate destruction after sin has been committed; (3) the character of the prayers—simple, informal, naïve; (4) the basis on which request is made; (5) the elements of prayer which seem to be lacking in these cases; (6) the indications of a primitive stage of religious development; (7) the typical and fundamental elements of prayer which are involved.

(b) Divine presence and guidance are sought through prayer.

Gen. 24:12-14; Exod. 33:7-11(E); 34:9; Numb. 10:35 f.; 1 Sam. 8:6, 18, 21; 12:17 f.; 2 Sam. 7:18-29; 1 Kings 3:6-9; 18:24-40; 2 Kings 19:2-7, 15-19.

Study, from the same points of view, another class of prayers, in which request is made for the presence of the divine spirit and for its guidance.

2. The middle period: readings, questions, and suggestions.²

Deut. 9:18-20, 25-29; 10:10; 26:15; 2 Kings 22:19; Jer. 3:21; 10:23-25; 14:7-9, 19-22; 15:15-18; 18:19-23; 20:12; 42:1-6; Judg. 3:9, 15; 4:3; 6:6; 2 Kings 20:3; 1 Kings 8:22-61.

Consider (1) the circumstances attending Moses' prayers for the people, his fear of Jehovah, the ground of intercession, the element of confession, the naïve appeal to the estimate which strangers may make of Jehovah's ability, or of his purpose; (2) the reasons given by the prophetess Huldah for Jehovah's favorable answer to Josiah, viz., humility, supplication; (3) the spirit of dependence seen in Jeremiah's prayer (10:23-25), and its request; (4) Jeremiah's confession and passionate appeal (14:7-9, 19-22); (5) Jeremiah's personal complaints (15:15-18; 18:19-23; 20:12); (6) the request of the people that Jeremiah would pray for them, and his consent (Jer. 42:1-6); (7) the crying of Israel to Jehovah in their distress; (8) the basis of Hezekiah's appeal for preservation from death (2 Kings 20:3); (9) Solomon's prayer (1 Kings 8:20-53) at the dedication of the temple (as expanded and presented by the Deuteronomic editor)—its form, its contents, its spirit, its presuppositions.

² References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

3. The later period: readings, questions, and suggestions.³

Gen. 17:18; Exod. 2:23 f.; 6:5; Numb. 16:20-24; Judg. 20:18, 23; 21:2 f.; Ezra 8:21 ff.; 9:5—10:1; Neh. 1:4-11; 2:4; 4:4 f. 4:9; 5:19; 6:9, 14; 9:5-38; 13:14, 22, 30; Isa. 63:15—64:12.

Consider (1) that an ejaculation (Gen. 17:18), the cry under oppression, is really prayer; (2) the form and thought of the prayer ascribed to the congregation (Numb. 16:20-24); (3) the various prayers recorded in Ezra and Nehemiah, noting the form, the content, the spirit, the entirely different tone as compared with those of preceding periods; (4) the exact particulars in which this difference of tone consists.

§ 138. Constructive Work.—Prepare a brief statement, covering (1) the general content of scriptural prayers; (2) the peculiarities of form; (3) the essential elements which make up such prayers; (4) any differences which appear as characterizing the prayers of different periods; (5) the place of prayer in worship; (6) the usage of prayer (*a*) in the Psalms,⁴ (*b*) in the wisdom literature,⁵ (*c*) in the apocryphal books,⁶ (*d*) in the New Testament,⁷ (*e*) among Assyro-Babylonians, Egyptians, etc.⁸

§ 139. Literature to be Consulted.

ALFRED BARRY, article "Prayer," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); EWALD, *Antiquities of Israel* (3d ed. 1866, transl. 1876), see *Index*, s. v. "Prayer," etc.; SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology* (1st ed. 1869, 5th ed. 1896, transl. 1892), Vol. I, pp. 371 f.; H. FOX TALBOT, "A Prayer and a Vision," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. I (1872), pp. 346 ff., and *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII (1876), pp. 65 ff.; E. B. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture* (1874), see *Index*, s. v. "Prayer," "Oracles;" H. FOX TALBOT, "Assyrian Sacred Poetry," *Records of the Past*, Vol. III (1874), pp. 131-8; A. H. SAYCE, "Fragment of an Assyrian Prayer after a Bad Dream," *Records of the Past*, Vol. IX (1877), pp. 149-52; B. T. A. EVETTS, "An Assyrian Religious Text," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. X (1888), pp. 478 f.; D. G. LYON, "Assyrian and Babylonian Royal Prayers," *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1888, pp. xciii, xciv; S. A. STRONG, "A Prayer of Assurbanipal," *Records of the Past*, new series, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 102-6; MONTEFIORE, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (1892), pp. 505 f.; J. A. CRAIG, "Prayer of the Assyrian King Ashurbanipal," *Hebraica*, Vol. X (1893), pp. 75-87; MENZIES, *History of Religion* (1895), see *Index*, s. v. "Prayer;" J. L. NEVIUS, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes* (1895), see *Index*, s. v. "Prayer," etc.; JASTROW, *Religion*

³ All the references to the Hexateuch are from the P document.

⁴ See, e. g., Pss. 5; 12; 51; 55; 69.

⁵ See, e. g., Job 22:27; 33:26; 41:3; 42:8, 10; Prov. 15:8; 28:9.

⁶ See, e. g., 1 Macc. 3:44-54; 4:10, 30-34, 38-40; 5:31-34; 2 Macc. 1:5 f., 8. 23-30; 13:10-12; 14:33-36; 15:21-24; Ecclus. 18:23; chap. 51.

⁷ Matt. 6:9 ff.; 17:21; 21:13, 22; 23:14; John, chap. 17.

⁸ See literature cited in § 139.

of Babylonia and Assyria (1898), see *Index*, s. v. "Prayers," etc.; T. K. CHEYNE, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (1898), p. 251; DUFF, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II (1900), see *Index*, s. v. "Prayer, etc.;" DAY, *The Social Life of the Hebrews* (1901), pp. 215 f.

GAßS, article "Gebet," SCHENKEL'S *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. II (1869); STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I (1887), pp. 487 ff.; RIEHM'S *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (2d ed. 1893 f.), Vol. I, pp. 484 ff.; J. A. KNUDTZON, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals*, 2 vols. (1893); SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1st ed. 1893, 2d ed. 1899), see *Index*, s. v. "Gebet;" BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1894), pp. 462 ff.; NOWACK, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, Vol. II (1894), pp. 259 ff.; DILLMANN, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1895), pp. 184, 481; MARTI, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (1897), see *Index*, s. v. "Gebet," etc.; F. BUHL, article "Gebet im Alten Testament," *Realencyklopädie für prot. Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. VI (1899).

§ 140. The Vow.

1. The early period: readings, questions, and suggestions.

Gen. 14:21 ff.; 28:20 ff. (E); 31:13 (E); Judg. 11:29 ff., 39; 13:4 f., 7, 14; 1 Sam. 1:11, 21; 2 Sam. 15:7 f.; Numb. 21:1-3 (J); Isa. 19:21, 25.

Examine the narratives which record the vows of Abraham, Jacob, Jephthah, the Nazirite, Hannah, Absalom, Israel in connection with Arad, as typical cases of vows, and note in each case (1) the implication of dependence upon and recognition of the power of the deity; (2) the motive actuating the individual to make the vow; (3) the form of expression employed.

2. The middle period: readings, questions, and suggestions.

Deut. 12:6, 11, 17, 26; 23:18, 22 f.; Nah. 2:1; Isa. 44:25; Jer. 44:25.

Examine the references to vows and note (1) the characteristics of each case presented; (2) the close association of the vow with the free-will offering; (3) the prohibition of the use of the harlot's hire; (4) the obligation to pay a vow once made; (5) the making of a vow, wholly voluntary; (6) the prophetic point of view.

3. The late period: readings, questions, and suggestions.⁹

Numb. 6:1-21; 15:3, 8; 29:39; 30:1-16; Mal. 1:14; Jon. 1:16; 2:10; Lev. 7:16; 27:2, 8; 22:18, 21, 23; 23:38.

Examine the references cited and note (1) the special cases cited; (2) the increase in complexity of arrangement; (3) the details of the law of the Nazirite; (4) the circumstances under which the vow of a

⁹ References in bold-face type are from the P document.

woman is obligatory or otherwise; (5) the distinction made between the vow and the free-will offering.

§ 141. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement on the *vow*, which will take up (1) the religious and psychological basis of the usage; (2) the various kinds of motives which are seen to have exerted influence; (3) the words employed and their significance; (4) the relationship of the vow to the free-will offering; (5) the relation to the oath; (6) the modifications in usage which come in later times; (7) the difference in principle between vows of devotion and vows of abstinence; (8) the place of the Nazirite order¹⁰ in Old Testament history; (9) the making of vows among other ancient peoples;¹¹ (10) the attitude of the prophets; (11) the representations in the Psalms;¹² (12) the representations in wisdom literature;¹³ (13) the representations in apocryphal literature;¹⁴ (14) the representations in the New Testament;¹⁵ (15) the relation to prayer and sacrifice.

§ 142. Literature to be Consulted.

H. W. PHILLOTT, article "Vows," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*; SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 191 f., 371 f.; W. R. SMITH, articles "Nazirite" and "Vow," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1875); IDEM, *Rel. of Sem.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Vows," "Nazirite," etc.; MENZIES, *op. cit.*, p. 74; G. F. MOORE, *Judges* ("International Critical Commentary," 1895), pp. 232, 279, 380 ff.; DRIVER, *The Books of Joel and Amos* (Camb. Bible, 1897), pp. 152 f.; CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 254; G. B. GRAY, "The Nazirite," *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I (1900), pp. 201 ff.; D. EATON, article "Nazirite," HASTINGS' *Dictionary*, Vol. III.

VILMAR, "Die symbolische Bedeutung des Naziräergelübdes," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1864, pp. 438 ff.; SCHRADER, article "Gelübde," SCHENKEL'S *Bibel-Lexikon*; DILLMANN, article "Nasiräer," *ibid.*; OEHLER AND ORELLI, article "Nasiräat," *Realencyklopädie* (2d ed.); GRILL, "Ueber Bedeutung und Ursprung des Nasiräergelübdes," *Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie*, 1880, pp. 645 ff.; MAYBAUM, *Die Entwicklung des israelitischen Prophetenthums* (1883) pp. 147-53; RIEHM, *Handwörterbuch*, articles "Gelübde" and "Nasiräer;" GOLDZIHER, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Vol. I (1888), pp. 23 f.; SMEND, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Gelübde;" NOWACK, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 263 ff.; BENZINGER, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Bann," "Gelübde," etc.; DILLMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 141; MARTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 107; BUHL, article "Gelübde im Alten Testament," *Realencyklopädie*, 3d ed., Vol. VI.

¹⁰ See article "Nazirite" in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III.

¹¹ See article "Vow," *Encyc. Brit.*; WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Vol. III, p. 117; JASTROW, *op. cit.*, pp. 668 f.

¹² See, e. g., Pss. 22:25; 50:14; 56:12; 61:5, 8; 65:1; 66:13; 76:11; 116:14, 18; 132:2.

¹³ See, e. g., Eccl. 5:4 f.; Job 22:27; Prov. 7:14; 20:25; 31:2.

¹⁴ See, e. g., 2 Macc. 3:35; 9:13 ff.; Ecclus. 18:22.

¹⁵ See, e. g., Acts 18:18; 21:23 f.

§ 143. Blessings and Cursings.

1. The early period: readings, questions, and suggestions.¹⁶

Gen. 3:14, 17; 4:11; 9:25 f.; 12:3; 27:27-29, 35 (E), 39 f. (E);
 48:15 f.; 49:1-27; Exod. 12:32; 21:17 (E);¹⁷ 23:21 (E), 25-31 (E);
 Numb. 22:6; 24:9; 1 Sam. 2:20; 14:24, 28; 17:43; 2 Sam. 3:28 f.;
 19:39; Deut. 33:1-29 (E); Judg. 9:57; 21:18.

Study and classify the material on blessings and cursings as follows: (1) words used in blessing and cursing; (2) forms of expression used, *e. g.*, Judg. 21:18; 1 Sam. 2:20; Deut., chap. 33; (3) important cases of blessings or cursings, *e. g.*, (a) Jacob's last words (Gen., chap. 49), (b) Moses' last words (Deut., chap. 33), (c) David's curse on Joab (2 Sam. 3:28, 29); (4) the peculiar lack of the moral element in the case of Esau (Gen. 27:35); (5) the cursing of a hostile nation, *e. g.*, by Balak (Numb. 22:6), by Goliath (1 Sam. 17:43); (6) the connection with the oath; (7) the blessing and curse pronounced in connection with the Covenant Code (Exod. 23:21, 25-31).

2. The middle period: readings, questions, and suggestions.¹⁸

Gen. 49:25 f., 28; Deut. 11:26-30; 27:11-26; 28:1-68; 29:19-21;
 30:1, 7, 19; Josh. 8:34; Jer. 29:18; Ezek. 34:26; 1 Kings 18:14 f.,
 55 f.; cf. Ps. 68:1-3.

Make a similar classification of the material coming from the middle period, noting as cases of special interest (1) the arrangement for blessings and curses to be announced from Mounts Gerizim and Ebal (Deut. 27:11-26); (2) Joshua's reading of the blessings and the curses (Josh. 8:34); (3) the old royal *form* of blessing (1 Kings 8:14 f., 55 f.); (4) a *form* of national blessing (*cf.* Ps. 68:1-3); (5) prophetic use of curse (Jer. 29:18) and blessing (Ezek. 34:26); (6) the blessings and curses announced in connection with the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 28:3-14, 15-68).

3. The late period: readings, questions, and suggestions.¹⁹

Gen. 28:3 f.; Lev. 9:22; 25:21; chap. 26; Numb. 5:12-31; 6:22-26;
 Neh. 10:29; 13:2; 2 Chron. 34:24; Isa. 24:6; Zech. 5:3; Mal. 2:2;
 3:9; Pss. 109; 37:36; Prov. 26:2; Dan. 9:11.

Classify likewise the material of the late period, noting as cases of

¹⁶ All references to the Hexateuch are from J, except those followed by (E).

¹⁷ This reference is from the Covenant Code.

¹⁸ References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

¹⁹ References in bold-face type are from the priestly code of laws.

special interest (1) Isaac's blessing of Jacob (P) (Gen. 28:3 f.); (2) the priestly form of blessing (Numb. 6:22-26); (3) the forms of doxology used in later worship (*cf.* Pss. 134; 150); (4) the blessings and curses announced in connection with the Levitical Code (Lev. 26:3-12, 16-45); (5) the thought even in later times that "it was worth while to curse a bad man" (*cf.* Ps. 109); but (6) the feeling also that only the good might be blessed (*cf.* Ps. 37:26), and that causeless curses were of no avail (*cf.* Prov. 26:2).

§ 144. Constructive Work.—Prepare a statement on *blessings and cursings*, including the following points: (1) the words translated *blessing* and *curse*; (2) the forms of expression used; (3) stereotyped formulas of benediction; (4) the religious idea or superstition underlying the usage—was it really a "spell, pronounced by a holy person"? (5) how was this usage related to magic and sorcery (*cf.* the curse-producing water)? (6) the more important patriarchal blessings—were they cursings as well as blessings? (7) the threefold classification: (a) one nation by another, (b) one individual by another, (c) as attached to laws to secure their better observance; (8) a comparison of the three sets of blessings and cursings connected respectively with the Covenant Code, the Deuteronomic Code, and the Levitical Code; (9) a comparison of the usage as it is found in the three periods, the modifications which are made; (10) a comparison of the New Testament representations on this subject²⁰—are blessings and curses found in the speeches of Jesus? if so, how are they to be understood? (11) this usage among the Arabians;²¹ (12) this usage among the Assyrians;²² (13) the relation of this usage to prayer.

§ 145. Literature to be Consulted.

EWALD, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-9; SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 335 ff., 346 ff.; BRIGGS, *Messianic Prophecy* (1886), pp. 115-20; W. R. SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1887), pp. 53, 263; W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, p. 164; L. W. KING, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (1896); J. DENNEY, article "Curse," HASTINGS' *Dictionary*, Vol. I (1898); W. F. ADENEY, article "Blessing," *ibid.*; T. K. CHEYNE, article "Blessings and Cursings," *Encyc. Bib.*, Vol. I (1899); HENRY HAYMAN, "The Blessing of Moses: Its Genesis and Structure," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XVII (1901), pp. 96-106.

²⁰ See, e. g., Matt. 5:44; 14:19; 26:26; Mark 10:16; Luke 2:28, 34; 9:16; 24:50 f.; Acts 3:26; 23:12, 14; Rom. 12:14; Gal. 3:13; Mark 7:10; 11:21; Matt. 15:4; 25:41.

²¹ Cf. GOLDZIHER, *Muhammedanische Studien*.

²² Cf. KING, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, passim*.

MERX, articles "Fluch" and "Fluchwasser," SCHENKEL'S *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. II (1869); SCHENKEL, article "Segen," *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. V (1875); BURGER, article "Segen, Segnung," *Realencyklopädie*, 2d ed., Vol. XIV (1884); RIEHM, article "Fluch," *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums* (1884); WELLHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 126; SCHWALLY, "Miscellen," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XI (1891), pp. 170 ff.; NOWACK, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 251 f., 261 f.; BENZINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 146; MARTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 116.

§ 146. The Ban.

1. The early period.

Exod. 22:19; (E);²³ Numb. 21:2 (J); Josh. 8:26 (E); Judg. 1:17; 21:11; 1 Sam. 15:3, 8, 15, 18, 20.

2. The middle period.²⁴

Josh. 2:10; 6:18; 10:28, 35, 40; 11:11 f., 21; Mic. 4:13; Isa. 43:28; Deut. 2:34; 3:6; 7:2, 26; 13:17 f.; 20:17; Jer. 25:9; 50:21, 26; 51:3.

3. The late period.²⁵

Isa. 34:2, 5; Mal. 4:6; Lev. 27:21, 28 f.; Numb. 18:14; Isa. 11:15; Zech. 14:11; 1 Chron. 2:7; 4:41; 2 Chron. 32:14; Ezra 10:8; Dan. 11:44.

Examine the passages cited in the various periods, and classify the material thus gathered as follows: (1) words used to mean *ban* or *destruction*, and their significance; (2) classes of persons or objects subject to ban, *e. g.*, (*a*) idols, (*b*) individuals regarded as enemies of the nation, (*c*) cities or nations regarded as hostile (the Canaanites), (*d*) individuals personally objectionable, (*e*) metals; (3) the regulations at various times relating to the ban; (4) the modifications which are made from period to period, *e. g.*, Josh. 6:24; Numb. 18:14; Ezek. 44:29.

§ 147. **Constructive Work.**—Prepare a statement on the *ban*, taking up (1) the sociological basis; (2) its relationship (*a*) to the vow, (*b*) to the idea of clean and unclean, (*c*) to taboo; (3) a classification of persons or things liable to the *ban*; (4) the changes which came in later times; (5) the attitude of the prophets; (6) the non-appearance of the term in the Psalms and in the wisdom literature; (7) the New Testament development of the idea (*cf.* 1 Cor. 16:22); (8) the place of the idea in other Semitic nations (*cf.* Moab, Arabia, and Assyria).²⁶

²³ This reference is from the Covenant Code.

²⁴ References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in the book of Deuteronomy.

²⁵ References in bold-face type are from the priestly code of laws.

²⁶ Cf. Mesha Inscription, line 17; VON TORNAUW, *Zeitsch. d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 297 ff.; W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem., Index*, s. v. "Ban;" STADE, *Gesch.*, Vol. I, pp. 490 f.

§ 148. Literature to be Consulted.

EWALD, *Antiquities*, pp. 75–8; SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 390; II, p. 87; W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, pp. 150, 371, 453; S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (1890), pp. 100 ff.; McCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* (1895–1901), § 550; J. DENNEY, article “Curse,” HASTINGS’ *Dictionary*, Vol. I; W. H. BENNETT, article “Ban,” *Encyc. Bib.*, Vol. I; DAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 212 f.

MERX, article “Bann,” SCHENKEL’S *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. I (1869); WEBER, *Die Lehren des Talmud* (1880), pp. 138 ff.; VON TORNAUW, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXXVI (1882), pp. 297 ff.; STADE, *Geschichte*, Vol. I (1887), p. 490; SMEND, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 39, 147 f., 288; NOWACK, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 371 f.; II, pp. 266–9; BENZINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 363; DILLMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 126, 149; BERTHOLET, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896), pp. 10, 89; MARTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 39, 47 f.; S. MANDL, *Der Bann* (1898).

§ 149. Oaths.

1. The early period: readings, questions, and suggestions.²⁷

Gen. 14:22; 15:8–11, 17 f.; 21:22–24 (E); 22:15 (JE); 24:1–3, 27; 25:33 (E); 26:3 (JE), 26–31; 31:53 (E); 42:15 (E); 47:29; 50:25 (E); Exod. 13:19 (E); Josh. 2:12–14, 20; 6:26; Judg. 21:1; 1 Sam. 14:24–30, 39, 44 f.; 19:6; 24:21; 30:15; 2 Sam. 3:9 f.; 19:23; 21:1 f., 7; 1 Kings 1:13, 17, 30, 51 f.; 2:23 f., 36–46.

Examine and classify the cases of oaths cited, determining, in each case, (1) whether it is an oath sworn by man to man, by God to man, or by man to God; (2) the ritual of the oath, whether, for example, accompanied by sacrifice of certain victims, by taking hold of the thigh, by stretching upward the hand; (3) the penalty expected or prescribed in case of the violation of the oath; (4) any specially interesting uses of or usages in connection with the oath, e. g., Abraham’s oath to Melchizedek, the dividing of the animals (Gen. 15:10), the treaty between Jacob and Laban (Gen. 31:44–54), Rahab and the spies (Josh. 2:12–14), Saul’s adjuration (1 Sam. 14:24–30, 39, 44 f.), David’s oath concerning Solomon (1 Kings 1:13), Shimei and Solomon (1 Kings 2:42); (5) what is prohibited in Exod. 20:7, *thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain* (blasphemy, perjury, profanity, or sorcery and witchcraft)?

2. The middle period: readings, questions, and suggestions.

Jer. 4:2; 22:5; 31:33; 34:18 f.; 38:16; Ezek. 17:16–19; Deut. 19:19 ff.²⁸

Examine and classify as above, noting particularly points of special interest in connection with (1) false swearing (Deut. 19:19 ff.); (2)

²⁷ All references to the Hexateuch are from J, except those marked otherwise, and Gen. 14:22, which is from an independent source.

²⁸ This reference is from the code of laws contained in the book of Deuteronomy.

the cutting of the calf (Jer. 34:18 f.); (3) the new covenant (Jer. 31:33); (4) Zedekiah's oath (Jer. 38:16); (5) breaking the covenant (Ezek. 17:16-19).

3. The late period: readings, questions, and suggestions.²⁹

Numb. 5:11-28; chap. 30; Josh. 9:15, 19 f.; Judg. 21:5, 7; Zech. 5:1 ff.; Ezra 10:5; Neh. 10:29; Dan. 12:7.

Examine and classify as above, noting points of special interest in connection with (1) the water of bitterness that causeth the curse (Numb. 5:11 ff.); (2) vows (Numb., chap. 30); (3) the oath to the Gibeonites (as described in Josh. 9:15 f., 19 f.); (4) the oath concerning strange wives (Ezra 10:2-5); (5) the flying-roll and false swearing (Zech. 5:1-4); (6) the man clothed in linen (Dan. 12:7).

§ 150. **Constructive Work.**—Prepare a statement upon the use of the oath among the Hebrews, taking up the following points: (1) the significance of the usual word translated *swear*, viz., "to come under the influence of *seven* things;" (2) the ritual; (3) the various forms of the oath; (4) its irrevocable character and the penalty of its violation; (5) its sociological basis; (6) the significance of an oath made by the deity; (7) the meaning of the third commandment; (8) the changes in usage which may be noted between the three periods; (9) the attitude of the prophets;³⁰ (10) the representations concerning swearing in the wisdom literature;³¹ (11) the representations in the apocryphal literature;³² (12) the attitude of the New Testament;³³ (13) the use of the oath among the Arabs;³⁴ (14) its use among the Assyrians and Babylonians; (15) its relation to prayer.³⁵

§ 151. Literature to be Consulted.

H. W. PHILLOTT, article "Oath," SMITH'S *Dict. of the Bible* (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); EWALD, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Oath," etc.; SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 70; L. B. TYLOR, article "Oath," *Encyc. Brit.* (1875); W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, pp. 180 ff., 480; F. J. COFFIN, "The Third Commandment," *Journal of Biblical Literature*.

²⁹ References in bold-face type are from the priestly code of laws.

³⁰ See, e. g., Hos. 4:2, 15; 10:4; Amos 4:2; 6:8; 8:7, 14; Isa. 14:24; 19:18; 45:23; 48:1; 54:9; 62:8; 65:16; Ezek. 21:23.

³¹ See, e. g., Eccl. 8:2; 9:2.

³² See, e. g., 1 Macc. 6:61 f.; 7:18, 35; 2 Macc. 14:33-36; Ecclus. 44:21.

³³ See, e. g., Matt. 5:33 ff.; 14:7-9; 23:16 ff.; Mark 6:23, 26; Luke 1:73; Acts 2:30; 23:21; Jas. 5:12.

³⁴ Cf. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*, p. 122; W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, see *Index*, s. v. "Oath."

³⁵ Cf. DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 94 f.

Vol. XIX (1900), pp. 166–88; DUFF, *op. cit.*, Vol. II (1900), see *Index, s. v.* “Oath;” G. FERRIES, article “Oath,” HASTINGS’ *Dict. of the Bible*, Vol. III (1900); DAY, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

SAALSCHÜTZ, *Das mosaische Recht* (1846), pp. 615 ff.; BRUCH, article “Eid,” SCHENKEL’S *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. II (1869); RIEHM, article “Eid,” *Handwörterbuch*; WELLHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 122; SMEND, *op. cit.*, see *Index, s. v.* “Schwur;” NOWACK, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 262 ff.; BENZINGER, *op. cit.*, see *Index, s. v.* “Eid;” FREY, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult* (1898), pp. 108 f.; BENZINGER, article “Eid bei den Hebräern,” *Realencyklopädie*, 3d ed., Vol. V (1898).

§ 152. Supplementary Study on Fasting as a Means for Securing the Divine Mercy and Help.

1. The early period.

Exod. 34:28 (J), *cf.* 24:18 (E); 1 Sam. 7:5 f.; 31:13; 2 Sam. 1:12; 3:35; 12:16–23; 1 Kings 21:9, 12, 27.

2. The middle period.

Deut. 8:3; 9:9, 18–20, 25–29; 10:10; Jer. 14:12; 36:6, 9.

3. The late period.

Judg. 18:17(?); 20:26 ff.; Ezra 8:21–23; 10:6; Neh. 1:4–11; 9:1, 31; Esther 4:1–3, 16; Zech. 7:1–7, 18–23; 8:19; Isa. 58:3 ff.; 1 Chron. 10:12; 2 Chron. 20:3; Joel 1:14; 2:12, 15; Jon. 3:5; Dan. 9:3; Lev. 16:29, 31.³⁶

§ 153. Questions and Suggestions.

Consider (1) the reason assigned by David in 2 Sam. 12:22 for fasting, viz., to secure Jehovah’s pity; (2) the fasting of Moses on Sinai (Exod. 34:28; Deut. 9:9) as a preparation for an important act, the receiving of the law; (3) the fasting of Elijah (1 Kings 19:8 ff.) as a preparation for communion with God; (4) the fasting of the men of Jabesh for Saul (1 Sam. 31:13), and of David for Saul (2 Sam. 1:12), that is, in mourning for the dead (*cf.* 2 Sam. 3:35); and determine the original meaning of the act, *i. e.*, an explanation with which these various cases may be connected; is it to raise the pity of the deity? or in preparation for a sacrificial meal?³⁷

Consider the various cases of fasting cited and note (1) the motive or purpose in each case, *e. g.*, David, Ahab, Nehemiah, Ezra; (2) whether they were private or public (*cf.*, in earlier and middle periods, 1 Kings 21:9 ff.; Isa. 1:13^b (Sept.); Jer. 36:6 ff.) and, in later period, Joel 1:13 f.; 2 Chron. 20:3); (3) the change by which the act becomes spiritualized (*cf.* Ahab’s case, 1 Kings 21:29); (4) the connection between fasting and penitence (*cf.* 1 Sam. 7:6; Neh. 9:1); (5) the

³⁶ This reference is from the Priestly Code.

³⁷ W. R. SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 434.

circumstances which led to greater importance being given to fasting, and the changes in frequency of the act and in meaning which came in the later period; (6) the conception which makes it a "meritorious work," and the prophets' attitude toward this (Isa. 58:3 ff.; Zech. 7:5 f.).

Consider the various occasions on which, in the later period, public fasting was observed and the events thereby commemorated: (1) in the fourth month, the capture of Jerusalem (Jer. 52:6, 7); (2) in the fifth month, the destruction of the temple and city (Jer. 52:12 f.); (3) in the seventh month, the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 41:1 ff.); (4) in the tenth month, the beginning of the siege (Jer. 52:4) (*cf.* Zech. 7:1-7, 18-23); (5) the Day of Atonement (Lev., chap. 16), noting (*a*) that this is the only fast required by the laws, (*b*) that there is no allusion to its observance in any of the historical literature of the Old Testament, (*c*) the purpose of the day, (*d*) its relation to the religious thought and spirit of the later times; (6) the thirteenth of Adar, the case of Haman.

Consider the usage of fasting as referred to (1) in the Psalms;³⁸ (2) in the apocryphal literature;³⁹ (3) in the New Testament;⁴⁰ (4) among other Semitic nations.⁴¹

§ 154. Literature to be Consulted.

SAMUEL CLARK, article "Atonement, Day of," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 367 ff., 372, 402 ff., 431; OEHLER, *Old Testament Theology* (1st ed. 1873, 3d ed. 1891, transl. 1883), §§ 140 f.; EDERSHEIM, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services* (1874), pp. 263-88; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, pp. 110-12; J. S. BLACK, article "Fasting," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IX (1879); KUENEN, *The Hexateuch* (2d ed. 1885, transl. 1886), pp. 86, 312; W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, pp. 303, 388 ff., 433 f.; MONTEFIORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 509 f.; C. J. BALL, article "Fasting and Fasts," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (2d ed. 1893); H. C. TRUMBULL, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (1894), pp. 186, 286 ff., 383; McCURDY, *op. cit.*, §§ 1116, 1118, 1346 n.; S. R. DRIVER AND H. A. WHITE, article "Atonement, Day of," HASTINGS' *Dictionary*, Vol. I (1898); E. E. HARDING, article "Feasts and Fasts," *ibid.*, Vol. I (1898), pp. 862 f.; CHEYNE, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11; M. JASTROW, *op. cit.*, p. 688; BENZINGER AND CHEYNE, article "Atonement, Day of," *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I (1899); BENZINGER, article "Fasting, Fasts," *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II (1901); OTTLEY, *A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period* (1901), pp. 305 f.

³⁸ See, *e. g.*, Pss. 35:13; 69:10; 109:24.

³⁹ See, *e. g.*, 1 Macc. 3:44-54; Ecclus. 34:26.

⁴⁰ See, *e. g.*, Matt. 4:2; 6:16 ff.; 9:14 f.; 17:21; Mark 2:18 ff.; 9:29; Luke 2:37; 5:33 ff.; 18:12; Acts 10:30; 13:2 f.; 14:23; 27:9, 33; 1 Cor. 7:5; 2 Cor. 6:5; 11:27.

⁴¹ See, *e. g.*, the references to the works of W. R. Smith, Wellhausen, Jastrow, and Black cited in § 154.

HOLTZMANN, article "Fasten," SCHENKEL'S *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. II (1869); ORELLI, article "Versöhnungsfest," *Realencyklopädie* (2d ed. 1875); H. OORT, "De groote Verzoendag," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. X (1876), pp. 142-65; D. HOFFMANN, Berliner's *Magazin*, 1876, pp. 1 ff.; DELITZSCH, *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Vol. I (1880), pp. 173-83; J. DERENBOURG, "Essai de restitution de l'ancienne rédaction de Masséchet Kippourim," *Revue des études juives*, No. 11 (1883), pp. 41-80; ADLER, "Der Versöhnungstag in der Bibel, sein Ursprung und seine Bedeutung," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III (1883), pp. 178-84; KUENEN, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. XVII (1883), pp. 207-12; RIEHM, article "Fasten," *Handwörterbuch*, Vol. I (1884); DELITZSCH, article "Versöhnungstag," RIEHM'S *Handwörterbuch*, Vol. II (1884); STADE, *Geschichte*, Vol. II (1888), pp. 182, 258 ff.; BENZINGER, "Das Gesetz über den grossen Versöhnungstag, Lev. XVI," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. IX (1889), pp. 65-88; SCHWALLY, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892), pp. 26 ff.; SMEND, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 319, 330 ff., 396; NOWACK, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 270 ff.; BENZINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 464, 477; DILLMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 184; MARTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 283 f.; BUHL, "Fasten im Alten Testament," *Realencyklopädie*, 3d ed., Vol. V (1898); FREY, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel* (1898), pp. 37, 81-5, 117.

§ 155. Supplementary Study on Consultation with the Deity through Oracles, Urim and Thummim, the Ephod, the Lot.

1. The early period.

- (a) *Oracles*.—Gen. 24:12-14 (J); 25:22 f. (J); Judg. 1:1; 18:5 f.; 1 Sam. 10:22; 14:19, 37; 23:2, 4, 10 ff.; 28:6; 30:7 f.; 2 Sam. 2:1; 5:19, 23 f.; 16:23; 21:1 f.; 2 Kings 8:7 ff.; Numb. 24:3, 15; Isa. 15:1; Amos 2:11, 16.
- (b) *Urim and Thummim*.—1 Sam. 14:41 f.; 28:4-6; 22:10, 13; 23:2, 4, 6, 9-12; 30:7; 2 Sam. 2:1; 5:19, 23 f.; 21:1; Deut. 33:8 (E).
- (c) *The ephod*.—Judg. 8:27a; 17:5; 18:14, 20; 1 Sam. 14:18; 21:9 f.; 23:6, 9 ff.; 30:7 f.; Hos. 3:4.
- (d) *The lot*.—Josh. 16:1 (J); 17:14, 17 (J); Judg. 1:3; 20:9; Isa. 17:14; Mic. 2:5.

2. The middle period.

- (a) *Oracles*.—Mic. 4:6; 5:9; Nah. 2:14; Zeph. 1:2; Ezek. 5:11; 11:8, 21; Jer. 1:8; 2:3.
- (b) *The ephod*.—Deut. 2:28; Judg. 8:27 b.
- (c) *The lot*.—Josh. 18:6, 8, 10 (R^d); Isa. 34:17; Jer. 13:25; Ezek. 24:6; Obad. 11; Nah. 3:10; Deut. 32:9.

3. The late period.⁴²

- (a) *Oracles*.—Joel 2:12; Hag. 1:9; 2:4; Zech. 1:3; 3:9; 10:12; 12:1; Mal. 1:2; Pss. 36:1; 110:1.
- (b) *Urim and Thummim*.—Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8; Numb. 27:21; Ezra 2:63; Neh. 7:65.

⁴² References in bold-face type are from the Priestly Code.

(c) *The lot.*—Lev. 16:8-10; Numb. 26:55 f.; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2 f.; Josh. 14:2; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1, 10, 17, 24, 32, 40, 51; 21:4, 5 f., 8, 10, 40; 1 Chron. 6:54, 61, 63, 65; 16:18; 24:5, 7, 31; 25:8 f.; 26:13 f.; Neh. 10:34; 11:1; Esther 3:7; 9:24; Isa. 57:6; Joel 3:3; Jon. 1:7; Dan. 12:13.

§ 156. Questions and Suggestions.

Examine the various means of consultation with the deity which seem to have been recognized as *legitimate* and *proper*, viz., oracles, Urim and Thummim, ephod, and lot; note the instances cited of each, and consider (1) the various circumstances under which such consultation is held; (2) the underlying motive in each case; (3) the relative frequency in the different periods; (4) the differences (if any) between the usages named; (5) the various senses in which the word *oracle* is used; (6) the different views as to the method of employing the Urim and Thummim; (7) the meaning of the ephod and its use; (8) the place of the lot in connection with religious acts.

Consider whether, with the growth of religious conceptions and the higher ideas entertained of God in later times, the use of these external helps increases or diminishes.

Consider the use of these or similar external helps in consulting the deity, as they may be referred to in (1) the Psalms,⁴³ (2) the wisdom literature,⁴⁴ (3) the apocryphal literature,⁴⁵ (4) the New Testament;⁴⁶ and likewise as they were employed among (5) the Egyptians,⁴⁷ (6) the Assyrians and Babylonians,⁴⁸ (7) the ancient Arabs,⁴⁹ (8) the Greeks and Romans.⁵⁰

§ 157. Literature to be Consulted.

KALISCH, *Exodus* (1855), pp. 540-45; E. H. PLUMPTRE, article "Urim and Thummim," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); W. L. BEVAN, article "Ephod," *ibid.* (1st ed. 1863), revised by J. M. FULLER (2d ed. 1893); KUENEN, *Religion of Israel*, Vol. I (1869 f., transl. 1874), pp. 96-100; W. M. RAMSAY,

⁴³ See, e. g., Pss. 16:5; 22:18; 36:1; 110:1; 125:3.

⁴⁴ See, e. g., Prov. 1:14; 16:33; 18:18; 30:1; 31:1.

⁴⁵ Cf. Wisdom of Solomon 8:8.

⁴⁶ See, e. g., Matt. 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 1:9; 23:34; John 19:24; Acts 1:26; 7:38; 8:21; Rom. 3:2; Heb. 5:12; 1 Pet. 4:11.

⁴⁷ See, e. g., WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, see *Index*, s. v. "Oracle, etc."

⁴⁸ See references to Pinches, Strong, and Jastrow cited in § 157.

⁴⁹ See references to W. R. Smith and Wellhausen cited in § 157.

⁵⁰ See, e. g., WARRE CORNISH, *Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. "Sortes."

article "Oracle," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1875); WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, p. 130; T. G. PINCHES, "The Oracle of Ishtar of Arbela," *Records of the Past*, Vol. XI (1878), pp. 59-72; see also *ibid.*, Vol. V, new series (1891), pp. 129-40; S. F. HANCOCK, "The Urim and Thummim," *Old Testament Student*, Vol. III (1884), pp. 252-56; KÖNIG, *Religious History of Israel* (1885), pp. 107 ff.; W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Oracles, etc.;" KIRKPATRICK, *The First Book of Samuel* (Camb. Bible, 1891), pp. 217 f.; H. E. DOSKER, "The Urim and Thummim," *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1892, pp. 717-30; S. A. STRONG, "On Some Oracles to Esar-haddon and Assurbanipal," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Band II (1894), pp. 627-45; J. F. McCURDY, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Oracles;" G. F. MOORE, *Judges* (International Critical Commentary, 1895), p. 381; HOMMEL, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897), pp. 280 ff.; S. R. DRIVER, article "Ephod," *Hastings' Dictionary*, Vol. I (1898); JASTROW, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Oracles;" T. C. FOOTE, "The Biblical Ephod," *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, XIX, No. 145 (1900), p. 40; O. C. WHITEHOUSE, article "Lots," *Hastings' Dictionary*, Vol. III (1900); W. MUSS-ARNOLT, "The Urim and Thummim," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XVI (1900), pp. 193-224; C. H. PRICHARD, article "Oracle," *Hastings' Dictionary*, Vol. III (1900); G. F. MOORE, article "Ephod," *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II (1901).

BRAUN, *De vestitu sacerdotum* (1698), pp. 462 ff.; BELLERMANN, *Diē Urim und Thummim* (1824); BÄHR, *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus*, Vol. II (1839), pp. 131-41; G. KLAIBER, *Das priesterliche Orakel der Israeliten* (1865); KÖHLER, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte des Alten Testamente*, Vol. I (1875), pp. 349 f.; STEINER, article "Urim und Thummim," SCHENKEL'S *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. V (1875); RIEHM, *Handwörterbuch* (1st ed. 1884, 2d ed. by Baethgen 1893 f.), articles "Ephod" and "Licht und Recht;" KAUTZSCH, article "Urim," *Realencyklopädie* (2d ed. 1885); STADE, *Geschichte*, Vol. I (1887), pp. 466, 471; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*, pp. 126 f., 133, 167, etc.; BAUDISSIN, *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priestertums* (1889), pp. 70 f., 205 ff.; LAGARDE, *Mittheilungen*, Vol. IV (1891), p. 17; SELLIN, *Beiträge zur israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft II (1897), p. 119; WILHELM LOTZ, article "Ephod," *Realencyklopädie*, Vol. V (3d ed., 1898); VAN HOONACKER, *Le sacerdoce lévitique* (1899), pp. 370 ff.

§ 158. Supplementary Study on Consultation with the Deity or Supernatural Powers through Magic, Divination, Sorcery, Witchcraft.

1. The early period.⁵¹

- (a) *Magic and divination*.—Gen. 44:5, 15 (J); Exod. 22:17; Numb. 22:7 (J); 23:23; 1 Sam. 6:2; 28:8; Mic. 3:6 f., 11; Isa. 2:6.
- (b) *Sorcery and witchcraft*.—Exod. 22:18; 1 Sam. 15:23; 2 Kings 9:22.

2. The middle period.⁵²

- (a) *Magic and divination*.—Deut. 18:9-14; Jer. 8:17; 14:14; 27:9; 29:8; Ezek. 12:24; 13:7-9, 23; 21:21 ff., 29; 22:28; 2 Kings 17:17; Isa. 44:25; Mic. 5:12.

⁵¹ References in bold-face type are from the Covenant Code.

⁵² References in bold-face type are from the code of laws contained in Deuteronomy.

- (b) *Sorcery and witchcraft*.—Deut. 18:10; Mic. 5:12; Nah. 3:4; Jer. 27:9; Isa. 47:9, 12; 57:3.
3. The late period.⁵³
- (a) *Magic and divination*.—Josh. 13:22; Lev. 19:26, 31; 20:6, 27; Zech. 10:2.
- (b) *Sorcery and witchcraft*.—Exod. 7:11; Mal. 3:5; 2 Chron. 33:6; Dan. 2:2.

§ 159. Questions and Suggestions.

Examine the various means of consultation with higher powers which seem always to have been regarded as improper and illegitimate, viz., *magic*, *divination*, *sorcery*, and *witchcraft*, noting (1) the various circumstances under which such consultation is held; (2) the underlying motive in each case; (3) the relative frequency in different periods; (4) the various methods thus employed; (5) the external sources of these influences; (6) any internal source from which they may have sprung; (7) the prophetic attitude in the different periods; (8) the explanation of this attitude; (9) the relation of all this to idolatry; (10) the essential element of injury which it contributed; (11) the gradual disappearance, and the occasion of this disappearance.

Consider (1) the significance of references in the Psalms;⁵⁴ (2) in the wisdom literature;⁵⁵ (3) in the apocryphal literature;⁵⁶ (4) in the New Testament.⁵⁷

Consider the use of these methods among (1) the Egyptians;⁵⁸ (2) the ancient Arabs;⁵⁹ (3) the Assyrians and Babylonians;⁶⁰ (4) the Greeks and Romans.⁶¹

§ 160. Literature to be Consulted.

F. W. FARRAR, article "Divination," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 250 ff., 281 ff., 283 ff.; E. B. TYLOR, article "Divination," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. VII (1878); IDEM, article

⁵³ References in bold-face type are from the Priestly Code.

⁵⁴ See, e. g., Ps. 58:5. ⁵⁵ See, e. g., Prov. 16:10.

⁵⁶ See, e. g., Eccl. 34:2-7.

⁵⁷ See, e. g., Acts 8:9, 11; 13:6, 8; 16:16; Gal. 5:20; Rev. 9:21; 18:23; 21:8; 22:15.

⁵⁸ See, e. g., BUDGE, *Egyptian Magic*.

⁵⁹ See, e. g., W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, *Index*, s. v. "Omens," etc.; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heid.*, pp. 135-64.

⁶⁰ See, e. g., LENORMANT, *Chaldaean Magic*; L. W. KING, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*.

⁶¹ See, e. g., E. B. TYLOR, article "Magic," *Encyc. Brit.*

"Magic," *ibid.*, Vol. XV (1883); W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Charms," "Omens," "Magic," "Witches;" SCHÜRER, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 151-5; ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (transl. 1894), see *Index*, s. v. "Magic Art," etc.; MENZIES, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 91, 153; McCURDY, *op. cit.* (1895-1901), §§ 644, 851 n., 858; L. W. KING, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, Being "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand" (1896); T. W. DAVIES, *Magic, Divination and Demonology* (1898); JASTROW, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Magical Texts," "Sorcer, etc.," "Witchcraft;" F. B. JEVONS, article "Divination," HASTINGS' *Dictionary*, Vol. I (1898); O. C. WHITEHOUSE, article "Exorcism," *ibid.*; T. W. DAVIES, article "Divination," *Encyc. Bib.*, Vol. I (1899); E. A. W. BUDGE, *Egyptian Magic* (1899); RAMSAY, *The Expositor*, July, 1899, p. 22; O. C. WHITEHOUSE, article "Magic," HASTINGS' *Dictionary*, Vol. III (1900); DUFF, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, see *Index*, s. v. "Divination;" CHEYNE, article "Exorcists," *Encyc. Bib.*, Vol. II (1901); DAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f., 220, 222; ANDREW LANG, *Magic and Religion* (1901).

BRECHER, *Das Transcendentale, Magie, und magische Heilarten im Talmud* (1850); P. SCHOLZ, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern und den benachbarten Völkern* (1877); MAYBAUM, *Die Entwicklung des israelitischen Prophetenthums* (1883), pp. 7-29; STADE, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 503 ff.; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums* ("Skizzen und Vorarbeiten," III), pp. 126, 135-64, 215; SMEND, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Wahrsagung," "Zauberei;" TALLQVIST, *Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlu* (1894); DILLMANN, *op. cit.*, see *Index*, s. v. "Wahrsager;" ZIMMERN, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (1896, 1899); MARTI, *op. cit.*, p. 45; FREY, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult* (1898), pp. 180, 202; LEHMANN, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*; BLAU, *Das alt-jüdische Zauberwesen*.

§ 161. Supplementary Study on Mourning Customs.

1. The early period.

Amos 1:16; 8:10; Mic. 1:8, 16; Isa. 3:24; 15:2; 22:12; 2 Sam. 3:31; 21:10; 1 Kings 21:27; 2 Kings 19:1 f.; Gen. 37:34(E), 35(J); cf. 1 Kings 20:31 f.

2. The middle period.

Deut. 14:1 f.; Jer. 16:6-8; 41:5; 47:5; 49:3; 48:37; 4:8; 6:26; Ezek. 24:16-17; 29:18; 27:31; 7:18.

3. The late period.

Lev. 19:27 f.; 21:5; Joel 1:8; Jon. 3:5 ff.; Ezra 9:3; Dan. 9:3.

§ 162. Questions and Suggestions.

Study the references given to mourning customs, and note (1) the custom of *weeping* and its significance, in contrast with the modern conception; (2) the more intense expression of grief, termed *wailing*; (3) the beating of the breast, tearing of the hair, rending of clothes, putting on sackcloth, and mutilation of the body, as expressions of mourning; (4) the putting away of food to (or for) the dead (Deut. 26:14); (5) fasting (cf. 1 Sam. 31:13).

Consider, in connection with these customs, (1) to what extent they

are survivals from the age in which ancestor-worship prevailed; (2) to what extent, therefore, they had their origin in the effort to propitiate the spirit of the dead, which was supposed to have power for good or evil, rather than in the desire to express grief for the loss that had been incurred; (3) the reasons for forbidding certain of these customs (*cf.* Deut. 14:1; 26:14; Lev. 19:28); (4) changes which seem to have come about in the progress of history.

Consider the representations made concerning mourning customs in the Psalms,⁶² (2) in the wisdom literature,⁶³ (3) in the apocryphal literature,⁶⁴ (4) in the New Testament,⁶⁵ (5) among other ancient nations.⁶⁶

§ 163. Literature to be Consulted.

THOMSON, *The Land and the Book* (1859), see *Index, s. v.* "Manners and Customs;" H. W. PHILLOTT, article "Mourning," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); MASPERO, *Egyptian Archaeology* (transl. 1887), pp. 108-63; W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, pp. 322 f., 336, 370, 430; A. P. BENDER, "Beliefs, Rites, and Customs of the Jews, Connected with Death, Burial, and Resurrection," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. VI (1893-94), pp. 317-47, 664-71; Vol. VII (1894-95), 101-18, 259-69; ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (transl. 1894), pp. 306-27; E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Mummy* (2d. ed. 1894); H. C. TRUMBLE, *Studies in Oriental Social Life* (1894), pp. 143-208; MENZIES, *op. cit.* (1895), see *Index, s. v.* "Funeral Practices;" JASTROW, *op. cit.*, see *Index, s. v.* "Dead," etc.; PERITZ, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII (1898), pp. 137 f.; T. NICOL, article "Mourning," HASTINGS' *Dictionary*, Vol. III (1900); DUFF *op. cit.*, Vol. II, see *Index, s. v.* "Mourning and Bewailing;" DAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff.; WIEDEMANN, *The Realm of the Egyptian Dead*.

PERLES, "Die Leichenfeierlichkeiten des nachbiblischen Judenthums," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Vol. X (1861), pp. 345-55, 376-94; M. GEIER, *De Ebraeorum luctu lugentiumque ritibus* (3d ed. 1868); ROSKOFF, article "Klage," SCHENKEL'S *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. III (1871); OORT, "De doodenvereering bij de Israeliten," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. XV (1881), pp. 350 ff.; KAMPHAUSEN, article "Trauer," RIEHM'S *Handwörterbuch*, Vol. II (1884); LEHRER, article "Trauer bei den Hebräern," *Realencyklopädie*, Vol. XV (2d ed. 1885); STADE, *Geschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 387 ff.; G. A. WILKEN, *Ueber das Haaropfer* (1886 f.); WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heidenthums* (1887), pp. 159 ff., 178 f.; GOLDZIHER, *Muhammedanische Studien* (1888), Vol. I, p. 248; SCHWALLY, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892); SMEND, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 f.; WELLHAUSEN, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1st ed.

⁶² See, e. g., Pss. 35:14; 38:6; 42:9; 43:2; 88:9.

⁶³ See, e. g., Prov. 29:2; Job 2:11; 5:11; 20:38; Eccles. 3:4.

⁶⁴ See, e. g., Eccl. 7:34; 22:11 f.; 38:16 ff.; 41:1 ff.

⁶⁵ See, e. g., Matt. 2:18; 5:4; 9:15; 11:17; 24:30; Mark 16:10; Luke 6:25; 7:32; 1 Cor. 5:2; 2 Cor. 7:7; Jas. 4:9; Rev. 18:8, 11.

⁶⁶ See especially the references to the works of W. R. Smith, Wellhausen, Menzies, Jastrow, and Trumbull cited in § 163.

1894), p. 143; NOWACK, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 187-98; BENZINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 165 ff., 428; MARTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 40 ff., 116; FREY, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel* (1898); BERTHOLET, *Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode* (1899); KREHL, *Religion der Araber*; F. J. GRUNDT, *Die Trauergebräuche der Hebräer*.

§ 164. Supplementary Study on Circumcision.

1. The early period.

Exod. 4:24 ff. (J); Josh. 5:2 f., 9 (J); Judg. 14:3; 15:18; 1 Sam. 14:6; 17:26, 36; 18:25 ff.; 31:4; 2 Sam. 1:20; 3:14; Isa. 15:2; 32:12.

2. The middle period.

Deut. 10:16; 26:14; 30:6; Jer. 4:4; 6:10; 9:24 ff.; Josh. 5:4-8; Ezek. 28:10; 31:18; 32:19, 21, 24-32; 44:7, 9; Isa. 52:1.

3. The late period.⁶⁷

Lev. 12:3; 19:23 ff.; 26:41; Gen. 17:10-14, 23-27; 21:4; 34:14 f., 17, 22, 24; Exod. 6:12, 30; 12:44, 48; 1 Chron. 10:4.

§ 165. Questions and Suggestions.

Study the references to *circumcision*, considering (1) the more interesting narratives concerning instances of circumcision, *e. g.*, (*a*) Moses' son and Zipporah, (*b*) the circumcision at Gilgal, (*c*) the circumcision of Abraham's family, of Shechem and his family; (2) the characterization of other nations as uncircumcised; (3) the early origin, how shown.

Consider (1) the explanation of the origin which makes it sanitary, *i. e.*, instituted as a preventive of certain diseases; (2) the explanation which connects it with marriage, as thereby promoting fruitfulness; (3) the explanation that makes it a tribal badge, *i. e.*, a mark of initiation into full membership in the tribe (which included religious privileges), and therefore an act of sacramental communion, an act of sacrifice, a dedication.

Consider (1) the place of circumcision in the early period, viz., of young men (*e. g.*, Gen., chap. 34; Josh. 5:2 f.; Exod. 4:25), and as a tribal distinction (*cf.* Gen., chap. 34; Ezek. 31:8); (2) its place in the middle period: (*a*) not mentioned in history or in the older laws, not regarded as important; (*b*) circumcision of heart called for (Jer. 9:24, 25), while the circumcision of Israelites is placed on the same plane with that of Edomites, Ammonites, and other nations; (*c*) the spiritualization by the prophets furnishing the basis for more extended use in the next period;

⁶⁷ References in bold-face type are from the Priestly Code.

(3) its place in the later period: (a) the representations of its origin; (b) the regulations for the performance of the rite; (c) its position as one of the two distinctive ordinances of Judaism, the other being the sabbath; (d) its significance as a rite of purification.

Consider representations concerning circumcision (1) in the apocryphal literature;⁶⁸ (2) in the New Testament,⁶⁹ and the lack of allusion to it in the Psalms and in the wisdom literature. (3) Consider the practice of circumcision among the Egyptians, Arabs, and other nations.⁷⁰

§ 166. Literature to be Consulted.

T. T. PEROWNE, article "Circumcision," SMITH's *Dict. of the Bible* (1st ed. 1863, 2d ed. 1893); EWALD, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-97; SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 192 ff.; II, pp. 7-70; KUENEN, *Religion of Israel* (1869 f., transl. 1874), Vol. I, pp. 238, 290; ASHER, *The Jewish Rite of Circumcision* (1873); E. B. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II (1874), pp. 363 ff.; T. K. CHEYNE, article "Circumcision," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. V (1877); E. B. TYLOR, *Early History of Mankind* (3d ed. 1878), pp. 214-19; KALISCH, *Bible Studies*, Part II (1878), pp. 4-11; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena*, p. 340; RENAN, *History of the People of Israel*, Vol. I (1887, transl. 1894), pp. 104-9; W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Sem.*, p. 328; BANCROFT, *Native Races* (1890), Vol. III, see *Index*; P. C. REMONDINO, *History of Circumcision from the Earliest Times to the Present* (1891); H. C. TRUMBULL, *The Blood Covenant* (1893), pp. 79, 215-24, 351 f.; ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (transl. 1894), pp. 32 f., 539; SCHECHTER, *Studies in Judaism* (1896), p. 343; A. H. SAYCE, *Expository Times*, November, 1897; I. J. PERITZ, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII (1898), p. 136; MACALISTER, article "Circumcision," *HASTINGS' Dictionary*, Vol. I (1898); BENZINGER, article "Circumcision," *Encyc. Bib.*, Vol. I (1899).

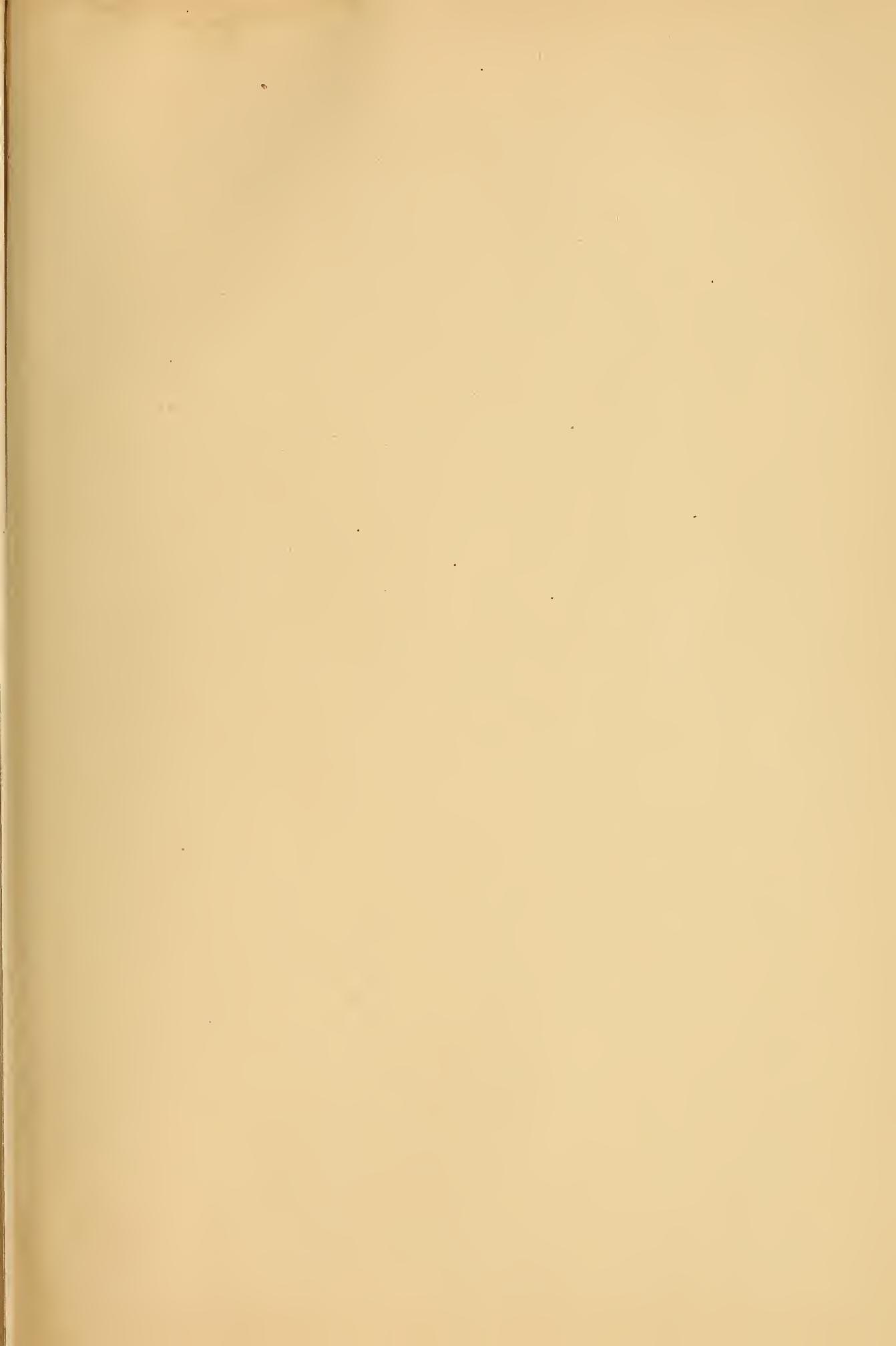
BORHECK, *Ist die Beschneidung ursprünglich hebräisch?* (1793); COHEN, *Dissertation sur la circoncision* (1816); AUTENRIETH, *Ueber den Ursprung der Beschneidung* (1829); LÜBKERT, "Der jüdische ἐπισπασμός," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1835, pp. 657-64; COLLIN, *Die Beschneidung* (1842); S. HOLDHEIM, *Ueber die Beschneidung in religiös. Beziehungen*; BERGSON, *Die Beschneidung* (1844); SALOMON, *Die Beschneidung histor. und medizin. dargestellt* (1844); BRECHER, *Die Beschneidung* (1845); STEINSCHNEIDER, *Ueber die Beschneidung der Araber* (1845); G. EBERS, *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, Vol. I (1868), pp. 278-84; STEINER, article "Beschneidung," SCHENKEL's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Vol. I (1869); AUERBACH, *Berith Abraham, oder, der Beschneidungsfeier* (2d ed. 1880); WEBER, *Die Lehren des Talmud* (1880), p. 373; PLOSS, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker* (2d ed. 1882), pp. 360 ff.; RIEHM, article "Beschneidung," *Handwörterbuch* (1884); STADE, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. VI (1886), pp. 132-43; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heidenthums* (1st ed. 1887), pp. 154, 168, 215; HOLZINGER,

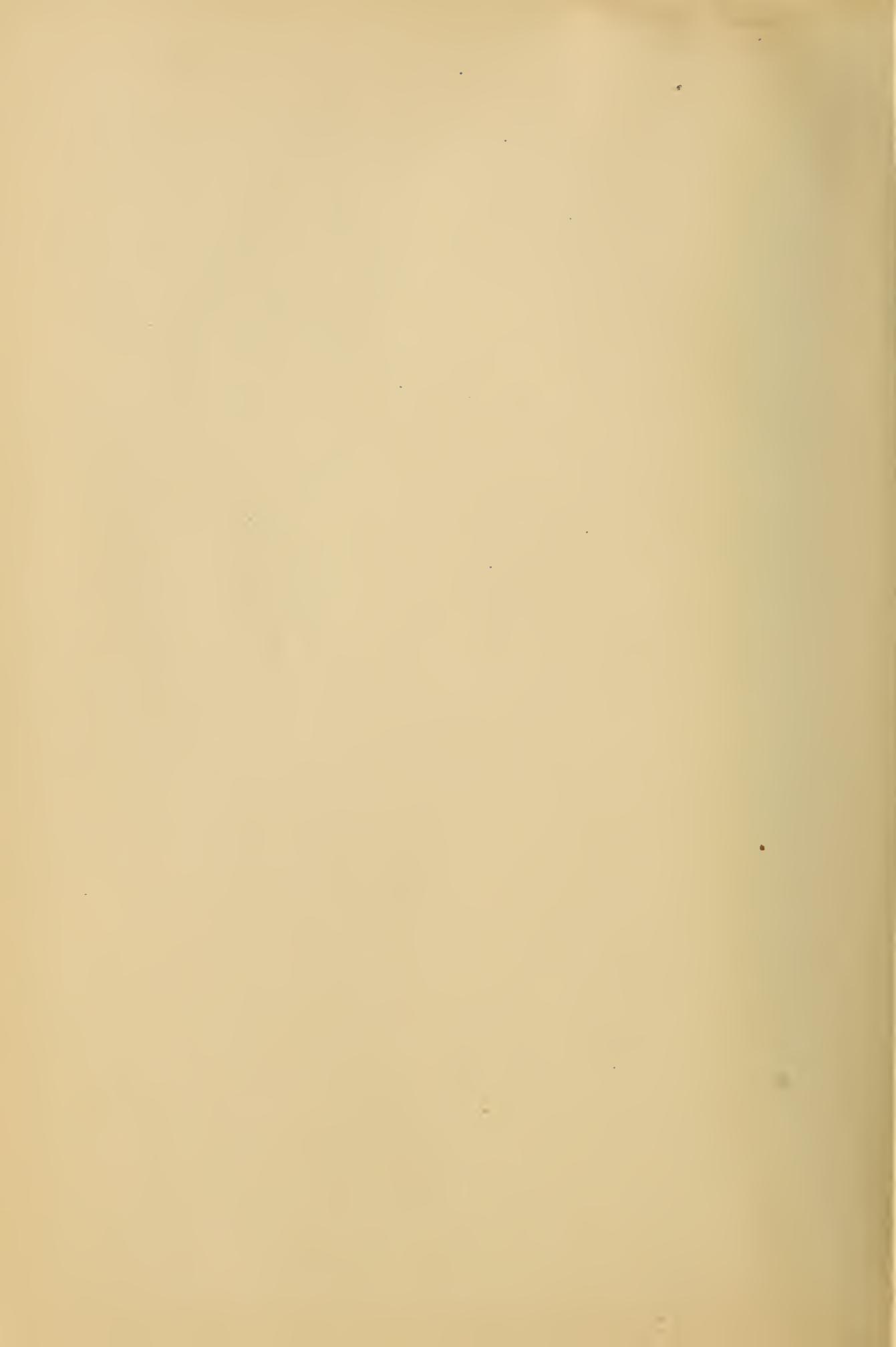
⁶⁸ See, e. g., 1 Macc. 1:14, 48, 60 f.; 2 Macc. 6:10.

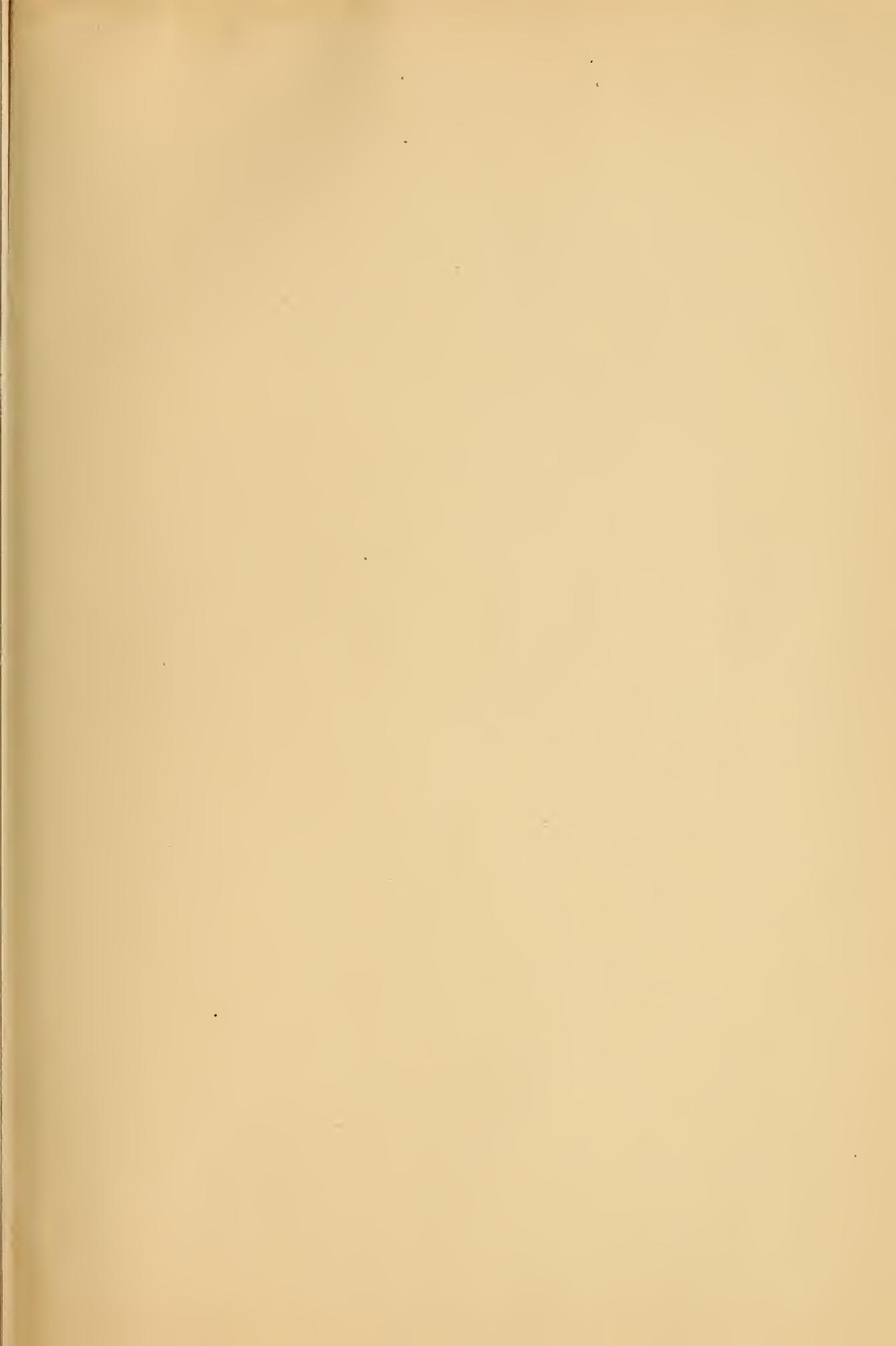
⁶⁹ See, e. g., Luke 1:59; John 7:22 f.; Acts 15:5; 16:3; 21:21; Rom. 2:25 ff.; 1 Cor. 7:18 f.; Gal. 5:2 f.; 6:13; Col. 3:11; Phil. 3:5.

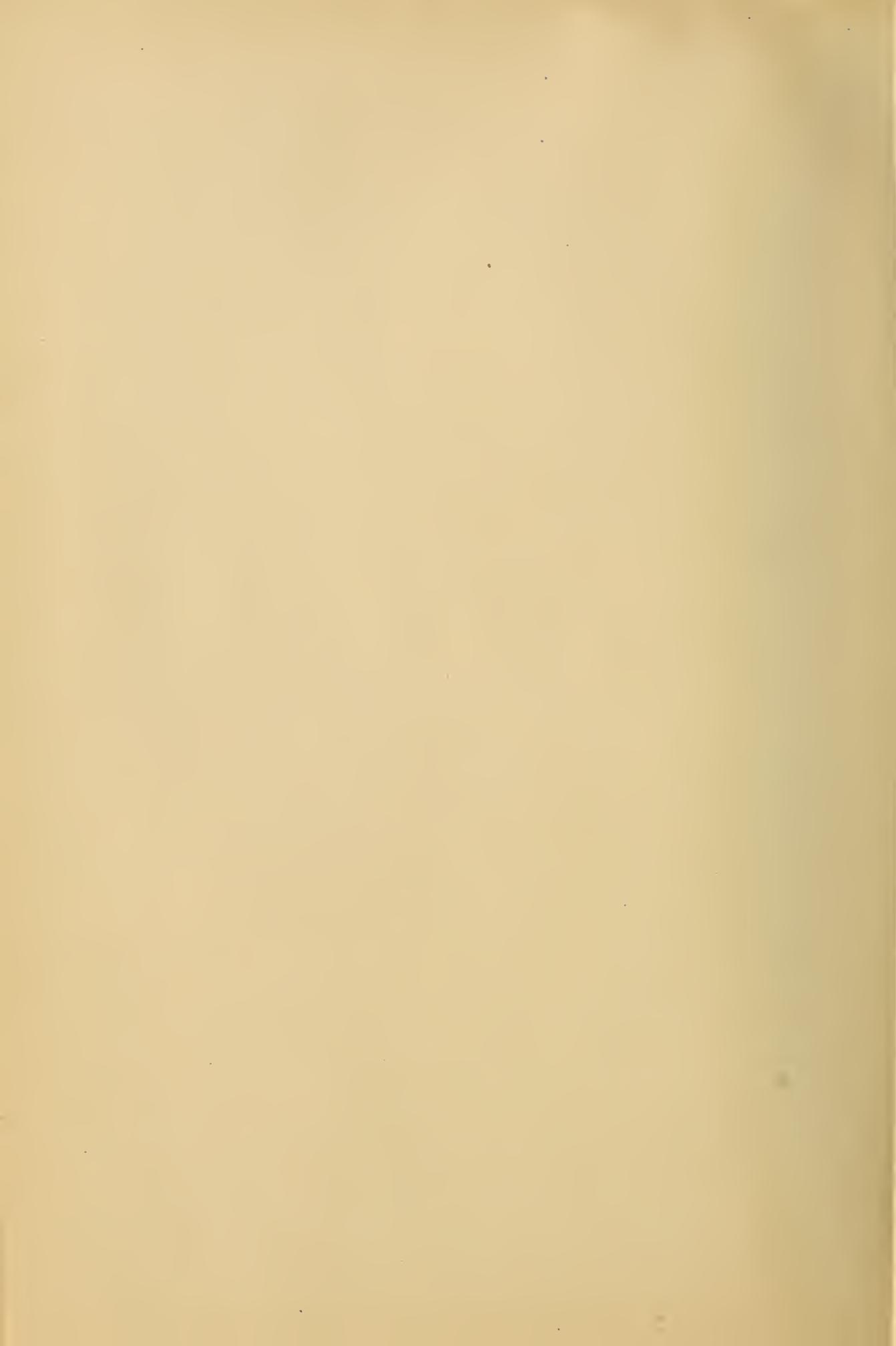
⁷⁰ See especially the references to the works of Tylor, Bancroft, W. R. Smith, Wellhausen, Ploss, Ebers, Erman, and Reitzenstein, cited in § 166.

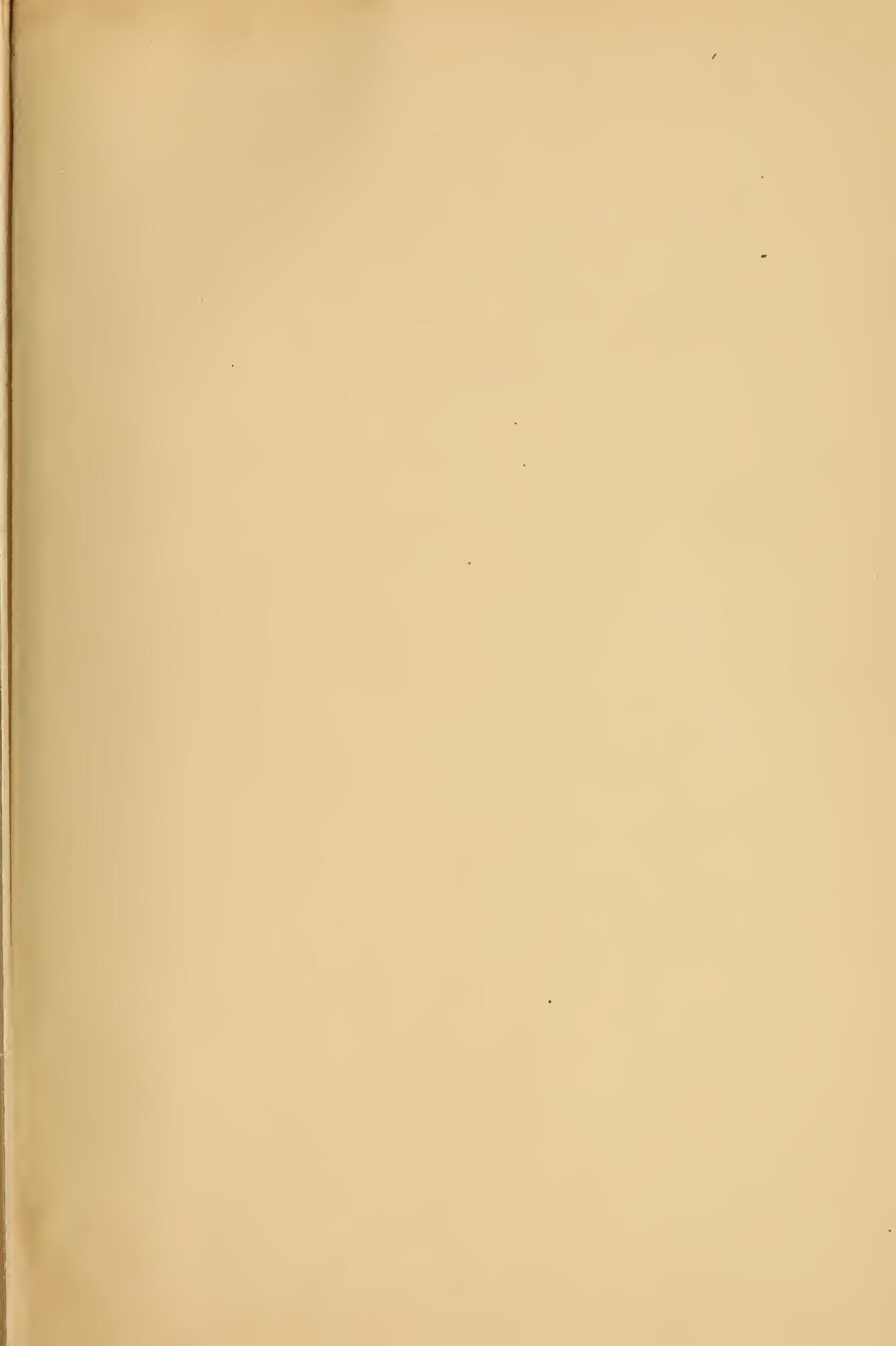
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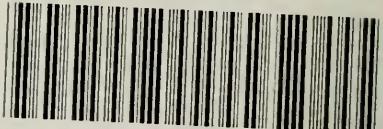
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