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AN
INTRODUCTION
TO
THE OLD TESTAMENT.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE LATIN AND GERMAN WORKS

OF

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY ; AND PROFESSOR OF THE
ORIENTAL LANGUAGES, BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY, ETC.,
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA :

WITH ADDITIONAL REFERENCES AND NOTES

BY

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PROF. OF BIBL. LEARN. AND THE INTERP. OF SCRIPT. IN THE GENERAL
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE PROT. EPIS. CHURCH.

AND

WILLIAM R. WHITTINGHAM, A. M

AN ALUMNUS OF THE SEMINARY

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 5th day of December, A. D. 1827, in the 52d year of the Independence of the United States of America, SAMUEL H. TURNER and WILLIAM R. WHITTINGHAM of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following, to wit :

“An Introduction to the Old Testament, translated from the Latin and German Works of John Jahn, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology; and Professor of the Oriental Languages, Biblical Archæology, etc.. in the University of Vienna: with additional References and Notes by Samuel H. Turner, D. D. Prof. of Bibl. Learn. and the Interp. of Script. in the General Theological Seminary of the Prot. Epis. Church, and William R. Whittingham, A. M. an Alumnus of the Seminary.”

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled “An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned.” And also to an Act, entitled “An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

FREDERICK J. BETTS,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

PREFACE.

IN presenting to the Public the following Introduction, its translators feel confident that no apology is necessary. The extensive knowledge of Dr. Jahn, and the multiplicity and accuracy of his researches, especially on Biblical subjects, are evinced by his numerous publications, some of which are already advantageously known to American readers. To the inquirer after truth, it cannot but be a gratification to know the result of the investigations of such a scholar respecting the various important subjects necessarily comprised in a work of this nature. His treatment of those subjects renders it evident that he has examined for himself; and the instances are few in which there is reason to be dissatisfied with that examination, or with the nature of the judgment founded on it.

It may be necessary, however, to say something of the translation itself. Its basis is a work entitled, 'Introductio in Libros sacros Veteris Foederis, in epitomen redacta a Johanne Jahn, editio secunda emendata, 8vo. *Vienna*, 1814.' Of this an entire translation is given. But as this volume was merely an abridgment, intended for the use of seminaries of learning and the author's own pupils, of his larger work, 'Einleitung in die Göttlichen Bücher des Alten Bundes, 2 Th. 8vo, *Wien*, 1803,' the translators deemed it expedient to add from the latter as largely as it was possible to do, without entering too minutely into unimportant details, and extending their book beyond the limits of an elementary work. Such of these additions as are of no great extent have generally been incorporated into the text, without remark. Others, of more importance, for example many of the sections which give an account of the contents of the different books, have been printed as the text, but enclosed in brackets. But in most instances, the additions from the German have been subjoined to the section in a different type, and enclosed in brackets, with references to the passages of the text to which they are supplementary.*—A considerable number of references on the subjects discussed, and some additional remarks

* The notes at the end of sections, which are *not* in brackets, are so printed in the author's Latin work.

have been made by the translators. These are invariably designated by the letters "Tr.," and enclosed in brackets. This distinction has been scrupulously adhered to, for the purpose of enabling the reader to know with certainty what he may attribute to the author, and for what he may consider the translators as responsible. It will be perceived that the latter have occasionally expressed opinions different from those maintained by the former. They thought it incumbent on them to exhibit his views without attempting to modify or accommodate them to their own, but assumed the privilege of stating their reasons for dissent, leaving it to the reader to decide upon their value. Yet the translators do not consider themselves responsible for every opinion of Dr. Jahn respecting which they have not exercised this privilege. On many points a latitude of opinion is allowable, and almost inevitable, and others require extensive and profound investigation before a correct decision can be formed.

The translators originally intended to divide their task, and to inform their readers of the portion respectively performed by each. But in its progress this was found impracticable, and both may now be considered as responsible for every part, as the whole has been examined and corrected by each.*—Considerable pains have been taken to make the translation accurate, so far as to exhibit a faithful view of the author's meaning, avoiding at the same time his Latin and German constructions. Occasionally, in order to render the sense more plain, a slightly paraphrastic rendering has been given, or more perspicuous passages have been substituted from the German.

The references of Jahn have all been examined anew, and the numerous typographical errors in the originals corrected, while the greatest care has been taken to have them correctly printed in this edition.

To increase as much as possible the utility of the work, a regular table of contents and complete indexes have been substituted for the 'Conspectus Operis' of the Latin work.

New-York, November 30th, 1827.

* In a single instance, a note is distinguished by the initial of the senior translator

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*The following abbreviations have been used
throughout the work.*

B. for Book, or in German titles, Bande.

Th. for Theil.

V. }
Vol. } for Volume.

Tom. for Tomus.

St. for Stuck.

P. for Part. or Pars.

c. for chapter.

v. for verse.

S. for Seite.

p. for page.

pp. for pages.

s. for sequens, *the next*.

ss. for sequentes, *the following*.

f. for folgend, *the next*.

ff. for folgende, *the following*.

comp. }
conf. } for { compare,
confer, *compare*.

anm. for anmerkung, *note*.

O. T. }
A. T. } for { Old Testament,
Alte Testament,
V. T. } { Vetus Testamentum.

A. B. for Alte Bund.

N. T. }
N. T. } for { New Testament,
Novum Testamentum,
Neue Testament.

Einleit }
Einl. } for Einleitung.

Introd. for Introduction.

e. g. for exempli gratia, *for example*.

v. for vide. *See*.

q. v. quod vide, *which see*.

u. s. f. for und so forth, *and so forth*.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SACRED BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

§ 1. *Names of the books of the Old Testament.*[a]

THE books which the *Hebrews*, *Israelites*, or *Jews*, have long venerated as divine, are usually called *THE OLD Testament*, in order to distinguish them from the sacred books of the Christian religion, which are called *THE NEW Testament*. This appellation is taken from II Cor. iii. 6. 14. comp. Mat. xxvi. 28. Gal. iii. 17. Heb. viii. 8. ix. 15—20, where the ancient Latin translators have rendered *διαθηκη* (which signifies both *a covenant* and *a testament* but in the Bible always answers to the Hebrew בְּרִית, *a covenant*) TESTAMENTUM, *a testament*, because, as Jerome remarks, Comm. in Malach. c. ii. 2., they by a Graecism attributed to this word the sense of FOEDUS, *a covenant*. [b] The expression *παλαια διαθηκη* *old covenant*, II Cor. iii. 14., signifies the ancient divine instructions, promises, and threats, and the whole scheme of the Mosaic religion; but as all these, with an account of their effects in the course of time, and of the furtherances and obstructions with which they met, are contained in the books under consideration, the name was by a metonymy transferred to the books, so that VETUS FOEDUS, *old covenant* stands for the books of the old covenant or testament, just as, with a more limited application, סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית occurs Ex. xxiv. 7., and βιβλίον διαθηκης I Macc. i. 57.—The appellation מִקְרָא *the reading book*:

by way of eminence, similar to the Arabic **كُورَان**: KORAN, is applied to the books of Moses, Neh. viii. 8. : by the Rabbins its application is extended to the whole collection of the Old Testament.—So also the name **הַתּוֹרָה**, **הַתּוֹרָה**, **ὁ νομος** *the law*, (by which word the Orientals also express religion itself.) and that of **סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה** *the book of the law* or *of religion*, in the books of the Old Testament designate the books of Moses alone ; but by the more recent Jews they are transferred to all the sacred books, as appears not only from John x. 34. xii. 34. xv. 25. I Cor. xiv. 21., but also from the Talmud, *Sanhedrim*, p. 91. col. 2. compare Wetstenii Nov. Test. P. I. p. 913.—The names **כְּתָב**, **כְּתָב**, **ἡ γραφή** *the scripture*, **αἱ γραφαί** *the scriptures*, **γραφαὶ ἁγίας** *the holy scriptures*, and **ἕξα γραμματα** *the sacred letters*, are often used to express the books of the Old Testament by Flavius Josephus, Philo the Jew, and the Rabbins, and also by the writers of the New Testament ; (II Peter i. 20. Matt. xxii. 29. Rom. i. 2. II Tim. iii. 15. &c.) We, however, apply them collectively to the books of both the Old and New Testaments. Jerome substituted for these expressions that of **SANCTA BIBLIOTHECA**, *the Sacred Library*, which, although it is well adapted to express its object, has yet not been so readily adopted as the name **βιβλία**, *the small books*, by way of eminence; which Chrysostom was accustomed to use.—Concerning the other names of the books of the Old Testament ;—*the Law and the Prophets ; the Law, the Prophets, and the other books ; the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms* (which are the most eminent among the other books ;)—all which arise from the division of the books : see below § 103, and Ecclus. Prologue, I. 1, 2. Matt. v. 17. vii. 12. xi. 13. xxii. 40. Luke xvi. 16.[c]

[a] Comp. Eichhorns Einleitung in das A. T. viert. Aus. Goett. 1823, Th. I. § 6. *Tr.*]

[b] On this use of the word **διαθήκη** see PRITHI Introd. in N. T. c. ii. p. 8. s. ed. Hoffm., and ROSENMUELLER de vocabuli **διαθήκη** in libris N. T. vario usu, in KUINOEL, RUPERTI, AND VELTHUESEN Commentat. Theol. Vol. II. *Tr.*]

[c] On the subject of this section see LARDNER, *History of the Apostles* &c. Vol. I. pp. 1—18. ; MICHAELIS Diss. quâ nomina, numerus, divisio et ordo librorum V. T. sistuntur, *Halae*, 1743. ; SUICERI Thesaur. in vocabulis **ἁγίας γραφῆς** et **διαθήκης**. *Tr.*]

§ 2. *Importance of the books of the Old Testament.*

1. Jesus has not only approved of these books as of the greatest utility and credibility, and made them the foundation of his doctrine, but also very frequently cites them in express terms, as testimony of the highest authority, as in Mat. vii. 12. xi. 13—15. xxii. 37—43. Lu. xvi. 16. s., 29. s. Jo. v. 39. s., 46. x. 35., and in other places, but especially Mat. v. 17. 18. where he says he did not come to abolish the law and the prophets i. e. the books of the Old Testament, but to complete or make them perfect: comp. גמרא and גמרא in

BUXTORFII Lex. Chald. Talm. Rab. col. 450. 452.—Wherever he speaks of his own exalted dignity he establishes it upon these books, as Mat. xi. 13. compare Lu. i. 31—33. xxiv. 25—27, 44—47. John v. 39., but especially Mat. xxvi. 63. s. where, being adjured by the judge, he affirms upon oath that he is the person who in these sacred writings was promised to come as the Messiah. This declaration he confirmed by shedding his blood upon the cross, so that it can by no means be supposed to have been a mere accommodation to the opinions of the Jews; since no accommodation can be conceived less suited to its purpose than that which not only alienated from the speaker the people to whom it is supposed to have been adapted, but also accelerated his death.[a]

II. The Apostles and Evangelists constantly cite these books in proof of their doctrine; e. g. Acts iii. 18—21. xxviii. 25. I Pet. i. 11. II Pet. i. 19. ii. 21. I Cor. x. 6. Rom. xv. 4. They also delivered them to the churches which they founded, as a sacred treasure of religious instruction, and ordered them to be read in public worship. Paul, by no means a partizan of the Mosaic rites says II Tim. iii. 15. s., that these books are able to make Christians wise unto salvation, and thoroughly to instruct the ministers of the church in her doctrine. No one would write in this manner, were his object merely to accommodate himself to the erroneous opinions or manner of speaking of the people.[b]

III. The primitive church, under the teaching of the apostles and their disciples, or but little removed from them, constantly maintained the same opinion, and separated the Gnostics, the Marcionites, and the Manichees from her communion, because they contemptuously

rejected these sacred books, in defence of which several of the earliest fathers wrote against their opponents.

IV. These books recommend themselves, not only by their great antiquity going back to sixteen centuries before the Christian æra [c] but also by their contents; of which it will be necessary to treat more at length.

[a] See GESSNER's *Jesus der verheissene Messias*, Zurich, 1798; and STORR, *über den Geist des Christenthums*, in FLATT's *Magazin für Chr. Dogm. und Mor.* I. St. S. 111—169.]

[b] See KLEUKER *Tractat. de nexu qualis constet inter utrumque divinæ constitutionis fœdus prophetico.* Helmstadt, 1792.]

[c] The most ancient of them are between six and seven hundred years older than Homer, the oldest Greek poet, who lived in the 9th century before Christ; and about eleven hundred years older than Herodotus, the earliest Grecian historian, who wrote in the 5th century before Christ, and near the time when Malachi and Nehemiah composed the last of the Hebrew scriptures. This great antiquity must render these writings in the highest degree attractive and full of instruction, even though the Yajur Veda of the Hindoos should be yet older, as Sir William Jones, in his preface to the *Institutions of Menu*, asserts, but has not proved. His arguments rest upon uncertain genealogies, upon conjectures, and upon rash conclusions, and after all only tend to show that the Veda was composed in the year 1580, B. C., which, according to the most accurate computation, was the 24th year of the journeying of the Hebrews in Arabia Petrea, consequently, exactly the age in which Moses wrote his books.]

§ 3. *Contents of the books of the Old Testament.*

The principal points in the contents, in respect of which these books excel all others, are the following.—1) The maintenance of the doctrine concerning the true God in those ancient times when all the world worshipped creatures and vain devices.[a]—2) The doctrine of the dignity of man, and of his relation to God as the creator and governor of the world, and the benefactor and judge of men: also a system of morality, such as may in vain be sought for among other ancient nations.—3) Miracles and prophecies entirely unexampled. Many, it is true, have written and do still write against these miracles and prophecies; yet none can deny that they far excel all those of which the heathens boast. They are not only free from all superstition, and of a nature and magnitude worthy of the

DEITY, but moreover they all tend to one object, the giving evidence that certain men were sent by the omnipotent and omniscient God, the ruler of the world, to the end that by their instructions the knowledge of God and true religion might be preserved and handed down to a remote posterity, by whom it should be propagated to other nations ; and, in reality, was at length so propagated.—4) A history, commencing with the creation and the existence of the first man, and carried down to a period but little anterior to Christ ; containing many points of doctrine and many salutary precepts, and showing, among other things the perils which the knowledge of God underwent among the Israelites themselves and the measures which were taken by the DEITY for its preservation among men.[c]—5) Lastly, a design of the most extraordinary kind ; which after having been proposed in the most ancient writings and declared with gradually increasing clearness in those that followed was at last, in the New Covenant, carried into effect in a most wonderful manner. The nature of this design is such, that men left to themselves could neither have at first invented such an one, nor have carried on in such a manner its progressive development nor at last have thus produced its full accomplishment. For not only were all its greater events predicted, and every prediction exactly fulfilled ; but even in the time of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (Gen. xii. 1—4. xv. xvii. 4—14. xviii. 16—22. xxii. 18. xxvi. 1—4. xxviii. 12—18.) twenty-two centuries before Christ, when polytheism and idolatry were predominating throughout the world, a prospect was afforded of those latter times, in which, by means of the posterity of those patriarchs, a saving knowledge of God should be propagated among all nations. At length, sixteen centuries before Christ, when the posterity of Jacob themselves had become contaminated with idolatrous superstition in Egypt, a theocracy, or government by which God became the civil ruler of the people, was established by the agency of Moses in that nation which had been chosen for the preservation and propagation of the true religion. This was afterwards preserved throughout all the numerous vicissitudes which the nation underwent notwithstanding the frequent and strong endeavours of the people, and, in course of time, of the kings with all their regal power, to abolish and destroy it. When at last the nation, having become idolatrous,

was carried away into heathen lands, partly by the Assyrians and partly by the Chaldeans and nothing else could be expected than that, surrounded by idolaters it should become wholly idolatrous ; on the contrary warned by their adversity the Hebrews became sincere worshippers of God and were brought back as Moses and after him many of the prophets had predicted from the foreign lands in which they had been dispersed to Palestine more than ever confirmed in their own religion. From that time they could no more be seduced from their religion by contempt and ignominy, nor even by bitter persecutions and torturing deaths until the time when the early promises, which had been continually confirmed, enlarged and variously represented by the prophets, were fulfilled, and the knowledge of God was spread among the various nations of the earth.[d]

[a) The whole ancient world was devoted to superstitious rites, and the adoration of an innumerable multitude of gods and goddesses. In somewhat later times, the philosophers themselves partly founded systems, either Atheistical or leading to Atheism ; partly taught Pantheism, or at any rate by their doctrine of emanations brought the Creator of the world almost to a level with the world itself. In their clearest views they acknowledged only an architect of the universe, but no creator ; and had no correct notions of his attributes or relations to mankind. They did not worship him, as St Paul remarks, but always, as we find from their writings, supported and recommended the worship of the gods. At this very time, when the true knowledge of God existed nowhere else, we find throughout the sacred books of the Hebrews a correct doctrine concerning the true God ; who is there represented as the creator and governor of the world, and as the benefactor and judge of men. In the most ancient times, it is true, this doctrine was accommodated to the childhood and the narrow comprehensions of men, who as yet had attained but a slight degree of cultivation, and was accordingly brief, adapted to the perception of the senses, and figurative : nevertheless, in the fundamental ideas it was always accurate and true. As the world advanced in cultivation, this doctrine was continually developed, applied, and more accurately expressed ; so that, as in the laws of Moses, in the book of Job, and in the Psalms, all the attributes of God, and his relations to the world and to men, are plainly exhibited, without any admixture of the doctrines of Pantheism, of emanations, of the eternity of matter, or of subordinate deities : rocks upon which the most sharp-sighted sages of antiquity have split, in their researches on this subject. The providence of God in particular, of which so little was known with

certainty among other ancient nations, is here, through every book, and throughout the whole course of the history, set in the clearest light. If a person had never heard of the sacred books of the Hebrews, and after having read the ancient writings of other nations, should for the first time take up the Holy Scriptures, he would undoubtedly be struck with astonishment at this doctrine concerning God, and be filled with reverence and esteem.—See LELAND on the advantage and necessity of Revelation; LESS über Religion, I. Th. S. 1—95. 243—467; NIEMAYER, Charakteristik der Bibel, III. Th. S. 94—124. 210—254; LUEDERWALD, Untersuchung einiger Zweifel über die Aufrichtigkeit und Gottlichkeit Mosis, 1782, S. 102—116; HASSENKAMP, die Israeliter die aufgeklärteste nation des Alterthums in der Erkenntniss der Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit Gottes. *Leipzig*, 1790.]

[*b*) Man appears, even in the very beginning of these books, in all his dignity, as the image of God. In consistency with this view, they enjoin respect even to foreigners and slaves, who in all other nations were held in very little estimation: Gen. i. 26. s. v. 1, 3. ix. 6, compare Lev. xix. 33. s. xxiv. 10, 22. xxv. 39—41. Num. xv. 15. Ps. viii. 5—10. The system of morality given in these books is the best that can be found in the whole ancient world, extending even to the internal thoughts and inclinations; Exod. xx. 17. Deut. vi. 4—9. x. 12. xi. 1, &c. The whole of the religion which they contain tends to the moral perfection of men, and even the numerous religious customs, which were adapted to the existing state of character, and could not be otherwise without a complete failure of the purpose for which they were instituted, were justly estimated as means of exciting attention, and never made objects of principal concern: Deut. vi. 4—9. x. 12—xi. 11. xxx. 20. I Sam. xv. 22. Hos. vi. 6. Mic. vi. 6—8. Isa. i. 11—13. lviii. 1—14. Ps. xl. 6—10. li. 16—19. &c. Even the prayers which occur are not offered for unworthy objects, but for the most part aim immediately at the excitement of pious affections, and the acquisition of knowledge and power to lead a virtuous life, as is especially evident in the Psalms. See, for examples, Ps. i. viii. xv. xix. xxv. xxvi. cxix. &c. Jesus professedly founds the morality of his own system upon these books, when he affirms, Matt. vii. 12. xxii. 36—40. that the whole contents of the Law and the Prophets, i. e. of all the books of the Old Testament, is “Thou shalt love the LORD thy GOD with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” This is actually the centre to which every thing in the religion of these books is directed, and consequently the station from which all must be viewed. He who has taken this stand will be no more scandalized at the curses against enemies which occur in the Psalms, than he would be at hearing that the best of princes had put his name to much greater curses

namely, to the death-warrants of criminals; or that he had ordered the effigy and title of a fugitive malefactor to be affixed to the gallows. He who can maintain that all this system of religious doctrine and worship was designed, not for the promotion of morality, but for political purposes, (KANT, *Religion innerhalb der grenzen der bloßen Vernunft*, S. 176,) must have merely looked, in a careless manner, at scattered portions of these books, and must also have judged them by a standard of morality too rigid for observation by any but perfect beings.—Comp. GARVE *Uebersicht der Vernehmsten Principien der Sittenlehre*, 1798, S. 274—279; LUEDERWALD, *Untersuchungen einiger Zweifel*, S. 116—119; NIEMAYER, *Charakteristik der Bibel*, Th. III. S. 254—302; STAEUDLIN, *Comm. de Legis Mosaicæ momento*, *Goettingæ*, 1795—1797, and *Theologiæ Moralis Hebræorum ante Christum Historia*, in *Comm. Theol.* ed. a VELTHUESEN, T. II. p. 360—394; MICHAELIS, *Moral*, B. III. 1799. S. 59—416; *Kurzer abrisz der Geschichte des Moral des Hebr.* von R. 1800; FLATTS *Apologie der Mosaischen Religion*, im *Magazin für Christl. Dogm. und Moral.* Th. III. S. 76—132; BERGER, *Practische Einleitung ins A. T.* 2 Theile. 1779, 1800, *Leipzig*]

[c] Among the many things worthy of notice in this history, one in particular perpetually forces itself upon our observation, namely, how difficult it was in ancient times to attain to the knowledge of the true GOD: this had been remarked by Plato, who says, (*Timæus*. Tom. III. Opp. p. 28.) that it is difficult to find out GOD, and yet more difficult to make him known. It was only by a long succession of ordinary and extraordinary preparations and events, that the Hebrews were brought to remain steadfast in the worship of the true GOD. Even as late as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and of the Maccabees, the more cultivated Hebrews, who had become acquainted with the Grecian religion and philosophy, made open and rapid advances to the introduction of idolatry. Their subtle and violent attempts, although unsuccessful, on account of the resistance of the better disposed part of the nation, will yet remain a perpetual monument of the great truth, that the knowledge of the true GOD was not so light a thing in the old world, where all believed in a plurality of gods, as we are accustomed to think it at the present day, when 800 millions of the inhabitants of the earth profess his worship.]

[d] It is this general extension of the fundamental principles of religion, presenting them so nearly and familiarly to our view, which prevents many from observing and prizing this inestimable benefit, received from the sources mentioned in the preceding section. They overlook its value because it has been so familiar to them from their youth up.—Comp. HESS, *vom Reich Gottes*, 2 Th. 8., especially the preface to the first volume; and JACOBI, *Abhandlungen über wichtige Gegenstände der Religion*. III. Th. S. 178. ff.]

[On the subjects of the whole of this section, see an excellent dissertation by ТХОЛУСК, entitled *Hints on the study of the Old Testament*, of which a translation by Professor Patton has been published in Hodge's *Biblical Repertory*, Vol. III. No. 3. pp. 364—426. *Tr.*]

§ 4. *What is meant by an Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament.*

Since Jesus and his Apostles valued these books so highly and since their antiquity is so great and their contents are so excellent, it is of great importance to inquire, by what authors and at what times they were written; whether they have come down to us incorrupt; whether they are worthy of belief and on what foundation their authority rests; by what means we may be enabled to understand them; what external and internal vicissitudes they have undergone; and how the errors which perchance have crept in may be corrected. Such a *critical examination of the history of the books of the Old Testament, to the end that they may be rightly valued, and correctly handled and understood*, is called AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, which, inasmuch as it comprises particulars common to all these books, or such as are peculiar to each individual book, is called either GENERAL OR PARTICULAR.

§ 5. *Particulars relating to the Literary History of Introductions to the Old Testament.*

The ancient ecclesiastical writers, especially those who answered the adversaries of the books of the Old Testament have constantly examined this history of the books, and yet have never professedly written on the subject. AUGUSTIN was the first who collected the materials of this kind which then existed with additions of his own, into a separate work, which he did in his books on Christian doctrine (*de doctrina Christiana*.) He was afterwards followed by others, among whom MARCUS AURELIUS CASSIODORUS (A. 562), who published *Institutio divinarum Scripturarum* was pre-eminent.—In the age of Scholastic Theology, whatever related to the history of the sacred books was considered as appertaining to the rudiments of Theology, and for that reason treated of in the preliminaries (*prolegomena*) to that science. At length, when the study of the Scriptures

revived, many Introductions, Keys, Annotations, Prologues, Prolegomena, Prefaces, Disquisitions, Essays, and Biblical Apparata appeared. Most of these works related to the books of both the Old and New Testaments. The following are among the principal.—The *Bibliotheca Sacra* of SIXTUS SENENSIS was published at Venice, in 1566, in two volumes folio, and often reprinted.[a] It was in everybody's hands, until in 1636 the *Officina Biblica* of MICHAEL WALTER appeared at Leipzig. This was in its turn surpassed and superseded by the *Thesaurus Philologicus*, or *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ* of JOHN HENRY HOTTINGER, printed at Zurich in 1649; a work which is even yet useful, on account of its extensive collections from Christian, Jewish, and Oriental writings.—The *Prolegomena* to the *London Polyglott*, printed in 1657, surpasses all the older productions of this sort, for which reason it has been printed separately even so late as 1723 and 1777.—To these the *Philologus Ebræus* of JOHN LEUSDEN, printed at Utrecht, in 1656, and his *Philologus Ebræo-mixtus*, printed at the same place in 1663, are inferior. They are, however, much excelled by the *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* of RICHARD SIMON, published at Paris in 1678; an excellent work, which nevertheless has had many adversaries.[b]—The genuineness only of the books of the Old Testament is treated of in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of PETER DANIEL HUET, bishop of Avranches, which was published at Paris in 1681.—An Introduction to the Old Testament is combined with a system of Archaeology in the *Apparatus Biblicus* of BERNARD LAMY, which was published in the French language at Grenoble in 1687, and has since been translated into Latin, and several times reprinted.[c]—The limits of an Introduction are better observed in the *Dissertation préliminaire, ou Prolegomenes sur la Bible*, of LOUIS ELLIES DU PIN, published at Paris in 1701; [d] and in HUMPHRY HODY's *Libri quatuor de textibus Bibliorum originalibus folio*, *Oxford*, 1705.—The *Dissertations qui peuvent servir de Prolegomenes de l' Ecriture Sainte* of AUGUSTIN CALMET, published in 1715 and 1720, and since translated into several languages, treat of various subjects in which accurate and acute judgment is wanted.

A new epoch was commenced by JOHN GOTTLÖB CARPZOV, in his *Introductio ad libros Canonicos Veteris Testamenti*, published at Leip-

zig in 1721, and in his *Critica Sacra*, printed at the same place in 1728. His steps were followed by JOHN GOTTFRIED EICHHORN in his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, of which the third edition appeared in three volumes in 1803.* The *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des Alten Bundes* of JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS, published in 1737, comprises only the books of Moses and Job.—LEONARD BERTHOLDT has collected the different opinions of modern critics in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung ins Alte und Neues Testament*, *Erlangen*, 1812—1814, 6 Th. 8vo.[e]

Many separate pieces relating to an Introduction to the books of the Old Testament may be found in the modern periodical publications, such as JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS'S *Orientalischer exegetischer Bibliothek*, 24 vols. 8vo. from 1771 to 1785: his *Neuer Orientalischer und exegetischer Bibliothek* 9 vols. from 1786 to 1793: JOHN GOTTFRIED EICHHORN'S *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur*, 18 vols. from 1777 to 1786: his *Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblische Litteratur*, 1787—1802: EBERL. GOTTL. PAULUS *Neue Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur*, 3 vols. and his *Memorabilien*, in 8 parts: and HENKE'S *Magazin für Religionsphilosophie und Kirchengeschichte*, 1793—1803.

[a] The edition printed at Leyden in 1580 and again in 1591, is valuable on account of the corrections and additions of JOHN HAX. The last edition, printed at Naples in 1742, deserves notice on account of its being dedicated by its editor the Dominican MILANTA, to Benedict XIV, who accepted the dedication although the book, on account of many of its opinions, and especially on account of its numerous corrections of the fathers, was disliked by many theologians.]

[b] The three editions of this work printed at Amsterdam by the Elzevirs are very incorrect. From one of these a Latin translation was made by NOEL AUBERT DE VERSE, which was printed at Amsterdam, in 1681. The Rotterdam edition of the *Histoire Critique* of 1685, corrected by Simon himself, is far superior to any of the others.] [Simon's work has been translated into English (*London*, 4to. 1682) but by a person very incompetent to the task.—Among the opponents of Simon, Dupin, De Viel, Le Clerc, and Spanheim, were the most conspicuous. See ROSENMUELLER *Handbuch für die Litteratur der Biblische Kritik und Exegese*, I. Th. S. 115—137. *Tr.*]

[* The fourth at Goettingen in 5 vols. in 1823. *Tr.*]

[c] An English translation of this work has also gone through several editions. *Tr.*]

[d] It has also been translated into English, and published under the title of Dupin on the Canon, *London*, 1699, folio. *Tr.*]

[e] Michaelis and Eichhorn, in the works mentioned by Jahn, first began to give the reins to that spirit of hypercriticism which has since so greatly affected the biblical criticism of Germany. SEMLER in his *Apparatus ad liberalem Veteris Testamenti interpretationem*, *Hala*, 1773, and his *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanon*. 4. Th. *Halle*, 1771—1775, had prepared the way for the doubts and conjectures of Michaelis and Eichhorn and their followers. BAUER in his *Entwurf einer Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, *Nurimberg & Altorf*, 1794, and in his *Critica Sacra and Hermeneutica Sacra*, *Leipzig*, 1795, 1797, ably followed up their principles. AUGUSTI, *Grundriss einer Historisch-kritische Einleitung ins Alt. Test.* *Leipz.* 1806, and DE WETTE, *Beyträgen zur Einleitung in A. T.* 2 Th. *Halle*, 1806-7, and *Lehrbuch der Hist. krit. Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphischen Bücher des A. T.*, *Berlin*, 1817 (2d ed. 1822) are the principal late writers of a similar character. The advances to scepticism have been considerably retarded by the productions of JAHN, (*Einleitung in die Göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes*, 2. Th. *Wein*, 1802, 2te. aufl., and *Introductio in libros sacros Veteris Fœderis in compendium redacta*, *Viennae*, 1805, ed. 2da. 1815.) and in some respects by the work of BERTHOLDT, who is far from going to the lengths of Augusti, Vater, De Wette, Gesenius, and some other modern German critics.—To use the expression of De Wette, ‘the English also have at last done something in this way,’ in the learned and voluminous work of the Rev. T. H. HORNE, entitled ‘An Introduction to the critical Study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures’ published in 3 vols. 8vo. *London*, 1821. and much enlarged in three subsequent editions in 4 vols. 8vo. the last of which is dated 1823. It has also been republished in 4 vols. 8vo. at Philadelphia, 1825. An abridgment published in 12mo. 1826, has already appeared in a second and improved edition at London, and proposals have been issued for a second edition in this country.

For full lists of the various introductions to the Old Testament and of their principal editions, see JAHNS *Einleit.* Th. I. S. 21—29, and DE WETTES *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritisches Einleitung*, § 6. S. 4—7. For historical notices of this branch of criticism, see ROSENMUELLERI *Historia Interpretationis*, 5 tom. 12mo. *Lips.* 1795—1814, *passim*, and AMMON’S Preface to his edition of ERNESTI *Institutio Interpretis Nov. Test.*—*Tr.*]

PART I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT ARE GENUINE, INCORRUPT, AND
WORTHY OF CREDIT.

§ 6. *The question whether the books of the Old Testament are genuine or spurious, is of the greatest importance.*

IF the books of the Old Testament were not written *by those authors to whom they are attributed, or nearly in those ages to which they are supposed to belong* [a] but on the contrary, were composed by other persons at a much more recent period—in one word, if they were *spurious*, the history contained in them would be much less worthy of belief; that plan which so completely pervades all the books, might have been foisted into the history at a later period; the ancient miracles recorded, might have been invented in a recent age, or made up by an alteration of natural events; the prophecies might have been forged after the occurrence of the events which they seem to predict; and in fine, Jesus and his apostles would have approved of the works of impostors. Hence it appears of how great moment is the question, whether these books are *genuine*, i. e. whether they *were written by the authors whose productions they profess to be*, and (which is particularly important when the author of any book is unknown) *at those times to which they are attributed*.

[a) Although the determination of the age of a book is always important in the investigation of its genuineness, whether the author be known or not, yet to do this accurately is not always possible. Often, even when the author of a book is known, the numerous difficulties in chronology, and the disagreement of chronologers, render it impossible to fix its date with certainty. But when the author of a work is unknown, or when he gives no determinate indications of the time in which he lived, and there is no other credible testimony on this point, the evidence which can be collected from the contents of his work very seldom suffices to designate with accuracy the time in which the book itself was written. In examining the genuineness of the sacred books, therefore, we must be content, as is the case with respect to profane authors, when we can *nearly* ascertain the time of their composition. For instance, if the author of the Pentateuch is found to be the same Moses, whom he professes to be, the leader of the Israelites from Egypt to the promised land, it matters not whether the events in which he was concerned took place two or three hundred years earlier or later. Consequently, the work itself may have been written two or three centuries earlier or later and yet be equally genuine; just as the poems of Homer and Hesiod are equally genuine, whether, with some chronologers, we place those writers in the 10th century before Christ, or with others in the 9th, or even in the 8th. But if the author of the Mosaic books were found to be a Moses different from the leader and lawgiver of the Hebrews, and to have lived some time after the conquest of Canaan, and to have published these writings of his own in the name of the more ancient Moses, then these books would be spurious; just as the history of Herodotus, who flourished at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (444 B. C.) would be spurious, if it had been written (as Jacob Gautier has supposed) by another Herodotus, who did not live before the time of Constantine the Great.]

§ 7. *The nature of the arguments used to prove the genuineness of books.*

At what time and by what author, any book may have been written, is a question of *fact* which can only be decided by *historical proofs*. *Historical proofs* consist of the *testimony of witnesses* against whom no exception can be taken, competent to know and willing to declare the truth and of *tokens* observable in the contents, language, style, and character of the book in question, which show it to be the production of a certain author, or at least of a certain age. The former is called *external evidence*: the latter *internal evi-*

Jence. The two united are abundantly sufficient to prove the genuineness of any ancient profane writing, and by parity of reason nothing more can be required in the present question.

§ 8. *Testimony to the genuineness of the books of the Old Testament.*

I. Those who were coeval with each Hebrew writer, and copied the book received from his own hands and afterwards furnished their copies to others for transcription certainly knew by what author and at what time the book was published; and these persons by handing down this book with definite marks of its author and age to their successors, and they again by transmitting it to their posterity, and so on from one to another through all subsequent ages, gave their testimony that it really belonged to the author and age to which it made pretensions.

II. This tradition would be the more easily propagated with fidelity, especially in the remote ages in which the first books of the Old Testament were written, on account of the scarcity of books, which rendered it less difficult to retain the memory of their origin. Besides, it was not communicated by learned men, who obscure the truth by the multiplicity of their conjectures, to their disciples, but by fathers, faithfully recounting the same narration a multitude of times, to their children; it possesses, therefore, the utmost degree of certainty, and is on that account commended in Deut. xxxii. 7. s. Ps. lxxviii. 3—7. Hence it happened, that many authors did not subscribe to their works either their name or the age in which they lived. In those books to which the author had added his name, nothing more was necessary than a faithful transcription of this notice, which could be made with the greatest ease.

III. There was no motive to induce the Hebrews to corrupt or alter this simple tradition.

IV. On the contrary as at least the greater part of the nation set great value on these books reason required that the account of their origin should be faithfully transmitted to their posterity.

V. If however the nation had been disposed to betray its trust, reasons were not wanting to induce it to have feigned these books to be spurious. They contain many things which must have been disagreeable, particularly the continual rebukes and upbraidings be-

stowed upon it, as a people indocile, intractable, and obstinate. It, therefore, notwithstanding the unpleasant nature of part of the contents of these books the nation continued to bear testimony to their genuineness it was a witness against itself and on that account free from all objections. This argument also tends to exclude the hypothesis that the histories have been inserted in a later age.

VI. It could not easily happen that the knowledge of the origin of these books should be corrupted, since a whole tribe had been consecrated for the purpose of keeping the sacred records, as well as on other accounts. Among the other tribes there always existed, even during the Babylonish captivity men such as the judges in the earlier times, and afterwards the prophets who highly esteemed these books for the very reason that they had descended from the age, and from the authors assigned to them.—If the names of some of the authors, and even the times in which they lived have been forgotten yet the nation acknowledges its ignorance concerning them; which is a proof of its unwillingness to testify to any thing which it has not received as certain from its ancestors. Even of these anonymous books the date was not so far neglected, as not to leave it certain that no one book was written later than the fifth century before Christ. This is confirmed by the fact, that so early as the third century before Christ these books were, as ancient and genuine productions, translated into Greek. It is plain therefore, that the books we have at the present day, are the very same with those to the genuineness of which the most ancient Hebrews bore testimony.

VII. The evidence that we allege in favour of these books is not that of the modern but of the most ancient Hebrews as will appear from the fact, that some of these books mention others of greater antiquity as well known, and cite them every where by name. This proves that the authors, who were themselves ancient, had learned from their ancestors that the more ancient books were the genuine productions of the authors and times to which they are ascribed. [a]

[a] JAHN, *Eiuleit.* S. 40. ff., shows at some length, and with much ability, the rashness and unreasonableness of setting aside the testimony of the Jewish nation to the genuineness of the sacred books, a step which is more or less decisively taken by many of the modern German

writers. He shows that *national testimony* is, in fact, the only solid ground upon which a book can be received as genuine; that it is far superior in value to the positive testimony of a few witnesses, such as even the best authenticated works of ancient profane authors can produce; that the *negative* evidence in favour of a book, which is afforded by the silence of the nation concerning it, is *necessary* to give credit to the *positive* testimony of individuals; and that even when the clearest individual testimony is given to the genuineness of a book by contemporary authors, national testimony is necessary to assure us of the identity of the work now existing with that spoken of by the early witnesses.

To the objection, that the credulous disposition of the Jews destroys the force of their testimony, he replies by urging the parallel instance of the Greeks, whose character for historical accuracy was notoriously bad, yet they have ever been deemed competent witnesses to the genuineness of their early writers. The Jews, with all their credulity, could never be induced to receive spurious works, for instance, the book of Enoch, or the book of the Assumption of Moses, as genuine. The oral traditions which they now ascribe to Moses, were not introduced until a very late period, having been rejected by John Hyrcanus, and even by Josephus.—The testimony cited in proof of the genuineness of the sacred books, is not that of the modern Jews, to whom alone the character of credulity applies, but of those ancient Jews who lived at and before the time of the translation of the Old Testament into Greek. Lastly, allowing the Jews to have been as credulous as possible, no reason would be afforded for rejecting their testimony altogether: it would merely be necessary to examine it with the greater strictness.

To require *foreign* testimony to the genuineness of these books is altogether unfair, since none is ever required for ancient profane authors. Who ever thought of demanding proof of the genuineness of Homer or Hesiod from foreign nations, e. g. the Phœnicians or Egyptians? The very nations from whom such testimony in favour of the sacred books, if at all to be expected, might come, the Phœnicians, Syrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians, have left no written records. The Greeks have no writings coeval with these books, and knew little or nothing of the Hebrews or their language. And if foreign testimony abounded, the comparative ignorance of the history, circumstances, and language of the authors of the books in question, under which a foreigner must labour, would render it far inferior in value to that of the nation to which the authors belonged.

Jahn proceeds to show that there *are* vestiges of foreign evidence in favour of the Old Testament writings, by examining the testimony respecting the history of Sanchoniathon, which if genuine, as is highly probable, is evidence to part of the history, and to the existence of the books.—evidence contemporary with some of them, and at least 400

years earlier than the oldest profane writings now extant. Comp. also, HUETII Dem. Evang. Prop. IV. c. ii. § 52. ss. § 56. c. iii. § 2. BOCHARTI Phaleg et Canaan, P. II. Lib. II. c. ii. MICHÆLIS Einleit. in die Göttlich. Schrift. des A. B. § 44. S. 205. ss. BUDDÆI Hist. Eccles. Per. II. sect. ii. § 18. Tom. I. p. 782 ss. GALE'S Court of the Gentiles. Vol. II. pp. 47—58. Tr.]

§ 9. *Internal evidence of the genuineness of the books of the Old Testament.*[a]

The internal evidence of the genuineness of ancient books is either *negative* or *positive*.

Negative internal evidence is that which is afforded by the absence of any thing in the subject and in the style of a book, disagreeing with the circumstances of its author, with the time, country, and place, in which it was written, or with any of its other relations. But as there is scarcely any ancient book extant, in which some things incongruous with the circumstances of its author and age are not observable, which have found their way into it during the lapse of ages, so it cannot be denied, that some such accidents have occurred to the sacred books. Nevertheless, such interpolations cannot in any way be adduced as proofs of the spuriousness of the books themselves.

Positive internal evidence consists of those particulars which are discoverable in the contents, style, and other circumstances of a book, and which could not possibly be the work of an impostor, or cannot be reconciled with the supposition of forgery, so that the book in which they are contained cannot have been the production of any other author or age than those to which it is ascribed.

The question, whether there do occur in the books of the Old Testament any things which are irreconcilable with their alleged authors or dates, has been repeatedly examined by men of considerable abilities, with intentions inimical to the books; and yet all the inconsistencies noticed by these men have, upon a fresh examination, been found either to agree well with the history of the books, or to be interpolations.

Positive internal evidence is not indispensably necessary for the proof of the genuineness of ancient books. In the present case, however, it exists in abundance, and is of a *twofold* nature.

FIRST, the opinion that these books are forged, whether they are supposed to be the production of *one impostor*, or of *several simultaneously*, or of *several in succession*, is contradicted by the contents, style, and language of the books themselves.

I. In these books,—1) The simple *manners* of the most ancient times, their slow and gradual advancement, their frequent relapses and delays, and their renewed progress even to the excess of luxury, are described in a manner perfectly agreeable to the nature of things and men. 2) The ancient history, manners, customs, and other circumstances of *different and widely distant nations* are treated of, without the least admixture of more recent or incongruous circumstances. 3) The *manner of thinking*, the *tropes and images*, the *style*, and the *language* itself, are different in every book.—All these things could not have been so nicely attended to had the books been the production of *one impostor of a recent age*.

II. Not only 1) the perfectly natural description of the most ancient *manners* and of their gradation to the extremes of luxury, and 2) the accurate notice of *very diverse historical circumstances*; but also 3) the correspondence of the *different degrees* of purity of *language* and elegance of *style* with the different ages of the books: 4) the *references in one book to another*; and 5) the uniform *assumption of the existence of the more ancient books by those of a later date*, cannot be reconciled with the supposition that these books are the production of *several impostors, who lived at the same time and in some comparatively modern age*.

III. The introduction of so many *historical circumstances relating to different and widely distant nations and to different ages*, and yet all exactly agreeable to the truth, is entirely opposed to the supposition that they are the work of *several successive impostors*, the earliest of whom must have lived at a late period. That all of such a set of impostors should have been able completely to avoid error and contradiction is impossible.

The same point is proved. SECONDLY, by a comparison of the *contents* of the books with the motives by which the impostors, whether one or many, must have been actuated. For since no one is wicked without a cause, an imposture of this kind cannot be imagined to have been undertaken without some definite motive, of which we

can only conceive of three ; either to *extol the Hebrew nation*, or to *defame it*, or to *imbue it with the doctrine of the unity of God*. But as the many things *stamping ignominy upon the Hebrew nation*, that occur in these books are decisive proofs that they were not composed with a view of extolling that nation ; so on the other hand, the occurrence of *circumstances which are creditable to the nation*, shows that defamation was not the object of the author. It follows that the supposed forgers of these books could not have been actuated by either of the two first mentioned motives. But if the remaining one, the introduction of the doctrine of the unity of God, had influenced the impostor, or impostors ; 1) it would have been their interest to prefix or add at the end of each book *the name of some celebrated person*, by way of giving it authority ; this however, is not the case with many of these books. 2) It cannot be imagined that an *indocile and intractable people* would have received books, which, having been before utterly unknown had all at once, with pretensions to great antiquity emerged to light for the first time, and which contained a doctrine concerning God certainly not desired by them, besides many sharp reprehensions and rebukes. 3) Lastly it is impossible to imagine impostors so ignorant and stupid, as not to perceive that defamation *ought to be abstained from*, and that in order to induce the people to receive their forgeries it would be necessary to *conciliate their favour by praises*, however unmerited.

[a] Comp. ЕІСНН. Einleit. § 12, 13, 14. Tr.]

§ 10. *Of the manner in which it would be necessary to proceed in order to prove the spuriousness of the books of the Old Testament.*

In order to show that these books are spurious, it would not be sufficient to render suspicious the national testimony already adduced, and the individual witnesses that will be produced in the Particular Introduction ; and to destroy the force of the internal evidence : but, in addition to this, the testimony of the Israelitish nation, and that of the individual ancient authors, must be refuted by other testimony of equal or greater respectability and antiquity, or such proofs must be derived from the contents and style of the books in question, as are irreconcilable with the supposition of their genu-

ness. Neither of these has been as yet performed, nor can either ever be performed since, as we have seen, the evidence in favour of these books is irrefragable and they are so circumstanced that it is evidently impossible that they should be spurious. All the arguments that have been brought against them, are founded either on incorrect interpretations or on interpolations, and they leave the genuineness of the books totally untouched.

§ 11. *What is meant by the books being corrupted.*

Although, as has been already intimated, the books of the Old Testament are not free from interpolations, and although some errors have been introduced by the mistakes of transcribers, yet they have not been altered with any fraudulent design nor do the errors which have crept in materially affect their sense or the nature of their contents: they cannot therefore be called corrupt. For *corruption* is a *deliberate or fraudulent alteration materially affecting the sense so that what the author wrote is lost*. Such an alteration of the text is meant by the opponents of these books when they charge them with corruption. On the other hand, interpolations and errors of transcription which "are sometimes" in a looser sense called corruptions, neither originate in fraudulent intention, nor materially affect the sense of the book in which they may exist since they may generally be distinguished from the genuine text, and the true reading may be ascertained and restored.

§ 12. *That the Old Testament is corrupted, is repugnant to history.*

The supposition that the books of the Old Testament have suffered corruption is irreconcilable with history.

I. After the death of Moses, these books certainly could not have been corrupted so long as Joshua and that generation which was so zealous in the service of the true God (Josh. xxiv.) survived. But from the time of their death to the days of Samuel, the judges or civil governors, who braved every danger in defence of the form of government established in the sacred books, constantly flourished, nor were there wanting among the priests, Levites, and other Israelites, persons who held these books in the highest esteem, and who

must have been acquainted with their contents, because they were read over every seven years, or copies of them were in their possession. All these would have strenuously opposed any attempt to corrupt these books,[a] nor did they, especially the judges want power to repress such wanton audacity ; at any rate disputes on the subject would have arisen of which however no mention is made in the book of Judges, a work by no means sparing in its notice of the follies and vices of the times to which it relates.

II. From the time of Samuel to that of Malachi, the prophets succeeded each other in an almost uninterrupted series. They spared not the vices of princes, priests, or people, and would on no account have silently passed over any attempt at an adulteration of the sacred books. Yet not the least hint of any such attempt having ever been made is discoverable in their writings.

III. After the separation of the ten tribes, the books of Moses at least were preserved in the kingdom of Israel. From this time, therefore the jealousy which always existed between the rival kingdoms was an insuperable bar to the success of any attempt at corruption in either kingdom : for in whichever the effort had been made, it could not have been carried into effect without opposition from the rival state, and consequently not without public contentions, which would have been mentioned in the historical books. Moreover, if any corruption had taken place during this period, it would appear from a collation of the Samaritan with the Jewish text of the Pentateuch.

IV. In the year 740 before Christ, the Israelites from Galilee and Gilead took copies of these books with them into Assyria ; in the year 722 B. C. the rest of the Israelites carried copies to Chalachene, to Gozan on the banks of the Chabor and to the cities of Media ; in the year 606 B. C. Daniel with other noble youths took copies to Babylon : in the year 595 B. C. Ezekiel and 10000 other Jews carried copies to Mesopotamia on the banks of the river Cabor : in 588 and 584 B. C. the rest of the inhabitants of Judea again carried copies to Babylon : in the same year 588 B. C. some fugitive Jews, among whom was Jeremiah brought copies into Egypt ; and others flying to Arabia Felix carried copies with them there. In the year 320 B. C. the Jews transported to Egypt and Cyrene by Ptolemy Lagus, dispersed many copies in those regions. Not long after, others, pe-

netrating into Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and at last even to Rome, carried with them copies of the sacred books into all those countries. Thus widely dispersed throughout the world, they could not possibly be corrupted.

V. In the third century before Christ, the sacred books were translated into the Greek language, and again six several times in the second century after Christ. In the course of time they were translated into other languages and in this manner the copies, into which any corruption that might have been attempted must have been introduced, were placed in the hands of many and widely separated nations. Thus we find that the further we trace these books, the more difficult it becomes to conceive in what manner they could possibly have been corrupted.[*b*]

[*a*] Especially as such attempts were strictly forbidden in the books themselves. Deut. iv. 2.]

[*b*] See GABRIEL FABRICY de Titres Primitives de la Revelation. Rome, 1772. 2 tom. 8vo.]

§ 13. *The Corruption of the Old Testament is in the nature of the thing impossible.*

If, notwithstanding what has been said, the corruption of the books of the Old Testament should be still insisted on, it can be shown to be in itself impossible.—If the adulteration had taken place previously to the Babylonish captivity, it would have affected those places only which convey censures against the idolatry then so much in vogue, and the passages in which the worship of one God is inculcated: yet the slightest inspection shews that all these are left untouched.—After the return from the captivity all the Jews held their sacred books in such veneration as to undergo contumely, derision, persecution, and every sort of torments, rather than depart from their injunctions. Comp. the books of Maccabees, and JOSEPHUS Contra Apion. I. 8. Men entertaining such sentiments certainly would not have thought of corrupting the sacred books; nor can we imagine what part they could have been induced to corrupt.—In the ages after Christ, indeed, the Jews, being pressed by the Christians with the fulfilment of the prophecies in Jesus, might have been

tempted to tamper with these witnesses concerning the Messiah. But the least examination will prove their innocence of this crime. —If then the Jews have left untouched those parts which they had the strongest inducements to corrupt, they are certainly to be absolved from the suspicion of having adulterated any other parts.

§ 14. *Pretended corruptions.*

Every book must be considered as incorrupt until the contrary is proved. We therefore demand from the opposers of these books clear and indubitable instances of corruptions. Such however have not been given either by those of the Fathers who have accused the Jews of corrupting the Old Testament, or by those modern theologians who have espoused the same opinion.

The Fathers—1) believed the Alexandrine version to have been made by men under the influence of divine inspiration and perfectly to accord with the genuine Hebrew text. Whenever therefore the Jews cited any thing from the Hebrew text in words differing from that version, they asserted it to be a corruption of the true text, and in this manner decided in a cause to judge of which they were utterly disqualified by their ignorance of Hebrew. Hence, 2) the specimens of corruptions which they adduce, have no bearing on the subject; being nothing more than different versions of the same words, sometimes better, sometimes worse, sometimes of equal value with those which they approved; or various readings, generally of little moment. Nor 3) do they all agree in urging this charge against the Jews. Origen, who was skilled in Hebrew, acquits them of it; and Jerome, although he generally consents to the accusation, yet when he speaks seriously, defends the sincerity of the Jews, and refers to Origen as his authority. And even 4) those Fathers, who in their disputes against the Jews charge them with corrupting the Old Testament are not always consistent; for several of them in treating of other subjects speak of the Jews as faithful guardians of the sacred books, as if they had forgotten what they had elsewhere asserted in their controversies with those same Jews.

The modern scholastics who join in this accusation of the Jews, 1) being generally ignorant of the Hebrew language, take upon themselves the office of judge without possessing the proper qualifi-

tations ; or 2) if more learned, confound errors and interpolations with corruptions ; or 3) lastly, being led astray by too much zeal, suppose that they cannot better defend the Vulgate Latin version from the objections of Protestants than by aspersing the integrity of the Hebrew text, on which alone the latter place reliance. Comp. DU PIN, Diss. Prelim. l. iv. 4. p. 145—154. [On the Canon p. 146. ss.]

The Christian church generally, however has not sanctioned the accusation against the Jews as is evident from its proceedings in all ages.—In the second century it received the Greek versions, which were derived from the Hebrew text ; the version of Daniel by Theodotion was even used in public worship.—In the third century the Hexapla of Origen in which the Hebrew text was twice copied, was approved of, and even the Alexandrine version altered to agree with it ; and further, this correction of the Greek version of the Hebrew text, was used in public worship by the churches of Palestine.—In the sixth and seventh centuries the Latin church adopted the version of Jerome, made immediately from the Hebrew, which was again, in the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, by Alcuin, and afterwards in the sixteenth century, by the theologians under the inspection of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. partially corrected by a comparison with the Hebrew text.—These facts abundantly prove that the untarnished integrity of the Hebrew text has been acknowledged in all ages.[a]

The instances of supposed corruptions by the Jews, which have been advanced in modern works, are errors in various readings, with perhaps the single exception of Deut. xxvii. 4, where the Jews seem to have altered גרזים into עיבל for the purpose of depriving the Samaritans of the argument in defence of their establishment of a temple and place of worship in Mount Gerizim. For an account of the other instances which have been alleged, see Einleit. Th. I. § 14. S. 65, and § 149—151 S. 521—538.

[a] The principal assertor of the corruption of the Hebrew text was JOHN MORIN, a priest of the Oratory at Paris, who maintained his hypothesis in his Exercitationes Biblicæ, 1633—1669. He was strongly opposed by several writers, among whom the most eminent was SIMON DE MOIS, in his Assertio Hebraicæ veritatis altera, Parisius, 1634, 8vo. This work was answered by MORIN in his Diatribe Elenchica de Sinceritate Hebræi Græcique textus dignoscenda, Parisiis, 1639, 8vo. DE

MUIS replied warmly in his *Assertio tertia, Parisiis, 1639, 8vo.* VOSSIUS, in his *Chronology*, and in his work on the Septuagint, espoused the opinions of MORIN, but with little strength of argument, or success. See SIMON, *Hist. Crit. du V. T. L. I. c. xviii. xix.*]

§ 15. *The books of the Old Testament are worthy of credit.*

In order to constitute the books of the Old Testament documents of unquestionable authority, it is not sufficient that they should be genuine and incorrupt, which it has hitherto been my object to prove them ; but it is also necessary that they should be worthy of credit. That they are so, shall now be shown.

A *historian* is worthy of credit when he has had sufficient opportunities of becoming acquainted with the truth, and is disposed impartially to declare it. They may be said to have had opportunities of ascertaining the truth respecting any particular transactions, who have been *natives of the country in which they took place*, or at least, have *lived in the times in which they occurred*, or who have been both *natives and contemporaries*. A still greater degree of certainty attaches to the information of men who have been *present at or concerned in the transactions* which they describe, or have been *governors or rulers*, who themselves administered and directed all the affairs, and consequently were perfectly acquainted with them all.—So also they who undertake to give a history of times antecedent to their own, are the more worthy of confidence, if they have derived their information from *public or domestic documents of the country and times in question*, especially if these should be written by *persons present at the transactions*, or themselves *concerned in them or acting as rulers*.—The *sincerity* of the narration must be admitted, if there is no reason to suspect the insertion of any thing false, or the omission or misrepresentation of any thing through partiality. This must be allowed to be the case, if the author affords no ground for suspicion, but relates of his own nation and its leading men, of his own relations and connexions, and if he took part in the transactions, of himself, not only what is honourable, but also whatever may have occurred that is disgraceful ; and if he does not anxiously endeavour to excuse any thing of this latter sort.—Lastly, the knowledge of transactions and the sincerity of the account given of them,

are much less to be called in question, if the work has merited the confidence of its contemporaries, who were competent to judge of the truth of the facts and of the veracity of the account.—That all these circumstances unite to prove the credibility of the sacred writers, can easily be shown.

Moses in his last four books narrates events all of which took place in his own time, in all of which he not only was personally concerned, but had command; so that it was impossible for any thing that occurred to be unknown to him.—In the first book he relates a more ancient history which he drew from ancient documents: the fidelity with which he has made use of them, appears from his suitable combination of the different documents into one body; from the frequent recurrence of titles; from the difference of style, of language, and of manner of narration observable in the different fragments; and from the preservation of obsolete words which he did not allow himself to change for others, but thought it preferable to retain, with explanatory additions.—The sincerity of his narration is conspicuous in every part: in the history of the earlier periods he is brief, rejecting fictions, and being unwilling to relate any thing doubtful or uncertain: the faults of the patriarchs, of his own nation, of his ancestor Levi, and of his brother Aaron and his sister Miriam, are told candidly and without any attempt to excuse them: he does not conceal his own homicide, neither does he defend himself; he mentions his own timidity, pusillanimity, and indecision, nor does he conceal the aid and counsel which he received from others; Ex. iii. 11. iv. 10. ss. v. 22. s. xvii. 4. xviii. 12—26. Num. xi. 10—15. xiv. 1—11. Deut. i. 37. iii. 23—29. iv. 21. s. xxxi. 2. xxxii. 50—52.—Lastly, what he had written he publicly committed to the chief men of the nation, and read to all the people: and all of them, who had with their own eyes beheld the transactions which he had recorded, unanimously received his books as true.

The *rest of the historical writers* of the Old Testament generally relate events more ancient than their own times.—1) It appears from their writings that their accounts were compiled by them from public and contemporary documents, with such care that they often preserved even the words and phrases of their authorities, and even frequently in express terms refer their readers to the public annals

from which themselves had derived their information. 2) They do not confine themselves to such matters as tended to the honour of their nation, but mention also those which were disgraceful and ignominious ; nor do they ever excuse the errors and crimes of the most eminent men. 3) Lastly, they published their writings while the documents and public annals from which they had derived their materials were yet in existence, and might be consulted by their readers. Yet these readers so highly approved of their writings, and so warmly recommended them to their posterity, that they were more carefully preserved than those older and contemporaneous documents, which in course of time were entirely lost.

Ezra and *Nehemiah*. 1) generally describe their own actions, and yet nowhere give reason to suspect their veracity : on the contrary, many tokens of a candid relation appear in their histories. 2) In their accounts of more ancient events, the manner of narration is different, which shows that those parts are taken from older writings. 3) Lastly, their productions were received and approved of by their contemporaries.

What *the prophets* relate of ancient history, has been taken from the records just mentioned. In their accounts of their own times, consisting generally of narratives of crimes and transgressions, they are coeval witnesses and of the same country, who, in order to correct the morals of their countrymen, reprove their corruption and perversity, and denounce the divine chastisements, although they foresee that such conduct must produce hatred and persecution of themselves. No one ever bore *false* witness for such an end, with the prospect of such a reward.

Lastly, the contents of all the books of the Old Testament agree remarkably with the accounts of the most ancient profane writers who have said any thing concerning the same nations and countries. This agreement, notwithstanding the immense number of ancient writings that have perished, has afforded subject for continual remark in my *Biblical Archæology*, especially in the second part. [a] [b]

[a] It is often stated as an objection to the credibility of the sacred historians, that they were priests, and consequently disposed to misrepresent and form partial judgments of events concerning the priesthood, and especially of the kings, who were generally unfavourable to the

priesthood. If this were true, it would furnish no reason for doubting the correctness of their *statement of facts*, but would merely affect their *judgment in relation to them*, and to the characters of the kings. But it is not true that all the sacred historians were priests. For instance, along with the priest Ezra we find the *layman* Nehemiah. Who the authors of the ancient annals of the kingdom were, we do not know, therefore cannot maintain that they were priests: but we do know that these annals were first commenced by genealogists, and from many passages of the books of Chronicles, that they were continued by prophets, who were as often laymen as priests. After all, if the abstracts contained in Joshua, Judges, I. and II. Samuel, I. and II. Kings, and I. and II. Chronicles, were really made by priests, their representations and judgments of events are as much entitled to our confidence as if composed by laymen, since they agree perfectly with those of the prophets, whose repeated reproofs and exhortations to the priests prove that they had no prepossessions in favour of the priesthood.]

[*b*] On the confirmation of the sacred history by profane writers, see GRAY'S *Connexion of Sacred and Profane Literature*, Vol. I., and FABER'S *Horæ Mosaicæ*, Vol. I. HORNE'S treatment of this subject, *Introd.* Vol. I. Chap. III. Sect. II. § 1., is well worth perusal. *Tr.*]

§ 16. *The miracles accounts of which are contained in the Old Testament. are true miracles.*

If the books of the Old Testament are genuine and incorrupt, the many miracles which they relate, cannot possibly be supposed false, unless we are willing for the sake of getting rid of them, to grant other things, which, in fact, would amount to much greater miracles. For if Moses wrote the books which we have under his name in the same age in which the transactions recorded in them occurred,* and read them or caused them to be read to the people, and yet forged the accounts of miracles contained in them; he must have falsely asserted in the face of myriads of his contemporaries 1) that *in Egypt, at his command, all the waters had for some days assumed the appearance of blood; that darkness had covered the land for three days; and that a terrible tempest had destroyed every thing exposed to its fury, and again ceased its ravages at his command*: he must have falsely asserted to the vast multitude of the Hebrews who at that time were any thing but credulous, 2) that *at his command the Heroopolitan*

* [Deut. xi. 2—7. xxix. 1—10, &c.]

branch of the Red sea had become dry and that *they themselves had passed it in safety* and that *the Egyptian army attempting to follow them by the same road had been drowned by the returning waves*: he must have falsely asserted to this numerous people, 3) that *in Arabia Petraea twice, in a scarcity of water a rock had after his previous annunciation upon the stroke of a wand sent forth a quantity of water sufficient to quench the thirst of nearly two and a half millions of men beside an innumerable multitude of cattle* and he must have needlessly added that at the second time he himself had somewhat doubted the effect of the attempt and that therefore he had been excluded from the long-expected land of promise; Num. xx. 7—13. Deut. i. 37. iii. 23—29. iv. 21. s. xxxi. 2. xxxii. 50—52. He must have falsely asserted 4) that *the whole nation had during the greater part of forty years been principally sustained upon manna* which is ordinarily of rare occurrence in those regions and possessed it in such plenty as to have contemned it (Num. xi. 4—10. Deut. viii. 3,) and yet it had never been found upon the Sabbath day Ex. xvi. 13—29. Lastly, he must have falsely asserted 5) that *according to his previous annunciation they themselves at Mount Sinai in Arabia*. (where during the summer season clouds are seldom seen, at the most being small and fleeting, and disappearing early in the morning,) *had seen in the month of July or August a terrible cloud with perpetual lightnings and thunderings and heard a divine voice which had published their laws*; (Deut. iv. 32—37. v. 4. s. 32—27;) and that at other times *they had seen above their tabernacle a remarkable cloud which had emitted a fiery splendour in the night*.—All these things Moses must have falsely asserted while all the people must have believed his fictions, and moreover, revered as an ambassador of the Deity a man rendered infamous by so many and such open lies, and received from him the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, and a burdensome law and rendered to him obedience: all this too, on account of those very miracles which they themselves must have known never to have taken place. To induce the Hebrews thus to believe all the falsehoods advanced by Moses it would have been necessary by a continual series of miracles so to influence the minds of all and each of them as to persuade them that they themselves had really seen and experienced all that was related concerning the passage of

the Red sea, the miraculous supply of water, the manna ate for so long a time even to satiety, &c., although in fact it was all false. If therefore, the miracles of Moses had been false, still greater and more numerous miracles must have been perpetually wrought upon the minds of the Hebrews to induce them to believe things true, which they knew to be entirely unfounded.[a]

[a] Many have undertaken to show that the miraculous histories in the Old Testament were merely natural events, and that they admitted of easy explanations on known principles of philosophy. With relation to some of them this undoubtedly is the case. Still there are others which have never yet been explained without the most forced constructions, and it is but labour lost to attempt the explanation of some of them on any natural principles known to man. Allowing, however, that it were possible to account for all the Mosaic miracles on mere natural principles with perfect ease, their supernatural character would still remain. For being confessedly extraordinary, however natural, it must have been utterly out of the power of any one beside the Creator and Governor of the world to foresee the time and circumstances of their occurrence. The fact that these were exactly predicted by Moses is a sufficient proof of the supernatural agency in the events in question.]

§ 17. *The books of the Old Testament contain true prophecies.*

If the books of the Old Testament were written about the times to which they are ascribed, and have remained incorrupt it is impossible that the several prophecies contained in them should not be divine. For particular contingent events are definitely predicted at so remote a period that either their efficient causes did not then exist, or they were so far beyond the scrutiny of the most sagacious of mankind, that no one, unless assisted by superior illumination, could have predicted what was to come to pass. A few examples shall be produced.

I. The propagation of the knowledge of the one God and of true religion, among all nations, by the agency of the Hebrews, was announced twenty-two centuries before Christ, to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. s. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14., and was afterwards plainly predicted by the prophets with the addition of many of the circumstances of the event; Mic. iv. 1—7. vii. 20. Isa. ii. 2—4. xi. 1—11. lii. 13—liii. lxvi. 19—23.

Amos ix. 11. s. Ezek. xvii. 22. ss. Jer. iii. 17. xvi. 19—21. Ps. lxxxvii. &c. &c. That these predictions have been fulfilled, we all can testify.

II. That the tribe of Judah should always have the principality is foretold in Gen. xlix. 8—10 comp. Ps. lx. 7. cviii. 8. I. Chr. xxviii. 4, and has been so literally accomplished in all the course of history, that at last all the Israelites are denominated Jews from the tribe of Judah.

III. The prediction that the Messiah should spring from the tribe of Judah, and from the family of David so often announced with different accompanying circumstances, and even at times when there seemed to be not the least hope of its fulfilment, was at last accomplished by the birth of Jesus of Nazareth. II. Sam. vii. 1. ss., especially 12—17, comp. Ps. lxxxix. 36—40. Isa. xi. 1—10. lii. 13—liii. 12. Hos. iii. 4. s. Amos ix. 11. Mic. v. 1—3. Jer. xxii. 1—8. xxx. 4—11. Ezek. xvii. 22. ss. xxi. 29—32. (24—27.) xxxiv. 22—30. xxxvii. 24—28. Dan. ix. 1—27. Zech. ix. 9. s. Mal. iii. 1. s. comp. Ps. cx. 1. ss.

IV. That the Hebrews for the chastisement of their idolatry and the wickedness of their lives should suffer captivity among a distant people, and that they should *in consequence of this captivity, turn to the true God*, and be brought back to Palestine, and recover their existence as a nation, was predicted as early as the time of Moses. Deut. xxviii. 49—63. xxix. 21—27. xxx. 1—10. xxxi. 16—22, and was afterwards frequently declared with greater minuteness by later prophets. All these things are foretold of *the ten tribes* by Hosea. c. i. 4—11. ii. 10—23. xi. 5—11. xiv. 1—8; by Amos, c. v. 27. ix. 1—15; by Micah, c. i. 12—16; and by Isaiah, c. viii. 1—x. 24. Of the *kingdom of Judah* they were predicted by Micah, c. iii. 12. iv. 8—11; by Isaiah, c. xxxix; by Jeremiah, who even mentioned 70 years as the duration of the captivity, c. xxv. 11. ss. xxix. 10—14. xlvi. 27. s. l. 19—23, 34; and by Ezekiel, c. xxviii. 25. s. xxxvi. xxxvii. Zechariah speaks plainly of their condition after their return, ix. 1—8, 11—17. x. vi. 9—15.

V. The prophecy of Jeremiah, c. l. and li. concerning the overthrow of Babylon, comprising all the circumstances of the event, and yet not fully accomplished until a thousand years after the

prophet's age, is highly deserving of notice.—Those who maintain that the Hebrew prophets brought about the accomplishment of their own predictions, should show how Jeremiah effected this overthrow, with all its circumstances. For more concerning it, see Germ. Introd. Th. I. § 17. S. 82--84.[a]

[a] On the subject of this section, Part II. § 73--80 of this work may be profitably consulted. *Tr.*]

§ 18. *The Old Testament contains a divinely revealed religion.*

If the miracles, *announced before their performance*, cannot possibly have been fictitious; and if the prophecies, *so remarkably clear and definite*, were published *many centuries before the occurrence of the events foretold*; it is certain that neither could have been the performances of men left to themselves, and destitute of divine assistance and instruction; but they must, as the performers of the miracles and the prophets themselves asserted, have originated with the omnipotent and omniscient creator and ruler of the universe. But as it appears from the history, and is frequently expressly declared, (e. g. Ex. iv. 5, 8. s. vii. 5, 17. viii. 18. ix. 16, 29. x. 1. s. xix. 9. Num. xvi. 28. Isa. vii. 10--16. xxxviii. 7. s. xliv. 7. xlv. 5. s. xlvi. 3--16. Zech. ii. 9, 11. iv. 9. vi. 15,) that these extraordinary works and prophecies were given as testimonies that the men who performed them were commissioned with special mandates from the Deity, they certainly are evident proofs that those men received divine commands and revelations, and consequently, that the doctrine which they have taught in their books is divine.[a]

[a] Jahn in his German work adds a note of some length, in order to show the necessity and sufficiency of miracles and prophecy as proofs of a divine revelation.—He takes notice also of the opinions of KLEUKER, who in his *Prüfung der vorzüglichsten Beweise für die Wahrheit des Christenthums*, I. Th. S. 276. ff. had maintained, that the miracles of the Old Testament had for their only object, partly the deliverance of the Hebrews, and partly the supply of certain wants of the times in which they occurred. But this is only their *secondary* object. Their *primary* object, the proof of a divine revelation, is often expressly noticed. See the texts above referred to. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DIVINE AUTHORITY AND CANON OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 19. *Their divine authority or inspiration.*

Although it has been proved, that the books of the Old Testament contain divine revelations, yet it cannot thence be concluded that these revelations, and every thing else related in those books, are of divine authority. Miracles and prophecies were not granted to all the writers of the Old Testament, nor were they performed for the purpose of proving the divine authority of their books.—To constitute these books of divine authority then it is necessary that their writers should have been preserved from all error by supernatural assistance. *The divine assistance granted for the purpose of preventing error*, is designated by the term INSPIRATION, a name long since received in the schools, but not exactly suitable: for this assistance does not *inspire or teach* any thing which is the office of *revelation*, but *merely prevents the commission of error*. It is of importance never to lose sight of this idea of inspiration, and carefully to guard against confounding it with that of revelation, an error into which men in other respects learned have not unfrequently fallen, and which has been instrumental in bringing reproach upon the doctrine of inspiration.

§ 20. *The nature of the argument for inspiration.*

The divine assistance for the prevention of error is an internal supernatural operation, which can be known only to God and to him to whom it is revealed by God. The inspiration of a writer, therefore, can only be proved by divine testimony. Nevertheless, nothing more can be required than that a man, who has proved his divine

mission by miracles or prophecies, should assert that the book or books in question are free from error. Furthermore, it is not necessary that this divinely commissioned person should make such an assertion in express terms since perhaps no suitable occasion might be afforded him. It is sufficient if he uses and cites the books in question as divine, which is satisfactory evidence that he is himself convinced of their divine authority. The proof thus afforded becomes stronger, if in the age in which this person lived, divine authority should have been attributed to the books. Any suspicion of accommodation to vulgar prejudices that might arise in this case is destroyed by the very fact of his calling the books divine, or ascribing them to God or to the Holy Spirit while himself was invested with the divine commission, since such conduct would be inconsistent with sincerity if he did not really believe them to be divine.

§ 21. *Whether the Jews possessed any testimony respecting the inspiration of the Old Testament.*

Not only the writers of the Talmud, but also PHILLO, de Vita Mosis, Lib. II., JOSEPHUS, Contra Apion, Lib. I. c. viii., and the books of the New Testament, Jo. v. 39. x. 34. ss. Mat. xxii. 43. Ac. i. 16. xxviii. 25. Gal. iii. 16. Heb. i. 5. iii. 7. x. 15. xii. 25. &c., testify, that the inspiration of the Old Testament was an article of faith of the Jews in the time of Christ. They seem to have inferred it 1) from the fact that most of the writers of the Old Testament were prophets, whence they concluded that men who spoke by divine authority, must also have written by the same, and in writing as well as in speaking, must have received a special divine assistance, which would seem to have been the more necessary in those prophecies with respect to which the prophets confessed that their productions were unintelligible to themselves.—2) What added strength to this conclusion was, that some of the sacred writers were commanded to write by God himself, as Moses, Ex. xvii. 14. xxxi. 18. xxxii. 15. s. xxxiv. 1, 27. s. Deut. ix. 10. s. x. 1. xxxi. 19, 25; Isaiah, c. viii. 1. xxx. 8; Habbakuk, c. ii. 2; Jeremiah, c. xxx. 2. xxxvi. 2; Ezekiel, c. xxiv. 2. xliii. 11, and Daniel, c. xii. 4: whence they rightly concluded, that God had either foreseen that these men would write without committing any errors, or by affording them his particular assistance,

had taken care that no errors should be admitted.—3) The Hebrews seem to have received the other historical books as either written or approved of by prophets, since they were so firmly convinced of their perfect correctness, as to neglect the coeval records from which they had been compiled.—4) To the rest of the sacred books, the Hebrews seem to have attributed divine authority on the testimony of some prophet perhaps of Haggai, Zechariah, or Malachi.—All these reasons however are by no means sufficient for our purpose: we require some other more certain testimony of the divine authority of these books, which shall extend equally to them all.

§ 22. *Testimony for the inspiration of the Old Testament.*

The testimony necessary to prove the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament is supplied by the New Testament. For whereas the Jews in the time of JESUS maintained the inspiration of these books, he not only did not deny it but on the contrary constantly considered it as certain, recommended them to others, and even called them in express words *the divine law the divine scriptures*, and *the words of the Holy Spirit and of God*; Mat. xi. 13. xv. 3—6. xix. 2—6. xxii. 31, 43. xxvi. 54. Lu. xvi. 16, 29, 31, xviii. 31. xxiv. 25—27, 44—46. Mar. vii. 9, 13. Jo. v. 39, 46. x. 34. ss.—The testimony thus given was so clear and free from all ambiguity, that it was impossible for the Apostles to mistake its sense. Accordingly, they make use of these books as of productions undoubtedly divine, and recommend them in the strongest terms to others as the divine scriptures and the words of God. This they did, not, as might have been the case, in connivance at the vain prejudices of the Jews converted to Christianity, but also when addressing the converted Gentiles, who had no prejudices on this subject which could have required any accommodation; Acts iii. 18. ss., 25. xxviii. 25. Rom. i. 2. iv. 2—24. Gal. iii. 8, 16. Heb. iii. 7. xii. 27. I Pet. i. 11. II Pet. i. 21. &c.—But of all similar passages, that in II Tim. iii. 14—17, is most worthy of notice, since there, as is evident from the scope of the place, Paul asserts that all the books of the Old Testament were written with the divine assistance, *θεοπνευστους*: comp. Germ. Introd. P. I. §. 22. S. 97—100.—That all the Apostles agreed in

their testimony to this effect, is testified by the ancient church, which taught by the Apostles themselves, with unanimous consent inserted the inspiration of the books of the Old Testament among its articles of faith. This appears from the most ancient creeds such as those contained in the Second Apology of JUSTIN MARTYR, in IRENAEUS, *Adv. Haer.* L. I. c. 10. in ORIGEN'S Preface to his books *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, and in the creed of GREGORY THAUMATURGUS. and from the assent of a multitude of fathers to these creeds for proof of which see DU PIN, *Prol. sur la Bible.* p. 48. ss. [On the Canon p. 49. ss.].—If as many contend Jesus and his apostles, in their declarations on this subject only intended to connive at the opinion of the Jews they at least could not have asserted that these writings were divine, and the word of God.—The supposition of some that the ancient Jews who were accustomed to refer all natural and eminent endowments immediately to God called certain books divine merely as an expression of excellence and that Jesus and his Apostles used the appellation in that sense, is false; for this sense is entirely in opposition to the scope of St. Paul, II Tim. iii. 14—17. not to mention that PHILO. *de Vita Mosis* L. II. and JOSEPHUS. *Cont. Apion.* L. I. § 8. have accurately marked out the divine authority of their sacred books. *Comp. Germ. Introd. P. I.* § 22. pp. 101—103.[a]

[a] On the hypothesis of accommodation See STORR. *De Sensu Historico, passim*; *Opuscula* Tom. I. pp. 1—88. (translated and published separately at Boston, in 1817, by J. W. GIBBS,) and STORR and FLATT'S *Biblical Theology*, Vol. I. pp. 223—232. Schmucker's Trans. *Tr.*]

§ 23. *The limits of Inspiration.*

Neither Jesus nor his Apostles have determined how far the divine authority of the books of the Old Testament extends. Hence different sentiments on this point prevailed at an early date. Some of the Fathers defended the opinion that inspiration consisted merely in freedom from error: others asserted that every word was inspired so that the authors were mere instruments of the Holy Spirit: yet these last were not always consistent but sometimes, forgetful of what they had elsewhere written, only contended for a prevention of

errors. As both parties agreed in the main points, these lesser differences produced no controversy.—Among the modern scholastics, some seized upon those passages of the Fathers in which nothing more than a preservation from error was asserted. Others urged those in which the strictest notion of inspiration is exhibited; extending it to the writer's determination to write, to the choice of subjects and words, and to the order of both. The Christian world was divided between these two parties; in some provinces the former sentiment prevailed in others the latter. This last was the case in the Netherlands whence it came to pass that when the Jesuits had in public theses defended the looser notion of inspiration three propositions [a] were in 1586 condemned by the doctors of theology at Louvain and Douay although this condemnation did not meet with the approbation of the rest of the Catholics or of the Bishop of Rome himself. The council of Trent did not decide this scholastic dispute, and by consequence many orthodox divines have defended the lower notion of inspiration. One, the most eminent among these, was Henry Holden, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who contended that the divine assistance in preventing errors extended only to those parts which are either solely doctrinal or have a close and necessary connexion with doctrine.—Some others, who are mentioned by MELCHIOR CANUS, de Locis Theolog. L. II. c. x. have defended the opinion that inspiration did not prevent lesser errors the result of which is nearly the same with that of the one maintained by HOLDEN.

Most of the Protestants formed a very strict idea of inspiration, and defended it as late as the middle of the 18th century. But after the publication of the learned work of TOELLNER on inspiration in 1772 and of SEMLER's examination of the Canon 1771—1773, many undertook to investigate the doctrine of inspiration, and gradually relaxed in their views of it until at last they entirely banished the doctrine so that at present but few admit it. [b] Others attribute to the sacred books a sort of divine authority only in this sense, that they contain certain divine truths not at all solicitous whether they were committed to writing by divine authority or not. [c]

[a) The propositions are :—

Ut aliquid sit scriptura sacra, non est necessarium, singula ejus verba esse inspirata.

Nou est necessarium, ut singulæ veritates et sententiæ sint immediate a Spiritu Sancto ipso scriptori inspiratæ.

Liber aliquis, qualis est fortasse secundus Maccabæorum, humana industria sine assistentia Spiritus Sancti scriptus, si Spiritus Sanctus postea testetur, ibi nihil esse falsum, efficitur Scriptura Sacra.]

[b) It is hardly necessary to suggest to the reader, that, although the author expresses himself in general terms, his remarks are intended to apply to the Protestants of his own country. *Tr.*]

[c) Jahn enters more fully into the details of the history of the doctrine of inspiration, in his *Germ. Introd. Th. I. S. 104—111.*—A luminous statement of the various modifications of this doctrine is given by MOSHEIM, *Elem. Theol. Dogmaticæ, Tom. I. pp. 127—145.*—ROSE, in his *View of the present state, of Protestantism in Germany, pp. 125, ss.,* gives a succinct account of the opinions upon this subject which have prevailed among certain German writers.—An able view of the question may be found in STORR and FLATT'S *Biblical Theology, Vol. I. pp. 242—250.* (*Schmuckers Trans.*) *Tr.*]

§ 24. *The inspiration of the historical books.*

As no writer can be entirely free from error or the danger of erring, divine assistance for the prevention of error could not but be useful to the historical writers; but whether it was *necessary* is with many a matter of doubt, because history written by candid and well informed men, is of itself possessed of sufficient authority. But inasmuch as in the Bible the religious doctrine is in a great measure founded upon the history, or inseparably connected with it [a] it will readily be seen that the authority of the history affects that of the doctrine; and that the doubts which must necessarily arise respecting the correctness of the history, were it merely human would by consequence attach to the doctrine connected with it. If, for instance, the ancient Hebrews had considered the history of the creation as merely human, and consequently had presumed to entertain doubts respecting the facts related, this would soon have extended, in the general prevalence of idolatry, to errors respecting the Creator. Any hesitancy as to the truth of the account of the Exode, must soon have rendered suspicious to them the whole system of religion dependent on it. Moreover the peculiar divine plan which, as has already been remarked, extends throughout the whole history of the Hebrews, should rest on better

authority than would be afforded by a production merely human. These reasons however prove the need of divine authority for those portions only of the history which are connected with some doctrine or with events constituting essential parts of the divine plan; so that the opinion of Holden stated in the last section, might be thought correct were it not that Jesus and his apostles have attributed divine authority to the books in question without making any such distinction. It might indeed be replied to this, that this distinction, being otherwise well known was taken for granted by them; but on the other hand, it would remain to be seen whether St. Paul, in Rom. xv. 4, does not assert that *all parts* of these books have a bearing upon religious doctrines.[*b*]

Whatever objections against the inspiration of these books are drawn from the difficulties occurring in their contents, may be removed by this single answer, that Jesus and his apostles were not ignorant of them, and nevertheless attributed divine authority to the books: they must, therefore, be removed in some other way. [Explanations of these difficulties are never wanting, and if they should not always prove entirely satisfactory, yet this does not constitute a ground of objection to the inspiration of the books, but must not unfrequently be placed solely to the account of our ignorance. The entire removal of many difficulties which formerly admitted of no satisfactory explanation, in consequence of the progress of oriental learning within the last fifty years, is sufficient proof of this.—With respect to objections drawn from the disagreement of some expressions in the Bible with the established philosophical systems, it is enough to remark, that the sacred writers wrote conformably to their own situation, and to the modes of speaking then generally prevalent, and that it was neither their business nor their intention to afford instruction in natural philosophy. The question, whether all the sacred writers partook of an equal degree of inspiration, which has been much discussed, admits of no satisfactory determination, and is of no importance, since it is certain that all were by divine superintendence preserved from error, and nothing more is necessary to secure for them perfect confidence.]

[*a*] Compare MORI *Dissertationes Theologicæ*, Vol. II. p. 1—106. de Religionis notitia cum rebus experientix obvis et in facto positis copulata.]

[*b*] On the nature of the inspiration of the sacred historians, HORSLEY gives the following opinion: "GOD, even in the more immediate interpositions of his providence, acts by natural means and second causes, so far as natural means and second causes may be made to serve the pur-

pose. The influence, therefore, of the inspiring spirit on the mind of an historian, can be nothing more than to secure him from mistake and falsity, by strengthening his memory, and by maintaining in his heart a religious love and reverence for truth, that he may be incapable of omission through forgetfulness, and may be invincibly fortified against all temptations to forge, conceal, disguise, or prevaricate. That inspiration ever was the means of conveying the first knowledge of facts to an historian's mind is a very unreasonable supposition. It is to suppose an unnecessary miracle. For a miracle is always unnecessary where natural means might serve the purpose. And the supposition of an unnecessary miracle is always an unreasonable, and indeed a dangerous supposition. Unreasonable, because no evidence can prove it, and no plausible argument can be alleged for it; dangerous, because it leads to an unlimited and pernicious credulity." *HORSLEY'S Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Messiah dispersed among the Heathen.* P. 78. Am. ed 1815. *Tr.*]

§ 25. *The use of Inspiration.*

If revealed truth were contained in writings merely human, there would be continually room for doubt whether the writers had not erred through human frailty; and this would open the way for infinite difficulties and disputes. For as every man is pre-occupied with some particular opinions, and carried away by some ruling prejudice, each one would easily be brought to suspect the writer to be in error whenever his own favourite opinions and prejudices were opposed. To these suspicions his prepossessions would add such weight, especially if any particular occasion for it were afforded, that it would preponderate over the authority of the writer, and thus every one would reject that doctrine which might be disagreeable to him. And as different men embrace different opinions and are swayed by different prejudices, and each would question or reject those parts which were at variance with his own opinions and prejudices; the consequence would be, as Augustin has observed, that "the existence of falsehood in this high authority being once allowed, no particle of these books would remain, which would not in some way or other, be thought in relation to morals, difficult, or in relation to faith, incredible." *Ep. ad Hieronymum.*

§ 26. *Canon of the books of the Old Testament.*[a]

The inspiration of the sacred books being established, the question arises, which are these inspired books? The *Catalogue of the books which are inspired*, is called THE CANON, from the Greek word *κανων* which signifies not only *a rule* but also *a list* or *record* of certain things or persons: this name has been appropriated to the catalogue of the divine writings since the fourth century. See SUICERI Thesaur. Eccles. in verb. Tom. II. p. 40. But as there are books found in the Alexandrine and Latin versions, which are not in the Hebrew copies, and were on that account, and on account of the difficulties which they contain, very early called in question by many, a double canon has been formed, a first and a second: so that those books the divine authority of which has been always and every where acknowledged by the church, are called *protocanonical*, but the rest, the divine authority of which was questioned by many in the primitive church, and which were by some entirely excluded from the canon, *deuterocanonical*. *Those books which by reason either of their title, or of the author's name affixed to them, or of their contents, might easily be thought inspired, and yet are not so, are called APOCRYPHAL*, [from *αποκρυφον*, hidden] which name also has been used in this peculiar acceptance since the fourth century.

[a] It will be perceived that in this and the following sections some of the peculiar views of the church to which Jahn belonged are advanced. The author, however, was one of those Romanists who are willing to render the tenets of their church as much as possible consistent with truth and reason. Accordingly, if some terms be excepted, and some arguments of little strength, not much will be found that might not be consistently maintained by Protestants. On the subject of this and the five following sections, see EICHN. § 15—57. or his *Repertorium für Bibl. und Morgand. Lit. Th. V. S. 217—282.* where the whole subject of the canon is ably investigated. *Tr.*]

§ 27. *The manner in which the canon is to be ascertained.*

The divine authority of the books of the Old Testament rests up on the testimony of Jesus and his Apostles; for which reason such authority is to be attributed to those books only for which such testimony can be adduced. But as neither Jesus nor his Apostles

anywhere enumerate these books, and nothing certain on the subject can be collected from their citations; we must have recourse to the opinion of the Jews of that age, and conclude those books to have been approved of by Jesus and his Apostles, to which the Jews of that age attributed divine authority. This course is so much the more safe, as we are certain that Jesus and his Apostles never upbraided the Jews with the admission of any apocryphal books.—But neither Josephus nor Philo, who are the only Jewish writers of that period, have framed a catalogue of their sacred books, nor can any thing certain be inferred from their quotations.[a] We must, therefore, adopt some other method of ascertaining the Jewish canon in the age of Christ and his Apostles.

[a] This assertion should be limited. In the German, Jahn says, 'We find one passage in Josephus which affords some light on the subject, which will be presently discussed.' This is *Cont. Apion. Lib. I. c. 8.* See § 28. vers. fin. *Tr.*]

§ 28. *The First Canon.*

Since therefore no writer of that time has enumerated the sacred books, we must inquire into the opinions of the Jews of those ages which were nearest to it. These unanimously testify that all the books which we have at present in Hebrew, are canonical. These testimonies shall now be recited in retrograde order.—1) In the Talmud, which was commenced at the end of the 2nd century, and completed towards the close of the 5th, all these books are placed, without any hesitation, in the canon of the Jews.—2) Testimony to the same effect is given by Jerome, at the end of the 4th century, in his *Prolog. Galeat. Ep. ad Paulinum*, and also by the fact that he translated them, as such, from the Hebrew into Latin.—3) Epiphanius, in the 4th century, adduces the same canon, as that of the Nazarenes, who were Hebrew Christians. *Haeres. xxix. Opp. Tom. I. p. 122. ss.*—4) Origen testifies that this was the canon of the Jews, *Exp. in Ps. I. Opp. Tom. II. p. 529*, and in Eusebius *Hist. Ecc. L. VI. c. 25*. In the latter place the omission of the 12 prophets is merely an error of the transcriber: for Origen 'not only frequently cites those books, but also copied them entire into his Hexapla from the canon of the Jews.—5) Melito of Sardis, who had learned the ca-

non of the Jews while in the east, about A. D. 172, gives to Onesimus a list (which Eusebius has preserved,) of the same books as canonical, with the exception of the book of Esther. This book is also passed over in silence, or in express words excluded from the canon, by several other fathers.[a] This circumstance has given occasion to some difference of opinion among the learned: whether the omission in Melito's catalogue arose from the negligence of some transcriber overlooking *Εσθηρα* after *Εσδρας*, or whether Esther and Nehemiah were both included under the name of Ezra, or the book were designedly passed over.—6) Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the authors of the Peshito or ancient Syriac version, and the Alexandrine interpreters, translated all these books as belonging to the Jewish canon. Aquila and the Alexandrine interpreters are witnesses of great importance.—From the time of Aquila to that of the last of the Apostles not more than 20 or 30 years had intervened; from that of Melito 80 or 100; from that of Origen 110 or 130. In this space of time the Jews could not have changed their canon without the knowledge of Melito, and especially of Origen, who was an acute inquirer and had travelled through many parts of the world. Besides, the Jews of this period were so attached to their sacred books, that they would have abhorred all idea of change. Comp. JOSEPHUS Contr. Apion. L. I. c. viii. Hence we may safely conclude, that the Jews in the time of Christ and his Apostles had no other canon than the present, and consequently that this was approved by Jesus and his Apostles.[b]

These books if all, as well those of Moses as the rest, are counted singly, amount in number to 39. Yet Josephus, who (Cont. Apion. L. I, c. viii.) divides them into three classes, numbers only 22, namely, the 5 *books of Moses*, 13 *prophets*, and 4 *other books*. To account for this, it must be observed, that the Jews accommodated the number of their sacred books, as the Greeks did that of the parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, to the number of their letters, and hence, as Origen and Jerome testify, frequently counted two or more books as one, as for instance the books of Judges and Ruth, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, the two books of Chronicles, Jeremiah and Lamentations, Ezra and Nehemiah, and the 12 minor prophets. According to this method of computation, used by the Jews, Josephus reckoned the sacred books in the following order: **THE FIVE BOOKS**

OF MOSES : 1. *Genesis*, 2. *Exodus*, 3. *Leviticus*, 4. *Numbers*, 5. *Deuteronomy*. THE THIRTEEN PROPHETS : 1. *Joshua*, 2. *the books of Judges and Ruth*, 3. *the books of Samuel*, 4. *the books of Kings*, 5. *the books of Chronicles*, 6. *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 7. *Esther*, 8. *Isaiah*, 9. *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, 10. *Ezekiel*, 11. *Daniel*, 12. *The twelve minor prophets*, 13. *Job*: THE FOUR OTHER BOOKS ; 1. *Psalms* 2. *Proverbs*, 3. *Ecclesiastes*, 4. *Canticles* [c] Jerome, (in Prolog. Galeat.) reduces the books to the same number, but remarks that some of the Jews separated Ruth from Judges, and Lamentations from Jeremiah, thus making the number of books 24, plainly with reference to the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. With these the authors of the Talmud agree ; and this had led some Jews, from the manner of writing the word יהוה in an abridged form thus, י', to force out the inference that in Hebrew there are three Yods, in order that the number of the Hebrew letters might equal that of the Greek.

[The Jews attribute the establishment of the Canon to what they call the Great Synagogue, which during more than two hundred years, from Zerubbabel down to Simon the Just, was composed of the prophets and the most eminent men of the nation. But the whole story respecting this Synagogue, which first occurs in the Talmud, (AURIVILLII Dissert. p. 139—160, de Synagoga vulgo magna dicta,) is utterly unworthy of credit. It is evidently a fictitious representation of the historic truth, that the men who are said to have constituted the Synagogue, were chiefly instrumental in the new regulation of the state, and in the constitution of the Jewish church, and consequently in the collecting and fixing the holy books upon which this constitution was established. It is in itself very probable, that the Jews on their return from exile should think it incumbent on them to show their respect for their sacred books, the promises of which had just been fulfilled, and on the future promises of which all their hopes were founded, by forming collections of them. It is also probable that the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and other learned and eminent men, especially Ezra, endeavoured to render such a collection as complete as possible, and that the interest taken by the prophets in the formation of the collection gave it the stamp of divine authority. Without doubt correct copies of this collection were laid up in the temple, as Moses had already placed his laws in the sanctuary, and afterwards the agreement with Saul at his election to the kingdom had been preserved in the same manner. The prophet Malachi, and the pious governor Nehemiah, the latter of whom according to II. Mac. ii. 13. formed, or rather

completed, the sacred collection, incorporated into it the later works and their own writings, and as no prophet subsequently arose, the collection was, properly speaking, finished. The Jews, however, fix the date of its final completion under Simon the Just, whom they place in the early part of the third century before Christ. This much is certain, that there is no sign of any later establishment of the Canon. The genealogy of David's posterity, I. Chron. iii. 17—24, which was probably completed by Simon the Just, reaches down to the end of the fourth century before Christ. In the third century before Christ the books were gradually translated into Greek. Shortly after this the collection seems to have been completed a considerable time, since it is not only mentioned as generally known and divided into three parts, by the translator of the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, in the year 131 before Christ, but is also represented as old by *the Son of Sirach* himself, c. xlix., between 130 and 180 before Christ. Besides, it is not evident why the elegant and useful moral treatise of Jesus the Son of Sirach should not have been received among the holy books, if the number of those books had not been already long determined.]

[a] See Part II. § 70. *Tr.*]

[b] The testimony of the Christian church to the Canon of the Old Testament is given by ORIGEN *Cont. Cels.* III. 45. *Opp.* Tom. I. p. 476. and in EUSEBIUS. *Ecc. Hist.* VI. 25. by the Council of Laodicea (A. D. 360—364) MANSI *Concil.* Tom. II. p. 574. &c. &c. See these and other testimonies in full in DE WETTE *Einleitung ins Alt. Test.* § 25, 26, 27. S. 41—53. *Tr.*]

[c] See EICHHORN's *Repert. für Bibl. und Morgenl. Lit.* V. Th. S. 260—271. *Tr.*]

§ 29. *Of the Second Canon.*

The books mentioned in the preceding section were undoubtedly included in the canon of the Jews in the age of Christ, and approved by him, and delivered by his apostles to the churches which they established. Whether in the Alexandrine version which the apostles recommended to the churches, there were not also other books equally recommended by them as of divine authority, is a difficult question, which was debated even in the ancient church. For this reason we place such books in the SECOND CANON. They are as follows: 1. *Baruch*; 2. *The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus*; 3. *The Wisdom of Solomon*; 4. *The book of Tobit*; 5. *Judith*; 6. *The first and second books of Maccabees*; 7. *The addi-*

tions to the book of *Esther*, from c. x. 4. to c. xvi. 24 ;* 8. *The Song of the three Children*, Dan. iii. 24—90 ;† 9. *The History of Susannah*, Dan. xiii. ;† 10. *The History of Bel and the dragon*, Dan. xiv.†—The arguments by which some have attempted to show that the Hellenistic Jews attribute to these books a divine authority, are of no force. Comp. Germ. Introd. P. I. §. 29. pp. 133. ss.[a] Of greater weight is 1) the testimony of Jerome, who (Praef. in *Tobit. et Judith.*) declares, that the Hebrews read them among the *hagiographa*. i. e. among the sacred writings : to the same purpose 2) Origen (Ep. ad Afric.) attests, that the Jews placed the book of *Tobit* neither in the canon, nor yet among the Apocrypha. So also 3) Junilius (De Partit. Divin. Leg. c. 3.) says, that these books were received by the Jews with some doubt : 4) the Apostolical Constitutions allege that the Jews read the book of *Baruch* in their synagogues on the day of expiation : 5) the Talmudists, and long before them the writers of the New Testament used them, although they never cite them by name : 6) Josephus (Cont. Ap. L. I. § 8.) says, that these books were not thought worthy of as much credit as the others, because the succession of prophets, or of inspired writers, could not be traced with certainty as low as the time of their composition. 7) Lastly, all things considered, it seems probable that these books were recommended to the churches by the Apostles together with the others as they were found in the Alexandrine version ; for unless that had been the case, it would be difficult to conceive how so many Christian churches could have received them from the Jews without suspicion. Nevertheless, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, the anonymous framer of the 59th canon of the Council of Laodicea, Hilary, Ruffin, and Jerome, exclude these books from the canon. But when some persons carrying their opposition to a greater length, disapproved of their being read in churches, the Council of Hippo in 393, (AUGUSTIN. de Doct. Christ. L. II. c. 8.) and the Councils of Carthage in 397 and 419, received these books into the canon, with the proviso, that the transmarine churches should be consulted ;

* [Forming in the English translation a separate book in the Apocrypha, under the title of "The rest of the book of Esther, which is found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee." *Tr.*]

† [Forming in the English translation a separate book in the Apocrypha. *Tr.*]

which seems to have been done, for Innocent I. (Ep. ad. Exsuperium,) declares these books canonical, in which he is followed by the synod held at Rome in 494, if indeed the acts purporting to be those of that synod are genuine.

These decrees however are not of general obligation, nor are they to be understood otherwise than as declaring the reading of these books in the churches to be useful for the edification of the people, not as asserting their sufficiency to prove theological doctrines. This is attested in express terms, not only by JEROME (Praef. in libros Salomonis, Praef. in Judith, and Praef. in Tob.) but also by RUFFIN, (in Symbol.) and by GREGORY I. (Comm. in Job.) Comp. DU PIN Proleg. sur la Bible, L. I. c. i. § 4. p. 8. [Du Pin on the Canon, p. 7. s.]

[a) The author, after having stated these arguments in this work, remarks, that they prove no more than that the Hellenistic Jews *might have had* those books in their canon, not that they had actually introduced them. *Tr.*]

§ 30. Canon of the Council of Trent.

The Protestants desiring to have these books expelled from the churches, the Council of Trent took up the subject in its deliberations on the formation of a Canon. According to the relations of Father Paul, (Hist. del. Conc. Trid. L. II. p. 157, 159,)* and Palavicini, (Hist. Conc. Trid. L. VI.) there were sharp disputes upon the subject; not a few contending that these books ought to be distinguished from the rest, and thrown into a separate secondary canon: others however, opposing this proposition, on the ground that there was no precedent of an establishment of a double canon by any council, and that *the difference of the books was already sufficiently known to the learned*; at length all present, namely, 48 bishops and 5 cardinals, agreed that all the books should be placed in one collection. This decision is contained in the proceedings of the 4th session, wherein all are anathematized *who do not receive all these books entire with all their parts, as they have been accustomed to be read in the Catholic church, and as they are contained in the old Vulgate Latin edition, for sacred and canonical, or who knowingly and deliberately*

* [Hist. du Conc. de Trente, tr. LE COURAYER, Tom. I. p. 275. s. BRENT'S Council of Trent, p. 152. *Tr.*]

contenu the aforesaid traditions.—The distinction between these books, therefore, is by no means removed, and on this account Lamy (Appar. Bibl. L. II. c. v.) denies that the deuterocanonical books have the same authority with those of the first canon, (Comp. above § 29.) while on the other hand Du Pin affirms it; Diss. Prelim. sur la Bibl. L. I. c. i. § 6. [On the Canon, p. 15. s.]

§ 31. *Apocryphal Books.*

There were formerly many apocryphal books of the Old Testament in circulation, but most of them have perished. Those that have withstood the injuries of time are,—*the Fourth Book of Ezra, the Prayer of Manasseh, and the Third Book of Maccabees.* All of these are preserved in the Alexandrine version, and the first two in the Latin Vulgate. From the rejection of these books it is evident, that the ancient Jews and Christians did not receive books as sacred without discrimination, but examined carefully whether their inspiration could be satisfactorily proved. Although some ecclesiastical writers have made use of the apocryphal books, yet the church has never acceded to their judgment, but has uniformly rejected such books.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 32. *Division of the history of the books of the Old Testament.*

AFTER having shown that the books of the Old Testament are genuine and incorrupt, worthy of credit, and of divine authority, and given a catalogue of them, it remains to examine their external and internal history during the course of so many centuries. To their external history we refer an account of the different versions: to the internal, accounts of their language, of the changes of the written characters, and of their various readings. These preparatory résearches will be divided as follows: this third chapter will be occupied by the versions; the fourth by the language and the means of acquiring a knowledge of it; the fifth by the characters; the sixth by the various readings; and lastly, the seventh will treat of the art of criticism by which the true readings are to be discovered.

§ 33. *Subjects worthy of notice respecting the ancient versions.*

The ancients are indeed valuable witnesses as well in interpretation as in criticism, but their respective authority is by no means equal. This depends partly upon the age, the country, and the author of each version; partly upon the text from which it has been taken; and partly upon its conformation, nature, and character. For this reason, before we can have a correct idea of the value of any particular version, it is necessary that we should be particularly acquainted with 1) *its age*, and if possible its *author*, and *the place where it was composed*; 2) the text from which it was made; and 3) the method pursued in making the translation, and the state in which it now exists after having undergone the vicissitudes attending

the lapse of ages.—We shall pay attention to all these particulars in treating briefly of all the ancient versions, especially with respect to the Alexandrine version on account of its being the most ancient, and to the Vulgate Latin on account of its being the adopted text of the church of Rome.

§ 34. *Origin of the Alexandrine Version.*[a]

Aristæas, an author who pretends to be a Gentile, præfect of the body guards of the king of Egypt, relates in a letter addressed to his brother Philocrates, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, at the instance of Demetrius Phalereus the keeper of his library, obtained from Eleazar the high priest of the Jews, by means of magnificent presents, seventy-two interpreters, who in the palace of the isle of Pharos, after mutual conferences and consultations, translated the books of Moses from the Hebrew into Greek, whence their version was called, in round numbers, the version of the Seventy interpreters. This account, repugnant as it is to historical truth, and contradictory in itself, has been copied from Aristæas by JOSEPHUS, Ant. Jud. XII. ii. 1—15, and by EUSEBIUS, Præf. Evang. VIII. ii—v. p. 350—355. By the oral traditions, on which Philo, Justin, and Epiphanius have relied, it was exaggerated to such an extent, that the interpreters were transformed into inspired writers.[b] Upon comparison with the history of those times, the following appears to be all that is true in the narration.—The Jews, who were carried by Ptolemy Lagus into Egypt 320 years before Christ, together with those who voluntarily accompanied them thither, having become accustomed to the use of the Greek language, a Greek version of the sacred books, and especially of the Pentateuch, became necessary, and seems to have been accomplished by some translator attached to a synagogue. Plutarch informs us, Reg. et Imperat. Apothegm. p. 124. Opp. Vol. VIII. ed. Hutten, that Demetrius Phalereus advised Ptolemy Lagus (in whose reign Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria say the version was made,) to read authors on political subjects, because they, although dead, utter truths to kings which living men are afraid to speak. Hence, perhaps, it happened that Ptolemy requested of the Synagogue a copy of their Greek translation of the Laws of Moses, and placed it in his library. This version of the Pentateuch must therefore have been

made in the interval of time which elapsed between the year 298 B. C., in which Demetrius Phalereus fled to Ptolemy Lagus, and the year 285 B. C., in which Ptolemy Lagus ceased to reign. The connexion of the number 70 with the name of the version, may have originated in its being revised and approved by a council of 70 learned men.—The other books were subsequently translated by different Jewish writers, as plainly appears from the variations in the orthography of proper names,[c] from the difference in the mode of translating, and from the degree of learning manifested by the translators, which varies in almost every book. That they were Egyptian Jews is shown by the occurrence of several Egyptian words.[d] In fine, that all the books were translated in the third century before Christ,[e] is intimated by the translator of Ecclesiasticus, who in the close of the third, or at latest in the second century before Christ, in his preface assumes as a well known fact, that all the Hebrew books had, during some time, been translated into Greek.

[a] On the subject of this and the ten following sections, compare HORNE'S Introduction, Vol. II. p. 163—182; CARPZOV, *Critica Sacra*, P. II. c. ii. iii. p. 481—585; EICHHORN, § 161—212; S. GLASSII *Philologia Sacra*, ed. BAUER, Tom. II. p. 239—288, § 40—58; SIMON, *Hist. Crit. du V. T. L. II. c. ii—x.*, and PRIDEAUX'S *Connexions*, Part II. Book I. Anno 277, ed. Lond. 1720, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 27—61. *Tr.*]

[b] The genuineness of Aristeas has been much contested; See ROSENEM. *Handbuch für die Lit. der Bib. Krit. und Exeg.* II. B. S. 387—427. LEWIS VIVES in his remarks on Augustin, de Civ. Dei. xviii. 42, considers the letter as supposititious, and the account as fabulous. He was followed by LEO A CASTRO, (Proem. in Jesai.) SALMERO, (Prolegom. 6.) JOS JUST. SCALIGER, (ad Chron. Euseb. Anno MDCCXXXIV. p. 132—134.) and HUMPHREY HODY in his *Dissertatio contra historiam Aristæ de 70 interpretibus*, 1685, 8vo. London, where he professedly discusses the subject, and more fully in his work *de Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Græcis, et Latina Vulgata*, 1705, fol. Oxon.]

[c] In the book of Chronicles $\Pi\Delta\text{E}$ is written $\varphi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\kappa$, but in the other books $\pi\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha$; in the Chronicles also we find $\Theta\epsilon\kappa\omega\iota$, Αναδωδι , Νετωφατι , when in the books of Samuel we read $\Theta\epsilon\kappa\omega\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\text{Αναδωδιτ\eta\varsigma}$, $\text{Νετωφαδιτ\eta\varsigma}$.]

[d] HODY, de Bib. Text. p. 1—100, 115, 159, 570, has collected them. they are such as $\sigma\iota\pi\iota$ or $\sigma\iota\varphi\epsilon\iota$. Num. xxviii. 5. Ruth ii. 17. which He-

zychius says, was an Egyptian name for a measure, as was also the term *αφαβα*, Isa. v. 10, according to Jerome; *αχι* or *αχσι*, Gen. xli. 2. Isa. xix. 7; 'Ρεφαν or 'Ρεμφαν or 'Ραιφαν, Amos v. 26, which in the old Egyptian, and present Coptic, is the word for Saturn, and *αληθεια* for the image of truth and righteousness worn by the Egyptian chief justice, and used for the Urim and Thummim, Ex. xxviii. 30.]

[e] No trace of a more modern age exists. The occurrence of the word *γαισος*, *javelin*, in Jos. viii. 18, is no proof, for although it is a Gallic word, yet there were Gauls in Egypt in this century, and as early as the year 265 B. C., 4000 of them made an insurrection against Ptolemy Philadelphus. See PAUSANIAS in Atticis, Lib. I. c. viii. 1—3]

§ 35. *The Pentateuch was translated from a Jewish text.*

Philo indeed tells us that the Pentateuch was translated from the Chaldee; but what he calls Chaldee, was the Hebrew idiom, which is termed by him sometimes Hebrew, and sometimes Chaldee, as on the other hand Chaldee is called Hebrew in Ac. xxi. 40. xxii. 2. xxvi. 14. Hassencamp, who asserted, Comment. Phil. Crit. 1765. *Marpurg*, that the Pentateuch was translated from the Samaritan text, has not been able to prove his assertion; nor did that learned man reflect that a Pentateuch translated from the Samaritan would never have attained that credit among the Jews, which we every where find attached to this version. The numerous instances of agreement between the Alexandrine and Samaritan readings against the Jewish, only prove that the latter text formerly agreed more closely with the Samaritan than at present; and there are abundant instances of a difference of reading. If in the Alexandrine version such errors occur as may be supposed to arise from the interchange of similar letters in the Samaritan alphabet, it still remains to be proved that those letters were then dissimilar in the Jewish alphabet; and on the other hand more errors exist which have arisen from the interchange of similar letters in the Jewish alphabet.

§ 36. *Character of the Alexandrine version.*

The character of the translation differs in different books. In all, however, the Greek is full of Hebraisms, and various errors occur, arising partly from an imperfect acquaintance with grammar, partly from ignorance of the art of interpretation, and partly from a defect

of erudition ; nevertheless very many parts are excellently translated.

The first place in the scale of merit is due to the version of the *Pentateuch*, which far surpasses the versions of the other books, Comp. Gen. xviii. 5. xliii. 17. xlv. 21. xlv. 16. xlix. 10. Deut. xxviii. 57.—The next to this is the translation of the book of *Proverbs*, the very errors of which exhibit genius.—The books of *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, and *Kings* seem to have been translated by one man, who does not admit more Hebraisms than the other translators, but has several other peculiarities.—The *Psalms* and *Prophets* have been translated by men who were unequal to their task. The version of *Jeremiah* is better than the rest ; those of *Amos* and *Ezekiel* deserve the next place, and the last must be given to that of *Isaiah*. The translation of *Daniel* which every where differed from the Hebrew, has been long ago changed by the church for the version of the same book by Theodotion.—The version of *Ecclesiastes* is remarkable for its being closely literal.—In the version of *Job*, additions have been made to those parts of the book which are in prose, while the poetical parts are deficient in many places ; for, as Jerome (Praef. in Jobum) has observed, seven or eight hundred verses (or members of sentences) have been omitted.

§ 37. *Authority of the Alexandrine version.*

This version was used by all the Jews who understood the Greek language, as well the Hebrew as the Hellenistic, as appears from Josephus and the writers of the New Testament, who almost always follow it. Even the authors of the Talmud (Tract. Megilloth) make honourable mention of its origin, and (Tract. Sota. c. 7.) speak of the Hellenistic Synagogue at Cesaræa in which this version was read. Others, however, differed so far from them as (Tract. Thaanet and Sopherim) to abominate this version, and, as we learn from Justinian's Novells, (Nov. 146.) to wish it exterminated from their synagogues. They were led to this in consequence of being frequently pressed by quotations from it in their arguments with the Christians, who in that age used this version almost exclusively, received it as derived from the Apostles, and generally attributed to it a divine authority, believing the fables which were circulated respecting the pretended inspi-

ration of the interpreters. So firmly rooted was this last erroneous opinion, that neither Origen nor Jerome was able to overthrow it, and Jerome, who incurred obloquy by his contrary opinion, was induced occasionally to write as though he allowed the inspiration of the translators.

§ 38. *History of the Alexandrine version.*

Copies of this version made for the use of the Jews, and afterwards of the Christians also, having been multiplied until they amounted to an immense number, the errors which originally existed in the version were greatly increased by the addition of those which were caused by the mistakes of transcribers. The Jews in their controversies with the Christians took advantage of this circumstance to make objections to passages cited in opposition to them from this version, on pretence either that they were different from the Hebrew text, or that they were interpolations, or that they were mutilated. Origen, in order to meet this difficulty, transcribed this and all the other Greek versions together with the Hebrew text itself in one large volume, in the order exhibited in the following page.

HABAKKUK ii. 4.

Hebrew Text.	Hebrew in Greek characters.	Aquila.	Symmachus.	Septuagint.	Theodotion.	Fifth Version.	Ninth Version.	Seventh Version.
תּוֹ עֲבָרַיִקוֹן	Τὸ ἙΒΡ. ἙΛΛ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙ.	ΑΚΤΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ Ο'.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.	Ε'.	Σ'.	Ζ'.
וְצִדִיק בְּחֻנְיָתָאִי יִהְיֶה	σασαδικ βημυαδω יעיע	γδικαιος εν πισει αυτη ζη- σεσαι.	ο δε δικαιος τη εαυτου πισει ζησει.	ο δε δικαιος μη εκ πισεωσ τη ζησεται.	ο δε δικαιος τη εαυτησ πισει ζησει.	ο δε δικαιος τη εαυτησ πισει ζησει.	ο δε δικαιος τη εαυτησ πισει ζη- σει.	ο δε δικαιος τη εαυτησ πισει ζη- σει.

[In Jahn's Latin work, the *names only* of the different texts and versions are printed in their respective columns; in his German work, a specimen of the *first six columns* is given from Gen. i. 4. The preceding, from MONTFAUCON, Preliminaria in Hex. Orig. p. 16, is given in preference, on account of its containing the three minor versions. *Tr.*]

In this Polyglot, which was generally called Hexapla, sometimes Tetrapla, and occasionally Octapla, he observed the following method. The Alexandrine version he placed in the middle, that he might correct it from the other versions which accompanied it, yet without altering the version itself. Where it was deficient he supplied the deficiency from Theodotion, Symmachus, Aquila, the 5th, 6th, or 7th version, or the Hebrew text itself, denoting by means of an asterisk that this was an addition, and by an initial letter the name of the translator from whom the passage was taken. Such additions were generally taken from the version of Theodotion. Where any thing was found that was not in the Hebrew text, he marked it with an obelisk ÷ or †, to denote that it was wanting. He added to other passages lemnisks and hyperlemnisks, the figure and signification of which are equally uncertain. In this manner he pointed out to Christians engaged in controversies with the Jews, what the Hebrew text really did, or did not, contain. This great work, comprehended in 50 volumes, finished at Tyre in the space of 27 years, was afterwards in the year 303 removed to Caesarea to the library of Pamphilus, where Jerome corrected his Hebrew copies after its text. Subsequently, most probably in the overthrow of Caesarea by the Saracens, it was destroyed, without ever having been transcribed.[a]

[a] On the character and value of the Hexapla of Origen, some excellent observations may be found in a dissertation by ERNESTI, entitled 'Origen the Father of Grammatical interpretation,' translated in HODGE'S Biblical Repertory, Vol. III. No. 2. pp. 245—260. *Tr.*]

§ 39. *Revisions of the Alexandrine Version.*

Toward the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth, three revisions of this version appeared. The *first* was edited by Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom in 311. It was amended according to the Hebrew text, but whether Lucian himself understood Hebrew or whether he made use of the works of Origen, is uncertain. This edition was received in the churches from Antioch to Constantinople. JEROME, *Præf. I.* in *Paralip.* and *Ep. ad Suniam et Fretelam.*—The *second* was edited about the same time by Hesychius in Egypt. Whether it was cor-

rected by the Hebrew text, or by ancient copies of the Alexandrine version, is unknown: it seems, however, that fewer changes were made in it than in that of Lucian. This edition was received by the churches of Egypt. JEROME, Præf. I. in Paralip.—The *third* recension, transcribed by Eusebius and Pamphilus from the Hexapla of Origen with all the marks, was not only received by the churches of Palestine, but also very common in libraries. JEROME, Præf. I. in Paralip. The marks in course of time were altered, and at last totally omitted; whence the difficulty of ascertaining the true reading became even greater than it had been before the time of Origen, inasmuch as it became impossible to distinguish the original text of the translators from the additions of Origen. This is complained of by JEROME, Præf. in Iesaiam.

From these three recensions all our manuscript copies have arisen; for the *fourth*, or Melchite recension, proceeded in course of time from that of Lucian, from which it differed but little. As none of these recensions was pure at its very origin, it is plain, that the evil, subsequently increased by the transcribers of succeeding ages, must be very great; on which account, the critical edition undertaken by Holmes in England, was much desired, and it is greatly to be regretted that its learned editor should have died before he had advanced beyond the Pentateuch.

Of printed editions, the principal and most celebrated are the following: I. The Complutensian, contained in the Polyglot so called, printed 1514—1517; its text has been followed in the Paris and Antwerp Polyglots, and printed separately at Geneva in 1596 and 1599. That it is not altered from the Hebrew, as has been supposed, is shown by Brunus in EICHHORN'S Repertor. Th. III. S. 174. Th. VIII. S. 109. ff.—II. The Aldine, printed at Venice in 1518. Several very old manuscripts were used by its editors, yet Masius asserts that its text is very much interpolated from Theodotion and other ancient versions. It was printed separately at Strasburg, in 4 vols. 8vo in 1525; at Basil, in folio, in 1545, in 8vo. in 1550 and 1582; and at Frankfort, in folio, in 1597.—III. The Roman, taken from the Vatican Manuscript, printed in 1587, folio. The beginning as far as Gen. xlvi., and several other places, which are wanting in the MS., have been supplied from other manuscripts, while other places have been slightly altered by the editors. Its text is followed in the London Polyglot, and has been printed separately with many alterations at London in 1653, which altered edition was very incorrectly

printed by Leusden, at Amsterdam in 1685. The Cambridge edition,* 1665, and that of 1697,† contain the same text.—IV. The edition of Bos, with various readings, printed at Franeker in 1709. The text is taken from the Paris or London Polyglot. From this edition those of Reineccius, 1730, 1757, and of Mill, 1725,‡ are taken.—V. The edition of Grabe, from the ancient Alexandrine Manuscript, but with many alterations from the Vatican and other manuscripts, and from conjecture, which are given in a smaller character, printed at Oxford 1707—1720, in four folio volumes.§—VI. The edition of Breitinger, containing the Alexandrine text according to the edition of Grabe, but with the marks of the Hexapla, and the various readings of the Vatican MS. as given in the Roman edition, printed in 4 vols. 4to. at Zurich, 1730—1732.—[VII. The edition of Holmes, containing the text of the Roman edition, with the various readings of all the MSS. known to be extant, beautifully printed in folio, Oxford, 1798—1818. The first volume, containing the Pentateuch, was edited by Holmes. The second, containing from Joshua to II. Chronicles inclusive, was published after his decease, upon his plan, by the Rev. J. Parsons. The third is now publishing by the same editor. See HORNE, *Introd.* II. 182. *Tr.*] In all these editions the book of Daniel is in the version of Theodotion. The Alexandrine version of this book was first published from a Chisian manuscript at Rome, with many dissertations, in folio, 1772. It was reprinted at Göttingen, in 3vo. in 1773, and in 4to. with some other pieces, in 1774.[a] ||

[a] For accurate notices of the principal editions of the LXX, see DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 47. *Ann.* (b) and HORNE, *Introd.* II. 178—183. *Tr.*]

* [With a learned preface by Bishop Pearson. *Tr.*]

† [Edited by Cluver. The edition published at the Clarendon press, Oxford, 1817, also follows this text. *Tr.*]

‡ [Also that of Valpy, 8vo. 1819. *Tr.*]

§ [The first and fourth of these, containing the Octateuch and the metrical books, were published by Grabe himself; the second, comprising the historical books, by Francis Lee, M. D.; and the third, containing the prophetic books, by W. Wigan, S. T. D. It was printed at the same time, from the same types, in 8 vols. 8vo. *Tr.*]

|| [The Alexandrine version of Daniel was published together with that of Theodotion by Holmes, in a manner corresponding to his edition of the Pentateuch, in 1805. *Tr.*]

§ 40. *The Version of Aquila.*

Aquila, as Irenaeus* and Jerome† testify, and his method of translating shows, was a Jew; the other circumstances that Epiphanius‡ relates concerning him are by no means probable. He translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek during the interval between the years 90 and 130 after Christ, with the intention of exhibiting to the Hellenistic Jews an accurate representation of the Hebrew text, for their assistance in their disputes with the Christians. Yet he did not on this account pervert the passages which relate to Christ by unfaithful translations, as some of the ancients thought; for the examples of designed want of fidelity, which they produce, are nothing more than etymological renderings, or expressions of the same things in other words, or various readings, or else his own mistakes. His version is so literal, that he expresses not only those Hebrew particles which have no corresponding terms in Greek, but even the etymology of words. In order to secure the greater accuracy in his work, he edited it a second time. This scrupulous nicety makes his version so obscure, that it cannot be understood without being collated with the Hebrew text: hence it happens that Jerome sometimes finds fault with Aquila as a captious translator, and sometimes praises him as very critical and diligent. JEROME Epist. ad Pammachium, Comm. in Jes. c. viii. and Comm. in Hos. 2. Comp. DATHII Opusc. p. 1. ss.

§ 41. *The Version of Theodotion.*

Theodotion is called an Ephesian by Irenaeus§, and a semichristian or Ebionite by Eusebius|| and Jerome.¶ The account which Epiphanius, a learned writer, but possessed of very little judgment, gives of him, may as well be omitted. Theodotion wrote his version during the first half of the second century; for it is cited not only by Justin, A. D. 160, in his dialogue with Trypho, but also by Irenaeus who lived in Gaul, A. D. 177. His object seems to have been to

* [Cont. Her. Lib. III. Cap. 24.]

† [Praef. in Ezram et Nehem. and Praef. I. in Job.]

‡ [De Pond. et Mens. Cap. 13.]

§ [Cont. Her. iii. 24.] || [Hist. Eccles. V. viii.]

¶ [Praef. in Ezram. et Neh. et in Job.]

indicate to such of his fellow sectarians, the Ebionites, as might be engaged in controversy with the Jews, the true reading of the Hebrew text. This translation is so closely copied from the Alexandrine version that almost his whole aim seems to have been to add what was wanting in that version, to take away what was superfluous, and to correct what was inaccurately rendered; in doing which he has not manifested any great erudition. It is not unworthy of remark that he has retained several Hebrew words, which seem to have been used among the Ebionites; such as *φεγγυλ*, Levit. vii. 18., *μασφαα*, Levit. xiii. 6., *κωλυμα*, Deut. xxii. 9., *εδδμ*, Isa. lxiv. 5.

§ 42. *The Version of Symmachus.*

Symmachus, according to the testimony of Eusebius* and Jerome,† was a semichristian or Ebionite: what Epiphanius‡ tells concerning him is of doubtful credit. His version, as Jerome frequently asserts, was published after that of Theodotion: this appears also from the fact that Irenaeus who often quotes Theodotion, never mentions Symmachus, which shows at least that his version had not at that time (A. D. 177.) reached as far as Gaul. Symmachus was better acquainted with the rules of translation than his fellow interpreters, and has observed them more accurately; for he has not, says Jerome, translated word for word, like Aquila, but according to the sense.§ He bestowed upon his work the care of a revision, as we learn from JEROME, Comm. in Nahum 3, and in Jerem. 32. For these reasons his version is celebrated by the ancients as *perspicuous, clear, plain, and worthy of admiration.* Comp. HODY De Text. Original. p. 588. THIEME, Diss. de puritate Symmachi. 1735, *Lipsiæ.*

* [Hist. Eccles. VI. xvii.]

† [Praef. in Ezram et Neh., et in Job, et Comment in Hab. 3.]

‡ [De Pond. et Mens. c. 16.]

§ [Non verbum e verbo, ut Aquila, sed sensum ex sensu transtulit. Praef. I. in Job.]

§ 43. *Fifth, sixth, and seventh Greek versions.*

These three versions by anonymous authors, none of which extend to the whole number of the sacred books, are designated by the numbers of the columns which they occupied in the Hexapla. The author of the sixth was a Christian; for he renders Hab. iii. 13. *δια Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. The object of these three translators seems to have been to instruct those belonging to their side of the question who might be engaged in the controversies between the Jews and the Christians, in the contents of the Hebrew text.—All three contained the Psalms and minor Prophets the *fifth* and *sixth* the Pentateuch and Canticles in addition, and the *fifth* and *seventh* beside the books just mentioned those of Kings, fragments of which were found by Brunus in a Syriac Hexaplar Manuscript at Paris.*—The *fifth* and *sixth* frequently accord with Theodotion, and the *seventh* appears to be the work of a learned interpreter.

Origen in JEROME (Praef. ad Homil. Orig. in Cant.) relates that the *fifth* version was found in a cask at Nicopolis in Actium. Epiphanius gives the same account of the *sixth*, adding that the *fifth* and *seventh* were found at Jericho. Eusebius' account of this matter, E. H. VI. xvi. is rather obscure.

§ 44. *Remains of the Greek versions.*

These six versions in course of time became neglected, not only by the Jews and Ebionites, but also by the Christians; hence they have all perished, nothing remaining but some fragments found in the works of ecclesiastical writers, in some very ancient Hexaplar manuscripts, and in a Syriac Hexaplar version. From these the indefatigable industry of the learned has endeavoured to restore the Hexapla of Origen, and, considering the difficulty of the task, much has been done to effect it. The first who collected these scattered fragments was Peter Morin, who added all that he could find to his edition of the Alexandrine version, published in 1587. At the same time Drusus was labouring upon a collection, which was first published in 1622. Martianai collected a considerable number of fragments from the works of Jerome, and added them to the third volume of

* [See EICHM. Repert. VIII. Th. S. 100. f. IX. Th. S. 157. ff. X. Th. S. 58. ff.]

his edition of those works, published in 1699, at Paris. All these were collected into one body, and increased by the addition of many other fragments, by Montfaucon, who published the whole at Paris, in 2 vols. folio, in 1714. Bahrtdt reprinted this work at Leipzig, 1769—1770, but his edition is so full of errors as to be of no utility. In the last century several learned men, particularly Semler, Scharfenberg, Doederlein, Matthai, Bruns, Adler, Schleusner, Loesner, and Fischer, have corrected many parts of the preceding collections, and increased them by large additions.* It is much to be wished, that all were published in a single collection.[a]

There is extant in the library of St. Mark's at Venice, a manuscript of a Greek version of the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and Lamentations, which seems to have been made from the Hebrew text in the eleventh century. It is of no great consequence, and yet not wholly deserving of neglect. Part of it has been published by VILLOISON, at Strasburg, in 1784, and the Pentateuch by AMMON, 1790—1791. Comp. EICHHORN, Allgemeine Bibliothek, VII. B. S. 194—203.

[a] Among these fragments the following are to be met with: viz. ὁ Ἑβραϊος, ὁ Συρος, ὁ Ἑλληνικος, το Σαμαρειτικον, ὁ ἄλλος and ὁ ἀνεπιγραφος.—The Ἑβραϊος agrees generally with Jerome, and the explanations of the Hebrew words under this name were according to all appearances borrowed, at least in a great measure, from Jerome by the owners of manuscripts, on the margin of which they are found. [It derives its name from its correspondence with the original. *Tr.*] The Συρος appears in like manner to be Jerome, who lived a long time in Palestine, consequently in a part of Syria, and is therefore really called a Syrian by Theodore of Mopsuestia in Photius. It constantly agrees with Jerome. Comp. DOEDERLEIN, Diss. qui sit ὁ Συρος V. T. interpres Altdorf, 1772. Who is meant by the Ἑλληνικος has not yet been ascertained.—The Σαμαρειτικον is undoubtedly the reading of the Samaritan text, but it remains uncertain whether it sprang from a Samaritan Greek version, or was borrowed from Origen.—The ἄλλος or the Ἐνεπιγραφος appears to be a negligent quotation, where the writer had not taken the trouble to mark the author's name, or else was unacquainted with it.]

* See ROSENUELLER'S Handbuch für die Literatur der Bibl. Krit. und Exeg. II. Th. S. 459. ff. [For a notice of these several works, see a note in FISCHER (J. F.) Clavis Reliquiarum Versionum Græcorum V. T. Specimen, in Comm. Theol. a VELTHUSEN, Tom. IV. pp. 204—207. *Tr.*]

§ 45. *Samaritan Version.* [a]

The author and date of the Samaritan version are unknown, but it is certainly much older than the 7th century; perhaps it belongs to the 3d or 4th. It follows the Hebræo-Samaritan text word for word, except that sometimes, especially where the Deity is represented with human form or passions, or where appearances of God are mentioned, it renders the name of God by 'the angel of God;' this peculiarity does not, as John Morin thought, belong to the Samaritans alone, for it occurs also in the Arabic version of the Jew Saadiah Gaon, [b] and is almost the same with the מִיִּמְרָהּ רִיְהוּהּ of the Chaldee paraphrases. The changes of the guttural letters, which frequently recur, are not various readings, but errors of transcription, arising from the circumstance that the Samaritans do not pronounce those letters. Frequently two readings of a single passage are given. The various readings of this translation were published by Castell in the 6th volume of the London Polyglot. Comp. MICHÆLIS, Einleit. in die Göttl. Schrift. des A. B. § 64. S. 337—340.

This version is published in the Paris and London Polyglots.

[a] Comp. EICHHORN, § 303—305. SIMON, L. II. c. xvii. *Tr.*]

[b] *Gaon* or *Haggaon* is not a proper name, but a title of honour, הַגָּאוֹן, equivalent to *excellent*, *illustrious*, applied to the masters of the schools of Babylon. See BARTOLOCCI, Biblioth. Rabbin. P. III. p. 668. WOLFII, Biblioth. Heb. Tom. I. p. 932—936. BASNAGE, Hist. des Juifs, VII. c. iv. § 2. *Tr.*]

§ 46. *Targum of Onkelos.* [a]

The Chaldee paraphrases are known by the name of Targums.* The most celebrated among them is that of the Pentateuch, ascribed to Onkelos, whom the Babylonian Talmud makes contemporary with Gamaliel, adding many incoherent tales respecting him: it is evident however, that he lived several centuries before the Talmudical writers, since they knew so little of him, although he wrote in Baby-

* [From the word תַּרְגוּם, which means *a version* or *an interpretation*. Comp. Ez. iv. 7. *Fr.*]

lonia. Onkelos, therefore, would seem to have written not in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era, but in the third, or rather in the second, and this is confirmed by his paraphrase itself; for it not only closely follows the Hebrew text, and is free from those fables and digressions with which the later books of its kind are filled, but it is also written in a Chaldee dialect which approximates nearly to that of Ezra and Daniel, and is not adulterated with that multitude of foreign words with which the later paraphrases abound. The work indeed is not mentioned by Origen or Jerome, but Origen was ignorant of Chaldee, and Jerome only learned it in his old age; besides, a work composed in Babylonia in the second century, could hardly have become known to Origen or Jerome in Palestine in the third and fourth, when the Mishna of the Talmud, written in Palestine between the years 190 and 220, was little known in Babylonia, and did not obtain a Gemara (or commentary) until the fifth century.

The principal editions of this paraphrase are the following: at Bonaonia, in 1483, with the commentary of Jarchi: without mention of place, in 1490; at Lisbon, in 1491; at the end of the fifteenth century without date or place; in the Complutensian Polyglot, under the inspection of some learned Jewish converts, who changed the points in many places: in the Antwerp Polyglot, after the Complutensian text, but with some changes of the points and omissions of the *matres lectionis*: at Venice, by Bomberg, from a MS. copy, in 1513, and again with corrections from another MS. in 1526: from this last edition those which followed were taken, until in 1616, Buxtorf, in his edition, altered the points according to the rules of grammar, and here and there the text itself, according to the Hebrew and his own conjectures;* this last edition has been followed in the Paris and London Polyglots. A Latin translation of the paraphrase of Onkelos, with notes, was published by Fagius, at Strasburg, in 1547, in folio.

[a) On the subject of this and the four following sections, Comp. HORNE, Vol. II. pp. 157—163. CARPZOV, Pars II. Cap. I. p. 430—431. EICHHORN, § 213—245. BAUER, § 59—81. p. 288—308. SIMON, L. II.

* [This assertion, which is made also by EICHHORN in his first edition, Th. I. S. 437, is denied by DE WETTE, Einl. § 58. ann. c., who affirms that Buxtorf merely changed the punctuation. EICHHORN in his third edition, Th. II. S. 28, has somewhat modified his assertion, though without entirely acquitting Buxtorf from the charge of an undue attachment to the Hebrew text. Tr.]

c. xviii. PRIDEAUX, Part II. Book viii. An. 37. p. 531—555. On the Targum of Onkelos, particularly, DE WETTE Einleit. § 58, and WINER, de Onkeloso ejusque Paraphrasi Chaldaica, Lips. 1820, 4to. Tr.]

§ 47. *Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets.*

Jonathan, the son of Uzziel, is in the Babylonian Talmud (Bava Bathra, c. 8. p. 134, and Succoth, p. 28.) called the disciple of Hillel, and the colleague of Simeon, and (Tract. Megilloth, c. 1. p. 3.) many wonderful things are related of him. From this it is plain that he must have lived long before the time of the Talmudists, and not, as some have supposed, in the 5th or 6th century, since, in that case, his history would have been better known. In confirmation of this we may adduce the citation of this paraphrase, written in Palestine, in the Babylonian Gemara; but as it is not cited in the Gemara of Jerusalem, it must have been either recently published, or not at all, in the year 282 when the author of that Gemara died.[a] This paraphrase contains the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. Its language is not as pure as that of Onkelos, yet it does not contain as many foreign words as the more recent Targums, and is free from the digressions and idle tales with which they abound. Hence arises an additional proof of the correctness of the date above assigned to the work. Neither the language nor the method of interpretation is the same in all the books: in the historical works the text is translated with greater accuracy than elsewhere; in some of the prophets, as in Zechariah, the interpretation has more of the Rabbinical and Talmudical character. From this variety we may properly infer that the work is a collection of interpretations of several learned men, made towards the close of the third century, and containing some of a much older date: for that some parts of it existed as early as in the second century, appears from the additions I. Sam. xvii. 12—31, 41, 50, 55—58. xviii. 1—5, 9—11, 17—19, which have been transferred from some Chaldee paraphrase into the Hebrew text, and were already read in the text in the second century. See below, § 136.

The first prophetic books of this version were printed at Liria in 1494, fol.* After this edition they were printed together with Onkelos,

* [With the Hebrew text, and the commentaries of Levi and Kimchi. Tr.]

in the Bomberg and other editions of that paraphrast. The lesser prophets have been often printed collectively or separately.* The whole twelve† at Paris, in 1557. Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, at Paris, in 1552. Hosea, without mention of place, in 1556. Hosea, with the commentaries of Aben Ezra, Solomon Jarchi, and Kimchi,‡ at Helmstadt, in 1702.§

[a] GESENIUS, (agreeing with PRIDEAUX, P. II. B. viii. Anno 37. p. 531, 542—545.) maintains the correctness of the opinion that Jonathan Ben Uzziel lived a short time before the birth of Christ. Jesaia. Einleit. § 11. Th. I. S. 65. ff. *Tr.*]

§ 48. *Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch.*

There is a Targum on the Pentateuch which is ascribed to the same Jonathan that paraphrased the Prophets; but that it is not his is proved, not only by the language, which contains a greater number of foreign terms, and by the inferiority of the style, but also by the number of tales and dialogues which are inserted in it, and by the frequent errors which betray a gross ignorance of the Hebrew language, or an extreme degree of negligence. The confounding of the Hebrew אלה Gen. xxxv. 8, with the Greek αλλον, and translating it אחר, is a remarkable instance. Besides, the mention of Constantinople and of the Turks, Gen. x. 2, and Lombards, Num. xxiv. 24, are proofs that it was not written before the seventh or eighth century. It seems, however, to have been compiled from older interpretations.

§ 49. *Jerusalem Targum of the Pentateuch.*

The Jerusalem Targum contains interpretations of select passages only of the Pentateuch. These generally agree with those of the Pseudo-Jonathan; and when they differ, they are not better. The language is full of Greek, Latin, and Persian words. This work is more modern than that of the Pseudo-Jonathan, or certainly not more ancient. It seems to have been compiled, however, from more ancient works, and hence contains many sentences which are found

* [Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, and Jonah, by Robert Stephens in 1545. *Tr.*]

† [Under the care of Mercer. *Tr.*] ‡ [By Herman Von der Hardt. *Tr.*]

§ [And again, under the care of J. D. Michaelis. at Goettingen, 1775. *Tr.*]


in the New Testament, having probably been common among the Jews of that age ; such as “the first and second death,” Rev. xx. 6, 14 ; “our Father in heaven,” Matt. vi. 9 ; “who is, and was, and is to come,” Rev. i. 4 ; “with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again,” Luke vi. 38.

This Targum has always been printed with those of Onkelos and the Pseudo-Jonathan.

§ 50. *The other Chaldee Paraphrases.*

The other Chaldee paraphrases are neither older nor better than the preceding, but abound with digressions and fictions. There are paraphrases of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, which are attributed by the Jews to Joseph the Blind, who is said to have taught in the third century at Sora in Babylonia : but they contain many things which are more recent than that age, and occasionally exhibit two different interpretations of a single passage, which proves that they are a collection of ancient interpretations. DATHE (Opusc. p. 106—129) has shown that the paraphrase of Proverbs has been made from the Peshito Syriac version. In addition to the preceding there are three paraphrases of the book of Esther, and a fourth of the additions to that book ; a Targum on the Megilloth, viz. the books of Ruth, Esther, Canticles, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes ; and a Targum on the Chronicles. There is no paraphrase of Daniel, Ezra, or Nehemiah.

§ 51. *Peshito Syriac Version.*[a]

The Syriac version which is called  *Peshito*, (i. e. *Simple*.) is carried back by the Syrians sometimes to the age of Solomon, sometimes to the time of the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, and sometimes to the days of Judas the Apostle.*—All that is certain respecting it is, that about the middle of the 4th century it was cited by Ephrem the Syrian (who died A. D. 379,) as widely circulated and well known to every body : it must, therefore, have been much older than his time, and perhaps belongs to the se-

[* Abulfaragius in EICHN. § 259. Tr.]

cond century. This conjecture is the more probable, as that century may almost be called the age of versions, and as the Syrian church was then in a very flourishing state, had at Edessa a church built after the model of the temple of Jerusalem, and would hardly have been without a translation of the Old Testament, the reading of which in the churches had been introduced by the Apostles.—That it is derived immediately from the Hebrew text, is proved by many readings which can only be explained from the Hebrew: yet it manifests some affinity with the Alexandrine version, partly because the translator or translators have occasionally consulted that version, and partly because the Syrians have subsequently corrected their version very greatly by the Alexandrine.—The translation is exceedingly good, yet not equal in every book; the manner of translating is different in the Pentateuch from that in Chronicles: and in Ecclesiastes and Canticles, as well as in the first chapter of Genesis, some Chaldaisms occur: hence the version seems to have been the work of more than one author.

The Peshito was first printed in the Paris Polyglot, from an imperfect MS., the deficiencies of which were supplied, with great want of critical acumen, by translations from the Latin Vulgate by Gabriel Sionita, the editor. This text was copied in the London Polyglot, but with corrections, and additions of what was wanting in the MS., from four other MSS. [The Psalms have been printed separately; at Mount Libanus in 1585, folio, and again in 1610; at Paris, from three MSS. by Gabriel Sionita in 1626, in 4to.; and at Leyden from two MSS., by Erpenius, in 1625. The text of Erpenius was reprinted at Leipzig, in 1768, in 8vo., with various readings from the London Polyglot and with critical notes by Dathe. The Pentateuch was published after the text of the London Polyglot, with various readings by G. G. Kirsch, at Leipzig, 1787, in 4to.]

[a] On the subject of this and the next section, Comp. HORNE Vol. II. pp 187—190. CARPZ. P. II. Cap. V § 2. p. 622—640. EICHH. § 246—274. BAUER, § 82—86 SIMON. L. II. c. xv. Tr.]

§ 52. *Mediate Syriac Versions.*

The other Syriac versions have been made from the Alexandrine version:* the following are the principal.

* [And therefore they are called *mediate*, as those made directly from the original are denominated *immediate*. Tr.]

I. The Syriac Hexaplar with all the marks used in the edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus, was translated (if we may believe the subscription to the Paris manuscript of the second book of Kings) by Paul of Tela in the year 617. Comp. EICHORN and BRUNS in *Repert. für bibl. und morgenl. Literat.* VII. Th. S. 225—250 and BRUNS in VIII. Th. S. 85—112: also HASSE *Specimen libri IV. Regum Syro-Hexapl. 1782. Jena.* A manuscript copy of this version, of the 8th or 9th century, is preserved in the Milan library; it comprises only the second part of the bible (ΕΙΣΗΗ. *Repert.* III. Th. S. 166—213): the first part was contained in a manuscript formerly in the possession of Masius, which has not as yet been found. The 2d or 4th book of Kings and the book of Daniel are found in a MS. marked No. 5. in the Imperial library at Paris. Jeremiah and Ezekiel have been published from the Milan MS. by Norberg, in Sweden, in 1787; and Daniel, from the same MS. by Bugati at Milan, in 1788. ROSEN. *Handbuch für die Lit. der. Bib. Krit.* iii. Th. S. 30—36.

II. The Philoxenian Version, derives its name from Philoxenus bishop of Hierapolis in the province of Aleppo between 488 and 518. He, however, is not the author, but through his influence his suffragan bishop Polycarp undertook and completed the task. This version is very literal.

III. An anonymous version used by the western Syrians, which from Pocock's reading and interpretation of a passage of Abulfaragius,

صاحب صور السبعيني has been called *The Figurative*, (*Figurata*;) but the celebrated De Sacy, Professor of the Arabic and Persian languages at Paris, in a letter dated the 24th of January, 1803, informs me, that this passage is not so read in the manuscripts of Abulfaragius which are preserved at Paris, but in two runs thus, صاحب صور السبعيني and in three others thus, صاحب صور والسبعيني according to which Abulfaragius will say, that the western Syrians possessed two versions, the one called the Peshito, and made from the Hebrew text, according to some in the time of Thaddæus the Apostle.

according to others in the age of Solomon the son of David *and of Hiram King of Tyre*; and the other *made from the Septuagint*. De Sacy, by whom this version has been examined, thinks it originated in the 3d or 4th century; but according to the subscription, Jacob of Edessa, in the year 708 or 712, in the monastery of Teleda, altered it from the Hexaplar text, and frequently from the Peshito version.

The version made by Mar Abbas, who died A. D. 552, called the Karkaphensian or the Karkaphensian, and used by the Nestorians who live among the mountains; the version of Thomas of Heraclea, who died A. D. 533; and that of the Psalms by Simeon, abbot of the monastery of St. Licinius, are only known by name. Comp. Bar Hebraeus or Abulfaragius in *Horreo mysteriorum*, *ASSEMANNI Biblioth. Orient. T. II. p. 283, 411—413. T. III. P. I. p. 57. ss. T. I. p. 493, 612. and T. II. p. 83.*

§ 53. *Arabic Versions from the Hebrew text.* [a]

The following Arabic versions have been made from the Hebrew text.

I. A Version or Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Isaiah, by Saadiah Gaon, a native of Phithom, a city of the province of I hijum* in Egypt, who taught in Babylonia, and died in 942. The Pentateuch has been published in Hebrew characters at Constantinople in 1546, and in Arabic characters in the London and Paris Polyglots: Isaiah was published at Jena, 1790—91, by E. G. Paulus. While delivering lectures on this version I have observed that its style is not pure, and have since found the same observation made by SIMON, *Hist. Crit. L. II. c. xix.* Saadiah translated also Job and the Psalms, as Abulfaragius informs us: DE SACY, *Chrestom. Arab. T. II. p. 495. s.* The translation of Job has been found in the Bodleian library in England; *Cod. Hunting. 511.*

II. A version of the Pentateuch was published by Erpenius at Leyden, in 1662, which seems to have been made by an African Jew in the 13th century. It follows the Hebrew text very closely.

The other Arabic versions from the Hebrew are little known. A translation of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Daniel, made by Saadiah

* [Now called Fayoum. *Tr.*]

Ben Levi Askenoth, in the first half of the 17th century, which adheres closely to the Hebrew text, is preserved in the British Museum, Cod. No. 5503. Comp. DOEDERLEIN in EICHHORN, Repert. II. Th. S. 153. ff. A translation of the Psalms in the Bodleian Library, marked 281 Pocock, was found by Schnurrer; and he has published Psalms xvi. xl. and cx. in Hebrew characters, in EICHHORN'S Allg. Biblioth. III. Th. S. 425—438. A translation of the Pentateuch from the Hebræo-Samaritan text by Abu Said, who died in 1257, is found in two MSS. in the Barberini Library at Rome, in two MSS. in the National Library at Paris, and in two also in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Comp. PAULUS Commentat. exhibens e Biblioth. Oxon. Bodl. specimina VII versionum Arab. 1789: DE SACY in EICHHORN, Allg. Biblioth. X. B. S. 1—176., and Memoire sur la version Arabe de livres de Moise a l'usage des Samaritains, Paris, 1809.

[a] On the subject of this and the following section, see HORNE, Vol. II. p. 90. CARPZ. P. II. Cap. v. § 3. p. 640—664. EICHH. § 275—302. BAUER, § 87—91. SIMON, L. II. c. xvi. Tr.]

§ 54. *Mediate Arabic Versions.*

From the *Syriac Peshito*: 1) an Arabic version of Job, printed in the Paris and London Polyglots: 2) a version of the Psalter, printed in 1610, in the monastery of S. Anthony in the diocese of Tripoli in Syria: 3) another version of the Psalter preserved in manuscript in the British Museum, No. 5469. Comp. DOEDERLEIN in EICHHORN'S Repert. II. Th. S. 170. ff.

From the *Alexandrine version*: 1) according to the *Hesychian recension*; the Arabic version of all the books of the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch and Job, printed in the Paris and London Polyglots: 2) according to the *recension of Lucian*; the Arabic version of the Psalms in the Octaplar Psalter of Justinian, published 1516; another by Gabriel Sionita and Victor Scialak, published at Rome, in 4to, 1614; and a version of the seven penitential Psalms, published at Paris, 1679: 3) according to the *Melchite recension*; a translation of the Psalter printed first at Aleppo, in 1706, then at Padua in 1709, and often since in Syria: it is found also in a manuscript in the National Library at Paris, extracts of which have been given by STARK, in his Prolegomena to the Psalter. Comp. DOEDERLEIN in EICHHORN'S Rep. II. Th. S. 175—181.

The Arabic translation of the Bible published for the use of the Oriental Christians. by the Propaganda at Rome, in 1671, and reprinted in

1752, was indeed printed from four MSS. but has been altered from the Vulgate, so that it can be of no use in criticism. The edition published by Rutilius without mention of place, and not completed, was taken from this. Comp. EICHHORN'S Rep. X. Th. S. 154—165. ROSEN-
MUELLER, Handbuch für die Literatur der Bibl. Krit. und Exeg. III. Th. S. 56—64.

§ 55. *Persian Version.* [a]

Jacob ben Joseph, a native of Thus in Persia, translated the Pentateuch from the Hebrew into Persian, not before the commencement of the 9th century; for in Gen. x. 10, for Babel he substitutes Bagdad, which city was founded in 762. Like Aquila he is exceedingly literal; he retains the more difficult words in his version, and generally agrees with Onkelos. He follows our masoretic text. This version was published in the London Polyglot, from the Constantinopolitan edition of 1546, the defects of which were indeed supplied by Hyde, the supplementary parts being carefully included in brackets. Comp. E. F. C. ROSENMUELLER de Versione Persica. 1813.

[a] On this section, Comp. HORNE Vol. II. pp. 191. ss. DE WETTE Einleit. § 68. EICHH. § 317. Tr.]

§ 56. *Egyptian Versions.*[a]

The Old Testament was translated, probably in the 2d or 3d century, from the Alexandrine version into the modern dialects of Egypt, which arose from the combination of the ancient Egyptian language with the Greek introduced by the Ptolemies. The versions which have hitherto become known to us, are: 1) *The Coptic version of the Pentateuch*, published from three MSS. by Wilkins, at London, in 1731: 2) *A Coptic Psalter*, published with an Arabic translation, by the Propaganda at Rome, in 1744 and 1749: 3) *The Memphite and Sahidic translation of the ninth chapter of Daniel* from the version of Theodotion, published by Münster, in 1786, at Rome: and 4) *a portion of Jeremiah* from c. ix. 17. to c. xiii., published by MINGARELLI in his Reliquiæ Ægyptiorum codicum in Bibl. Nautiana asservatæ, 1785, *Bologna*. Other books lie yet unedited in libraries. Comp. QUATREMERRE Recherches sur la langue et littérature d' Egypte-

p. 116—140. MICHAELIS *Neue Oriental. Biblioth.* IV. Th. S. 74. ff. VII. Th. S. 25. ff. ROSENUELLER *Handb. für die Lit. der krit. u. Exeg.* III. Th. S. 74—77.

[a) Comp. HORNE II. 192—195. EICHH. § 312—316. DE WETTE Einleit. § 51. *Tr.*]

§ 57. *Æthiopic Version.*[a]

The Æthiopic or Abyssinian version with which we are at present acquainted seems to be the same which is mentioned by Chrysostom Hom. II. in Joh., and was made from the Alexandrine version. The following parts have been printed: 1) *The Psalter and Canticles* in 1513 at Rome, in 1518 at Cologne, and in the London Polyglot. The Psalter was also published at Frankfort on the Maine by Ludolph, in 1701, and Canticles at Leyden by Nissel in 1656. 2) *The book of Jonah and the first four chapters of Genesis*, by Peträus, at Leyden, in 1660. Jonah was also published at Frankfort on the Maine by Staudrach in 1706. 3) *Joel, Malachi and Isaiah* lvi. 1—7. by Peträus at Leyden, in 1661. 4) *Zephaniah and Ruth*, by Nissel, at Leyden in 1660. 5) *Some fragments*, by C. A. Bode, at Helmstadt, in 1755, and by Hasse in his *Lectionaria Syro-Arabico-Samaritano-Æthiopica, Regiomont.* 1788, 8vo.—The version of the whole Bible, brought by Bruce from Abyssinia, is preserved in the British Museum.

[a) Comp. HORNE, II. 192—195. CARPZ. P. II. C. V. § 4. EICHH. § 309—311. *Tr.*]

§ 58. *Armenian Version.*[a]

The Armenian version was made from the Alexandrine version by Miesrob, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, but has since been altered not only from the Syriac Peshito, but also from the Latin Vulgate. That this was not done by king Haithon or Haitho in the 13th century, as has been commonly thought, is proved by the Armenian Baghinanti in ALTER'S *Miscellany* 1799, p. 140. ss. It was the work of Yushkanor Uskan the Armenian bishop, who published it in 1655 at Amsterdam. Comp. EICHHORN *Bibliothek.* IV. Th. S.

623—652. The edition published at Constantinople in 1705 was collated for Holmes by Bredenkamp.

[a] See HORNE, II. 196. DE WETTE, § 52. EICHH. § 306—308. *Tr.*]

§ 59. *Slavonic Version.*[a]

In the 9th century Cyril of Thessalonica, the inventor of the Slavonic alphabet, who with his brother Methodius preached the gospel to the Bulgarians and Moravians, translated the Alexandrine version into the Slavonic language. The first edition, at least of the Pentateuch, appeared at Prague in 1519, and that of all the books, at Prague in 1570. The first edition in Russia was printed at Ostrog in 1581, and has served as the basis of all others.

[a] HORNE, II. 196. DE WETTE, § 54. EICHH. § 318, a. For an account of the Georgian version, see § 318, b. and DE WETTE, § 53. *Tr.*]

§ 60. *Latin Versions before the time of Jerome.*[a]

Augustin, De Doct. Christ. L. II. c. 11, expressly asserts that several Latin translations of the Old Testament made from the Alexandrine version, had appeared in the earlier period of Christianity, and he adds, c. 15, that *the Italic* (*Itala*) surpassed the others in fidelity and perspicuity. This last is called by Jerome, Comm. in Jer. xiv. & xlix. VULGATAM, *the vulgate*, and COMMUNIS, *the common*, and by Gregory I. Ep. ad Leandr. VETUS, *the old, translation*.

Sabatier, in his Praefatio ad Bibliorum versiones Latinas Antiquas, 1743. *Rheims*, has opposed the opinion that a number of ancient Latin versions existed. But without effect: for when Augustin, in an epistle to Jerome tells him that he would confer a great benefit on the church 'by adding to the Latin verity, the Scripture as translated by the seventy,'* he certainly did not mean by 'Latin verity' one version, but the Latin Bible; for which reason he immediately adds, that this 'Latin verity' (or Latin Bible) is so various in different copies as to be hardly tolerable, and is so much suspected of differing

* "Si eam Scripturam quam septuaginta interpretati sunt, Latinae veritati addiderit."

from the Greek, that one must hesitate to make quotations from it.* Jerome also, in his preface to the book of Joshua, points out not one version, but many, when he says that there are among the Latins 'tot exemplaria, quot codices,' as many *copies* as there are *manuscripts*, for the antithesis between 'exemplaria' and 'codices' shows that 'exemplaria' must signify different versions; and when he adds, 'every one has at pleasure added or omitted according to his own judgment,† he only points out another source of variations, in addition to the multiplicity of translations already mentioned; just as in his Preface to the Gospels, he repeats the same words with reference to the Latin text of the gospels, in which case there can be no doubt of the existence of several versions.

The portions of the bible in the Missals, are taken from the ancient version known as the *Vulgate*, the *common translation*, or the *Itala*. FLAMINIUS NOBILIUS collected many other fragments of the same version, and from them composed his translation of the Septuagint after the Vatican manuscript, and published it at Rome in 1538. This translation is printed in the London Polyglot, but can be of no use to the critic, since Flaminius selected only those parts of the ancient version which agreed with the Septuagint text, and supplied the rest from the modern Vulgate or by a translation of his own. Nevertheless, the extracts of Nobilius from the fathers, are of great importance in the criticism of the Alexandrine version. The ancient Latin version of the Psalms, is given in the *Psalterium Quintuplex*, published by FABER STAPULENSIS, in 1599, at Paris, and afterwards frequently reprinted; and in the *Psalterium Duplex*, together with the songs of Moses, Hezekiah, the three children, Zachariah, Simeon, and Mary, according to the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the old Latin Itala, in the second part of the *Vindiciae Canonic. Script. Vulg. Lat.* of BLANCHINI, 1740, *Rome*. All these and several other fragments are collected by SABATIER in his *Bibliorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ*, published at Rheims, in 1743, in 3 vols. folio.

[a) With this and the remaining sections, Compare HORNE II. pp. 196—202. CARPZ. P. II. Cap. vi. EICHH. § 319—337. BAUER, § 98, 99, p. 336—340. SIMON, L. II. c. xi—xiv. DE WETTE, Einleit. § 69—72. *Tr.*]

* "In diversis codicibus ita variam est, ut tolerari vix possit, et ita suspectam ne in Graeco aliud inveniat, ut inde aliquid proferrī dubitetur."

† "Unumquemque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit quod ei visum est."

§ 61. *Emendation of the Latin version by Jerome.*

Jerome, in order to remedy the confusion introduced by this multiplicity of versions, undertook to alter the common version, or Italic, to a conformity with the Alexandrine. This he did at first in a hasty manner, as he says, Præf. ad Psalt., in the Psalter: but afterwards he corrected it more accurately according to the Hexaplar text, adding also the obelisks and asterisks used in that edition. The first of these corrections he undertook at Rome, the other in Gaul; and hence the Roman and Gallican Psalters have descended. Both have been published by Faber Stapulensis in his *Psalterium quintuplex*, at Paris, in 1509; and by Joseph Maria a Caro or Thomasius, in 1683, at Rome. Jerome corrected the other books of the Old Testament by the Hexaplar text in a similar manner, but published only those to which we have his double prefaces prefixed, namely, Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Proverbs, and Job: the copy of the rest he lost, as he writes to Augustin. Ep. 64, by the treachery of some individual.

§ 62. *Translation of Jerome.*

Before the completion of his correction of the old version, or Italic, Jerome began to translate the Hebrew text itself into Latin, "in order that he might make known to persons acquainted only with the Latin language, who might become engaged in controversies with the Jews, the true sense of the Hebrew text." Hieron. ad Sophron. T. I. Opp. col. 835., ad Augustin. T. IV. Opp. col. 627. Præf. in Jes. His translations of the several books were made in the order in which they were requested of him by his friends: Præf. in Paralip., in Ezr. et Neh., and in Pentat. He did not invariably give what he himself believed to be the best translation of the original, but occasionally, as he confesses, Præf. ad Com. in Eccles., and Præf. in Pent., followed the Greek translators, although he was aware that they had often erred through negligence, because he was apprehensive of giving unbrage to his readers by too wide a departure from the established version: and therefore we find that in his commentaries he sometimes corrects his own translation. Sometimes, too, he has substituted a worse in place of the old translation.

Nevertheless, he far surpassed all his predecessors, and would certainly have succeeded still better, if he had not translated with so much haste: Comp. HIERON. Præf. in Libros Salom., and Præf. in Tobiam.

§ 63. *The reception which the Translation of Jerome met with.*

This version, however excellent, found adversaries in every place, of whom Jerome complains in almost all his prefaces, and in many epistles. Comp. AUGUSTIN. Ep. 10. ad Hieron. RUFFIN. T. IV. p. 424, 448, 450. HIERON. Præf. I. et II. in Job, in Ezr. et Neh., and Apolog. II. Posterity, with a more equitable judgment, approved of the version, and in time introduced it into all the Latin churches, so that as early as the close of the 6th century it prevailed, and in the 7th century was the only one in public use. Comp. GREGOR. MAG. Præf. ad Moral. in Job. and ISIDOR. L. I. offic. 12.

§ 64. *History of the Version of Jerome.*

The universal admission of this version throughout the vast extent of the Latin church multiplied the copies of it; in the transcription of which it became corrupted with many errors: and there were some who introduced erroneous alterations from the old Italic, or took the liberty of adding passages from the liturgical books, and even from Flavius Josephus. Examples of this are adduced, not only by Martianay in his remarks on the books of Kings and Proverbs in the Divina Bibliotheca of Jerome, but also in the Correctoria Bibliorum.—Toward the close of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century, it was, at the command of Charlemagne, corrected by Alcuin *c vetustioribus ac verioribus fontibus*, that is, as HODX, De textibus Bibliorum originalibus, p. 407, 410, has discovered, from the Hebrew text. This recension was either not widely propagated, or was again infected with errors; for which reason Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died A. 1089, caused some copies to be again corrected. Nevertheless about the middle of the 12th century, Cardinal Nicholas found *tot exemplaria quot codices*, as many copies as manuscripts, and therefore prepared a corrected edition.

About this time the Parisian theologians began their *επανορθωτη*, or *Correctorium Parisiense seu Sorbonicum*. This was followed by the *Correctorium* of Hugo a S. Caro, which was continued by the Dominicans from the year 1240. They published two *Correctoria* of small value, which are slightly noticed by Roger Bacon in an epistle written to Pope Clement IV. between 1264 and 1268. In these critical works we meet with many more various readings than are found in later copies of this version; hence it appears that they at least produced the effect of preventing the transcribers from taking such gross liberties, and of causing them to transcribe with greater care. Comp. SIMON. Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test. T. II. p. 114. ss. HODX, de Text. Bibl. Orig. p. 420, 429. ss. *Correctorium Bibliæ*, per Jac. Gaudensem, 1500, *Colou.* 4to.; and DOEDERLEIN, in Literarischen Museum, *Altdorf*, 1777, 1778. I. B. I. St. S. 14. ff. II. St. S. 197. ff.

§ 65. *Decree of the Council of Trent concerning the Version of Jerome.*

This version, then known under the name of the Vulgate, being banished from the churches in the 16th century by the Protestants, the Council of Trent in its 4th session published the following decree: "The same holy council, considering that it may be of no small utility to the church of God, to point out which *among all the Latin editions* of the sacred books *that are spread abroad*, ought to be esteemed *authentic*; declares and ordains, that the same old and Vulgate edition, which has been approved by the church by the long use of it during so many centuries, is to be esteemed *authentic in public reading of the Scriptures, in disputes, in preaching and in expounding*, and that no one shall dare to reject it under any pretext whatsoever."* This decree, although in itself plain, has yet given

* "Insuper eadem sacrosancta Synodus considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiae Dei, si ex omnibus *Latinis editionibus, quae circumferuntur*, sacrorum librorum, quae nam pro *authentica* sit habenda, innotescat; statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot seculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in *publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica* habeatur, et nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat." [Conc. Trid. cum declarat. &c., recog. J. Gallemart, *Col. Ag.* 1722, p. 9. *Tr.*]

rise to controversies of no small importance, some contending that by it the Hebrew text is rejected, while others of more learning assert the contrary. And with propriety: for, 1) The Council speaks only of the *Latin editions which were at that time spread abroad*, nor does it make any mention of the original sources, as Bellarmine has already observed, and Salmero (Proleg. 3.), and Vega (L. XX. c. 2.) who was, with Bellarmine, present at the Council, expressly testify.—2) The Council declares the Vulgate version to be *authentic* in the same sense in which the word is used by lawyers, who call a document, whether it be a transcript, or a translation into another language. *authentic*, when it is free from any important error relating to the substance of the affair, and is therefore worthy of credit; nor do errors of lesser moment prevent a document from being called authentic. That the Council is to be understood in this sense, has been declared, as Andradius mentions, Defens. p. 361, by Cardinal a S. Cruce, Papal legate in the Council, and afterwards Pope under the name of Marcellus II. This has also been acknowledged by Pius IV. and V., Sixtus V., Gregory XIV., and Clement VIII., who took pains to have corrected editions of this version published. The more learned Catholics have never denied the existence of errors in the Vulgate; on the contrary, Isidore Clarius collected 80,000.—3) The Council did indeed decree that this version *should be used in all public reading of the Scriptures, disputes, preaching, and expounding, and that no one should dare to reject it under any pretext whatsoever*; but this is to be taken with reference to what precedes it, as it has always been understood by all learned Catholics, namely, as forbidding that *any of the other Latin versions which were in common use*, should be substituted for the Vulgate. So the Greek Catholics use the Alexandrine version; the Syrians, the Syriac; and those who speak Arabic, the Arabic; and the learned Latin Catholics, at every period since the Council, have used the original text, being of opinion that the decree of the Council relates only to those who are ignorant of the original languages. Comp. Du PIN, Diss. Prel. L. I. c. vii. § 3. p. 204—209. [On the Canon, pp. 197—203.]

§ 66. *Correction of the Vulgate.*

The Council of Trent in its Session IV. commanded that this version should be printed as correctly as possible. As early as the beginning of the 16th century, Adrian Gummelli, Albert Castellan, and the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, had given corrected editions, and Robert Stephens not only printed, in 1523, the Vulgate corrected from ancient MSS., but also, in 1540, published an edition with the various readings of three editions and fourteen MSS. This again was compared by Hentenius with many other MSS. and editions, and he added the various readings to an edition published at Louvain, in 1547. This edition was frequently reprinted, and was published at Antwerp in 1580, and again in 1585, enriched with many more various readings, obtained from a new collation of MSS. by the divines of Louvain.—In the meantime Pius IV. ordered some Roman theologians to collect the most ancient MSS. from every quarter, and collate them; this collation was continued under Pius V., who in addition, caused the original text to be consulted. Under Gregory XIII. the work was at a stand, but was resumed and completed under the auspices of Sixtus V. This edition appeared in 1590, and its use was enjoined upon the whole Latin church by a constitution of perpetual obligation, (*constitutio perpetuo valitura*,) while at the same time the future publication of the Vulgate with various readings was prohibited, whereby the critical examination of this important version would be obstructed. Sixtus V. dying soon after, his edition was found to abound in errors, and under Gregory XIV. it was corrected in nearly 2000 places from MSS., citations of the Fathers, and even from the original texts; yet most of the corrections were derived from the Louvain edition. This new edition, in the preface of which the errors of the Sixtine are imputed to the printer, appeared under Clement VIII., in 1592, and has been followed by every other which has since been published. It appears from the preface that the correction was conducted according to the rules of criticism, except in this one respect, that some passages have been altered from the original text, whereas the only question should have been, how Jerome translated it, and this should have been determined from ancient copies of his version. Nevertheless it is certain,

that many places differing from the original text. were purposely left unaltered, and were for this reason objected to by many learned men of the age, who were ignorant of the rules of sound criticism.

§ 67. *What version does the Latin Vulgate exhibit?*

From what has been hitherto said, it may be concluded that the Vulgate is the version of Jerome, and that there was no reason why this should have been doubted in the 16th century. It remains to observe, however, 1) that the Vulgate is not a pure copy of Jerome's version; for all its faults have not been corrected, nor indeed could they be corrected by the methods which have been pursued: the version of Jerome is given in a purer state in the *Divina Bibliotheca Hieronymi*, published by MARTIANAY, at Paris, 1693, in folio. 2) Some books in the Vulgate are not of the version of Jerome; namely, a) *the Psalter*, which is in the old common Latin version, or Italic; some, however, think that it is the Gallican Psalter, with the obelisks and asterisks omitted: b) *Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom*, and *the two books of Maccabees*, are preserved in the old Latin version.

The first editions of the Vulgate name neither the year nor the place of their impression: the first editions containing these are, in Germany, that of Mayentz, 1462: in Italy, that of Rome, in 1471, that of Naples, in 1476, and that of Venice, in 1475 and 1476.

CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE LANGUAGE OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.
AND THE HELPS TO UNDERSTAND IT.

§ 68. *The language of the Old Testament.* [a]

The Hebrew language, in which the protocanonical books, with the exception of some portions in Chaldee, (Dan. ii. 4—vii. 28. Ezr. iv. 3—vi. 19. vii. 11—27 and Jer. x. xi.) are written, is a dialect of the Shemites, but little, however, or not at all different from that of the descendants of Ham in Palestine or Phœnicia, that is to say, the Canaanites. This is shown from what remains of Punic or Phœnician in Africa (See PLAUT. Comed. T. III. Pænul. p. 73—81, Ed. *Berol.* 1807—1811; BOCHART in Canaan, L. II. cap. 1—7; or rather BELLERMAN Versuch einer Erklärung der Punischen Stellen in Pænulus des Plautus 1806—7.), and is confirmed by many places of Augustin* and Jerome.† On this account the Hebrew language is called in Isa. xix. 18. the language of Canaan; from which it would seem, that Abraham, a descendant of Shem, coming from Ur of the Chaldees into Palestine, adopted the Canaanitish dialect, which differed but little from his own, and transmitted it to his posterity. In Isa. xxxvi. 11. II Kings xviii. 26. II Chron. xxxii. 18., it is called the Jewish, because at that time the use of it was almost exclusively confined to the kingdom of Judah. The name of Hebrew is never applied to it in the Bible, but is used in the New Testament, as also in Philo and Josephus, for the Aramæan, (John v. 2. xix. 13. Act. xxi. 40. xxii. 2. xxvi. 14.), because at that time this was the verna-

* [In Lib. Judic. L. VII. cap. xvi.—Cont. Lit. Petilian. L. II. cap. civ.—In Joh. Tract. 15.—De Verb. Dom. Serm. 35.]

† [Comm. in Jer. L. V. Cap. xxv.—Comm. in Jes. L. III. cap. vii. L. VIII. cap. xix.]

cular language of the Hebrews. In like manner the language of the Old Testament is now called Hebrew, because it was anciently the vernacular tongue of that people.

[a) On the subject of this and the following sections, comp. EICHH. § 10, 11. GESENIUS, Geschichte der Heb. Spr. und. Schrift § 4—27. Tr.]

§ 69. *History of the Hebrew Language.*

This language was very extensively propagated in ancient times by the Phœnicians, who possessed marts and colonies in many parts of Asia, and in almost all the coasts of Africa and Europe. See BOCHARTI Canaan, L. I. de Phœnicum coloniis. It was understood also by the inhabitants of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Arabia, and Ethiopia, although other Shemitish dialects differing very little from the Hebrew were spoken by them. This language, therefore, cannot be said to have been restricted to a corner of the earth, and to have been inaccessible to the people of all other countries. On the contrary, the designation used for *very remote* nations is, that the Hebrews do not understand their language; Deut. xxviii. 49. Jer. v. 15.

Twenty-two hundred years before Christ the Hebrew tongue was so far cultivated as to have become a written language. This is clear from the document in Gen. xxiii., written in the age of Abraham. It is therefore not at all surprising that 1600 years B. C. the Canaanites had their קריית ספר, *Kirjath Sepher*, that is, *city of books*, Jud. i.

11, 12. Jos. xv. 15, 49. The poetical pieces of the age of Moses, which are contained in Ex. xv. Deut. xxxii. xxxiii. Num. xxi. 18, 28—30. xxiii. 1—10, 18—24. xxiv. 4—9, 16—24., show that this was the golden age of the language. That it was not altogether neglected in the time of the judges is proved by the poems referred to in Jos. x. 13. s., by the song of Deborah in Jud. v., and by the fable of Jotham in ix. 7—20. In the time of David it was in a very flourishing state, and the interval between his reign and that of Hezekiah may be called its silver age, towards the close of which however some foreign words, principally Aramæan, were introduced by the increasing intercourse with the Assyrians and Babylonians. This happened at an earlier period in the kingdom of Israel, upon the overthrow of which the

citizens who remained, coalescing with the colonists who had been introduced among them, mingled the Hebrew with the Aramæan, and thus gave rise to the Samaritan dialect.—From the time of Hezekiah to the Babylonish captivity, the purity of the language was still more neglected and it was deformed by very many foreign terms; so that this may be called its iron age.—The Hebrews when carried into captivity, forgetting their ancient tongue, adopted the Aramæan, the vernacular language of the places in which they dwelt; so that subsequently, upon their return, some spoke Chaldee, and others Syriac. The former settled in Judea, the latter in Galilee. Among the cultivated part of the people the old language continued in use during some time, and in it the writers composed their works, until at last it became totally extinct. This last period may be styled its leaden age.

The learned, those especially who explained the law to the people in the synagogues, still preserved some knowledge of the Hebrew language, which was acquired and propagated in the schools to such an extent as to be written and spoken, but by no means in purity: for its deficiency in words was supplied from the Aramæan and Persian, and after some time from the Greek and Latin also. In this way very similar to that by which the scholastic Latin of the middle ages was produced, arose the modern Hebrew, which we meet with in the Talmud. That it had been completely formed before the time of Christ and his apostles, is certain from many places of the New Testament. This dialect is called the *Talmudic*. In a more recent age it was further altered by new changes and foreign words, and this is what is styled the *Rabbinic*.

§ 70. *Loss of the Hebrew Language.*

The language of the ancient Hebrews has not indeed entirely perished, like those of so many other ancient nations, yet on the other hand its fate has not been so favourable as that of the Greek and Latin, which are not only extant in a great number of books but have also preserved versions, lexicons, and scholiasts, from the very time that they were living languages; so that abundant testimonies can be adduced from those sources in relation to their respective usages. In the Hebrew all that remains is contained in a few small works, which scarcely comprehend two-thirds of the language. Very many words,

significations of words, and phrases, are lost; and what remain are destitute of any competent witness, such as a lexicographer, expositor, or scholiast of the age when the language was vernacular. Comp. SCHULTENS *de defectibus ling. Heb.* in his *Orig. Heb., Lug. Bat.* 1761, 4to p. 314—436.

§ 71. *Difficulty of the Hebrew Language.*

From the circumstances which have been stated arises the difficulty of the Hebrew language. For since the significations which any people may affix to sounds or words, and the sense which they may attach to sentences, is a historic fact which can be known only by those who use their language as vernacular, or by such as have been instructed by those to whom it was vernacular; the significations of words and the sense of expressions of any dead language, and consequently of the Hebrew, ought to be attested by witnesses of this description. But the Hebrew usage is quite destitute of evidence of this kind. The most ancient interpreters, the Alexandrine, lived two centuries after the language had ceased to be a living one; all the others were many centuries more modern. They are not therefore competent witnesses, and this is moreover proved by their frequent discrepancies and manifest errors.

§ 72. *Knowledge of the Hebrew Language in Jewish and Christian Schools.*

The Jewish teachers have indeed preserved a knowledge of the Hebrew language in their schools; but as witnesses of its ancient usage they became necessarily the more incompetent in proportion as the times in which they flourished were remote from the fact which they were to certify. Besides, they are very far from being unanimous in their decisions, or consistent with themselves, and they betray their ignorance by many glaring errors.

These guides whose fidelity could so little be trusted were followed by Christians, until in the 17th century some Protestants became doubtful respecting this authority of the Rabbies, and sought for principles more to be relied on, by the aid of which the Hebrew language might be learned. But BOHL, GOSSUET, NEUMANN, RUEMELIN, FORSTER, AVENAR, LÆSCHER, and some others, wandered into such

dangerous by-paths, that it would have been much better not to leave the beaten road. In this century however JOHN ERNEST GERHARD, (1647,) ANDR. SENNERT, (1658,) HOTTINGER, (1649 and 1659,) SCHINDLER, (1653,) CASTELL, (in his *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669,) JOHN F. NICOLAI, (1670,) JOHN WM. HILLINGER. (1670,) JOHN LE CLERC, and POCOCK, did indeed recommend the cognate dialects, and LOUIS DE DIEU (1642,) in his *Animadversiones in Libros V. F.*, the ancient versions, as means of illustrating the Hebrew. But very little benefit resulted, until in the beginning of the 18th century, ALBERT SCHULTENS, who was prepared for the undertaking by the most extensive erudition, showed, with immense labour, in his *Origines Hebraicæ*, in opposition to DRIESSEN, that it was only through the cognate dialects that a certain knowledge of the Hebrew language could be drawn. When however Schultens and his followers ran to extremes in seeking assistance from etymology, and neglected the Aramæan dialects and the ancient versions, JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS, in his *Beurtheilung der Mittel welche man anwendet die Hebraische Sprache zu verstehen*, 1754, marked out with greater care the principles of the interpretation of the Old Testament. Comp. MEYERS *Gesch. der Schrifter. klär.* III. 58—77.[a]

[a] See *Germ. Introd.* p. 254, 255. *Tr.*]

§ 73. *Knowledge of the Hebrew Language which may be depended on.*

Since, as has been shown, *direct* testimony respecting the usage of the Hebrew language, (that is, such as arises from the Hebrews themselves of the age when their language was living,) cannot be attained, it becomes necessary to resort to *indirect*. This is afforded by the cognate dialects, which in fact are at bottom the same as the Hebrew language, so that the signification of words and the sense of phrases and sentences which we find in them, should be admitted also in the Hebrew, particularly if these are supported by the connexion of the discourse, the subject, and the scope of the author. That the Chaldeæ, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic or Abyssinian, Samaritan, Phœnician and Talmudic dialects are the same language as the Hebrew, any one who is acquainted with them will discover: for in all there are the same

roots, the same derivations, the same method of formation, the same forms of words, the same significations, the same grammatical inflections with but little variation, and the same phrases. Those who are unacquainted with them may be taught the fact by the history itself, (Comp. Gen. x. 16—30. xii. 1, ss. xxix. 3 ss. xxxvii. 27. 28. Ex. iv. 18. Jud. vii. 13—15.,) which shows that *Aramæans*, *Arabs* and *Hebrews* conversed with each other freely without an interpreter. And if it appears from II Kings xviii. 26. Isa. xxxvi. 11. that the common people of the Jews did not understand the Aramæan dialect, still the nobles who were better versed in the Hebrew understood it ; and certainly without having learned it, for in that age the acquisition of foreign languages was confined to merchants. The *Ethiopic* or *Abyssinian* dialect is the Arabic which the Cushites brought with them into Africa across the straits of Babelmandel, and slightly altered. The *Samaritan*, which consists of a mixture of the Hebrew and Aramæan, cannot be radically different from either. The *Talmudic* is the Hebrew itself a little altered, and increased by the addition of foreign and more modern words and phrases.

§ 74. *Diversity in the Dialects.*

That the dialects differ in some respects is what the nature of the case might lead us to anticipate. But this discrepancy does not alter the nature and substance of the language. 1) It affects the different position of the accented syllable, which in the Hebrew and Chaldee is usually the last, in the Syriac and Arabic the penult.—2) The different auxiliary or vocal sounds, as for example, קָרַב (*to be near*,) in Hebrew and Arabic, קָרַב in Aramæan. And in general when the Hebrew and Chaldee have the *i*, the Syriac usually employs an *e*, and where *e* occurs in the Hebrew, the Syriac frequently has *i*. For the Hebrew *cholem* the Chaldee has *kametz* ; and its forms in Segol are in the Aramæan and Chaldee generally words of one syllable ; as Heb. רָגַל, Aram. רָגַל, Arab. رَگَل.—3) The change of some principal sounds or consonants, such especially as are of the same organ of speech. Thus for the Hebrew *Sin* the Arabic generally has *Shin*, and the contrary ; and when the Hebrew *Shin* is altered in Aramæan

to *Thau*, the Arabic has *The*, as Heb. שֶׁקֶל, Aram. תִּקְל, Arab. تَقَل ; and when for the Heb. *Zain* the Aramæan uses *Daleth*, the Arabic has *Dsal*, as Heb. זָבַח, Aram. דָּבַח, Arab. دَبَّح. The Hebrew *Tzade* is changed in Aramæan into *Tet*, for which in Arabic there is usually a *Da*, as in Heb. צָבִי, Aram. טָבִיא, Arab. طَبِي.—4) The form of the words is often somewhat different while the signification is the same ; as in the flexion of verbs and nouns, in the vowel changes of nouns with suffixes, in the plural number, and in the construct state, and also in the forms of nouns ; and sometimes a letter is omitted or added.—5) The signification of words is often in one dialect more limited, and in another more comprehensive ; in one specific, in another general.—6) Many words, significations, and modes of speech, are in one dialect very current, while in another they are used but seldom.—7) In different dialects slight changes only of signification take place ; as for instance, some verbs which in Hebrew are intransitive, are in the other dialects transitive.—8) The most remarkable variety is caused by the provincialisms, that is to say, the words, significations, and phrases, which are peculiar to any dialect. Since the Hebrew provincialisms cannot be explained from the cognate dialects, and those of the cognate dialects cannot be applied to the explanation of the Hebrew, the interpreter must consequently be on his guard ; but as cases of this kind are not very frequent, this cannot weaken the testimony of the dialects in ascertaining the Hebrew usage. Care must be taken not to introduce into the Hebrew, through a slight similarity of words, ideas, and phrases, what properly belongs to one or another of the dialects. Nevertheless even Hebrew provincialisms often receive light from the cognate dialects.

§ 75. *The dialects not changed in their general character.*

The cognate dialects are indeed derived from books somewhat modern, which were written many ages after the Hebrew had become a dead language. Still there is no reason to apprehend that they have been greatly changed, so as to present to us a very different appearance from what they formerly exhibited. For these dia-

lects, as well as the Hebrew, were highly cultivated in very early ages; and languages which have arrived at such a state of perfection, by this very perfection of theirs become fixed, so that they are not subjected to mutations, unless of an unimportant nature, and such as do not affect their internal character. This is especially the case with eastern languages. In order to illustrate what has been said, 1) the Punic in the Pænulus of Plautus may be given as an example, which, notwithstanding the injury which it has sustained from ignorant transcribers, manifestly corresponds with Hebrew. 2) The Hebrew of Nehemiah, Malachi, Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, agrees in the main with the language of Moses, who was more than 1000 years anterior to them. 3) The Syriac dialect of the second century in the Peshito version is the same as is read in Abulfaragius or Bar Hebræus, a writer of the thirteenth. 4) Lastly, the Arabic dialect in poems more ancient than Mohammed contains the same words, and forms of words, the same inflexions, significations, and phrases as are found in the more modern books, and also in Arabic manuscripts of our own age. Comp. my Arabic Chrestomathy.

§ 76. *The large number of significations presents no difficulty.*

Those who are apprehensive lest the multitude of significations which are collected from all the cognate dialects rather distract than assist the interpreter, do not seem to understand the subject; since the preceding and subsequent contexts, the subject itself, and other circumstances, indicate with sufficient accuracy the meaning in any particular place. If this indication is occasionally somewhat obscure, the same is often the case in Greek and Latin books; and as in those the tenor of discourse, the subject, the scope of the author, and other circumstances, are the more carefully weighed in order to unfold the true signification of a word, or sense of a passage; so the same method must be pursued, in similar cases, with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. If in some instances even this should not be sufficient to dispel the darkness, we must remember that a similar result is not unfrequently experienced with relation to ancient works in Greek and Latin. But in proportion as the connexion, the design, the scope, and other circumstances of the discourse, are accurately compared, will the number of obscurities diminish.

§ 77. *Twofold advantage of the use of the Dialects.*

The benefit which arises from the study of the dialects is twofold. There is first the advantage, in itself considerable and of frequent occurrence, of elucidating difficult words, phrases, and passages, not indeed with absolute certainty in all cases, but in many only with probability. Secondly, there is the certainty which results as to the signification of all the other Hebrew words, and as to the meaning of the whole sacred text: so that the sense may be positively known, and a reason given for it. For without a knowledge of the dialects, we should be obliged implicitly to trust the old translations and Rabbinical works, and it would be impossible to distinguish between what is true and what is false, what is certain and what is doubtful. This advantage is far superior to the former. It is not discernible in commentaries and scholia, but in the more improved lexicons, in which almost all that is certain respecting the signification of Hebrew words is found to be confirmed by the testimony of the dialects; and the significations of those words only, which are destitute of aid from this source, are left in obscurity and doubt.

§ 78. *Proper comparison of the Dialects.*

In order to derive these advantages from the cognate dialects, several circumstances must be attended to.—1) They must *all* be compared. For a word, or the true signification of a word in the place under examination, may exist in the very dialect which is omitted in the comparison. Thus צנה, *to watch, to look out from a watch-tower*, and אהב, *to love*, are employed in these significations only in the Samaritan; and it is only in the Ethiopic that נבל has the meaning of *bottle and a musical instrument*, as it has also in Hebrew. Too much must not be expected from one dialect, as the followers of Schultens have done in relation to the Arabic, the Jews to the Chaldee, Ludolph to the Ethiopic. Nor should a particular preference be given to any one. It may be of use, however, to observe, that the Aramaean dialect is most frequently employed in the later books.—2) It is necessary to avoid all artificial accommodation of words and meanings in the dialects to the Hebrew. The simplest comparison is

by far the best; whatever is artificial is hardly free from suspicion.—3) In the comparison of words, the analogy of the change of certain letters (respecting which I have treated in my Arabic grammar, § 22—36 p. 46—75.) is to be observed; and although the exceptions from this analogy are by no means to be altogether rejected, yet they are not to be rashly admitted. Thus שַׁעַר, *a gate*, is to be

compared with شَعْرَةٌ and the Aramæan הַרְעָא, and הַפֶּךָ is properly

compared with أَفْكَ but not so הַגִּיג with حِجْج which is only

sometimes equivalent to اَجِيج *the heat of fire*, while properly it

denotes *a valley*.—4) In some words a transposition of letters takes place; but this is never to be approved of, unless the case be very clear, or no other word exist in the dialects, which corresponds with the Hebrew without transposition. For instance רָגַע is not to be

compared with رَجَح to *vibrate*, because the word رَجَع to *return*,

is at hand.—5) If in the dialects there are several words corresponding with a single Hebrew word, either on account of one or more letters of that word having a twofold pronunciation, or for some other reason, they must all be compared. Thus it is necessary to compare with the Hebrew עָצַב not only عَضَبُ to *bind, to gird*, but also

عَضَبُ to *cut*, عَضَبُ to *seize*, and عَضَبُ to *be angry*.—6) Care must be taken lest for words whose signification is certain, other meanings be sought for in the dialects, to establish some new opinion. Thus in Isa. liii. 9. עָשָׂר has been compared with


عَاطِرُ *cæspitans, stumbling*,* although the meaning of the Hebrew

word is certain, and supported by the testimony of the Aramæan dialect.—7) Lastly; the interpreter must not content himself with

* [That is, in a moral point of view, *peccator, scelestus*. Tr.]

a comparison of isolated words, the phrases must be compared, and this affords by far the most extensive field of investigation.

§ 79. *Use of Lexicons.*

The best Lexicons of the dialects, as those of GOLIUS and GIGGETIUS for the Arabic, that of CASTELL, with the additions of MICHAELIS, for the Syriac, and that of BUXTORF for the Chaldee, are indeed of great service; yet the use of them alone is by no means sufficient. For 1) Lexicons are not always resorted to when they might be, or examined in the place where they ought to be, since the explanation is sometimes given under another word not thought of.—2) The Latin words by which the Oriental are rendered are often ambiguous and badly understood.—3) A lexicon does not always remove all doubt respecting the meaning of a word, or impress it deeply on the mind; but a word read in a regularly connected composition conveys an idea established by the series of discourse, and becomes deeply fixed in the memory, so that when a similar Hebrew word is met with it spontaneously occurs to the mind.—4) Lastly, lexicons neither do nor can comprehend all the riches of a language, and all its phrases; much less can they determine the interior character of a language, and all its tropes, figures, and modes of speech. This must all be acquired from reading books. Thus  *to break*, means also *to wound*, an example of which may be seen in I Cor. xi. 24. But this is a meaning not given in GOLIUS, though it occurs in ABDOLLATIF, *Memor. Ægypti*, p. 13; in my *Chrestomathy*, p. 117.

§ 80. *Value of particular dialects.*

Although all the dialects are to be compared, they are not all equally rich, nor do they bring equal aid, or afford equal certainty. The richest is the Arabic, which has preserved very much that is lost from the Hebrew. It is also more implicitly to be relied on than the others, because it is even to this day the vernacular language in very extensive regions, and abounds with books of all kinds, many of which have been printed, and open to us a source from which we may draw largely. It contains also poems, from which the genius of oriental poetry is discovered, so that the poems of the Hebrews may

be properly understood and accurately estimated. Lexicons also, composed by orientals, are found in it. Of these, especially that of GJAHARI has been abridged by GOLIUS, and GIGGEIUS has drawn largely from that of FIRUZABAD.

The Syriac dialect is the next in importance. For a century past it has ceased to be a living language, except in a few villages of Antilibanus; but it remains in many versions of the Bible, and in other writings, not a few of which are printed in Jos. ASSEMAN's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 4 vols. folio. To these may be added the works of EPIRAIM. 3 vols. folio, STEPHEN ASSEMAN's *Acts of the Martyrs*, 2 vols. folio, and the *Chronicle of ABULFARAGIUS*, in 4to. There are extant also two Lexicons of the language, written by natives, which are preserved in the library at Leyden, one composed by ISA BAR ALI of the 9th century, and the other by ISA BAR BAHLUL of the 10th, the publication of which has long been wished for, but hitherto in vain.

The Chaldee, or rather the Babylonian dialect, is vernacular in some villages of Mardin even in the present day. To us, however, it is extant only in parts of Daniel and Ezra, and in the Paraphrases. Besides, the Rabbins have introduced much into it which is not well supported, and therefore we cannot always safely trust it, unless its sister dialect, the Syriac, lend its aid.

These are the three principal dialects, the knowledge of which is necessary to every thorough theologian, who wishes to examine not with the eyes of others but with his own; to know, not merely from the statements of others, but from his own investigation. The interpreter who would resolve all the difficulties of the Bible, and illustrate all its obscurities, must consult also the other cognate dialects. These are 1) *the Ethiopic or Abyssinian*, which is to the present day vernacular in the province of Tigré. In BRUCE Reis. I. Th. S. 379, Anhang, S. 88.* CUVINE's translation. No printed works are extant, except those which have been mentioned in § 57.—2) *The Samaritan*, confined to the version of the Pentateuch.—3) *The Talmudic*, sufficiently rich indeed of itself, but uncertain on account of many significations forced upon the Hebrew words. This dialect

* [BRUCE'S Travels, Appendix, Vol. I. p. 495. Tr.]

therefore, is not to be used except where the others are inadequate. —4] *The Phœnician, Punic, and Palmyrene*, only fragments of which are extant in inscriptions and coins, in the works of Augustin, and in some classical writers. The other oriental languages are not indeed cognate to the Hebrew, but still they afford no contemptible aid to the interpreter.[a]

[a] On the subject of this and the preceding sections, comp. PAREAU *Instit. Interp. Vet. Test.* pp. 38—47. DE WETTE *Einleit.* § 31, 32, 33, 37. S. 58. ff. BAUER, *Hermeneutica Sacra*, § 19—25. pp. 96—144. *Tr.*]

§ 81. *Etymology.*

A comparison of dialects can hardly produce a happy result, unless attended by the light of etymology, that is, *the investigation of the primary signification of words*, and of the manner in which other significations have arisen. By the primary signification is meant, *that which the inventors of the language originally affixed to a word*. In order to assist in discovering this original meaning, the following observations ought to be attended to.

I. The inventors of language were not philosophers, who would have descended from genus to species. They were simple and uncultivated men, entirely dependent on their senses, who imposed names first upon those objects which struck their ears, eyes, and other senses with most frequency or vehemence. They imitated in the first place the sounds of things, and thus the sound itself produced by imitation was the appellation of the sounding object; as קָנָן, from the sound *qf*, made by a flying bird; נִבַּע, from the sound *ba*, produced by water bursting from a fountain. Significations and words of this kind are called *onomatopoëtic*, and very many such still remain in the Hebrew.—Objects which produced no sound and yet made on the senses an impression more frequent or more vehement than others, as the human members and those of animals, received their names from their imaginary sound; and therefore the meaning of names of this kind, as of יָד, *hand*, רֶגֶל, *foot*, שֶׁה, *a sheep*, כֶּלֶב, *a dog*, and others of the same kind, are primary.[a] Comp. the preface to my Aramæan Grammar.

II. Those who invented language and those who afterwards enriched and polished it, did not always form new words in order to express new ideas acquired in the course of time, especially abstract ideas and ideas of objects which do not affect the senses. To such they often transferred old words, either because they observed, or thought they observed, some slight similitude or connexion of the new object with the old, or because some incidental circumstances occasioned the transfer. Hence the meanings of words in which they express abstract ideas, or ideas of objects not within the scope of the senses, are not *primary*, but *derived*.

III. In the course of time words were more frequently transferred from their primary significations to other meanings, often considerably remote, and even, by irony, directly contrary. Sometimes this was done merely for the sake of ornament, or on account of some allusion. This secondary meaning was so often used, that the original radical signification became unfrequent, or even altogether obsolete. The primary signification therefore is by no means the most common, but is generally of rare occurrence, and frequently out of use, and continuing only in some one derived noun, or distinguishable by some slight remains, or even totally lost. The use of Etymology therefore is exceedingly hazardous, and by no means successful in all cases.

IV. The transferring of words to derived senses, adopted by Orientals, is very often totally different from that which the analogy of our languages would require. It is governed by their mode of thinking, and occasioned by the tropes and associations of ideas which have obtained currency among them. These are not at all the same with those of the natives of the west; and therefore our derivation of ideas from the primary one should be coincident with those circumstances which in this respect are peculiar to the Orientals.

[a) This appears to be one of the fancies which must result from any hypothesis respecting the origin of language, except that which assumes it to be divine. On the subject of the origin of language, see an able article in MAGEE on the Atonement, No. LIII., and compare the authors referred to at the end of the Number. Tr.]

§ 82. *Etymology does not teach the true meaning, but only illustrates it.*

As the association of ideas may be endless, it is evident that words are susceptible of transfer to an almost indefinite variety of meanings, and in every language methods of transfer have been arbitrarily selected; so that, unless a man is omniscient, he cannot possibly divine all the associations of ideas or transfers of words which any people may have adopted. It is evident, then, that derivative meanings cannot be deduced with certainty from the primary idea; the possibility of any particular transfer being all that can be inferred. But although it follows from this that etymology can by no means teach the derived and commonly used ideas of words, it is not on this account to be considered as unproductive, for it yields the interpreter many and great advantages of another kind.—1) It illustrates derived significations, and renders them clearer and distinct, as in

הוֹפִיעַ, Comp. וָפַע; וָפַע, Comp. וָפַע; to which might be added

רָרָה, קָשָׁה, אָכַר, חָלַל, and others.—2) Such illustrations are more

important where synonymes are joined together, one of which expresses more than another, as בּוֹשׁ and נִכְלַם in Isa. xli. 11. xlv. 16.,

and שֹׁהַרִי and עָרִי in Job xvi. 19.—3) The syntax, sometimes

anomalous, receives light from etymology; as, for instance, this shows why עָנַב, *to love*, and בָּחַר, *to choose*, are construed with the prefixes

עַל and בְּ, חָסַם, *to spare*, (Comp. חָסַם and חָסַם) with עַל,

and הִקְשַׁב, (Comp. הִקְשַׁב) with לְ applied to the person.

Etymology is also of very great service to the memory, which retains with the more facility the various and sometimes widely diverging meanings of the same word, if it have in the primary signification a firm centre point, as it were, to which it can connect the other meanings by different lines and circles supplied by etymology.

§ 33. *The necessity of Etymology.*

But it is not only for the illustration of meanings, and for a correct and advantageous comparison of dialects, that etymology is required; there are also other reasons on account of which it is necessary.—1) In the Bible the primary signification does sometimes occur, although obscure and indistinct, as in Ex. xiv. 5., in the verb בָּרַח, *to fly*, the original meaning of which, is *to turn the left side to*; [a] so also in דָּבַר, (used in its primitive sense of *led, ductus*,) in Prov. xxv. 11.

Comp. also Prov. xiii. 20. [b]—2) There is often an allusion to the primary meaning, as in the words אָרַם and אָנַשׁ in Eccl. vi. 10. Ps.

viii. 5. ix. 20, 21., and not unfrequently also in the word יָהוּה. In-

deed sometimes the trope, by which a word is transferred from its primary signification to others, is changed into a simile or allegory which it is impossible to understand without resorting to etymology; as for instance, the phrase—*to heap coals of fire upon an enemy's head*, Prov. xxv. 22. Rom. xii. 20., which conveys no other meaning than what is expressed by the etymological signification of צָלָה.

سَلِّ to apply to the fire, to scorch, to roast, then to roast a man as it were; but in the second form, to render well disposed to one's self; then in fine, to render God disposed or propitious to him, that is, to pray. The same method of transfer is observed in the use of the Talmudic word סָלַד, to be burnt, and to pray.—3) Doubts which sometimes arise

respecting some particular signification of a word which is very remote from its other meanings, cannot be removed except by etymology, which shows that this signification may be conveyed by the word. An example of this is afforded in the word מִכְתָּהָם, in Ps. xvi. 1. lvi. 1.

lvii. 1. lviii. 1. lix. 1. lx. 1., which is rendered by the Alexandrine translation and by Theodotion, *an inscription on a stone or pillar*, στήλογραφία, a meaning quite foreign from the other significations of the word; but the primary idea which remains in the Syriac dialect, *to impress scars, to mark*, gives a reason for that version.—4)

Words and significations which occur but rarely, or only once, and derive no light from the dialects, are to be investigated by means of

the series of the discourse and the subject; yet this is a very dangerous matter, unless the primary signification afford assistance. Comp. $\psi\psi\upsilon$, *to delay*, in Jud. v. 28. from $\psi\upsilon$, *to be dry, to be dry in the mouth, to hesitate in discourse.*—5) The old versions, without the aid of which the interpreter of the O. T. cannot succeed, are not to be understood without the light of etymology, since they often express the original meaning. Thus the Alexandrine version in Hab. i. 5. (Comp. Acts xiii. 41.) has $\alpha\varphi\alpha\nu\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$, for תַּמְהָה , which is correctly rendered by the Vulgate; *admiramini*. But in other translations it is rendered according to the derived idea, *disparete*, which gives no sense. The original meaning of $\alpha\varphi\alpha\nu\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ and תַּמְהָה is *to change odour or colour; hence to turn pale, to become astonished*. Comp. Matt. vi. 16.

The etymology of the Shemitish language is necessary also in order to understand some places of the New Testament. See Germ. Introd. p. 300, 301.

[a] According to this interpretation, the meaning of כִּי בָרַח הָעָם would be, that the Israelites *had turned to the right*, on their departure from Egypt. See the Germ. Introd. p. 297, and Comp. Mich. Sup. Heb. Lex. p. 219. ROSENMUEL. Scholia in loc. rejects this meaning of the text. *Tr.*]

[b] See STORRII Observat. ad Analogiam et syntaxin Hebraicum. p. 5. MICHAELIS Suppl. in voce. *Tr.*]

§ 84. *Limits of Etymology.*

In urging the utility of etymology, it is not meant that the primary meaning of every word, which in many instances is involved in obscurity or altogether lost, is really to be discovered, but only that the investigation is to be continued as far as it is possible to advance. If an onomatopœtic meaning can be found, or at least the idea of a thing subject to the operation of the senses, from which all the other significations can readily be deduced according to the original usage by a person skilled in languages, this is to be set down as the primary signification of the word; but if nothing of this kind is discoverable, we must content ourselves with such other testimonies respecting the meaning as may be within our reach. It is by no means requisite that

one common original idea should be sought for in the different meanings of such words as are written with the same letters but distinguished by a different pronunciation. In very many of these it never existed, since they are often really different words, to each of which the inventors of the language originally attributed a different idea.

§ 85. *The ancient translators as witnesses of the usage of language.*

It has been already stated, (§ 71,) that the ancient translators of the Old Testament are inadequate witnesses respecting the usage of language, on account of their remoteness from the age when the language was vernacular. This cannot be denied, if direct and immediate witnesses be meant, but there can be no objection to admitting them as mediate and indirect witnesses, and as such their authority is supported on two grounds. 1) The periods in which several of them lived approximated to that in which the Hebrew was a vernacular language. These were acquainted with very many words preserved in common, or liturgic, or scholastic use, the meaning of which they preserved in their versions, from which it may be deduced by us. This principle is of the fuller application, if the words are such as are peculiar to the Hebrew dialect, and have the same meaning given in all the versions, and also confirmed by etymology.—2) To many of the ancient translators some dialect cognate to the Hebrew was vernacular, and thus they enjoyed the benefit of a more extensive and more perfect acquaintance with it than could otherwise possibly be attained, which, by consequence, shed a clearer light on the Hebrew. The mediate and indirect testimony of the ancient translators is therefore of great importance, and not to be neglected, although by a comparison of all the dialects, and by the rules of grammar and criticism, a superiority over them may be acquired.

§ 86. *Twofold advantage of the ancient versions.*

It is the duty of a translator to express the sense of the Hebrew phrases in a manner adapted to the usage of his own language, without a servile adherence to words or etymology. But, with the exception of Symmachus, there is scarcely any one of the old transla-

tors that has constantly attended to this most important rule of interpretation ; almost all eagerly cling to the words, and continually give the etymological meaning. This, however, which is a fault in their works considered as translations, frequently renders them useful to us by affording us indications of the etymology of words. Nevertheless, these must not be implicitly received, but should be subjected to accurate and impartial examination.

But the principal information to be derived from the versions, consists in the significations of words and the meanings of sentences. The necessity of the use of them for this purpose might be shown by an ample induction of particulars, since there are very many words the definitive meaning of which cannot be ascertained from the dialects. Thus, it is only from the versions that we learn that אלה and אֵלֶּן mean *a terebinth*, but אלה an *oak*.—The Aramæan אֵילִן signifies *a tree*, and of course it would be impossible from this dialect to determine what trees were designated by those Hebrew words. Comp. also אֶפֶן, אֵן, &c.

§ 37. *What versions ought to be used.*

Those translators who have merely transferred some ancient version into the idiom of their own nation, neither examined nor understood the Hebrew text, and consequently they are incompetent to testify respecting the Hebrew usage of language. All these mediate versions, therefore, such as the Hexaplar Syriac, the Arabic in the London Polyglot with the exception of the Pentateuch, the old Latin, the translation of the Psalter in the Vulgate, the Ethiopic, Coptic, Sahidic, Armenian, and Slavonic versions, are of no utility in the interpretation of the Hebrew text. Those only which were made immediately from the Hebrew are useful for this purpose, in all of which is dispersed that knowledge of Hebrew, which the translators found preserved in common use, in the public service, or in the schools, or which was afforded by the aid of their own vernacular cognate language. For this reason none of these versions are to be entirely neglected ; yet they do not all offer equal advantages, and therefore some, either for their antiquity or superior excellence, are preferable

to others, nearly in the following order.—1) *The Alexandrine version* is the most ancient, and, although it abounds with errors, contains very much that is useful,[a] on which account it has been used by all the ancient translators. With it must be joined the fragments of the versions of *Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, the 5th, 6th, and 7th versions*,[b] an attentive use of all which is also the best preparation for explaining the New Testament.—2) *The Syriac Peshito*, the authors of which are superior to the other translators, not only in antiquity, but also in erudition and discernment, and by the circumstance of Syriac being their vernacular tongue. The use of this version, so far as it assists in the acquisition of the Syriac language, increases also the helps for the interpretation of the New Testament.—3) *The Latin Vulgate*, except the Psalter, merits the third place, having been made by Jerome, a man versed in all kinds of knowledge, instructed by the most learned Jewish teachers, who had acquired almost all that in his day remained of the Hebrew language, and exhibited the result in his translation and commentaries.—4) *The Targums* do indeed contain much that is objectionable, but more that is of the highest utility, and necessary to be known. The vernacular language of the authors was Chaldee, and therefore they were acquainted, especially the more ancient, with as much of the Hebrew language as had been preserved until their age. The use of these paraphrases is almost the only method of learning the Chaldee dialect, which is an essential requisite for the interpretation of the New Testament.—5) Lastly may be mentioned the other immediate versions, particularly those in *the Arabic*, which, although they cannot be recommended for their antiquity, are important on account of the connexion of the Arabic, their vernacular language, with the Hebrew.

[a] See CHR. FR. SCHMIDT's two dissertations, entitled *Versio Alexandrina optimum interpretationis librorum V. T. præsidium*, 1763, 1764.]

[b] See JOH. FR. FISCHERI *Prousiones de versionibus Græcis librorum V. T. literarum Hebraicarum magistris*, 1772.]

§ 88. *The method in which the versions ought to be used.*

The method of using the versions is twofold. 1) Compare the translation of any book throughout, word for word and sentence for sentence, with the Hebrew text. and note the useful observations which such a comparison affords on the margin. or on the interleaved sheets of a good lexicon, where they can readily be referred to on any occasion. This method of using a version supplies many hermeneutical helps, and at the same time affords instruction respecting the character of the version. It would be proper, therefore, to confine one's self to this, were not life too short for so great a labour. As it is, one or two books must comprise the extent of such an examination.—2) Consult the versions only in the more difficult places. For this purpose concordances which add the corresponding Hebrew words are very useful, because they exhibit at one view all the meanings which are attributed in the version to any word. There are only two concordances of this kind for the Alexandrine version; KIRCHER's, printed in 1607, which follows the order of the Hebrew alphabet, but contains also an appendix arranged according to that of the Greek; and TROMM's, printed in 1728, which is composed after the order of the Greek alphabet, and is accompanied by an appendix made after the Hebrew order, and a lexicon for the study of Origen's Hexapla. To these Concordances are to be added BIEL's Thesaurus Philologicus seu Lexicon in LXX. et alios interpretes V. T., 1779, and SCHLEUSNER's Spicilegium Lexici in interpretes Græcos V. T. maxime Scriptores Apocryphos, 1784 and 1786;* also, Glossæ Sacræ HESYCHII, Græce, 1785, and SUIDÆ et PHAVORINI Glossæ Sacræ, Græce, 1786, which were separately edited by ERNESTI.

§ 89. *Requisites for a proper use of the versions.*

In order that the versions may afford the expected benefit, some qualifications must previously be possessed. 1) A knowledge of the cognate dialects must be obtained. For as there is no version with-

* [Since this time, SCHLEUSNER has published his Novus Thesaurus Philologico-Criticus sive Lexicon in LXX. et reliquos interpretes Græcos ac Scriptores Apocryphos V. T., 5 vol. 8vo. 1820, 1821; to which also a Supplement has been furnished by BRETSCHNEIDER, 2 vol. 8vo. 1822. *Tr.*]

out many errors, the meanings given to the Hebrew are to be examined by the dialects; and a reader unacquainted with them will often charge the translator with ignorance, when his more extensive knowledge of the language, attested by the evidence of the dialects, rather entitles him to praise, even admitting that by obtruding the meaning in a place to which it does not apply he has erred against the rules of interpretation. Comp. in the Vulgate, Hab. ii. 9, *qui congregat avaritiam*, and in the Septuagint, ii. 5, *περὶ ἀνάγης*.—2) An accurate and extensive acquaintance with the language in which the version is composed is necessary. It is impossible to use translations of translations without falling into errors; and this will be unavoidable if the erroneous Latin translations of the Oriental versions in the Polyglots, are relied on. How great a knowledge of the language of the version is requisite, may be illustrated by the fact, that men in other respects not unlearned, have misunderstood several places of our Latin Vulgate;* as is proved by their expositions of certain words, as *visitare*, which is rendered *to visit*, while it means *to regard, favourably or unfavourably*; *sacramentum*, in Eph. v. 32, which has been explained according to its ecclesiastical use, of *a sacrament*, although like the Greek *μυστηριον* it means *a secret*, in which sense Jerome uses it when he writes to Paulinus: “Apocalypsis tot habet sacramenta quot verba;” *lucifer* in Isa. xiv. 12, and *nugæ* in Zeph. iii. 18.—3) A knowledge of the art of criticism is requisite. This is important, not merely in order to form a judgment of the readings of a version, but also that we may not accuse an ancient translator of error where he expresses a reading different from that now commonly received. Thus in Ps. xxii. 18, for *בְּאַרִי*, *as the lion*, the Septuagint has *ωρευσαν*, *they have pierced through*, which was derived from the reading *כָּרַו* or *כְּאַרִי*.—4) The last requisite is a skillful observation of difficult and obscure passages, which the translators not having understood, have *conjectured* the sense from the subject, the series of discourse, and other circumstances. With regard to such, they cannot be considered as witnesses; they merely pass a judgment on the probability, to do which we are as competent as themselves, or more so.

* [The reader will recollect that the author is a Roman Catholic. Tr.]

§ 90. *Josephus and the Fathers of the Church.*

The *Jewish Antiquities* of JOSEPHUS, may be reckoned among the versions; for although he followed the Alexandrine, yet he often examined the Hebrew text, as is proved by his abandoning the sense of that version in very many places. With regard to these he is an evidence of great authority, for he is more ancient than the other translators except the Alexandrine, the Chaldee was his vernacular dialect, and, as he was a learned priest and subsequently a commander of an army in Galilee during the war with the Romans, he was well versed in all ecclesiastical, civil and military matters. His readers, however, will find it necessary not rashly to give credence to all his statements, especially such as are warped in favour of his own nation or even of the heathens, or such as represent the temple of Solomon by a description taken from that of Herod.

Whatever is found in the writings of Origen and Jerome relating to the Hebrew, and in the books of Augustin to the Punic, is by no means to be disregarded; for those writings contain much information to which nothing superior has yet been advanced. Much of what occurs on this subject in Justin, Epiphanius, and Theodoret, is of no great consequence, although there are some things which deserve attention. The other fathers depended on the versions, and had no acquaintance with Hebrew learning, and therefore cannot testify respecting the usage of that language.

§ 91. *Decree of the Council of Trent respecting Interpretation.*

Lest any should consider the opinion just stated as injurious to the fathers of the church, I have thought proper to add the decree of the Council of Trent, Session 4th. The holy Synod, “in order to restrain *petulant minds*, decrees, that no one relying on his own knowledge, shall presume to interpret scripture, in matters of *faith and morals relating to the edification of the church, distorting the sacred scripture to senses of his own* contrary to that *sense which mother church hath held and doth hold*, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense of the holy scriptures, or even contrary to *the unanimous consent of the fathers.*”* A few remarks will be sufficient.

* [“Ad coercenda *petulantia ingenia* decernit” (sacrosancta synodus) “ut nemo *suae prudentiae* innixus, in rebus *fidei et morum ad aedificationem ecclesiae* perti-

1) The *petulant minds*, whom the council censures, are not those Catholics who reject, as witnesses of any particular fact, persons who are ignorant of it; or, which is equivalent, exclude the fathers who had no knowledge of the Hebrew language from giving testimony respecting the Hebrew usage, and produce other witnesses whom no one doubts to have understood and intended to teach it, that is to say, the dialects, which constitute one and the same language with the Hebrew. The decree strikes at those who in that age were introducing novelties.—2) *One's own knowledge*, which the council reprobates, is not a proper knowledge; unless a man choose to pretend that the council resolved ignorant men to be the best interpreters. It is the boasted perspicacity of the innovators of that age, by means of which they endeavoured, by a perverted interpretation of scripture, to overturn ancient doctrines and institutions.—3) This is confirmed by what follows. The knowledge referred to, is that *on which the interpreter depending distorts scripture to senses of his own*, to do which has always been, is still, and will ever be unlawful in all books. But no man can distort scripture to a sense of his own who admits no sense which is not proved by *competent* witnesses, whom no one can deny to know and to testify to the truth.—4) The interpreter is prohibited from distorting scripture to senses of his own in matters *of faith and morals, relating to the edification of the church*, which expression, as Cardinal PALAVICINI testifies, (Hist. Conc. Trid. L. VI. c. 8.) does not refer merely to the words, *contrary to that sense which mother church hath held and doth hold*, but also to those, *contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers*: and this law of the council only provides that no one, relying on an arrogant self-conceit, shall *force* the sacred scripture, *in matters of faith and morals, contrary to the sense of the church, or contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers*; which is repugnant to sound reason, and, as Palavicini expressly says, was always unlawful from the very nature of the thing. The council therefore only declares, in what way scripture in matters of faith and morals *is not* to be explained, but it certainly

nentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu sanctarum scripturarum, aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum, ipsam scripturam interpretari audeat." Conc. Trid. cum declarat. ed. T. Gallenart, 1722. p. 9.]

does not teach *on what principles it is to be explained*; in a word, it is merely a negative decree, not a positive.

That this is the meaning of the decree, the circumstances of those times and the words themselves of the Council plainly declare; and consistently with this view of the matter, Benedict XIV. did not hesitate to receive favourably from the Dominican MILANTE, the dedication of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of SIXTUS SENENSIS, in which objections are made to very many interpretations of the Fathers; and Cardinal Ca-jetan, who interpreted Scripture without any reference to the fathers, and professed it also in the plainest terms in his dedication to Clement VI., although he gave offence to many, is justified by Cardinal PALAVICINI, (Hist. Conc. Trid. L. VI. c. 3.) If a man will not acquiesce in this, he must be considered as a contentious person, and left to put what sense he may think proper on the decree. Comp. Matt. xv. 14. Lu. vi. 39. [a]

[a] Although this section is evidently intended by the author as an apology to some of his brethren for his exclusion of the Fathers as witnesses to the usage of Hebrew and the cognate languages, and refers to a difficulty suggested by the opinion of the infallibility of the Church, with which Protestants have nothing to do, yet we have thought it best upon the whole to retain it. The judicious reader will know how to regard it. We are forcibly reminded of the note of Erasmus on Eph. v. 32, where the author's reputation as a scholar will not permit him to explain the word $\mu\upsilon\sigma\eta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ so as to support the doctrine of his church, and yet he is too much shackled by system or circumstances to speak plainly against it. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE HEBREW TEXT.*

§ 92. *Change of the Hebrew Characters.*

The characters of the letters which Moses used in writing cannot be ascertained from what remains of antiquity, unless at some future time those stones, on which Joshua caused the law to be engraven, (Jos. viii. 30. ss., comp. Deut. xxvii. 1. ss.) should by some happy chance be discovered, and found to be even yet legible. By comparing them with the inscriptions on pieces of money belonging to the Asmonæan times, much information relative to the changes of Hebrew writing, highly useful to criticism, might be obtained. So long as these monuments are concealed, we must derive our only knowledge of the subject from the modern form of the characters, from which nothing more can be inferred than that they at first exhibited a rude delineation of those objects which their names denote. Comp. my Heb. Gram. Ed. 3d. § 1, 2. p. 1—16.—The inconsistency and mutability of all human things will not suffer us to doubt, that this original form of the letters was subjected in course of time to various changes. This is proved to have been the case by a comparison of the Hebrew, Punic, Samaritan, and Syriac characters, all of which were originally the same, and yet in the times of Jerome and of Origen, in the ages when the Palmyrene inscriptions were made, and when the Phœnician and Jewish coins were stamped, they differed in a very great degree.

* [On the subjects of this chapter, see BAUER, § 10—17, p. 111—160; EICHH. § 58—80 b; GESENIUS Geschichte der Hebræischen Sprache und Schrift, Leipz. 1815. § 40—57. Tr.]

As the Hebrews during the Babylonian exile used the Aramæan dialect, at this period a more than ordinary change of the characters took place. This seems to have induced the Rabbies Jose and Zutra to assert in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin II. p. 21. col. 1.) that the characters which came into general use after the exile, were introduced by the Jews who returned from Assyria, (Babylonia,) and that Ezra wrote out the sacred books in those new characters, and thus the old were left to the Samaritans. But not a few of the Rabbies in the Talmud oppose this assertion, and indeed on good grounds, since neither Ezra nor Josephus makes any mention of this sudden change; Origen expresses himself doubtfully respecting it: Jerome* was the first who without hesitation affirmed, that the Hebrew character in use at his time had been introduced by Ezra. More modern writers blindly followed Jerome, until the opinion was attacked by CAPEL,[a] who was opposed by very bitter adversaries, particularly BUXTORF. Comp. WOLFFI Biblioth. Heb. Vol. II. sect. vi. p. 419. s. p. 623. Vol. IV. sect. vi. p. 227—242. WALTON Proleg. III. § 29—37. p. 103—125. Ed. DATHII.

[a] In his Arcanum Punctuationis, L. I. c. 6., and afterwards in his Diatriba de veris et antiquis literis Hebraicis, 1645, *Amstelod.*]

§ 93. *Whether the alphabet of the Hebrews consisted anciently of twenty-two letters.*

To whatever changes the Hebrew characters may have been subjected during a long course of ages, their number was not increased. The alphabetical Psalms (xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxix. cxlv.) indicate 22, and consequently these are not more modern than the time of David; on the contrary, as the very use made of them in these poems recognizes them as well known, they are of much higher antiquity. Why not, then, ascribe them at once to the inventor of the alphabet? A person of a later age, after the art of writing had been extended to many nations, would not have been able to obtrude upon others, Phœnicians, Syrians, and Egyptians, for instance, letters of his own invention; not to say, that grammatical niceties were not so much attended to at that time as to suggest the idea of increasing the number of the letters. The enlargement of the Arabic alphabet in more modern times, shows that for this purpose grammarians of some skill are necessary.

* In Prolog. Galeat.

It is said indeed, that Cadmus the Phœnician, 1519 years B. C., and therefore 85 after the exode from Egypt, brought from Phœnicia into Greece only sixteen letters. This is the account of Pliny and Plutarch. But almost 300 years before, Aristotle speaks of his having introduced eighteen, and Herodotus, the most ancient writer, and Diodorus Siculus, who followed him, are entirely silent respecting the number. These circumstances were sufficient to induce Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (Tom. II. p. 21. Ed. Oxon.) to doubt as to the possibility of determining the number of letters introduced by Cadmus. But a comparison of the Greek characters with the Oriental, which I shall therefore subjoin, will show that Cadmus introduced twenty-two letters.

A α, B β, Γ γ, Δ δ, E ε, Υ υ, Ζ ζ, Η η, Θ θ, Ι ι, Κ κ, Λ λ, Μ μ, Ν ν, Ξ ξ, Ο ο, Φ φ, Ψ ψ, Χ χ, Ρ ρ, Σ σ, Τ τ.

The letter *z* *tzade* is the only one which wants a corresponding character, and this may be found in *σεντι*, which, as well as *tzade*, designates the number 90. The Greeks added *Psi* and *Pi*, the latter of which was not used by the Orientals, as Jerome has remarked,* for the Hebrew *Phe* is never sounded *p*, but always like the Arabic and Syriac *f*. The Greek writers, therefore, are not to be regarded respecting the addition of letters, their declarations on this subject being mere conjectures founded on slight and uncertain rumour. Much less are we to admit the reasonings of CHISHULL,† COUR DE GEBELIN,‡ and BIANCONI,|| who from coins, in the inscriptions on which only sixteen letters appear, argue that in the original Hebrew alphabet only that number existed. Without urging that this is not supported by the fact, and that we cannot reasonably expect to meet with all the letters of an alphabet in a few words of inscriptions, it is enough to say, that all the coins which have been found are much more modern not only than the alphabetical Psalms, but even than the verses in Prov. xxxi. 10—31, and the alphabetical lamentations of Jeremiah, in which the twenty-two letters occur.

* [Qui Palaestini dicuntur Graecis, Hebraeis vocantur Philistini, quia P literam Hebraeus non habet. Comment. in Jes. II.]

† [Antiquit. Asiatic. § 19. p. 25.]

‡ [Monde Primitif. T. III. L. V. Sect. II. c. 8. ss. p. 411. ss.]

§ [Antiq. Lit. Heb. et Graec. p. 41. Ed. II.]

§ 94. *Age of the Vowel Points.*

Since the Jews, although *fond of adhering to ancient usages*, write their rolls for the Synagogue service without vowel points, and since all the manuscripts of the Samaritans are so, it may be conjectured that the ancient Hebrews also did not use them. The more modern Jews indeed wish to have it supposed that they received the vowel points by tradition from Moses; but they are to be considered as referring to the manner of reading the text. That our present points were not in existence in former ages is proved by the practice of the ancient translators, who often render the words with different vowels.* Origen, in writing the Hebrew text in Greek letters in his Hexapla, and Jerome, when he gives the Hebrew words in Latin letters, frequently employ other vowels than those which are indicated by the present points. Jerome also, as well as the Talmud and the treatise Sopherim, observes a profound silence respecting the points even in places, where, if they had been in use, he could not have passed them over unnoticed.—1) Since the Talmud was completed at the close of the fifth century and the treatise Sopherim, which speaks of the Talmud as already finished, cannot have been written before the sixth century; it follows, that as late as the sixth century the points were unknown.—2) But in the eleventh century, Aaron Ben Asher and Jacob Ben Naphtali devoted all their attention to pointing the text properly, and giving a judgment on the variations of different copies; whence it is clear, that in their day our present system had already been some time in use.—3) The punctuation system displays so much care and is so artificially constructed, that it could not possibly have been brought to such a height of perfection in a short time. Besides, in the comparison of the eastern and western texts, which was probably made in the eighth century, two various readings occasioned by different methods of punctuation occur. We shall not therefore greatly err by coming to the conclusion, that the present system of punctuation began in the seventh or eighth century, and was brought to perfection during the ninth and tenth.

* [See the Germ. Introd. p. 332, and CAPELLI. Crit. Sac. T. II. L. IV. c. 2 § 3—29, p. 502—545. L. V. c. 2. § 2. p. 772—779, and c. 4. § 1—9, p. 805—821. c. 8. § 1—8, p. 858—869.]

§ 95. *Whether the letters אהוי were formerly vowels.*

Jerome does indeed frequently say, that the Hebrews very rarely make use of vowel letters in the middle.* But he is not speaking of the *matres lectionis* or the letters אהוי, because among these vowel letters he reckons *Cheth* and *Ayin*, (See Præf. ad Comment. in Amos., and de Nomin. Heb. ;) and in another place he says that the Hebrews have no vowels in the middle.† They are quite mistaken therefore who infer from hence, that the letters אהוי were the vowels of the ancient Hebrews, and of more frequent occurrence than at present in the text. whence the greater part of them were stricken out, upon the invention of the points. Nor indeed is it easy to conceive that these letters supplied the places of the vowels, since *He* is rarely a *mater lectionis*, (being so only when it terminates the second person of pronouns and of singular verbs in the preterite;) *Aleph* takes all the vowels; *Vau* and *Jod* when quiescent lengthen the syllable, and fall away when it is shortened. Comp. Germ. Introd. p. 338, 339.

§ 96. *Whether the ancient Hebrews had no vowel signs.*

Although the ancient Hebrews did not use either our points, or the quiescent letters as vowels, yet words, the pronunciation of which is not accurately determined by means of the series of discourse, seem to have required some sign to suggest it to the reader; and thus the Arabians, although they write without points, constantly add some vowel mark to ambiguous words.—The Syrians did actually in the sixth century transmit to the Arabians not only their twenty-two consonants, but also three vowel signs, to which in the eighth century they added two others.—Three marks of this description, annexed to the letters, are found also in the Chaldee writing of the Mendæans in Mesopotamia at Mardin.—Ephraem the Syrian, (T. I. Opp. p. 184.), by remarking that he had never found the word *chomre*, but always *chemre*, intimates the presence of some vowel mark, for without one חמרה might be read either way. Hence it may be inferred, that as early as the fourth century the Syrians had, if not the three vowel

* [Vocalibus in medio literis perraro uti.]

† [Non habere in medio vocales.]

signs used in the sixth century, at least some sign of pronunciation; and without doubt that point which is seen not only in Syriac manuscripts destitute of the vowel points, but also together with those points in many printed books, and which is treated of by AMIRA (Grammat. Syr. *Romæ*, 1596, L. I. c. 16, 17, p. 51—54.) as a mark to direct the reading, indicating the pronunciation by its different position. This simplest sign of pronunciation is also undoubtedly the most ancient, being observable even among the characters inscribed on the ligatures of Egyptian mummies.

This, however, does not yet prove that the ancient Hebrews also employed a similar mark to indicate the pronunciation of ambiguous words. Jerome seems indeed to favour this opinion by frequently mentioning the accent by which the pronunciation was prescribed; but a comparison of all the passages in his writings will show, that under the term *accent* he expresses the aspiration of the guttural letters, the sibilant sound made by the pronunciation of Shin and Tzade, and even the quantity of syllables, and that all these particulars may be referred to pronunciation, especially since he affirms the vowel sign to be often absent.[*a*] But if those places of Jerome be examined in which he says that the Hebrews do not have vowels *in the middle*, and that they very rarely make use of vowel letters *in the middle*, it will be clear that he intimates, that *above* or *below* the letters certain marks were used. These, as they might convey the sound of *i* or *e*, or *o*, or *u*, did not determine the vowels with accuracy, and were similar to those vowel points, which in the 6th century the Arabians received from the Syrians. And that certain marks of this kind were introduced he shows more clearly on Gen. xix. 33, where he says of the word בקוֹחַ, “they place a point above, as if something incredible were related;”* in which words he intimates the pointing בקוֹחַ, referring to the point above the *i* preserved in our present punctuation with a marginal note. Besides the vowel point in the *ı* for *u*, Jerome must therefore have had also the upper one to suggest the supposed incredibility; and thus it is evident that in his time the points *cholem* and *shurek* were in use, whence it may be reasonably inferred, that a point below the letter was also used for *i*

* [Appingunt desuper, quasi incredibile quid, quod rerum natura non capiat, coire quempiam nescientem.]

and *e*, so that when there was no point *a* was to be sounded. These points are referred to in places of the Talmud, where mention is made of the accents טעמים and סימנים as signs of pronunciation, as in Berachoth, p. 14, c. 1.; Nedarim, p. 37. c. 2., p. 52. c. 1.; Sanhedrin, p. 4. c. 1.

In the time of Jerome therefore, one point seems to have occupied two positions; one above the letter, denoting *o* and *u*, which however, when intended to express *u*, the *mater lectionis*, *vau*, being present, was written in the middle of that letter; and another below the letter denoting *i* and *e*. To these was added, perhaps in the 5th or 6th century, a mark for *a*. It was only to ambiguous words, however, that these marks were appended. These three signs which are the ground-work of our present punctuation, were at length, in the two or three subsequent centuries, increased and reduced to the modern system.

The Protestants, who defended the perfect perspicuity of the Scriptures, contended even until the middle of the 18th century, that our vowel points are coeval with the consonants, lest indeed the Scripture should formerly have been less clear. But since they have rejected this opinion, they agree with us that the points are only a commentary of the middle age, and that exegetical reasons give the interpreter a right of attaching to the words other points better adapted to the discourse. But no slight reasons are sufficient to authorize this procedure; for in our present points much exists which is derived from those very ancient marks which are indicative of the reading, and in those changes of the points which learned men have undertaken to make, so many instances of errors are to be found, that an interpreter ought to be very cautious and circumspect.

[*a*] See Comment. in Jer. i. 11., in Jon. iii., in Ezek. xxvii. 28., Epist. ad Evag. 126, p. 570. T. II. Ed. Martian., Quæst. in Gen. ii. 23., Comment. in Amos. viii., Quæst. in Gen. xli. 29., Comment. in Ep. ad Tit. iii., Quæst. in Gen. xv. 11., Comment. in Hos. iv., or Germ. Introd. p. 343—346.]

§ 97. *Age of the accents and other diacritical marks.*

What has been said respecting the vowel points is applicable also to the accents and other diacritical marks, namely, Raphe, Dagesh, Makkeph, Mappik, Phsik, and the point by which Shin is distinguish-

ed from Sin, for the following reasons. 1) The accents and other diacritical marks are closely connected with the vowel points, variations in the former producing corresponding changes in the latter; from which it is evident that both have a common origin.—2) Ancient translators have very often differed from the interpunctuations which are indicated by our accents and give the best sense; which they would not have done, if they had had these marks of interpunction in the text.—3) Jerome and the Talmudic writers are silent respecting the accents and all the diacritical signs, although they were not without occasions of mentioning them.

It is to be observed that the accent which is mentioned by Jerome and the Talmudists, is not a mark of the tone and of interpunction, but indicates the whole method of pronouncing. Yet it cannot be denied, that sometimes under the term *accent* interpunction is also denoted, as in the treatise Hagiga, p. 2., on the passage in Exod. xxiv. 5., and in JEROME, Ep. ad Cyprian. on Ps. xc. 11.; but it cannot be concluded from this that our accents were written to the text: all that can be inferred is, that the mark to which the term *accent* was applied, and which indicated many things of different character, was sometimes also a mark of interpunction, which, as I have shown at large in my German Introduction. p. 352, was by no means unknown to the ancients.

As early as the 17th century some authors conjectured that our accents were formerly musical notes, according to which the Psalms were chanted in the temple, and that after this use of them was abolished they were changed into signs of interpunction, and introduced also into other books. But we have already seen that they are not of so great antiquity, and even in the present day they are used by the singers in Synagogues as musical notes, so that this use of them would never have been abolished. Comp. WALTON, Prol. III. § 45. p. 142. ss. § 56. p. 169. ss.[a]

[a] In BARTOLOCCI, Biblioth. Rab. Tom. IV. p. 429—441, the accents are exhibited in musical notes. *Tr.*]

§ 98. *Intervals between the words.*

It has been the common opinion of the learned since Muret,* Jus-

* [Remarks on Seneca, Ep. 40. *Rom.* 1585.]

tus Lipsius* and Morin,† that previously to the 9th century the ancients wrote without any spaces between the words. But more modern writers on ancient documents have produced many specimens, both Greek and Latin, which do exhibit such spaces. See *Germ. Introd.* p. 358, 359. Our present concern, however, is not with these, but with oriental writings. But in the Vatican library, in the Medicean, in that of St. Augustin called Angelica, and in that at Milan, Syriac manuscripts of the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries are preserved, which have intervals between the words. There are extant also Arabic inscriptions and other monuments of the same language in the Cufic character, together with the inscriptions at Persepolis; in all of which, intervals between the words are observed. See ADLERS *Beschreib. der Syrischen Uebersetzungen des N. T.*; OL. GERHARD TYSCHEN's plates in his *Elementare Syriacum*; BLANCHINI *Evangelium Quadruplex*, P. I. p. 541; NIEBUHR'S *Beschreibung von Arabien*, S. 95, Kupfert. iv—xi, und *Reisebeschr. II. Th.* S. 152, Kupfert. xxx.

In treating of oriental writings, Greek and Latin documents destitute of spaces between the words, might properly be neglected. Still it may be observed, that there are extant in those languages some very ancient documents, written with intervals; so that the omission of them in others is to be imputed to the negligence or haste of the transcribers. This appears from monuments which sometimes have the intervals in the wrong place, as in that inscription of Herculaneum, ὧς ἐνσο φον, instead of ὧς ἐν σοφον: *Le Pitture antiche d'Erculano*, 1760, Tab. vi. p. 34. Not. 2. If this has happened in sculpture, who can doubt, that transcribers of manuscripts much oftener left intervals in improper places or neglected them altogether. Hence may be explained the direction in the Masora, to separate in eleven places the letters which constitute one word, into two, and in nine others to combine those which are divided, into one. And hence also we may discover the reason why the ancient translators occasionally made a division of the words different from the common one, which they would have done much more frequently, if their manuscripts had been entirely without intervals between the words.

* [Senecae Opera, Ep. 40, p. 452, 453. Ed. *Antwerp*. 1652.]

† [Exercitat. Bib. J. II. Exerc. xvii. c. 1.]

§ 99. *Division into verses.*[a]

Any one may readily perceive that the sacred writers did not divide their books into small portions, such as our verses, which were not used in the time of the ancients, as is proved by their versions, wherein a different division, sometimes better and sometimes worse, is frequently observed. Since these small sections are intimately connected with the accents and vowel points, it may be inferred that they were contemporaneously introduced. For these verses are altogether different from the hemistichs of poems, which originated from the respective authors, and are retained in the songs in Exod. xv, Deut. xxxii, Jud. v., and in the more ancient manuscripts of Job, the Psalms and the Proverbs. See STARK, Proleg. in Psalm T. II. P. II. Sect. 14., who says, that “in proportion to the antiquity of the Hebrew manuscripts, does the manner of writing by verses prevail in the poetical books.” Comp. KENNICOTT, Diss. I. On the state of the Hebrew Text. p. 324, 424, 566. The ancients attest that the same method of writing was followed in Ecclesiastes and the Canticles. See JEROME Præf. in Jes., Epiph. de Pond. et Mens. c. 4., CYRILL OF JERUS. Cataches. IV. The same arrangement, as Jerome in his Præf. in Jes. et Ezek. declares, was at length applied to the prose compositions, and books which were written in this way were called *σχιησεις*, because they were divided *σχιησως*, or by *σχοι*, that is *verses*. But the *σχοι*, as we learn from Jerome, Præf. I. in Job, were distinguished into two kinds, the smaller or *cola*, and the larger or *commata*. These distinctions which appear to be what is meant by the שְׁטִיִּם and פְּסוּקִים of the Talmudists, (Tract. Megilloth c. 4., and Massecheth c. 4.), had reference to the sense; [b] short sentences and members of sentences, completed in one line, being called *cola*, and full periods and parts somewhat long, *commata*. Whatever the truth may be, it is beyond all doubt that all these ancient divisions were entirely different from our verses. Comp. DE ROSSI, Specimen Lect. variantium V. F. in Append. p. 399—440, SIMON Hist. Crit. du V. T. L. v. ch. 28.

[a] Comp. PRIDEAUX Connexions, Part. I. B. V. anno 446. Vol. I. pp. 334. ss. DE WETTE, Einleit. § 77. Tr.]

[b] Thus Jerome, Præf. in Ezek. “Legite igitur et hunc juxta translationem nostram, quoniam per cola scriptus et commata, manifestiorem legentibus sensum tribuit ”]

§ 100. *Division of the Pentateuch into Pharashioth.*

The Pentateuch is divided into fifty and also into fifty-four Pharashioth, פִּרְשִׁיּוֹת, in order that whether the year be a simple lunar year or intercalated, one Pharasha, פִּרְשָׁה, may be read in the Synagogues, every week, and the whole Pentateuch in the course of the year. The Pharashioth are indicated by כַּסֵּס or כַּפֵּס. These longer weekly portions are subdivided into smaller, which are read every day in the Synagogue by different men; [a] and these divisions are designated by פ or כ. By these letters transcribers are directed to begin with a new line after כַּפֵּס and פ, (which stand for פִּתּוּחָה, *open*, denoting that the remainder of the line is to be blank,) and after כַּסֵּס or כ (which stand for כְּתוּבָה or כְּמוּבָה, *shut*, denoting that the line is not to be blank.) to continue the line, after leaving a considerable interval. This division is mentioned in the Treatise Sopherim, of the sixth or seventh century, and seems to have come down from the time when after the return from captivity the reading of the Pentateuch in the Synagogues was established. For a long period, however, the portion to be read appears to have been left to the discretion of the ruler of the Synagogue, until at length the presiding officers determined upon a permanent division into parts for reading. This gave rise to different divisions, of which Maimonides complained; at last all agreed in one of most celebrity, which is admitted into our Bibles.

[a] DE WETTE, Einleit. § 79. anm. c., denies that this opinion, (which is also maintained by BERTHOLDT, S. 202.) has any foundation. He refers for another view of the subject to BUXTORF, Synagoga Judaica, c. xvi. p. 327. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 101. *The Haphtaroth.*

In the Synagogue service there is read also every Sabbath a portion of the Prophets, which is called Haphtara, הַפְּטָרָה. [a] The Haphta-

roth are selections taken from the Prophets, and written out by themselves in manuscripts. Their number is the same as that of the Pharashioth.—Whether the origin of the practice of reading certain portions from the prophets is to be sought for in the age of the Maccabees, as is the opinion of Elias Levita. (in Thisbi. sub. voce פטר,) and of Vitranga (de Synagoga Vet. L. III. P. II. p. 1008,) is undetermined. It is certain from Luke iv. 16 ss., that it was usual to read the prophets in the Synagogues in the age of Jesus; but the choice of the prophet to be read appears to have been left to the pleasure of the ruler of the Synagogue. For the passage in Luke iv. 16. from Isa. lxi. 1—3., is not to be found in the modern Haphtaroth, and therefore the determination of particular portions seems to have been the work of a more modern age.

Elias traces the reading of the prophets to the prohibition of the reading of the law, by Antiochus. But as the purpose of this monarch was completely to destroy Judaism. his prohibition undoubtedly was intended to include the prophets also. Vitranga's opinion is much more probable, that after the Jews had re-established their state by means of the Maccabees, they sought to improve the character of their worship by adding a portion from the prophets to that from the law, which had been formerly read. Comp. CARPZ. Crit. Sac. L. I. C. 4. § 4. p. 147—149.

[a) Haphtara, הפטרה, *the dismissal*, from פטר, *to dismiss*; so called because this is the last lesson, and immediately precedes the dismissal of the people; on which account also the reader of the Haphtara is called מפטר, *the dismitter*. Comp. BUXT. Lex. Chal. et Talm. in פטר Col. 1719, VITRANGA de Syn. Vet. Lib. III. Pars. II. Cap. x. p. 993. ss. LEUSDEN Philolog. Hebr. p. 33.—Tr.]

§ 102. *Division into Chapters.*

The division into chapters was introduced into our Vulgate in the thirteenth century, on occasion of the composition of a concordance, in order that places might be cited with accuracy, and easily found. For this reason, also, every chapter (for the *verses* were first introdu-

ced into the Latin Vulgate, and numbered, by Robert Stephens, in 1548,) was subdivided into smaller parts by the letters A. B. C. D. &c. disposed according to a certain number of lines, that a passage marked in the concordance might be found without any labour. It is scarcely possible to determine, whether this division owes its origin to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, or to Hugo a S. Caro, the former of whom died in 1227 and the latter in 1262. Perhaps the division into chapters originated with Stephen, and was afterwards somewhat altered by Hugh; this will account for the varieties which even now are to be seen in different editions. One thing is certain, that from the year 1240, citations are made by a reference to chapters. See GENEVRARD, Chronol. L. IV. p. 644. This division was first introduced into the Hebrew Bible by Rabbi Isaac Nathan in 1440, (See BUXT. Concord. Bib. Heb. 1633. Præf. col. 4—14.) and hence it passed into the edition of Daniel Bomberg, 1525.

JEROME, Comment. in Mich. vi. 9., Sophon. iii. 14., Jer. ix. 22., Quæst. in Gen. xxxvi. 14, and elsewhere, speaks of chapters in the Hebrew text and in the Alexandrine translation. But they are entirely different from our divisions into chapters, and perhaps they are the same as the *Siderim*, סררים, which Jacob Ben Chajim found in a manu-

script of Genesis, amounting to forty-two, and which are mentioned also in the Paris Correctorium of the twelfth century. The ancient ecclesiastical writers never designate places of the Bible by chapters; the Jews denominated portions of considerable extent from the name of some person, place, or thing, mentioned therein, nearly in the same manner as the Mahommedans do the Suras of the Koran. Thus PHILO, de Agric. T. I. p. 316, Edit. Mangey, cites a passage *εν ταις αραυς*, in the curses, meaning Deut. xxvii; RASHI on Hos. ix. 19. *this is Gibeon of Benjamin*, בפלגוש, in the concubine, that is, in Jud. xix—

xxi., and on Ps. ii., as it is said באבנר in Abner, meaning II Sam.

ii. 8—iii. 39.; ABENEZRA on Hos. iv. 8. בעלי, in Eli, that is, in

I Sam. i.—iv. The same mode of quotation occurs in Mark xii. 26. *επι της βαυς*, in the bush, that is, in Exod. ii—iv., Comp. Luke xx. 37.; in Mark ii. 26. *εν Αβιαθαυ*, in Abiathar, that is, I. Sam. xxi.—xxii.; also in Rom. xi. 2. *εν Ελια*, in Elias, or I Kings xvii—xix.

Although the division into our chapters and verses does afford the advantage of citing any places with accuracy, and of finding them readily, yet it is accompanied by a great inconvenience, the series of discourse being withdrawn from the reader's attention by an improper division, or by the want of one where it ought to have been introduced. The interpreter therefore may disregard these divisions, and it would be desirable in new editions of the Bible to adopt others of a more suitable kind, and to note the former chapters and verses in the margin at the end of the lines, for the convenience of turning to quotations and finding them with ease. Thus the series of discourse would not be interrupted.

§ 103. *Division of the books of the Old Testament.*[a]

The books of the Old Testament have been distributed into three classes, *the law*, התורה, *the prophets*, הנביאים, and *the writings*, הכתובים, emphatically so called, which we are accustomed to designate by the term *Hagiographa*. This division is employed as well known and in common use, not only by Josephus, Philo, and the writers of the New Testament, but also by the translator of Ecclesiasticus in the Prologue, 131 B. C., and it seems to have descended from that age in which the canon was fixed. In course of time, however, the arrangement of the books in the second and third classes underwent some change, for Josephus reckons 13 prophets and 4 Hagiographa; but the Talmudists who extended the number of the books to 24, removed 5 books of the second class into the third, and consequently they reckon 11 Hagiographa and 8 prophets. This order is preserved in our Bibles in which also four prophets, that is to say, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, are called *first* or *former*, ראשונים, and the remaining four, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the book of the 12 minor prophets, *the latter*, אחרונים. In our Bibles the third class contains the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. The formation of another class of books under the name of *the five rolls*, מגילות, including Ruth, Esther, Canticles, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, is more modern, but of what particular age is unknown. It originated from the read-

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ing of those books in the Synagogues on certain festivals, for which purpose they were transcribed in a separate volume. Comp. STORR in Neues Repertorium für Bibl. und Morgenl. Litt. von PAULUS, II. Th. S. 225—247.

[a) Comp. § 1. of this part. Also DE WETTE, Einleit. § 10. PRI-DEAUX, Connexion, Part I. B. V. anno 446. Vol. I. pp. 331. ss. Tr.]

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT. [a]

§ 104. *The text is by no means free from errors.*

Although the Hebrew text, as has been already shown (§ 12. 13.), has not been corrupted; yet it has been impossible to preserve it entirely free from faults. If all the transcribers had been learned, critical and attentive, still they could not have avoided errors. Of these errors some at least would give a meaning, and therefore instead of being corrected would be transcribed, so that at length manuscripts every where would differ, and the reader after some time be unable to determine the genuine reading from the erroneous. In other words, *various readings* would arise: and very many have been collected by a comparison of ancient versions, of passages cited by ancient writers, of manuscript copies, and of modern editions. Most of these indeed are of very little moment, but there are some which entirely alter the sense in places of great importance, so that they ought by no means to be neglected by the theologian.

The Jews, with the exception of the few who have compared manuscripts, deny the existence of various readings. The Catholic clergy on the other hand, have always admitted them, and indeed in their zeal for the reputation of the vulgate, they have sometimes extended the number and importance of textuary errors further than is necessary. The Jews were supported by the Protestants, with the view of defending their doctrine of the perspicuity of Scripture. At last, however, about the middle of the 18th century, the latter began, principally by the agency of John David Michaelis, with immense labour to consult manuscripts, to collect and examine various readings. Those who previously to this time had defended the existence of various readings had made but little progress. Lewis Capel is the most distinguish-

ed. For ten years he was prevented from printing his *Critica Sacra*, and it was published at last by his son, who had become a convert to the Catholic church. It was very severely attacked by many, and especially by the Buxtorfs, both father and son. See KENNICOTT *On the State of the Hebrew Text*, Diss. I. Part ii. pp. 279. ss. WALTON, *Proleg.* VII. p. 240. Seq. DE ROSSI *Lect. Var. V. T. Præf. T. I.* § 34. ROSENMUELLER *Handbuch für die Liter. der bib. Krit. und Exeg.* Bd. I. S. 439—608. CAPEL. *Crit. Sac. T. II. L. vi. c. 3.* p. 932—937.

[*α*] On the subject of this Chapter, compare BAUER, § 25—34. p. 195—234. *Tr.*]

§ 105. *History of the text until the Alexandrine version was made.*

Respecting the errors which had crept into the Hebrew text previously to the third century before Christ, we have scarcely any information. But it is not therefore to be apprehended, that their number and importance were so great as to have produced any changes affecting its identity and genuineness. For if, during the long period of time which elapsed between the third century before Christ and the invention of printing, no such evil took place, it is much less probable that this should have been the case during that shorter interval which extended from the age of the authors to the third century before Christ. This will appear more clearly if it be considered, that in those old times books were but seldom transcribed, and that mistakes and errors committed by copyists in a language which was then vernacular, would be the more readily observed and could be corrected with the more certainty, and that the correction of manuscripts would be made with the more caution because the most exact copies were the most carefully sought for. That great care was taken in correcting manuscripts recently transcribed, is confirmed by the practice which prevails in eastern countries even in our own time, as we learn from Alexander Russel, in his ‘*State of Learning at Aleppo*,’ whose statement has been confirmed to me by the oral testimony of Aryda.* The transcriber reads over the newly made copy before a collection of learned men, each of whom follows the reader with his own copy of the same book, carefully examining whether what is read agrees with it. As soon as any disagreement is perceived, the reader stops,

* [A learned Maronite resident in Vienna at the time that this work was written, *Germ. Introd. Th. I. S. 37. Tr.*]

and a discussion respecting the genuine reading takes place, which is sometimes sharp and of long continuance.—It is quite evident then, that the number of various readings of importance could not very greatly increase.

With respect to more ancient variations of the text, all that we know of them relates to places which occur twice. All the discrepancies of such, however, must not be referred to the class of various readings; for many may have arisen from a second and more polished edition made by the author himself as Ps. xviii. and II Sam. xxii.; or the author who borrowed the plan from some other book, may have made some changes, as is the case perhaps with Isa. ii. 24. and Mic. iv. 1—3. See VOGEL in his edition of CAPEL's *Critica Sacra*, T. I. L. I. c. 3. p. 31—45. In the alphabetical Psalms sometimes members or words are wanting, which cannot be found in any manuscript, and some of which do not appear in any version: they must therefore have been lost before the Alexandrine was made. Comp. Ps. xxv. 5, 6, 17, 18; xxxvii. 20, 28; exlv. 13, 14. Some things also seem to have been added or introduced in those ancient times; as the genealogy in Ex. vi. 14—27, which appears out of place; the remark respecting the quantity of the Ephah in Ex. xvi. 36, and others.

§ 106. *The Hebrew text from the age of the Alexandrine version to the year 200 after Christ.*

From the third century before to the end of the second after Christ, very many various readings are observed in the Alexandrine version and the Peshito Syriac, in the fragments of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions, in the paraphrase of Onkelos, in quotations in the New Testament, in Flavius Josephus, and in the Mishna. Many of these discrepancies are to be ascribed to the errors, unwarranted liberties, and negligence of the interpreters; but not a few of them are found in our own Hebrew manuscripts, which shows that they existed in the old copies which the interpreters used. See CAPEL, *Crit. Sac.* T. I. L. I. cap. 13, T. II. L. IV. cap. 2—14. KENN. *On the State of the Hebrew Text*, Diss. II. pp. 326—333.—It may be of use to remark, that the Alexandrine translators differ from our Hebrew text more frequently

than those of the second century after Christ. See CAPEL, *ubi sup.* T. II. L. V. cap. 4, 5. p. 805—845. Several causes may be assigned for this fact. In the third century before Christ the text was defaced with fewer errors than in the second century after Christ; the Alexandrine translators frequently erred in consequence of their imperfect acquaintance with Hebrew grammar; and lastly they used a greater freedom in translating than interpreters of the second century, who were anxious to exhibit to both the contending parties, Jews and Christians, what the Hebrew text contained.

§ 107. *The Hebrew Text from the year 200 to the year 500.*

The Hebrew text, as it existed from the year 200 to the year 500, is presented to us by Origen in his Hexapla, by Jerome in his Latin version and commentary, by Jonathan in his paraphrase of the Prophets, and by the Rabbins in quotations made in the Gemara. The varieties are scarcely more numerous or important than those in the versions of the second century. The discrepancies in the Hebrew manuscripts in the second century, or at least in the third, excited the attention of Jews, and they began to compare copies, and to collect various readings, which, distributed in different classes, appear in the Jerusalem Talmud, about the year 280. See Tract. Thaanith, p. 68. They are as follows.

I. Ittur Sopherim, עֲטַר סוֹפְרִים, *the rejection of the Scribes*, in five places; where the reader is directed to reject the prefix *vau*, as in Gen. xviii. 5. אַחַר for וְאַחַר. The other places are Num. xii. 14. Ps. xxiv. 55. lxviii. 26.*

II. Thikkun Sopherim, תִּיקּוּן סוֹפְרִים, *correction of the Scribes*, in 16 or 18 places; where, of two readings that which appeared preferable is selected, as in I Sam. iii. 13. לָהֶם to them, for לִי to me.

III. *Extraordinary points* over one, more, or all the letters of some word, in 15 places; as Num. xxi. 30. אֲשֶׁר, for which the Sa-

* [Jahn, in both his Latin and German works, gives only these *four* references, although he mentions *five*; supply from DE WETTE, Einleit. S. 152., Gen. xxiv. 55. *Tr.*]

maritan and Alexandrine versions read אֲשׁ, and Ps. xxvii. 13. לֹא־לֹא.

These points, or at least many of them, seem to have arisen from the unwillingness of the transcriber to erase a letter or word improperly written, which he rather chose to denounce by this point, while other subsequent copyists transcribed the points along with the word. The point over the vau in בְּקוֹמָה in Gen. xix. 35. the Jews explained, Jerome tell us, in another way.

IV. K'ri v'lo k'thib, קְרִי וְלֹא כְתִיב, *to be read although not written*; where an omitted word, found in other documents, is supplied, but not introduced into the text, which exhibits only the punctuation, the word itself being written in the margin. Thus in II Sam. viii. 3, the points are in the text, וְ, and in the margin the word, פֶּרֶת, that is, פֶּרֶה. The Talmud gives six instances, Elias Levita eight or ten, Avenar and Capel thirteen.

V. K'thib v'lo k'ri, קְתִיב וְלֹא קְרִי, *written and not to be read*, in five places; where what is written in the text without vowels is directed to be omitted, because not found in other manuscripts, as נֹא in II Kings v. 18.

VI. K'ri k'thib, קְרִי כְתִיב, *read what is written*; that is for what is in the text another word written in the margin is to be read, to which the vowel points connected with the word in the text are to be applied. The number of these varies with various manuscripts from 793 to 1259. See CAPEL, Crit. Sac. T. I. L. III. cap. i. p. 176—178. All of them relate to the letters themselves or consonants, and several exhibit various readings, as Eccles. ix. 4. יִבְחַר for יִחְבַּר, and לֹא and לוֹ are often commuted. Some contain explanations of difficult words, as in I. Sam. v. 6, 9. vi. 4, 5, 11, 17, and in Deut. xxviii. 27, טַחְרִים for עֲפָלִים. Some are periphrases of words which were thought to be obscene, as in II Kings xviii. 27. Isa. xxxvi. 12. מֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם *water of their feet*, for שִׁינֵיהֶם *their urine*; and

some relate to other trifling matters. See CAPEL, *ubi sup.* Cap. 4—17. p. 188—422. WALTON, *Prol.* VIII. § 20—28. KENNIC. *Diss.* II. on Hebrew text, pp. 281—287.

VII. *Phiska*, פִּסְקָא, or *Phragma*, פְּרֻגְמָה, an empty space in the middle of a verse, generally designated with a small circle, and indicating that something is wanting; or, as others suppose, that the sense is completed here. The former opinion agrees with Gen. iv. 8; the latter with some other places. These, however, do not properly belong to the present head, as they were not known before the publication, which was at a later period than that now referred to. In all they amount to 28.

VIII. The Masora, in addition to the preceding, mentions some critical conjectures of the learned, which are called *S'birim*, סְבִירִים; as for instance, מְצִרִימָה for מְצִרִים, in Ex. ii. 19.[a]

[a] For the references to the instances of each of the preceding classes of readings, see the Germ. *Introd.* p. 385—388. *Tr.*]

§ 108. *The Masora.*

The critical observations which have been enumerated in the preceding section, together with others which occur in the Talmud relating to the small, large, inverted and suspended letters, form the basis of the Masora, which was written in a distinct volume and enlarged in course of time by continual additions. This work was not begun before the sixth century, and its principal authors were the masters of the school of Tiberias. These teachers continued in subsequent ages to collect observations relating to the number of the letters, words, and verses of each book; its middle letter, word, and verse; the places where the same word is written with or without its *mater lectionis*; the verses which contain all the letters of the alphabet or a certain number; the words which are written with a final letter in the middle, and those which have a letter in its medial form at the end; the number of final letters in all the books, &c. This collection which was all written in one volume and was constantly increasing, was called מְסוֹרָה, מְסוֹרָה or מְסוֹרֶת, *Masora*. *Massora* or *Massoreth*. [a] and its

authors Masorets, (or Masorites,) and by this detail of trifling observations they endeavoured to preserve the text from alterations. See WALTON. Prol. VIII. § 1—12. CAPEL. ubi sup. cap. 12. p. 901—918. BUXT. Tiber. 1656, *Basil*.

In course of time this work, which had been put together without any arrangement, was written out, at first with many abbreviations and afterwards in full, on the margin of manuscripts, in small letters, and what the margin was not large enough to contain was placed at the end of each book. The abbreviated transcript was called the little Masora, the other the great and final. WALTON. Prol. VII. § 9, 11.

The confusion of this farrago proved advantageous to criticism. For if it had been arranged in some order, its ardent admirers could easily have made use of it; and they would not have failed to alter the Hebrew text so as to agree with the Masora, and to reject all other readings, not a few of which are undoubtedly genuine. But as the transcribers could not retain in mind the whole Masora, and, from its want of arrangement, could not compare it with the text, they wrote with fidelity what they found in the manuscripts, and introduced into their copies no more of the Masora than what their memory supplied. On the whole the Masora has been of more injury than benefit to the integrity of the text, although it has preserved many readings, and among them some certainly genuine, which had otherwise perished. See WALT. Prol. VIII. § 14—17. SIMON, Hist. Crit. du V. T. Liv. I. Chap. I. p. 1. ss. Chap. 24—26. p. 131. ss. KENN. Diss. II. p. 262—291.

[a] The word means *tradition*, from מִסְרָה to deliver. See BUXT. Lex.

Chal. Tal. col. 1235. and Tiberias. c. i. p. 3. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 109. *Eastern and Western Readings.*

From the sixth century to the tenth, during which period the Masora was framed, there existed flourishing Jewish schools, at Babylon or Seleucia in the east, and at Tiberias in the west. in which many copies of the sacred books were made. In these different countries herefore two families of manuscripts arose, which at length in the eighth or ninth century were collated. The discrepancies which were observed. are called מְחִלּוֹת הַקְּרִיאה. *varieties of the reading.* and

come down to us under the name of eastern and western readings. According to some their number amounted to 210, according to others to 216, but in reality they were 220, all relating to the consonants, except the point Mappik in עֶשֶׂה, Amos. iii. 6., and in עֶצֶה,

Jer. vi. 6. Our editions vary from the eastern readings in fifty-five places. WALT. Prol. VIII. § 27, 28. CAPEL. ubi sup. T. I. L. III. c. xvii. The eastern text of this age appears to be contained in the version of Saadiah Gaon, and in some measure in the more modern of the Targums, in which, although in other respects they are not of great value, many good readings have been preserved, which are of the greater moment, if they coincide with other more ancient versions in opposition to the Masora and our Masoretical text.

§ 110. *Recension of Aaron Ben Asher and Jacob Ben Naphtali.*

In the former part of the eleventh century, Aaron Ben Asher, at Tiberias, and Jacob Ben Naphtali, at Babylon or Seleucia, collated manuscripts. The various readings which were the result of this comparison, which amounted to 864, relate to the vowel points and accents, with the exception of one place, Cant. viii. 6, where, according to Ben Naphtali, we ought to read שְׁלֵהֲבֵת יָהּ, in two words, but according to Ben Asher, שְׁלֵהֲבֵתִּיהָ, in one. These varieties are not indeed of great consequence, but they show that at this time the punctuation system was already completed; although it may be said in a certain sense, that these two men gave the finishing stroke to that work. On account of the greater facility with which manuscripts pointed according to that system might be read, the more ancient copies which were either entirely unpointed, or varied from the system, became disesteemed and were suffered to perish. This seems to be the principal cause why no Hebrew manuscript is extant, which can be proved by satisfactory evidence to be older than the eleventh century.—Our editions, except in a few places, follow the recension of Aaron Ben Asher.

§ 111. *History of the text from the year 1040 to 1477.*

The learned Jews who removed from the East to Europe in the middle of the eleventh century, brought with them pointed manuscripts, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries copies were written out and corrected with greater care than was exercised in the following ages. There are, however, circumstances tending to lessen the value of such copies. 1) The Hebrew Grammar composed by Saadiah Gaon, who died in 942, and afterwards improved by Judah Chug about 1070, and translated from the Arabic into Rabbinic by Rabbi Samuel, might have induced transcribers who were acquainted with it to correct the anomalies which existed in the text; yet from the number remaining at present, it appears that they very seldom ventured to do this. But as there is no room for suspecting that a reading accordant with grammatical principles should have been changed into one that is anomalous, the rule holds good, 'that an anomalous reading, *cæteris paribus*, is more probable than one which is grammatical.' This rule is certainly correct; yet it is by no means to be urged beyond its legitimate extent, for an anomalous reading may have arisen from an error of the pen, or from an imprudent introduction of a marginal note into the text.—2) The Jewish Rabbins of those times, especially Maimonides, Jarchi, Abenezra and Kimchi, frequently cite places then differently read, and sometimes mention various readings; which proves that differences existed among the manuscripts. They also appeal to manuscripts, by which others recently written were corrected. These standard manuscripts differed in different countries, but all exhibited some spurious readings, which were propagated by the correctors to all others of the same country. For this reason *all manuscripts of the same country constitute one and the same family, and like witnesses giving evidence in concert, are to be considered in criticism as affording no more than single testimony.* Moreover since many more manuscripts of some countries have been preserved than of others, the general rule that the reading which has the support of the greater number of manuscripts is always the more probable, does not hold good.—3) Although during this period not a few of the Jews held the Masora in but little estimation, yet by many others it was regarded as an infallible rule: nor can it be doubted that the standard

manuscripts by which others were usually corrected, had been made as conformable as possible to the Masora, and that the greater part of transcribers obeyed its precepts as far as their knowledge of them extended. *The Masora, therefore, with the manuscripts which agree with it constitute only one testimony, and an antimasoretical reading is more probable than one which is masoretical.*[a]—4) Readings not favourable to Christians were extended even in times anterior to these, and as they existed now in the standard copies, they passed into almost all the manuscripts, as שילה in Gen. xlix. 10., a reading, which before the 8th century at least, was altogether unknown.—5) It is not probable that during this period the Jews corrected the text in some places from the Chaldee Paraphrases which they were accustomed to use; for they greatly preferred the original text. On the contrary, they rather seem to have modified the Paraphrases occasionally so as to suit the Hebrew; and therefore the testimony of the former to the reading of any passage ought to be taken, whenever it is practicable, from the most ancient manuscripts.

[a) Of course the author's meaning is, if in other respects the character be equally good. Even in this sense, the rule is not to be applied without much caution, as the Masora may afford a reading more ancient, and therefore more likely to be genuine, than any other now extant. See TYCHSINI Tentamen. pp. 213. ss. 256. ss. Tr.]

§ 112. *The principal editions of the Hebrew Text.*

Such were the manuscripts from which the first editions were printed. The editors do indeed speak in high terms of the antiquity and excellence of the manuscripts which they used, but they scarcely understood what good and ancient manuscripts were, and neglected not only the ancient versions, but also all other manuscripts besides that from which they printed. It was impossible therefore that they could avoid introducing into their edition all the errors of that copy, and hence the first editions are by no means the best, although they are of great value, because they supply the places of the manuscripts from which they were taken. The editions which immediately succeeded the first are very seldom corrected by manuscript copies, but are

often accommodated to the principles of grammar and to the Masora. It is therefore by no means surprising that Bruns found the first editions more closely correspondent with manuscripts than the subsequent. See KENN. Diss. Gen. Ed. Bruns. p. 123.

The first editions are the following. 1) In 1477, the Psalter with the commentary of Kimchi, in large quarto. It seems to have been printed at Bologna. It abounds with errors, and the *matres lectionis* are introduced or omitted at pleasure.—2) In 1482, the Pentateuch in folio, was printed at Bologna, together with the Paraphrase of Onkelos.[a] The typography is accurate.—3) 1485-6. The former and later prophets accurately printed at Soncino in two volumes folio.[b]—4) 1487. The Psalter with the commentary of Kimchi, and the remainder of the Hagiographa with commentaries, printed in small folio at Naples.[c] The typography is quite inaccurate.—5) 1488. The Hebrew Bible, printed at Soncino in small folio. The Pentateuch follows the Bologna edition of 1482, and coincides with that in Vander Hooght. The former and later prophets agree with those of the Soncino edition of 1485-6, and the Hagiographa with that of Naples 1487.[d] The Soncino edition, was followed in that printed at Brescia in 1494, from which, or from the preceding of Soncino, most of the subsequent editions have been printed.

In 1502—1517, the Complutensian Polyglot was printed at Alcalá or Complutum in Spain, in 6 volumes folio. It contains the Hebrew text, printed after manuscripts, with the vowel points, but without accents, besides the Alexandrine version, the Latin Vulgate, and the Targum of Onkelos.

The two Bomberg editions, with the Targums and Rabbinical commentaries, were printed by Cornelius and Daniel Bomberg, at Venice; the first in 1518 under the care of Felix Pratensis a converted Jew, and the second in 1525-6 under the care of Jacob Ben Chajjim. The latter, which has been followed in many subsequent editions, was more accurately reprinted in 1547-9.

In 1569-72, the Antwerp Polyglot was printed in 3 volumes folio, the expense being defrayed by Philip II. of Spain, whence it has been called the *royal* Polyglot. It contains the Hebrew text, according to the Complutensian edition, with a few changes; the Targum

of Onkelos, that of Jonathan on the prophets, the Targum of Job and the five Megilloth, from the second Bomberg edition; also the Alexandrine version and the Latin Vulgate. It was printed under the superintendence of Arias Montanus.

The Paris Polyglot was printed in 1629–45, in 9 folio volumes, at the expense of Le Jay. In addition to what is found in the Antwerp Bible, it contains also the Syriac Peshito version, according to an imperfect manuscript, the lacunæ of which Gabriel Sionita supplied by a translation of his own made from the Vulgate; the Arabic version; and the Samaritan text and version.

In 1657 appeared the London Polyglot edited by Walton, in six volumes folio, which adds to what is contained in that of Paris, the Ethiopic version of the Psalter and Canticles, and the Persian version of the Pentateuch. This Polyglot was accompanied by the Lexicon Heptaglotton of Castell, in two volumes, folio.

There are, therefore, three fundamental editions of the Hebrew text. 1) That of *Soncino* of 1488, reprinted in the Brescian edition of 1494; 2) the *Complutensian*, finished in 1517; and 3) the *second Bomberg* of 1526.—From these all other editions have emanated either directly or indirectly. In a very few some things have been corrected from manuscript copies.—The most celebrated of these is the edition of Joseph Athias, printed at Amsterdam in 1661. The edition of Vander Hooght of 1705 accompanied by some various readings, has acquired celebrity from the circumstance of Kennicott's collation of manuscripts having been made by it.—There are other more modern editions of less celebrity. Jablonsky's very correct edition is followed in the celebrated one of John Henry Michaelis of 1720.—But although all the editions have flowed from the above mentioned three, and a few contain some corrections taken from manuscripts; yet they differ in many respects, and even exhibit some readings which are not to be found in any manuscript or ancient version, and are mere errors of the press.[*e*]

[*a*] The commentary of Jarchi is also subjoined. *Tr.*]

[*b*] Together with the commentary of David Kimchi. *Tr.*]

[*c*] DE ROSSI describes them as forming two distinct volumes in small quarto. The commentaries on the Hagiographa, are those of Im-

manuel on the Proverbs; of Ben Gershom on Job, and of Jarchi on the remaining books. *Tr.*]

[*d*] This was the first edition of the entire Hebrew Scriptures. An accurate account of this and the preceding editions may be found in DE ROSSI, *De Hebraicæ Typographiæ origine ac primitiis*, ed. G. F. HUFNAGEL *Erlangæ* 1778. pp. 12—44. In a note on p. 14. Hüfnagel asserts, after Kennicott, that the Bible of Soncini differs from the text of Vander Hooght in *eleven thousand* places. Horne says *twelve thousand*, and that Masch questions the truth of the assertion. HORNE *Introd.* II. p. 114. *Tr.*]

[*e*] Dr. Jahn is himself the editor of a very useful edition of the Hebrew Bible, in four 8vo. volumes printed at Vienna. In this work he has arranged those books which contain the same portion of history in separate columns as a harmony; viz. the books of Chronicles, with those of Samuel and Kings, and a few portions of Genesis. The prophets he has digested in chronological order. In addition to the usual divisions into chapters and verses which are marked in the margin, he has distributed the various books into sections according to the subjects, prefixing to each a short statement of the contents. He has also added the more important various readings; and at the end of the 4th volume a catalogue of manuscripts and editions. The last edition was printed in 1806. —On the subject of the preceding section much valuable additional information may be derived from DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 95, 96, and the authorities there referred to; and from HORNE'S *Introd.* Vol. II. Part I. Ch. iii. § 1. pp. 113—126. *Tr.*]

§ 113. *Origin of the Samaritan text.*[*a*]

The Pentateuch which the Samaritans have preserved in their own character, has no doubt descended from the time, when (975 B. C.) the ten tribes separated from the kingdom of Judah. For after this period a perpetual jealousy raged between the two kingdoms, and therefore the ten tribes or at least the priests of the golden calves did not receive copies from the kingdom of Judah, but transcribed from their own manuscripts, and thus handed them down to posterity. Upon the deportation of the ten tribes 740 and 722 B. C., the foreigners, who had been sent into the country, became mingled with those of the Israelites who had remained, and were called Samaritans. Being infested by lions, they received an Israelitish priest sent by the Assyrian monarch to instruct them in the Mosaic religion. He fixed his residence in Bethel, where the golden calf was first worshipped. and was therefore a priest of the calf. He took with

him his Israelitish manuscript; for the ancient hatred against the kingdom of Judah still subsisting would have made him reject with abhorrence the idea of borrowing thence. Copies of this manuscript were spread among the Samaritans, and some have been preserved to our own time, without having been modified according to the Jewish text. The animosity prevailing between the Samaritans and the Jews effectually precluded this, and the Jewish apostates, who went over to the Samaritans, would not dare to remove the discrepancies from Jewish manuscripts which still exist.

[a] On the subject of this and the following section, see HORNE, *Introd.* Vol. II. Part. I. c. 1. Sect. 2. pp. 10—15. CARPZOV, P. II. c. iv. p. 585—620. EICHHORN, § 378—389. BAUER, § 92—94. SIMON, L. I. c. x—xiii. PRIDEAUX, Part. I. Book vi. anno 409, p. 413—425. GENSENIUS de Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole et auctoritate *Commentatio philologico-critica, Halæ.* 1815. Comp. also an article in the *North American Review* for April 1826, p. 274—317. *Tr.*]

§ 114. *History of the Samaritan text.*

The Samaritan text has not been altered to suit the Masora, and in consequence of the small number of Samaritans, it has not been very often transcribed. This accounts for the comparative fewness of its errors. It has many faults however of another kind from which the Jewish text is free. 1) The gutturals, (ך, ח, ה, א,) which the Samaritans do not pronounce, are very often commuted, and therefore discrepancies arising from this cause can by no means be reckoned in the class of various readings, but are to be considered as mere errors.—2) The *matres lectionis* are frequently introduced and in observance of certain rules, while the Jewish text retains more constantly the old freedom of orthography.—3) Many readings occur which owe their origin to some preconceived opinions, as the ages of the patriarchs in Gen. v. and xi. which in regular and equal proportion diminish with progressive generations. Jerome (*Quæst. in Gen. v. 25—28.*) found the Samaritan text in his time not arranged in this manner.—4) Some changes appear to have been made from conjecture, or to solve difficulties, as in Gen. iii. 2. הַבַּחַשׁ, *the liar*, for הַנַּחַשׁ, *the serpent*; Gen. xxxi. 53. יִשְׁפֹּט, *let him judge*.

for *שפוטם*, *let them judge*.—5) Several other passages, which are wanting in the Jewish text seem to be interpolated, as Ex. xii. 40., and in the places where Kennicott supposed the Hebrew to be defective; viz. Ex. vi. 9. vii. 18. viii. 4, 5, 23. ix. 5, 19. x. 6. xi. 4. xviii. 4. xx. 17, 19, 22.

[a) The importance of the subject of these two sections, induces the translators to subjoin a further account of the Samaritan Pentateuch, referring for more information to the authors above mentioned.

The Samaritans derive their name from the capital city of the kingdom of Israel, which was built by Omri, and called after the name of the owner of the ground, Samaria, I Kings xvi. 24. It was taken by the Assyrians in the 9th year of Hoshea, and the inhabitants were removed to the country of the conquerors, and to different parts of Media, and colonists from Babylon and Cutha, and several other cities, were substituted by the king of Assyria. They introduced their own idolatrous worship, and, upon being distressed by lions, made inquiry into the nature of the worship which had formerly prevailed in Samaria, and incorporated the Mosaic rites, in which they were instructed by a captive priest sent by the king of Assyria, with their idolatrous usages and ceremonies; II Kings xvii. 6, 24—41. Thus their religious service became of a mixed character, partly according to the rites of the Mosaic law, and partly Heathenish. Upon the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, the Samaritans were desirous of uniting with them in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. The Jews declined the proffered co-operation, and this, together with the favours which they received from the Persian monarchs, inflamed against them the jealousy and odium of the Samaritans; Ez. iv. 1—16. Neh. iv. 1—8. This hostility was afterwards greatly increased, when, in the reign of Darius Codomanus, as Josephus says, (*Ant. XI. vii. § 2. viii. § 2, 4, 6.*) but more probably, according to PRIDEAUX, (*P. I. B. vi. Anno 409, p. 413.*) and JAHN, (*Bibl. Archæologie, Th. II. B. I. S. 278.*) and EICHHORN, (*§ 393. p. 613, f.*) in that of Darius Nothus, Manasses, son* (*Neh. xiii. 28.*) of the Jewish high priest, married the daughter of Sanballat, the Samaritan governor, and to avoid the necessity of repudiating her, agreeably to the requisition of the Mosaic law, left Jerusalem and established himself as high priest among the Samaritans, in a temple which his father-in-law built for him on Mount Gerizim. This raised the hatred of the two nations against each other to the highest pitch, and nothing was more abominable in the estimation of either than the name, and charac-

* Josephus calls him brother of the high priest.

ter, and religious usages of the other. Subsequent events deprived the Samaritans of their city, (*PRIDEAUX*, P. I. B. viii. Anno 331, p. 499, 500,) and increased this odium, and in the time of Christ it prevailed so far, that no term of reproach in use among the Jews was more contemptuous than that of a Samaritan. See John viii. 48.

After the Samaritan Pentateuch had lain concealed for upwards of a thousand years, it began to be doubted whether such a work had ever existed. It had been mentioned by the fathers, Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Jerome, but learned men began to be disposed to give a forced explanation of their words. See *BAUER*, loc. cit. At last in the year 1616, Peter a Valle procured a complete copy, which Achilles Harlay de Sancy sent to the library of the priests of the Oratory at Paris, in 1623. It was first described by John Morin in the preface to his new edition of the Roman text of the Septuagint, printed at Paris, 1628, and more particularly in his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticæ in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, Paris, 1631, and afterwards printed in the Paris Polyglot. Usher received six copies from the East, and several others were obtained by some of the learned. Walton introduced the Samaritan Pentateuch into his Polyglot, with emendations of it as published in the Paris edition.

At what time and from what source the Samaritans received their Pentateuch is a very important inquiry, on which critics have entertained various opinions. Even at the present time it can hardly be considered as settled. It was the opinion of Usher that Dositheus, the founder of a sect in the first century, who pretended to be the Messiah, made up the Samaritan Pentateuch from the Hebrew edition of the Palestine and Babylonian Jews, and from the Greek in use among the Hellenists, adding, and expunging, and altering according to his pleasure.—But Origen and Photius, to whom he appeals, afford no support to his allegations, and it is incredible that Dositheus could have compiled the work in question without having been opposed by the Alexandrine Samaritans.

Le Clerc considered the Samaritan Pentateuch as the work of the Israelitish priest who was sent to instruct the new inhabitants in the religion of the country, as we read in II Kings xvii. 27, 28. This is mere hypothesis, destitute of any historical evidence. Nor is there any probability that it will ever be adopted by learned men, because the priest could only have found it necessary to instruct the people from the law which he took with him, and not to have formed a whole new system. Thus Bauer; in addition to which it is well remarked by *CARPZOV*, (*Crit. Sac.* p. 602,) that this hypothesis is contradicted by Christ and his apostles, who repeatedly ascribe the Pentateuch to Moses; and also by the historical books of the Old Testament themselves, which frequently refer to it as his work.

Some derive this Pentateuch from copies existing among the Israelites before the Assyrian captivity, or even before the separation of the kingdoms under Jeroboam. This opinion, which was advanced by Morin, has been adopted by Houbigant, Kennicott, John David Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bertholdt and others. Bauer also accedes to it. He remarks, that the Israelites when they revolted with Jeroboam had copies of the law as well as the Jews, which is evident from the exhortations in the prophets, and from the fact that they are never accused of wanting them; that when the body of the people were removed by the Assyrian monarch, the remainder with whom the new settlers mingled, were in all probability not destitute of some copies of the Pentateuch; that if this should be asserted, although it is altogether unlikely, the priest before mentioned would doubtless take a copy with him, as he went to instruct the people in the law. Hence he concludes, that the Samaritan Pentateuch as well as the Jewish is thus to be traced to the autograph of Moses.

Gesenius, in his *Commentatio Philologico-critica* above referred to, examines this subject. After mentioning the opinion originally proposed by Morin, he proceeds to state the principal arguments urged in its defence, which he reduces to the four following. 1) After the establishment of the idolatry of the calves, so deadly a hatred arose between the two kingdoms, as to make it altogether improbable that after that event copies of the law should pass from one to the other.—2) The hypothesis accounts for the fact, that the Samaritans receive no other books of the Old Testament but the Pentateuch, as they would have done, had they obtained this from the Jews at a late period.—3) It is said to be inexplicable, that after the captivity the Samaritans should wish to cooperate with the Jews in rebuilding the temple, unless they had possessed the Pentateuch.—4) The difference of the writing, it is argued, can best be explained on this hypothesis, the Samaritans having preserved the law in the ancient character.

To these arguments, which undoubtedly afford a very imperfect view of the evidence in favour of the Israelitish origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the learned author replies as follows. 1) It has been proved by Vater and De Wette, that the dissension was by no means sufficient to destroy all intercourse between the kingdoms, and that it did not become a settled hatred until the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim. And that the prophets should not have communicated the law to the kingdom of Samaria, where they very often gave instructions, is utterly incredible.—2) If the Samaritans obtained their Pentateuch from the Jews at a late period, it is by no means certain that they would have received the other books, as it is not uncommon in the history of religions for sects to admit some sacred documents and to reject others; as has

been the case in the Christian church in relation to St. Paul's epistles, and to the Old Testament. And so great was the virulence of the Samaritans, that they despised the worship offered at Jerusalem, and traduced David and Solomon and the prophets of a more recent age than Moses and Joshua. So that it was not to be expected, that such a sect would have received the later Hebrew writings.—3) From the fact stated in the third argument, it would rather seem, according to the author, that the Samaritans were destitute of some definite and authorized worship, and of priests of any distinction. Comp. II Kings xvii.—4) The last proof he considers of little or no weight. The supposition that a change of the letters was introduced by Ezra, if it be admitted, does not assume that the present Samaritan character was in use before the captivity, but some other allied to the Phœnician, the same perhaps as is now to be seen on Jewish coins.

Gesenius allows that the Pentateuch *might* have passed from the Jews to the Samaritans before the captivity, provided it existed in the form in which we now have it among the Jews themselves. But this he undertakes to deny, and thinks he can discover in Gen. xlix. Ex. xv. 13, 17. Levit. xxvi. Num. xxiv. 22. and particularly in Deut. xxxii. xxxiii. sufficient evidence that even the Jewish Pentateuch as now subsisting cannot be allowed a higher date than that of the Babylonian captivity. As the weight of his arguments depends chiefly on those loose views of prophecy which he is known to entertain, they will not occasion much difficulty to the man who believes that Moses and others were divinely inspired to predict future events and circumstances. He thinks that the books of Moses were reduced to their present form a short time after the end of the captivity, and passed over to the Samaritans when they built the temple on mount Gerizim; and therefore that the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch is to be placed in the period between the end of the captivity and the erection of this temple. This conclusion coincides with the opinion of Prideaux, although it is maintained on different grounds. But, as it has been well remarked in reference to this hypothesis of Gesenius, "if the Pentateuch was first reduced to writing about the time of the Babylonian exile, then there remains not sufficient time for the numerous changes to have taken place, by which the various recensions in question should come to differ so much from each other."

They who are opposed to this view of the subject, says Gesenius, argue from the silence of Josephus. But this is hardly worthy of notice, as a writer might readily omit such a circumstance, knowing that his reader would suppose of course, that priests would have the law of Moses and make use of it in instituting religious rites.—They argue also from Ex. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3., where foreign marriages are prohibited. But it may easily be supposed, that if any one should have ventured to at-

tack the high priest on that point some plausible excuse would not be wanting; and as the priests were the depositories of the law, there was no cause of apprehension from the laity.

Eichhorn, in the edition of his *Einleitung* above referred to, (4th. 1823,) examines the hypothesis of Gesenius, and maintains the opinion which he had advanced in his former edition, remarking, that before a new solution of the phenomenon that the Samaritans have only the Pentateuch and a false book of Joshua, can be found, it is necessary to refute that which deduces the Samaritan Pentateuch from the kingdom of the ten tribes, which has never yet been done, and to show that the Samaritans did not possess the Pentateuch until a late period, in support of which nothing has been alleged which is sanctioned by historical facts.

This Pentateuch therefore may be considered as having descended from some Israelitish copy, and this with the Jewish or Hebrew text constitute two recensions or editions of the work of Moses.

Of these two recensions Morin and his followers give a decided preference to the Samaritan, while Buxtorf and his adherents maintain the exclusive authority of the Jewish. Time and patient investigation have cooled the ardour of both parties, and the opinion at present most generally adopted is, that both are to be regarded as sources of the truth, and that sometimes the one and sometimes the other contains the genuine reading. The truth in any particular case must be ascertained by the testimony of the most ancient and valuable of the versions. As a whole the Jewish Pentateuch is preferable to the Samaritan, the various readings of which are frequently "the effect of design, or of want of grammatical, exegetical, or critical knowledge; or of studious conformity to the Samaritan dialect; or of effort to remove supposed obscurities, or to restore harmony to passages apparently discrepant." *North American Review*, as above referred to, p. 278. *Tr. T.*]

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE CRITICISM OF THE TEXT.

§ 115. *Necessity of the Criticism of the Text.*

Since the editions very often differ from each other, and many contain also spurious readings, and other readings of great number are extant; the exhibition of a correct text should be the first object of the careful attention of those who desire to understand the sacred scriptures;* in other words, the interpreter and divine stand in need of the art of criticism, by the aid of which, *a proper judgment may be formed of various readings, the spurious may be discerned, and the genuine, or at least the most probable, may be restored.* This subject, which involves an inquiry respecting fact, namely, what the author wrote, may be compared to a judicial procedure, in which the critic sits on the bench, and the charge of corruption in the reading is brought against the text. The witnesses, from whom evidence is to be obtained respecting what the author wrote, are manuscript copies, ancient editions, old versions, and other books of antiquity, the authors of which quoted the text from manuscripts. But since these witnesses are often at variance with one another, and very frequently it is impossible to ascertain the truth from their evidence; it is necessary, as is usual in judicial causes, to call in also the aid of arguments, drawn from the very nature of the cause, or *internal*. Such are,—the facility or the difficulty of a more modern origin, the absence of any sense, or at least of one that is suitable, the agreement or disagreement of a reading with the series and scope of the discourse, the

* [Codicibus emendandis primitus debet invigilare solertia eorum, qui scripturas divinas nosse desiderant. AUGUSTIN. de doct. Christ. L. II.]

probability or improbability of any particular word or expression having arisen from the author, and the correspondence or discrepancy of parallel places. Lastly, the laws by which, on such evidence, the critic is guided in pronouncing sentence, are the rules of criticism.

§ 116. *Age of Manuscripts.*

In order to form a proper estimate of manuscripts as witnesses to readings, their *age* and their *goodness*, or freedom from corruption, must be examined; or, which rather than others *can* exhibit the true reading, and intend faithfully to convey it. The first point depends principally on the age; for the older the manuscript is, the more readily *can* it exhibit the truth, because it is free from the errors which have crept into the text during subsequent ages; unless indeed a more modern manuscript should happen to have been written immediately from one of very great antiquity. In very many manuscripts the age is added; the years being generally reckoned from the creation of the world, omitting the thousands. This method of reckoning is designated by לִפְקָ, that is לִפְרֵט קָטוֹן, according to the smaller computation. But as the Jewish chronology is deficient 240, or as some say, 242 years, these as well as 5000 years are to be added to the date, and 4000 being taken away from the whole sum, the year of our present era will be left. In a few manuscripts the date is reckoned according to the *era of contracts*, לְשֵׁטְרוֹת, or of the *Seleucidæ*,* beginning 311 years before Christ. In some manuscripts the subscription is erroneous.

It is difficult to ascertain the age of manuscripts which have no subscription determining the date. For the indications on which a conjecture respecting the age is to be founded are equivocal; for instance, the paleness of the ink, and the retouching of the letters by a later hand; the yellowish colour of a thick, soft and much worn parchment; the want of vowel points, of the Masora and of the K'ri K'tib; the difference of ink in the consonants and vowels; the shape of the letters, &c.; all which particulars may very well arise from causes which have no necessary connexion with the date. [a] KENNICOTT,

* [Comp. PRID. Connex. Part I. Book VIII. sub. anno. 312. Vol. I. p. 539. s. Tr.]

however, Diss. Gen. p. 330—334.) and DE ROSSI, (Var. Lec. V. T. T. I. Prol. § 13.) maintain, that when all these indications meet, [b] they afford proof of a very remote age of the manuscript. Comp. SCINURER de Codd. Heb. ætate difficulter determinanda, § 10—16. By way of making a general division of the manuscripts, De Rossi calls those anterior to the twelfth century *the most ancient*; those of the twelfth and thirteenth, and to the middle of the fourteenth, *ancient*; and others, to the end of the fifteenth, *modern*.

[a] This opinion is elaborately maintained by TYCHSEN in his Tentamen de variis codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus, &c. 3vo. Rostochii. 1772. pp. 258—322. So DE WETTE, Einleit. § 112. Tr.]

[b] These supposed marks of age, &c. are enumerated by JABLONSKI, Praef. ad Bibl. Heb. § 35, 36, 37, and briefly by HORNE, Introd. II. p. 37, 38. Tr.]

§ 117. *Goodness of Manuscripts.*[a]

Although the frequency of errors of the pen and manifest blunders in any manuscript afford sufficient grounds for concluding that it is not to be relied on as an accurate witness of the truth, yet it is by no means to be inferred from the paucity of evident errors of the pen that the manuscript deserves implicit confidence. This only shows the very particular care of the transcriber of that manuscript, but does not at all prove that the manuscript of which it is a copy, and all its predecessors, had been written with equal attention. In order therefore to examine the goodness of a manuscript, its particular readings must be compared with the most ancient witnesses, especially the old versions, and if it be found to agree with them, it may reasonably be concluded, that this manuscript and all its predecessors have been written with skill and attention, and have carefully preserved the ancient readings.

But we must not neglect the circumstance, (which has been already stated, § 111, 2.,) that the manuscripts of different countries have from the eleventh century been corrected in almost every province according to some one standard manuscript; and that for this reason those of each province agree in particular readings, and consequently belong to one and the same family or recension. and in relation

to critical purposes can only be considered as constituting a single testimony. The families of manuscripts, which are distinguished not only by their readings but also by exterior appearance, are three or four.—1) The Spanish, which were corrected according to the Hillel manuscript, and accurately follow the Masora. They are therefore very highly prized by the Jews, but critics consider them as of little value. Their characters are perfectly square, simple and elegant, very much like those in the editions of Plantin & Stephens; the ink is pale; the pages are seldom divided into three columns; the Psalms are written in hemistichs, and the Chaldee paraphrases are not interlinear, but placed in separate columns, or in small letters in the margin.—2) The Oriental are so similar to the Spanish, that both might be assigned to the same class.—3) The German pay very little regard to the Masora, and therefore they are disesteemed by the Jews and highly valued by the critics. Their letters are rude, round and badly formed, similar to those in Munster's edition, printed in 1536 at Basil; the initial letters are large and ornamented; the *matres lectionis* frequently occur; the ink is very black and the Chaldee paraphrases interlinear.—4) The Italian manuscripts occupy a middle place between the Spanish and German, both as respects conformity to the Masora, and also as to the shape of the letters. Specimens of Spanish, German and Italian characters in copper plates have been published by Bruns in his edition of KENNICOTT'S *Dissertatio Generalis*, printed at Brunswick in 1783; but in manuscripts the shape is by no means always exactly the same, but very frequently, as my own examination has assured me, so various, as to make it impossible to form a decided judgment respecting them.

[a] DE WETTE *Einleit.* § 108—114, is well worth consulting on this subject. TYCHSENI *Tentamen*, &c. *passim*, has much curious and valuable matter, with a considerable mixture of fanciful hypothesis. *Tr.*]

§ 113. *Authority of the ancient editions.*

The first and fundamental editions are of equal authority with the manuscript copies from which they were derived. Almost all the other editions owe their origin either to that of Soncino. 1488, to

that of Brescia, 1494, to the Complutensian Polyglot, 1517, or lastly to the Bomberg edition of 1525, or its reprint, 1547—9; and almost all are masoretical, a few excepted, in which some corrections have been introduced from manuscripts. Among the latter De Rossi reckons all which preceded the second Bomberg edition, that of 1525—6; all the later editions he calls masoretic. Those not masoretic are the more valuable.

§ 119. *Authority of the ancient versions.*

No manuscripts older than the 11th century remain, to afford evidence of the readings of the period which elapsed between the time of the sacred writers themselves and that age. Versions, however, are extant, the authors of which, agreeably to the practice of their age, made use of ancient and accurate manuscripts, and expressed the readings of them in their versions. The testimony, therefore, of the ancient translators respecting readings is as valuable as that of the ancient manuscripts which they used; that is, provided their translations show with certainty the readings of their manuscripts. If these cannot be traced with certainty, or are completely out of the reach of conjecture, the authority of the versions is diminished, or entirely destroyed. This generally happens in the following instances.

1) When the question is respecting readings which do not alter the sense.—2) When the readings under discussion are very unimportant, which the translator might neglect in his version although he did read them in his manuscript; as in the case of the connecting particle *v*. On the other hand if the translator has introduced such readings he may have found them in his manuscript.—3) But a translator might also add, not only a word of little moment, but also a word or phrase of considerable importance, for the sake of explanation, so that his evidence could hardly be admitted in such a case, unless the word were found in some manuscript not under any suspicion of having been altered; or unless some other reason applied, as where the versions of alphabetical Psalms exhibit a member which has been lost from the Hebrew text, as Ps. xxxvii. 28, cxlv. 14.—4) When a translator has made any change in order to accommodate the discourse to the genius of his own language, or to ex-

plain the subject more clearly, his testimony is to be rejected.—5) If an obscure or difficult word, which the translator did not perhaps understand, has been omitted, or conjecturally translated, it is not to be inferred that it did not exist in his manuscript, or that it was differently written.—6) If the translator has paraphrased, or expressed the sense merely, we are not to suppose that he had read in his manuscript other words than those which are now extant, and frequently it is not easy to conjecture what he did read: as a witness therefore he is of no authority.—Hence it is evident that versions which render the original word for word, afford more assistance to the critic than those which only give the sense.

The versions themselves indeed are by no means free from errors and various readings; yet these are not the same as the various readings of the Hebrew, nor do they occur in the same places, and consequently their testimony is not thereby invalidated. The mediate versions, the authors of which neither examined nor understood Hebrew manuscripts, express no more than their testimony concerning the readings of that version from which they were drawn. But if a version made immediately from the original appears to be related in certain places to another version, its testimony with regard to the reading in those places is suspicious. Such a connexion may arise from a translator's having often consulted a version, as Theodotion and probably also the Syriac translator have the Septuagint, or from one version's being altered to correspond with another. When an ancient version, has in an age more modern than that in which it was originally composed, been remodelled in some places according to the Hebrew text, its evidence in such places is more modern, and cannot possess the same weight as the rest of the text. This observation applies to some passages of the Targums, and of the Vulgate.

The Antiquities of Josephus may in a very great degree be reckoned among the mediate versions, for this work was drawn from the Alexandrine. But in places where it differs remarkably from that version, Josephus examined Hebrew manuscripts, and his testimony in relation to the reading of the Hebrew text, is of the greatest weight.

§ 120. *Quotations in the New Testament.*[a]

The quotations from the Old Testament which are found in the New, are taken for the most part from the Alexandrine version, and afford testimony respecting its readings. But those which are derived from the Hebrew text are evidence of the reading of the Hebrew manuscripts of that age. Sometimes a passage is cited from the Alexandrine version, but as he who is introduced as speaking did not use the Greek but the Aramæan language, and quoted either the Hebrew text itself or a translation of it into the Aramæan, it is plain that the Hebrew manuscripts also at that time exhibited the reading given. This applies to Acts xv. 17, compared with Amos ix. 12. But it is worthy of observation, that the writers of the New Testament frequently give the sense of a place without regarding the words, or connect several places in one continuous discourse, as in Rom. iii. 11—18; in such cases we are not to conclude that their manuscripts differed from ours. The quotation in Matt. xxvii. 9, from Zech. xi. 12, 13, which is of this kind, is worthy of particular attention. Comp. Germ. Introd. p. 448, and Append. Herm. Fasc. I. p. 256—267.

[a] A very full list of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, arranged in classes, is given by HORNE, Introd. Part I. c. ix. § 1. Vol. II. pp. 343—433; and the Junior Class in the Theological Seminary, Andover, have published the “Citations of the Old Testament by the writers of the New Testament, compared with the original Hebrew and the Septuagint version, under the superintendence of M. STUART, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature, 1827.” This will be found a very convenient and useful work to persons wishing to form an acquaintance with the subject. *Tr.*]

§ 121. *Quotations in the Talmud.*

The places which are cited in the Talmud were taken from manuscripts belonging to the period between the end of the second and the end of the fifth centuries, or somewhat more ancient; and their testimony is equivalent to that of those manuscripts, and increases in weight where it agrees with the versions against the Masoretic text; as in Ps. xvi. 10. quoting חסידך for חסידך, and in Gen. xlix. 10. שלה

for שִׁירָה. But all the discrepancies of the Talmudists from the Masoretic text are not to be considered as various readings, for these writers often give the sense of a place, neglecting the language, or they mutilate the text, or designedly omit certain words or add them, or combine together many places; not unfrequently, they merely allude to some passage, or, in order to press out a paronomasia, make some alteration in the text, and direct it to be read in some particular way although not so written in the manuscripts. It is necessary therefore to be cautious in using the testimony of the Talmudic writers. See BUXTORF in his *Tiberias*, L. I. C. 9. p. 20, *Basil.* 1656. CAPEL. *Crit. Sac.* T. II. L. V. c. 12. § 4. p. 901.

§ 122. *Testimony of the Masora.*

Although the Masora has stricken out of the text many good readings, or has left them in only a few manuscripts, yet it has also preserved many good readings which have perished from manuscripts or have been retained in very few; as for instance כִּסְרָה Ps. xxii. 17, (16,) which is noted in the Masora on Num. xxiv. 9. Its testimony is of equal weight with that of the manuscripts from which the readings were taken, that is, of manuscripts from the 6th to the 10th centuries inclusive. But it must be observed, that if the Masora agree with the Talmudists and with the manuscripts, it constitutes along with them only a single testimony; but if it differs from them, it affords an independent evidence.

The notes called קְרִי *k'ri* (Comp. § 107.), mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud and repeated in the Masora, are mostly various readings, of which the one marked in the margin is directed to be preferred. But this direction does not bind the critic, who cannot possibly judge of manuscripts which those Jews did not even name: he must pronounce sentence on the testimony of versions and manuscripts, or from internal arguments.

§ 123. *Quotations in Rabbinical Writers.*

The learned Jews who flourished particularly from the 11th to the 15th centuries, took the passages of the Bible which they quote from

manuscripts of their own age or somewhat more ancient, and the readings cited by them possess the same authority as the manuscripts of those times. But since in that period the text had already been reduced into the Masoretical form, their citations also generally correspond to our text, although some important discrepancies are observable, which are of the greater consequence because they are repugnant to the Masora and Targums, and coincide with the most ancient versions: as in Gen. xlix. 10, *שלה* and *שלו* for *שילה*, *Comp. my Heb. Bib. T. I. p. 117.*

With respect to quotations in Rabbinical writers the same caution is necessary which has been recommended in relation to Talmudical; that is to say, every aberration from the received text is not to be added to the various readings. For frequently they merely exhibit the sense, or only allude to a place, or give the words of the text somewhat inaccurately through a failure of memory, and they not only omit or commute some words, but also add others: from such quotations it is not allowable to force out various readings. In proportion therefore as the probability increases, that the authors wrote out the words of the text from manuscripts which themselves had examined, their testimony is the more important. This remark applies to commentaries, and especially if it appear from the explanation itself, what reading exclusive of any other was used by the author, so that there can be no room for suspecting the words to have been altered by transcribers or editors. Thus, in *Bereshith Rabba*, *Tanchuma* and *Jarchi*, in Gen. xlix. 10, *שלו* is not only written, but also explained.

Those of the Rabbins who are critics, as *R. Meir*, son of *Todros*, called also *Todrosius* and *Harama*, of the 13th century, *R. Menahem de Lonzano*, and *R. Solomon Norzi*, both of the 16th, constantly produce various readings from very old manuscripts, which however scarcely exceed the 11th century. These readings are not to be despised, although the greater part of them are of little importance. *Comp. DE ROSSI Var. Lect. Vol. I. Proleg. § 36—38, p. 39—43. SIMON, Hist. Crit. du V. T. Tom. I. p. 363. ss. CAPEL. Crit. Sac. T. II. L. V. C. 12. § 22—28, p. 919—924. ROSEN. Handbuch für die Lit. der Bibl. Krit. und Exeg. II. Th. S. 77. ff.*

§ 124. *Quotations in the Fathers.*

Ecclesiastical writers took the places of Scripture which they quote from the version of their church, and consequently their testimony can extend no further than to the readings of that version. Origen and Jerome are the only fathers who certainly made use of Hebrew manuscripts, and their evidence is equivalent to that of manuscripts of their age. If any others appeal to the Hebrew text, they drew their remarks chiefly from Origen and Jerome.

§ 125. *Collections of Various Readings.*

Human life is too short to allow of a thorough examination of all those monuments which are indispensably necessary to criticism, in addition to the many other subjects which are equally worthy of attention. But as many learned men have from time to time investigated different documents, extensive collections of various readings have at length arisen, of which the critic should avail himself. Some beginnings were made by those ancient Jews, to whom we owe the rejections and corrections of the Scribes, and other observations before noticed. See § 107. More recently Todrozius, Menahem and Norzi have collected larger apparatus. KEN. *Diss. Gen.* p. 111—131. DE ROSSI, p. 39—43. MUNSTER was the first among Christians who in his edition of 1536 added some various readings. Not many more are found in that of VAN DER HOOHT, 1705; but in the edition of JOHN HENRY MICHAELIS, 1720, the various readings of five manuscripts and nineteen editions are exhibited, and that not only in the letters, but also in the vowel points and accents.

These were imperfect beginnings. In 1753, HOUBIGANT, a priest of the Oratory, published a critical edition of the Old Testament according to the text of Van der Hooght, but greatly corrected. By this attempt, the learned were animated to a more careful examination of the character of the Hebrew text. The result was many collations of Hebrew manuscripts, until by the efforts of KENNICOTT a comparison was made through the whole of Europe, and at length his edition appeared, which, following Van der Hooght's text, contained various readings from 615 manuscripts, from 52 editions, and from both the Talmuds. It was published in 2 vols. folio, 1776—80, at Oxford.

KENN. DISS. Gen. edit. BRUNS. p. 279—329. Comp. MICH. Orient. Bibl. IX. Th. S. 91—131. XIII. Th. S. 170 ff. XVIII. Th. S. 138, 141, 160, 164. XXI. Th. S. 63. XXII. Th. S. 177. EICHH. Repert. XII. Th. S. 225. ROSEN. Hand. für die Lit. der Bibl. Krit. und Exeg. 1. S. 241—248.

DE ROSSI selected from this apparatus the more important readings, and after comparing 731 other manuscripts and 300 editions, and examining fully the ancient versions and books of the Rabbins even in manuscript, he published all the various readings which he had observed in 4 vols. 4to. in 1784—88, at Parma, to which in 1798 he added a supplement or Critical Scholia. It is to be lamented that De Rossi, as he himself confesses, Vol. IV. Diss. Præl. p. 19. col. 2., did not examine his materials throughout, but confined himself chiefly to an inspection of those places in which Kennicott and some other critics had noted variety.

From the apparatus thus prepared, DOEDERLEIN, and upon his death MEISNER, undertook the publication of a manual edition of the Old Testament, which was printed in 1793. But as the print was small and inaccurate. another manual edition was published by myself at Vienna 8vo. in 1806.*

The apparatus already collected is indeed very great; yet much remains to be done in order to bring the criticism of the O. T. to perfection. The manuscripts have not been accurately described, nor reduced into families; most of them have only been examined in certain places, and not collated throughout, which is the case with almost all those of De Rossi; complete extracts have not yet been made from the Masora; most of the versions still require the aid of a critic, and after they have been corrected they should be compared throughout. The accomplishment of these and many other requisites must be left to posterity.

§ 126. *Of Internal Critical Evidence.*

The *principal* arguments in relation to the genuineness of readings are external, or those afforded by the witnesses to whom what has been already said relates. But since it frequently happens that these witnesses are contradictory, so that it is impossible to found a judg-

† [See § 113 at the end. *Tr.*]

ment on their authority ; it becomes necessary, in order to decide the question, to call in the aid of internal arguments. Of these the chief are, such as are drawn from the various methods in which spurious readings arise ; for *in proportion to the difficulty with which a reading could have arisen from any other is the probability of its having descended from the writer himself ; and in proportion to the ease with which it might arise from another reading does it betray a more recent origin, and its incorrectness.* In order to make a proper use of these arguments, it is necessary carefully to *draw from experience* the various methods by which errors are produced. It is quite clear that spurious readings arise from two sources, namely, from *errors of the pen*, and from *the erroneous judgment of the transcribers.*—1) Errors of the pen are of a fourfold kind, a) such as *omit*. b) such as *add*, c) such as *transpose*, and d) such as *alter*. Alterations moreover proceed either from *an error of the sight*, or, when written by dictation, *of the hearing*, or *of the memory.*—2) Through erroneous judgment, passages are either a) altered from *others which are parallel*, or b) perverted from their true meaning in consequence of *abbreviations in the writing* being incorrectly understood, or, c) *marginal notes* are introduced into the series of discourse, or lastly, d) what is really right is supposed to be erroneous and *improperly corrected.*—It is intended to treat of all these points in order.

§ 127. *Errors which are committed by omission.*[a]

Transcribers readily omit a letter, a syllable, a word, and even a sentence and period, especially when ὁμοιοτελευτια take place, i. e. when the beginning or the end of the following sentence or period is the same or similar. Thus in II Sam. xxiii. 20. חִי occurs for חִיל, as it is in the parallel place, I Chron. xi. 22 ; in Lament. ii. 4. כֹּל for כָּל נֶעַר, as preserved in the Targum ; whole sentences are omitted in Ps. xxv. 5. cxlv. 13 ; an omission on account of similar terminations is found in Ps. xxxvii. 28, where עוֹלִים נִשְׁמְרוּ is omitted from its similarity to לְעוֹלִים נִשְׁמְרוּ, though preserved by the Alexandrine version. Omissions in manuscripts are so numerous that they are generally to be considered as mere errors of the pen, unless they occur in manu-

scripts very accurately written, which is but seldom the case. Hence *a large number of witnesses declaring in favour of an omission prove nothing*, and a few witnesses are sufficient authority to restore what has been omitted. Indeed even one witness may evince its genuineness, if other internal arguments of weight can be alleged.

[a) On the subject of this section, KENNICOTT'S *Two Dissertations* on the State of the Hebrew Text, may be profitably consulted. See the *Indexes*, article *Omissions*; and on the whole subject of the causes of corruption, comp. BAUER, § 20—23, p. 168—195, and EICHHORN, § 84—103. *Tr.*]

§ 128. *Errors which have arisen from additions.*[a]

The rule respecting omissions, however, is by no means to be urged to a very great degree, because transcribers may readily add a letter, or syllable, or word; although no one could easily add a whole sentence through an error of the pen. An addition also might arise from the circumstance of the transcriber's having written an erroneous letter, or syllable, or word, from his copy, although condemned by a fine stroke or point. Sometimes it must remain uncertain whether the omission or addition be the more probable, unless other arguments can be obtained to assist in forming a judgment. The *matres lectionis* which are occasionally of great importance, transcribers have been accustomed to insert or omit at pleasure, and sometimes to introduce them in an improper place: hence שִׁלָּה in Gen. xlix. 10. for שֵׁלָּה. To the same cause is to be traced the Arabic orthography which is at times to be met with, as קָאם for קָם in Hos. x. 14. If, however, this orthography is of frequent occurrence in any book, as for instance in Job, it undoubtedly proceeds from the author; because no reason can be given why transcribers should have so frequently introduced a foreign orthography in this book in particular. But it is unquestionable, that careless transcribers have often added the article ה, the ה paragogic, and the particles אַם and לָּ. See Isa. xxix. 11. Mic. iii. 2. I Sam. xxvi. 22. II Kings vii. 13.

[a) See KENNICOTT'S *Two Dissertations*; *Indexes*, article *Insertions*. *Tr.*]

§ 129. *Transpositions.*

Transcribers are also apt to transpose letters, words, or sentences. Thus in Eccles. ix. 4. יִחְבֵּר is read for יִחְבֵּר, which is given in the Alexandrine version and the Targum, and is required by the series of the discourse; and in II Sam. xxi. 19. יַעֲרִי occurs after אֲרִיגִים, having been transferred from the line below.—Transpositions of verses may be found in Lament. c. ii. iii. and iv., of the letters γ and ν ; and Kennicott refers to manuscripts in which psalms and chapters of books are transposed, Diss. Gen. p. 42—47.

§ 130. *Changes produced by errors of the sight.*

Letters or words are often changed through an error of the sight, and from this cause very many various readings have arisen. In order to judge of these it is necessary to notice the similarity of letters, and the possibility of one letter being mistaken for two, or two for one, and thus affording occasion for a change. Thus in Ps. xi. 1, הָרַכְמִים has been interchanged with הָרַכְמִים, which the Alexandrine version expresses. It is to be regretted that the more ancient form of the letters is unknown, from which the oldest various readings might be explained. Discrepancies, however, of ancient date occur, arising from the change of letters which are now similar, as in Josh. xv. 47, הַגְּבוּל, *k'ri*, הַגְּרוּל. From this source have flowed many and great errors in numbers, which were formerly expressed by letters, a commutation of which might easily produce those immense numbers which are so often to be met with in the historical books. Thus in II Chron. xxii. 2, כב 22 has been changed into מב 42, as is evident from II Kings viii. 26. Comp. also II Chron. xiii. 3. xiv. 7, 8, (9. 9.) xvii. 13—19. [a]

[a] See KENNICOTT'S Two Dissertations; Diss. I. pp. 96. ss. 462. ss. 472. s., comp. also pp. 529. ss., and Diss. II. pp. 208—221. and 512. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 131. *Changes arising from a failure of memory.*

Since transcribers would naturally look at the copy, and take several words at once to be afterwards written down, occasional slips of memory would give rise to other words, especially to such as are synonymous or similar. From this cause commutations of particles often occur, as of **אֵל** and **מֵן** with the prefixes Lamed and Mem, of **לֵא** with **אֵל** and **בֵּל**. So also there is sometimes an interchange of **וַיֹּדְבֵר** and **וַיֹּאמֶר**. In II Sam. xxii. 1, ten manuscripts have **וַיִּמְכַּף** for **וַיִּמְדֵּר**; and on the contrary in Ps. xviii. 1, many read **וַיִּמְדֵּר** for **וַיִּמְכַּף**. Hence also the frequent interchanges of the names of God, **יְהוָה**, **אֲדֹנָי** and **אֱלֹהִים**: for since the Jews for 2000 years past have constantly read **אֲדֹנָי** for **יְהוָה**, or where both occur in connexion, **אֱלֹהִים**; transcribers may not unfrequently have written from memory these two words instead of the other. Comp. CAPEL. Crit. Sac. T. I. L. I. c. iii. p. 45—47. 109—112.

§ 132. *Changes from an error in hearing.*

If a book were dictated to several transcribers, one or other of them would sometimes hear a word incorrectly, and write another of similar sound. This seems to be the cause of those 17 commutations of **לֵא** with **לִי**, which are noted in the Treatise Sopherim and in the margin of our Bibles; and also of **He** with **Aleph**, as **אֲדֹרֶם** in I Kings xii. 18. and **הֲדֹרֶם** in II Chron. x. 18; and **אֲרָמִים** in II Kings viii. 28. and **הֲרָמִים** in II Chron. xxii. 5.

§ 133. *Alterations from parallel places.*

Parallel passages have furnished a most abundant source of alterations. In some instances, such passages, being very familiar to the transcriber, have crept into the text without his knowledge or intention. In others inconsiderate transcribers have corrupted a text because they have deemed it necessary to render it conformable to a parallel passage. Thus the 7th and 8th verses of II Kings xx. are

introduced in Isa. xxxviii, and thrust into an improper place after v. 20, when they should have been written after v. 6. Thus also עַן לְמֹן in Ps. xxviii. 8., is in some manuscripts changed into עַן לְעֹמֵן from Ps. xxix. 11. Alterations of this kind however are not to be unnecessarily multiplied, since the very numerous discrepancies between the books of Samuel and Kings and those of Chronicles, show that transcribers have not always indulged their inclinations in harmonizing parallel places.

§ 134. *Abbreviations incorrectly understood.*

Although abbreviations are of infrequent occurrence in Hebrew manuscripts, yet there are some, which occasionally appear to have been incorrectly understood. Thus the abbreviation which is used in the Targums for the name Jehovah, י , seems to have been found by the Alexandrine translator of Jonah, in i. 9, where instead of עֲבָרִי , *Hebrew*, it would appear that he read עֲבָרִי , and incorrectly translated it $\delta\sigma\lambda\omicron\varsigma \mu\alpha$, as if it were intended for עֲבָרִי and not עֲבַר יְהוָה . So also in Jer. vi. 11, חֲמַתִּי , meant as an abbreviation for חֲמַת יְהוָה , appears to have been read חֲמַתִּי , $\beta\mu\mu\omicron\nu \mu\alpha$. The manuscript of Kennicott, marked 76, often omits the last letters, as אֲבוֹתֵינוּ for אֲבוֹתֵינוּ , מוֹשִׁיעַ for מוֹשִׁיעַ , בְּמֹת for בְּמֹת . In this way מִים has arisen in Ps. cvii. 3. from the abbreviation מִימִן for מִימִן .

§ 135. *Marginal notes introduced into the text.*

The explanatory and traditionary notes which are so common in the margin of manuscripts, have been sometimes considered by transcribers as a part of the discourse, and introduced into the text. Thus in Isa. xl. 7. $\text{אֲכֵן הַצִּיר הָעָם}$, *truly the people is grass*, seems to be an interpolation of this kind, as it is wanting in the Septuagint; and in vii. 17. $\text{אֵת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר}$, *the king of Assyria*. Such is also the case with I Sam. vi. 19. $\text{חֲמִשִּׁים אֶלֶף אִישׁ}$, *50,000 men*, which is not accord-

ing to the order of numbering, and is wanting in JOSEPHUS, Ant. VI. ii. 4.[a] Larger portions also have been introduced in the first book of Samuel, (xvii. 12—31, 50, 55—58, xviii. 1—5, 9—11, 17—19.) which did not exist in the manuscript used by the Alexandrine translator, but were introduced into his version, as is evident from many Paris manuscripts, from versions of the second century, by Origen. They seem to have been taken from the Chaldee Paraphrase, as the Targum of Jonathan on these passages contains many other things of the same kind. However this may be, they do not belong to the text; for they are at variance with the context both preceding and subsequent, as has been remarked by Houbigant on I Sam. xvii. 11.[b] So also much has been interpolated in Jeremiah which was not read by the Alexandrine translator.


[a] See LE CLERC and DATHE, in loc. *Tr.*]

[b] See Germ. Introd. P. I. § 135. S. 480. f. EICHHORN II. Th. S. 532. ff. BERTHOLDT III. Th. s. 897. *Tr.*]

§ 136. *Improper division of words.*

Although the oriental writers left spaces between the words, or made use of points in order to indicate the end of each word, it frequently happened, that through the haste or carelessness of the transcribers they were neglected, and words were connected. These, being separated again by other transcribers, have been sometimes inaccurately divided, so as to connect with a preceding word a letter which belonged to the following, or the reverse. Sometimes, also, improperly, a word has been separated into two, or two have been combined in one. Thus *על מות* *unto death* has arisen in Ps. xlviii.

15, from *עלמות*, as it is read in 143 manuscripts, and expressed in the Alexandrine version and in the Chaldee Paraphrase. On the other hand, in Ps. lv. 16. *ישמות* *devastations*, ought to be divided according to the *k'ri* into *ישיא* or *ישימות* *let death seize*,* which is given also

* [Or, according to MICHAELIS, *let him constitute death their rigid creditor*; exactorem constituat mortem super illos; from the Arabic form  Suppl. ad Heb. Lex. No. 1655. *Tr.*]

in many editions, and by the Alexandrine translator, by Aquila, Symmachus, Jerome, and the author of the Peshito Syriac. So also in Hos. vi. 5, the words $\text{וְהִשְׁפֹּטֵן אֹרֵן יָצָא}$, and *thy judgments, a light goeth forth* are more accurately divided by the Septuagint, the Syriac and the Chaldee thus, $\text{וְהִשְׁפֹּטֵי כְּאֹרֵן יָצָא}$ and *my judgment (my righteous declaration), goeth forth as the light (the Sun)*.

§ 137. *Erroneous corrections.*

It has been already remarked (§ 108 and 111), that here and there the text has been improperly corrected to make it conformable to grammatical analogy, or to the Masora. A reading therefore *which departs from grammatical principles and the Masora is less to be suspected of having been altered*, and consequently is more probable than one which agrees with them. Another source of corruption has been the disposition of transcribers and readers of manuscripts to alter any thing difficult, or of rare occurrence, or which was unknown or unintelligible to themselves, or seemed likely to give offence. On this account a reading which is *difficult, of rare occurrence, and which might give offence*, is in itself preferable to one which is common, easy, and liable to no exception, the very character of which is sufficient reason for suspecting it of having suffered alteration by some modern hand. This rule is as it were the touchstone of the able and judicious critic.

§ 138. *Whether various Readings have arisen from Corruption.*

Although the Hebrew text has not been corrupted, yet corruptions may have been attempted, and this may have given rise at least to various readings. But such an attempt cannot be proved by examples of various readings produced from this source, unless it be thought proper to consider as such the change of גֵּרִיזִים , *Gerizim* into עִבָּל *Ebal*, in Deut. xxvii. 4., and of מֹשֶׁה , *Moses*, into מָנַשֶׁה , *Manasseh* in Jud. xviii. 30.; in the latter of which places the transcribers themselves

have candidly intimated by the suspended Nun that משה is the genuine reading, and the Masorets also expressly state, that the Nun was inserted, in order that the first idolatrous priest should not be said to be a grandson of Moses. But although we have no other instances of readings originating in corruption, yet there is no want of examples of readings less favourable to Christians having been preferred by transcribers and widely propagated in manuscripts, as חסיריך in Ps. xvi. 10., פארי in Ps. xxii. 17., and שילה in Gen. xlix. 10. Wherefore, *the reading which is less orthodox in the Jewish sense is more probable than the orthodox*, so as to admit of an exception against even a majority of witnesses in its favour.

§ 139. *Critical Argument from the Series of Discourse.*

Whatever may be the result of the depositions of witnesses or of investigation of the question which reading could most readily arise from another, the series of discourse must be compared. For although the truth of a reading cannot be inferred solely from its agreement with the context, because it is possible that a false reading may have very plausible pretensions in this respect. yet a reading which is in opposition to the context is certainly spurious, for no author of a sound mind would write words without meaning or at variance with the connexion of his discourse. Yet great circumspection is required that a reading, which at first view seems to be at variance with the context or not to give a suitable sense, be not immediately rejected; for it may be the more difficult reading, which, when correctly understood, exactly coincides with the context, and is preferable by the rule just stated (§ 137) on account of its very difficulty. The context, it is to be remembered, comprises not only the connexion of those parts of the discourse which immediately precede and follow the passage in question, but also the syntactical construction of the sentence. The comparison of this requires by far the greatest degree of caution. On the one hand no rule is without its exception, and what is supposed to be an anomaly may be a legitimate exception to the rule. On the other hand, admitting the existence of a solecism, it may have

originated even with the author himself, provided it be not too great an aberration from the genius of the language, as that in I Sam. vi. 19.,

שְׂבָעִים אִישׁ חֲמִשִּׁים אֶלֶף אִישׁ.

§ 140. *Critical Arguments derived from the Poetic Parallelism.*

In poems, the poetic parallelism affords no contemptible aid in a comparison of the context. For as in Hebrew poetry the members are either synonymous or antithetic, or at least conformed to each other in the order of construction, they serve for mutual illustration, and *a reading which is at variance with the parallel member is spurious*. It is not however on the other hand to be concluded, that a reading which coincides with the parallel member is necessarily genuine, since a spurious reading, especially if it have arisen from an erroneous judgment of transcribers, may exhibit a perfect coincidence. In alphabetical poems omissions of verses are easily observed, (See Ps. xxv. 4, 5, 17, 18. xxxvii. 28, 29. cxlv. 13, 14) and even additions and transpositions of words. So in Ps. xxxvii. 39. the *addition* of the prefix Vau in וְתִשְׁעָת is evident, as the verse ought to begin with Thau; and in Ps. xxv. 2. the *transposition* of the words בְּךָ אֱלֹהֵי בְּךָ for בְּךָ אֱלֹהֵי is discoverable from the necessity of beginning the verse with *Beth*.

§ 141. *Argument from Parallel Places.*

As transcribers have often altered parallel places with the view of making them correspond, this has given rise to the rule of criticism, that *a reading which varies from the parallel place is, ceteris paribus, more probable than one which entirely agrees with it*. Still the frequent disagreement of parallel places shows that the eagerness of transcribers to render them conformable to each other has not been without some limitation, even manifest errors having been occasionally left untouched. Undoubtedly, therefore, faulty readings may be corrected from the parallel places. Thus, in II Chron. xxii. 2., where the son is said to be forty-two years old, and therefore according to II Chron. xxi. 20., two years older than his father, the text is without doubt to be restored from II Kings viii. 26., so that the age of the

son may be twenty-two years: for מב , 42, could easily have arisen from כב , 22, by a mistake of the eye. Comp. also II Sam. xxi. 19., with I Chron. xx. 5., where the former is plainly to be corrected by the latter. It not unfrequently happens, however, that such is the state of parallel places as to make a judgment doubtful.

If parallel places of the same book are at variance, one or other is no doubt erroneous, and the point to be investigated is, which reading could the more easily arise from the other. In determining this, the critic is often at a loss.—But if an author refer to some passage of a book more ancient than himself, in which there is now a various reading, he affords the most ample testimony to the true reading of that passage. Thus Ezekiel, c. xxi. 32, (27.,) is evidence that in his time the reading in Gen. xlix. 10., was שלה , for he explains it by אשר לו המשפט , *whose right it is*.

§ 142. *Probability as to what the author has written.*

When any author has composed a work in a certain country, in a particular place, at a definite time, and with circumstances of a determinate kind, all these characteristics are impressed on his composition, and may be observed by nice attention. From this source arises the rule of criticism, *that a reading which is at variance with the country, place, age, and circumstances of an author is spurious*. It is evident, therefore, that a knowledge of the history of his author is necessary for a critic.—Each author has also his peculiar conformation of language, character of style, mode of thinking, range of figures, and particular modification of sentiment, from all of which also must be deduced critical rules peculiarly adapted to each book. Thus, for example, in Job, Hosea, Micah, Joel, Isaiah, where the style of writing is beautiful and sublime, the elegant reading is the more probable; but in Haggai, Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah, where the composition is inferior, the contrary rule holds good. In Isaiah and Micah the reading which contains a paronomasia is to be preferred; in the Psalms of David, the more agreeable; in those of Asaph, and the poems of Moses, the more sublime. But this is a subject which requires great discrimination and attention, and a repeated perusal of the books.

§ 143. *General critical rules.*

A very extensive and accurate knowledge of very many subjects, some of them very minute, is necessary for a critic. A knowledge of manuscripts, of editions, of versions, of ancient Jewish and Christian writings, of the origin of various readings, of the history of the text and versions, is particularly necessary. The critic moreover ought to be endowed with an acute judgment, a retentive memory, and a keen attention, and should be well read in the writings of eminent masters of the art. And even if he be well skilled in all these points, still he undertakes a subject full of hazard and difficulty, as the many errors into which the greatest men have fallen most abundantly evince. Beginners in criticism, therefore, should remember, that in such a subject the greatest caution must be exercised; especially with respect to the sacred books, which have been written out with much greater care than common works, in relation to which the same caution is nevertheless usually recommended. For this reason some general rules are added, which may lay down in a few words the mode of procedure adopted by the best critics.

1) The critic, like the judge, must be unbiassed by any partiality; in other words, he must be free from any preconceived opinion. It is therefore his duty, not only to be free from any desire to support or to alter a received reading, but also to abstain from giving any decision previously to a thorough examination of witnesses and of internal arguments.—2) As the judge not only hears and examines the arguments of the plaintiff, but also those of the accused, so must the critic examine with equal attention, not only the arguments alleged against a received reading, but those also which are in its favour. In doing this he is to take care not to suppose that all the witnesses not produced in favour of a various reading are on the side of the received; for it often happens that many of them have no testimony to give, that is, that the manuscripts are defective in that place, or that it is impossible to infer from the versions what the translators read.—3) As spurious readings have been very extensively propagated by means of the Masora, or of standard manuscripts from which many others have been written and corrected, or even on account of their being more orthodox; not every reading for which the greatest number of witnesses depose is to be considered as genuine. The true

reading may be preserved by a few, or by even a single one, as is the case with עֵלִים נִשְׁמְרֵי in Ps. xxxvii. 28. Witnesses, therefore, as in civil and criminal courts, are not only to be numbered but also scrutinized, their testimony examined, what can be offered on the other side investigated, and internal arguments also carefully considered. —4) If in all other respects two readings are equal, (a case which rarely occurs,) the number of witnesses must decide the question of genuineness, the probability being the greater in proportion as this increases. But from the number of witnesses are to be excluded, not only all the mediate versions, but also manuscripts of the same recension or family, which ought to be regarded as constituting only one. This, however, cannot take place until the manuscripts are reduced into families. —5) If much more ancient witnesses, or superior manuscripts, or stronger internal arguments, declare in favour of one reading, all things are by no means equal; for the more ancient witnesses are the more weighty, the oldest versions are of greater importance than manuscripts, the more ancient or excellent manuscripts are preferable to the more modern and inferior, and internal arguments very often add great weight to witnesses. —6) Readings which have the unanimous testimony of all or almost all the versions, manuscripts, and editions, and are favoured also by internal arguments, are critically certain. Since this is the case with all the readings of the Old Testament, with the exception of a few various readings, affecting the sense; it clearly follows, that, as a whole, the text is critically certain. Thus the incorruptness of the books of the Old Testament is more fully confirmed.

§ 144. *Critical conjecture.*

Thus far I have treated of the correction of the text from the testimony of the ancients. It remains to be inquired whether it can be allowed in any case *to correct the Hebrew text, independently of any ancient testimony, from internal arguments simply, or from critical conjecture.* Should this be absolutely forbidden, it would be necessary to admit, that no genuine reading has perished under the hands of transcribers during the lapse of so many centuries, in the five last of which, indeed, there are many manuscript witnesses ex-

tant, but in the whole period which intervened between the 10th century after and the 3d before Christ none are to be found except some versions and certain quotations made by writers of those ages, and from the latter date up to the authors themselves no witnesses of readings exist. But if it is necessary to concede that genuine readings have perished, then it must also be acknowledged, that it is allowable by the aid of internal arguments or critical conjecture, to restore those spurious readings, at least, which change the meaning.

§ 145. *Use of critical conjecture.*

If criticism which conducts its operations on the authority of witnesses is to be carefully and moderately exercised, much rather ought this to be the case when independently of such authority it is driven to conjecture. To seek after conjectures designedly, or on light grounds to alter the reading, and introduce the alteration into the text, is what sound critics stigmatize as a censurable eagerness for correcting; and they lay down the principle, that conjectures are not to be attempted except when *necessity forces*, or *very great probability* persuades to such a course, and that even then they are not to be introduced into the text, but thrown into notes.

Necessity forces, when a *learned* and *skilful* interpreter, (for those who are not versed in the subject have nothing to do with a matter of this importance,) finds it impossible to elicit a suitable sense from all the readings of a place which are extant, after all other methods have been tried; or when the sense is repugnant to undoubted history well known to the author of the book, or to doctrine elsewhere proposed by the same writer. And in this case conjecture ought not to be sought, but freely to offer itself and to consist in a slight alteration of a word made in a way similar to that in which spurious readings arise. Thus it would seem that in Ps. cvii. 3., מִים ought to be changed into מִיָּם.

Probability is *much* in favour of conjecture when a certain reading gives a sense, tolerable indeed, yet not in all respects adapted to the context, while a slight alteration corresponding with the manner in which errors arise produces a complete consistency. Thus in Jud. xiv. 14. 15., where it is said, "they could not ex-

pound the riddle in *three* days, and it came to pass on the *seventh* day, &c.," if שלשת or ג', *three*, be changed into ששת or ו', *six*, every thing will be clear. If, however, *the probability* of a reading being erroneous is *rather small*, or if *the alteration of the reading is considerable*, or *varies much from the analogy* by which errors originate, the conjectural emendation is to be rejected, although it may suggest itself. Thus John David Michaelis conjectures without sufficient reason, that in I Sam. viii. 16, for חמוריים *your asses*, the reading ought to be חמוריים *your precious things*; but if a better reading were wanted in this place, it is offered by the Alexandrine translator, who gives the meaning of בקריים, *your oxen*.

That sort of conjecture which aims at making the text *conformable to grammatical rules* is to be attributed solely to an unwarrantable eagerness for correcting.

§ 146. *Doctrinal conjecture.*

An alteration of a reading without a witness on doctrinal grounds merely, is called doctrinal conjecture. This is nothing but a corruption of the text, and not to be tolerated in any book. It is sufficient to remark that such conjecture is founded not only on strictly doctrinal arguments, or such as refer to articles of faith or moral precepts, but also on all others derived from opinions previously fixed. If, therefore, doctrinal conjecture induced the Jews to alter גרזים *Gerizim* into עיבל *Ebal* in Deut. xxvii. 4, in order to deprive the Samaritans of an argument for that as a place of worship; it was the same principle which led the Samaritans to add in Exod. xii. 10. to the words "the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt," the clause "and in Canaan;" because, through a preconceived opinion they conjectured that 430 years would not agree with four generations.—The critic must also be on his guard, not to be induced by doctrinal arguments to ascribe the more weight to witnesses or to internal arguments, because the reading for which they give evidence is favourable to certain opinions.

§ 147. *Higher Criticism.*

Higher criticism, (which indeed often rises to an extreme) does not differ from conjectural, except that it is not occupied with single words or phrases, but with sentences and parts of sentences of some length, and also with whole books which are proved from internal arguments either to belong or not to belong to a certain age or writer. In the books of the Old Testament respecting the history of which we have so little external evidence, this kind of criticism is absolutely necessary, and by the aid of it much is discovered which borders on historical certainty. But, like critical conjecture, it ought to be exercised with sobriety and modesty. No reliance is to be placed upon what *might possibly* be or happen, for to reason from what is possible to what is real is illogical; nor are bold decisions to be made on *light* grounds affording nothing more than some weak probability, which, upon a more attentive examination of the subject, comes to nothing. The errors which have been committed in identifying authors of our own age who have written anonymously in their vernacular tongue with others, whose style, principles, mode of reasoning, and course of thought, were all well known from other sources,* ought to be a remarkable warning to the bolder critics of the present day, to employ this uncertain criticism with more caution, and to imitate more closely the example of the Scaligers and Casaubons. Suspicions and trifling reasons prove nothing. It must be shown that a book or a part of a book contains things manifestly more modern than its date, or such as could not have been written by the author to whom it is ascribed, on account of the age in which he lived, or the sects to which he belonged, or the language which he used, which must be clearly and perfectly known to us.[a]—Lastly, caution must be used, never to call in the aid of doctrinal arguments drawn from any preconceived opinions.

[a] Jahn quotes in his German work, the following passage from MORUS, Opusc. P. II. p. 46. s., whence the preceding ideas are taken, and which richly merits insertion here in full. “Ne monumenta historiae

* [The author alludes to some anonymous publications in Germany, which were erroneously ascribed to Zimmerman and Kant, and the caution which he founds upon this fact was never more applicable than it is to his countrymen at the present day. Tr.]

festinantius suspecta judicemus, quasi hæc altior indago critica sit, et ubique suboleat aliquid suspecti. Suspectum nihil in hoc genere dici potest, nisi vel per *indubitata et diserta testimonia* doceri potest, non esse illo tempore scriptum, sed per fraudem confictum; vel non potuit illo tempore scribi, quia insunt *res illo tempore recentiores*; vel ab eo viro scribi non potuit propter *tempus*, quo *vixit*, propter *disciplinam quam secutus est*, et propter *orationem, qua usus est, plane perfecte nobis cognitam*; vel *monumenta vetusta invicem dissonant, et injiciunt suo dissensu serupulum*. Ad hos leges nisi redeatur, et Scaligerorum et Casaubonorum exemplum severius in imitationem trahatur, verendum est, ne, quod apud Aristophanem Euripides conqueri cogitur, ἀνθρωπε, ὅλην τὴν τραγωδίαν μὲ ἀφαιρῆς, idem mutatis verbis majore jure magna veterum historiæ scriptorum pars indignari debeat; ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡμῶν ἀφαιρῆτε." Tr.]

PART II.

PARTICULAR INTRODUCTION TO EACH BOOK OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

§ 1. *Order of treatment.*

HAVING discussed those subjects which relate equally to all the books of the Old Testament, we proceed to the examination of the particular books. These we shall not take up in the order in which they are arranged in manuscripts or editions, but in noticing them shall follow, as much as possible, the order of the times in which they were respectively written, or of which they contain the history. We will commence with the historical books, proceeding in succession to the prophetic, to the Hagiographa, and, in the last place, to the deuterocanonical. In this manner the examination of the whole will occupy four sections.

SECTION I.

OF THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PENTATEUCH.

§ 2. *Contents of the Pentateuch.*

THE Pentateuch contains an account of the arrangements of the Divine Being for the purpose of founding, establishing, maintaining, and promoting, religion and good morals, from the creation of man down to the death of Moses. By far the greater part relates to those things which God established by the agency of Moses. What precedes this is introductory, but necessary for the correct and perfect understanding of the remainder. The work consists at present of five books,* but the contents naturally divide themselves into three parts.

I. The FIRST, containing the book of Genesis, comprises the divine arrangements for the support of religion and virtue antecedently to the Mosaic dispensation, from the creation of man down to the death of Joseph, A. M. 2318. This may be subdivided into two portions: *the first*, Gen. i. 1—xi. 26, contains in a few documents, the principal events from the creation to the birth of Abraham, A. M. 1948, and recounts the ancestors of that patriarch who had cultivated and preserved a due regard for religion and good morals: *the second*, Gen. xi. 27—l. 26, furnishes a more detailed history of

* [See § 22, note b.]

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, continuing to the death of Joseph, comprising in the whole a period of 295 years; in this part the promises given to the Patriarchs form every where the most conspicuous object.[a]

II. The SECOND division, containing the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, gives the history of Moses and of his legislation, and shows how the promises made to the Patriarchs were fulfilled by corresponding events; namely, the increase of their posterity, their deliverance from Egypt, and the establishment among them, by the agency of Moses, of a theocratical government and administration, by means of which true religion should be preserved until the time when, as had been promised to the Patriarchs, it should be propagated by their posterity among all nations, or, according to the expression of the promises themselves, when *all nations should be blessed*. Many events of the first two years are related, but much fewer, and only the more important, of the following thirty-seven, in Num. xv—xix., and of the fortieth, in Num. xx—xxxvi.

III. In Deuteronomy, which constitutes the THIRD division, the Hebrews are admonished to keep the Law: some laws are repeated and more accurately defined, some are altered, and some are added; and the good effects which should attend the punctual observance of the whole, and the evils which should follow its neglect, are laid before the Hebrews. After this the renewal of the Covenant between the people and God their king is described, and a prophetic poem concerning the future condition of the nation, to be committed to memory by the Hebrews, is added. All these things have reference to the inhabiting of Canaan, possession of which was very soon to be taken. Lastly, Moses publicly delivers his book to the priests and princes of the people, to be kept in the tabernacle, in the most holy place, beside the ark, and to be read to the people during the feast of tabernacles, every seventh year.—The blessing of the tribes and the death of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. xxxiv., have been added by another hand, as is clearly proved by the difference of language and style.

[I. *Contents of Genesis*, c. i. 1—xi. 26. After an account of the creation, of the original state of man, and of the fall, this portion gradually proceeds to relate the increase of irreligion and immorality

until about the year 235, (iv. 26. v. 3, 6.): the true worshippers found it necessary to distinguish themselves by the appellation ‘*sons of God,*’ while those who disregarded the divine instructions and were led by mere human propensities were called ‘*children of men.*’ Of the former class were the ancestors of Noah, who are consequently here introduced, (c. v.) although the genealogy, like a long parenthesis, interrupts the close connexion between iv. 26, and vi. 1. For the same cause the extraordinary piety of Enoch and his premature and very remarkable end are mentioned, (v. 22. ss.) The intermarriages of these two classes of people produced at last a corruption of religion and morals so general, that God by a flood destroyed all living creatures except Noah and his family and the animals which were preserved along with them in the ark. On account of the magnitude of this terrible event, it is related with more than usual particularity, (vi. 9—ix. 29.) This is followed by a genealogical and geographical account of settlements made in the world, (c. x.) and then (xi. 1—9,) the attempt to build the tower of Babel is related, which, as it gave rise to the dispersion, is closely connected with that account. The posterity of Shem, with whom religion and morals were preserved longest and in the greatest purity, are then introduced (xi. 26.) down to the birth of Abraham.

The remainder of Genesis contains a more particular account of facts in which the Israelites were interested. As the family of Terah were idolatrous (Josh. xxiv. 2. Gen. xxxi. 30. xxxv. 2.), Abraham is called to go to Canaan, where a numerous posterity is promised him, and the settlement of his descendants through Isaac, after a residence of 400 years in a foreign land, and also that *in his seed all nations should be blessed* (xii. 2. s. xviii. 17. ss. xxii. 17. s. and xv. 13—16.) . all which has in view the preservation of the knowledge of God and true religion, as is plain from xviii. 16—22. xvii. 4—14. Comp. Archæol. Germ. II. Th. II. B. § 163. S. 214. ff. These promises, which are repeated to Isaac (xxvi. 1—5.) and to Jacob (xxviii. 13. s.), are the principal point on which every thing in this domestic history turns, the account of the adventures of Joseph not excepted, as this includes the descent of Jacob’s family into Egypt, where they became numerous. Whatever is introduced in relation to other families and peoples has some bearing on the history of these patriarchs, as xiv.

18. s., or concerns some collateral branches, as xxv. 1—4, 12—18, xxxvi.

II. After the account of the miraculous plagues of Egypt, [b] this part relates the passage of the Hieropolitan branch of the Red sea, the ruin of the Egyptian army, and the journey of the Hebrews through the deserts of Shur, Sin, and Rephidim to mount Horeb, on which the peak of Sinai raises itself, and where Moses had received his divine commission (Ex. i—xviii.). On this march the bitter water of Marah is rendered potable (xv. 23. ss.), manna and quails are sent in the desert of Sin (xvi.), in Rephidim Moses brings water from a rock (xvii.), the Amalekites are conquered, and judges are appointed by the advice of Jethro (xviii.). In the desert of Sinai the Hebrews receive **JEHOVAH** as their king (xix.), who announces amidst thunder and lightning, the fundamental laws of religion and of the state (xx.): these, after they have been more fully developed and reduced to writing (xxi—xxiii.), are acceded to by the people in a solemn covenant (xxiv.). Then follow (xxv—xxxi.) the directions for rearing the holy tabernacle, for the garments and consecration of the priests, and for whatever relates to the sanctuary, with a renewed injunction to sanctify the Sabbath. The two stone tablets which Moses brought from the mountain are also mentioned. The history of the golden calf succeeds (xxxii. xxxiii.); also the account of the new tablets, the repetition of some laws, and a remarkable appearance of God (xxxiv.). The Sabbatical injunction is again announced to the people, and the tabernacle with whatever belonged to it is set up (xxxv—xl.).

Leviticus begins with directions for the offerings which were to be made in the tabernacle (i—vii.); it relates the consecration of the priests, and the death of Aaron's two sons (viii—x.), and gives directions about unclean beasts, men, houses, and garments (xi—xv.). Then follow (xvi—xxv.) various laws, without methodical arrangement, and promises and threats form the conclusion (xxvi.). The ordinances respecting vows (xxvii.) seem to have no connexion with what precedes, and relate to voluntary obligations originating in extraordinary zeal.

The book of Numbers opens with an account of the preparations for the decampment (i—x.). Those who are fit for warlike duty are numbered and described: then follow the arrangement of the camp

and the order of march ; certain laws are again introduced (v. vi. ix.), also the consecration of the Levites, and the age at which their services began and terminated (viii.), and the presents offered by the princes (vii.).

At last, in the second year after the exode, in the 20th of the second month, they begin their march from Sinai, and proceed a distance of three days' journey (x. 11—36.). Some troubles and insurrections arise. Then a part of the camp is consumed by fire ; a council is appointed ; and Miriam is struck with leprosy (xi. xii.). Twelve spies are sent into Canaan whose report occasions a revolt, and this leads to the threat of God, that all that race should die in the desert except Caleb and Joshua (xiii. xiv.).

Of the remaining thirty-eight years of the march nothing is related, except some laws concerning offerings, the punishment of the Sabbath breaker, the revolt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, the miraculous establishment of the priesthood in the family of Aaron, directions for the priests, and the institution of the purification of the unclean by the ashes of the red heifer (xv—xix.).

In the first month of the fortieth year, the next generation of the Hebrews come to the desert of Sin, in order to penetrate into Canaan (xx.). Here they receive water from a rock smitten by Moses, and both he and Aaron are excluded from the land of promise. The refusal of the king of Edom to allow them to march through his country obliges them to take a circuitous route (xx.). Their discontent brings on the plague of serpents, which is cured by looking at one made of brass and elevated. Hence they march to the eastern side of Canaan, where they conquer Sihon and Og, and take possession of all the country on that side of Jordan (xxi.).

This is followed by the history of Balaam (xxii—xxiv.), the relation of the death of 24000 Hebrews on account of the idolatry into which they had been enticed by the Moabites and Midianites, and the determination to engage in a war with the latter (xxv.). Then a second numbering takes place (xxvi.), various laws are introduced (xxvii—xxx.), and the war with the Midianites is undertaken (xxxi.). After this Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manassch, are put in possession of the territory east of the Jordan, on the condition of assisting the other tribes in the conquest of Canaan (xxxii.). An enumera-

tion of all the encampments in the whole march from Egypt is then given (xxxiii. 1—49.), and certain laws which circumstances made necessary form the conclusion of the book (xxxiii. 50—xxxvi. 13.).

III. *The third* great division of the Pentateuch was recited to the people. The first three portions can easily be distinguished by the beginnings and endings, thus: *the first*, Deut. i. 1—iv. 43; *the second*, iv. 44—viii. 20; and *the third*, ix. 1—xi. 32. The miracles which God had wrought for the Hebrews, the beneficial ordinances which he had instituted among them, and the victories which he had granted them, are exhibited as motives to obedience. Then follow laws which, in reference to a residence in Canaan, are in part repeated, and made more definite, and in part now first announced (xii. 1—xxvi. 19.). Chap. xxvii. takes up the same subject which had been touched on before (xi. 26—30.), the engraving of the law (meaning a part of it) on a pillar, and the declaration of blessings and curses. Then the good which should result from obedience, and the evil which should be the consequence of disobedience, are set in opposition to each other (xxviii.), and (xxix. xxx.) the body of the people are admonished to obey the law, both by a developement of their future condition, and by a representation of the miracles which God had already wrought for them, and of the benefits which he had bestowed on them.

Moses now lays down his commission, and gives the book of the law to the priests, charging them to deposit it in the tabernacle beside the ark, and to read it publicly every seventh year at the feast of tabernacles. He appoints Joshua to direct the conquest of Canaan (xxx.), and gives to the people a poem (xxxii.) to be committed to memory for their perpetual admonition. At last he takes a view of Canaan from Nebo, the summit of Mount Abarim, and then dies. His blessing of the tribes (xxxiii.) and his death (xxxiv.) are added by another hand.]

[a) The connexion of this first division with the two others, as introductory to their contents, and in some measure serving as an explanation and defence of the proceedings which they relate, will be evident upon an inspection of the following passages: ii. 3. ix. 1—17, 20—27. xii. 1—3. xiii. 14—17. xv. xvii. xix. 30—38. xxi. 1—20 xxiii. xxiv. 2—8. xxv. 1—6, 19—34. xxvii. xxviii. xxxv. 9—15. xxxvi. 6. xlvi. 1—7. xlviii. xlix. 1. 7—13. See also ROSENMUELLER, Proleg. in Gen. § I. Schol. in V. T. Vol. I. p. 41. s. Edit. tert. 1821. Tr.]

[*b*] On the circumstances of these plagues, and the internal evidence for the genuineness of the book of Exodus which they afford, see BRYANT'S elaborate Dissertation on the Plagues of Egypt, 8vo. London, 1810, or the brief extract of his argument in HORNE'S Introd. Vol. IV. pp. 11. ss. ed. 2d. *Tr.*]

§ 3. *Internal evidence that Moses is the author.*

The genius and disposition, in other words, *the character* of the author; the *contents* of the books themselves, or what they treat of in relation to historical, political, and geographical topics; *the nature of the style and language*; and the *arrangement and form* of these books, all show that Moses was the author.

I. In Deuteronomy the speaker is evidently an old man whose age has rendered him somewhat verbose, captious, and querulous, and disposed to censure the errors of his juniors.—1) His manner of address is such as might be expected from one who had, with the intervention of many and great miracles, led the people out of Egypt;—had, at the foot of Sinai, established a theocracy among them;—had furnished them with laws;—had governed them forty years, during their journey through Arabia to the Jordan;—had procured for them many extraordinary benefits;—and had, when necessary, chastised them with signal punishments.—2) He addresses himself as to a people that had seen and experienced all this, to which he frequently appeals, by saying, ‘*as ye have seen,*’ ‘*as ye have experienced.*’—3) He speaks with the affection and solicitude of an old man soon to die, and with a freedom, boldness, and vehemence which none could have used but one who had done so much for the people whom he addressed, and one who was anxiously solicitous for its future welfare. *In fine* he who speaks in Deuteronomy enters so thoroughly into the circumstances and feelings which must have been peculiar to Moses, and what he utters corresponds so exactly to the peculiar circumstances of the people addressed, that no other but the original speaker could ever have had so perfect a regard to these circumstances, or could ever have preserved it so completely as nowhere to betray himself. They who impugn this argument, or consider it as of little moment, must produce some ancient writing similar to this, which is thoroughly imbued with the spirit, nature, age, and peculiar circumstances of some person other than the author, and of the per-

sons who are supposed to have been the first readers of the work, before any weight can be allowed to their objections.—In the book of Deuteronomy, not only *the subjects* of Numbers, Leviticus, and Exodus, but also *the existence* of those books, are taken for granted: for the person who speaks in Deuteronomy, and who, as we have seen, must have *written* the book, must *necessarily have written these three other books*, since he frequently refers to their contents;—urges obedience to the laws which are contained in them; and draws from the events which they narrate reasons for obeying those laws:—since, in a word, without them Deuteronomy would have been unintelligible to its readers.—In like manner these four books refer to Genesis as a previously *written* composition.

II. The Pentateuch contains very many accounts of the history, religion, politics, and geography of remote ages and of different countries and nations, especially those of Egypt and Arabia, as well as many passing allusions to these particulars: all of these, as far as the paucity of documents relating to those ancient periods leaves us qualified to judge, correspond exactly with those times, countries, and nations. To these may be added many particulars respecting natural history, diseases, the arts, military affairs, &c. The author, therefore, must have been a man carefully educated from his youth, of a well cultivated mind, of very general information, endowed with good natural talents, and born at a remote period:—in a word, such a man *as was Moses*, educated in the royal court of Egypt, and fitted for the government of a numerous and headstrong people during a forty years' journey through the trackless deserts of Arabia. In no person of a more recent age could such a variety of circumstances have met, and none could have acquired such a thorough knowledge of these various subjects as entirely to avoid error, and never to introduce matters inappropriate to the countries, nations, or times in question, or of a more modern date, or foreign to the subject.

III. The language of the Pentateuch is very ancient Hebrew, and differs considerably from that of the Psalms and other more modern books. There are no foreign words to be found in the Pentateuch, except some of old Egyptian origin, such as *חרטמים, תבה, אכרף, יאר*, &c.: archaisms occur, such as the use of *שעטנ, חנט, אחי, מוטפות, שעטנ*

הוּא and נֶעַר as feminines;* verbs ending in הַ and אַ are frequently interchanged; the use of the local הַ is very common: it contains many flexions of verbs ending in אַ by increments at the end with the omission of the אַ; also flexions of verbs in the future in the feminine plural without הַ at the end;† and other similar forms, all of which are much less frequent in the more modern books.‡ Other grammatical archaisms have, no doubt, been corrected in a later age, just as הוּא and נֶעַר have been pronounced and pointed הוּא and נֶעַר.

Many words and phrases occur in the Pentateuch which are peculiar to it, and many peculiar to later books are never found in it; many also which are common in the Pentateuch, are elsewhere of rare occurrence, and the contrary. Of the different sorts of such words and phrases I have collected more than a hundred,§ without reckoning ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and such as refer to objects which there has been no occasion to mention elsewhere. To enumerate all, would exceed the limits of this work; it may not, however, be improper to mention a few. The following are peculiar to the Pentateuch: זָכַר for זָכַר, הָאֵל for האלה, אֶסּוֹן, עֶרְף, הַתִּילָד for which we read elsewhere הַתִּישָׁב, פָּלֵא נָדָר and שַׁבַּת שְׁבִתוֹן, הַפְּלִיא נָדָר for which we read elsewhere עֲשֵׂתְרוֹת הַצֶּאֱזָן, טָנָא, פָּרַס, כֶּסֶס, יִשְׁכַּכָּה, קִכְבּ, אִישׁ לִיהוּה, מִגְלָה.

* הוּא is used as a feminine almost two hundred times in the Pentateuch. The use of this word and נֶעַר as feminines is acknowledged to be an archaism even by those who deny the authenticity of the Pentateuch: e. g. VATER. *Comm. ueber d. Pent.* S. 616. GESENIUS *Gesch. der Heb. Sprache und Schrift*, S. 31.: ROSEN. *Prolegomena in Pent.* p. 30. *Tr.*]

† [These, and all the other peculiar forms of the Pentateuch, are fully treated of in a posthumous dissertation of Jahn's, entitled *Beitraege zur Vertheidigung der Aechtheit des Pentateuchs*, published in the *Archiv fuer die Theologie und ihre neueste Literatur*, herausgeg. von E. G. BENDEL, Th. II. (*Tubing.* 1818.) Part 3. ROSEN. *ubi sup.* p. 31. *Tr.*]

‡ [For instance, the peculiar inflexions of the future, so common in the Pentateuch, occur *only seven* times in all the other books of the Old Testament. ROSEN. *ubi sup.* p. 31. *Tr.*]

§ [In his subsequent researches he extended the number to more than *two hundred*, all of which are given in his *Beitraege u. s. f. ubi sup.* S. 585—630. See also for a list of words common in later writings, but never or rarely found in the Pentateuch. *Beitraege u. s. f. ubi sup.* S. 168—202. ROSEN. *ubi sup.* *Tr.*]

אבות, שגר, האלפים, בית אבות, קבל, אור, אשרי, אלהי צפאז, יהוה צפאז, כל, תכל, גיל, קטר, עלס, חסין, דרום, הוה, טלה, בויץ, השניח, שאג, אתה, בשר, קלס, אולת, אויל, ער, הרום, חסיר, לנצח, הלל, עלץ, עלז, ער for eternity, &c.

IV. The style of this work is in the poetical parts elegant and sublime, in the prose perspicuous, and better than that of any other Hebrew book, such, in short, as might be expected from one brought up in a palace, and possessing a cultivated genius. Yet it is by no means everywhere alike, being in Deuteronomy much more verbose, and in the exhortations more vehement and oratorical; all which is natural to an old age of activity and solicitude respecting the condition of posterity. The order of discourse is not everywhere the most convenient, but sometimes unnatural; it frequently runs on in broken and unconnected fragments, many of which are wound up with distinct conclusions. All this shows a writer distracted by a multiplicity of business; writing not continuously, but with frequent interruptions, and in the constant anticipation of interruption, and for this reason terminating parts of his work with special conclusions. It shows a writer who had been many years occupied in his work, and who, during their course had somewhat changed his style and language: a writer who, perhaps, has dictated, as was frequently the custom, some parts of his works to an amanuensis, which would in some measure vary the style; or who has incorporated into his own work certain public records written by the proper officers. Such is exactly the style that might be expected from Moses, who, while burdened with so many duties, often interrupted, distracted by frequent journeys

* [To these may be added: נאסף אל-עמיו, for *to die*, for which the later books have either נאסף אל-אבותיו (Jud. ii. 10. II Chr. xxxiv. 28.) or נאסף אל-קברותיו (II Ki. xxii. 20. II Chr. xxxiv. 28.): נלה ערוה, *de coitu*; the phrase occurring only in another sense, Ezek. xvi. 36. s.: דגה occurs only Gen. xlviii. 16. and זכר only Gen. xxx. 20. ROSEN. ubi sup. p. 32. Tr.]

from place to place, executed these works during the space of forty years, and at last wrote Deuteronomy when old and near his end.

V. The selection and arrangement of materials shew that the author was a legislator who narrated the history of his own legislation.—1) In his introduction, which he commences with the most ancient history, he narrates and carefully recommends to notice those things in preference to others which tend to prepare the way for the subsequent system of legislation, and for the theocracy and all the arrangements which it would involve :* such are the worship of one God the creator and governor of all things, derived from the first man ; its confirmation in the divine promises to the patriarchs ;—the sacrifices of the patriarchs ;—and the divinely effected deliverance from Egypt, which was the beginning of the fulfilment of the promises, &c.—2) To the history of his legislation he adds scarcely any other matters than such as gave occasion to laws, or to the enforcement of obedience to their dictates ; or which related to the rebellious struggles of the people : and yet, in going on, as if he had been pressed for time, or fatigued with writing, he is often silent concerning actions or proposed questions which gave rise to new laws, whence it happens that many parts of his work consist of broken fragments.—3) He gives the laws almost entirely in that order in which they were promulgated, inserting everywhere not only the histories of the events which happened at the same time, but even the exhortations to obedience, the promises, and the threats, by which they were accompanied.—4) He repeats and explains some laws which in the lapse of years had become neglected, or were perverted by erroneous interpretations, or had given rise to doubts ; and 5) he changes others, which, in the progress of time did not correspond to altered circumstances, or had given occasion to abuse.—No one but the legislator himself would have conceived so truly of the nature and order of legislation, as not to interpose some things not pertinent to the subject, or of recent origin ;—as not to choose some more convenient arrangement of the laws, suggested by the connexion of their subjects and of their natures, in preference to that agreeing with the order of their promulgation ;—or, at least, as not to have avoided repetitions

* [See note [a] to § 2.]

of the same laws, and particularly of those wherein changes had been introduced in accommodation to altered times and circumstances.[a]

[a] To the contents of this section, De Wette can only reply, with respect to the 2d head, that the later Hebrews might, by their political and mercantile connexions with Egypt, have obtained sufficiently accurate knowledge of its concerns, and that the accounts relating to Canaan and the neighbouring countries are unsatisfactory and contradictory; this last assertion he attempts to prove, (§ 149 anm. c.) but without success: with respect to the rest he merely says that "the analogy of the whole history of the language and literature of the Hebrews contradicts the supposition that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch;" (§ 163. anm.) adding, that "it is inconceivable that one man should create the whole literature of a nation in all its extent, both as to matter and as to language." (anm. d.) Such arguments are their own confutation.

For full answers to the objections of Le Clerc and others against the genuineness of the Pentateuch, see WITSII *Miscellanea Sacra*, Lib. I. c. xiv. and especially GRAVES on the Pentateuch, Vol. I. App. i.

A full statement of the internal evidence for the genuineness of the Pentateuch may be found in GRAVES' *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, Lect. II. III. and IV. He derives his proofs from the facts related (pp. 57. ss); from the minuteness and consistency of the details (pp. 62. ss.); from the entire impartiality of the writer (pp. 72. ss.), especially respecting the family of Moses (pp. 76. ss.) and Moses himself, compared with the treatment of the same subject by Josephus (pp. 78—87.); from a comparison of Deuteronomy with the three preceding books, and of these with one another, (Lect. III.); from the circumstances accompanying the miraculous events which are narrated (Lect. IV.); and from the connexion of these miraculous events with the ordinary history of the Jews (Lect. V.). All this is executed in a very able manner. The review of the character of Moses, as given in the Pentateuch, and the examination of the miraculous punishment of Korah and his company (pp. 154. ss.) are particularly well worth consulting. *Tr.*]

§ 4. *Moses styles himself the author of the Pentateuch.*

From what has been hitherto observed, it evidently follows, that Moses not only may have been, but in all probability really was, the author of the Pentateuch. This is also the express assertion of the writer himself, repeatedly made in divers places, where the same arrangement, the same style and language, and the same signs of affection and solicitude which were noticed in other parts of the work, are

observable. Thus Deut. xxxi. 9—13, 22, 24. ss., he says that the whole book was written by himself *from the beginning to the end*, and was by him committed to the nobles and the priests, that it might be kept in the holy place of the tabernacle with the ark of the covenant, and every seven years, at the feast of tabernacles, be read to the whole assembled people. Those who say that this passage relates only to Deuteronomy, must remember what has been before observed, that throughout this book the existence of Numbers, Leviticus, Exodus, and Genesis, is taken for granted. All these writings, therefore, are referred to by Moses, where, when he speaks collectively of all the antecedent writings, as he does not only in Deut. xxxi. 9—13, 22, 24. ss., but also Deut. i. 5. iv. 44. s. xvii. 18. xxviii. 58, 61. xxix. 19. s., 26. xxx. 10., he calls them *הַתּוֹרָה*, *the law*, and *הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת*, *this law*, using by a metonymy the thing contained for that containing, as he himself proves by calling the same writings *סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה*, *the book of the law*. In all these expressions *תּוֹרָה* (*the law*) signifies properly *doctrine* and especially *religious doctrine*, to which not only the laws themselves, but also the doctrine concerning the true God, and all the history of the divine promises and threats, benefits and chastisements, and of the other acts of Providence, by which that doctrine was founded, preserved, afterwards purged from Egyptian superstitions, and at last permanently established by a civil theocracy, may be considered as pertaining. And as these divine acts are narrated not merely in Deuteronomy (where, on the contrary, they are only recapitulated briefly and so as to show that their being mentioned elsewhere was presumed to be well known,) but also, and with more exactness and copiousness, in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; the names, *the law*, *this law*, *the book of the law*, must refer to all these books, and designate them as one work, not yet divided into five books. This application of these names is confirmed by the following circumstances.

I. In Ex. xvii. 14. God commands Moses to record the violence offered by the Amalekites to the Hebrews when fatigued and weak in consequence of their journey, the battle which ensued, and the threat of future extermination issued against them, *בְּסֵפֶר*, *in THE book*, or.

if the reading כִּסְפָר is preferred, *in a book*.* According to either reading, it is evident that Moses had already written, or had begun to write, a historical book.

II. Ex. xxiv. 4, 7. xxxiv. 27, it is remarked that Moses preserved in writing, not the laws only, but also the several appearances of the Deity, and, therefore, historical facts.

III. Num. xxxiii. 1. s., Moses is said to have written an account of the encampments of the Hebrews in Arabia, which is certainly mere matter of history.—If then Moses from the departure from Egypt downward, recorded the laws promulgated together with the various historical events in a particular book, this could be none other than that which, Deut. i. 5. iv. 44. ss. xvii. 18. xxviii. 59, 61. xxix. 19. s., 26. xxx. 10. xxxi. 9—13, 22. 24. ss., he calls *the law, this law*, and *the book of the law*, and which he publicly delivered to the priests and princes of the people, to be preserved in the holy place of the tabernacle. These form testimonies for the authorship of Moses much more weighty than any that can be adduced for that of any other ancient writer. For 1) the publication of no ancient book was equally solemn, public, and known to all its contemporaries: 2) the authorship of no ancient writer is equally certain, or, in the then prevalent scarcity of books, could be handed down to posterity with equal facility: 3) no other book was, like this, preserved in a public and most sacred place; or 4) received, like this, a public and perpetual testimony from the public observance of laws contained in it, which were never totally and entirely neglected. For the laws contained in the Pentateuch were observed for these very reasons, that they were written in the book of Moses, and that they were promulgated by the authority of that God who had created the universe, had sent the deluge upon a disobedient world, had given ample promises to the patriarchs, part of which he had already accomplished, and, lastly, had performed such wondrous miracles in Egypt and Arabia. (Comp. P. I. §. 8.) It may not be amiss to prove more particularly

* [ROSENMUELLER (Schol. in V. T. Prol. in Pent. p. 5.) does not hesitate to adopt the reading כִּסְפָר, and infers from the use of the article the notoriety of the book. Tr.]

the existence of this perpetual testimony to Moses' being the author of the Pentateuch, which we shall accordingly do by considering each point in its proper order. [a]

Those who assert that these arguments are insufficient to prove that any thing more than the laws contained in these books came down from Moses, seem not to have considered thoroughly what they would require. Would they have a notice added to every section, purporting that Moses was the author of that section? Who ever thought of demanding such proof of the genuineness of any other ancient writing, such as the history of Herodotus, of Diodorus, of Abulfeda, of Makrizi, &c., even though it were written in detached fragments? Although the Pentateuch is composed of fragments, yet every thing has a bearing upon the general design, the increase of religion and morality, by doctrine, by laws, by history, by promises, and by threats. The ancient orientals, and even those of a much more recent age, were not possessed of that art of writing, which enables one to arrange diverse and discordant materials in one connected whole. Lastly, Moses, burdened with such a multiplicity of ecclesiastical, civil, and judicial affairs, and perplexed by such frequent journeys, had not the leisure which more recent writers have enjoyed for polishing and equalizing their writings. Yet even these afford not a few instances of unconnected passages, the authenticity of which might be called in question with as much reason as that of similarly defective parts of the work of Moses: so that he might well say to his extravagant critics:—
ὁ αναμαρτήτος ὕμνων πρῶτος τον λιθον ἐπ' ἐμοι ἔαλετω.

[a] From this section the following inferences may be drawn: 1) That Moses immediately after the Exode and onward committed to writing the laws and history. 2) That this composition of his own is called by him indifferently *the book of the law*, and *the law*, and consequently, that these two expressions, when used of the law in general, are perfectly synonymous. 3) That he committed the book publicly to the priests and civil officers. 4) That he commanded it to be preserved alongside of the ark; and, 5) to be read before the whole body of the people every seventh year.]

[The only reply given by De Wette to the argument in this section consists in *the assertions*, that Ex. xvii. 14. xxiv. 4, 7. xxxiv. 27. Num. xxxiii. 2. refer to single memoranda written by Moses, as to ancient and authentic documents, and that the clumsiness of the forgery in Deut. xxviii. 58, 61. xxix. 19, 26. xxxi. 9, 19, 24, 30. is evident at the first inspection! (Lehrb. d. h. k. Einleit. § 163. S. 232. Tr.)

§ 5. *The contents of the Pentateuch have been publicly known in all ages.*

That the contents of the Pentateuch were publicly known in all ages, from Joshua downward, is evident from the form of the civil and ecclesiastical polity, and from the political and religious laws which were founded on the history and authority of the Mosaic miracles, and were never without considerable influence, so that although some were occasionally neglected for a time, yet invariably after a while all things were again restored according to these laws. In the subsequent books of every succeeding age, references are made to the history as well as to the laws contained in the Pentateuch. In the *historical books*, those actions are always praised which are conformable to the laws of Moses, and such as are contrary to them, are censured. The *Psalms* and *Proverbs* breathe the very spirit of the Pentateuch. The prophets continually urge obedience to this book, cite thence many passages of history, and promise and threaten the same things that it promises and threatens. In a word, it may be said, that all the more recent books are commentaries upon the Pentateuch. Comp. Germ. Introd. P. II. § 5. pp. 25—40.[*a*]

[*a*] In the section of the German work here referred to, the author has entered very particularly into this subject. He has brought together a vast number of texts from the other Hebrew writings, all of which relate to the Pentateuch, referring to the Deity in the light in which he is therein represented, as the Maker of all things, and as **JEHOVAH** the God of the Hebrews—to the call of Abraham and almost all the historical facts which are recounted in the books of Moses—and to the various laws, institutions, promises, and threatenings therein contained. And it is not without reason that he observes, that the more pious and intelligent among the Hebrews could not satisfactorily have explained to themselves their own conduct, views and institutions without a knowledge of the Pentateuch, and that whoever can admit the absurdities which the supposition that the Pentateuch did not then exist must involve in regard to such a people, must be strangely deficient in common sense. *Tr.*]

§ 6. *The contents of the Pentateuch were known in every age under the name of the LAW OF JEHOVAH.*

The contents of the Pentateuch are mentioned in every subsequent age by the appellation "*the Law*," as the proper name of the work.

and even by the fuller title of "*the Law of Jehovah.*" And as the Hebrews are, in Deuteronomy, directed to retain in their memory not only the laws, but also the historical events, and the divine favours, recorded in these books, and to reflect frequently upon them, and to transmit them to their posterity for their observance; so the same directions are to be found in Josh. i. 7. s., and are perpetually repeated in all the other books, Ps. i. 1—6, viii. 7. ss., xii. 6. s., xix. 1—12, xxxiii. 5—9, lxvi. 5. s., lxxvii. 15—21, xcix. 7. s., civ. 3; in the time of David, Ps. cxix. 1—176, lxxviii. 2—15, lxxxii. 4—8; in the time of Solomon, Ps. cv. 1—45: in the time of Rehoboam or Abijah, Ps. lxxviii. 1—55; and during the captivity, Ps. cvi. 1—48. Comp. I. Chr. xvi. 8—23, xxii. 11—13, II. Ki. xvii. 13, 15, 19, Prov. vi. 23, xxviii. 4, 7, 9. The passages of this kind in the writings of the prophets are almost innumerable. If it be objected that in none of these passages are the very words of the Pentateuch cited, it is sufficient to reply that it was not the custom of the ancients to cite passages verbally. Comp. Num. x. 35. with Ps. lxxviii. 2; Ex. xxxiv. 6, and Num. xiv. 18, with Ps. lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, cxlv. 8, Joel ii. 13, Jon. iv. 2; Num. xiv. 22. s., with Ps. xcvi. 7; Num. xxiii. 19. with I Sam. xv. 29; Lev. xxvi. 5, with Amos ix. 13.

§ 7. *The Pentateuch was known as* THE LAW OF MOSES.

As the Pentateuch is mentioned in all the other books by the names of *the Law*, and *the Law of Jehovah*; so also is it frequently mentioned by the appellation of *the Law of Moses*, or of *the Law which God gave by the hand of Moses*, and both these names frequently occur in such a connexion as to make it evident that *the Law*, *the Law of God*, *the Law of Moses*, and *the Law which God gave by the hand of Moses*, are one and the same book, namely, the Pentateuch, which Moses had already, as we have seen §4, distinguished by the name of *the Law*. Mention of the Pentateuch by the name of *the Law of Moses*, is very frequent in the book of Joshua, which, although it is much more recent than the age of Joshua, was yet compiled almost verbally from documents coeval with Joshua, as we shall hereafter see.[a] Similar mention occurs everywhere in the books of Judges, Kings, and Chronicles, and in the Prophets: e. g. Ju. iii. 4.

II Ki. xviii. 12. xxi. 7. s. I Chr. xv. 15. II Chr. viii. 13. xxx. 16. xxxiii. 8. Isa. lxiii. 11—14. Jer. xv. 1. &c.

[a] That such compilations are common among the orientals, see ROMEL in Abulfedæ Descript. Arab. § 4. p. 10. CHR. MART. FRAEHN Egyptus auctore Ibn al Vardi § 2. JOH. MELCH. HARTMANN Edrisii Africa ed II. p. lxxiv. s. REISKE Praef. Annal. Moslem. Abulfedæ p. 12. and Prodidagm. ad Hagi Chalph. Tab. p. 223. [Conp. BAUERI Hermeneut. Sac. Vet. Test. Part II. sect. ii. § 89. p. 366. s. Tr.]

§ 8. *The Pentateuch has been known in all ages, as THE BOOK OF MOSES.*

That this *Law, Law of Jehovah, Law of Moses, Law which Jehovah gave by the hand of Moses*, was not an oral tradition, but a book distinguished by these names, is attested in many passages. Thus, immediately after the death of Moses, Joshua is admonished, Josh. i. 7. s. *to read the book of the law of Moses perpetually*; and Joshua, c. xxiii. 3—16, exhorts the elders of Israel to do all the things which *are written in the book of the law of Moses*, and cites from it, not only many laws, but also *histories*, and *threats*, and *promises*. So also Joshua in the last assembly of the people recites in a few words the principal heads of the Pentateuch, renews the covenant of the people with God, and writes it in the end of *the book of the Law of Jehovah*, which is no other than what c. i. 7. s. and xxiii. 6. is called *the book of the Law of Moses*, these being two names of the same Pentateuch, just as in c. viii. what is called v. 34, *the book of the law*, in v. 32 is called *the book of the Law of Moses*. Those who contend that '*the book of the Law*' is the appellation of the writings of the more ancient author and that '*the book of the law of Moses*' designates the production of a later compiler, assume this for the sake of a hypothesis, and cannot prove it: on the contrary, we shall have occasion hereafter to observe an interchange of these appellations similar to that already noticed.—David, Ps. xl. 8, mentions *the volume of the book*, in which God required of the king, not sacrifices, but a willingness to do those things with which God is well pleased; and, Ps. cxix, frequently repeats that he reads, meditates upon, and keeps the law of God, according to the commandment, Deut. xvii. 18—20. He enjoins, I Chr. xvi. 40, that sacrifices should be offered at Gibeon according to the statutes of *the law of Moses*; and in his dying address

to his son, he attributes *this law*, contained in *the volume of the book*, to Moses; I Ki. ii. 3. I Chr. xvi. 40. xxii. 13.—Jehoshaphat, II Chr. xvii. 9, sends priests and Levites with *the book of the Law of Jehovah* (which is certainly the same with *the book of the Law of Moses*, as in Josh. xxiv. 26. I Ki. ii. 3. I Chr. xvi. 40. xxii. 13,) throughout the cities and villages, to instruct the people.—Jehoiada gives orders, II Chr. xxiii. 18, that burnt offerings should be offered, as it is *written in the law of Moses*.—Amaziah, II Chron. xxv. 4. II Ki. xiv. 6, spares the sons of murderers, as it is *written in the law of Moses, wherein Jehovah commanded it*. In the reign of Hezekiah, not only is mention made, II Ki. xvii. 37, of the *written book of the law of Jehovah*, but also, II Chr. xxx. 16—18. xxxi. 3, 4, 21, this king causes the Passover to be celebrated as it is *written in the book of the Law of Jehovah*. Here *the book of the law of Moses*, and *the book of the law of Jehovah* are evidently one and the same work, so that the efforts of Bertholdt, who endeavours to establish a difference between them, are in vain.—Under Josiah, II Ki. xxii. 8—10, *the book of the Law* was found in the temple: in the parallel place, II Chr. xxxiv. 15, it is called *the book of the law of Jehovah by the hand of Moses*.—Josiah, II Ki. xxiii. 21. II Chr. xxxv. 6—12, 26, celebrates the Passover according to *the word of Jehovah by the hand of Moses*, according to *all the things that are written in the book of the covenant*, sets apart those things which are to be offered to God, as it is *written in the book of Moses*, and does many other things according to *the law of Jehovah*: II Ki. xxiii. 24. s., he puts away necromancers, magicians, and idols, as it is *written in the law of Moses*, and seeks God in all things according to *the law of Moses*.—During the captivity, the *book of the law of Moses* is mentioned by Daniel, c. ix. 11—13, and after it, the *written law of Moses* is mentioned previously to the coming of Ezra, Ezr. iii. 2, and Ezra is styled by the king of Persia ‘learned in *the law of Moses*,’ Ezr. vii. 6, 21. Comp. Neh. i. 7. ss. viii. 7. s., 14, 19. ix. 19.—From all this it is evident that *the Law, the Law of Jehovah, the Law of Moses, the Law of Jehovah given by Moses*, which are so often mentioned in the Historical books, the Psalms, and the Prophets, are *the book of the Law of Moses*; and hence arises a series of testimony continuing through every age, in proof that the Pentateuch has been attributed to Moses from the

time of Joshua downward. Inasmuch then, as the contents of the Pentateuch have been known in every age, and very many particulars have been cited from it in all the subsequent books, (as we have shown in § 5,) which particulars are yet to be found in it, it is evident that the book of Moses so often mentioned, and attested by so many witnesses, is none other than our Pentateuch. Comp. the remarks on the national testimony to the genuineness of the sacred books, P. I. § 8.

Vater, in his Comment. in Pentat. T. III. asserts, that these arguments only prove that certain laws and ancient written histories existed under such names, not that the whole Pentateuch did, which, says he, consists of parts entirely unconnected, many of which have been interpolated into the writings of Moses at some later period. The reasoning, however, by which he endeavours to support this assertion, is nothing more than conjecture, or rather, mere suspicion.—De Wette, in his *Beyträgen zur Einleitung ins A. T.*, and Augusti, in his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, think that there is such a coherence in the whole Pentateuch as proves the book to be an epic poem. But not to speak of the artifices which they have used to make their improbable theory appear somewhat reasonable, and in some way or other to avoid the difficulties which present themselves, the arguments which they bring in support of their opinion, would prove with equal certainty that every historical book which contains *an entire* history, is an epic poem. Comp. *Jenaer Litt. Zeit.* 1. Jan. 1812, and *Leipsic Litt. Zeit.* 9. Jan. 1812.

[De Wette (*Lehrb. d. h. k. Einleit.* § 161) has attempted to answer the reasoning of Jahn in this section, but with the same ‘artifice’ of which J. complains, and with an unparalleled degree of rashness. His course of argument consists in making a distinction between evidence of the existence of laws and historic facts, and evidence of the existence of the account of these laws and facts now known as the Pentateuch, and then rejecting as spurious and posterior to the captivity every passage belonging to the latter class. *Tr.*]

§ 9. *Moses was the author of Genesis.*

Since the events which are narrated in Genesis and in the first chapter of Exodus are alluded to in the time of Joshua and in all the following ages as well known, equally with those in the remaining books; it may be justly inferred that Genesis, from the time of Joshua downward, has been comprehended under the general titles of *the Law, the*

Law of Jehovah, the Law of Moses, and the Book of the Law of Moses, and thus attributed to Moses. There is the less room for doubting this, inasmuch as Genesis and the first chapters of Exodus form a necessary introduction to what follows,* and, on the contrary, in the remaining books of the Pentateuch there are frequent references to the events narrated in Genesis and the first chapters of Exodus; so that both parts are closely connected in such a manner that neither would be perfect without the other. The Hebrews, reduced during their residence in Egypt to the worship of creatures, and, as had been foreseen by Moses, thenceforward continually prone to idolatry, needed the instruction given in Genesis and the former part of Exodus respecting the nature of the Deity whom they, at mount Sinai, had acknowledged as their king, whose laws they had received, and to whom they professed their reverence and gratitude for his mercies by their sabbaths and solemn feasts, by their sacrifices and first fruits, by their obedience to his laws, and by all their acts of homage and worship. If they had been unacquainted with this part of the Pentateuch, they must have been ignorant of the nature of the Deity whom they professed to worship; they could not at that remote period have known their king as *God the creator and governor of the universe*; they could not have understood his frequently recurrent titles, *the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob*; they could not have been able to ascertain what was meant by the frequent references to the promises made to the patriarchs; and they must have been entirely in the dark as to the number and nature of those wonderful works which are so frequently mentioned in the remaining books of Moses. On all these subjects *oral tradition* (which, however our adversaries may dislike it elsewhere, they think proper on this occasion to extol) must, by the general lapse of idolatry, have been exceedingly depraved, if not totally obliterated, in the course of ages. He, therefore, who, in his care for the information of the Hebrews even of later ages, committed the other parts of the Pentateuch to writing, would not have left instruction and information so necessary to the Hebrews, especially those of later ages, as that contained in the book of Genesis and the former part of Exodus, to be supplied by oral tradition, nor is it credible that he did.[a]

* [See note [a] on § 2.]

{a) Comp. the Germ. introd. P. II. § 9. pp. 51—60, where the author goes considerably into detail, and shows particularly the tendency of the contents of Genesis to prevent the Israelites from falling into idolatry.

The arguments brought by De Wette (§ 158) to prove the modern origin of Genesis, (which he ascribes to some period between David and Joram,) are either such as those noticed by Jahn below, (note to § 17) or are founded on the assumption that miracles and prophecy are impossible. For instance: the miraculous events related in Genesis prove that a long interval of time elapsed between the transactions which it records and the date of its compilation; *for such accounts can only owe their origin to popular report, which must have been of very long standing to become exaggerated in the degree in which it is given in Genesis.* The prophecies concerning the future history of the tribes and concerning the Messiah, Gen. xlix, and that concerning the subjection and recovered freedom of Edom, c. xxvii. 40, are, among others, considered as *proofs* that the book was written at a late period of the kingly government. *Tr.*]

§ 10. *Interpolations in the Pentateuch.*

It is not to be expected that these books should have so far escaped the common fate of ancient works as to remain free from interpolation. For although the Hebrews held them in such high esteem as religiously to abstain from purposely or fraudulently altering any thing contained in them: yet this did not prevent their occasionally adding historical supplements, such as the titles, Deut. i. 1—4. iv. 44—49, and the last two chapters of Deuteronomy; nor did it hinder the transcribers from sometimes inserting into the text explanations of obsolete names and things written in the margin, under the impression that they were really parts of the books to which they were appended. The Rabbins had already noticed eighteen passages of this kind, which, however, are not all equally certain interpolations. Modern writers have, with more or less justice, marked many other passages as interpolated. Thus the genealogy, Ex. vi. 14—29; the note respecting the age of Moses and Aaron, Ex. vii. 7; the passage Ex. xi. 3; and Deut. ii. 10—12, 20—24. iii. 9—11, 13. s. x. 6—9. Num. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14, undoubtedly do not belong to the text.* The genuineness of the remark that Moses was exceedingly meek (עָנָו), made Num. xii. 3, is, at least, doubtful. But that Gen. xxxvi.

* [See GLASSH Philol. Sac. ed. BAUERO. Tom. II. p. 174. s. *Tr.*]

is an insertion of modern date, cannot be proved. Comp. Germ. Introd. P. II. § 10. p. 61--70. These and the other interpolations are nevertheless very ancient, since they are found also in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and must therefore have been established in the text in the reign of Rehoboam.—They who from such passages (which could not have been written by Moses, or at least would seem not to have been written by him,) however numerous they may be, conclude that others also, which labour under no similar difficulties, but merely contain accounts of miracles, were not written by him, argue from particulars to generals. This mode of argument, always illogical, is the more particularly inadmissible in the present question, as the character of the whole Pentateuch points out an author in every respect similar to Moses, and as there is a continual series of witnesses from Joshua downward through all ages, who unanimously attest that Moses was the author.—It is possible that some things may, in the lapse of time, have fallen out of the text ; as, for instance, the blessing of the tribe of Simeon, from Deut. xxxiii.[a]

[a] Comp. HORNE Introd. Vol. I. p. 64. ss. ed. 4th. Tr.]

§ 11. *The Pentateuch is not a compilation of a recent date.*

Some have supposed that the Pentateuch was compiled in the age of David or in that of the Babylonish captivity, partly from laws, the only written documents left by Moses, and partly from oral traditions, poems, historical fragments, hieroglyphic inscriptions, and public monuments erected in memory of past events, in the use of all which the compiler was frequently obliged to resort to conjecture for their signification. This, however, is altogether repugnant to historical evidence. The Samaritans have received the same Pentateuch which the Jews possess, from a priest of the ten tribes, which tribes certainly would not have received from the kingdom of Judah a book establishing not only their *religion* but also *the form of civil government, and the laws by which it should be administered*. Hence it follows that the Pentateuch of the Samaritans must have existed in the state in which they received it for an immemorial period of time antecedent to the separation of the ten tribes. Less antiquity cannot be assigned it, inasmuch as Jeroboam, who left no means unemployed

to alienate the ten tribes from the posterity of David and the kingdom of Judah, would certainly have brought into public notice those ancient writings, which only are now by some authors allowed to have been the production of Moses, if the least knowledge of them had existed. In such case, there could not have been wanting old men of eighty or ninety years of age, who would have said that their fathers or grandfathers had spoken of other writings of Moses than those then extant, or that their fathers had heard from their ancestors of the existence of such writings. Jeroboam, that he might the more thoroughly alienate the minds of his subjects from the kingdom of Judah, would have sought out confirmation of their report, and would have found and restored the ancient work of Moses: or at least would have made use of this pretext to reject or alter parts of the Pentateuch which were contrary to his interests, such as the history of the golden calf, the laws establishing the tribe of Levi in the sacred ministry, and that determining the month in which the feast of tabernacles was to be celebrated.—Again, as the autograph of Moses was preserved in the holy place of the tabernacle, and as it was not only read over every seven years, but copies of it were also in constant use among the priests and many of the laity, especially *the judges*; a new compilation of the work could not have been made without giving rise to commotions and disputes which would not have been silently passed over in the history of those times.—From these remarks it follows, *first*, that our Pentateuch is at least 200 years, i. e. five or six generations, older than the time of Solomon; consequently that they mistake who suppose it to have been enlarged and brought into its present form in the age of David or Samuel. But as there is no reason for suspecting such a compilation to have been made 200 years before the time of Solomon (which brings us to the age of the Judges) it follows, *secondly*, that the book of the law of Moses, mentioned Josh. i. 3—8. viii. 31—35. xxiv. 26, was the same with the book known by that name in the age of Rehoboam, with the Samaritan Pentateuch and with ours.[a]

[a] For an excellent statement of the argument in this § see GRAVES on the Pentateuch. Lect. I. Vol. I. *Tr.*]

§ 12. *Arguments urged against the genuineness of the Pentateuch.*

The proofs by which some writers have satisfied themselves that Moses wrote nothing more than the laws which are contained in the Pentateuch, and that the historical parts have been added in a more modern age from traditions or mythi,* turn principally on the narration of miracles: the remainder of the work they readily leave to Moses. The implied syllogism,† therefore, upon which they rely, is the following: "If Moses had written these accounts of miracles, the miracles which they describe must have been true and divine: but *miracles are impossible*; therefore Moses did not write these accounts." The very point, therefore, which was to be proved, is taken for granted; taken for granted, I say, for the arguments by which they endeavour to shew that *miracles are impossible*, are nothing but vain play upon words, with which the schools of philosophy have always abounded, as the history of ancient and modern philosophy, and even of that of the present day, abundantly evinces. However this may be, all such arguments, grounded on philosophical dogmas, are entirely without weight in critical and historical discussions. The rest of the arguments which they offer, only go to prove that the Pentateuch may *possibly be*, or may *possibly* on historic grounds *be conceived to be*, a spurious work, or a compilation from the traditions of a modern age: a conclusion which, if similar indulgence be given to suspicion and conjecture may in like manner be formed of almost any other ancient book. The point to be proved is, that it is *impossible* that the Pentateuch *should be*, or, on historic grounds *should be conceived to be*, the genuine work of Moses, and that it must necessarily be a more recent work, and *be so reputed*: this is what should have been proved by historical and critical arguments. It is by no means sufficient to have started doubts, to have urged suspicions, to

* [This word is retained, as no English word is known which exactly corresponds to its signification in its peculiar acceptation among the German Theologians. *Tr.*]

† [This is the openly avowed course of reasoning of De Wette. 'Common sense determines' says he 'that such miracles are impossible. It may, however, be inquired whether some events did not really happen which to eye-witnesses and contemporaries seemed to be miraculous. This also must receive an answer in the negative, as soon as we inspect the narration with any degree of closeness.—The result is already obtained, that the narration is *not contemporary, nor derived from contemporary sources.*' Einleit. § 145. 77]

have framed conjectures, to have found fault with the fragmentary arrangement of the work, to have observed some variation in the style and language, and to have picked out some passage not suiting Moses or his age, but interpolated. It should be shewn that the character of the writer, the subject, the language, the style, the form and disposition of the work, and the object of the whole or of its parts, are *altogether irreconcilable* with the character of Moses, with his age and with his places of residence, so that they *can not possibly* have originated from that author or in that age, and *can not possibly be historically considered* as the work of Moses or of his age. For let it be remembered that in this controversy the opponents and defenders are by no means similarly situated. The latter have for their strong hold the subscription of the author, Deut. xxxi. 9—13, 22, 24. ss., and the mention of him Num. xxxiii. 1. s. Ex. xvii. 14. xxiv. 4—7. xxxiv. 27; as also, the testimonies of others, from Joshua downwards (Comp. above § 5—8): this strong hold is impregnable, inasmuch as no contrary testimony can be adduced to prove that the Pentateuch was compiled at a later period, nor even any certain grounds for suspicion that this has been the case, e. g. such as would be afforded by historical testimony that disputes had at any time arisen concerning the form, contents, and size, of the Mosaic books. That the testimony for the genuineness of these books may be rendered suspicious by little sophisms, proves nothing, since it is possible, by conjectures and artifices of this sort, to render the veracity of the most honest man so doubtful as that even an upright judge may hesitate. The least that can be required, is to prove, first, that the author himself and all subsequent witnesses either could not, or would not, speak the truth, and, secondly, that *the Pentateuch can in nowise be, or be considered, a production of Moses or his age*. If, from the arrangement in broken fragments, from the repetitions, from laws which in subsequent passages are to be met with in an altered form, from the sometimes unnatural order, and from other similar circumstances, it is concluded that the work cannot be the production of Moses; it ought to be shown, that Moses *could not* have composed a work in that manner. If a diversity of authors is to be inferred from the diversity of style; it must be shown that the style of Moses *could not* and *ought not to be expected* to change during forty years spent in so

many and so great vicissitudes as he experienced, and that he neither could nor might be expected to make occasional use of an amanuensis, or make extracts from the records of his secretaries. And after all, what is the diversity of style? Not such, in fact, as that which is observed between the Syriac history of Dynasties written by Bar Hebraeus, and its continuation from p. 573; not such as there is between the genuine works of Cicero and the book de Consolatione ascribed to him; nor yet such as there is between the book of Deuteronomy and its two last chapters. The differences which are urged are mere minutiae, for instance such as these: that the same mountain is in Exodus always called *Sinai*, in Deuteronomy *Horeb*; that in Deuteronomy the phrase *בָּעַר הָרַע מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל* (*to remove the evil away from Israel*) is frequently applied to capital punishment, (comp. xiii. 6. xvii. 7, 12. xix. 19. xxi. 21,) whereas in the other books *וַיִּכְרֹתָ הַנְּפֹשׁ הַחַיָּה מֵעַמּוּתָהּ* (*to cut off the soul from its people, or, the soul is cut off*), are substituted. But to derive any advantage from these, it must be previously shown that Moses neither could nor ought to have used different words to express the same thing at different intervals during many years. Add to this that mention of Horeb does occur in Exodus c. iii. 1. xvii. 6. xxxiii. 6; namely, when the foot of the mountain is referred to, it is called Horeb; when the summit, Sinai.—That a great deal too much stress has been laid upon the slightness of the difference between the language of the Pentateuch and that of the later books, has been already shown § 3, and P. I. § 75: it may be not amiss, however, to add some further observations. A difference between the language of the Pentateuch and that of the Psalms and the more ancient prophets, and again between the language of these and that of the books which were written during or after the captivity, does certainly exist: it is not, indeed, great, but, as all who are competent to judge of the subject allow, sufficient to attract the attention of an observant reader. Now the Psalms of David preceded the writings of Nehemiah and Malachi almost 600 years, during which period both the nation and its language suffered considerable shocks: yet the difference between the language of the Psalms and that of the later works is not much greater than that which exists between the language of the former

and the language of the Pentateuch, although only 500 years elapsed between the two, and through that time the nation and language were by no means subjected to such injuries as during the other period. The small degree of change is easily accounted for by the facts, that the orientals prefer adherence to ancient customs before innovation, that the Hebrews were encircled by nations who used the same dialect or one very little different. and that their writers were accustomed to form their style by reading the Pentateuch.[*a*] Lastly, even on the supposition of our opponents, Moses wrote the *laws* which are contained in the Pentateuch and yet the difference between the language in which they are embodied and that of the subsequent books is not greater than that between the historical parts and the same books : so that the hypothesis in question does not at all lessen the difficulty. In fine, let those who find difficulty in the number of miracles, and on that account endeavour to deliver Moses from the imputation of having recorded them. recollect, that numerous as they were, they scarcely sufficed to keep the Hebrews in order.[*b*] Moreover, we must not suppose that in every place where it is said that God spake to Moses, an extraordinary communication is intended, as the contrary appears from Deut. i. 22. s. comp. Num. xiii. 2. Moses, clothed with a divine commission. had a right to set forth even those things the propriety of which he saw of himself, under the sanction of divine authority. Comp. Exod. xxiv. 12. xxxi. 18. xxxii. 16. and Deut. ix. 10. x. 2. with Ex. xxxiv. 1. 27. s. viii. 19. I Chr. xxviii. 19. and Lu. xi. 20, and see below. § 79, where more is said on this subject. Comp. KELLE Vorurtheilsfreie Würdigung der Mosäischen Schriften, I. Heft. 1811. GRIESINGER über den Pentateuch, 1806.

It is strange that men of so much acuteness as Vater and De Wette should use arguments, the complete nullity of which any one can discern: as, for instance, when they urge that it is impossible that the law which prescribes one altar for the whole nation can be of great antiquity, because it was customary to sacrifice on high places: as if the violation of a law were a proof that the law had never existed! If that were the case we must conclude that the decalogue in the two tables never existed, since the nation frequently relapsed into idolatry, and murders, thefts, and adulteries were committed. Again, they contend that the Pentateuch did not exist as a whole, because it is not mentioned as such. The same argument would prove the non-existence of the decalogue, as

it is not mentioned from the time of its first being given until the removal of the ark of the covenant, I Ki. viii. 9; and of the sabbath, which is not noticed until the time of Isaiah. The rest of their arguments are mostly of the same sort. These learned men seem to think that the genuineness of ancient books is to be proved by the same arguments that are required to substantiate recent events in civil or criminal courts, without reflecting that no such arguments can be applied in all ancient history, and that they cannot be adduced in favour of any book.—It is undeniable that the arguments for the Mosaic origin of these books greatly preponderate, and that their adversaries are unable to bring the testimony of any ancient writer to prove their recent origin. Vater has imitated Wolf, who impugned the genuineness of the Iliad and Odyssey, with similar and even with somewhat stronger arguments: yet he did not satisfy the learned, and shall we allow the far-fetched conjectures of Vater? Let those decide who are not led by preconceived opinion.[c]

[a] Add to this, that the *written language* of the Shemitic nations was far less liable to change than our western languages, on account of its embracing only the consonants, while the vowels are left to be supplied by the reader. So the Arabic of the Koran and of the most ancient Arabian poems, differs very little from the *written language* of the modern Arabians, although when pronounced they are widely different. ROSEN. Scholia. I. p. 32. The infrequency of intercourse with remote nations, and the agricultural and pastoral habits of the nation, would also tend strongly to prevent any considerable change of their language. PAREAU, Inst. Int. V. T. p. 102. *Tr.*]

[b] For a vindication of the Mosaic miracles from the attacks of Dr. Geddes and others, see GRAVES on the Pentateuch, Vol. I. App. ii. pp. 413. ss. See also Lect. IV. and V. of the same work, for an examination of the accounts of miracles contained in the four last books of the Pentateuch, and of the connexion of those miracles with the ordinary history of the Jews. *Tr.*]

[c] A brief, but judicious and highly valuable, examination of De Wette's hypothesis, may be found in GRAVES' Lectures on the Pentateuch, Vol. I. App. i. pp. 398. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 13. *The Pentateuch has not been re-written.*

The arguments already adduced are abundantly sufficient to prove that the Pentateuch was written by Moses: but as our opponents strenuously maintain that the work has been re-written in a later age, their hypothesis on this subject must be examined.[a] We must premise, however, such objections as occur to the supposition

of its having been re-written : they apply, in what age soever the re-writing may be fixed ; but as it has never been supposed by any one to have taken place before the time of David, or after that of Ezra, we will limit our inquiries to that interval.

I. If the work of Moses had been re-written, the character of the language and style would be that of a more modern age ; words would be met with which are common in modern works, and the words peculiar to the Pentateuch, at least the greater part of them, and archaisms, would have been stricken out : for all these would be thought matters of little importance, and on that account less carefully preserved. The present character of style which is observable in the whole work, and especially in Deuteronomy, could have been feigned by no one ; nor could any one have so completely assumed the person of Moses, or have spoken to the people as they were then circumstanced, in the manner in which he speaks.

II. Whoever may be supposed to have remodelled the writings of Moses ; 1) he would not have arranged them in the manner of a diary, following the order of time, so as to introduce now a law, then a historical fact, then an admonition, and then again a law : 2) he would not have repeated some laws as often as they were published ; or, at least, 3) he would have omitted in the former parts of the work the laws which are altered in Deuteronomy : nor would he, 4) after having previously given a minute description of the tabernacle and of all its parts and utensils, have repeated that minute description when he recorded its completion ; such a repetition could only be made by one who committed his account to writing when he gave orders for the things to be made, and again when he received them finished, as is commonly done in public records.

III. In a work re-written under the reign of David or at any subsequent period, some honourable mention would have been made of the ancestors of the royal line, or of the legitimate succession, in opposition to the schism : some things might have been expected concerning praying and singing the praises of God in the tabernacle, especially in a place so suitable as Num. vi. 22—27 ; some concerning the building of the temple ; laws against drunkenness, &c. : while on the contrary many things now read would have been omitted, especially such as are contradictory, and such as were changed or neglected in

later ages, for instance, the year of Jubilee, the manumission of Hebrew servants every seventh year, (comp. Jer. xxxiv.) and others of a similar nature.

IV. The ten tribes would have rejected this work if it had been re-written under David or at any subsequent period, were it only because it condemns golden calves, priests not of the race of Aaron, and the celebration of the feast of tabernacles in the eighth month. Comp. Ex. xxxii and Num. xvi. 8—xvii. 11.

Let the advocates of the supposition that the work of Moses has been re-written, now tell us in what age that event could have taken place.

I. Neither *Ezra*, nor *any one of his time*, could have written in the language and style of the Pentateuch.[b] *Ezra* is well known from his book, which incontestibly proves that he never could have written in such style and language. What the Jews and some fathers and divines have said respecting the loss of the Pentateuch, and its restoration from memory by *Ezra*, is an absurd fable. The Samaritans, moreover, would never have received a work from the pen of *Ezra*.

II. *The priest sent by the king of Assyria into Samaria*[c] to teach the colonists the worship of Jehovah, was an exile and a priest of the calf, who would have been even less able than *Ezra* to write in the style and language of the Pentateuch,—who could not altogether have avoided the mention of recent events, and who would certainly have omitted the history of the golden calf, and the commands relating to the priests of Aaron's race. and to the observance of the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month: not to say that a work re-written by a priest of the calves of Bethel would probably have contained something in opposition to the temple of Jerusalem, and would never have been received by the kingdom of Judah.

III. *Hilkiah*,[d] it will perhaps be said, may, under colour of a manuscript found in the temple (II Ki. xxii. 8. II Chr. xxxiv. 14. comp. Jer. xi.) have palmed on the king a written copy,[e] and thus have excited his terror. But the king is not surprised at the work of Moses being found: his alarm arises from *hearing the dreadful curses* it denounced, which the Chaldæans were just about to verify. Add to this that the Samaritans would have rejected a book altered

by Hilkiah, a Jewish priest, and would have preserved the book in its ancient form.

IV. Under *David*, [f] as we have already remarked, some notices of the ancestors of the royal family would have been inserted, and not only the laws relating to the king, Deut. xvii. 14—20, but also that forbidding attacks upon the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, Deut. ii. 4—9, whom David forcibly subjected to his government, would have been omitted.

If Ezra was not capable of re-writing the work of Moses, much less could he have *forged* it entirely, since in that case he must also have forged all the other books in which the Pentateuch is cited or presumed to exist, namely, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Psalms, and the Prophets. To assert, therefore, that Ezra forged the books of Moses merits ridicule rather than refutation.

[a) Of these ROSENUELLER (Schol. I. p. 19—29) enumerates no less than twelve, all different, many contradictory. Some attribute the Pentateuch to the combined labours of several authors, *e. g.* of Jeremiah, Hilkiah and Shaphan; others to the collections of several successive ages; others to Moses, but with large alterations and additions; others to Hilkiah; others to Ezra; and one to the priest who introduced the worship of Jehovah among the Samaritans. Of those which suppose the Pentateuch re-written, Bertholdt's gives it the earliest date, supposing Samuel to have been the writer; De Wette supposes it to have been compiled at different times in separate portions, of which the earliest may pertain to the age of Solomon or that immediately succeeding, the latest to the captivity. *Tr.*]

[b) It has been asserted by many, after Spinoza, that Ezra either originally composed the Pentateuch, or wrote the whole anew. In later times this opinion was adopted in part by J. G. HASSE in his *Aussichten zu kuenftigen Aufklaerungen ueber das alte Testament. Jena, 1785.* He subsequently changed his mind, and refuted his own positions, defending the genuineness of the Pentateuch in his *Entdeckungen im Felde der aeltesten Erd-und-Menschengeschichte. Hal. 1805. ROSEN. I. 23. s. Tr.*]

[c) That he was the compiler of the Pentateuch was maintained by LE CLERC in his work entitled *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens d'Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du V. T.* Le Clerc also changed his opinion and publicly renounced it in his *Dissertation, de Scriptorum Pentateuchi, préfixé to his Commentary on the Pentateuch. Tr.*]

[d) The hypotheses of VOLNEY, NACHTIGAL, VATER and DE WETTE, all attribute the compilation of the Pentateuch, either wholly or in part.

to the sole or assisted labours of Hilkiah. ROSEN. Schol. I. pp. 25. ss. *Tr.*]

[*e*] Vater supposes the manuscript found by Hilkiah to have been a more compendious collection of the Jewish laws made in the time of David or Solomon. Others conjecture that it was only the decalogue, or a small collection of precepts mentioned Exod. xxiv. 7. The incorrectness of both these suppositions has been shown by BERTHOLDT in a dissertation, *De eo quod in purgatione sacrorum Judaicorum per Josiam regem facta omnium maxime contigerit memorabile*, *Erlangae*, 1817, 4to. He observes that "the solemn celebration of the passover by Josiah, according to the prescriptions of the book which Hilkiah had found, proves that this book was not Deuteronomy or any smaller subsequent compilation, but the whole Pentateuch. The directions respecting the passover contained in Deuteronomy (xvi. 1—8) are few and incomplete; the principal laws concerning the feast of unleavened bread, which Josiah must have had before him when he gave directions for the celebration of his passover, are only to be found in Exodus (xii. 1—20,) and Numbers (xxviii. 16—25)." ROSEN. Schol. I. 8. s. *Tr.*]

[*f*] FULDA, VATER, and DE WETTE, all suppose parts of the Pentateuch to have been composed in the reigns of David and Solomon. ROSEN. Schol. I. pp. 27. ss. *Tr.*

§ 14. *Whether Moses himself wrote the Pentateuch.*

If Moses, as Father Simon conjectures (*Hist. Crit. du V. T. L. I. c. ii. p. 17*), had not written anything beside the laws, and had left the historical part to be written by public secretaries who were known by the title of prophets; 1) the style would have varied more, according to the various portions of the different authors. Besides, 2) notaries are never mentioned as prophets, nor are the genealogists (שוטרים, properly *scribes*,) ever designated by this name. But 3) granting that these persons did record some things, such as the account of the different parts of the tabernacle received, Ex. xxxvi. 8, —xxxix. 32; the catalogue of the people and the Levites, the encampments and arrangements of the Hebrews, the gifts of the princes, Num. i. 1—iv. 49, vii. 1—88, xxvi. 1—61. and some other matters which seem to be written in the style of public acts; yet Moses, by borrowing these, has made them his own. It appears also from some places that Moses, in conformity with a custom formerly very prevalent, dictated some parts of his work to amanuenses.

Lastly, 4) the accounts of the encampments of the Israelites, and therefore certainly some historical parts, were written by Moses, as is proved by Num. xxxiii. 2.—The passages which Simon adduces from Flavius Josephus, from the Rabbins, and from the Fathers, are not to his purpose; nor, if they were, would they be competent authority respecting a fact of so much greater antiquity. Comp. LE CLERC, *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens d'Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament. Amsterd. 1685. Let. VI.*

§ 15. *Genesis is compiled from ancient documents.*

I. As every history of an age much antecedent to the time of the writer is taken from more ancient documents, there is no ground for excepting from the general rule the book of Genesis.[a]

II. The various titles which occur in the first chapters of Genesis, ii. 4. v. 1. vi. 9. x. 1. xi. 9, 27, intimate to the reader, that they are so many ancient documents.

III. The variations of style which are observable, at least as far as the history of Joseph, confirm this supposition, and do not agree with the character of Moses' own productions. Comp. especially Gen. xiv. and xxiii., and v. and x.

IV. With all this agrees the argument drawn from the constant use of the names יהוה and אלהים, even in the more diffuse passages.

It may seem, indeed, that the name יהוה originated in what is said in Ex. iii. 14. vi. 2. ss. But it is to be observed that this word approximates nearly to the Aramæan root הוה or הוה, and in Ex. iii. 14, is only explained by the Hebrew אהיה אשר אהיה *I will be what I have been.* In the other passage, Ex. vi. 2, it is not said that the name had been before unknown, but that what was signified by it had not been experienced, or in other words, that GOD had not as yet shown the patriarchs by his actions that he was יהוה, always the same immutable being, who would accomplish what he had promised, which, for the first time, was strikingly evinced in the days of Moses. But although this name of GOD was much more ancient than the age of Moses, yet it was less in use, and would seem to have been utterly unknown in the primæ-

val language; so that in Gen. ii. iii. iv. 1. xiv. 22. it may have been substituted for some obsolete name of God, just as the proper names of the ages before the flood, in which the Hebrew language did not yet exist, are translated out of the more ancient language into Hebrew.

[a] Moses must have derived his knowledge of the events which he records in Genesis, either from immediate divine revelation, or from oral tradition, or from written documents. The nature of many of the facts related, and the minuteness of the narration, render it entirely improbable that the latter was an immediate revelation. That his knowledge should have been derived from oral tradition, appears morally impossible, when we consider the great number of names, of ages, of dates, and of minute events, which are recorded. It remains then, that he must have obtained his information from written documents coeval with the events which they recorded, and composed by persons intimately acquainted with the subjects to which they relate. That these were few in number appears probable from the simple and uncultivated habits and the humble occupations of the Hebrews previously to their removal to Egypt, and from their oppressed and degraded state while there, all of which are equally unfavourable to literary pursuits and historical research. It is probable therefore that the history given by Moses in Genesis is derived principally from short memoranda and genealogical tables written by the patriarchs, or their immediate descendants, and preserved by their posterity until the time of Moses, who collected them, with additions from authentic tradition or existing monuments, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, into a single book. Comp. ROSEN. Proleg. in Gen. § III. Schol. I. 44. s. Tr.]

§ 16. *Documents collected in Genesis.* [a]

ASTRUC was the first who attempted to mark out the various documents of which the book of Genesis consists. [b] In his work on this subject,* published in 1753, he supposed them to be twelve in number. He contended also that the first chapters of Exodus were likewise derived from them; this, however, no judicious person will allow. EICHHORN, in his Einleit. ins A. T. II. Th. § 416—427, modified this hypothesis so as to make only two primitive documents, the one remarkable for using the term יהוה as the name of God, while the other employs אלהים. [c] ILGEN, in his Urkunden des Jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs, 1798, makes a distinction of three

* [Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux dont il paroît que Moÿse s'est servi pour composer le livre de Genese, à Bruxelles, [Paris] 1753, 8vo.]

documents, two of which use the word אלהים, the third יהוה. These hypotheses are all ingeniously devised, but no one of them has, as yet, received universal approbation. Each system 1) rests upon far fetched and arbitrary opinions, and 2) makes the collector of the documents to have resembled in views and dispositions the framer of the system. 3) Other hypotheses of the same kind might be contrived, and in fact a new one has lately been proposed by KELLE, in 1811—12 (*Vorurtheilsfreye Würdigung der Mosaischen Schriften.*)[*d*] and yet none will be universally acceptable; and, after all, if any is capable of being established by more ingenious arguments than the rest, the only advantage to be derived will be, that then the documents which constitute the book of Genesis may be enumerated. It may be sufficient, therefore, to determine where each document begins and ends, which, in the first part of Genesis at least, may be done with safety. Comp. VATER. *Comm. über den Pentat.* IV. Th. S. 696—728.[*e*]

[*a*] To an English reader the statement of the compilation of the book of Genesis from pre-existent documents, may, at first sight, appear strange and in some degree revolting. It will, however, bear the test of closer examination, and in proportion as our acquaintance with the book itself increases, our belief of the fact of its compilation from pre-existent documents will also strengthen. PAREAU, a sober and moderate critic, uses the following strong language: "Many have observed, and proved beyond a doubt, that the book of Genesis is formed of various fragments, written by divers authors, and merely compiled by Moses, and thus prefixed to his own history." *Inst. Interp. Vet. Test.* p. 112. *Traj. ad Rhen.* 1822. He draws from the fact a strong argument in favour of the credibility and historic accuracy of the book. The inspired authority of the work is in nowise affected by this theory, for, as Jahn has well remarked, (§ 20. *fin.*) some of the documents are of such a nature that they could have been derived only from immediate revelation; and the whole being compiled by an inspired writer have received the sanction of the Holy Spirit in an equal degree with his original productions. *Tr.*]

[*b*] The theory of pre-existent documents was first cautiously advanced by VITRINGA, *Observationes Sacræ*, Lib. I. c. iv. § 23. p. 36. ss. ed. *Franæq.* 1712. It was soon after again proposed by LE CENE, *Bible de Le Cene*, Tom. I. p. ix. col. 2. and p. x. col. 1. and 2, which, however, was not printed until 1741. (See an able dissertation on Le Cene and Astruc in *La Bible de VENCE*, Tom. I. p. 286. ss. ed. 2.) To a

moderate extent, it has been adopted by CALMET, in his *Commentaire Litterale*, Tom. I. P. I. p. xiii., and by Bishop GLEIG, *Introd. to Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible*. See HORNE'S *Introd.* Vol. I. p. 56 s. ed. 4th. See also a list of the writers by whom this opinion has been supported, with accurate references, in HOLDEN on the Fall, c. ii. p. 32. s. *Tr.*]

[c] Whatever is not drawn from these two, he considers as the author's. *Einleit. loc. cit.*; *Repertor. für Bibl. u. Morg. Lit.* P. V. S. 185. ff. and Th. IV. S. 173. ff. DE WETTE agrees with this hypothesis so far as to divide the book of Genesis into two distinct parts, distinguishable by the use of the word יהוה or of אלהים. The part using the latter

term he considers as one independent regularly planned and connected document, interpolated with the passages which constitute the second part. The original state of this latter part he considers uncertain, but is inclined to think it derived from several sources. *Comp. his Einleit.* § 150, in a note to which he gives a table of the origin of every passage in Genesis, according to his judgment. DR. GEDDES has also advanced the same hypothesis as Eichhorn, in his *Translation and Critical Remarks. Tr.*]

[d] Which has since been *retracted* in his work called *Die heiligen Schriften in ihrer Urgestalt, deutsch und mit neuen Anmerkungen*, von K. G. KELLE, *Freyberg*, 1817, where he contends that Genesis consists of a single genuine work of Moses, much interpolated by the priests of the race of Ithamar, and takes great pains to separate the supposed interpolations from the genuine work. See a refutation of his hypothesis in ROSEN. *Schol.* I. pp. 52. ss. *Tr.*]


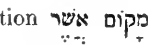
[e] ROSENMUELLER goes so far as to assert that it is impossible to make any certain distinction between the several documents of which the book of Genesis is composed. This assertion he maintains at some length, examining the different criteria, and showing their want of certainty. In this, with the exception of the different titles, (e. g. ii. 4. v. 1, &c.), he is successful, and has certainly proved the futility of all attempts to discover, after a lapse of 3000 years, the precise nature and extent of the records used by Moses in the compilation of his book. The more modern writers on this subject, (Ilgen, Vater, and De Wette,) point out a great number of passages as repetitions, all of which they adduce as proofs of the multiplicity of documents, and endeavour to arrange in accordance with their respective systems. The fallacy of this procedure is ably proved by Rosenmüller. *Comp. his Schol.* T. I. pp. 46—54, and *comp.* as an illustration of his remarks on the last mentioned subject, the table given by DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 150. *anm. b. Tr.*]

§ 17. *Age of these documents.*

From the want of evidence it is impossible to define the age of these documents ; yet from their nature and character it is plain that they are very ancient and indeed that the first in order are more ancient than those which follow.

I. In those first in order as far as the history of Abraham, all matters, even those which are least connected with the senses, are represented as they appear to the eyes and other senses, a practice which is characteristic of the most remote antiquity.

II. The language in the first fragments is barren, wanting copiousness, and everywhere somewhat harsh ; in the progress of the work, it becomes richer, and more flexible, yet words which are obsolete and obscure through age are every where to be met with, and are sometimes briefly explained. Proofs of these assertions may be obtained by examining Gen. ii. 25. iii. 1. where עָרוֹם is used for *naked* and *subtile*; vi. 14. גִּפְרִי ; xv. 2. מִשְׁקֵי אֲבֵרָהָם ; Gen. xvii. 25, with the

explanatory adjunct, אֵךְ הַמֶּזֶן גֹּיִם, comp. the Arabic  ,  , Gen. xxxix. 20., to which is added the explanation מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הִפְהֵר שׁוֹף ; Gen. xi. 4 ; שֵׁם for *a sign*, Gen. xi. 4 ; אֲסִירֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲכֹרִים ; Gen. iii. 15, with a different meaning from what it has in the other places in which it occurs, Job. ix. 17. Ps. cxxxix. 11. So also there are certain peculiar phrases : Gen. ix. 19, נִפְצָה כָּל-הָאָרֶץ ; Gen. x. 18. מֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ אֵיִ הַגּוֹיִם , and Gen. x. 5. מֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ אֵיִ הַגּוֹיִם , and others. Hence also arises the geographical obscurity in Gen. x. and xiv.

III. The manner of living depicted in them is exceedingly simple, luxury having been introduced in the following ages from Egypt, for which we have the authority of profane writers and the evidence which is afforded by the ruins of buildings yet remaining.

IV. Some things are presumed to be known to the original readers, as in the history of Lamech, Gen. iv. 23. s. ; in the account of the giants, vi. 4 ; and in that of Nimrod, x. 9 : which show that these do-

cuments have come down from an age in which more was generally known respecting these persons than is therein recorded.

The arguments which are brought to show that these documents are of recent date, have been repeatedly refuted by interpreters. Such is that drawn from the remark, Gen. xii. 6. xiii. 7. that the Canaanites were then in the land; as if this fact could have been unknown and therefore required to be mentioned at any recent age, when the most ignorant Hebrew must have been acquainted with it! the meaning undoubtedly is, 'they were *already* in the land.' Such are those founded on the prophetic mention of Bethel and Zoar, Gen. xii. 8. xiii. 3. comp. xxxv. 1. xxviii. 19., and xiii. 10. xiv. 2, 8 comp. xix. 22. s. and similar passages, which only show that they were *not written before* the origin of those names, not that they *were written at a much later period*. Such is that drawn from the declaration Gen. xxxvi. 31. that there were kings in Edom 'before there reigned any king over the children of Israel;' which refers to Gen. xvii. 6, 16. where it is promised that kings should rise out of the seed of Abraham.—If these answers should not be thought satisfactory, the passages may be considered as marginal glosses introduced into the text.

§ 18. *Historical credit of these documents.*

However ancient these documents may be, their date is more recent than that of the events which they describe. The historical accounts which they contain must, therefore, have been propagated for some space of time, and part of them during many centuries, by oral tradition. Yet the substance of them has not been corrupted. They are not the fictions or allegories by which in very ancient times wise men chose to veil their philosophical opinions, nor yet mythi or histories intermixed with mythi, such as other nations relate concerning their earliest ages; but they are true histories. This will be evident from the following considerations.

I. These relations were committed to writing nearly a thousand years before the mythi of the most ancient nations. But in those remote times, the ordinary life of man extended to so great a length, that there could be no necessity for oral tradition to pass through the mouths of many generations. Methusaleh was contemporary with Adam during the first 243 years of his life, and with Noah during the

last 600, and Noah was coeval with Abraham for 58 years. Thus three generations would have transmitted the account of the creation of the world to Abraham.—The history of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, was committed to writing not long after their time, and, besides, from Jacob to Moses only four generations intervened. (See below, notes 1 and 2.) Add to all this, that the pious patriarchs esteemed these accounts of great importance, as being the foundation of religion, and as such taught them to their children, and in old age frequently repeated the oft told tale, so that there could be little danger of the history being misunderstood or designedly corrupted. Such parts as had been clothed in verse, vestiges of which occur Gen. iii. 24. iv. 23. s., would be much more easily retained in memory, and could not be altered without injuring the parallelism, or disturbing the harmony, which must lead to the observation and correction of the error.

II. The events related are fewer and the narratives more obscure in proportion to the antiquity of the accounts and the length of time during which they were preserved by tradition; while on the contrary those which are the most modern are the fullest. From this it is evident that their compiler must have rejected all uncertain and suspicious accounts, very many of which had no doubt come down from a period of considerable antiquity, and must have received those only the correctness of which was unquestionable; and moreover that he has ventured to add scarcely any of his own remarks for the explanation of the difficulties arising from these causes.

III. The subjects of the narrative are of the simplest nature, and altogether dissimilar to those which fill the earliest histories of other nations. If in any respects a slight similitude is discoverable, it is still apparent that the latter are feigned or amplified and distorted by fictions, while the former exhibit merely the simple truth: this was acknowledged without any hesitation by the heathen, whether learned or unlearned, who in the first ages of Christianity turned from the contemplation of the heathen fables to that of the Jewish Scriptures.

IV. Those doubtful or partly fictitious narrations, or if the definition should be preferred, philosophical opinions clothed in allegorical language, which are known by the name of *Mythi*, are single fragments, which have no real connexion either with each other, or with

history in general : but in our documents all the parts are indissolubly connected with each other and with history.

V. The mythi are replete with fictions relating principally to gods and goddesses and demigods, to their wars and even to their obscene and sexual intercourse. They relate to demons, heroes, nymphs, and metamorphoses, and to the inventors of useful arts and founders of noble families, whose origin they fabulously ascribe to the intermixture of deities with men. In our fragments nothing of this kind is to be found. They relate only to one God the creator and governor of the universe, and the preserver and protector of religion and morals, for the establishment, protection and promotion of which all that they contain conspires ; and they hold forth the prospect of an auspicious period when the true religion and virtue should be propagated among all nations. That this prediction has been fulfilled, it is impossible to deny.

VI. Should it be granted that alterations may have been made in these histories, yet even this would not render the character of the principal parts, upon which the history rests, suspicious. The parts which would be most liable to suspicion of corruption or fiction, would be those bordering on the marvellous, such as the accounts of divine revelations. But these very revelations contain predictions of the perpetual duration of the religion which they teach among the posterity of its first possessors, and of its future propagation among all nations, which it would have been impossible for the authors of these documents, be they who they might, to invent. Gen. xii. 1—3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14. xviii. 19. and xvii. 4—14. Comp. Biblisch. Archæol. P. II. Th. II. § 63. S. 214—217. [Upham. § 303.] And even the idea of God, which pervades all these documents, is such as would never have originated with unassisted man. See Germ. Introd. Preface. P. II § 1. p. viii—xxxii.

VII. If these narrations, like the mythi of other nations, had been altered to suit the fancy of the narrator, they would have differed in many respects from their present form. As good morals are every where inculcated by them, the *immoralities*, and *facts of doubtful character*, which now occur, and are *little honourable to the principal personages* of the history, would have been omitted. The narrative of *the destruction of the cities in the vale of Siddim* would not have

corresponded so accurately with the nature of things ; *the decrepitude of Isaac* (the son of his parents' old age) *would have been deferred to a greater age* ; the *speeches* of Jacob, Gen. xliii. 1—14, and Judah, Gen. xlv. 18—44, would hardly have been so exactly suited to their respective characters and situations ; the *general character of the personages* would not have been preserved with such uniform and permanent consistency, but would rather have approximated to caricature ; *the 400 years*, Gen. xv. 30, would have been changed into 430 ; the apparent contradictions would have been reconciled : in a word, the *whole narration* would not have been so perfectly consensaneous to the general course of things observable in other histories.

1. Some have considered the longevity which is ascribed to the men of the first ages of the world as a mythus, simply because they imagine it to be impossible that the human body should subsist so many years. But that every thing was the same in those ages, especially before the deluge, as it is now, no reasonable person will assert. Why then must the age of man necessarily have been then the same as it is now ? All other nations extend the lives of the men of those ages to some thousands of years ; our documents, therefore, which give a far more moderate duration of existence, are not to be suspected of falsehood in this particular.

2. It is a common opinion, that in Ex. vi. 14—19, some generations are omitted, because 430 years make 13 generations, instead of 4. But as, in Gen. xv. 13, 16, 4 generations are in express terms made equivalent to 400 years ; and as the 215 years which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob spent in Canaan, occupied only two generations : it is evident that a generation at that time comprehended a hundred years, and not merely 34, as was the case in a much later period. Comp. Num. xxvii. 1.[a]

[a] The following expression of opinion on the subject of the two preceding sections is valuable as coming from a man so loose and sceptical as Semler. “Nec superest vel mediocris ratio, quae persuadeat, istos libros antiquioris historiae Israeliticae testes, sensim a quibusdam auctoribus interpolatos fuisse atque sic mutatos, ut recentius aliquod atque confictum argumentum loco vetustiorum partium illatum fuerit atque permutatatum. Omnia potius summam rerum antiquitatem spirant, atque illud tempus referunt, quo minus culta hominum ingenia sensibus, symbolis atque picturis adsueti erant, et externarum rerum ministerio ducebantur ; adeo res ipsae facile fidem faciunt antiquitatis ; *vetustissima igitur et ingenua fuit haec rerum domesticarum traditio* : quae, si comparatur cum istis exemplis aliarum gentium, aegyptiacas, chaldaicas, etc. fabulas satis

luculenter aequitate et probabilitate insita vincat." Semler was no timid critic; he could suspect and reject, when he pleased, as boldly and as groundlessly as any of his successors; and even with respect to the Pentateuch, he considered it merely as an ancient and interesting portion of uninspired history; but a comparison of his opinions, as above expressed, with those of Vater, De Wette, &c., will show how far the disciples have outstripped their master, and how uncertain it is where the career of criticism will stop, when once the landmarks of antiquity are removed. *Tr.*]

§ 19. *Arguments brought to prove the existence of Mythi in the Pentateuch.*

The arguments which are urged against the historical credit of the documents from which the book of Genesis has been compiled do not prove that they *have* been altered, but only that they *may* have been; that is, in effect, they prove nothing, for the argument from possibilities to facts is void of all force. The arguments brought to prove that the narrations contained in these documents cannot be true, are entirely worthless. Such is the assertion that our first parents could not have immediately narrated the events described Gen. ii. 4.--iii. 24, in consequence of the imperfection of their language; and that when their stock of words had increased, they could not have been able to remember the events of their earliest existence, because without words nothing more than obscure recollections of things can be retained. But neither of the parts of this assertion is true. For as to the former, our first parents were adult in the first moment of their existence, possessing the use of all the faculties of their minds and of all the members of their bodies. They had, moreover, both the power of speech and incitement to its use, so that, as soon as the ideas which must have entered their minds immediately upon their existence were conceived, they expressed them in language. With respect to the other part of the assertion, the ideas produced during the first moments of their existence, when in possession of all their intellectual powers, whether by the impressions of the senses, or by the instructions of the DEITY, would be the most tenaciously retained by the mind, for the very reason, that they were *the first*: they would be treasured in its inmost recesses, so as to be readily recollected during the remainder of life, and easily narrated when language should become sufficiently copious to express them. For more on this sub-

ject. see Germ. Introd. P. II. S. I. § 19. p. 117—125. and KELLE Vorurtheilsfreie Würdigung der Mosaischen Schriften, 1tes und 3tes Heft, 1812 *Freiberg*; MEYER Apologie der geschichtlichen Auffassung der historischen Bücher des A. T. 1811. *Sulzbach*; WEILLER Ideen zur Geschichte der Entwicklung des religiösen Glaubens, I. und II. Th. 1808—1812.

§ 20. *Whether Gen. i. 1—ii. 3, is one of the most ancient documents.*

Whether the geogony, or, as some consider it, the cosmogony, contained in Gen. i. 1—ii. 3, is to be reckoned in the most ancient class of documents, has been disputed. There can indeed be no doubt that the doctrine of a creating DEITY, and, consequently, that of the creation and origin of all things, are maintained through the whole of Genesis; for the object of all the documents from which it is compiled, is to teach that this doctrine was revealed to our first parents; that it was preserved by special divine providence until the time of Abraham, and that it was to be preserved and at last propagated among all nations. Some things, moreover, that are contained in this geogony, are expressly repeated in the subsequent parts of the book. Gen. vi. 7. v. 1. ix. 6. xiv. 19. xviii. 25. But at what time this narration was committed to writing, and whether it has been reduced to the form in which we now have it, subsequently to the time of the original writer, are questions which, owing to the silence of history, cannot now be determined.

I. It seems, however, to be more ancient than the account of the deluge; for it contains nothing concerning the difference between clean and unclean animals, nor any distinction of fowls according to the different formation of their wings and claws, both which are found in that account: and the division of animals into classes is different in the two histories.[a]

II. As to its *matter*, it appears to be more ancient than the genealogy in Gen. v., and the law against homicides. Gen. ix. 6., for in both these documents the image of God in man, which is mentioned Gen. i. 26. s., is again referred to.

III. Not only the *matter*, but even the *manner* seems to be more ancient than Moses, or than all the documents which Genesis contains.

For 1) it is not only *the foundation of the theology* of the whole body ; but 2) it is also composed in a language labouring under a scarcity of words ; 3) every thing is described as it appears and strikes the senses ; 4) it does not reckon days from evening to evening as Moses does, but by evenings and mornings ; 5) it makes only two great *divisions of animals* the one comprising the aquatic and aerial, the other the terrestrial, subdividing the terrestrial into cattle, wild beasts and creeping things ; all which is different from the arrangement adopted by Moses ; 6) it is totally silent concerning *unclean animals* ; and, lastly, 7) that part which relates to the observance of the Sabbath is cited in express words in Ex. xx. 8. ss. xxxi. 12—17, and is not entirely passed over in Deut. v. 12—14. This part is not set aside in Ex. xxxi. 13—17. (comp. Ezek. xx. 12—20) and is even casually noticed Gen. vii. 4, 10. viii. 10, 12. xxix. 27. s.[b]

The age in which this geogony was written, may in some measure be conjectured, from its being entirely directed against the payment of divine honours to creatures. To this error mankind in the first ages, and in particular our first parents themselves, must have strongly inclined ; the remedy, therefore, must have descended from those ages. But it may have been committed to writing during the residence of the Israelites in Egypt.[c] where the sun, moon, and stars, and various animals and plants, being worshipped, and the existence of the supposed evil deity Typhon maintained, it was probably necessary carefully to warn the Israelites against these errors by the publication of this document, containing a fuller exposition of the ancient doctrine respecting the divinity. From all this it follows that this geogony, which is the groundwork of the whole theology of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Psalms, is not, as some suppose, a *fiction*, since the creation is *no fiction* : nor is it a *poetical account* of the creation, for nothing *poetic* occurs in it ; nor, lastly, is it a *philosophical speculation* of some ancient sage, since a document of this kind far surpasses the inventive powers of the wisest men of all antiquity, as is abundantly proved by history. It is therefore, as the historical tenor of the whole narration shows, a *history*. But as no witness existed to recount the particulars of the creation of the earth, it is evident that the matter of this history must have been derived from divine revelation, given for the purpose of instructing the first of the

human race, in the manner best suited to their capacities, *that there is no divine being or object of worship, except the Creator ; and that all things else are destined for the use of man, so that they are not his divinities, but, on the contrary, he their lord.* The peculiarities of the document such as its language, and the enumeration and arrangement of the things created, are undoubtedly to be ascribed to the unknown writer.[*d*]

[*a*] The division of the year into months of thirty days, which appears in the latter account, discovers an attempt to regulate it according to the course of the sun through the zodiac, and shows some knowledge of the planets, which in the geogony are incidentally introduced under the name of stars. *Tr.*]

[*b*] GALDER, in his *Versuche über die Schöpfungsgeschichte*, S. 63, rejects Ex. xx. 8. ss. and xxxi. 12—17., because in Deut. v. 12—16., Moses mentions another design of the Sabbath. But this does not exclude the other, and the motive was particularly adapted to the state of the Israelites. Besides, in other cases it is not unusual to assign several motives. Comp. Ex. xiii. 11—16. with Num. iii. 40—51 ; also Gen. ix. 4. with Lev. iii. 17. xvii. 10 s. See *Germ. Introd.* pp. 136—139.]

[*c*] In the German work the author conjectures the time of its composition to be the age of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. See p. 141. The inconsistency of this with the supposition advanced in the text is obvious, and is sufficient to show the impracticability and uselessness of attempting to discover the precise period when the portion in question, and similar ancient documents, were committed to writing. That our first parents must have been inclined to idolatry, is altogether inconsistent with the circumstances in which the divine historian assures us they were placed ; and it is surprising that the author should have expressed a sentiment so extraordinary. *Tr.*]

[*d*] See HORNE'S *Introd.* Vol. IV. p. 7. ss. ed. 2d. and his references ; particularly, HOLDEN on the Fall. c. i. and ii. pp. 1—69. Also STORR and FLATT'S *Biblical Theology*, translated by S. S. Schmucker, A. M., Vol. I. pp. 359. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 21. *How these ancient records have been digested.*

The character, contents, arrangement, and style of these documents everywhere prove that their collector maintained towards them the same scrupulous fidelity which had preserved them until his time.

I. He has left them untouched, as is evident, not only from the *variety of style*, but also from the use of the different names of GOD, יהוה אלהים, and יהוה אלהים, in the different documents, and from the preservation of their titles. In the first eleven chapters, the documents were merely arranged, being left in the state in which they were found; in the rest a somewhat closer connexion is observable, although the style still varies, especially c. xiv. and xxiii. The compiler did not even venture to remove the discrepancies in the names of Esau's wives, Gen. xxvi. 34. xxviii. 9. xxxvi. 2. s. 14, 25. In the history of Joseph, the style is uniform, it is true, but it is by no means the style of Moses.[a]—The speeches, which are recited, are so perfectly congruous with the characters and circumstances of the speakers, that it is impossible they should have been retouched: comp. Gen. xliii. 1—14. xlv. 18—44. xlv. 1—28.

II. Some things, indeed, appear to have been *omitted*, as Gen. ii. 4, where the title promises another geogony, yet only such things are inserted as are supplementary to the first, in Gen. i. 1.—ii. 3. But there is no sign of any thing having been *added*, except a few explanations of obscure words, and here and there a word in order to connect the different parts, or perhaps some passages for the purpose of supplying the more recent history such as Gen. xxxvi. 31—39, 43., unless this passage be a modern addition.—The doctrine concerning the true GOD contained in these documents is so intimately interwoven with the whole of their contents, that it cannot have been inserted at any period subsequent to their origin.

III. Now and then two documents coalesce in one narration: the fifth chapter of Genesis is inserted in the middle of the document contained in Gen. iv. 1—26 and vi. 1—6; Gen. iv. 26, being closely connected with vi. 1. So also in the history of the deluge two documents are united; which the repetitions of the same thing, the variation in the style, and the use of different names for the DEITY, conspire to prove.

IV. That nothing has been arbitrarily altered is plain, not only from the representation of the characters of the several persons in the history, which are always consistent, natural, and never exaggerated, but also from the fact that conduct dishonourable to the patriarchs is

candidly related; Gen. ix. 18—27. xii. 11—20. xx. 1—18. xiii. 6—11. xix. 31—38. xxvii. 5—29. xxx. 37—42. xxxiv. 25—29. xxxvii. 18—28. xxxviii. 7—27. &c.

That it was Moses who collected; these records, has been already shown, § 9.

[a] In his larger work (S. 147) the author conjectures that it may have been written by one of Jacob's sons or grandsons, although he allows that occasionally Moses may have added a word to illustrate an antiquated expression. *Tr.*]

§ 22. *The publication of the Pentateuch.*

That Moses kept a record of his transactions, is plain from Ex. xvii. 14. xxxiv. 27. Num. xxxiii. 1. s., and that he published some parts of this record almost as soon as the facts took place, may be inferred from Exod. xxiv. 7. The accurate description of the utensils for divine worship, also, which is drawn up in the form of a state paper, Ex. xxv. 1—xxxi. 18., and without which in the form of a written document, the artificers could not have fulfilled the task assigned them;—the list of the parts of the tabernacle as received, when completed, Ex. xxxvi. 1—xl. 33.; the census of the people, the accounts of the gifts of the princes, and the description of the encampments and of the order of the tribes, Num. i. 1—iv. 49. vii. 1—88. xxvi. 1—65., all likewise in the form of public documents;—tend to confirm this conclusion. By adopting these parts, and perhaps some others written originally by secretaries, Moses incorporated them into his writings, and made them his own. In the same manner, the directions given to the priests must have been immediately committed to writing for their use, and thus, in a certain sense, published. In his last years, Moses, induced by his earnest solicitude for the instruction of future ages, arranged all his notes of past transactions, and added some things, and transposed others to more convenient places: as, for example, the laws respecting the feast of the passover, which are placed consecutively with the history of the origin of that institution, Ex. xii. 14—20, and that respecting the preservation of the manna in the tabernacle, subjoined immediately to the account of its first donation. Ex. xvi. 32—34.—Deuteronomy he did not finish

until the fortieth year of the wanderings of the Israelites ; for he frequently mentions the victory which they had obtained in that year over Sihon and Og, Deut. i. 4. ii. 14—iii. 19. iv. 1—4, 46—49., and often deplores his want of faith at the waters of Meribah ; Num. xx. 7—13. comp. Deut. i. 37. iii. 23—29. iv. 21. s. xxxi. 2. He published the whole work a little before his death, when he committed it to the priests and heads of the people, to be kept in the holy place of the tabernacle with the ark of the covenant, Deut. xxxi. 9—13. 24—26.—It is not to be supposed, however, that in this publication these writings were in every part reduced to exact order, and thus digested into one volume. They doubtless formed several volumes which collectively went under the title of *The Law*, *The Law of JEHOVAH*, and *The Book of the Law of Moses*.

1. The division of the writings of Moses into five books, first mentioned by Flavius Josephus, would seem to have been made after the captivity, when the reading of the Pentateuch in the Synagogues was commenced. Hence it is observed even in the Alexandrine version. In the Old Testament these writings are constantly designated by names in the singular number.[a]

2. Although the text of the Pentateuch has been remarkably well preserved, and although we possess many manuscripts of it, and some very ancient, still the use of critical conjecture is not to be rejected. In the preceding remarks several passages have been supposed to be interpolated.

[a] From this division into five books the generic name of the Pentateuch, (Pentateuchus, Πεντατευχος, either by ellipsis for ἡ πεντατευχος βιβλος, or as a compound term derived from πεντε, five, and τευχος, a book, and the Jewish appellation חמשה חומשי תורה (literally, the five fifths of the law, БУХТ. Lex. Chal. et Tal. col. 791.) are plainly derived. It is scarcely necessary to add that the names by which the first three and last books are designated in the English translation, were adopted from the Greek versions, being Greek words expressive of the contents of the books to which they are respectively attached : Genesis, Γενεσις, Creation ; Exodus, Εξοδος, Departure ; Leviticus, Λευιτικον, relating to the Levites ; Deuteronomy, Δευτερονομος, the second Law. The fourth book, Numbers, (in the Greek versions Αριθμοι,) is so called from its containing accounts of the numbering of the Israelites. The Jews designate the several books by the words with which they respect-

ively commence: Genesis, בראשת כרא ; Exodus, ואלה שמות or simply שמות ; Leviticus, ויקרא ; Numbers, וידבר, and sometimes במדבר, which is the fifth word in the book, and expresses the place in which all the transactions related therein occur, *in the desert* ; Deuteronomy, אלה, ההכרים, or simply דברים, and sometimes משנה, (*repetition*.) from its containing a repetition of part of the contents of the preceding books. Tr.]

CHAPTER II.

OF THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

§ 23. *Contents of the Book of Joshua.*

THE book of Joshua narrates the events subsequent to the death of Moses, as follows:—The exploring of Jericho by the spies, the passage of the people across the river Jordan, the circumcision of those who on account of the inconveniencies attending the journey through Arabia had not yet submitted to that rite, the celebration of the first passover in the land of Canaan, and the capture and total destruction of Jericho, occupy c. i—vi.—The assault upon Ai is repulsed, and the people are much dejected on that account, when the sacrilege of Achan being discovered by casting lots, he is stoned, and Ai is taken; and then the command contained in Deut. xxvii. is at last fulfilled: c. vii. viii.—A treaty of alliance, fraudulently obtained by the Gibeonites, leads to further battles; for these new allies being threatened with war by the king of Jebus or Jerusalem, and the other kings of the southern Canaanites, Joshua affords them assistance, and conquers nearly all the southern part of Canaan. Not long after he anticipates the warlike preparations of the remaining kings of Canaan, and defeats them with immense slaughter, thus acquiring almost all the northern part of Canaan: c. ix—xii.—In the 7th or 8th year after the invasion, the country is surveyed, and divided by lot among the tribes, on which occasion the division of the district on the other side of Jordan is repeated. The cities of refuge are designated, and those on the other side of Jordan again mentioned. Forty-eight cities are set apart for the Levites, thirteen of the number. situated in the southern part of the country, being

appropriated to the priests : c. xiii—xxii.—The book ends with an account of two public assemblies, and of the death of Joshua : c. xxiii. xxiv. [a]

[a] The contents of this book naturally divide themselves into three parts : the history of the conquest by Joshua, c. i—xii : the account of the partition of the land, c. xiii—xxii : and the history of the close of Joshua's administration, c. xxiii. xxiv. *Tr.*]

§ 24. *The Design of the Author.*

From the preceding exhibition of the contents, it is evident that the author intended to show his readers the manner in which the promises of the possession of Canaan, so often made to the Patriarchs, were ultimately fulfilled, and the portion which was allotted to each tribe. With this view he repeats the history of the conquest and partition of the country beyond Jordan, c. xii. 1—6. xiii. 7—33. xx. 8, although it had taken place before. He does not notice any subsequent alteration of the division ; for the conquest of the cities Hebron and Debir by Caleb, mentioned in c. xv. 13—19, took place under Joshua, and is introduced in Judg. i. 10—15, 20., only as a retrospective notice of an event of a preceding age.[a] What is said of the tribes of Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh, Josh. xv. 63. xvi. 10. xvii. 12. s., does not prove that the book is of recent origin ; although, as the passages are not connected with the series of the narration, they may possibly be interpolations. Lastly, the places, c. xv. 9. xviii. 25., in which Kirjath-jearim is ascribed to the tribe of Judah, and Gibeon, Beeroth, and Kephira to that of Benjamin, although they were cities of the Gibeonites, have no relation to the transaction mentioned II Sam. iv. 2, and xxi. 1—6. for Gibeon was afterwards given (Josh. xxi. 17,) to the priests : whence it is evident that these cities were left in possession of the Gibeonites, who were servants of the sanctuary, and merely subjected to the jurisdiction of the tribes to which they are ascribed.[b]

[a] In the 7th or 8th year after the invasion of Canaan, Caleb was eighty-five years old (Josh. xiv. 7, 10.) and certainly after Joshua's death, when he must have been ninety-five or ninety-six, he could not have undertaken any such warlike enterprises.]

[*b*] This section is of peculiar importance, as by giving a clear and consistent view of the design of the writer of the book, it removes most of the objections brought by DE WETTE (Einleit. § 166, 167.) and others against its authenticity and credibility. *Tr.*]

§ 25. *Whether Joshua was the Author of this book.*

Inasmuch as the language is not only free from recent or Chaldee words, but is also very similar to that of the Pentateuch, some have thought that this book is the production of Joshua himself, and have endeavoured to support their opinion by the following arguments. 1) Joshua is said, c. xxiv. 26. to have annexed the things there treated of to the book of the law, whence it would seem that the book of Joshua is a sort of continuation of Deuteronomy, the last two chapters of which seem to have been likewise added by Joshua. —But Josh. xxiv. 26. does not relate to the whole book, but solely to the renewal of the covenant with God which Joshua had made, and of which he had erected a monument.—2) In the account of the death and burial of Joshua, c. xxiv. 29. ss., a difference of style may be perceived, similar to that which is observable in the narration of the death and burial of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. xxxiv. ; and Joshua in the former passage, as Moses in the latter, is called *the servant of God*, while before he is merely designated by his proper name, a difference which proves that the whole account has been added by another hand.—3) The author intimates that he participated in the transactions which he records, c. v. 1. [*a*]—4) The whole book breathes the spirit of the laws of Moses, a character which peculiarly suits Joshua, the personal attendant of Moses. [*b*]—Although these three last arguments are by no means contemptible, yet it will be seen from other considerations, that the book, at least as it is now arranged, is not coeval with the events which it narrates. [*c*]

[*a*] In answer to this argument, it may be said that the first person plural, on the use of which it is founded, frequently embraces all those who are of the same nation or religion as the author or speaker, or as his readers or hearers, and is sometimes extended in this way even to the remote predecessors of either. See STORR on the Historic Sense, note 183, Opuscula, Tom. I. p. 75, (p. 79 of GIBBS' Trans.) In addition to

this, the supposition of this passage being part of an ancient document, (see § 29. p. 228.) effectually destroys the force of the argument drawn from it. DE WETTE gets over it in a summary way; "The miraculous stories in the book entirely exclude the possibility of its being written by an eye-witness," the passage is therefore an interpolation! *Tr.*]

[*b*] See c. vi. 17. ss. vii. 6. ss. xxii. 1. ss. xxiii. xxiv. 2—28; also the references to the commands, promises, threatenings, and in general to the works of Moses, which continually occur. Comp. i. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17. iii. 3, 6, 7, 8, 11. 17. iv. 10, 14, 21. vi. 17. ss. viii. 30. ss. ix. 21—27. xi. 6, 9, 12, 15, 20, 23. xii. 6. xiii. 8, 12, 24, 29, 32. xiv. 6, 7, 9, 12. xvii. 4. xviii. 1, 6, 7. xix. 50. xx. 1—9. xxi. 2, 3, 8. xxii. 5, 8, 9. xxiii. 6, 7, 11. ss. 15, 16. xxiv. 5—13.]

[This argument is sufficient to prove the antiquity of the matter of the book, and even to render it probable that great part of it was originally written by Joshua himself; but it is of no force against the hypothesis of the compilation of the book from ancient documents. See § 28. *Tr.*]

[*c*] In addition to the arguments adduced by Jahn, Jewish tradition may be mentioned, which, in general, is in favour of Joshua's being the author of the book. HUET, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Prop. IV. ii. This tradition must be admitted unless the work itself can be shown to contain internal evidence against it. Comp. § 26. *Tr.*]

§ 26. *This Book is more recent than the time of Joshua.*

Those who maintain that the book is *much* more modern than the age of Joshua adduce many arguments which are nothing to the purpose, as has been shewn in the *Germ. Introd. T. II. Sect. I. § 28. S. 161—164.*[*a*] There are, however, reasons sufficient to warrant the conclusion that it is somewhat more recent than that age.

I. We read, Josh. xv. 63., that individuals of the tribe of Judah inhabited Jerusalem together with the Jebusites, whom the tribe of Judah had not been able to expel. Now this union of the children of Judah with the Jebusites in Jerusalem did not take place until the conquest of that city *after the death of Joshua*; for at that time some of the tribe of Judah fixed their residence there, while the Jebusites, coming down from the citadel of Zion which had remained uninjured, took possession of dwellings for themselves. This alone, indeed, would not completely prove that the book was written after the death of Joshua, because what is related in Judg. i. 8., as if occurring after the death of Joshua, might be taken from the narrative of Joshua himself.

But, II. in Josh. x. 12—15., a poem is quoted from the book of Jasher (ספר הישר or rather ספר השיר, *the book of songs*) in evidence of the defeat of the southern Canaanites; which testimony concerning transactions which must have been notorious to all in the age in which they occurred, would not have been needed by Joshua or any other contemporary author, and could only have been used by some writer of a more recent age.

[a) The arguments are these: 1) The use of the phrase “to this day,” (iv. 9. v. 9. vi. 25. vii. 26. viii. 28, 29. ix. 27. x. 27. xv. 63. xvi. 10.): but this does not presume a very considerable length of time, and may have been added by Joshua towards the close of his life. 2) The remark that Debir was formerly called Kirjath-Sepher; Hebron, Kirjath-Arba; Kirjath-Jearim, Kirjath-Baal: but these may certainly have been made by Joshua, since even a third name in current use is attributed to Debir in c. xv. 49. 3) The mention of ‘the strong city Tyre’ c. xix. 29.: but this is not the celebrated city of that name, but an inland fortified place.* 4) The mention of *Cabul*, c. x. 27.: but this is not the country to which that name was applied by Hiram in Solomon’s time, but a city which in the age of Josephus had degenerated into a village.† 5) The use of the word *Luz*, c. xvi. 2: but this does not designate the same place which, after Joshua’s time, was built in the land of the Hittites; see Judg. i. 26. 6) The use of the word *Jerusalem* applied to Jebus but it cannot be proved that this use was not earlier than the time of David, and the name may properly have been applied to that city before. 7) The use of the expression ‘house of God,’ c. xi. 16.: but this is by no means exclusively applicable in historical style to *the temple*, but may well be used of the holy *tabernacle*, as the Bedouins apply the term *house* to the greater tent which has three divisions. See also Ex. xxiii. 19. Deut. xxiii. 18. Mat. xii. 4. and the parallel places. 8) The introduction of *the book of Jasher*: but this book, although mentioned in II Sam. i. 18., may have been a collection of poems, enriched from time to time with various additions.—Comp. § 27.]

§ 27. *The age of the Book of Joshua.*

That this book was written before *the seventh year of the reign of David*, is certain from c. xv. 63., where it is stated that the tribe of Judah would not expel the Jebusites from Jerusalem, and that on this

* [BOCHARTI *Canaan. Lib. II. c. xvii. c. 776. Opp. Lugd. 1692.*]

† [RELANDI *Palaestina Illustrata, p. 701.*]

count the latter inhabited the city together with the former, while nothing is said of the capture of the citadel of Zion by David, who in contempt of his weak and impotent enemies refrained from expelling them. That 'the mountains of Judah and Israel' are spoken of, c. xi. 16, 21., is no proof of a more recent origin, for these terms had been employed in contradistinction to each other not only during the first years of the reign of David, but even at an earlier period, and this use arose from the fact that Judah received the right of primogeniture from his father, (Gen. xlix. 8—10). Hence also, in other places, antecedently to the division of the nation, Judah is distinguished from Israel, and is set in opposition to the tribe of Ephraim or Joseph, which obtained the second privilege of primogeniture; Judg. i. 1. s. xx. 18. I Sam. xi. 8. xv. 4.—Besides, if the book of Judges was written not later than the seventh year of David, or, as will be subsequently shown, not later than the first years of the reign of Saul, it follows that the book of Joshua must have been written before that time; for the author of the book of Judges certainly knew of the publication of the book of Joshua, since, c. i. 1. ii. 6, 8., he commences his narrative with Joshua's death, with which the book of Joshua ends, whereas, if that book had not been in existence, it would have been more agreeable to his design to have commenced with the occupation and partition of Canaan.—On these grounds, therefore, it may certainly be inferred that the book of Joshua was composed before the first years of Saul's government; its exact age, however, and who was its author, cannot be determined. It has received its name from the transactions of Joshua which it records.[a] See the *Synopsis* ascribed to Athanasius, and Theodoretus.

The Samaritans have chosen rather to invent two new books of Joshua for themselves than to receive the genuine work from the Jews. Their first book begins at the death of Moses, and ends with Alexander Severus. See the Appendix to HOTTINGER's *Exercitationes Antimorianæ*, *Tiguri*. 1644. Scaliger deposited in the library at Leyden a copy of this book written in Arabic with Samaritan letters.—The second begins with Adam and ends with the year of the Hegira 393. i. e. A. D. 1492: its author was Abulphatach. See *Samaritanischer Briefwechsel in Eichhorn's Repert. für Bibl. und Morgen. Litt.* IX. Th. S. 1—46. Also *Neues Repert. für Bibl. und Morg. Lit. von PAULUS*. I. Th. S. 117—159.[b]

[a) Or more probably from the Jewish tradition that Joshua was its author; for the foundation for which, see § 28. and § 29. note a.) *Tr.*]

[b) A more extended notice of these spurious books may be found in DE WETTE'S *Einleit.* § 171, where it is shown that they are both derived from the canonical book, which has been re-written, mixed up with fabulous stories and exaggerations of the true history, and continued down to the above mentioned periods. *Tr.*]

§ 28. *The Book of Joshua has been formed from ancient documents.*

That the book of Joshua has been formed from ancient documents coeval with the events narrated, is evident from the following considerations.—1) The example of Moses in committing the transactions of the day to writing, would authorize the expectation that in the immediately subsequent age a history of the most important events by which the promises made to the patriarchs were fulfilled, would be written; especially as a written record of *the boundaries of the several tribes* was necessary to prevent those disputes and wars which would otherwise have arisen in the course of time.—2) We have explicit evidence of the fact: for we read, c. xviii., that Joshua caused *a geographical description of the country* to be prepared, and the author informs us, c. xxiv. 25., that Joshua committed to writing an account of *the renewal of the covenant between the Israelites and God*. From these instances we may reasonably infer that the other remarkable events of the age were in like manner preserved in coeval records.—3) Without the aid of authentic and coeval records the author could not have given such minute descriptions of the boundaries of the several tribes; he could not have adapted his accounts of the speeches of Caleb, c. xiv. 6—12.,—of Phineas, c. xxii. 18—20.,—of the tribes beyond Jordan, c. xxii. 21—30.,—and of Joshua himself, c. xxiii. xxiv.,—with such remarkable accuracy to the characters of each respectively; nor could he have drawn up the whole of his work in such a manner that everywhere it should breathe the spirit of the Mosaic law. Lastly, unless he had borrowed from an ancient document, he would not have spoken, c. v. 1., as if he had been *a party in the transactions* he was recording, nor would he have said that *the harlot Rahab lived among the Israelites* ‘even unto this day.’ without mentioning her marriage with Salmon, son of Naasson.

a prince of the tribe of Judah. All these things prove that the records whence this book has been compiled, were coeval with the events which they narrate.—4) The author of the book himself cites in express terms a book of poems, Josh. x. 13.[*a*]

From the frequent occurrence of the phrase, “in the land of Canaan” (e. g. c. xxi. 2. xxii. 9—11, 32.), it would seem probable that the author of the ancient documents used in the compilation of the book was a genealogist, or an eminent Levite, resident beyond Jordan.* This is strengthened by the fact that he enters minutely into the history of the altar erected in Gilead (c. xxi. 9—24), and that he relates the speeches of Phineas and of the tribes beyond Jordan at some length, as though he had been present at their delivery; while on the contrary he is brief in his narration of the report of Phineas to the assembled tribes in Canaan. As the discourses of Joshua (c. xxiii. xxiv.) are given very considerably in detail, we may infer that the author was himself present at that assembly of the people. From all this it is plain, that the phrase “in the land of Canaan,” affords no ground for the conclusion that the author of the book of Joshua was an exile in the Babylonish captivity; since it is with the author of the contemporary documents, and not with the compiler of the book, that the phrase originated.[*b*]

[*a*] To these proofs may be added:—5) The absence of any traces of disputes or civil wars among the tribes concerning their respective boundaries. Some document of acknowledged authority, accurately settling the bounds of the several tribes, must have existed from the very partition, by reference to which disputes of this kind might be settled, or the peaceful state of the growing tribes would have been entirely without any example in the history of mankind.—6) Without the existence of contemporaneous and authoritative records, the allotment of thirteen cities to the priests (c. xxi. 13—19,) would have been nugatory. Aaron’s family could not have been, at the time of the allotment, sufficiently numerous to occupy those cities. But it is altogether unlikely that these with the adjoining lands were left entirely unoccupied in expectation of their future owners. To afford security, therefore, to the sacerdotal family for their legitimate rights, when they should be in a condition to claim them, some document contemporaneous with the appropriation must have existed. Without such a document, innumerable

* [But see § 29. note *a*). 77.]

disputes must have arisen whenever they attempted to claim their possessions. Comp. FICHORN, Einleit. § 446 viert. Aus. Tr.]

[*b*] *As a mere conjecture*, the opinion of DE WETTE respecting the number of the original documents appears probable. He supposes c. i—xi. to be one entire ancient record, xi. 23. being a formal conclusion; c. xii. to be a later document, intended principally for a summary of the first, but containing additional particulars, (v. 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24.); and c. xiii—xxiv. to be another document, with the insertion of a smaller record, c. xv. 20—63. Einleit. § 163. BERTHOLDT, S. 350. ff., carries his conjectures much further, and of course diverges more from the bounds of probability. Tr.]

§ 29. *The Book of Joshua is worthy of credit.*

That the author has made his extracts from the documents which he used with scrupulous fidelity, and is therefore worthy of credit, appears from indubitable proofs.

I. *The speeches* of Rahab, of Caleb, of Phineas. of the tribes beyond Jordan, and of Joshua, all of which exactly suit the characters of the respective speakers, have been copied by the author from his records word for word; and in other parts of his history he has been, as is usual with Oriental historians, so tenacious of the original language as to retain the expressions, “until we were passed over,” c. v. 1., and, “she dwelleth in Israel even unto this day,” c. vi. 25. Hence it happens also that *he does not mention the tribes in geographical order*, but in the order in which they followed in his original record, that, namely, in which they severally by lot received their portion of the territory, Josh. xv. xvi. and xviii. xix. He uses also many words and phrases which occur in the Pentateuch, but seldom or never in any of the subsequent books, and some others which are common in the more recent books are not to be found in this. Lastly, he *mentions Joshua without any honorary distinction*, just as he had found him mentioned in his documents, [*a*] until the time of his death, when he is called “the servant of JEHOVAH,” xxiv. 29. He has not even ventured to add in xvii. 13. that the Israelites were afterwards seduced to idolatry by the Canaanites whom they had suffered to remain as tributaries: whence it is plain that the original document was written before the apostasy of the Israelites.

II. This book was received by the Hebrews as soon as published, while the original documents were yet extant. and afforded a suffi-

cient standard by which to judge of the credit of the author ; and since it contains an account of the boundaries of the tribes and of their cities, the people were too much interested in its contents not to ascertain whether it corresponded with those documents.

III. The events related in it were also well known, as appears from the reference made by Asaph to the conquest and partition of the country, in Ps. lxxviii. 53—55. comp. Ps. xlv. 2—4 ;—to the destruction of the Canaanites, by a contemporary of David, [b] in Ps. lxxviii. 13—15 ;—to the stoppage of the waters of Jordan, in Ps. cxiv. 1—5. lxxvi. 5. s. Hab. iii. 8 ;—to the tempest which followed the destruction of the Canaanites, in Hab. iii. 11—15 ; and to the tabernacle at Shiloh, in Judg. xviii. 31. xx. 1, 18, 26. I Sam. i. 3, 9, 24. iii. 21. iv. 12.

IV. Lastly, every thing in the book perfectly corresponds with the age in which the events occurred.

The speeches of Joshua, c. xxiii. xxiv., consist of scarcely anything else than a connected series of expressions used by Moses, especially of such as occur in Deuteronomy ; while this is not the case in the speeches of Caleb, c. xiv. 8—12 ; of Phineas ; or of the tribes beyond Jordan, c. xxii. 11—34 ; but each of these bears the impress of a distinct and different character in the speaker.

[a] Hence, as the author remarks, (Germ. Introd. S. 171, 172.) it is not improbable that these documents were written by Joshua himself. *Tr.*]

[b] In the German, the author says, ‘ by David.’ *Tr.*]

§ 30. *Difficulties occurring in the Book of Joshua.*

The difficulties which occur in this book do not at all weaken the credit of its author ; for either they are caused by miracles quite consistent with the divine dignity, and suitable to confirm the minds of men in the true religion, or they arise from false interpretations.

I. The stoppage of the waters of Jordan during the time that the priests who bore the ark remained in the bed of the river, Josh. iii. iv., strengthened the faith of the Hebrews, especially of the young, in God the Creator and Governor of the universe. Nor should it be objected that the waters rising up at Zarethan would inundate all the plain of Jordan ; for they may have been absorbed by a subterranean cavity, opened perhaps by an earthquake, until the Israelites had left

the bed of the river ; so that the miracle, like many of the miracles of Moses, would consist in the revelation of a future event, which no human sagacity could foresee. That this miracle did take place, the monument erected in memory of it, was a witness to future ages. Those who, in order to get rid of the evidence for this and similar miraculous events arising from the existence of coeval monuments, conjecture that this latter fact led to the invention of the miraculous histories, are destitute of all foundation for their opinion. On the contrary, it is evident from contemporary records that the monuments were erected in memory of the events, while there is not the least indication of the supposed formation of the histories from the monuments. Comp. c. vii. 26. viii. 29, 30—33. xxii. 9. s. xxiv. 26. &c.

II. In like manner the walls of Jericho, c. v. 13—vi. 27., may have been overthrown by an earthquake at the moment when the Israelites who were passing the city shouted, so that the miracle would again consist in the foreknowledge of the event, exceeding all the powers of human reason. However this may be, the tendency of this miracle would be of the same important nature as that of the preceding.

III. The celebrated passage c. x. 12—15., is poetical ; for which reason it is to be poetically interpreted, namely, thus ; that the Hebrews inflicted a defeat upon the Canaanites as great as if the sun had stopped his course, and had prolonged the day to a double length.[a] There arose, as Habbakuk, c. iii. 10—12, explains it, a tempest after the battle, which first destroyed many of the enemy by means of hail, and afterwards by the frequent flashes of lightning rendered the remainder so conspicuous to the Israelites that they were able to pursue them throughout the night, as if it had been day. The poet, in a sublime ode, by a bold figure introduces Joshua commanding the sun and moon to stop their course, and by a still bolder stretch of figure, asserts that the sun and moon obeyed the mandate of a man.

[a] Poetical passages are not to be understood in the whole strength of their literal meaning. When David in Ps. xviii. 8—17, describes himself as if he had been drowning in the inundation caused by a tremendous tempest, and God as stretching out his hand from the clouds (in allusion to a water-spout) and snatching him from the flood, no one ever thinks of understanding all this literally, but every reader perceives under these splendid figures nothing more than deliverance from great dangers.

And thus is the place under consideration to be explained. As the Hebrews were pursuing the Canaanites after the battle, there arose, as is expressly stated x. 11., a violent tempest, which caused as great a destruction among the enemy as if the Hebrews had pursued them two days without an intervening night. Thus Habakkuk explains the matter. When he says that "the sun and moon stood still," let it be remembered that he also speaks in elevated poetry, and does not intend to be understood literally, for he immediately adds that the Hebrews "went by the light of God's arrows, by the shining of his javelins," meaning *flashes of lightning*. But to what purpose these flashes if the sun had remained in the midst of the heavens?—Thus the author in his Einleit. S. 171. As his view of the miracle is, to say the least, very unsatisfactory, it is proper to state that the latter may be explained on two suppositions. Le Clerc and Drusius, with others, suppose it to have been owing to an extraordinary refraction of the rays of light commencing *at the close of day* (כִּיּוֹם תָּמִים) and lasting until the entire discomfiture of the Canaanites. Others suppose it to have been produced by a cessation of the diurnal motion of the earth, commencing just before the time of sunset, and lasting *during an entire day* (כִּיּוֹם תָּמִים) or the period of half a complete revolution of the earth. That this last exposition of the words כִּיּוֹם תָּמִים is very ancient, appears from Ecclus. xlvi. 4: Οὐχὶ ἐν χεῖρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνεποδίσεν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ μία ἡμέρα ἐγεννηθῆναι πρὸς δύο; *Tr.*]

§ 31. Character of the text of the Book of Joshua.

Other difficulties arise from the introduction of errors by which the text has suffered in many places. It could not happen otherwise in a book of such great antiquity, particularly as it abounds with proper names of places, in which errors, especially omissions, are easily made, and not readily observed so as to be amended. So c. xv. 60., the Alexandrine version adds *eleven* cities, which are wanting in the Hebrew text; c. xv. 32., *twenty-nine* cities are mentioned, whereas v. 20—31., *thirty-two* had been previously enumerated; c. xv. 33—36., *fifteen* cities are named, while in v. 36 the sum is stated to be only *fourteen*. See c. xix. 15, 30, which appear to be imperfect. In v. 15, only *five* cities are specified, and yet the sum total is said to be *twelve*. In v. 30 only *three* are named, yet the sum is stated at *twenty-two*. In v. 38 *nineteen* cities are mentioned, whereas but *sixteen* had been pre-

viously enumerated. Comp. also Josh. xix. 22. with I Chron. vi. 62, (77;) and Josh. xix. 7. with I Chron. iv. 32. The exceedingly difficult passage, Josh. iv. 9., concerning the monument of the twelve stones, which are said to have been erected in the very bed of Jordan, is without doubt interpolated. [a]—The Masora unjustly condemns two verses, c. xxi. 36. s., which are not only retained by 384 MSS., and those the best and oldest. by 141 editions, and by all the ancient versions in the London Polyglot, except the Peshito. but are moreover required by the parallel place, I Chron. vi. 63. s. (78. s.), and also by the context. Besides, the omission of these verses would have been easy on account of the similar terminations of the passage immediately preceding. and of the second verse ; but the transfer of the passage from I Chron. vi. 63. s. (78. s.) into Joshua. is improbable, inasmuch as the sense of the passage in the latter place is not complete without them. [b]

[a] The author's assertion appears to be too strong. There is no various reading on this passage, and the mere ground of its difficulty is scarcely sufficient to warrant an alteration of the text. The danger of admitting such a method of proceeding is amply illustrated by De Wette, Hasse, and others, who do not scruple to reject as interpolations any passages which do not please them (e. g. c. viii. 30—35. x. 14, 15.), and yet, such is the inconsistency of their criticism, elsewhere adduce them as proofs of the late origin, contradictory character, and mythical tendency, of the book itself! DE WETTE. Einleit. § 168, 170, 166. For an explanation of the passage in question see SHUCKFORD, Connexion of Sac. and Prof. Lit. Vol. III. p. 361. s. ed. Lond. 1819. Tr.]

[b] See Jahn's Note on this passage in his Hebrew Bible. Tr.]

CHAPTER III.

OF THE BOOKS OF JUDGES AND RUTH.

§ 32. *Contents of the Book of Judges.*

THIS book consists of three parts, viz. c. i—xvi; c. xvii. xviii, and c. xix—xxi. They have no other connexion than that which arises from their containing the history of events which took place in the time of the Judges; and in this respect, the book of Ruth is equally connected with them all. [a]

The author of the first part informs us (c. i.) which of the tribes drove out the Canaanites after the death of Joshua, and which merely made them tributary. He relates (ii. 1—6.) that a divine messenger announced to the latter that in a little time the Canaanites would entice the Hebrews into idolatry and overcome them.—This prediction the author illustrates from the history, ii. 7—iii. 6, and beginning with the last public assemblies during the government of Joshua, observes that as long as the Israelites were faithful to God their king, they were superior to their enemies, and prospered; but when they spared the Canaanites, and contracted marriages with them, they were led into idolatry by them, and at length were subjugated by other nations. If, however, at any time, oppressed by these calamities, they renounced their idolatry and turned again to God, some hero was raised up, who conquered their enemies, and restored them to their liberty. This the author proves by recounting particular histories, c. iii. 7—xvi. 31. [b]

[a] The ancient Jews therefore considered Judges and Ruth as one book. Comp. Part. I. § 28. [EUSEB. II. E. VI. 25.]

[*b*] The following is a more extended view of the contents of this part of the book.

I. When the generation which had renewed the covenant with JEHOVAH (Josh. xxiv.) had died, the Hebrews became idolatrous, and were consequently subjected during eight years to the yoke of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia. But upon their conversion to JEHOVAH, they were delivered by Othniel, and had rest forty years, iii. 8—11.

II. Upon the renewal of their idolatry, they fell under the harder yoke of the king of Moab, who, in connexion with the Ammonites and Amalekites, oppressed for eighteen years the tribes on the other side of Jordan, and the southern tribes on this side. Ehud restored them to freedom, and a peace of eighty years followed, iii. 12—30.

III. After this the northern tribes, in consequence of their wickedness, were distressed twenty years by Jabin. Barak was called to deliver them by the prophetess Deborah, (iv. 24.), and the victory was perpetuated in a triumphal poem, c. v. In the time of this servitude, or rather before it, the Philistines were subjected by Shamgar, iii. 3. v. 6. A peace of forty years duration succeeded the victory of Barak, v. 31.

IV. The Israelites were afterwards, on account of their apostacy, oppressed for seven years by the nomade Midianites, Amalekites, and Eastern people, (i. e. Arabians,) who are called (viii. 24.) Ishmaelites. They were freed by Gideon, and forty years of peace succeeded; vi. 1—viii. 33. Here is added the account of the idolatrous Shechemites, who chose Abimelek, a son of Gideon, for their king, with the distresses which they experienced from him; ix. 1—57.

V. Tola, of the tribe of Issachar, who ruled the northern tribes twenty-three years, and Jair, who was governor on the other side of Jordan twenty-two years, are merely mentioned, x. 1—5: perhaps because they protected the people rather by suitable preparations than by warlike undertakings.

VI. As the Israelites extended their idolatries, and honoured almost all the gods of their neighbours, the tribes on the other side of Jordan were oppressed during eighteen years by the Ammonites, who also attacked the southern tribes on this side, who already had powerful enemies in the Philistines. Their deliverer was Jephtha, who after his success conquered the jealous Ephraimites, with a loss on their side of 40,000 men. He governed six years: x. 6—xii. 7.

VII. Ibzan of Bethlehem, who was governor seven years, appears to have defended the southern tribes against the Philistines; xii. 8—10.

VIII. Elon, of the tribe of Zebulon, ruled the northern tribes ten years; xii. 11. s.

IX. Abdon, of Ephraim, exercised authority eight years over the tribes who were situated in the middle of the country; xii. 13—15.

X. The southern tribes were oppressed by the Philistines forty years, which period, however, includes no doubt the times of Ibzan and Samson. The latter frequently routed the Philistines; but his history is only told in part, and proofs of his extraordinary strength introduced, probably with the view of showing the abilities with which God had favoured him, but which neither he nor the people suitably improved; xiii. 1—xvi. 31. *Tr.*]

§ 33. *Design of the Book of Judges.*

From the preceding account of the contents, it appears that the design of the author was to show, from their history, that the Israelites had been governed by God their king, during all the period of time to which his book relates, according to the conditions specified in the Law, Ex. xxiii. Lev. xxvi. Deut. xxviii—xxxii., and that the calamities which they suffered were to be imputed to their neglect of the Law; for which reason they could not expect any better state, unless they avoided those crimes which had hitherto prevented their enjoying any permanent prosperity. [*a*]

Hence it is evident that chronologers have altogether mistaken, in supposing that it was the author's intention to relate the whole of the history of this period; for there are long intervals of time concerning which he says nothing, and does not specify the number of years. He relates nothing but what would tend to remind the Israelites of the worship of God, and of obedience to his commands.—Hence it is impossible precisely to fix the date of each particular event. In the time of Paul (Ac. xiii. 20.) they reckoned 450 years from the death of Joshua to the commencement of the reign of Saul, and this agrees with the contents of the book of Judges. For if from 450 we subtract the 40 years of Eli, the 20 years after his death, and the 40 years of Samuel, there will remain 350 years, which number agrees with Judg. xi. 26., where, in the time of Jephthah, 300 years are reckoned from the death of Moses. *Comp. Germ. Introd. P. I. § 153. p. 538.*

[*a*] It was therefore not so much his object to relate that their apostacy was the consequence of sparing the Canaanites, and subjection to foreign powers the consequence of apostacy, but rather to state those facts as a warning to his readers, in the same disposition which Samuel shows in his address, I Sam. xii. 14, 20—25.]

§ 34. *Age of the Book of Judges.*

That the book was not written, as has been thought, during the Babylonish captivity, is proved by the character of the language, which is free from Chaldee and other recent words, and contains, on the contrary, many which are common to the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, but not to be found in the more modern books. The limits of this work, however, will not allow me to enumerate them.—Nor are there any other signs of a recent origin. The date of the book may be correctly inferred from the silence of the author respecting the capture of Jerusalem by David, which had it taken place before his time, the nature of his subject in c. i. 21. would not have permitted him to pass over in silence. [a] Nor does the occurrence of the name *Jerusalem* in these passages, indicate an origin posterior to the capture of the city by David: for since in II Sam. v. 6—10. I Chron. xi. 4—9, it is merely said that David called the citadel of Zion *the city of David*, without any mention of a new designation of the city of the Jebusites, we may conclude that the name *Jerusalem*, (יְרוּשָׁלַם,) is more ancient than that time, and was applied to the place because it was a *safe possession* or *residence*, in consequence of its situation on a mountain, and its strong fortifications.—The omission of the history, not only of Samuel, but also of Eli, indicates an author, who, living in an age very near that of Eli, considered his history as generally known, because so recent. If the author be placed as low as the first years of David's reign, this observation will not apply, and it will be difficult to account for these omissions.—The object of the writer suits the time when the Israelites made Saul their king in the hope of improving their condition; for the book is composed with the design of showing that a better condition was not to be expected, unless the people themselves became better. And this agrees with what Samuel solemnly declares to the Israelites, I Sam. vii. 2. xii. 14—16, 20, 24. s. The book, therefore, must have been written in the first years of the reign of Saul, and perhaps was composed, as the Talmudists assert, by Samuel himself, with the spirit of whose admonitions it so perfectly accords. [b]

That the book of Judges was not written by the author of the book of Joshua, is shown by the difference of the method of relating subjects, and by the difference of the style.—1) In the book of Joshua there is a continual reference to the Law of Moses[*c*], which is much less frequent in the book of Judges.[*d*]—2) In Joshua there are no such inferences from the history as those which are so common in Judges.[*e*]—3) The style of the book of Joshua is neater than that of Judges; the narration is more clear, and the arrangement is better.[*f*]

[*a*] To this it may be added, that the author of the book, in the passage cited, tells us that in his time the Benjamites and Jebusites dwelt together at Jerusalem; which could hardly have been said after David's conquest. *Tr.*]

[*b*] This Jewish tradition agreeing so well with the internal evidence of the book itself, is entitled to no small consideration.—Eichhorn observes that after a careful examination, he can discover in this work no trace of any subsequent period, but rather intimations of its having been written either at the end of the age of the Judges, or at the beginning of the reign of Saul.—De Wette allows it to be of very high antiquity, and supposes it to be older than the book of Joshua.

The title of the book is obviously derived from its subject, the actions of the Judges (דִּבְרֵי שֹׁפְטִים, c. ii. 16. ss. &c.) i. e. the rulers of the people

both in peace and war, but especially those who were raised up by divine providence for the deliverance of the Israelites from their enemies. The term דִּבְרֵי שֹׁפְטִים, as used in this title, has no reference to any peculiar judicial

office, although such an office was occasionally exercised by those to whom it is applied (Judg. iv. 1. comp. I. Sam. vii. 15. s.), but merely expresses generally the idea of authority and rule however obtained and however exercised. *Tr.*]

[*c*] See § 25. note *b*). *Tr.*]

[*d*] Nevertheless the contents of the books of Moses are often referred to; as, for instance, the Exode, in ii. 1, 10. vi. 8, 9, 13. x. 11.; the conquests on the other side of Jordan, in xi. 15—28.; the sanctions of the Law, in ii. 15.; the Nazarite, in xiii. 4. s., 7, 14. xvi. 17.; and the vow called *cherem*, in xi. 31, 34—39.]

[*e*] For instance. iii. 1, 4. viii. 27. ix. 56. s. &c. *Tr.*]

[*f*] Comp. i. 10, 11, 20. with Josh. xiv. 6—15., and xv. 13—19.: also ii. 7—10. with Josh. xxiv. 29—31.]

§ 35. *The Book of Judges is taken from ancient documents.*

The book of Judges is compiled from ancient documents.—1) The song of Deborah in attestation of the expedition of Barak (c. v.).

and the parable of Jotham (c. ix. 8—15), are copied from these ; for the style and character of the book prove that these pieces could not have been written by its author.—There are also some things taken verbatim from the book of Joshua.—The history of Samson appears to consist of two documents, each of them terminating (c. xv. 20. xvi. 31.) with the number of years during which Samson judged Israel and both expressing ideas previously occurring in language different from any before used.[a]—2) The book contains several fragments as c. iii. 31, concerning Shamgar ; c. x. 1—5, concerning Tola and Jair ; c. xii. 8. s., 11—13, 14. concerning Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, of all of whom the author knew and relates the number of years that they governed, and the number of their sons, and even of their daughters, but none of their transactions. When he tells us what tribes waged war against the Canaanites, he says nothing of Issachar ; and when he speaks of the apostacy to idolatry, he has no information to give respecting the tribes beyond Jordan. But on the other hand, he narrates at length the transactions at Gideon and Abimelech, and also of Jephthah on the other side of Jordan, who was distinguished for his victories over the Ephraimites on this side.—Hence it is plain that the author has taken some of his details from the genealogies, in which some historical accounts were usually inserted ; and from this source he has derived his narrative of the circumstances that preceded the conception of Samson, which are given as the parents related them to the genealogist.

[a] Thus, for instance, in the history of Samson we do not find such expressions as “the anger of JEHOVAH was hot, and he sold them into the hand of their enemies” (ii. 14, 20. iii. 8. x. 7.), but “he delivered them” (xiii. 1.). Neither do we find, as elsewhere (xviii. 22, 23. vii. 23, 24. x. 17.) וַיִּקְרָא or וַיִּצְעַק used for ‘the calling or coming together of an

army.* And the remarkable phraseology $\text{וַתְּחַל רוּחַ יְהוָה לְפַעֲמוֹ}$

(‘the spirit of JEHOVAH began to move him’) or $\text{וַתִּצְלַח רוּחַ יְהוָה עָלָיו}$

(‘the spirit of JEHOVAH came mightily upon him,’ or ‘drave him,’) occurs (c. xiii. 25. xiv. 6, 19. xv. 14.) in cases where before it is said

$\text{וַיְהִי רוּחַ יְהוָה עָלָיו}$ (‘the spirit of JEHOVAH was upon him,’) or

* [For this peculiarity, however, the simple reason may be assigned, that the author had no occasion to make use of that expression. *Ty.*]

רוח יהוה לבשה ('the spirit of JEHOVAH clothed,') as in iii. 10. vi.

34. xi. 29.]—[DE WETTE, allowing the hypothesis that the history of Samson is a separate document to be probable, rejects the supposition that it consists of *two*, contending that c. xvi. 31. is the close of *the one* history: comp. viii. 32. xii. 7, 10, 12, 15.—Einleit. § 174. *Tr.*]

§ 36. *Authority of the Book of Judges.*

The care with which the author has made use of his documents is evident; 1) from the fact that he has retained the double ending of those which relate to Sampson, c. xv. 20. xvi. 31; and, as is proved by the difference of the style, has preserved the very words of the original documents.—2) All his narratives are in character with the age to which they belong, nor does he in any manner attempt to soften or excuse acts of harshness, severity, or injustice; c. iii. 18—23. iv. 18—22. viii. 13—21. ix. 4. xii. 5. s. xvi. 21, 27.—3) The more remarkable events, as well as all other matters, agree with the accustomed order of things. The Hebrews, but little accustomed to war, are rendered effeminate by residence in a fertile country, and show a forbidden lenity to the Canaanites, whom they are content to render tributary. They are seduced to idolatry, which, by its admixture of voluptuous indulgence with the worship of the gods, increases their luxuriousness and effeminacy. In this state they are overpowered by their enemies, and subjected to cruel servitude. In such circumstances, it is by no means an unheard of or incredible thing that some person should rise up, or be chosen, who, filled with heroism, calls the people to arms, conquers their enemies, and delivers his country. These men, indeed, are highly extolled by the author of the book of Judges; but then, on the other hand, he is not silent respecting their faults, as may be seen in the instances of Ehud, Jephthah, Samson, and Gideon with his ephod.—4) Lastly, the book was published and received in an age in which the Israelites might have ascertained the veracity of the author by comparing his narrative with the original documents yet extant, and in which the events narrated were generally known, as appears from Ps. lxxviii. 56—68. lxxxiii. 9—12. cvi. 34—46. I Sam. xii. 9—12.

§ 37. *Difficulties in the Book of Judges.*

If the wonders which are related in this book are accurately examined with reference to the circumstances and opinions of the age in which they took place, without adding any thing which is not expressed, or attributing to the expressions a meaning which does not belong to them, they will be found neither extravagant nor surpassing belief.[a]

I. Shamgar, c. iii. 31. v. 6., armed only with an ox-goad *beat* (פִּי) 600 Philistines. Now it is not said, either that he was *alone*, or that he *slew* the whole six hundred. He may have been the first who resisted the invaders, and placed himself at the head of a body of men previously employed, like himself, in ploughing: in this case the victory would be attributed to him, as another is, I Sam. xviii. 7. to Saul and David.[b]

II. Barak with 10,000 soldiers, taking advantage of a raging tempest, (Judg. v. 4. s., 10.,) rushed suddenly from mount Tabor (c. iv. 12—14.) upon the unprepared army of Sisera, whose chariots of war, broken and disarrayed, so blocked up the way that the rest of the army could neither fight nor fly with ease, and the commander himself could with difficulty make his escape on foot (c. iv. 2—15). Jael, ignorant of all that had taken place, in good faith invited Sisera to rest himself within her tent, and quenched his thirst with sour camel's milk, a beverage which has an inebriating effect; but upon reflection, thinking it an act of treason to preserve an enemy of the people under whose protection she was living, slew him as he slept, and thereby obtained the reputation, not indeed of holiness, but of fortitude and patriotic zeal.

III. The miracles in the history of Gideon, c. vi. 11—26, 36—40, are so connected with the dismissal of the major part of the army, (c. vii. 2—8.), and this with the subsequent victory, that the history of either without that of the other would be an enigma: on which account it is impossible to doubt the reality of those wonders. The victory obtained by 300 soldiers over the innumerable host of Midianites, by the aid of an extraordinary stratagem, is not unexampled. Nor is it to be forgotten, that these 300 men were assisted, as is related in c. vii. 23—25, by the soldiers who had been dismissed, and by

very many others, who joined in the pursuit of the enemy already put to flight. Comp. Germ. Introd. Th. II. Sect. I. § 37. S. 197. s.[c]

IV. Jephthah vowed a VOW (ANATHEMA, a *dedicatory vow*) that whatever should first come out of the door of his house to meet him at his victorious return, should be sacred to God, and (if it should be any thing which could be sacrificed) should be offered as a burnt-offering. When it is said that 'he did according to his vow' to his daughter, who was the first that met him, it must be understood that he slew her, but not that he offered her as a burnt-offering; for this no priest would have suffered. His conduct was indeed repugnant to good morals, and to the law of Moses, who had established the חרם, or *vow of destruction*, in order to afford an example of punishment; but it would be idle to expect any great knowledge of moral discipline or of the Mosaic law from a man who was the son of a harlot, and, while an outcast from his home and country, the leader of a band of robbers.[d]

V. The prodigious powers of Samson do not create any difficulty; for history affords many instances of men of vast strength; some of which are noticed in the Germ. Introd. P. II. Sect. I. § 37. S. 199—205.—1) Samson's extraordinary strength enabled him to slay a lion, although he was unarmed (c. xiv. 5, 6.). This was done too by David and by Benaiah, I Sam. xvii. 34. ss. II Sam. xxiii. 20., and other similar instances might be adduced, both in past ages, and in our own.[e]—2) Samson with a few assistants could easily catch three hundred jackals (c. xv. 4, 5, 8.), a stupid sort of animal that is gregarious and does not shun the approach of men. For שועלים in this place does not signify *foxes*, who would have fled immediately to their holes and not have wandered about the fields of the Philistines. But *jackals* would have answered the purpose of Samson admirably; and the same name is applied both to those creatures and to foxes by the Hebrews and Arabs, on which account the former distinguish the *fox* by the epithet *little*; שועלים קטנים.—3) It was not beyond the powers of a robust man to slay singly thirty Philistines, in order to pay with their spoils the forfeit which he had lost by treachery. c. xiv. 19.—4) Samson in his full strength would be able to break new cords and even green withes. c. xv. 9—15. xvi. 7—9, 11. s.—5) A man

celebrated for his prodigious strength, might *smite* or *put to flight* (for so the verb *הכה* is often elsewhere used) with the jaw-bone of an ass a thousand Philistines, who, in order to secure a terrible enemy, had come with a secret terror, and who were panic struck by his suddenly breaking the cords which bound him. Nor is it to be doubted that the Hebrews who were on the spot for the purpose of delivering Samson to the Philistines, would assist him in attacking them, terror-struck as they were, and put to flight. That in his triumphal song (c. xv. 16.) Samson attributes the victory to himself alone, creates no difficulty; for the poetry in question was not spoken by Samson fresh from the theatre of action, but is cited by the author from some old poem as a testimony of the transaction.[*f*] The same is also to be said of c. xiv. 18. where Samson is represented as uttering a poetical and even rhythmical composition. Hence it appears that the history of Samson is everywhere taken from poems in which his deeds were poetically represented.[*g*] and therefore its expressions are not all to be forced to the most rigorous signification of which they are susceptible.—6) The fountain of water, Judg. xv. 19., did not arise out of the jaw-bone of the ass, but out of the place, which either at that very time, or subsequently on account of the preceding feat of Samson, was called *the height of the jaw*, רמת הלחי: for it is not uncommon among the orientals to designate a place by the name of *the jaw*, as we find in the Targums, *the jaw of Moab*, לחית מואב, and among the Arabs there is a tribe known by the name of *the two jaws*, *تحيان*; MICHAELIS Chrestomath. Arab. p. 54.—7) The carrying away of the doors of the gate of Gaza which, however, were not at all like those of the present day, to the mountain opposite Hebron, was not a feat exceeding the powers of a man of uncommon strength; for there are many instances, both in ancient and modern history, of persons who have carried even greater weights.[*h*]—8) The temple of Dagon, supported by two columns, was without doubt a structure similar to that described in the *Bibl. Archæol. P. I. Th. I. § 45. S. 211.* (Upham's Trans. § 36. p. 40.), the columns of which, if the structure were somewhat decayed, might easily be so shaken by a man of more than ordinary strength, that the flat roof which rested on them should fall in; Judg. xvi. 28. s.—9) The connexion of

Samson's strength with the preservation of his hair, *Judg.* xvi. 16—19. was merely his own supposition. Hence when his hair was shorn his courage forsook him, and he did not dare to try his strength; but with the growth of his hair his courage returned, and he was capable of exerting his former strength. This the Philistines themselves had observed to be the case, and therefore not content with shaving his head, they deprived him of his sight too, and bound him with chains of brass; paying no attention to the growth of his hair.[i]—10) With respect to the supernatural appearances which are said to have preceded the birth of Samson, it would not have been worth while to invent such accounts concerning a man notoriously guilty of fornication, and who destroyed himself in order to gratify his revenge; and if they had laboured under any suspicion of being feigned, they would have been omitted by the author. The parents of Samson must have related them to the genealogist, or they would not have been recounted by an author who is otherwise well worthy of our credence,—who does not praise Samson in any other respect than as he began to liberate the Israelites from the Philistine yoke,—and who relates the extraordinary feats of his prowess only to show what a hero God would have given to the Hebrews, if they had chosen suitably to avail themselves of his uncommon endowments.—Finally, it can hardly be doubted that the history of Samson is incomplete; for what he did as governor of the people, is either passed over in silence, or at most but very slightly touched; *c.* xiii. 25. Hence Samson may have been a civil governor worthy of commendation, who began well, but ended ill: nor would he be the only example of such a character that history could afford.

[a) It should also be borne in mind, that the Judges frequently acted under the immediate influence of the Divinity, by whom they were endowed with supernatural wisdom, strength, and courage. In some cases, such as that of Samson's suicide, they may have abused their endowments, since the supernatural gifts of God are equally liable to abuse with those which he bestows in the ordinary course of nature. *Tr.*]

[b) There is no difficulty in such language; expressions of the same kind are in common use at the present day. Nor does any objection arise from the nature of the instrument, which was well fitted for such a purpose. *Comp.* *Archæol.* § 59. *Upham's Trans.* *EICHORN*, *Einleit.* § 460. *S.* 434. *Tr.*]

[c] The author refers to DIODORUS SICULUS, XX. 66. and NIEBUHR's description of Arabia, p. 304, for two instances of the rout of an army equally remarkable with that in the book of Judges. *Tr.*]

[d] Comp. Archæol. § 394. Upham's Trans. and see DATHE's note *in loc.*, where he defends the same view of the subject. Some have thought that Jephthah's daughter was devoted in a state of perpetual virginity to the service of the tabernacle in some way: but there is no evidence of such persons being so employed. The only texts which might be thought to favour such an opinion are Num. xxxi. 10, 15—18; but it is plain that these women, who are said to be the Lord's, were intended for the high priest's service, and are therefore called 'a heave offering.' See v. 29, 41., and comp. xviii. 19. See, however, HALE'S Analysis of Chronology, Vol. II. pp. 320—323. *Tr.*]

[e] See Acta Dei per Francos, Tom. I. p. 75, 314; JOE LUDOLPHI Historia Æthiopica, § 48; ARNIEUX' Remarkable Accounts, Part 2d. c. xiii; LOBO'S Travels in Abyssinia, Part I. p. 155; BOCHARTI Hierozoicon, Tom. I. p. 753; SCHILLINGERS Missions Bericht. Th. IV. S. 79; PLINIUS Hist. L. VIII. c. 21.]

[f] Admitting this to be true, which wants proof, still the terms being express, and cited by the author of the book or document without qualification, and as a statement of a fact, are sufficient to refute Jahn's hypothesis. The only method of accounting for this transaction is by admitting what the narrative expressly (v. 14, 16, 19,) asserts, an extraordinary divine assistance. *Tr.*]

[g] This is a rash assertion. Granting the author's position respecting xv. 16. xiv. 18., the insertion of two passages is far from proving that the history of Samson is *everywhere* derived from poetic sources, and therefore exaggerated. But it is not certain that these passages are quotations from old poems. No such documents are cited by the author, as is elsewhere customary (Num. xxi. 14. Josh. x. 13. II Sam. i. 18.), but it is unequivocally asserted that 'Samson said,' &c. *Tr.*]

[h] See PLINIUS Hist. Nat. L. VII. c. 20.]

[i] It is plain from the narrative that the connexion of Samson's strength with the growth of his hair was *not* merely his own supposition. Upon his being shaven, it is expressly said that 'his strength went from him' (xvi. 9.); and upon his awaking it is also said that he made an effort to do as he had done heretofore, 'not knowing that the Lord was departed from him' (v. 20.): hence it appears that it was *not* the effect of his conceit which rendered him powerless, and prevented him from 'daring to try his strength,' since he actually did attempt to exert his might as usual, but found it departed from him. He had broken the conditions upon which supernatural strength had been promised before his birth (xiii. 5.), and the gift was taken from him. Besides, at the

time of his capture, and during his captivity, it is incredible that he should have made no effort to escape the power of his foes; if he had done so he would still, according to Jahn's hypothesis, have shown himself as strong as ever. The conduct of the idolatrous Philistines is a miserable argument. They cannot be supposed to have believed in the supernatural origin of his strength, or in its connexion with his vow. Possibly they may have been convinced of its connexion with the preservation of his hair, but they had experienced too many injuries from him not to use every precaution, however unnecessary in appearance, to deprive him of the power of doing them any further evil. Besides, they could not know the exact limits of the connexion of his strength with his hair; shaving his head might deprive him of his strength for the present, but a very short time might be sufficient for its renewal. Prudence, then, required that they should immediately take measures to restrain him from its exercise, if it should return.

The objectionable features in this section, Jahn has copied, almost servilely, from Eichhorn. It is to be regretted that, occupying the post of a champion of revelation, he is sometimes, from a wish to attack its enemies upon their own ground, and to render his arguments as much as possible free from their insidious objections, led to make rash and unjustifiable concessions. *Tr.*]

§ 38. *First Appendix to the Book of Judges: c. xvii. xviii.*

The first appendix, c. xvii. xviii., contains an account of the origin of idolatry among the Danites, who shortly after the death of Joshua took the city Leshem or Laish in Cælo-syria, and furnishes a commentary on Josh. xix. 47. Its contents are as follows:—A man of Mount Ephraim, named Micah, returns to his mother a sum of money that he had stolen, part of which she appropriates to the making of an image. A travelling Levite is induced by Micah to settle in the family as a priest. In the mean time certain spies, who had been sent by the tribe of Dan to Cælo-Syria, passed by that neighbourhood, and became acquainted with the Levite's situation. They were succeeded by 600 Danites on their way to attack Laish, who seized the image and took the priest along with them. Upon the conquest of the city, they set up the image, and established idolatry, which continued there a considerable time.—From the last words of the history, c. xviii. 30, 31., which relate that the posterity of Jonathan the grandson of Moses [*a*] were priests of the image in Laish or Dan.

עד גלות הארץ, *until that region was devastated, and as long as the house of God was in Shiloh*, it appears that the writer lived posterior to the expulsion of the Danites from that territory, and when the tabernacle was not at Shiloh; consequently, after the building of the temple.[*b*] This is confirmed by the designation of the date of the event, c. xvii. 6. xviii. 1., *in those days there was no king in Israel, and every one did that which was right in his own eyes*, which shows that when the author wrote the monarchy had been some time established.[*c*] But, whatever may have been the age of the writer or of the person who annexed this fragment to the book of Judges, he seems to have used a very ancient document, the beginning of which had been worn out or lost: for after mentioning Mount Ephraim as Micah's place of residence he enters directly into the matter, beginning with Micah's confession of the theft which he had committed. The antiquity of the document appears from some peculiar expressions, such as (xviii. 7.) *living after the manner of the Zidonians*; i. e. in ease and security, and (xvii. 10. xviii. 19.) *'to be a father and a priest.'* Every circumstance of the narrative moreover, and especially the slender compensation of the priest, (only ten shekels of silver yearly, with food and clothing, xvii. 10.) is altogether in character with remote antiquity.

[*a*] Thus the author in both his works. Yet there does not appear to be any better authority for the reading than that the name of the Levite's father was Gershom, together with some Rabbinical notion respecting the *suspended Nun*. The common reading is *Manasseh*, and this has the support of the Septuagint and the Chaldee Targum. That *Moses* is the reading of the Vulgate only proves that the variety is very ancient. The circumstances of the story render it very improbable that the person who acts so prominent a part should be the grandson of Moses. See PATRICK and LE CLERC on Judg. xviii. 31. Comp. however, P. I. § 138. p. 160, and KENNICOTT, Diss. on the State of the Hebrew Text, pp. 51—55, 559. *Tr.*]

[*b*] This conclusion of our author is scarcely warranted by the expression, "as long as the house of God was in Shiloh."—1) That the use of the term 'the house of God,' does not necessarily imply an age posterior to the erection of the temple, see note *c*) to § 25, and comp. Gen. xxviii. 17, 22.—2) The continuance of the ark of God in Shiloh, it is well known, was interrupted by its capture by the Philistines. 1 Sam. iv., and

there is no evidence that it was ever returned. It is certainly very probable that the tabernacle, being a moveable building, and expressly constructed to accompany the ark in its journeys in the wilderness, was removed together with it, or, at least, brought after it, when its residence had been established at Kirjath-jearim. From the circumstance of the solemn assemblies of the people being held at Mizpeh (I Sam. vii. 6. x. 17.) and at Gitgal (I Sam. xi. 14. xiii. 4, 8, 12.) while transactions done in both those places are said to be done 'before the Lord' (I Sam. vii. 6. x. 17, 19. xi. 15. xii. 3. xiii. 8, 9, 12.) and from the express mention (I Sam. xiv. 18) that the ark was removed from place to place, it seems likely that the ark had no fixed residence subsequently to its removal from Kirjath-jearim, but was removed as the necessities of the nation might require. The narrative of the transactions at Nob, (I Sam. xxi. 1—7. xxii. 9—19.) render it highly probable that the tabernacle and every thing prescribed by the Mosaic ritual, accompanied it in its peregrinations. Certainly the show-bread would seem to have been in its appointed place, in the tabernacle, with the veil (Exod. xxvi. 35. comp. Mar. ii. 26.), and the only way to account for the presence of the sword of Goliath (I Sam. xxi. 9.), is by supposing it dedicated as a monument of victory and an offering of thanksgiving in 'the house of God.'—From all this it appears plain that at any time subsequent to the capture of the ark by the Philistines, the expression "as long as the house of God continued in Shiloh" might have been used with perfect propriety, and, consequently, that it is no proof that this appendix was not originally published, from more ancient documents, by Samuel, in the first years of the reign of Saul.

The expression עַד גְּלוּת הָאָרֶץ, *until the captivity of the land*, has by Spinoza, Le Clerc, and others, been considered as a proof that this narrative was not published until after the Babylonian captivity, or at least until after that of Israel by Salmanazar and Esarhaddon. But this rests upon the assumptions that the word גְּלוּת, *captivity*, can only mean a *deportation of the inhabitants*, and that when used in prose without any specification of time or place, it must apply to one of the great spoliations made by the Babylonian or Assyrian princes. Both these are without foundation. 1) שְׁבוּת, a word as strongly expressive of captivity as גְּלוּת, is used (Job xlii. 10.) in a prose narration to express 'affliction,' and this use is confirmed by other passages. The conjunction of the term with אָרֶץ, *land*, which occurs no where else, and which would be improper in its strict signification, is another proof of the fallaciousness of this assumption.—2) Nor is the other more tenable. That the expression

'the captivity' used without adjunct of time or place, does, when occurring in the later writings, signify the Assyrian or Babylonian captivity, and especially the latter, will be readily granted. The reason is, that those great calamities were fresh in the minds of the author and his readers, and by their recentness and magnitude swallowed up the memory of all preceding evils of a similar nature. For the same reason an ancient writer, living a little after the complete subjection of the Israelites to the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 17—23) or some similar calamity, might apply to that event the same expression. No phrase exactly similar to that in question is elsewhere to be found. It is therefore much more reasonable to suppose it to allude to a depopulation of the territory inhabited by the idolatrous Danites, during some of the many incursions made upon the Israelites by their enemies before the time of the kings, than to refer the narrative to an age of which no trace can be discovered in it, and which was so long posterior to the events recorded.

Some have supposed גְּלוּת הָאָרֶץ, *captivity of the land*, to allude to the Philistine conquest in the time of Eli (1 Sam. iv.), but it can scarcely be supposed that the effects of that conquest extended so far north as Dan. It is more prudent, in the absence of all historical evidence, to refer it, with Jahn, indefinitely to some devastation of that region, possibly unknown because unrecorded. *Tr.*]

[c] These passages, however, may have been interpolated, and if we examine their connexion, it will appear very probable that they have been so. For each immediately follows an account of the idolatry of Micah, so that it looks as if they had been added in the margin by some zealous priest or Levite, some time after the commencement of the monarchy, yet before the apostacy of the kings to idolatry, in order to account for the existence of such an evil in Israel. In c. xviii. 1. as it now stands, בְּיָמַי הָהֵם, *in those days*, is repeated rather awkwardly, whereas if the phrase in which it first occurs be allowed to have been introduced from the margin, the connexion of the second with the preceding passage will be clear and natural. *Tr.*]

§ 39. *The second Appendix to the Book of Judges, c. xix—xxi.*

The second appendix commences with the history of a family which in the age immediately subsequent to Joshua's death, was dwelling in Mount Ephraim: but it ends with an account of a cruel civil war. The concubine of a certain Levite of Mount Ephraim, who had spent a night at Gibeah, of the tribe of Benjamin, had been abused by the inhabitants, even to death. In order to punish such a flagrant crime.

all the other tribes flew to arms. The Benjamites refusing to deliver up the offenders to punishment, a bloody war was commenced against them. In two engagements they were victorious, but in the third they were defeated, and the whole tribe destroyed with the exception of 600 men, who had fled to the rock Kimmon. These were afterwards treated with favour. As the Israelites had sworn not to allow their daughters to intermarry with them, 400 of them obtained wives from among the young women of Jabesh Gilead, the males of which city were destroyed by the Israelites, because they had not joined the war; and the remainder were allowed to seize the maidens of Shiloh, while they were celebrating an annual festival.

That the author of this fragment lived in an age much later than the events which it records, appears from his ignorance of the name of the Levite, and of that of the city where he resided; and from his saying (xx. 27) that *the ark was at that time in Shiloh*, and (xix. 1) that *there was then no king in Israel*.—There are no traces of any ancient document, from which this piece could have been compiled; but it is quite improbable that any Hebrew would be induced to invent a narrative so disgraceful to his nation as that which it contains. It is therefore, scarcely necessary to refer to Hos. ix. 9. in proof of the correctness of the history.

§ 40. *Contents of the Book of Ruth.*

A famine having arisen in the land of Israel, at the period, perhaps, when the Midianites impoverished the country during seven years by feeding their flocks on the crops of the Israelites, (Judg. vi. 1—6), [a] Elimelech with his wife and two sons, emigrated from Bethlehem to the region of the Moabites, where shortly after he died. His two sons married Moabitish wives, and not long after both of them died without children. Naomi, deprived now of her husband and children, returned to Bethlehem, taking with her Ruth, one of her daughters-in-law, whom no considerations could dissuade from accompanying her. In the time of harvest, Ruth availed herself of the permission granted by the Mosaic law, and went to glean in the field of Boaz, a descendant of Naasson, of the tribe of Judah. The kind reception she met with induced her, at the persuasion of her mother-in-law, to make known to Boaz, the kinsman of Elimelech, her claim of mar-

riage by the right of a brother-in-law, sanctioned by the Mosaic law. After a nearer kinsman had solemnly renounced his right, Boaz married her, and she became the mother of Obed, the grandfather of David.

[a] So PATRICK, Comm. on Ruth. i., and RICHARDSON, Pref. to Ruth. JOSEPHUS, A. J. V. ix. 1. refers this history to the time of Eli, but is refuted by BERTHOLDT, Einleit. Th. V. S. 2349. MOLDENHAUER, (Introd. ad Lib. V. et N. T. p. 43) after some Jewish writers, assigns it to the time of Ehud: USSHER to that of Shamgar. HORNE, Introd. IV. 38. ed. 4th. Tr.]

§ 41. Age of the Book of Ruth.

From the addition of the genealogy of the royal line it appears that the author lived, not before David, but sometime after him; and indeed it is plain that he wrote in an age comparatively modern: for, 1) the expression ‘when the judges ruled,’ (i. 1) which marks the period when the event occurred, shows that in the writer’s day kings had already been reigning for a considerable time.—2) The explanation of the rite, formerly in use, of confirming a bargain by the delivery of the shoe of one of the parties (iv. 7), which in the author’s time had become obsolete; and his ignorance of the name of the nearer kinsman, who is merely designated as פּלוֹנִי פְּלוֹנִי, *such an one*, strengthens the above proof.—3) The Chaldee words with which the language is interspersed, [a] intimate that the last period of the kingdom of Judah is the earliest age to which the book can be assigned.

[a] Thus כּוֹרַח occurs for כּוֹרַה, i. 20; *Jod* is used in the second person feminine, שְׂמַחֲתִי and יִרְעַתִּי, iii. 3., and שְׂכַבְתִּי, iii. 4. As however, in other respects the language is tolerably pure, these few Chaldaisms may have arisen from negligence in the transcribers; particularly as in iv. 5. the second person masculine has also a *Jod*, קָנִיתִי plainly from the error of the copyist, and elsewhere the book exhibits much variety of reading. It is not possible, therefore, to determine its date with certainty.] —[De Wette adds as instances of Chaldaisms; עֵגֶן, c. i. 15. (on which, however, see MICHAELIS, Suppl. ad. Lex. Heb. No. 1819); רִבְּקָה, i. 14.

ii. 8, 21. (which occurs in Gen. ii. 24. xix. 19.); אָנָן , ii. 14.; and the use of the suffix ן instead of י , i. 8, 9, 11, 13. Comp. also the similar phrases in Ruth i. 17. and I Sam. iii. 17. xiv. 44. I Ki. ii. 23. II Ki. vi. 31., and in Ruth iv. 4. and I Sam. ix. 15. xx. 2, 12. *Tr.*]

§ 42. *The Book of Ruth is worthy of credence.*

That the book is taken from ancient records, perhaps genealogies, may be inferred from the following circumstances.—1) The retention of the obsolete term אָנָן to express the second nearest kinsman, c. ii. 20.—2) The omission of the nearest kinsman's name, probably because it was wanting in the document.—3) The accurate agreement of the speech of Ruth and of the dialogue between Boaz and the other kinsman, with the characters of the persons, which is such as to preclude all idea of their being fictitious.

That the author used these documents with integrity, is proved ; 1) by the fact that he does not flatter the royal family, but candidly relates its descent from a Moabitish mother, who had been reduced to extreme poverty.—2) The good disposition of Boaz is proved by his marrying a widow in such circumstances, whom her nearer kinsman had rejected, and to whom the requisition of the law did not oblige him to unite himself: so that this view of his character cannot be the author's invention.—3) All the circumstances incidentally mentioned are in character with that age. Poverty, for instance, does not expose to contempt ; the courts of justice are held in the gate ; a bargain is confirmed by the delivery of a shoe.[*a*]

The genealogy from Naasson to David, which contains only five generations in five hundred years. does not cause any difficulty, since the orientals in those genealogies in which they do not insert the chronology of the succession, omit generations at pleasure, being only solicitous to trace up the posterity to its true source.[*b*]

[*a*] DE WETTE, Einleit. § 193., defends the authority of the book of Ruth, against BERTHOLDT, who imagined that it was a fictitious narrative designed to recommend hospitality, and the honourable performance of engagements. Einleit. Th. V. S. 2337. ff. *Tr.*]

[*b*] See EICHHORN Monumenta Antiquissimæ Historiæ Araborum. § 7. p. 18. *Tr.*]

§ 43. *The age of the Judges was not heroic.*

If by a heroic age, which many suppose that of the Judges to have been, we are to understand an age in which heroes arise and defend their country ; the name is inapplicable to that of the Judges. For those who voluntarily offered themselves were very few. Barak, on the contrary, was summoned by Deborah, a woman, and displayed no great degree of courage. Gideon *though called by God*, obeyed with tardy reluctance. Jephthah, being *solicited* by an embassy, not merely to conduct the war, but also to take upon him the government, did not consent without delay. Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, not to mention Eli and Samuel, were not heroes, but civil rulers.—If that is a *heroic age*, which is disturbed with perpetual wars ; the expression is still less appropriate to the age of the Judges : for there were long intervals of tranquillity, Judg. iii. 11, 30. v. 31. viii. 28. ; and all the wars which took place during this period of 450 years, occupied only 111, hardly a fourth part of the whole, and were carried on only by particular tribes.—If, lastly, that age be called *heroic*, which is rude, and rough, and fierce, destitute of letters, politeness and morals ; in this sense also is the term inappropriate to the age of the Judges. For although it does indeed exhibit some examples of harshness and cruelty to enemies they are just such as occur in David's age, and are certainly compensated by the friendly state of intercourse which was granted to the Canaanites, by the high degree of moral character which gave rise to the destructive war against the Benjamites, by the well turned reply which Gideon's father made to his fellow citizens for his son, by Gideon's magnanimous refusal of the kingdom that God alone might be king of the Hebrews, by the humane and mild deportment of Boaz, by the courts' being held without interruption in the gates of the cities ; and by Jephthah's treating of peace before he undertook to go to war. These are manifest proofs of an age of some cultivation, and the state of letters is illustrated by the song of Deborah and the parable of Jotham. If the period of the Judges had been so rude as some represent it, the nation could not possibly have risen in so short a space of time to the degree of refinement and polish and cultivation that we find under the reign of David.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL, KINGS, AND CHRONICLES.

§ 44. *Contents of the Books of Samuel and Kings.*

THE books of Samuel begin with an account of the conception, infancy, and prophetic and civil offices of him whose name they bear; I Sam. i. 1—vii. 17.—They proceed to relate the change of government, the inauguration of Saul as king, and his official acts, which not corresponding with the commands of the Divine Ruler it was announced to him that his kingdom should devolve upon another: I Sam. viii. 1—xiv. 52.—It is mentioned also that Samuel, by a symbolical action, promised the kingdom to David, (the youngest son of Jesse, a citizen of Bethlehem,) who was subsequently called to court in order to soothe by his music the mind of Saul, who was rendered insane by the knowledge of his approaching downfall. After David's victory over Goliath the acclamations of the women who congratulate him on that event induce Saul to suspect that he is the person on whom the kingdom is about to devolve. Saul endeavours therefore to destroy him, and persecutes him to such a degree that he is obliged to take refuge in Philistia: I Sam. xv. 1—xxxi. 13.—Saul is slain in a battle with the Philistines, and David elected king by the tribe of Judah. Through the influence of Abner the other eleven tribes adhere to Ishbosheth the son of Saul, and on his being slain by some of his own party in the second year of his reign, they continue without a king, until at last, in the seventh year from the death of Saul, they submit to David. He having taken the fortress of Jerusalem, transfers the royal residence from Hebron to Zion and removes thither also the ark of the covenant. He is prohibited from

carrying into effect his intention, but, on that occasion, receives from God, through the prophet Nathan, a promise that the kingdom shall be perpetual in his family. II Sam. i. 1—vii. 29. Then follows a succinct history of the reign of David.—Some of his most remarkable military enterprises are stated, and his chief civil officers are mentioned by name; II Sam. viii. This is followed by his kind treatment of Mephibosheth the son of his friend Jonathan; II Sam. ix. Then the war against the Ammonites is related, which was undertaken to avenge disgrace which had been offered, in contempt of the law of nations, to David's kind embassy. During this war the criminal connexion of David with Bathsheba took place, and his suffering Uriah to be killed; II Sam. x. 1—xi. 27. This led to Nathan's parable and denunciation of punishment, c. xii. the account of which immediately follows, viz. the affair of Tamar and Amnon, the murder of Amnon by Absalom, the revolt of Absalom and his treatment of David's concubines. This disgraceful conduct of his own family must have been felt the more keenly by the sensitive and pious father, from his consciousness that his own criminality had afforded his children an example. David's restoration and Absalom's death, conclude the whole history; II Sam. xiii. 1—xx. 26.

This history is followed by an appendix containing six particulars.—1) The famine, on account of the unpunished murders which some of Saul's family had committed on the Gibeonites; II Sam. xxi. 1—14.—2) An account of some wars of David; v. 15—22.—3) David's Epitaph, the same as in Ps. xviii.; II Sam. xxii.—4) A later poem of David, which is not to be met with in the Psalms; II Sam. xxiii. 1—7.—5) A list of David's particular heroes; v. 8—39.—6) An account of the numbering of the people and of the consequent punishment by pestilence; II Sam. xxiv.

The first book of Kings commences with an account of the abdication of the throne by David in his old age when he had reigned forty years and six months, in favour of his son Solomon. Then follows the history of the reign of Solomon during forty years, including a particular account of the building of the temple, 592 years after the exode, and 1011 before Christ, of Solomon's extraordinary wisdom, and of his subsequent idolatry. Upon his death the division of the kingdom took place, 628 years after the Exode, and 975 before

Christ. I Ki. i. 1—xii. 33.—The histories of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel during 253 years are given in connexion in I Ki. xiii. 1—II Ki. xvii. 23. and are followed. II Ki. xviii. 1—xxv. 30., by the remainder of the history of Judah during 135 years.[a]

[a] The kingdom of Israel lasted 253 years, under eighteen or twenty princes, from Jeroboam I. to Hoshea, the greater part of whom perished in insurrections. They were all worshippers of the golden calves, and some of them, among whom Abab, with his wife Jezebel, was the chief, gross idolaters. Two hundred and thirty-five years after the separation, and 740 before Christ, Galilee and the country on the other side of Jordan were conquered by Tiglath-pileser, and eighteen years after, upon the rebellion of Hoshea against the Assyrians, were attacked by Salmassar, and the principal citizens, soldiers, and artificers transplanted to Assyria and Calach on the river Chabor in Gozan, east of the Tigris, and into the cities of Media. To supply the depopulated country, colonies from Babylon, Cutha, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, were introduced; who, intermingling with the Israelites who had remained in the country, were afterwards known by the name of Samaritans.

As the kingdom of Judah did not experience so many insurrections as that of Israel, it was governed during a period of 387 years, by no more than twenty kings, eight of whom were sincere worshippers of God, and twelve idolaters. It was subjected and made tributary by Nebuchadnezzar, 369 years after the division, and 606 before Christ, when the seventy years of the captivity began. Upon the revolt of Zedekiah, 18 years after, it was entirely destroyed, and the people removed to the river Chabor or Chaboros, and to Babylonia.]

§ 45. *The Books of Samuel and Kings are not coeval with the transactions which they record.*

That these books are not annals contemporaneous with the events recorded, appears; 1) from the style and tenor of narration, which, although indeed it is not exactly the same throughout, is yet not so varied as it must have been, had the books been the productions of different authors writing in successive periods: 2) from the numerous Chaldaisms which occur:[a] 3) from the explanations of obsolete customs and forms of speech, which are signs of an age much later than that of the events recorded; comp. I Sam. ix. 9. II Sam. xiii. 18: 4) from the more recent occurrences which are expressly mentioned, such as that ‘Ziklag appertaineth to the kings of Judah even to

this day,' I Sam. xxvii. 6., which could not have been written before the division of the kingdom: [b] 5) from the reader's being referred to other books by which the author declares himself to have lived some considerable time after the transactions which he relates. [c]

[a] Thus מְרִינֹת is used for the article in I Sam. i. 1. xxv. 14; מְרִינֹת occurs for provinces in I Ki. xx. 14—17; שְׁכָנֵיךְ for שְׁכָנֶיךָ, in II Ki. iv. 3; רְצִיץ for רְצִיץ, in II Ki. xi. 13. The ש is often omitted, and the Babylonian names of the months are used. See I Ki. vi. 1, 37, 38. viii. 2.]

[b] Comp. also I Sam. v. 5. x. 12. xxx. 25. II Sam. vi. 8. I Ki. iii. 2. ix. 13, 21. x. 12, 21. xii. 19. xiii. 32 (comp. xvi. 24). 34. xxii. 47 (comp. II Ki. viii. 20.) II Ki. ii. 22. viii. 22. x. 27, 32. xiv. 7. xvi. 6. xvii. 23, 34, 41. xviii. 5. xxiii. 25. *Tr.*]

[c] Comp. II Sam. i. 18. I Ki. xi. 41. xiv. 19, 29. xv. 7, 23, 31. xvi. 5, 14, 20, 27. xxii. 39, 45. II Ki. i. 18. viii. 23. x. 34. xii. 19. xvii. 8, 12. xiv. 15, 18, 28. xv. 6, 11, 15, 21, 26, 31, 36. xvi. 19. xx. 20. xxi. 17, 25. xxiii. 28. xxiv. 5. *Tr.*]

§ 46. *The Books of Samuel and Kings were written by the same author.*

That the two books of Samuel were considered by the ancient Jews as a single book, and in like manner the two books of Kings, is attested by Jerome, Origen, Melito bishop of Sardis, and Flavius Josephus: [a] and in fact there is an unbroken connexion between the first and second books of Samuel, and also between the first and second books of Kings. The Alexandrine version, followed by Jerome in the Vulgate numbers them as four books, and calls them all books of Kings; whence it appears that originally the whole four were undivided, and formed a single work; which is confirmed by the close connexion of the second book of Samuel with the first of Kings. However this may be, 1) the perfect similarity of plan in all the four books shows them to be the production of one author, whose object was to give a succinct history of the Hebrew monarchy as it existed under the direction of its Supreme King JEHOVAH. Hence he begins with Samuel, under whom the form of government was changed to a monarchy while the circumstances of the event afford occasion to ex-

hibit the relation of the human monarch to the King JEHOVAH. When the kingdom is promised and at last committed to David, the whole transaction again exhibits the same relation, and in all the history of David, the continual aim of the author is to show that during the whole course of his government, that monarch had constant regard to the King JEHOVAH, and in this respect furnished an example for the imitation of his successors. Accordingly, he praises or censures every king, in proportion as he imitated, or disregarded, the example of his predecessor David. Even in the kingdom of Israel he follows the same plan, comparing the kings respectively with the first of that monarchy, Jeroboam, whose bad example they imitated, and even surpassed.—He *refers every thing to the law of Moses*, not indeed as often as is done in the book of Joshua, but oftener than in the book of Judges.[*b*]—He everywhere observes *the same method of succinct narration*, especially with respect to the wars, which he mentions cursorily, while, on the contrary, his account of those things which related to the theocracy, is everywhere more diffuse.—The *conclusion of the second book of Kings* manifests, by its brevity, an author hastening to the end of a long labour.—Lastly, *fragments occur* in II Ki. iv. 1—viii. 15, just as they do in II Sam. xxi—xxiv; so that the author's identity is everywhere evident.[*c*]—2) The diversity of style and language is not so great as might be expected from a plurality of authors. That which is observable, arises from the records written by different persons, and almost verbally compiled by our author. The only difference between the books of Samuel and Kings is, that in the latter, books are cited, in which the reader may seek for further information, but in the former no such references occur. But if we observe that the books of Samuel generally draw more largely from foreign sources, the reason is plain, why the author thought it unnecessary to refer to other books. This defect, if it be a defect, is supplied by the author of Chronicles; I Chron. xxix. 29.[*d*]

[*a*] EUSEB. Ecc. Hist. IV: xxvi. VI. xxv. HIERONYM. Prolog. Galeat. JOSEPH. cont. Ap. Lib. I. c. viii. The division into two books has been generally introduced into the Hebrew Bibles since the editions of BOMBERG, in the commencement of the sixteenth century: *Tr.*]

[*b*] This assertion is scarcely capable of proof. In the books of Samuel *not one* reference is made by the historian to the law of Moses. In the books of Kings only the following occur: II Ki. x. 31. xiv. 6. xvii. 7—19, 35—40. xviii. 6, 12. xxiii. 3, 25.—The difference between the books of Samuel and those of Kings in this respect, is used by De Wette and others as an argument in proof of a different origin. *Tr.*]

[*c*] The uninterrupted continuation of the history through the books of Samuel and Kings has been adduced in proof of the unity of the work. De Wette objects that if *the history* be uninterrupted, *the narration* is not, since the appendices, II Sam. xxi—xxiv., seem to show that the work to which they are affixed is complete. *Tr.*]

[*d*] DE WETTE (Einleit. § 136.) maintains that the separate origin of the Books of Kings is proved by the following particulars in which they differ from the Books of Samuel: 1) the existence of proofs of an origin during the captivity throughout the work; 2) the frequent reference to the Pentateuch; 3) the disapprobation of the liberty of religious worship; 4) the difference of style; 5) the citation of authorities; and 6) the minuteness of the chronology. He, however, gives no proof of his assertion. *Tr.*]

§ 47. *Age of the Books of Samuel and Kings.*

If these four books are the production of one author, they could not have been commenced before the destruction of Jerusalem, which is briefly related in the conclusion; nor could they have been published before the liberation of king Jehoiachin from prison, mentioned II Ki. xxv. 27—30, (which happened in the 26th year after that event.)* nor long after it, since the death of Jehoiachin, who could not have lived long after, since he was then an old man, is not recorded. In confirmation of this opinion respecting the date of these books, it may be observed, that the author, by his description of the temple, brief as it is, shows that he had seen it before the destruction of Jerusalem; he could not therefore have lived later than the date assigned. Who he was, we have no means of ascertaining. The passage. I Chron. xxix. 29., which mentions that Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, wrote the history of David[*a*], relates to annals of the king-

* [So Jahn in his Latin work. In the German it is 'the 19th' which is evidently erroneous. Prideaux places Jehoiachin's liberation in the 28th year after the destruction of Jerusalem. *Tr.*]

dom contemporary with the events related, from which works these books were compiled.[*b*] Nor can any thing be brought to show that Jeremiah or Ezra was the author.[*c*]

[*a*] For an account and attempt at defence of the common opinion which refers this passage to the books of Samuel, see HORNE, *Introd.* IV. p. 40. s. *Tr.*]

[*b*] So also other references which occur in Chronicles do not relate to our books of Kings. See II Chron. ix. 29. xii. 15. xiii. 22. *Tr.*]

[*c*] For a statement of the argument in favour of Ezra's being the compiler of the books of Kings, see HORNE, *Introd.* IV. 47. s. The majority of the Jews assert them to be the work of Jeremiah. CARPZOV, *Introd.* p. 243. The difference of style, and the superficial notice of his times, are in contradiction to this opinion. Comp. also II Ki. xxiv. 1, 6, with Jer. xxii. 19. *Tr.*]

§ 43. *Contents of the Books of Chronicles.*

In the books of Chronicles or *annals* (רַבְרֵי הַיָּמִים) the following particulars are contained. 1) I Chron. i—ix. consists of a series of genealogies, the more ancient of which are so obscure as to be hardly intelligible unless collated with the Pentateuch; the more modern are the most perspicuous. Agreeably to ancient usage in genealogies, historical facts worthy of observation are interspersed throughout the whole.[*a*] 2) I Chron. x. 1—II Chron. ix. 31, contains accounts relating to David and Solomon, which in part are the same as those contained in the books of Samuel and the first chapters of the first book of Kings, although there are many additions, particularly on subjects relating to the worship of God.[*b*] 3) II Chron. x—xxxvi. affords a succinct history of the kingdom of Judah, and many matters, especially with respect to the various reformatations and to divine worship, which are not in the books of Kings.[*c*] The kingdom of Israel is not mentioned, except when it becomes connected with the history of that of Judah.

[*a*] These genealogical tables are exceedingly brief. Nothing is to be found of the tribe of Dan. That of Benjamin is twice introduced, I Chron. vii. 6—12. and viii. The genealogies of the priests and Le-

vites are given most in detail, and terminate with the destruction of Jerusalem, I Chron. v. 27—40. vi. 1—32. (vi. 1—47.) They are very far from being complete. Even those of the high priests, extending through 1000 years, comprehend only twenty-two successions where thirty might be expected, I Chron. v. 27—40. vi. 1—14. Those of the tribe of Judah are pretty copious, I Chron. ii. iv. 1—23., and the register of David's descendants runs down to the end of the fourth century before Christ; I Chron. iii. All these tables relate to distinguished families and individuals. They contain occasionally most important historical notices, which prove that in the original tables historical matters were here and there introduced. See I Chron. iv. 18, 22, 23, 33—43. v. 10—26. vii. 20—24.]

[*b*] The death only of Saul is mentioned, I Chron. x. David's seven years' government of Judah, of which we read in II Sam. i—iv. is entirely omitted, and the submission of the eleven tribes, and the capture of the citadel of Jerusalem, with some additional matter, immediately introduced, I Chron. xi. Then follow accounts of men who had joined David during Saul's persecution, and who afterwards went to aid him at Hebron, c. xii.; also, accounts of the attempt to take the ark to Zion, c. xiii.; of David's friendship with Hiram, king of Tyre; of two successful attacks upon the Philistines, c. xiv.; and of the bringing the ark into the citadel of Zion, c. xv. xvi. The promise which was made to David in consequence of his intention to build a temple, and the narrative of his victories over various peoples, and of the war of vengeance which he undertook against the Ammonites, are related almost in the same words with the parallel accounts in Samuel: comp. c. xvii. xviii. xix. xx. 1—3. with II Sam. vii. viii. x. xii. 26—32.—These are followed by certain occurrences which took place during different wars, and by the numbering of the army, c. xxi. Then come additional circumstances of David's life, namely, his commission to Solomon to build the temple, c. xxii; his division of the Levites and priests, c. xxiii—xxv., with some of their services, c. xxvi; also the distribution of the Israelites in reference to military service, c. xxvii; the public recognition of Solomon as his successor, accompanied by a renewed command to build a temple, and an account of the presents offered by himself and the most distinguished Hebrews, c. xxviii. xxix. In II Chron. i—ix., the history of Solomon is almost throughout in unison with that in I Ki. iii—xi.]

[*c*] Thus the reformation under Jehoshaphat, II Chron. xvii—xx., that under Hezekiah, c. xxix—xxxii., that under Manasseh, c. xxxiii., and that under Josiah, c. xxxiv. xxxv., are described with more particularity than in the parallel places in Kings. See I Ki. xxii. 41—46. II Ki. xviii—xx. xxi. 1—18. xxii. 1—xxiii. 30.]

§ 49. *Design of the Books of Chronicles.*

From the preceding sketch of the contents of these books, it is evident that the author has written an epitome of the history of the Hebrews down to the end of the captivity, yet with the determination not to touch on the history of the kingdom of Israel, unless where that of the kingdom of Judah required it. He supplies many things which had been omitted in the books of Samuel and Kings, and omits others which had been mentioned in those books. Whether he had read them or not is uncertain.[a] The choice of subjects to be related shows that his intention was to point out to the Hebrews when returning to their country their real ancestry, with the possessions and residences of their families, and to instruct them in the manner in which divine worship should be restored.* Hence in the genealogies he continually mentions the situation and residence of each family, I Chron. ii. 23, 53. iv. 3, 12, 14, 17, 18. ss., 28—33. v. 8, 11—17. vi. 39—66. vii. 28. s. ix. 1—45; hence also he gives the genealogy of the Levites and priests at greater length; and hence, lastly, he narrates with the more particularity, not only the order of divine worship as established by David and Solomon, but also the reformatations which followed at different periods.

[a] LE CLERC thinks it probable that he had not: Diss. de Script. Libror. Historicor. But see note a) to § 51. Tr.]

§ 50. *Age of the Books of Chronicles.*

It appears from the design of the writer, that these books were written not long after the time of the captivity. With this date agree the several peculiarities which may be observed in them, such as the Chaldean orthography; the frequency of the letters called *matres lectionis*[a]; the introduction of recent words and objects, especially those of Persian origin, for instance, כֹּתֹן, *cotton*, כִּירָה, *a*

* This design, which is obvious to every attentive reader, was not observed by De Wette, and hence he charges the author with the flagrant crime of imposture, as though, being himself a Levite or a priest, he had invented those matters which relate to divine worship, to the Levites, and to the priests. But that he candidly recounts facts, and does not add from his own invention, will appear hereafter.

palace, התיחש, *to recount a genealogy*; the mention of ancient and modern cubits, II Chron. iii. 3., and of אדרבנים, *Darics*, a Persian gold coin. I Chron. xxix. 7.—It is impossible to determine the age of these books more accurately than this, for want of evidence. Still less can we ascertain who was the author. They who have concluded from the two last verses of the second book, which are the same as the first two of Ezra, that the books of Chronicles are the work of Ezra[b], have not attended to the difference of style and manner of narration. Some have placed the writer of these books in the times of Darius Codomannus or Alexander the Great, appealing to the genealogy, I Chron. iii. 19—24 : but this modern date is repugnant to the style and design of the books, so that the genealogy referred to must be considered as appended by a more modern hand. [c]

[a] Thus *David* is not written דוד, but always דויד; *Jerusalem* not ירושלים, but ירושלים. Aramæan orthography occurs, such as *Aleph* at the end of words instead of *He*, as עזא for עזה, I Chron. xiii. 7. comp. II Sam. vi. 6. So also *Aleph* is prefixed, or commuted with *He*. See I Chron. ii. 12, xiii. 12. II Chron. ii. 15.]—[For a comparison of the style of the books of Chronicles with that of the books of Samuel and Kings, see DE WETTE, Einleit. § 190 anm. b), or GESENIUS *Geschicht der Heb. Sprach.* S. 38. ff. *Tr.*]

[b] This is the opinion of most of the Jewish writers; CARPZOV, *Introd.* p. 286., Episcopius, Sanctius, Huet, and others, consider Ezra as the compiler from previous documents.—The identity of II Chron. xxxvi. 22. s. and Ezra i. 1. s. has been accounted for on the supposition of a mistake of the transcriber; HORNE, *Introd.* IV. 55. note 1). To this, however, some minute verbal differences may be objected.—DE WETTE (Einleit. § 192. anm. b), considers the difference of the genealogies I Chron. vi. 3. ss. and Ezra vii. 1. ss. as a proof that Ezra was not the compiler of Chronicles. Comp. also BERTHOLDT. *Th. V.* S. 987. ff. *Tr.*]

[c] So EICHHORN, *Th. II.* S. 533. f. and DAHLER *de librorum Paralipomenon auctoritate atque fide historica.* *Argent.* 1819. p. 5. *Tr.*]

§ 51. *Sources of the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.*

The records from which these books* were compiled, are referred to throughout ; but it is questioned whether the Chronicles have been derived from the same sources as the books of Samuel and Kings.—In the books of Samuel there is indeed no citation of any authority ; but that there were in those times public annals, is plain, from I Chron. xxvii. 24. where they are expressly mentioned. and from I Chron. xxix. 29. where their authors are named.[a]—In the books of Kings the history of king Solomon is first mentioned, and subsequently the annals of the kings of Judah and of the kings of Israel are perpetually cited.[b]—In Chronicles, especially in the second book, there are frequent references to records, from a collation of which it is evident ; 1) that the history of most of the kings was written by the prophets[c] ; and therefore, agreeably to the prophetic manner, there is a constant reference to the theocracy and to divine rewards and punishments[d]. 2) Many histories of kings written by prophets were inserted in the annals of the kingdom[e]. 3) Citations of the annals of the kings of Judah and Israel, in which the historical writings of the prophets just mentioned were inserted, are very frequent[f]. 4) Yet all the historical writings of the prophets which are cited, were not inserted in those annals ; for occasionally the historical writings of the prophets are distinguished from them, c. g. II Chron. xxxii. 22. xxxiii. 18. s.—From all this it follows, that the author of Chronicles generally uses the same authorities as the author of the books of Kings, but with the addition of some others.—It is beyond all doubt that the annals of the kings of Judah and Israel cited in Chronicles are not our books of Kings ; for the author refers the reader who may be desirous of further information to those annals, in cases where our books of Kings have not more, but less, than his work : c. g. II Chron. xvii. 1—xx. 34. comp. I Ki. xv. 24. xxii. 1—33, 41—51 ; so also II Chron. xxiii. 1—xxiv. 27. comp. I Ki. xi. 1—xiii. 22. Those annals, therefore, which the author of Chronicles refers to, are books contemporaneous with the events which they relate, the

* [The author undoubtedly means the books of Kings and Chronicles, as is plain from the very next sentence where he denies that those of Samuel contain any such references. *Tr.*]

greater part written by prophets. But as his extracts often agree with those taken from the annals of the kings of Judah and Israel which we find in our books of Kings, there is hardly room for doubt, that the same annals are the sources both of the books of Kings and of those of Chronicles.[*g*]

[*a*] I Chron. xxvii. 24. 'Neither was the number put in the account of the chronicles of king David.' I Chron. xxix. 29. 'Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer.' Thus also in II Chron. ix. 29. 'Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat?' From these texts it is plain that Samuel, and the prophets who succeeded him, wrote the history of their times. Since in the books of Samuel no monument of the history of David is mentioned, it is reasonable to suppose that the contents of those books were drawn from the same history which is referred to in I Chron. xxix. 29; especially since the account in the Chronicles taken from that history often agrees verbally with the book of Samuel, (comp. I Sam. xxxi. 1—13. with I Chron. x. 1—13; II Sam. v. 17—25. with I Chron. xiv. 8—17; II Sam. vii. with I Chron. xvii.; II Sam. viii. with I Chron. xvii. II Sam. x. with I Chron. xix;) and in other places what occurs in Samuel is carefully omitted in Chronicles, so that the latter work is not intelligible without the former. From this it is clear, that the author of Chronicles presupposes the books of Samuel to be known.]

[*b*] See I Ki. xi. 41. xiv. 19, 29. xv. 7. and other places. After the histories of the last kings of both nations, Hoshea in Israel and Zedekiah in Judah, these references do not occur; probably because in the overthrow of those kingdoms, the annals relating to the government of the last king were either not completed, or lost. The document which in I Ki. xi. 41. is called "the acts of Solomon" can hardly be different from "the book of Nathan, the prophecy of Ahijah, and the vision of Iddo" which are mentioned in II Chron. ix. 29, as the source of the extracts given in the work, since here also a verbal agreement prevails similar to that between the books of Samuel and Chronicles. That these documents were public records is shown from the very nature of the extracts, which partake of the character of such papers. See I Chron. xii. 23—40; xv. 11—24; xxii. 1—xxix. 25.]

[*c*] It has already been seen (note *a*) that the history of David was written by the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (I Chron. xxix. 29).

and that of Solomon by the prophet Nathan (II Chron. ix. 29).—At the end of the history of Rehoboam in II Chron. xii. 15., we read that his whole history (his “acts, first and last,”) is written “in the book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies,” i. e. to continue the genealogies or the histories, להתיחש; and in II Chron.

xiii. 22. “the rest of the history of Abijah is written במרשׁ in the register* of the prophet Iddo.”]

[d] This is confirmed by the freedom which is used in reproving sin, and proved by express declarations. See II Chron. xx. 34, and other places.] [This fact is largely made use of by Semler, Bauer, De Wette and their followers, in their endeavours to throw discredit upon these books. Every thing disagreeable to them is explained away by referring it to what they call the ‘theocratico-mythological spirit’ (theokratisch-mythologische geist) of the work and its prophetic authors. *Tr.*]

[e] The history of Jehoshaphat, composed by the prophet Jehu, the son of Hanani, was introduced (העלה) into the book of the history of the

kings; II Chron. xx. 34.—The history of Hezekiah was written by Isaiah in the book of the history of the kings of Judah and Israel; II Chron. xxxii. 32.—The history of Rehoboam was written by the prophets Shemaiah and Iddo for the purpose of continuing the histories, and also introduced into the well-known book of the kings; II Chron. xii. 15.—The history of Ahijah was written in the *Midrash* (register) of the prophet Iddo, and that of Joash in the *Midrash* of the book of Kings, II Chron. xiii. 22. xxiv. 27.]

[Le Clerc denies the agency of prophets in the writing of the public annals, and ascribes it to certain מזכירים (ὁὶ ἐπισημογράφοι, ὑποσημασιογράφοι; *Eng. Trans.* ‘recorders’) who are occasionally

mentioned in the history of the kings: I Sam. viii. 16. I Chron. xviii. 15. I Ki. iv. 13. II Ki. xviii. 18. II Chron. xxxiv. 8. But these few instances are not sufficient to establish his own hypothesis, much less to destroy the force of the positive evidence that the histories of several of the kings were entered in the public annals by prophets. *Tr.*]

[f] Comp. II Chron. xvi. 11. xx. 34. xxiv. 27. xxv. 26. xxvi. 22. xxvii. 7. xxviii. 26. xxxii. 32. xxxiii. 18. xxxv. 26. xxxvi. 8., and the passages of I and II Kings cited in note c) on § 45. *Tr.*]

[* Jahn, in the passage of his German Introduction from which this is taken, uses the word *Verzeichniss*. The *Eng. Trans.* has “story.” GESENIUS explains the Hebrew by ‘exposition,’ ‘interpretation.’ *Tr.*]

[g) This is confirmed by the occurrence of expressions in both books which, being incongruous with the age of the compilers, must have been copied from the ancient records, and from their exact similarity, appear to have been taken from the same original: comp. II Chron. v. 9. with I Ki. viii. 8. and II Chron. viii. 8. with I. Ki. ix. 21. *Tr.*]

§ 52. *Historical Credit of the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.*

As the greatest part of the history which these books contain is derived from the same documents contemporary with the events, and some of it from others also contemporaneous, and as the authors show their fidelity by referring their readers to the sources whence they have drawn their information; there is no reason to doubt the truth of their narratives.—1) The readers of our authors, of the same age with them, who had access to those ancient records, and were able to ascertain their fidelity, thought these extracts worthy of such credit, that they abandoned the ancient contemporary records to the ravages of time.—2) The authors adhered closely to the documents whence they made their compilations; for the character of their style and language varies according to the variations in those ancient documents caused by the difference of authors. Hence it is evident that the words of the documents have been retained, as is elsewhere usual with oriental historians.—This close adherence appears also from the number of Chaldee and modern words being less than might otherwise be expected from the age in which the compilers lived.—3) Many expressions do not suit their age, and evidently have been scrupulously retained from the contemporary records. Comp. I Ki. viii. 22. ix. 21.[a]—4) Many things are related which are disgraceful to the nation and to its principal men, and the speeches which are recorded agree more accurately with the characters and situations of the speakers, than could be expected in a fiction or a revised and altered composition. Comp. I Sam. ix. 5—8, 11—14, 18—27. xii. 1—25. xxv. 25—31. II Sam. vii. 18. s. I Chron. xvii. 16—27. II Sam. xiv. 4—20. xvii. 7—13. xix. 35—38. I Ki. iii. 5—15. viii. 14—53. II Chron. vi. 1—42. II Ki. xix. 5—19.—5) The whole course of the history is con-

firméd by the testimony of other contemporary writers, namely, of the Psalmists and the Prophets, whose accounts of their respective periods are altogether coincident with what we read in these books. Comp. Germ. Introd. P. II. Sect. I. § 52. S. 256. f. [b]

BERTHOLDT, in his Introduction, P. III. § 276, contends that the author of Chronicles drew part of his information from modern accounts, which had already incorporated with the true history corrupt traditions, or mythical. But the author, who is fond of citing his authorities, never refers to any modern document, so that the argument of Bertholdt rests on mere suspicion. In I Chron. i. 13, the author has not even ventured to add the name of Tyre; whence it appears, that he used his documents with scrupulous integrity.

[a] I Ki. viii. 8. must have been written before the spoliation of the temple; I Ki. ix. 21. before the decline, and II Ki. viii. 22. before the complete overthrow, of the monarchy of Judah; I Ki. xii. 19. and II Ki. x. 27, before the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel; and II Ki. xviii. 5. before the time of Josiah, whose character was at least equal to that of Hezekiah, and who is declared to be superior to him, II Ki. xxiii. 25.—The repetition in II Ki. xviii. 9., comp. xvii. 6., seems to show that the compiler has inserted portions of distinct documents in this part of his history. Tr.]

[b] David's history is supported by the contents of the Psalms, and that of the later kings, in a great degree, by the writings of the contemporaneous prophets; so that in the one case the Psalms and the books of Samuel, and in the other the Prophets and the books of Kings, mutually confirm each other. The great promise made to David in II Sam. vii. I Chron. xvii., is repeated in Ps. lxxxix. with more particularity, and corroborated by all the subsequent prophets, whenever they speak of a great descendant of David, or of a second David. See Isa. xi. Amos ix. 11. Hos. iii. 5. Mic. v. 1—3. Jer. xxiii. 5. xxx. 5. xxxiii. 17, 21, 26. Ezek. xxxiv. 23—31.—Some circumstances are also expressly mentioned by the prophets. See Hos. viii. 5, 6. x. 5, 6. xiii. 11. Amos iv. 4. viii. 14.]

§ 53. *Difficulties in the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.*

I. The narrative of the *three years' famine on account of Saul's bloody family*, who slew the Gibeonites, is found in an appendix, II Sam. xxi., in a style different from that of the book itself, and might therefore become the subject of some critical discussion. But, presuming that the view of the transaction which is given is correct, it

ought to be considered that the law concerning the punishment of homicides, Gen. ix. 5. s. and Ex. xxi. 12, 14., was of divine origin, and admitted of no exception, and that length of time could furnish no cause for remission of its execution: this, at least, must be allowed to have been the opinion of that age respecting this crime and its punishment. And since at that time the divine providence was considered as visibly interposing in every public calamity, and therefore in that long continued famine; it was inquired by means of the sacred lot, whether those homicides of the family of Saul who had slain the Gibeonites, (comp. II Sam. iv. 4. ix.)* and remained unpunished, were the cause of this calamity, to which inquiry the lot returning an answer in the affirmative, the criminals were delivered to the avengers of murder. Any suspicion that the whole affair was only an artifice of David to procure the execution of his own designs, would be entirely groundless, since none of the sufferers could have been in any way injurious to his interests.†

II. *The numbering of the people*, which is related in an appendix, II Sam. xxiv., and in I Chron. xxvii. 23. s., was military; for which reason it was conducted, not by the chief genealogist, הַשּׁוֹטֵר, but by the commander of the army, הַכּוֹנֵן, with a military guard. That some unworthy object was concealed in this design of David, appears from the disapprobation of Joab, a man in other cases by no means scrupulous. Probably the king was planning more extensive conquests[a] of people beyond the limits assigned by Moses, by which means the Hebrews would be soon widely scattered, and exposed, as circumstances then were, to the most imminent danger of becoming idolatrous. Of the proposed punishments David chose the plague, which no doubt would have occurred independently of this particular cause, but in that case would not have been considered as a punishment of an iniquitous project. As soon as the plague was observed at Jerusalem at the threshing floor of Ornan, David bought the floor

* [The object of the author in these references is to show, by proving the exemption of Mephibosheth and his family from the proscription, that only the murderers were slain. *Tr.*]

† [The direct line of descent from Saul being still preserved in the person of Mephibosheth, while the sufferers were only sons by a concubine, and descendants in the female line. *Tr.*]

and field, consecrated it by offering a sacrifice, and designated it for the future site of the temple. This passage, therefore, contains an indication of the cause why the temple was built in that place.

III. In the history of Elijah and Elisha certain miracles occur in which we cannot discern that important object, worthy of the Deity, which is conspicuous in many other miracles; I Ki. xviii. II Ki. v. Some persons suppose them to have been natural events, which had been handed down through a long course of oral tradition, and exaggerated by the addition of wonderful circumstances. But the author elsewhere derives his information from contemporaneous written documents; and the famine and subsequent rain granted to the prayers of Elijah, I Ki. xvii. 1. xviii. 1., are mentioned also by MENANDER, as cited by JOSEPHUS, Ant. Jud. VIII. xiii. 2., although he limits the drought to a single year, and attributes the rain to the prayers of Ithobal, king of Tyre. Some of the extraordinary accounts which are related can be explained on natural principles without any forced construction of the language, as, for instance, those which are recounted in I Ki. xvii. 4. ss., 17—24. II Ki. ii. 1. ss. iv. 8—37. vi. 1—7, 18—20. xiii. 21.;[*b*] and the design of others, which are undoubtedly miracles, is too plain to be misunderstood; and is worthy of the Divine Being. If all are miracles, perhaps the imperfection of the narrative prevents us from discovering an adequate object.[*c*]

IV. With respect to the *discrepancies* between the books of Chronicles and Kings, it is sufficient to observe, that some of them are of little moment; some are caused by various readings; some have arisen from omissions in Chronicles of what is related in Samuel and Kings, or the introduction of what is passed over in those books; and others, perhaps, arise from interpolations. Comp. I Ki. xv. 16. with II Chron. xv. 19; I Ki. xxii. 44. with II Chron. xvii. 6; II Ki. ix. 27. s. with II Chron. xxii. 9; especially II Chron. xxxvi. 6. with II Ki. xxiv. 1, 6. and Jer. xxii. 19. xxxvi. 30; see also Germ. Introd. P. II. Sect. I. §. 53. p. 263. s.[*d*]

[*a*] Michaelis and Dathe agree in the same opinion, and add that David's intention seems to have been to enrol the body of the people as soldiers. See Dathe in loc. Others have supposed that David's sin in this matter was pride and presumption, inclining to trust to the numbers and

power of his people for support, and forgetting his entire dependence upon the divine governor. This crime may also have been participated in to a considerable degree by the people themselves. See HALE'S *Analysis of Chronology*, II. 386. *Tr.*]

[*b*] If the author means that *all* these cases are susceptible of such an interpretation, it is an admission by no means to be conceded: and with respect to any, except the first, is very doubtful. *Tr.*]

[*c*] In the miracles which are related in I Ki. xviii. and II Ki. v., the design is too obvious to escape any reader. The fragmentary character of other parts of the work will account for the brevity and imperfection of the narratives.]

[*d*] Such discrepancies prove that the author of Chronicles has not drawn from the books of Samuel and Kings, and that those books have not been altered so as to correspond with the former.]

§ 54. *Character of the Text of the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.*

The text of these books contains more errors than that of the more ancient books. Some interpolations in the books of Samuel have been already mentioned, P. I. § 135; to which perhaps the passages found in II Sam. xxi. 1—4. II Ki. iv. 1—44., where a change of style is observable, and I Sam. xiii. 19—21., should be added.—Readings are constantly occurring to which no sense can be attributed, or which convey a sense either incredible or repugnant to other passages, as in I Sam. xiii. 1. בן שנה שאול, *Saul was the son of a year*, where the number of years is lost. So in I Sam. xiii. 5. *thirty thousand chariots of war*, belonging to the Philistines, are mentioned; II Chron. xiii. 3, 17. armies of 400,000 and 800,000 men; II Chron. xiv. 7. s. armies of 580,000 and 1,000,000; II Chron. xvii. 14—19. an army of 1,600,000; I Ki. v. 6. (iv. 26.) Solomon is said to have 40,000 ארות, *stables* or *stalls* for horses, while in II Chron. ix. 25. only 4000 are mentioned; and II Chron. xxii. 2. Ahaziah is said to have been 42 years old when, on the death of his father, who died at 40 years of age, he began to reign, whereas in II Ki. viii. 26. Ahaziah is correctly said to have been 22 years old when he commenced his reign. [*a*]

[a] Remarkable errors occur also in other places. Thus in I Sam. vi. 18. אַבֵּל occurs for אֲבָן; I Sam. xii. 11. בָּרֶן for בָּרֶק; II Sam. xvii. 25. הַיִּשְׁמְעֵילִי for הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי, as in the Alexandrine version and in I Chron. ii. 17.]

§ 55. *Collation of the Books of Samuel and Kings with the Books of Chronicles.*

As the books of Samuel and Kings contain the same history as the books of Chronicles, the two works should be continually compared, not merely in order to become the more thoroughly acquainted with the history, but also for the purpose of applying the one to illustrate or correct what may be obscure or erroneous in the other. Thus the objectionable parts in II Samuel, that relate to David's excessive respect for Joab, which prevented him from punishing this man, although guilty of a treacherous murder, are illustrated by I Chron. xi. 6.—The word בְּהַנִּים, applied in II Sam. viii. 18. to the sons of David, is commuted for רֵאשִׁימִים in I Chron. xviii. 17.—The reading וַיִּרַר אֶל הַמְּצֹרָה, in II Sam. v. 17. ought to be corrected from that of I Chron. xiv. 8., וַיִּצֵא לַפְּנֵיהֶם. [a] Comp. also I Chron. xxi. 16. with II Sam. xxiv. 17; I Chron. xxi. 1. with II Sam. xxiv. 1; II Sam. vi. 2. with I Chron. xiii. 6; II Sam. xxi. 19. with I Chron. xx. 5; I Chron. xi. 20. with II Sam. xxiii. 18; II Sam. xxiii. 20. with I Chron. xi. 22. See also EICHHORNS *Repert. für Bibl. und Morgenl. Lit.* II. St. S. 257. ff. and SCHMIDT *Historia Canonis* p. 202. ss. [b]

[a] There is no reason to suspect the incorrectness of either reading, as the one may express in general what the other states with more particularity. *Tr.*]

[b] The following table of the more remarkable parallel places of the books of Chronicles and those of Samuel and Kings is from DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 190 anm. a) S. 263.

I Chron. x. 1—12.	with	I Sam. xxxi.
“ xi. 1—9.		II Sam. v. 1—10.
“ xi. 10—41.		I Sam. xxiii. 8—39.
“ xiii. 1—14.		II Sam. vi. 3—11.

I Chron. xiv. 1—7.	with	II Sam. v. 11—25.
“ xvii.		“ vii.
“ xviii.		“ viii.
“ xix.		“ x.
“ xx. 1—3.		“ xi. 1. xii. 30. s.
“ xx. 4—8.		“ xxi. 18—22.
“ xxi.		“ xxiv.
II Chron. i. 3—13.		I Ki. iii. 4—14.
“ i. 14—17.		“ x. 26—29.
“ ii.		“ v. 15—32.
“ iii. iv.		“ vi. vii.
“ v. 2—vii. 10.		“ viii.
“ vii. 11—22.		“ ix. 1—9.
“ viii.		“ xi. 15—28.
“ ix. 1—12.		“ x. 1—13.
“ ix. 13—31.		“ x. 14—29.
“ x. 1—xi. 4.		“ xii. 1—24.
“ xii. 2—11.		“ xiv. 25—28.
“ xvi. 1—6.		“ xv. 17—22.
“ xviii.		“ xxii. 2—35.
“ xx. 31—37.		“ xxii. 41—50.
“ xxi. 6—10.		II Ki. viii. 17—24.
“ xxii. 2—6.		“ viii. 26—29.
“ xxii. 10—xxiii. 21		“ xi.
“ xxiv. 1—14.		“ xii. 1—16.
“ xxv. 1—4, 11, 17—24, 27, 28.		“ xiv. 1—14, 19, 20.
“ xxvi. 1, 2.		“ xiv. 21, 22.
“ xxvi. 3, 4, 21.		“ xv. 2—5.
“ xxvii. 1—3.		“ xv. 33, 35.
“ xxviii. 1—4.		“ xvi. 2—4.
“ xxix. 1, 2.		“ xviii. 2, 3.
“ xxxii. 9—21.		“ xviii. 17—37.
“ xxxii. 24—31.		“ xx. 1—19.
“ xxxiii. 1—10.		“ xxi. 1—10.
“ xxxiv. 1, 2, 8—28.		“ xxii.
“ xxxiv. 29—33.		“ xxiii. 1—20.
“ xxxv. 18, 20—25. xxxvi. 1.		“ xxiii. 22, 23, 29, 30.
“ xxxvi. 2—4.		“ xxiii. 31—34. Tr.]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

§ 56. *Contents of the Book of Ezra.*

THE book of Ezra consists of two parts. The first, c. i—vi. contains the history of the return of the Hebrews to their native land, of the re-establishment of divine worship, and of the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem; including a period of twenty years, from the first of Cyrus to the sixth of Darius Hystaspes, i. e. from the year 536 to the year 515 B. C.[a]—The second part, c. vii—x., relates the transactions of Ezra, who in the seventh year of Artachshasta,* ארתחשטתא, (or Xerxes, 478 B. C.) led another colony of returning exiles to Judæa, being invested by the king with ample authority to arrange the affairs of the Jews according to the law of Moses. He also conducted a considerable caravan of returning Jews to Jerusalem, administered his office, and reformed abuses. Between the first and second parts of the book there is an interval of thirty-seven years, of which no account is given.

Cyrus by heralds and public letters invited *all the worshippers of JEHOVAH* to return to Judæa and rebuild the temple; and Ezra obtained letters to the same effect. It is therefore not to be doubted that many of the ten tribes gradually returned, who, because they came often, and not at one time nor in considerable numbers, are not mentioned in the history. Hence in the age of the Maccabees, I Mac. v. 9—54, and in the time of Christ, Gilead and Galilee were inhabited by Hebrews. The prophecies, therefore, concerning the return of the ten tribes have been

* [The author's orthography of the name of this Persian monarch, has been retained in preference to the common word Artaxerxes, with the view chiefly of avoiding obscurity. *Tr.*]

accomplished, and it is in vain that the learned inquire what has become of them. *Comp. Archæol. II. Th. I. B. § 53. S. 236.*

[a) Cyrus issued his proclamation throughout the whole Medo-Persian empire to the worshippers of **JEHOVAH** to return to their own country and re-establish his worship; for which purpose he granted them subsidies and restored their sacred vessels which had been taken by Nebuchadnezzar. A caravan of nearly 50,000 persons, under the direction of Zerubbabel the governor and Joshua the high priest, went in consequence to Judaea and prepared for the building of the temple. The Samaritans, whom the Jews had refused to admit to a participation with themselves in this undertaking, made efforts to prevent its progress during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses; and in that of Smerdis were successful. Upon his death, however, the Hebrews resumed the work at the instance of Haggai and Zechariah, and their efforts were sanctioned by Darius Hystaspes; so that the building was finished in the twenty-first year after the return, and in the 515th before Christ.]

§ 57. *Artachshasta, Ezra vii. 1., is Xerxes.*

1) The order of history requires that king Artachshasta who conferred on Ezra the most ample powers, vii. 1. ss., should be the king who held the sceptre of Persia next after Darius Hystaspes, v. 6. vi. 16, namely, Xerxes, the husband of Esther. That אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשֶׁת, ARTACHSHAST or ARTACHSHASTA, approaches nearer to the name ARTAXERXES is no objection; for the names of the Persian kings were merely titles of honour, by which the people were accustomed to designate each of their monarchs, so that their proper names were seldom heard: a custom which they retained even as late as the seventeenth century. אַרְחַשְׁוֵרֶשֶׁת, compounded of the Persian اَرت ART, or اَر, ARD, *strong*, and the Zendic KISHETRO, KISHERED, KHESHETRAE, *a warrior*, signifies *a strong, a mighty warrior*. *Comp. Herodot. VI. 98.*—2) If the Artachshasta of Ezra were Artaxerxes Longimanus, as some contend, Ezra must have come to Jerusalem in the year 457 B. C., and the state of things could not have become in the course of thirteen years so distressing as it was when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the year 444 B. C., induced by the report of the miserable condition of Judaea and Jerusalem which he had heard the year preceding.—3) The good will of Artachshasta to Ezra and the Jews coincides with the favours which were shown by Xerxes to Esther and Mordecai; and this monarch could

hardly have been unnoticed in a history of the Jews, as must be the case on the supposition that Artachshasta was the same as Longimanus.—4) Artachshasta invested Ezra with these ample powers in the seventh year of his reign, the same in which Xerxes returned to Persia after his unsuccessful expedition into Greece; and probably, in imitation of Cyrus and Darius, he wished to render the God of heaven propitious to him by conferring benefits upon the Jews.—Thus every consideration is in favour of the hypothesis that the Artachshasta of the book of Ezra is the same as Xerxes.[a]

[a] The chronological statements given in this section, and in § 63 and § 66, are at direct variance with those made by PRIDEAUX, *Connexions P. I. B. V. anno 458, and B. VI. anno 445, 433, and 428.* The latter supposes Ezra to have left Babylon in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B. C. 458. Nehemiah, according to his opinion, left Susa in the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, (B. C. 445) and returned after a short time; but having obtained the royal permission, and fuller powers, went back to Jerusalem immediately. After remaining there twelve years, he revisited Susa in the 33d year of Artaxerxes, (B. C. 433), and staid there *five* years. He finally returned to Jerusalem in the 37th year of Artaxerxes, (B. C. 428), *thirty* years after Ezra's departure from Babylon.—To examine the arguments advanced by Jahn and Prideaux respectively, would occupy a space inconsistent with the limits of this work. The arguments on both sides are plausible, and both systems give rise to difficulties; but upon the whole, those which encumber that espoused by Jahn appear to be the most numerous and most important. USHER (*Annals*, p. 140.) BUDDAEUS (*Hist. Vet. Test.* II. 728. ss.) HUET (*Dem. Evang. Prop.* IV. § 4.) VITRINGA (*Observ. Sacr. Lib.* VI. p. 364. ss.) CARPZOV (*Introduct.* p. 319, 331.) and HALES (*Anal. of Chron.* II. 528. s.) agree with Prideaux as to the date of Ezra's departure from Babylon. *Tr.*]

§ 58. *Ezra is the author.*

That the second part, c. vii—x., was written by Ezra, does not admit of a doubt; for the author uses the first person, viii. 15—26. ix. 1—5; and calls himself Ezra, x. 1.—It is quite improbable that the passage c. vii. 1—26, was written by any other person than Ezra; for the royal document, v. 11—26, was certainly inserted by him, and it follows necessarily that v. 1—10 which precede and are inseparably connected with it, must have originated with the same author. No

advantage is gained by suggesting the doubt whether Ezra would have applied to himself the lofty title סופר מהיר בתורת משה, *a perfect teacher of the law of Moses*, c. vii. 6 : for if, as is very probable, that honorary appellation expressed no more than ‘Doctor of Divinity,’ or ‘Teacher of the Holy Scripture’ does at the present day, Ezra might apply it to himself without any indelicacy ; not to say that the rules of delicacy differ in different ages and countries.

That the first part also, c. i—vi, was written by Ezra, appears, 1) from the connexion of the sixth and seventh chapters : the supposition that Ezra has taken the history in c. i—vi. almost verbally from more ancient annals accounting very satisfactorily for the difference of style. 2) From the manner of narration being the same in both parts ; for as in the second part, c. vii. 10—26, the royal letter is inserted entire in the Chaldee dialect, so in the first part, the edict of Cyrus, the letter of the Samaritans to the Pseudo-Smerdes, and the answer of the latter, are quoted word for word ; and part, c. iv. 8—vi. 18, is written in Chaldee. The same fact is confirmed, 3) by the brevity of the history, which is such that it can hardly be attributed to several authors, unless there be historical evidence to that effect.

It may be of use to recollect that the language of Ezra is mixed with many Chaldaisms, and differs very considerably from that of Moses, and that its orthography contains a much larger number of the *matres lectionis*. We meet also with many words and ideas which were unknown to the more ancient writers, such as the names of vases ^{אגרטל} and ^{מחלפים}

c. i. 9 ; ^{רשיון} *a licence or grant*, c. iii. 7 ; ^{מתרגם}, *translated*, ^{כננות}, *companions*, c. iv. 7 ; ^{פרשגן}, *a copy*, c. iv. 11. vii. 11 ; ^{גתנינים}, *servants of the temple*, c. ii. 43, 58, 70. viii. 17, 20, whereas the ^{נתונים} of Moses are *Levites* : &c.

§ 59. *Difficulties in the Book of Ezra.*

1. The refusal of the Jews to permit the Samaritans to unite with them for religious purposes, c. iv. is not to be imputed as a crime to the writer, who merely relates the fact. Besides the Jews themselves cannot very well be censured in this affair : [a] for they saw

plainly that the anxiety of the Samaritans did not arise so much from a desire to unite in the erection of the temple, as from a wish to participate in the advantages which the peculiar good will of Cyrus would afford the Jews: just as in the time of Alexander they would gladly have been considered as Jews for the same reason, while under Antiochus Epiphanes they denied all connexion with that people, and consecrated their temple on mount Gerizim to Jupiter.

II. When Ezra, c. ix. x., put away from the people those of their wives who were foreigners, and their children by them, his conduct could hardly have originated in a misunderstanding of the plain law of Moses, Exod. xxxiv. 15. s. Deut. vii. 3, upon that subject, but must have proceeded from a conviction that the same cause for which Moses had interdicted marriages *with the Canaanites*, namely, the danger of seduction to idolatry, was equally strong in his own time for interdicting marriages *with other foreigners*: and that this was the true motive of his proceeding is expressly remarked in Neh. xiii. 26. Comp. JOSEPHUS Ant. Jud. XVIII. ix. 5.

[a) The Samaritans were saved from any part of the expense, and they had the common privilege granted to all foreigners, of offering in the temple if they wished to worship JEHOVAH.]

§ 60. *Character of the text of Ezra.*

The remaining difficulties arise from errors in the texts, the existence of which, even to some extent, in so many lists of proper names, and in so many numerical statements, is by no means a matter of surprise. Thus the number of names in c. ii. 1—63, does not agree with the sum total in v. 64, nor do the parallel places in Neh. vii. 6—69, and III Esdr. v. 8. ss.* where more names are found, afford any assistance, since the number is different in each.[a] So also Ezr. i. 9. s. the number of the vessels is made to amount to 5400, while the sum total of these mentioned does not exceed 2499. Comp. also Ezr. viii. 3. v. 10. The *third book of Ezra*,* which is not properly apocryphal, but a translation of the canonical book of Ezra, with occasional interpolations,[b] has at the end a long addition, which is also found in Neh. vii. 13—x. 40, and seems formerly to

* [The apocryphal book called in our Bibles, the First of Esdras. *Tr.*]

have been written at the end of the book of Ezra itself, since JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.* XI. v. 5, has subjoined it to Ezra's history. Perhaps it was afterwards left out of Ezra because it was found also in Nehemiah.

[a] Thus in Ezra the sum total amounts to only 29,818; in Nehemiah to 31,101; and in Esdras to 33,934: although these three books agree in stating it at 42,360. See *Ezr.* ii. 64. *Neh.* vii. 66. *Esdr.* v. 41.]

[b] Table of places in Esdras parallel with II Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

<i>Esd.</i> i. 1—23.	comp.	<i>II Chron.</i> xxxv. 1—xxxvi. 21.
“ ii. 1—15.	“	<i>Ezr.</i> i. 1—11.
“ ii. 16—31.	“	“ iv. 7—14.
“ iii. 1—v. 6.		a fabulous interpolation.
“ v. 8—13.	comp.	<i>Ezr.</i> ii. 1—iv. 5.
“ vi. 1—ix. 36.	“	“ v. 1—x. 44.
“ ix. 37—55.	“	<i>Neh.</i> vii. 73—viii. 12.]

§ 61. *Contents of the Book of Nehemiah.*

Nehemiah, cupbearer to Artaxerxes king of the Persians, hearing of the melancholy condition of Jerusalem, obtains permission to fortify the city. Going to Judæa, he executes his commission, notwithstanding the opposition of the Samaritans: he shows himself a friend of the poor by promoting a general remission of debts, and behaves in a very magnanimous manner; i—vi. 19. Afterwards, while prosecuting his design of increasing the number of inhabitants, he discovers a fragment of history of a former age, containing a list of those who had returned to Judæa in the reign of Cyrus; which he inserts in his book entire together with an account of some circumstances of Ezra's time, which he had found in the same or in some other document: vii. 1—x. 41. (39.). One of the Hebrews out of ten is chosen by lot to settle in Jerusalem, c. xi. Then follows a list of priests and Levites who had come to Jerusalem under Cyrus, a genealogical table of the high priests from Joshua to Jaddua, and a catalogue of the chief heads of the priests and Levites: xii. 1—26. These are succeeded by an account of the dedication of the city wall, and of the appointment of officers over the dues of the priests and Levites: xii. 27—47.—At the expiration of *twelve* years, Nehe-

nah returned to Persia, and after some time, comes again to Judæa, and reforms some prevalent abuses, especially the profanation of the Sabbath, the withholding of tithes, and intermarriages with foreigners: c. xiii.

§ 62. *The Artaxerxes of Nehemiah is Artaxerxes Longimanus.*

The order of history shows that the Artaxerxes to whom Nehemiah was cupbearer, was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and the contents of the book confirm this opinion. Artaxerxes reigned forty-one years, (464—424 B. C.), and Nehemiah went to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of his reign, (444 B. C.), and therefore thirty-three years after Ezra. During this interval the affairs of Judæa, which had been brought into considerable regularity by Ezra, had fallen again into confusion; particularly as in the years 459 and 458 B. C. two Persian armies had made Syria and Phœnicia their place of rendezvous, and Megabyzes at the head of a great army, had engaged Artaxerxes in Syria, 448 and 447 B. C. DIODORUS SICULUS, Lib. XI. c. 71, 74, 77. Lib. XII. c. 33, 34. CTESIAS in Persicis. § 32. 36—39.

Xerxes, whom JOSEPHUS identifies with the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah, reigned only twenty-one years; whereas the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes is mentioned, Neh. xiii. 6.—Some suppose Artaxerxes Mneumon to have been the monarch to whom Nehemiah was cupbearer. But in his reign Persian armies were traversing Syria in their way to Egypt, from the year 377 to 374 B. C., i. e. according to the supposition, from the 6th to the 9th of Nehemiah; and surely the author would not have altogether omitted such a fact. Add to this, that in the year 373 B. C., viz. on the same supposition, the 10th of Nehemiah, the death of Joiada the high priest took place; whereas he was alive during the the second visit of Nehemiah. Lastly, at the time referred to, Jonathan the high priest killed his brother in the temple; a deed concerning which Nehemiah would never have been silent, had it taken place in his days.

§ 63. *The year of Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem.*

It is the general opinion that Nehemiah went back again to Jerusalem the very next year after his return to Artaxerxes, i. e. 431 B. C. But from Neh. xiii., it is clear that an interval of about twenty or twenty-four years must have elapsed before he went back to Jerusa-

lem, that is to say, it was not until 412 or 408 B. C. [a] 1) The abuses which Nehemiah found prevalent on his return, could not have crept in during a single year: such, for instance, as the *habitual* profanation of the sabbath; the *constant* withholding of tithes during *so long a time* that the Levites and priests were obliged to embrace other professions for a maintenance; and marriages with foreigners of such old standing that from them had arisen *bearded sons*, [b] and therefore at least twenty years of age, Neh. xiii. 24. s. It is indeed said that Nehemiah returned מִן־מִצְרַיִם; but it is certain that this

expression is used not only for a year, but also for a longer space of time—2) At this second visit of Nehemiah, Joiada was the high priest, Neh. xiii. 28: [c] but, according to the Alexandrine chronicle, he succeeded Eliashib in the year 412 B. C. Nehemiah, therefore, did not revisit Judæa before that year, consequently, not until after the twentieth year from his return to Persia; perhaps about the year 410 or 408 B. C.—3) This considerable interval between the return of Nehemiah to Persia and his second visit to Judæa, agrees well with his age. For when he first left Persia he was the king's cupbearer, and must therefore have been a young man; and as Josephus tells us that he lived to a great age, he may well be supposed to have reached his 90th or 100th year, and to have been yet living in the year 380 or 370 B. C.; in which case he could have mentioned not only Darius Nothus, but also Jaddua the high priest. Neh. xii. 22. [d]

JOSEPHUS, Ant. Jud. XI. viii. 2, by a lapse of memory has confounded Darius Nothus with Darius Codomannus, and has placed Sanballat, the chief of the Samaritans, in the age of the latter. [e] Hence, by a new error, he has made the person who, according to Nehemiah, c. xiii. 28. was the son of Joiada and son-in-law of Sanballat, and whom he calls Manasses, the son of Jaddua. Those writers, therefore, who have placed implicit reliance on Josephus have introduced great confusion into the book of Nehemiah. Comp. Germ. Introd. P. II. Sect. I. § 63. S. 291. f. and Archæol. II Th. I. B. § 64. S. 378. ff.

[a] PRIDEAUX, Connex. P. I. B. VI. anno 428, allows five years for Nehemiah's continuance at the Persian court, and fixes his return to Jerusalem in 428 B. C. HALES, Anal. of Chron. II. 530. places the latter in 424 B. C. 'eight years, at the soonest,' after he had left Jerusalem. Tr.]

[*b*] This does not necessarily follow from the passage cited. The persons from whom Nehemiah 'plucked off the hair' were probably the transgressing Jews themselves. *Tr.*]

[*c*] Not Eliashib, as Michaelis has explained this verse, for such is not the *usus loquendi* in such cases.]

[*d*] See on the contrary PRID. Conn. P. I. B. V. Vol. I. p. 298. s. ed. 1718. *Tr.*]

[*e*] See PRID. Conn. P. I. B. V. Vol. I. p. 301. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 64. *Nehemiah was the author of the book.*

There can be no doubt that this book was written by Nehemiah, for the author speaks in his person, and preserves throughout a style and mode of narration altogether characteristic of Nehemiah. Comp. c. v. 19. xiii. 14, 22, 31. iii. 6. (5.) vi. 14.[*a*] That the fragment respecting the return from the captivity, c. vii. 6—x. 40. which, as has been already said, was also annexed to the *third book of Ezra*, should differ in style from the remainder of the work, is not surprising. For as it is a document which Nehemiah found and incorporated into his own book, it is of course older than the rest.[*b*] That the name of Nehemiah occurs in c. viii. 9. and x. 2, is no objection; the insertion being plainly the work of some ignorant transcriber, who, not considering that the whole piece is a fragment of an earlier date, supplied what he supposed to be an omission in Nehemiah's own history.—As Nehemiah has introduced this document of an earlier age, it is reasonable to conclude that he would not neglect that interval of time which elapsed between his return to Persia and his second visit to Judca. No doubt, therefore, the passage in c. xii. 1—26. was inserted by him.[*c*] The style indeed is different, but that is easily explained on the supposition that Nehemiah has made his extracts from the annals of that period nearly in their own words (comp. v. 23), and then pursued the thread of his own history

It has already been observed that the Jews join the book of Nehemiah to that of Ezra; hence in the Vulgate the book of Nehemiah is entitled the Second Book of Ezra or Esdras.[*d*]

[*a*] Comp. also c. ii. 3, 12, 18, 20. iii. 36. s. (iv. 4, 5.) v. 6. ss., 9, 14. ss. vi. 9, 16. vii. 5. xii. 40, 45. xiii. 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 15. s. 19, 21, 25, 29. *Tr.*]

[*b*] De Wette and Bertholdt assert that the document found by Nehemiah extends no further than vii. 73; and that all that follows, as far as

x. 40, is a late interpolation, altered from Ezra iii. Their opinion, however, being grounded on an implicit confidence in Josephus (DE WETTE, Einleit. § 197. anm. aa.) and in the mention of Nehemiah (viii. 9. x. 2.) is of no weight. *Tr.*]

[c] See on the other hand PRIDEAUX, Conn. P. I. B. V. Vol. I. p. 301. who gives good reasons to allow that it is an interpolation. Such is also the opinion of RAMBACH (*in loc.*), VITRINGA (Obs. Sacr. L. VI. p. 367), DU PIN (Prol. Bibl. (On the Canon) I. iii. 6.), LE CLERC (*in loc.*), HORNE (Introd. IV. 59. ed. 4th.) and DE WETTE (Einleit § 197.)—The passage c. xii. 27—xiii. 31. is most evidently from the pen of Nehemiah, abounding with the peculiarities of his style. That xii. 44—xiii. 4. is not an interpolation, as De Wette and Bertholdt have supposed, is evident from its connexion with the context, and from the occurrence of expressions peculiar to Nehemiah; xii. 45. xiii. 2. *Tr.*]

[d] Hence also the Apocryphal books are in the Vulgate called the Third and Fourth of Ezra or Esdras. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

§ 65. *Contents of the Book of Esther.*

AHASUERUS, king of the Persians, having repudiated his wife Vashti, because she had refused to show herself to his guests in obedience to his orders, chose the Jewess Esther for his queen. Her kinsman Mordecai daily frequenting the court, according to the custom of the Persian nobles, within a short time discovered a conspiracy, and through Esther gave information of it to the king. Haman, who had been elevated to the rank of prime minister of the kingdom, was refused by Mordecai the prostration which the king had commanded all to render to him. To revenge the insult, Haman induces the king to publish an edict ordering all the Jews in the whole kingdom to be put to death in one day. Upon hearing this, Mordecai puts on a mourning dress, publicly utters his lamentations in the streets of the royal city Susa, and then sends a messenger to Esther intreating her to supplicate the king in behalf of the Jewish nation. Esther, after a fast of three days and repeated prayers to God, goes to the king, and meets with a gracious reception, but merely requests that the king and Haman would sup with her. During the banquet, Esther being asked by the king what petition she has to make, again requests only that the king and Haman would sup with her on the next day. Haman puffed up with this extraordinary honour, erects a cross of the height of fifty cubits at his house, on which the next day to fasten the hated Mordecai, who still refuses him the honour of prostration. But the king being unable to sleep that night, orders the annals of his kingdom to be read to him: and learning from them the circumstance

of the discovery of the conspiracy, and being told that the discoverer had obtained no reward, in the morning orders Haman to clothe Mordecai in a royal robe, to seat him upon the king's horse, and in that state to conduct him through the city. In the evening, at the banquet, Esther being again interrogated by the king as to the object of her wishes, petitions for favour towards her people, and points out Haman as its enemy. He is immediately fastened to the cross which he had prepared for Mordecai ; while the latter, being created in his stead chief of the royal governors, transmits to all the provinces the king's orders that the Jews, on the day which had been fixed for their massacre, should take arms and destroy their enemies. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of the twelfth month, the Jews put to death 75000 in the provinces and 500 at Susa, and obtaining permission through Esther to continue the work of destruction on the succeeding day, they kill in Susa 300 more. In commemoration of the event Mordecai institutes a feast, on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of the twelfth month, or Adar, by the name of the feast of Purim or Phurim. In conclusion, the author refers to the royal annals of Persia for confirmation of his account.

§ 66. *Who is king Ahasuerus ?*

The Ahasuerus of Esther is not Astyages, who is designated by the same name in Dan. ix. 1 ; for he was not king of Persia, but of Media, and his kingdom was not of the extent which is stated in Esth. i. 1.—Nor is he Cambyses, who also bears the name of Ahasuerus in Ezr. iv. 6 ; for he was in Egypt in the seventh year of his reign, whereas in that year Ahasuerus chose Esther for his queen, Esth. ii. 16 ; Cambyses, also, died in the eighth year of his reign, whereas Ahasuerus reigned more than twelve years.—The Ahasuerus of the book of Esther is Xerxes, who, according to Persian custom, received the name of Ahasuerus, *one who does great things*, on account of his great enterprise against the Greeks. This identity of Ahasuerus is proved by the sameness of character and by the agreement of the book of Esther with the history of Xerxes.—1) The Ahasuerus of Esther is a luxurious, weak, and cruel prince ; which is exactly the character given to Xerxes by all the ancients.[a]—2) Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 3.) *in the third year of his reign* feasted during

a hundred and eighty days with all his nobles and governors of provinces. Now Xerxes in *the third year of his reign*, as Herodotus informs us, B. VI. § 11 and 19, consulted his nobles and governors of provinces in relation to the expedition into Greece: as it was the practice of the Persians to hold their councils during feasts, he must have given some on this occasion, and the whole number of governors being too great to convene at once. these entertainments may easily have been continued during 180 days. The chief design of them is not mentioned by the author of the book of Esther, either because he was ignorant of it, or because it had no connexion with his history.—3) Ahasuerus in *the seventh year of his reign*, and tenth month, chose Esther as his queen; and Xerxes in *the seventh year of his reign*, having returned to Persia from his expedition into Greece, endeavoured to remove the chagrin arising from its failure by luxurious pleasures.—4) Ahasuerus imposed a new *tribute* Esth. x. 1; and Xerxes after his expedition was *in want of finances*, on which account he even took away the golden statue from Babylon. [b]

[a] HERODOT III. 89—97. VI. 30, 41, 119: PLUTARCH in Vit. Artaxerxis: ÆLIAN Var. Hist. VI. 14: ATHENÆUS Deipnos. Lib. VIII: VALERIUS MAXIMUS Memorab. IX. 1: CICERO Tusc. Quest. V. 7: —Germ. Introd. p. 300—302.]

[b] Hegai is mentioned in Esth. ii. 8, as superintendent of the harem, and CTESIAs (in Persicis, 24.) speaks of a person in the service of Xerxes at Thermopylae who was named Haegias. If Hamestris the wife of Xerxes were a different person from Esther, the cruelty of her character as illustrated in HERODOTUS (ix 108—112) shows the spirit of Xerxes' harem, with which the sanguinary disposition of Esther entirely agrees. Comp. JUSTIS Vermischte Abhandlungen I Th. S. 38—87.

If it should be objected that Mordecai could not have lived so late as the reign of Xerxes, since in Esth. ii. 6, he is said to have been made a prisoner by Nebuchadnezzar; the reply is, that it is not Mordecai who is there meant, but Kish his great grandfather.—And if it should be asked why Ezra, who lived at the time, did not mention this history? it may easily be answered: for in the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, Ezra took the resolution to go to Jerusalem, and arrived there in *the fifth month* (Ezr. vii. 8); whereas it was not until *the tenth month* of that year that Esther was made known as queen. (Esth. ii. 16.) and the mat-

ters afterwards related did not take place until the twelfth year of Xerxes (Esth. iii. 7) when Ezra was probably dead.]

[The opinion espoused by Jahn in this section has been maintained by SCALIGER (De Emend. Temp. Lib. VI. and Animadv. in Euseb. p. 101 ss.); by DRUSIUS (Annot. in loc.); by PFEIFFER (Dub. Vexat. ad Esth. i. 1.); by CARPZOV (Introd. p. 356. ss.); by JUSTI (in EICHHORNS Repert Th. XV. S. 1—38. and JUSTIS Vermischten Abhandlungen, I. Th. No. 2.); by EICHHORN (Einleit. II. § 508 S. 637. ff.); and by BERTHOLDT (Einleit. V. Th. S. 2422. ff.).—That the Ahasuerus of Esther is *Astyages* has been maintained by G. MERCATOR, R. GUALTHER, and MELCHIOR CANUS.—That he is *Cyaxares* is the opinion of SPANHEIM (Opp. Tom. I. c. 302) to which opinion DU PIN inclines (Diss. Prelim. [On the Canon.] Lib. I. c. iii. § 7.).—That he is *Cambyses* is the opinion of the Jews. (Seder Olam Rabba c. 29; Seder Olam Suta p. 108 ed. Meyeri), and of the old interpreters DE LYRA, VATABLUS, and GENEBRARD.—USHER (Annals, p. 112. ss.) and CALOVIUS (Bibl. Illustr. I. 116.) are of opinion that *Darius Hystaspes* is the person referred to.—Lastly, PRIDEAUX (Connex. P. I. B. IV. anno 465, and B. V. anno 463, 462,) produces strong arguments to show that he is *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; which opinion is supported by PETAVIUS (Doct. Temp. XII. 27.), LIGHTFOOT (Opp. I. p. 137. ss. ed. Rot.) LE CLERC (Comm. in Esth. i. 1.) and HALES (Anal. II. 524.). Tr.]

§ 67. *Difficulties in the Book of Esther.*

The difficulties of this book, which have been much exaggerated of late, admit of satisfactory solutions.

I. That *the decrees of the kings of Persia were irrevocable*, is not a representation peculiar to this book, (i. 19); it is made also in Dan. vi. 9, 16. and is declared by CHARDIN, (Voy. Tom. III. p. 418.) to be the case in Persia even at present, and by LUEDEKE, (Beschreib. des Türkisch. Reichs. Th. I. S. 275.) in the Turkish empire also. Mordecai, therefore, was unable to revoke the royal decree which had been sent by Haman to the provinces, and in order to rescue the Jews a contrary decree was necessary, authorizing them to put their enemies to death.—The cruelty of these decrees does not destroy the truth of the account; otherwise we must erase all cruel decrees from history.—Admitting that Mordecai, and especially Esther, who asked and obtained from the king a second day of massacre in the city Susa, are sanguinary: this is no difficulty:

for it is not saints, but deliverers of the Jews, that the book presents to us.

II. That Esther could not long *conceal her kindred*, as she was directed to do by Mordecai, is readily admitted: for in fact it was not long concealed, but c. vii. 4. viii. 6. she confesses herself a Jewess, and takes it for granted that this was previously known from some other source. If any should suppose that Haman would not have formed his sanguinary schemes against the Jews, if he had been acquainted with the queen's extraction, they are mistaken; for his insight into character would have taught him that Esther, raised to the very summit of honour by the king of Persia, would have become indifferent to the fortunes of her nation; and, apparently in the same view, we find Mordecai warns her not to think herself permanently secure if she should neglect the fate of her kindred and nation.

III. The reason of *Mordecai's refusal to adore or prostrate himself to Haman*, is not indeed given; but no doubt a sufficient one existed. It seems that Mordecai knew him to have been a party in the conspiracy against the king, or at least privy to it. See the apocryphal book of Esther, xii. 6.

IV. Haman's design of *revenging the insolence or rusticity of Mordecai upon all his nation*, shows indeed an extraordinarily vindictive disposition; but it is not on that account to be considered as either false or improbable; it were to be wished that history afforded us no similar instance.

V. A very obvious reason can be assigned for *Haman's postponing his revenge* from the first to the last month of the year; namely, the superstitious practice, common even yet in the East, of doing nothing without previously determining by lot the time most favourable for the undertaking. Having therefore ascertained in this manner the month and day most suitable for the destruction of the Jews, he deferred his revenge until the destined time arrived.

VI. The narrative, it must be confessed, *does not state that the Jews prepared to fly* from the impending massacre, but only that *they lamented*. But neither does it state that they did not prepare to fly, and who can deny that the cause of their lamentation may have been the necessity to which they were subjected of changing their place of residence?—To suppose that the Jews would take up arms in self

defence, would be to confound the hardy soldiers of the Maccabees under the tottering kingdom of Syria, with the feeble Jews under the very powerful empire of Persia.

VII. *The prohibition to approach the king uncalled* is by no means singular; for it prevails even now in Asia.

VIII. There is no force in the objection that as Esther's intention was to allure the monarch by her charms, *a three day's fast* would have diminished the probability of her success, by discolouring the lips, making the cheeks pale, and causing an unpleasant breath. For in the warm climate of Persia fasting makes no such inroads on the personal appearance; especially such fasting as is practised by the orientals, who merely abstain from food from sunrise to sunset, and then satisfy their hunger, which in hot climates is never very great during the day, with copious repasts.

IX. That Esther, when questioned by the king as to the object of her wishes, should *not immediately*, or even at the first banquet, *prefer her petition* in behalf of the Jews, but merely invite the king to sup with her, was without doubt the effect of a real or assumed modesty, which so well becomes a person of her sex, and would contribute not a little to fix upon her the affections of the monarch, and render him propitious to her requests. however great.

X. Lastly, that none of the Jews were slain in the conflict with their enemies, is not incredible, since they would certainly avoid attacking a stronger party. But there is no objection to supposing this statement to be hyperbolic; such often occur in other histories, where great battles are said to have taken place without any loss on the side of the victors.[a]

These solutions are drawn from the manners of the orientals and from the circumstances of the history. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to say that they do not render the narrative probable, but merely prove its possibility.—Although this is enough; since the testimony of the writer, and his reference to the royal archives, abundantly attest the truth of the facts which he relates.

[a] The author might have given a readier answer to this objection, namely, that the book of Esther does not say any thing which should lead to the conclusion that the Jews were entirely exempt from loss. *Tr.*]

§ 68. *Author and age of the Book of Esther.*

Some have inferred from Esth. ix. 20, that Mordecai wrote the book, not observing that the passage does not relate to the whole book, but merely to the letters which Mordecai addressed to the Jews respecting the observance of the feast of Purim. Others, who have ascribed the book to Ezra, have not attended to the extraordinary dissimilarity of the style. The great synagogue to which some have attributed it, is nothing but a fiction of the Talmudists. Whoever may have been the author, the work has this peculiarity; that, contrary to the universal practice of the Hebrews, it does not refer the reader to the Deity, or even mention his name. [a] The age of the author is unknown; but from his referring to the annals of the Persian kings, it is certain that he wrote before the overthrow of that monarchy. The most probable opinion is that the book was written a short time after the transactions which it records, since the author was acquainted with several minute circumstances relating to them: Esth. v. 10. ix. 7—10. The subscription of the Alexandrine version of this book, which speaks of a certain Dositheus bringing the letter of Mordecai respecting the festival of Purim to Egypt during the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, is, like all other subscriptions of books by later hands, very suspicious, and no proof that the author lived in a recent age. [b]

[a] On this account DE WETTE, who objects to all the other books their Theocratico-mythological spirit, condemns *this* for its want of religion! *Tr.*]

[b] DE WETTE supports the opinion that the work *professes* to be written by Mordecai, bringing c. ix. 32. comp. v. 20, as proof. He supposes that the *real* author lived in the Persian empire, as is shown by his acquaintance with its history and customs, (i. 1, 10, 14, 15, 19. ii. 8. iii. 7. iv. 11. i. 1. ii. 9,) by his reference to its annals (x. 2.), and by the absence of all notice of Judea and Jerusalem. He adds that the explanations of ancient manners and customs (viii. 8. i. 13. i. 1.) fix the age of the author subsequently to the downfall of the Persian monarchy. *Tr.*]

§ 69. *Text of the Book of Esther.*

The Hebrew text of this book does not indeed exhibit manifest errors, nor are its various readings more numerous than those of other

books ; but it differs in many places from the Alexandrine version, which not only relates some things differently, but also has long additions. These the other Greek interpreters seem to have copied *from that version* ; for which reason Jerome, in his preface to Esther, complains that the book has been corrupted by its various translators. [a]

[a] The additions contained in the Alexandrine version were placed by Jerome at the end of his translation of the book. By Luther and other protestants they are ranked as a separate apocryphal book. They were known to JOSEPHUS ; Ant. Jud. XI. vi. 1.—For an account of their contents, &c. see § 232. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 70. *Whether the Book of Esther is canonical.*

It has already been stated (Part. I. § 28), that the book of Esther is omitted in the canon of MELITO, bishop of Sardis. This is the case also in those of GREGORY NAZIANZEN (Opp. T. II. p 98), of AMPHILOCHIUS (in Iambis ad Seleuc. int. Opp. Greg. Naz. T. II. p. 194), of ATHANASIUS (Epist. fest.), of the author of the Synopsis improperly ascribed to Athanasius, of LEONTIUS, of JUNILIUS, and of both the NICEPHORI. Comp. Germ. Introd. p. 316. This led SIXTUS SENENSIS, in his Bibliotheca Sacra, to place Esther among the deutero-canonical books. But since JOSEPHUS introduces the contents of the work together with many additions into his Antiquities, and AQUILA, SYMMACHUS and THEODOTIION have translated it as a canonical book of the Jews, and ORIGEN, CYRIL of Jerusalem, EPIPHANIUS, and JEROME attest that the Jews admitted it into the canon ; the opinion of SIXTUS has not received the sanction of the learned. See DU PIN. Proleg. B. I. c. i. § 5.

SECTION II.

OF THE PROPHETS.

CHAPTER I.

OF PROPHECIES.

§ 71. *Of Prophecies in general.* [a]

PREDICTIONS of future events were formerly received with reverence everywhere, and by every nation, and obtained at length the approbation even of philosophers. Divination was distinguished into two kinds, *artificial* and *natural* :* the former was derived from natural objects, such as omens, prodigies, entrails of victims, monsters, thunder and lightning, stars, lots, &c. ; the latter was thought to proceed from some divine inspiration and influence. In the one, the Deity was supposed to announce future events by matters of fact ; in the other by revelation. Both, therefore, were attributed to the immediate agency of the divinity ; for in the first kind, the use of art was merely to interpret a revelation made through matters of fact, by observing their signification during a long course of time : CICERO de Divinat. I. 6, 18, 30. Hence other conjectures concerning the future, which were made from mere natural indications, such as those of physicians respecting the recovery or the death of a sick man from

[* Or rather *not artificial*, *απειχνοῦς* : for both were considered as supernatural.]

the symptoms of his disease, or those of farmers respecting future rains or abundant crops from external signs, were carefully distinguished from divination. Persons who were successful in foretelling things in this manner, were called *PRUDENTES* or *PROVIDENTES*, *men of sagacity and foresight*, not *VATES*, *prophets*: Cic. de Divin. I. 49.— Hence it appears that they are altogether mistaken who suppose that the ancients did not accurately distinguish conjectures of any kind respecting future events from *predictions* which are derived from the immediate agency of God. This is mentioned in express words by ancient writers. Thus in Cic. de Divin. I. 30, Quintus, after speaking of dreams, proceeds as follows; “There is in the mind a presentiment of the future, which is infused and maintained therein by some other agent, by the divinity. If it arises to a high degree of vehemence and ardour, it is called a divine rapture, when the soul, abstracted from the body, is strongly agitated by divine inspirations.”* *PLUTARCH* also (de Pythiæ oraculis § 7. p. 257. Vol. IX.) contends that Apollo supplied the Pythoness with the knowledge of future events, but not with the poetry in which these were announced. This he supposes to originate with the Pythoness, and therefore maintains that any want of elegance in it is not to be imputed to Apollo but to her; just as any distorted letters in which the Pythoness might record the knowledge of future events revealed to her, would be her work, and not Apollo’s. Comp. *HERODOTUS*, II. 33.

[a] See *WITSH* Miscellanea Sacra, Lib. I; *CARPZOVII* Introd. P. II. c. i. pp. 1—35; *SHERLOCK’S* Discourses on Prophecy; *HURD* on Prophecy; *SMITH’S* Dissertation on Prophecy, in *WATSON’S* Tracts Vol. IV. pp. 297 ss. ed. 2d; *HORSLEY’S* Sermons, Sermon. 15, 16, 17, 18; and the *REV. JOHN DAVISON’S* Discourses on Prophecy. A brief statement of the opinions and aberrations of many of the German divines and critics on this subject may be found in *ROSE’S* View of the State of Protestantism in Germany. App. pp. 141. ss. *Tr.*]

[b] The opinions of the ancients respecting oracles, and many of the distinctive characteristics of the latter, may be learned from *VAN DALE*, De Oraculis veterum Ethnicorum, and *JORTIN*, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History Vol. I. pp. 84—116. ed. 1803. Comp. also *POTTER’S* Antiquities of Greece, B. II. c. vii—xviii. *Tr.*]

* “Inest igitur animis praesagitio extrinsecus injecta atque inclusa divinitus, ea si exarserit acrius, furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur.”

§ 72. *Origin of Faith in Prophecies.*

The reason which induced all the nations of antiquity to put faith in prophecies was, undoubtedly, their frequent inability to discern what was for their own interest, and their consciousness of needing fuller information. This is acknowledged by the ancient philosophers, and therefore they endeavour to prove the truth of divination; for this reason also it is called by CICERO “an excellent and salutary thing.”* It is certain however that this faith was greatly increased by means of superstition and imposture. This history proves: but it does not point out the source whence faith in predictions originated, or what it was that *first* induced men, when conscious of their own imbecility, *to believe that the deity would reveal to them the future.*

Some suppose that it was superstition that first produced this faith in predictions; others, that it was imposture; others, that it was superstition supported by imposture. Others again derive it from a desire to know the future implanted naturally in man, which sagacious persons had satisfied by forming conjectures founded on natural causes respecting what was about to take place, and were consequently esteemed by an uncultivated people as divine men, who had derived their knowledge of the future from the Deity himself. But although superstition imposture, and the desire of knowing the future, have all fostered a belief in prophecy, yet no one of these principles satisfactorily discloses its *first* origin. Others therefore have placed it in the really divine revelations which we read that the patriarchs received before and after the deluge. This opinion is supported by the most ancient history, while all the others rest upon slight conjectures, which are drawn from particular and comparatively very recent facts, and most illogically extended to universals. But conjectures are of no value unless when history is silent, and even then can only show that a thing *may have been* done so, and *perhaps* was so. Besides, they are very often false as appears from the conjectures which have been offered concerning points on which history gives certain evidence, which have been entirely at variance with its representations.[a]

* “Magnifica quidem res et salutaris.” De Divinat. I. 71.

If the ancient faith in prophecy has in some nations perished in the course of ages, and has been succeeded in the lapse of time by a faith in *particular oracles*; this doubtless has not originated everywhere from the same cause, but those who cherished it were through their consciousness of imbecility induced to believe in predictions uttered by deceivers, sometimes by imposture, sometimes by superstition, sometimes by a desire of knowing the future, and sometimes even by fortuitous circumstances. Comp. HERODOT. II. 52, 54—58. STRABO, p. 329, 402, 419. Of this particular faith, therefore, it is in vain to seek an origin common to all nations. Neither is it incumbent on us to point out its origin in each individual nation; it is sufficient for our purpose to show that the prophecies of the Bible are of *an entirely different kind* from the oracles of other nations, and that they have not originated either in *superstition* or in *imposture* or in *a desire of knowing future events*, or in *natural sagacity*, or in *chance*. but have been derived from *a divine revelation*.

[a] Comp. MEINERS Geschichte des Ursprungs und Verfalls der Wissenschaften, I. Th. S. 147; KLEUKERS neue Prüfung und Erklärung der vorzüglichsten Beweise für die Wahrheit und der göttlich Ursprung des Christenthums. I Th. S. 435—538.]

§ 73. *The Prophecies of the Bible are not founded either in superstition or in imposture.*

The divine prophecies in the Bible are continually opposed to the predictions, not only of the idolaters[a], but also of the false prophets, who pretended to be messengers of the true God. And in fact, prophecies attributed to worthless idols, who are nothing, and can do nothing, must be entirely distinct from those which are derived from God, who views every thing future as present, and is able to reveal any thing.

[I. EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES.]

In the first place, there is a great difference in their *external circumstances*.

I. In the sacred writings not only all prophecy in the name of false gods, but also all divination artificially drawn from omens and prodigies, is forbidden, under pain of death. The only sort of divination which is approved of is totally free from superstition.

II. The prophets of JEHOVAH were not fixed in any particular place, as the prophets of the Greeks were at Dodona, Delphi, Delos, &c. They were not influenced by certain seasons of the year, nor did they depend upon a vapour arising from a subterraneous cavern, as the Pythoness. It was not necessary for them to eat the fruit of laurel or to wear a laurel crown; nor were they seized with a frenzy. Without any of these silly concomitants, they learned the history of the future from God, and uttered and wrote it as they learned it.

III. The prophets were not, like the oracles and diviners of the heathen, gained over by gifts and presents to utter their predictions; but generally prophesied unasked, nay, even against the wishes of kings, nobles, and people; and received no reward for their predictions but threats, scoffs, hatred, persecution, bonds, imprisonment, peril of death, and even death itself; Isa. v. 8—25. xxviii. 14, 22. xlix. 7—13. Mic. ii. 11. iii. 5—12. Jer. xxvi. 1—24. xv. 10—21. xx. 1—18., &c. They were not, therefore, like the soothsayers, diviners, augurs, and inspectors of entrails, instruments of the princes and magistrates, by means of which the people were induced to give willing submission to the laws.

IV. Oracles and diviners of all sorts were credulously received by their contemporaries, but in time, as their worthlessness and fallacy became more and more manifest, they lost all their credit, and sunk into oblivion. Comp. PLUTARCH de defect. Orac. Vol. IX. pp. 298—385. ed. Hutten.—But our prophets found their contemporaries incredulous, and obtained credit after themselves were dead, when deception became impossible. The fulfilment of their prophecies in later ages proved that they emanated, not from men left to their own unassisted powers, but from God himself. In the course of time this became so evident, that many even of the heathens acknowledged the truth of the prophecies of the Bible, and leaving the oracles of their gods, were converted to Judaism. “*Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.*”

[a) For a valuable comparison of the Scriptural prophecies with heathen oracles, see ALLIX's Reflections on the books of the Old Testament. c. iv. in WATSON's Tracts, Vol. I. p. 362. ss. ed. 2d. Tr.]

§ 74. *Prophecies considered with respect to their contents.*

[II. CONTENTS.]

Oracles and divinations 1) were nothing more than *isolated predictions*, without any connexion; 2) they were uttered with a view to the interests of *particular individuals or states*; 3) *they related to events near at hand*; and 4) they were so *ambiguous*, that whatever the event might be, they would seem to have predicted it. Thus Cicero writes of the famous oracle of Apollo. "But now I turn to thee, holy Apollo!—for Chrysippus hath filled an entire volume with thine oracles, partly, as I think, false; partly true by chance. as often happens to discourses of every kind; partly of dubious import, and obscure. so that the interpreter needs interpretation, and the oracle itself oracular explanation; partly ambiguous, and such as require the aid of logic."* He gives an example relating to Pyrrhus, which, it is true, is fictitious, but is nevertheless a fair specimen of the nature of oracles: "Aio te, Æacida! Romanos vincere posse." This could not be convicted of falsehood, whether Pyrrhus conquered the Romans, or was conquered by them, or concluded the war without any signal victory on either side.—On the contrary, the prophecies contained in our sacred volume 1) are *very numerous* and *have an intimate connexion*; 2) they *tend to a common object*, which is *great*, and *worthy of the Deity*; 3) they relate in part to *events which were only to come to pass in remote futurity*; and 4) they are *not at all ambiguous* but *determinate, defined by certain adjuncts*, and as far as there is any necessity, *perspicuous*. These several particulars shall be separately illustrated.

* "Sed jam ad te venio, sancte Apollo!—tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opinor; partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione saepissime; partim flexiloquis et obscuris, ut interpretes egeat interprete, et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit; partim ambiguus, et quae ad dialecticam deferenda sint." De Divinat. II. 56.

§ 75. (i) *The Prophecies of the Bible are many, and consentaneous.*

The Bible contains prophecies which are not, like the divinations of the heathen, *single predictions* and *scattered members devoid of all connexion*, but compose a *collection*, all the parts of which are *coherent, mutually related, and consistent*. From Abraham downwards, a series of events relating to the Hebrews and other nations is, during more than twenty-two centuries, foretold with wonderful connexion; the most ancient prophecies agreeing perfectly with those which are more recent, while none of either failed of accomplishment. That such a series of fortuitous events should have been sagaciously conjectured by different men, during so long a period of time, or that the correspondence of the events with the predictions should have been accidental, is inconceivable, and contrary to the nature of *conjecture* and *chance*, which in itself implies that events should not always take place according to rule, but only occasionally, and that they should frequently disappoint expectation.

§ 76. (ii) *Design of the Prophecies.*

The oracles of the heathens had no other design than to support the tottering interests of certain states or men, to satisfy the desire of information concerning the future, or to incline the people to the wishes of their rulers. The most celebrated oracles therefore were sometimes bribed, as the Pythia was not without reason reproached with Philippizing.—Our prophecies, on the contrary, all tend to one object, worthy of a divine interference,—the proof of the divine mission of the prophets, and, by consequence, the true doctrine concerning God, namely, that the one only God, who sent the prophets, is the omniscient ruler of the universe, and particularly, that he was governing the Hebrews in such a manner that they should preserve the knowledge of him until the period when it should be propagated to all nations by a great messenger who was to arise from the posterity of David.—*Miracles* were not only proofs of the divine mission of those who performed them, but also evidences that the God who endowed these men with such power was the omnipotent governor of the *visible* world. In like manner *the prophecies*

of Scripture were a constant testimony, not only that the prophets were sent and taught by God, but also that this God was the omniscient governor of the *invisible* world, or in other words, of spiritual beings and of the souls of men: comp. Isa. xxix. 15. s. xl. 11—15, 25—31. xli. 1—4, 22—28. xlii. 5—9. xliii. 5—8. xliv. 6—9, 22. s. xlviii. 1—8, 12—16. These *prophecies* and *miracles* were in that age the principal ground on which the knowledge of one omniscient and omnipotent God, the Creator and Governor of all things, was established, and from them was derived the strength of all the other arguments by which the truth of the unity of God was supported, and the vanity of the false gods made evident.—The immediate object of some prophecies may be different from that just stated, but it is easy to observe that it is their ultimate end.

As it has been frequently asserted in the present age, that prophecies and miracles have not attained their object, it may be permitted to inquire whether the knowledge of the true God has not been preserved, or whether it has been preserved by any other means than these, or of what other object the assertion is to be understood. Perhaps they who make it, refer merely to the fact, that miracles and prophecies have not sufficed to bring the whole body of mankind to the knowledge of the true God. But such a result would require a total change of the nature and constitution of man, who neither can nor ought to be compelled to any course of conduct, which, in order to have any moral worth, ought to be the result of free and spontaneous choice. To give this objection force it ought to be shown that the object of prophecies and miracles really was at once to bring all men to the knowledge of the true God. This, in the present condition of men, governed, as they are, by such great and various prejudices, influenced by so many attachments, and continually liable to be led astray by fickleness, precipitancy, or levity, could not be effected without compulsion, nor, consequently, without a change of the human nature and constitution.

§ 77. (iii) *The Prophecies relate to remote events.*

The oracles and the predictions of sagacious men, either *related only to proximate events*, the causes of which had already begun to exert their efficacy, and thus afforded to the attentive observer indications of the effects which would be produced; or, they were formed upon principles drawn from *the analogy of history and the condition of men*, by means of which the authors of the predictions concluded that

from the same circumstances the same results would follow which had already been produced. Thus POLYBIUS, Hist. L. vi. § 7., having observed that all democracies and aristocracies finally became monarchies, predicted that this would be the fate of the Roman government, which actually came to pass almost a century after his time.— But in the prophecies of the Bible the case is different. Very remote events were predicted in an age when the causes to which they owed their origin either did not exist, or were so obscure and latent, as to be concealed from the observation of the most perspicacious of mortals, especially as the predictions were not, like those of the heathen oracles, merely general in their character, but are strongly marked by the addition of many circumstances of the events which they foretold. Nor could the analogy of history enable men to make conjectures like the predictions which foretold not only the exile of the Hebrews, but also their return to their country, and their subsequent prosperity; Deut. xxviii. 36, 49., xxx. 1—10., Amos ix. 4, 14., Hos. ii. 15—23., xiv. 5—9., Mic. iv. 1—8., vii. 10—17., Isa. xi. 11—16.; the burning and devastation of Jerusalem, Amos ii. 5., Hos. viii. 14., Mic. iii. 12., vii. 13.; the empire of the Chaldeans, and the seventy years captivity in Babylonia, Mic. iv. 10. s., 7, 8—13., Isa. vi. 11—13., Jer. xxv. 11. s., xxix. 10.; the wars of the Maccabees, and the constancy of the Israelites in the worship of the true God after the captivity, Hos. ii. 15—23., xiv. 5—9., Mic. iv. 1—13. vii. 11, 14—20., Jer. xxxi. 1—9. 31—37., Zech. ix. 11—x. 12. Since predictions of this description could not be made by men of the greatest sagacity, and must necessarily have proceeded from God himself, we are warranted in concluding that others agreeing with these in nature and design, and attributed to the same God, have in like manner, the DEITY for their author. Yet, if the prophets were competent to discern some future events by the mere force of their natural abilities, and such predictions afterwards received a sanction arising out of their divine mission, this would afford no ground for asserting, that they were indebted for all their predictions to their own sagacity, and were solely on that account esteemed as agents of the divinity by an ignorant multitude. This assertion, which has been advanced by some learned men, is inconsistent with itself: for, according to it, the prophets must have been more sagacious than the wisest men of the most cultivated nations, none of whom have ever been able to utter such pre-

dictions as theirs, or to invent such a doctrine concerning God as they teach ; and yet the people among whom these men, so superior to all others in sagacity and wisdom, lived, must have been so ignorant and stupid as not to observe that all these predictions resulted from mere natural knowledge. The nation to whom such men belonged could never have been so ignorant ; nor, on the other hand, could men, endowed with such sagacity and wisdom and such a pure knowledge of religion as have never been discovered in the most cultivated people of antiquity, have arisen in a nation so dull and stupid.[a]

[a] If, in order to find a parallel with scripture prophecies, any one should appeal to the story of Cræsus, who is said by Herodotus (I, 47.) to have received responses from the oracles of Greece and Libya which declared what he had been doing on a certain day ; it may well be asked, who will vouch for the truth of this account which Herodotus must have obtained from rumour, 150 years after the time of Cræsus, after it had passed through four or five generations? The scripture prophecies were committed to writing by the prophets themselves and preserved in public documents : and many of them refer to a very distant period.]

§ 78. (iv) *The Prophecies are not ambiguous.*

The heathen oracles were, as has already been proved from Cicero, so ambiguous, that, whatever the event might be, they could not be charged with falsehood. Such is that well known response : “ Ibis redibis non morieris in bello ;” which gives opposite senses according to the punctuation, either thus : “ ibis, redibis, non morieris in bello ;” or thus : “ ibis ; redibis ? non, morieris in bello :” also that announced to Cræsus : ‘ that if he waged war, he should overturn a vast empire ;’ and another, ‘ that Cræsus need not fear until a mule should occupy the Persian throne.’—But the biblical prophecies are definite predictions. This is observable in all, but especially in those which relate to proximate events, and for which, were it not for this characteristic, the prophets might seem to be indebted to their own acuteness. For as the oracles and soothsayers found it necessary to involve their predictions of proximate events in ambiguous constructions, that in any result their authority might be preserved ; so our prophets, if they had only depended upon natural sagacity, would have been still less capable of speaking so definitely and with such confidence, since they must have known that a capital punishment would be the consequence of a failure of their predictions uttered in

the name of Jehovah ; Deut. xviii. 20. ss.—Our prophets who, with the prospect of capital punishment if their predictions failed, spoke so clearly concerning future events and had their predictions verified by a complete accomplishment, cannot possibly be confounded with the discerning men who uttered oracles in the names of the heathen gods, were in no danger whatever might be the event of their predictions, and although they exercised their sagacity in sedulously observing all the circumstances of the times, proposed their conjectures in a form capable of accommodation to any possible result, and notwithstanding were frequently deceived. The comparison clearly shows that the former must have been, as they themselves asserted, taught by God.—The false prophets among the Hebrews, it is true, were not deterred from uttering their predictions by the fear of incurring the punishment of death ; but they were the tools of the nobles and princes, under whose protection they would promise themselves impunity, whatever might happen. But if, like them, our prophets had intended merely to predict what their own sagacity would enable them to divine, what occasion was there, while the event was so uncertain, to set themselves in opposition to the false prophets in so marked a manner and with the claim of divine authority, when this was accompanied by so great a risk ? They might have avoided all danger, simply by proposing what they announced as their own conjectures, and by drawing from existing circumstances such arguments as would be sufficient to influence their hearers and readers.

It cannot be denied that the Hebrews frequently referred the events of divine providence immediately to God : and it appears from I Sam. xxiv. 5, 11., II Sam. xvi. 10. s. xxiv. 1., comp. I Chron. xxi. 1. xxviii. 6., that they also occasionally used the expression, “the LORD said,” when God had not spoken ; and therefore, this expression is not always to be understood in its strictest sense, but sometimes merely imports, that divine providence had so disposed events, that the occasion of doing some particular action was as suitable, and the power of performance as complete, as if God himself had said, “do this.” This however, will not authorize the conclusion, that the phrase, “the LORD said,” has always and in every place the same limited signification ; for there are so many predictions of events which the most sagacious men among the ancients neither did nor could foresee, that divine assistance must have been really necessary for their utterance. It is from the context and subject therefore that we must determine when the expression, “the LORD said,” is to be understood strictly, and when it relates merely to the ordinary providence

of GOD.* An examination of all the passages in which the phrase occurs, has led me to form the opinion, that the prophets who had received divine commands, might apply it even to those things which they derived from their own unassisted reason ;[a] for being furnished with a divine commission, they were able, and in my judgment, obliged, in the due discharge of their office, to propose even their own remarks, under the sanction of their character as ambassadors of God. But although the expression, "the LORD said," was used even of the ordinary course of events, yet the distinction between this natural order and one supernatural, was perfectly known, as appears very clearly from II Sam. xvi. 23.—After all, since the mind of the prophet is not open to our inspection, it is impossible every where accurately to distinguish what the prophets drew from their own resources, from what they owed to revelation ; and even if this distinction could always be made, it would be of no benefit to us, since even those things which the prophets uttered from their own resources, the suggestions of their own minds, partake, by virtue of their divine mission and of that assistance which we call inspiration, of the same certainty with those which were revealed.

[a] See, however, Jer. xxiii. 16, 21, 25, and compare what is said on this subject in the Biblical Theology of STORR and FLATT, (tr. Schmucker) § 13. Ill. 10. Vol. I. p. 235. *Tr.*]

§ 79. *The Prophecies of Scripture not general.*

The presages of sagacious men, formed from their observations of the course of things and of powerfully operating causes, are merely general, without any attempt to define the time and circumstances of the event foretold ; just as Polybius foresaw the change of the Roman republic to a monarchy, without any foreknowledge of the time or manner of the change. And, again, a prediction which is fortuitously accomplished, can be nothing more than general, and it is only occasionally that it has a corresponding event, and this most commonly but partially accordant with the prediction. So the prophecy of the archbishop Malachi,[a] that there should arise an apostolical pilgrim, although only general, was yet but partially fulfilled in the case of Pius VI., who, though a pilgrim, was not rendered such by apostolical labours, but by adverse political circumstances. These limits to the accomplishment of human predictions were well known to the framers of the oracles, and to the soothsayers, of the heathen ; for which reason they were careful to utter their presages, in other respects ambiguous, in a few general terms, and without any specification of cir-

[* See Germ. Introd. pp. 354, 355. *Tr.*]

circumstances.—Among the prophecies of Scripture, on the contrary, there are scarcely any so completely general as not to add at least some circumstances, and many even name the time and place of their fulfilment. The number of circumstances predicted, moreover, appears surprisingly great, when we compare together the various prophecies relating to a single event. Thus, with the promises made to the ancestors of the Hebrews, it is clearly announced, that the blessing which all nations were to enjoy, should come, not through Ishmael's posterity or Esau's, but through that of Isaac and Jacob, who should sojourn in a foreign land 400 years, from which, after much oppression, they should be delivered and brought to Canaan, and their oppressors be punished. See Gen. xii. 2. s. xv. 4. s. xvii. 4—8, 19. ss. xxii. 16. ss. xxvi. 3. ss. xxviii. 13, 15. and comp. Gen. xv. 13—16., with Exod. xii. 40.—When Moses predicts the miraculous plagues which were to be sent upon the Egyptians, he frequently defines the time of their commencement and of their termination; declares that the Hebrews should be exempt from the infliction, and adds many other particulars. See Ex. viii. 5—10, 17—28, ix. 2—8, 9—11, 18—29. x. 4, 13—19, 21—23. xi. 4—8. xii. 6, 12. s. 29. s. xiii. 18—xiv. 31.—If some of his promises and threats are expressed in general terms, yet in others he specifies particular circumstances, not to transpire until a thousand years and upwards after his time. Comp. Deut. xxviii. 36, 63—68. xxix. 21—27. xxx. 1—6.

But the subject does not depend for illustration upon the most ancient prophecies. There are others of a more modern date which are no less particular. Isaiah predicts to Ahaz deliverance from Pekah and Rezin, the depopulation of the kingdoms of Israel and Damascus, and the devastation of Judea within a definite time; he offers to give a miraculous attestation of the truth of his predictions; he announces also the oppressions to which the country would be subjected by the Assyrians and Egyptians.—He declares to Hezekiah, at a time when everything seemed on the point of being ruined, that Sennacherib would be obliged to retire; he mentions the wind which would destroy his army, the rumour which he would hear, viz. that the king of Cush was marching against him, and adds, that he should not besiege Jerusalem.—When Hezekiah was sick without any hope of recovery, he promises him an addition of fifteen years

to his life, and confirms his promise by a miracle.—He foretells the carrying away of the royal treasures and family to Babylon, more than 100 years before the event took place, and while the Chaldeans were a people without much celebrity. See Isa. vii. 4—25. viii. 1—x. 34. xxxvii. xxxviii. 4—8. xxxix. 5—8.

Micah describes the subjection of the kingdom of Israel, and the complete destruction of Samaria; he foretells the captivity of the Jews and the devastation of their city and temple, their return and subsequent happiness, the victories of the Maccabees, the perseverance of the Jews in the worship of the true God, and the extension of religious knowledge. See Micah i. iii. 12. iv. 9—11. vii. 10—14. also iv. 1—7. 12—14.

Jeremiah foretells the return of the Egyptian army into their own country without venturing a battle.—He predicts, not merely the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, but its conflagration; that Zedekiah should be brought to Nebuchadnezzar and taken to Babylon, but should not die a violent death; and further, that the Jews should return from their captivity after it had lasted 70 years. See Jerem. xxxvii. 7, 17. xxxiv. 1—7. xxxviii. 1—24. xxv. 11. s. xxix. 10. l. li.

The same particularity appears in the prophecies of Ezekiel, xxxvi. xxxvii., of Zechariah, vi. 9—16. ix. 1—8, 11—17. xi. xii. 1—3, and of Malachi. The last predicts, with circumstances of extraordinary minuteness, the advent of the long promised descendant of David, who would punish, not the heathen, as the Jews erroneously supposed, but themselves, and particularly the Levites, who were chiefly distressed by the destruction of the temple. He announces the previous advent of a zealous messenger, a prophet like Elias, who should make the last effort to improve the moral character of the Jews; that afterwards the land should be smitten with the irrevocable curse, the *cherem*, in the execution of which the true worshippers of God should be spared. Is it possible for prophecy to be more circumstantial in relation to John the Baptist, to Jesus, to the final devastation of the country, and to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus? See Mal. ii. 17—iii. 24. (ii. 17—iv. 6.) If we add to this what Zechariah (ix. 9.), Daniel (ix. 25—27.), Ezekiel (xxxiv. 23, 24. xxxvii. 24.), Jeremiah (xxiii. xxx. 8—10), Isaiah (xi. xlix—lxvi.), Micah (v. 1—3.), Amos (ix. 11. 12.).

and Nathan (in II Sam. vii. I Chron. xvii. comp. Psal. lxxxix. and ex.) have predicted respecting the great descendant of David, we shall find many very circumstantial prophecies which have been completely verified.

[a] Malachi, or Malmédouk O'Morgan, canonized by the Romish Church, was Archbishop of Armagh in 1134; appointed Pope's Legate in 1137; and died at Rome in 1143. See FLEURY Hist. Eccles. XIV. 534. ss. "Prophetia de futuris Pontificibus Romanis cum expositione Ciacconii extat apud ARNOLDUM WION, in Ligno Vitæ, L. II. c. xl." CAVE, Hist. Lit. p. 663. ed. Lond. 1688. Tr.]

§ 80. *The Prophecies are clear.*

Although the prophecies of scripture are not in every respect clear, yet their obscurity is by no means so great as that which meets us in the heathen oracles, where it was studiously aimed at, lest a clear prediction should be frustrated by the want of a corresponding result. It is acknowledged that the obscurity of prophecies is very considerable before the darkness is dispelled by the event; whence it happens that occasionally even the prophets confess that their predictions are not plain to themselves, or, which is equivalent, refer to some future period when their predictions shall be illustrated by history. See Isa. vi. 9—13. xxix. 11—18. Jer. xxiii. 20, 28. xxx. 24. Ezek. xxxiii. 33. Dan. vii. 28. viii. 27. xii. 8. s. Zech. ii. 13. (9.). 15. (11.), iv. 9. vi. 15. There is nevertheless a degree of perspicuity pervading all the prophecies sufficient to enable us to discern the event which they unfold in history, if it has been transmitted to us complete, and to acknowledge that he who sent the prophets must have been the omniscient ruler of the universe. Some are perfectly clear, as the predictions contained in Ex. vii—xiv; also, the prophecies concerning the overthrow of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem, the captivity and return of Israel and Judah, the reconciliation of the ten tribes with the tribe of Judah after the return from captivity, the pacific period subsequent to the captivity, the victories of the Maccabees, the promised illustrious son of David, and especially those concerning the propagation of the true religion to other nations. Not less clear are many of the symbolical prophecies, such as Ezek. iv. 1—v. 4. xii. 1—20. I Ki. xi. 30. Hos. i. 2—11.

If some prophecies are rather obscure, the cause is partly the want of historical records, partly the imperfect knowledge which we have of the Hebrew language, which has led interpreters into a variety of opinions.—To demand as great a degree of clearness as that which history requires, is unreasonable. A prophecy of this sort would sometimes be subjected to *an impossibility* of fulfilment; as, for example, if the prediction involved a calamity or something exceedingly offensive, which the nation, to whom the prophecy is announced, was to bring upon itself by some particular act. If such a prophecy were to define with historical accuracy the place, the time, the persons, and the manner of performance, without doubt all the persons by whose agency its accomplishment was to be effected, would carefully avoid doing any thing to give occasion to promote it, and thus the prediction would be without a corresponding event, and consequently false, which cannot be the case with any thing coming from God. This may be exemplified by the instances of Jesus and John the Baptist, who would not have been put to death, if the prophecies concerning them had been delivered with historical perspicuity. Those which relate to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus may serve as another example.—But although the scriptural prophecies do not represent the subjects to which they relate with the precision of history, it is not true that they afforded no previous knowledge of the events: for as an artist's rough sketches of some intended painting exhibit many lines from which when the work is finished it is easy to perceive that the sketch is a delineation of the picture; so also the prophecies, although they are not clear, yet they contain indications of the future events which they have in view, sufficient to enable us after their accomplishment, to ascertain by the aid of history that they actually predicted these events.—Those interpreters who have not noticed this characteristic of the prophecies have frequently involved them in additional obscurity, by adopting principles which were not derived from the nature and conformation of those productions, but taken up at random. Some have looked for *perfect clearness*, and consequently have wrested to a meaning of their own many passages, and even some that were merely intended to fill up the picture. Others have imagined that they could every where discern *Christ and the Christian church*. Others have contended that the prophe-

cies were merely *general promises and threats*, and thus have obscured events clearly predicted. Others have *expected that the events predicted in the prophecies should be foretold in chronological order*, and to make this evident. have perverted many passages by forced interpretations. Almost all have been unwilling to acknowledge, that *the mind of the prophets was dwelling on a different object from that which the Deity through their words intended to express*, and that therefore there is really in some passages a double sense.—Of these two last points it will be necessary to speak somewhat more particularly.

§ 81. *Of the prophetic perspective vision.*

They are certainly in an error who suppose that the prophets saw future events in historical order and clearness ; for evidence may be derived from the prophecies themselves to prove that they beheld only some things, and those not at all as we are accustomed to view objects near at hand, but as we see things at a distance. Hence the prophets are often compared to the watchmen who were formerly stationed on towers, and thence beheld and announced events which were occurring at a distance. II Sam. xiii. 34. xviii. 24—27. II Ki. ix. 17—19. In like manner the prophets, raised, as it were, upon an elevated station, looked forward to what should come to pass in future times, and were commanded to announce what they beheld to others ; Isa. lii. 8. xxi. 6—12. Jer. vi. 17. Mic. vii. 4. Ezek. iii. 17. xxxiii. 1—9. Rev. iv. 1. xxi. 10. For this reason a prophet is called *a seer*. חֹזֵן, רֹאֵה, and his prophecy, *a sight* or *a vision*, חֹזֵן, מְרֹאֵה. [a] The prophecies therefore resemble pictures which represent extensive prospects, comprising many objects at various intervals of distance ; and as in these all the objects are not depicted with equal clearness, but, while the outline of the foreground is distinct and its colouring vivid, the distance is less perfectly defined, and the extreme background is clothed with a shadowy mist ; so the prophecies exhibit as it were in a painting a delineation of various future objects or events, the nearest of which are the most perfectly described, while the more remote are shown in proportion to their distance in a weaker light and with a fainter outline : the intervals of time are not distinctly no-

ted, but all the objects are simultaneously represented, as they lay in prospect before the prophet and therefore not in historical or chronological order, but as they casually occur to the sight of the beholder, some objects, by their importance, first attracting his attention, and afterwards recalling it at frequent intervals, while others less prominent, receive but a transient notice. Comp. Gen. xv. II Sam. vii. I Chron. xvii. Ps. lxxxix. 2—38. Hence it appears that in the prophecies it was scarcely possible, before the accomplishment, to distinguish which of the events predicted was near at hand, and which more remote. The prophets frequently interweave descriptions of remote events, with others of objects near at hand. Thus Zechariah, c. ix. in v. 1—8, speaks of Alexander, in v. 9. s., of the Messiah, whom he beholds afar off, in v. 11. ss. of the Maccabees, and in c. xi. again of the Messiah. Comp. Isa. xi. Mic. i. 2—v. 14. Ezek. xxxvii. 15—28.

It is further worthy of observation, that the prophecies have this peculiarity, that the circumstance which constitutes the foreground is sometimes an image of the much more important circumstance which constitutes the distance, the former possessing a surprising resemblance to the latter. In this respect the comparison drawn from the perspective in painting does not hold good.

[a] LEIGHTON, *Select Works*, I. 43, gives the following beautiful illustration of Isa. lx. 1: "The prophet, elevated by the spirit of God to a view of after ages, as clear as if present, seems here to find his people sitting under a dark mantle of a sad and tedious night, and having long expected the sun's return in vain, before its time, they give over expectation when it is near them, and desperately fold themselves to lie perpetually in the dark. Now the prophet, as it were standing awake upon some mountain, perceives the day approaching, and the golden chariots of the morning of deliverance hastening forward, and seems to come speedily with these glad news to a captive people, and sounds this trumpet in their ears, *arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.*"

A remarkable instance of this prophetic vision, seen, as from a watch-tower, in an extended plain, may be found in Isa. lxiii. 1—6. See VELTHUSEN *de optica rerum futurarum descriptione, ad illustrandum locum Ies. lxiii. 1—6.*, in *Comm. Theol.* a VELTHUSEN, KUINOEL, et RUPERTI, Vol. VI. pp. 75—117. *Tr.*]

§ 82. *Some prophecies have a double sense.*[a]

The older interpreters, who drew their rules of interpretation from the style of the prophets, acknowledged the existence of two literal senses in some prophetic passages. When however this principle was too broadly applied by wild and irregular expositors it became suspected, and has at length been almost entirely exploded, on the ground that in no passage more than a single meaning can be given to each word, and consequently no more than a single sense to the whole passage. But this reasoning does not prove that God could not, by his especial interference, so modify the language of the prophet, that it should convey beside the sense which the prophet himself might have in his mind, another sense still more exalted. Thus the declaration of the high priest: "it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not;" is explained by John (xi. 50. 51.) in a twofold sense. For although the high priest merely intended to say that true policy required the execution of an individual in order to preserve the state, yet the evangelist declares, that by those words God designed to express another truth, namely, that Jesus was to die for the sins of men. That the case of the prophets was similar we learn from themselves, when they confess that they do not understand their own predictions: for in such circumstances either they must have attached to their words a sense different from that designed by the DEITY; or they must have intended to convey by them some general and indefinite idea, when in the divine purpose they had a particular and definite signification. In either case, the existence of a double sense must necessarily be allowed, viz. the *subjective*, or that which appears to the speaker to be the meaning of the words uttered by him at the instigation of the Holy Spirit; and the *objective*, or that which is really intended by the Deity himself. Comp. SEILERS *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 1800, § 195—199. S. 225—233. That a similar double sense does exist in other places where there is no confession of the prophets that their predictions are not understood by themselves, will be readily granted, if we consider that many prophecies must, before their accomplishment, have been equally obscure with those the obscurity of which is thus acknowledged. So when Isaiah predicted to Hezekiah that his royal

treasures should be carried to Babylon, and that the regal posterity should be eunuchs in the Babylonish court (Isa. xxxix.), it is plain that he understood it as referring to the Assyrian monarchy, although its seat was then at Nineveh; but God by this prophecy designated, not the captivity of Manasseh among the Assyrians mentioned II Chr. xxxiii. 11., but the subjection to the Chaldeans, and the Babylonian captivity.—Again, when Micah predicted the ruin and prolonged desolation of Jerusalem and the temple, (c. iii. 12.) and the transportation of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to Babylonia (c. iv. 10), he referred the fulfilment of his prophecies to the Assyrians, and was so understood by the Hebrews (Jer. xxvi. 18. s.), who imagined that his predictions had failed of accomplishment on account of their repentance and reformation; while in reality the Chaldeans were referred to by the DEITY. In another place (c. iv. 10—13), when predicting the return from Babylon, and the success of the Hebrew arms, Micah either must have been totally at a loss to conjecture when, how, and by whom his predictions should be accomplished, or he must have conceived of some other accomplishment than that intended by the DEITY and displayed by the event. Comp. also Isa. liii—lxvi. Zech. ix—xiv. Perhaps the prophets sometimes understood an expression literally, which was intended to receive a more loose or figurative interpretation, and the contrary. So Micah (c. v. 5.), prophesying concerning the Maccabees, would probably suppose that the enemies of the Hebrews, of whom he was then speaking, were the Assyrians properly so called; whereas they were Assyrians only in a more extended use of the word, but properly speaking, Syrians.

The doctrine, already advanced, of a double sense in some of the prophecies, is still further confirmed by this consideration, that in all of them God intended to designate certain definite circumstances, which were to be unfolded in the interpretation, although they may not have been perceived by the prophet himself. Thus, when the prophets predicted the propagation of the true religion among other nations, it was undoubtedly the will of the DEITY, and therefore is *the objective sense* of the prophecies, that this propagation should take place at the time, and in the manner, in which it did actually come to pass, and by the instrumentality of the very men who did really bring it about. Nevertheless the prophets thought that it was to be ac-

accomplished, either by the victories of the Hebrews inducing idolaters to acknowledge their God who gave such proofs of his power, to be the true and only God ; or by that method of conversion which the Maccabees afterwards attempted.

From the preceding observations it must appear evident that the rule in hermeneutics which excludes the application of the New Testament to the interpretation of the Old, is not to be strictly followed. Otherwise we shall shut out all rays of light from a place already dark ; which no one would choose to do whose eyes were not purblind or weak.

[a] See HORSLEY'S Sermons, S. XVIII. p. 53. ss. Also ALLIX'S Reflections on the Old Testament, c. viii. in Watson's Tracts, I. 376. ed. 2d., and JORTIN'S Rem. on Ecc. Hist. I. 128. ss. ed. Lond. 1805. Tr.]

§ 83. *The Subject of the Prophecies.*[a]

The writings of the prophets which are yet extant, are by no means confined to prophecies. They contain very many passages which relate to other subjects, such as the nature and attributes of God ; the religious and moral duties of man ; reproofs of idolatry and other vices ; exhortations to the practice of religion and virtue ; together with advice and warnings respecting the political state of the country and the administration of affairs, which, in the theocratical form of government, were sent to the kings and princes of the Hebrews by the prophets as ambassadors of their supreme monarch JEHOVAH. Those writers of the present age, who, from this latter portion of the contents of the prophetic Scriptures, have concluded that *to prophesy* means merely *to utter some wise saying*, (*etwas weises sagen*,) have childishly played upon the etymology of the German word *weissagen*, when the etymology of the original Hebrew leads to a very different meaning. Nor are they less in error who represent the prophets as mere demagogues ; for in fact they were so far from attempting to obtain any influence among the populace, that they criminated the people as well as the kings, the nobles, and the priests, and even threatened foreign nations with destruction. Besides, their instructions relate much oftener to religious and moral, than to political affairs, and several of the prophets, as for instance Isaiah and Jeremiah.

were, at the very commencement of their ministry, warned by God that they should be unable to produce any effect by their predictions; so that it could never have been their intention to set themselves up as demagogues.—Finally, it may be remarked that the object of the prophecies is not merely to satisfy a desire of knowing the future, nor to afford assistance in particular difficulties without any ulterior aim, but is everywhere grand and uniform, *viz.* to preserve the knowledge of God from perishing.[*b*]

נבא, ^ענבא is in Arabic, *to utter a low and indistinct sound*, e. g. the growling of a dog, being an onomatopoeitic word formed from the sound

BA.* So נבא, in Arabic ^عناب is *to sigh, to breathe out strongly*, from the sound AM or NAM. Both words were first applied to the sounds uttered by the spirits who were supposed to be raised by necromancers, and who, it was imagined, spoke only in a low and murmuring voice; afterwards, they were, without any regard to their etymology, transferred to divine revelations. Hence ^ענבא (נבא) signifies also generally, *to announce*. נבא, therefore, does not signify *one who speaks wisely*, but *one who receives and announces divine revelations*. The same character is alluded to in the other names for a prophet, קוֹן, a seer, one who views, enjoys a prospect of the future; and אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים a man of God, not in the sense in which Plato was called *divine*, but in that of being *familiar with God, taught by God, a messenger of God*. We find the title of prophet (נבא) first applied to Abraham, Gen. xx. 7., after he had received several revelations from the DEITY, and had announced them to his family; Gen. xii. 1—3, 7. xiii. 14—17. xv. 1—21. xvii. 1—21. xviii. The meaning of the word is clearly expressed in Ex. iv. 15, 16. comp. Ex. vii. 1. Lastly, all the prophets acted in the capacity of persons admitted to a knowledge of the divine counsels, and announcing their predictions in obedience to the divine commands. This function constitutes the proper signification of the words נבא, נבא, הנבא, which contain the combined idea of *announcing* and *teaching*: for the

* [See MICHAELIS Supplem. ad. Lex. Heb. p. 153. s. No. 1498. Tr.]

prophets, at the same time that they announced the divine commands, taught the principles of religion, and inculcated piety. All the other significations of these words, such as, *to perform a supernatural act*, Eccles. xlvi. 13., comp. II Ki. xiii. 20, 21; *to sing and play upon musical instruments*, I Sam. x. 5, 6, 10. xix. 20—24. I Chr. xxv. 1—3. Prov. xxx. 1; are tropical. But in I Sam. xviii. 10. נָבִיא, used of

Saul in his state of derangement, takes the reciprocal signification proper to its form, and means *conducted himself as a prophet*: for the insanity of Saul led him to imagine himself a prophet; this was the fixed idea with him, and hence he acted as a prophet, and predicted the downfall of his kingdom, an event with which Samuel had threatened him. [c]

[a] On this subject see HURD on Prophecy. Serm. I. pp. 16. ss.]

[b] "God gave the prophecies, not to gratify men's curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and His own providence, not the interpreter's, be then manifested thereby to the world. For the event of things predicted many ages before, will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by Providence." SIR I. NEWTON on Daniel, p. 251. s. But comp. HURD on Prophecy, Lect. I. p. 17. ss. Am. ed.]

[c] On the subject of this note see some judicious observations in WITSIU Miscellanea Sacra, Lib. I. c. i. Tr.]

§ 84. *The statutes of Moses concerning prophets.*

Prophecy being necessary in the early ages for the preservation of the knowledge of God, in the Hebrew commonwealth, prophets were not merely tolerated, as some have supposed, but promised, lest the Hebrews should have recourse to soothsayers who were idolaters and would seduce them to idolatry. Deut. xviii. 9—22. But, that advantage might not be taken of this institution by false prophets, Moses decreed that impostors should suffer capital punishment, and furnished the judges with two distinguishing marks by which a false prophet might be known. 1) The prophet who should endeavour to introduce the worship of other gods beside JEHOVAH, was to be considered as an impostor, and, as a rebel against their king, to be capitally punished; Deut. xiii. 2—6. 2) Whoever should predict any thing which was not accomplished by the event, although he should do it in the name of JEHOVAH, was, as an impostor who had presumed to counterfeit the seal of their king, to be

condemned to death ; Deut. xviii. 20. ss. Hence it is plain that the prophets were not sagacious men, whose perspicacity enabled them to foresee future events ; for an error committed by such, and unaccompanied by guilt, would never have received from Moses so severe a punishment.

§ 35. *Evidences of a divine mission.*

In consequence of the laws noticed in the preceding section a prophet ran a great risk in undertaking a divine mission, unless he knew by infallible proofs, that he had really received the commands of the DEITY, and was not deluded by his own imagination. Of the nature of these proofs we are not informed, although some circumstances are recorded which show that the prophets were certainly possessed of them. For instance, it is mentioned, I Sam. iii. 7. that at first Samuel did not know the voice of God, and Jeremiah, c. xxxii. 6—9, confesses that it was the correspondence of the event which assured him that the direction to buy the field of his relative had come to him from God. Comp. also Jer. xxviii. 9. The proofs by which Moses was satisfied respecting his divine commission, are recorded at length, Ex. iii. 1—iv. 17. That the prophets had other means of distinguishing divine revelations from their own thoughts, appears from I Sam. xvi. 6. s. II Sam. vii. 1—17. I Chr. xvii. 1—16. Isa. xxxviii. 1—8. II Ki. xx. 1—11. Occasionally the impression made by the revelation was so strong that it was impossible to doubt of its origin ; so that they confess themselves unable to refrain from speaking, as Jer. xx. 7—10. The means indeed by which they distinguished their own thoughts from divine revelations, they could not express in words, just as it is impossible to explain to one unacquainted with the subject, how we know the painter of a picture, or the author of a composition, solely by his style alone.—To the hearers and first readers of the prophets their divine mission was proved either by *miracles predicted and accordingly performed*. or, if such were not granted, by the event corresponding with the prophecies. For the prophecies were of a twofold description ; some relating to proximate, others to remote events. Those of the former kind, which were clear, and contained various circumstances of the predicted events which must necessarily be beyond the reach of human fore-

sight, afforded by their completion a proof to the contemporaries of the prophet, that he was a messenger of God, and that his predictions concerning remote events, coming from the same source with those which they had seen fulfilled, were worthy of equal credit. [a] The accomplishment of these would afford to posterity the proof of his divine mission. This consequence was so evident, that not a few even of the heathens, among whom Cyrus may be mentioned as a most remarkable instance, were convinced by it, and acknowledged that the author of these prophecies must be the one true God. [b] It was necessary therefore that the prophets should secure the credence of their contemporaries in that portion of their prophecies which related to remote events, by some predictions respecting events of speedy occurrence. This accounts for the fact that the prophets sometimes predicted proximate events of little moment with as much care as others of far more importance: comp. II Sam. xii. 14. xxiv. 11—14. I Ki. xi. 31. s. xiii. 1—5. xiv. 6, 12. Isa. vii. 4—16. xxxviii. 4—8. Jer. xxviii. 16. s. xxxvii. 1—xxxviii. 23. [c]

[a] Comp. I Sam. iii. 19. s. where the general knowledge of the fact that Samuel was a divinely commissioned prophet is stated as a consequence of God's 'letting none of his words fall to the ground,' i. e. of the regular fulfilment of his predictions. *Tr.*]

[b] The prophets themselves occasionally refer to this evidence of their divine mission, and draw plainly the distinction between the proximate events, by predicting which they obtained credence for their other prophecies, and those more remote which it was their principal object to foretell. Comp. Isa. xli. 22. xlii. 9. xliv. 7. s. xlviii. 3. Jer. xxviii. 9. —For an enumeration of prophecies of proximate events and their accomplishment, see ALLIX'S *Reflections on the Old Testament*, c. iii., in WATSON'S *Tracts*, Vol. I. p. 358. ss. ed. 2d. *Tr.*]

[c] On the subject of this section see WITSIU'S *Miscellanea Sacra*, Lib. I. c. xv. *Tr.*]

§ 86. *Character of the divine revelation.*

At the present day, we are unable from want of experience, either to ascertain or express the nature of the divine operation on the minds of the prophets, and the prophets themselves could not express it, for want of words. This is not to be wondered at, since even the regular course of nature cannot be perfectly explained, and many parts of

it are entirely incomprehensible, and yet not the less certain ; for instance, the connexion of the soul and body, man's free will, creation, and other things of the same kind. We, who cannot comprehend the nature of our own soul, nor the power of God, are certainly unable either to show that God cannot operate upon our spirit, or, admitting that he does, to describe the manner ; if we attempt to do either, we do but vainly trifle with words. The question, whether the divine influence on the minds of the prophets was of a natural or supernatural kind, would be more readily settled, if it were considered that with respect to the DEITY, no such distinction can exist, his mode of operation being uniform. The distinction has arisen from our mode of thinking, in which we ought not and cannot confound operations which, in the circumstances connected with them, are exceedingly diverse. It is with propriety therefore that we distinguish divine revelations from the natural operations of the mind. Perhaps some revelations relating to proximate events, may be explained on the supposition of the divine influence leading the prophet to draw conclusions from facts already known to him, which would else have been beyond his powers of reasoning. But in this case it is necessary to suppose that the prophet was conscious of this divine assisting influence, for otherwise he could never have been able to speak with so much accuracy and confidence concerning events which although proximate were still future. Comp. Isa. c. vii. c. xxxvi. xxxvii, and c. xxxviii. 1—8. Other revelations cannot be explained in this manner, especially such as relate to remote ages, and those which refer to very near events, such as those contained in Exod. vii—xi. xiv. xix. 10—xx. 18. Num. xi. 18, 31. All the accounts that we have of the mode of revelation may be reduced to the following particulars.

I. A *conversation* with God, and an *appearance* of the DEITY under some visible form, the prophet being neither in a trance nor in a dream. This sort of revelation is mentioned Num. xii. 6. ss., as the highest and most valuable : comp. Gen. xviii, xix.

II. A *revelation made in a trance*, during which ideas and symbolic representations were presented to the imagination of the prophet, or the future was exhibited as it were in distant prospect. Hence prophecies were called *visions* or *sights*, and the prophets *seers* or *watchmen*. [a]

III. *Dreams.* 1) Such as *needed explanation*, and were given to persons not invested with the prophetic character, as to Pharaoh, Gen. xli., and to Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. ii. and iv. These merely afforded occasion to prophets, by giving the interpretation, to announce the revelations made to themselves. 2) Such as were somewhat more clear, and given to prophets. These scarcely differed from *visions*: [b] for which reason the words חֲזוֹן, כִּרְאָה, *a vision, a view*, and חֲלֹם, *a dream*, are used as synonymous Num. xii. 6; as are also נְבִיא *a prophet*, and חֲלֹם *a dreamer*, Deut. xiii. 2, 4, 6. (1, 3, 5); and elsewhere חֲלֹם *a dream*, and חֲזוֹן, *a vision*, are synonymous: Isa. xxix. 10. Joe iii. 1. (ii. 28.) Zech. i. 7. s. x. 2.—Occasionally this species of representation was afforded to the prophets while awake. Comp. I Ki. xxii. 19—23.

IV. *A voice from heaven or the aerial regions*, which seems to have resembled articulate thunder: Gen. xxii. 11. s. 15—19. Ex. xx. John xii. 28. s. Mat. iii. 17. xvii. 5. II Pet. i. 17. Acts ix. 4. ss. In the Talmud this species of revelation is called בַּת קוֹל (*the daughter of the voice*) and is said to have supplied the place of prophets during the existence of the second temple. JOSEPHUS de Bel. Jud. VI. v. 3, 4. declares that this voice was heard in the temple of Jerusalem before its destruction in which he is followed by TACITUS, Hist. V. 12. But Josephus gives his relation merely from rumour; and the Talmudists are the less worthy of credit because they childishly trifle with respect to the בַּת קוֹל, deciding that a speech made in one sense, and unexpectedly taken in a different, is a voice from heaven; which is exactly similar to the heathen theory of omens: Talmud Jerus. tract. Shabbath. p. 8., CICERO de Divinat. I. 46. The term used by them, moreover, is equivocal, since בַּת קוֹל, in Chaldee בַּת קֹלָא and בַּרְתָּ קֹלָא, and in Syriac ܒܝܬ ܩܘܠܐ, not only, with the Arabic ܒܝܬ

ܒܝܬ ܩܘܠܐ signifies *an echo*, but also means simply *a voice*, and even

a word. See BUXTORF. Lex. Chald. Talm. col. 320. Peshito Syriac version in Rom. x. 16. ss. Gal. iv. 20. Heb. iii. 15.[c]

V. *An internal divine revelation*, which as has been already remarked, was sometimes a divine direction, by the influence of which the prophet drew conclusions from things previously known; but generally, and especially when relating to far distant events, it included something more.[d] *

[a] On the subject of this and the succeeding paragraph, see WITSII Miscell. Sacra. L. I. c. iii. § 9. and c. iv. v. Tr.]

[b] The assertion here made by Jahu must be somewhat modified: in Num. xii. 6. the phrases $\text{בְּכַלּוֹם אֲדַבֵּר בּוֹ}$ and $\text{בְּפִרְאָה אֵלַי אֶתְוַדַּע}$ are not necessarily synonymous, but may be taken as expressive of different species of the same genus; in Deut. xiii. 2, 4, 6. this is most probably the sense, since they are connected by the disjunctive particle אִם . Tr.]

[c] On the nature &c. of the בְּת קוֹל , see VITRINGÆ Dissertatio de Revelatione Cœlesti Judæis dicta Filia vocis, in Observationibus Sacris. Tom. II. Lib. VI. c. x. Tr.]

[d] The division of prophetic revelation made by Jahn in this section, is given almost in so many words by KIMCHI (Præf. ad Psalmos), who also notices the distinction made in V. Comp. WITSII Præf. ad Misc. Sacra. § xiv. Tr.]

§ 87. *Prophetic style.*

The prophecies are generally clothed in a *poetic dress*. In consequence of this many things are inserted merely for ornament, and must not be very greatly pressed in exposition so as to lay stress on every word and every expression; but the general method of interpretation must be observed which is followed in reading uninspired poetical productions. Some prophecies however are written in prose, as those which are contained in the book of Genesis. except c. xlix.,† and in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii—xxx. and some of the more recent, as in Malachi, Haggai, Zechariah, c. i—viii. and Daniel: but even in these the style occasionally assumes a lofty and poetic character.—The *symbolical representations*, which were

* [Concerning which, we are destitute of any information or certain ground of reasoning. Tr.]

† [Chap. ix. 25—27. is certainly poetic. Tr.]

displayed to the prophets, and their *visions* or *prospects* of futurity, could not easily assume a poetical form without increasing their obscurity; accordingly they are narrated in prose.—With respect to the *symbolical actions*, which the prophets occasionally describe, STAEDLIN, in his *Beyträge zur Erläuterung der Propheten*, S. 123—240, has contended that they were not really performed, but are merely related in the manner of parables. Perhaps in some instances, as in Jer. xiii. 1—9. xxv. 15—29. Ezek. xxiv. 3—12, this was the case.[a] But that some at least were real transactions, Staendlin himself was forced to confess, convinced by the clearness of the account, as in Jer. xxvii. xxviii. xxxii. xxxv. xliii. Ezek. xxiv. 15—27. xxxvii. 15—28: and to many others the same observation might be applied. See Ezek. iv. v. 1—4. xii. 1—7. Hos. i. iii. Isa. viii. 1—3. xx. These extraordinary actions of the prophets excited the attention of their contemporaries, and thus procured an increased publicity for their predictions. Some may appear not altogether consistent with our views of decorum; but we must consider that the ideas of the ancient inhabitants of the East differed on this subject from our own: not to say, that Staendlin has misunderstood the nature of some of the actions to which he objects. For instance, he supposes that Isaiah, c. xx., went entirely naked, whereas the phrase *to be naked* among the orientals means nothing more than being clothed only in the garment called Ehram, in which dress labouring husbandmen, and even pilgrims of high rank, when they reach the bounds of Meccah, appear, even at the present day, without any breach of decorum. *Comp. Archæol. P. II. Th. II. § 144. p. 73. ss.* (Upham's Translation. § 120).[b]—It has been supposed that *the visions* which the prophets describe did not in reality take place; that they merely constitute the clothing in which their views of futurity are represented. This is entirely unsusceptible of proof, since the prophets themselves constantly assert that these visions were really seen by them, and no reason can be given why they should involve their revelations in so obscure a covering if they had originally received them in another form. This objection, however, will the less concern the careful interpreter, inasmuch as these visions, whether they were merely a particular mode of representing facts, or real events, require exactly the same method of interpretation: namely that of symbols, in which

some circumstances have no definite meaning, but only serve to fill up the picture. Hence the chief object to be aimed at by the interpreter is to ascertain what is the principal feature of the vision, and what is signified by it. This may generally be learned either from express declarations, or from some indirect indications.[c]

[a] See BLAYNEY on Jeremiah xiii. 4. "Translation, &c." p. 288. and Letters of certain Jews to Monsieur Voltaire, pp. 261—265. ed. Phil. 1795. *Tr.*]

[b] For some good answers to infidel objections to such passages of the prophecies, see the Jews' Letters to Voltaire, Part II. Let. IX. pp. 252. ss. *Tr.*]

[c] On symbolic vision see WITSII *Miscellanea Sacra Lib. I. c. xii. Tr.*]

§ 88. *Of the fulfilment of the prophecies.*

The serious disputes which have arisen respecting the accomplishment of prophecies, may be decided without much difficulty, if proper care be taken to set aside such predictions as relate to events of which either no memorials, or such only as are very slight and insufficient, are contained in history, as is the case with respect to the Philistines, the Moabites, the Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Ethiopians. See Isa. xix. 29—32 xv. xvi. xx. Ezek. xxix—xxxii. Of these nations some fragments of history remain, which Josephus (*Ant. Jud. X. xi. 12.* and against Apion I. 20.), Strabo (p. 687,) and Eusebius (*Præp. Evang. IX. 41.*) from Megasthenes and Berosus, have preserved. The accomplishment of prophecies relating to these nations, and others similarly circumstanced cannot indeed be pointed out, but on the other hand neither can they be disproved. It must also be observed, that many prophecies foretold events which occupied long periods of time, as the return of the ten tribes from exile, the complete destruction of Babylon, &c. The fulfilment of these predictions gradually increased from a small beginning, and was not completed until after the lapse of ages. It had its germ, its growth, its bloom and its ripeness.[a]—Some prophecies are not yet fulfilled, as those relating to the blessing which is to come upon all nations through the seed of Abraham, to the propagation of the true religion throughout the world, and to the conversion of the Jews to their second king David,

the Messiah : comp. Rom. xi. 25. ss. Of such it cannot be said, any more than of the two preceding classes, that they have not been verified by the event.—Lastly, some prophecies were hypothetically made, the event only to take place upon the performance of certain conditions.

If such prophecies as those which have just been enumerated are carefully separated from the rest, there will not remain a single prophecy, the fulfilment of which cannot be ascertained.

[a) See HORSLEY'S excellent remarks. Sermon. XVII. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PROPHETS UNDER UZZIAH, JOTHAM, AHAZ AND HEZEKIAH,
WHO REIGNED FROM 801 TO 699 B. C.; FROM 164 TO 276
AFTER THE DIVISION.

§ 89. *Amos.*

Amos, אָמוֹס, was a native of Tekoah, a city nearly eleven English miles south of Jerusalem.* In Am. vii. 14. he is called בּוֹקֵר, not a *herdsman*, from בָּקָר, a *herd of oxen*, but as v. 15, shows, a *shepherd*, from the Aramæan חֲמִי, a *herd of any kind*; and in c. i. 1.

he uses the term נוֹקֵד, from the Arabic word نَقْدٌ, which means *an inferior kind of sheep*. The prophet left the place of his nativity, and went to Bethel, in the kingdom of Israel, the seat of the golden calf, where he exercised his prophetic office. Although he was ordered to leave the country by Amaziah the priest, who also informed the king, Jeroboam II. against him, he still continued to prophesy, and replied, that he was not like those prophets who were nourished in the kingdom of Israel, nor was he a son, i. e. a disciple of prophets, who would have learned the art of divining in order to gain his bread. but a shepherd, who could content himself with such fare as the sycamore would supply, vii. 10—17. Unless therefore Amos intended to express merely his contentment under any circumstances, it is plain that he was not a rich man. Neither on the other hand was he a servant, for in that case he could not have left his flock and

* [The author says two German miles and two-fifths. A German mile is four and a half English. Tr.]

master. He was the owner of a flock, and according to the condition of the Nomads, a respectable man.—It appears from i. 1 that he composed the book after his return to Tekoah.

§ 90. *Age of the prophet Amos.*

The inscription of the book proves that Amos wrote it under Uz-ziah king of Judah, and Jeroboam II. king of Israel. This is confirmed by the contents. The state of the kingdom of Israel is exhibited, as it was re-established by Jeroboam II. ; comp. 2 Kings xiv. 23—28, with Amos vi. 13, 14.—The vices reprov'd are those which the prosperous condition of the state would encourage the people to commit with boldness, such as idolatry, incest, oppressions, frauds, and others of a similar nature. See ii. 6. iii. 10, 14. s. iv. 4. s. v. 5, 10, 20. s. vi. 4. ss. viii. 5. s. A corruption of morals to such an extent proves that the prophet must have arisen some time after the conquests of Jeroboam and this opinion derives strength from the title, which names King Uzziah, who did not mount the throne of Judah until the 27th year of Jeroboam. The prophet seems to have published his book before Jeroboam's death, since he says nothing of the distractions by which the kingdom of Israel was agitated immediately after that event. Nothing can be inferred from the more definite mark of time contained in the words: "two years before the earthquake," i. 1.; because the year of that remarkable earthquake, which is mentioned also by Zechariah, xiv. 5., is unknown.

We must be satisfied therefore with placing the age of the book within the last fourteen years of Jeroboam, i. e. 798—784. B. C. 177—191 after the division.

§ 91. *Contents of the Book of Amos.*

The subject of the book regards the kingdom of Israel. In the first two chapters indeed, which may be considered as introductory, it threatens the neighbouring kingdoms as well as those of Judah and Israel with destruction by fire and sword. 1) The Syrians of Damascus, because they had threshed the Gileadites to death with iron instruments ; 2) the Philistine states, 3) and the Tyrians, because they had delivered the fugitive Hebrews into the hands of the Edomites ; 4) the Edomites. because of the persevering enmity which they had shown

to their Hebrew brethren ; 5) the Ammonites, because of their cruel conduct to defenceless females ; 6) the Moabites, for destroying by fire the crown prince of Edom, comp. II Kings, iii. 27. ; 7) the Jews, on account of their habitual contempt of the instructions of Jehovah ; and 8) the Israelites, for their various transgressions of the law. iii.

The four following chapters comprise reproofs denounced against vices prevailing in the kingdom of Israel, with a prediction of its overthrow by cruel wars, iii—vi.

In vii. 1—9, are contained three visions ; 1) of the grasshoppers, 2) of the fire which consumed the sea, 3) of Jehovah's appearance with a plumb-line on the wall of Samaria ; the first two representing punishments not carried into full execution, the civil wars perhaps of the two following interregna ; the third signifying the complete destruction of the kingdom. —Then follow an account of the conduct of Amaziah, and the prophecy of Amos concerning him, v. 10—17.

In c. viii. the prophet sees a basket of ripe summer figs, an emblem of the Israelites, fit to be consumed by their enemies. This is followed by a threat of severe and general punishment. The last vision ix. 1—10, represents the execution of the threat. The prophet sees God standing on the altar at Bethel, and hears the command to strike the capitals of the pillars that they might crush the heads of those who were present, and the annunciation of death by the sword to all who should escape ; a figure of Israel's destruction. Then he represents in general expressions the time of the Messiah, whom he sees in a dark futurity. He predicts the restoration of the house of David, and that the other nations should worship the true God. Comp. v. 11. in the Sept. with Acts xv. 16. Then reverting to times nearer his own, he predicts the return and re-establishment of the ten tribes, v. 13—15. The prophecies in this book which merit particular attention are the following. 1) That the Syrians should be removed to the shores of the Kir, Kur or Cyrus, a river which empties into the western side of the Caspian in the 39th degree of latitude, i. 5. This took place between fifty and sixty years afterwards. Comp. II Kings xvi. 9.—2) *The destruction of Jerusalem by fire*, ii. 5 ; which happened 200 years after the prophet's time.—3) *The captivity of the Israelites beyond Damascus* in the north, and their dispersion, v. 5. 6, 27. vii. 17 ; which between sixty and eighty years

afterwards was accomplished, II Ki. xv. 29. xvii.—4) The return of the Israelites to their country, ix. 14, 15.; which gradually took place through a long period of time, more than 300 years after the prophet's day.—5) The coming of another David, i. e. the Messiah, at a much more remote period and the conversion of the Gentiles, ix. 11, 12.

In order to illustrate the supernatural character of the predictions contained in this book, they ought to be compared with the history of the times, from which it appears that when they were made, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah were in a very flourishing condition. See II Kings xiv. 1—17. xv. 1—7. II Chron. xxv. xxvi. Also II Kings xiii. 1—9, 23. 10—20, 25. xiv. 8—15. II Chron. xxv. 17—24. II Kings xiv. 23—28. And comp. Germ. Introd. p. 408.

Jeroboam obtained the regal power in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, king of Judah, who reigned twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son Uzziah or Azariah, II Kings xiv. 17, 23. II Chron. xxv. 25. xxvi. 1. Uzziah therefore should have mounted the throne in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam; but in II Kings xv. 1. this event is placed in his twenty-seventh year. Twelve years therefore, from the fourteenth to the twenty-seventh of Jeroboam are passed over in the kingdom of Judah; but it is evident that they cannot be considered as years of anarchy, because the state of the nation was prosperous, and Uzziah is said to have taken the reins of government immediately upon the death of Amaziah. II Kings xiv. 20, 21. II Chron. xxv. 27, 28. xxvi. 1. It would seem therefore that Jeroboam was associated with his father Joash in the government of the kingdom during twelve years, which, although they belong to the reign of Joash, are in II Kings xv. 1. ascribed to Jeroboam. This supposition is the more probable, as Joash himself was connected in the government during the three last years of his father Jehoahaz. Accustomed therefore to a partner in the throne, he associated his valiant son Jeroboam with himself in the command of the kingdom immediately after his father's death.

§ 92 *Style of Amos.*

The style of Amos is poetical, not indeed sublime, but by no means inferior. The tropes and ornaments of style are generally taken from objects connected with pastoral life, yet are not at all wanting in dignity. Comp. i. 2. ii. 13. iii. 4, 5, 8, 12. iv. 1. v. 11. [vi. 12.] ix. 1, [9,] 13. In the visions there is sometimes a want of ful-

ness in the delineation, not so great however as to injure the representation. When the same subjects are several times brought forward, they are represented under varied forms; as for instance, the oppression of the poor in ii. 6. iii. 9. iv. 1. v. 11, 12. viii. 4., and the divine power in iv. 13. v. 8. ix. 6. This shepherd, therefore, must have been a man of some education, as is further proved from his observations relating to geography, history, and astronomy. See i. 3—5, 11, 12 ii. 9, 10, v. 8, 26. vi. 2, 5, 14. [viii. 8.] ix. 7. "

Some unusual words, as בְּרַל and דְּמַשֶּׁק in iii. 12., בּוֹשֶׁשֶׁכֶּם in v. 11., כֶּרֶךְ , פְּרֹט , כֶּרֶךְ in vi. 4, 5. 10., בְּלֶס in vii. 14., [a] and some proverbial expressions, were perhaps peculiar to the people of Tekoah. But it is altogether without reason that Jerome, in his preface to Amos, calls him a prophet unskilled in composition. Some words which are more than usually harsh, such as מִתְעַב for מִתְאַב in vi. 8., and כִּי־אֵר for כִּי־אָר in viii. 8., are probably errors of transcribers. [b]

[a] See MICH. Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. Nos. 491, 302, 1784, 1790, 2067 Tr.]

[b] DE WETTE thinks that Amos is probably the most regular with respect to composition of all the prophets. He frequently uses that species of measured style in which a certain phrase is regularly repeated as a burthen, comp. i. 2—ii. 16. iv. 6—11. vii. 1—6. ix. 2—4. His illustrations are full, (iii. 3—6. vi. 4—6, 9, 10.) and his expressions occasionally assume a considerable degree of strength and sublimity: comp. iv. 13. v. 8. viii. 7. ss. ix. 5. s. Repetitions of the same expression are observable, iv. 13. v. 8, 27. ix. 6; and a fondness for certain classes of figures, as those drawn from the effects of fire, i. 4—ii. 5. v. 6. vii. 4., and those derived from an inundation, viii. 8. ix. 5. v. 8. ix. 6. iv. 13. v. 8, 27. Tr.]

§ 93. *Age of Hosea.*

Hosea, הוֹשֶׁעַ , the son of Beerī, is said, in the title of the book which bears his name. to have been coeval with Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and with Jeroboam II., king of Israel: the successors of the last, who were contemporaneous with the other princes, are not mentioned. It is impossible that Hosea

could have prophesied during the period of 126 years. comprised in the joint reigns of these kings. If he made his appearance towards the end of Jeroboam's reign, and ceased to exercise his office in the early part of Hezekiah's, he will have prophesied between fifty-five and sixty years. The title indeed has no necessary connexion with the beginning of the book, and therefore may have been added by a later hand; but whatever may be the truth of the matter it is certainly justified by the contents of the work.[a] The Israelitish nation is here represented in a state of distraction, as was the case after Jeroboam's death; for during the subsequent forty-three years, two interregna, one of twelve and the other of nine years, took place; and in the remaining twenty-two, four kings were slain. the cruel Menahem reigned ten years and, although the state of the nation was made completely military, was obliged to purchase freedom from oppression by paying money to the Assyrians. Pekah wasted the strength of the kingdom by a war against Judah, and, after being subdued by the Assyrians, lost Galilee and Peræa. At last, in the reign of Hoshea, the kingdom itself was overthrown by Salmanasar. As the prophet says nothing of this event, it may be concluded, that he had composed his work before the year 722 B. C., or 253 after the division. Comp. II Kings xiv. 23—xviii. 12. II Chron. xxvi. 1—xxix. 2.

[a] Comp. c. i. 4. with II Ki. xv. 10; c. v. 13. vii. 11. viii. 9. xii. 2. (1.) xiv. 4. (3.) with II Ki. xv. 19. xvi. 7. xvii. 4; c. vii. 8, 9. viii. 8. with II Ki. xv. 29; and c. x. 6—8. xiv. 1. (xiii. 16.) with II Ki. xvii. 6. *Tr.*]

§ 94. *Contents of the Book of Hosea.*

Hosea. as well as Amos, directed his prophecies principally against the kingdom of Israel. He introduces nothing which concerns the fates of the neighbouring nations, but mentions Judah more frequently than Amos does. See i. 7. iv. 15. v. 5, 10—14. vi. 4, 11. viii. 14. x. 11. [xi. 12.] xii. 2. It may be inferred therefore that he exercised his office, not as Amos, in the kingdom of Israel, but in that of Judah.

In the first chapter the author presents four symbols. 1) At the divine command he marries an inconvent woman. This is an em-

blem of the kingdom of Israel, the spouse of the king Jehovah, but constantly adulterous, in other words, idolatrous. As the adulteress is to be put to death, so destruction threatens the kingdom of Israel, i. 2, 3.—2) The first son of this marriage is directed to be called Jezebel, יזרעאל *God will scatter or destroy*, which is an allusion to the valley and city of that name where was a royal pleasure residence, and also to the name of the kingdom ישראל. It implies that *God will soon punish the royal house and destroy the Israelitish kingdom*, v. 4, 5.—3) The daughter, who is afterwards born receives at the command of God the name of *Loruchama*, לֹא רַחֲמָה, *she who finds no mercy*, and is an emblem of Israel, who had no further mercy to hope for, implying that the divine determination with respect to that kingdom was irrevocable, while Judah should experience deliverance. v. 6, 7.—4) The third child, a son, is named *Lo Ammi*, לֹא עַמִּי, *not my people*; i. e. Israel shall cease to be the peculiar people of God. v. 8, 9.—Hereafter however, they shall again experience the divine protection, again find mercy, again become the people of God, and united with Judah constitute one people under one Lord, that is to say, after the return from captivity, and in the times of the Maccabees, ii. 1—3 (i. 10, 11. ii. 1.). This is followed by an annunciation of punishment against idolatry, and against alliances with the Assyrians and Egyptians; (both of which offences are represented as a want of conjugal fidelity towards Jehovah;) of the destruction of the capital, the devastation of the country and the removal of the inhabitants; accompanied by a prospective view of their return, their perseverance in the worship of Jehovah, and their enjoyment of a happy future; v. 4—25. (2—23.)—Thus the second chapter explains the symbols of the first.

In the third chapter the prophet espouses another incontinent female, under the condition of her having no connexion either with any other man or with himself. This symbol portends the long and tedious exile, when the ten tribes, although abominating idolatry, should nevertheless fail to enjoy the divine benevolence; but at length should seek God and their king David, that is, the Messiah. It does not refer to the captivity of the ten tribes, which had been represented in

the first chapter, as the return from this captivity had been in the second; especially as the Israelites in this exile did not abandon the service of idols, but, to say the least, associated them with Jehovah in divine worship, for which they are upbraided by Jeremiah, see iii. 6, 7. Hosea must therefore have in view a remote futurity, seen at a distance and obscurely. It is the present state of the Jews to which he refers: they are not idolatrous, and yet they do not experience the kindness of the spouse and king of their nation: hereafter, however, they will seek God and David's great descendant, Jesus, as the apostle Paul declares in Rom. xi. 24, 25.

The remaining eleven chapters ought to have been divided into nine; for the fifth is connected with the sixth, and the thirteenth with the fourteenth. They contain reproofs of the idolatry and sedition of the kingdom of Israel; and of other crimes usually predominant in a state distracted by tumults, such as lying and perjury, by which a succession of kings were constantly deceived and ruined, homicides, thefts, robberies, fornications and adulteries. Exhortations to reformation are every where interspersed; and the people are represented as beginning to prepare themselves for it, but through inconstancy relapsing into a state even worse than before, vi—vii. 2. The prophet blames the alliances, so little in harmony with each other, which they were forming, now with the Egyptians, now with the Assyrians.

The prophecies which this portion contains, relate to the same events as are predicted in the first and second chapters. 1) The overthrow of the kingdom and the devastation of the country; iv. 5. v. 8, 9. ix. 6. x. 7, 8. xi. 6, 8. xiii. 8, 15. xiv. 1. (xiii. 16.) Comp. i. 4—7. ii. 14—16. (12—14.) The desolation of the cities of Judah is also threatened, viii. 14.—2) The transportation of the inhabitants; iv. 16. ix. 3, 17. xi. 5, 6. xiii. 3. Comp. i. 8, 9. ii. 15, 16. (13, 14.)—3) The return and steadfast adherence to the true worship of God; an event 200 years posterior to the time of the prophet; xiv. 5—9. Comp. ii. 17—25. [15—23.]

§ 95. *Style of Hosea.*

The first and third chapters, in which the symbols already mentioned are described, are written in prose. All the remainder of the book is poetical, although the parallelism is not always carefully pro-

served. The style, with the exception of a few places, is little more vehement and sublime than that of Amos ; but Hosea, as Jerome has observed, is abrupt and speaks in short sentences.* Tropes, comparisons, and figures, which are frequent, are presented in few words ; and this sometimes produces a want of perspicuity.[a] The words and phrases are not far-fetched ; yet some occur which are rather unusual, as על in vii. 16. xi. 7. in the sense of *eminence*. Comp. Isa.

lix. 18. lxiii. 7. Some places, perhaps, are erroneous, as x. 9., where עלוה seems to be a corruption for עולה, as it is correctly read in x. 13.[b]

[a] EICHHORN, 4. B. s. 286, describes, and at the same time imitates, the style of Hosea in the following passage. "The elocution of the prophet resembles a garland composed of a multiplicity of flowers. Figures are entwined with figures ; comparisons interwoven with comparisons ; metaphors strung on metaphors. He plucks a flower and throws it down, in order directly to pluck another. Like a bee he flies from one flower-bed to another, that he may suck his honey from their varied juices. Naturally it follows that his figures sometimes form strings of pearls ; often he is forced to approach to allegory ; often he sinks down in obscurity."—EICHH. S. 290, and DE WETTE, S. 313, remark that the language of Hosea is original and difficult in its construction, and contains many uncommon words and forms. The whole of Eichhorn's remarks on this subject are well worth perusal. *Tr.*]

[b] EICHHORN (Einleit. § 554. S. 273.) concludes from c. xiv. 10. (9) that Hosea probably published the book himself. DE WETTE (Einleit. § 229) agrees in the supposition, and further contends that it is supported by the arrangement of the book. This he supposes to be chronological ; c. i. 7. relating to the time immediately subsequent to the murder of Zachariah ; c. v. 13. vii. 9. to the history of Pekah and Ahaz, and c. xiv. 1. (xiii. 16.) to the approaching destruction of Samaria. *Tr.*]

§ 96. *Of Micah and his Age.*

In the title of the book, Micah, מיכָה, is called the Morasthite, המְרַשְׁתִּי, in order to distinguish him from Micaiah, the son of Imlah, who prophesied 397 years B. C. and 78 after the division ; I Kings

* Commaticus est, et quasi per sententias loquitur. Prolog. in proph. xii min.

xxii. 8—28. This surname is not gentilitious, but is applied to the prophet from the place of his nativity, *Moresheth Gath*, מֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת c. i. 14., or rather, *Maresha*, מַרְשָׁה i. 15. Jos. xv. 44. II Chron. xi. 8. xiv. 9, 10., a city belonging to the tribe of Judah, situated in the valley of Zephata.

The title, which, unlike that of Hosea, is closely connected with the beginning of the book, certifies that Micah prophesied under Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, whose reigns extended from the year 759 to 699 B. C. and from 216 to 276 after the division.[a] He began, therefore, to exercise his office almost thirty years later than Hosea, and was contemporaneous with the latter years of his ministry. Micah also, as well as that prophet, appears to have published his book before the sixth year of Hezekiah, 722 B. C., 253 after the division, when the kingdom of Israel was overturned; for he constantly speaks of that lamentable event as future.

The genuineness of his prophecies relating to the complete destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, is supported by the testimony of Jer. xxvi. 18, 19.

[a] DE WETTE places his prophetic ministry in the last years of Ahaz and the first of Hezekiah. Einleit. § 233. Tr.]

§ 97. Contents of the Book of Micah.

Micah directs his prophecies, as the title shows, against both Israel and Judah. The first five chapters constitute one complete whole, exhibiting the fates of both nations almost in chronological order; the two last form another and distinct part of the work.

The first part may be subdivided into four others, as follows.

I. The first chapter announces the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, the desolation of Samaria, and the removal of the inhabitants, first in figurative language, v. 3, 4, and then in plain terms, 6, 7. with the addition of many circumstances in relation to which history affords no evidence.

II. In the second chapter the author proceeds to describe those evils, and the causes of them, 1--5. He censures those who wished to put a restraint upon the prophet, or, at least, to hear no other

predictions than those of a happy future, 6—13. In opposition to these he foretells the carrying away of the people, 10 ; announces in the third chapter the punishment of their crimes, 1—4 ; threatens the false prophets who promise happiness, 5—8 ; complains of the princes, the priests and the prophets, and predicts the desolation of Zion and Jerusalem, 9—12.

III. The fourth chapter looks forward to a more remote future, when the temple mount should become greatly celebrated, a house of God which the Gentiles should frequent ; when a considerable period of time, during which no great revolutions took place in Asia, is depicted as a golden age, when the Hebrews shall return to their country, and become a powerful people under the government of Jehovah their king, 1—8. Again the prophet has a view of the destruction of Jerusalem, the captivity of the Jews, and the future punishment of their enemies, the Chaldeans ; he perceives the glorious victories of the Maccabees, and the slaughter of their Syro-Macedonian enemies, 9—13. The intervals of time which separated these great events from each other, and the different enemies of the Hebrews, viz. Chaldeans and Greeks in Syria, the prophet does not discriminate. He places them near each other, as they appeared to his eye in the remote perspective.

IV. The fifth chapter declares that out of Bethlehem a ruler over Israel, of the family of David, should arise, but not until the Hebrews had suffered great calamities, and for some time had been given up into the power of their enemies. But in those times of oppression, (the times of the Maccabees,) there shall be no want of commanders to oppose the Assyrians, and to lay waste the land of Nimrod ; by which is meant, the Syrians and their country. See Zech. x. 11., who applies the same word to the Syrians. The prophet connects together, according to the perspective view which he had taken of events, the times of the great descendant of David and those of the Maccabees, 1—6. In the latter the Hebrews will be numerous and formidable, 6—8, (7—9.). Hereupon the prophet views again the peaceful times under the Persian monarchy, when idolatry shall be exterminated, 9—13. (10—14.), and once more touches on the destruction of the Macedonians in Syria. 14. (15.).

The second part of the prophecy commences with a fine defence of God's government against the unrighteous complaints of the Hebrews. It is in the form of a judicial examination, in which the mountains are summoned as witnesses of all God's former benefits and of his reasonable requisitions, vi. 1—3. Then the prophet reproves the prevailing vices, for the punishment of which Judea is to be laid waste, 9—16. He goes on to upbraid the nation for their immorality, vii. 1—6; and then introduces the state under the figure of a matron, affirming her resolution to bear with patience the punishment which is inflicted on her, and to hope for a happy deliverance and the destruction of her enemies, 7—10. To this resolution the response is returned, that Jerusalem shall hereafter be restored, and the Hebrews return to their land, 11—13. The prophet then implores the accomplishment of this promise, God renews and confirms it, and the prophet bursts out into thanksgiving, 14—20.

The most remarkable prophecies which this book contains are the following: 1) *The overthrow not only of the kingdom of Israel* which was near at hand, but also of *Judah and the destruction of Jerusalem*, iii. 12 vii. 13.—2) *The carrying away of the Jews to Babylon*, iv. 10, 11. vii. 7, 8, 13. This event took place almost 150 years after Micah's time, and the Chaldeans, who were to be the instruments in effecting it, had not arisen, in the prophet's age, to any distinction among the nations.—3) *The return from exile, the restoration of Jerusalem, the rebuilding of the temple, its celebrity, the perseverance of the nation in the worship of Jehovah, and the peaceful period under the Persian and Grecian governments*; all of which events were from 200 to 500 years distant from the prophet, iv. 1—8. vii. 11, 14—17.—4) *The still more remote wars of the Maccabees*, iv. 13.—5) *The restoration of the royal residence in Zion*, iv. 8.—6) *The coming of a king of the family of David, from Bethlehem*, v. 1. (2.)—The three last predictions, inasmuch as they relate to a very remote period, are involved in some degree of obscurity.

§ 98. *Style of Micah.*

The language of Micah is more sublime and vehement than either that of Amos or that of Hosea. His tropes are very beautiful, and are varied according to the nature of the subject. His declarations are

always made with accuracy and perspicuity, and his reproofs with boldness. Paronomasiæ, which are considered in the oriental languages as great beauties, [a] frequently occur, e. g. c. i. 5—14. ii. 6. iv. 14.—Dialogue is a favourite style with Micah, and, agreeably to the usage of oriental writers, different interlocutors are introduced without apprizing the reader of the change of speakers. Unless, therefore, he pays strict attention, he will often become involved in darkness, where in reality all is perfectly clear. See ii. 6—12. vii. 7—17. [b]

[a] This is evident from the Conferences of HARIRI. Comp. also LOWTH de Sac. Poes. Heb. T. I. p. 292. Præl. XV. not. MICHAELIS 76. [Gregory's Trans. p. 206. ed. Boston, 1815.]

[b] DE WETTE (Einleit. § 259.) attributes to the style of Micah more roundness, fulness, and clearness of expression and rhythm than is found in Hosea, whom, however, he resembles in his transitions. EICHORN (Einleit. § 582. s. 378.) considers him as a poet capable of rivaling Isaiah in respect of novelty and vivacity of representation, of fineness of outline, and of sublimity. *Tr.*]

§ 99. *Publication of the Book of Micah.*

Hartmann. in his new translation of Micah, (*Micha neu übersetz*, S. 11, 12.) maintains, that Micah did not appear as a prophet until the time of Manasseh, and that the book which bears his name is a compilation made during the Babylonian exile from different prophecies, a part only of which were written by Micah. Consequently, in the first chapter the destruction of Samaria, which had already taken place, is merely clothed in a prophetic dress; and in the fourth a lamentation on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, now effected, is introduced; and elsewhere three fragments are incorporated into the work: so that the whole is a collection of five different prophecies.

In order to support his views, this author raises hypotheses upon hypotheses; the places which are adverse to his system he attacks with the aid of dogmatical conjecture; even the testimony in Jer. xxvi. 10. he rejects; in fine, he does not always perceive the true construction of the language.—The whole book of Micah exactly corresponds with the times of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah: which

alone sufficiently refutes the arguments for a more modern date that are drawn from the immoralities which it discloses. For Jotham tolerated unlawful altars, II Kings xv. 35. II Chron. xxvii. 2 ; Ahaz was an idolater, who even shut up the temple, II Kings xvi. 1—4. II Chron. xxviii. 2—4, 22—25. Hezekiah indeed prohibited idolatry, and restored the worship of God in the temple, II Kings xviii. 3—5. II Chron. xxix. 3—xxxi. 21. But who can believe that all his subjects and officers conformed immediately to the royal orders ? In the kingdom of Israel, to which moreover the book of Micah relates, Pekah, who was obliged to yield Galilee and Gilead to the Assyrians, reigned twenty years. These were followed by nine years of tumult, during which time crimes were perpetrated with impunity. At last Hosea, in whose person the dynasty ended, held the sceptre eleven years, before the termination of which Micah published his book. It is therefore plain, that there was no want of subjects of reproof at this time, and consequently that it is not necessary to call in the age of Manasseh.[a]

[a] Hartmann's objections to the genuineness of the book of Micah are well answered by ROSENMUELLER, Schol. ad XII. Proph. Min. Tom. III. Tr.]

§ 100. *Isaiah and the time in which he lived.*

Isaiah, the son of Amoz, יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ בֶן אֲמוֹץ, one of the nobles of Jerusalem,[a] Isa. vii. and xxxvi—xxxix. II Ki. xviii—xx. was called (c. vi. 1.), before Micah, namely in the year in which Uzziah died, i. c. 759 before Christ, or 216 after the division, and exercised his prophetic office under Jotham and Ahaz, and beyond the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, consequently at least ten years longer than Micah. Whether the title to this effect c. i. 1., which is by no means connected with the commencement of the book, is supported by fact, is indeed a subject of doubt. Isaiah certainly had intercourse with Ahaz, c. vii. and with Hezekiah, c. xxxvii—xxxix. comp. I Ki. xviii—xx., but concerning Jotham there is a total silence in every part of his book, and there is no prophecy which seems to indicate the time of his reign. This gives rise to a doubt whether in c. vi. 1. יוֹתָם Jo-

tham, should not be read instead of עִזְיָה, Uzziah, so as to place the first prophecy in the year of the death of Jotham. For immediately after, c. vii. 1. mention is made of Jotham's successor, Ahaz, the grandson of Uzziah: "in the time of Ahaz, the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah:" whence some one may have concluded that Isaiah prophesied also under the reign of Uzziah and hence have been induced to alter יְהוֹשָׁפָט, c. vi., to עִזְיָה; the rather, because, II Chron. xxvi. 22. Isaiah is said to have written the history of Uzziah. This mistake once made, it became necessary to add the name of Uzziah to the title in c. i. 1; unless, indeed, we suppose that he who made the latter took the name of Uzziah from Isa. vii. 1. and II Chr. xxvi. 22 and afterwards interpolated the name of *Uzziah* instead of that of *Jotham* in Isa. vi. 1. [b] This supposition will not appear strange to any one who knows that the book of Isaiah has come down to us by no means accurately transcribed; or has observed that Isaiah c. vi. does not, like Jeremiah, pray to be released from his mission in consideration of his youth, but, on the contrary, offers himself to be sent, and therefore must have been at least thirty years of age: consequently, if the year of his being called had been the last year of Uzziah, Isaiah must have been seventy-eight years old in the fourteenth of Hezekiah, while yet, in Isa. xxxvi.—xxxix. II Ki. xviii.—xx, he conducts himself in his transactions with Hezekiah as one still vigorous: and if he lived until after the death of Hezekiah, whose history he is said, II Chr. xxxii. 32, to have written, or, as the Jews maintain, until the reign of Manasseh, he could not have been less than ninety-two or ninety-five years old. [c]—According to the received reading, Isaiah prophesied at least forty-eight years, according to that proposed at least thirty-two, but very probably much longer, even to the time of king Manasseh, under whose reign the Talmudists assert that he was cut in sunder with a saw. This account of his death, if certain, would tend to confirm the conjecture, comp. II Ki. xxi. 10—15. II Chr. xxxiii. 10, which, moreover, agrees well with the complaints of the prophet on account of contumelious treatment. c. li. 6. ss., which he might have received under Amon or Manasseh, but not under Hezekiah. This time also appears to be pointed out by the reproofs of crimes, especially of idolatry as the most foolish of all superstitions.

of human sacrifices, and of wicked shepherds or kings, which occasionally occur; all which exactly suit the reign of Manasseh: Isa. lvi. 10. ss. lvii. 1—21. lix. 1—19. Whatever may be the truth of the matter, Isaiah was certainly in part contemporary with Hosea and Micah, as the agreement of the contents of his book with their prophecies proves. [d]

[a] DE WETTE (Einleit. § 207. p. 285.) rejects the Rabbinical tradition that Amoz was brother to Amaziah, and calls the former a person of unknown lineage. He adds, that the supposition that the influence of Isaiah with Hezekiah was founded upon noble descent or high office, or upon anything else than his own prophetic mission and the piety of the king, is both needless and improbable. Tr.]

[b] No prophecy of Jotham's age precedes vi. 1. Chapters ii—v. belong to that of Ahaz, and yet it is not likely that Isaiah, if he were called to the prophetic office in the last year of Uzziah, would have been silent during the whole sixteen years of Jotham's reign. If this were the case, therefore, most probably some predictions of that period are lost. Comp. § 103. III.]

[c] This, however, as BERTHOLDT remarks, is by no means unexampled, nor so improbable as to render an alteration of the text either necessary or advisable. Tr.]

[d] Comp. Isa. v. 19. viii. 19—21. xxx. 10. s. with Mic. ii. 6. ss.: Isa. v. 8. with Mic. ii. 2.] [GESENIUS remarks that c. vi. refers no doubt to the original call of Isaiah to the prophetic office. Observe v. 5, 8, 9. and comp. the calls of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the first chapters of their books. From an erroneous exposition of the title, c. i. 1., and from the circumstance that the call does not stand first in the collection of prophecies, the opinion has arisen, that Isaiah prophesied during a great part, or rather the whole, of Uzziah's reign. This has been supported both by Jewish and Christian commentators, and among the Eastern Christians is confidently maintained, although it extends the age of Isaiah to at least 130 years. The title, c. i. 1. seems to belong to the first book only, i. e. to c. i—xii. as it cannot be said of the first prophecy, that it was announced under *four kings*, nor of the whole collection that they merely concern Judah and Jerusalem. GESENIUS is disposed to adopt Jahn's conjecture, and read *Jotham* instead of *Uzziah* in vi. 1. See Einleit. § 1. note 8. ROSENMUELLER (Scholia Vol. I. p. 78.) does not alter the text. To the combined lengths of the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, (thirty-one or thirty-two years,) he adds fifteen years of Hezekiah's, (comp. II Ki. xx. 1. with xviii. 13.) and three or four of Uzziah's, making in all fifty or rather more for the exercise of Isaiah's prophetic office, and

about eighty or ninety for his age, rejecting of course the account of his death given by the Talmudists. He does not consider c. vi. as referring to the prophet's call. See p. 196. *Tr.*]

§ 101. *Contents of the book of Isaiah.*

[In reading Isaiah, it is particularly necessary to distinguish between the *subject* of which he treats and the *figurative* and *poetic colouring* with which he adorns it. Chap. i. describes a period when the kingdom of Judah was sunk in gross immorality, and does not suit the fourteenth year of Hezekiah and the irruption of Sennacherib, to which some refer it, but rather an early period of the reign of Ahaz, when the country was wasted by Pekah and Rezin, and idolatry pervaded Jerusalem.

Chaps. ii—v., are provided with a new inscription, and the time referred to is the same early period of the reign of Ahaz. The whole section consists of two parts; the first extending to the end of c. iv., and treating of the miseries and oppressions which the Jews were to sustain from the Assyrians. Comp. II Chr. xxviii. The second part, in c. v., represents the same thing, first under the figure of a vineyard, and then in proper language. The invasion of Sennacherib is here depicted in clearer terms.

Chap. vi., represents the splendid inaugural vision of the last year of Uzziah (or, as has been conjectured, of Jotham,) in which the prophet is told that his exhortations would be ineffectual, and that the land would certainly become desolate and the inhabitants be removed; only a few remaining to serve, like the stump of a felled oak or terebith, for the future stock of the nation. This evidently extends to all the distresses even to the time of Nebuchadnezzar and to the return from the captivity; and it contains no particular promise of a happy future. See vi. 13, and comp. x. 20. s. This is undoubtedly the first piece, and has obtained its present place by chance: let the reader only peruse it first, and then c. i—v., and he will be surprised at the proper arrangement of the whole.

Chap. vii. is partly historical. Isaiah directs king Ahaz not to be afraid of Pekah and Rezin, kings of Israel and Syria, who had already obtained important victories, (see II Ki. xvi. 5—8., II Chr. xxviii. 5—19.) and not to ask aid of the king of Assyria, because those two

kingdoms were near their destruction. To confirm his promise, he offers the king any sign that he might choose; but finding no regard paid to his declarations, he predicts the devastation of Judah by the Assyrians and Egyptians, referring not only to what is mentioned in II Chr. xxviii. 20. s., but to all the oppressions which Judah afterwards experienced from the Assyrians and Egyptians. See Isa. xx. 1. II Ki. xviii. 17. Comp. HERODOTUS II. 157, and II Ki. xxiii. 33. ss.

The prophecies in c. viii. 1—ix. 6, and ix. 7—x. 4, refer to the same time and circumstances as the preceding. In the former, Isaiah repeats the prediction of the speedy overthrow of Israel and Damascus (viii. 1—4.), reproves Judah and Israel for putting too much confidence in the Assyrians, of whose oppressions he again warns them, (viii. 5—22. comp. II Ki. xvii. II Chr. xxviii. 20. s.). He then announces happy times, which some explain of Hezekiah's age, others of the Messiah's, to whom ix. 5. s. refer. In the latter (ix. 7—x. 4,) he reproaches the Israelites for the treaty which they had entered into with Damascus, against Judah, and predicts to them the ruin of their own kingdom. Comp. II Ki. xvii.

Chap. x. 5—34. After the destruction of Samaria, (see v. 11,) Isaiah threatens the Jews with another chastisement from the Assyrians who, for their pride and cruelty, should be greatly weakened by the ruin of Sennacherib's army. Afterwards the Jews were to turn sincerely to JEHOVAH. The prophet is thus led (c. xi.) to predict another glorious yet far distant deliverance by the great descendant of David, to whom even the heathen were to be converted; a happy state of things which is described as a golden age, and refers to that of the Messiah. A song of thanksgiving in c. xii. forms the conclusion.

The section in c. xiii. 1—xiv. 23, is a prophecy of the overthrow of the Chaldean kingdom by the Medes, and of the complete destruction of Babylon; after which, the Hebrews were to return from the captivity. This also ends with a song.

The fragment in c. xiv. 24—27, predicts Sennacherib's destruction. The other in v. 28—32, is directed against the Philistines who had rejoiced at the death of Uzziah and recovered the cities which he had taken from them. Comp. II Chr. xxvi. 6. with xxviii. 18.

The prophet declares that they shall suffer greater calamities, not only from another king, (Hezekiah, II Ki. xviii. 8,) but also from the Assyrians, (under Sennacherib,) while Jerusalem should be spared. Comp. Amos i. 6—8.

Chaps. xv. xvi. contain a prophecy of a great devastation of the country of Moab. (Comp. Amos ii. 1—3.) It had been uttered some time before, but now the prophet adds, that within three years it should be accomplished, when a good king should sit upon the throne of Judah. This is no doubt Hezekiah, and the devastation took place under Salmanassar, although not mentioned in the history on account of its brevity. The country afterwards recovered its strength. See Zeph. ii. 8. and Jer. xlvi.

To the time of Ahaz belong chaps. xvii. xviii., where Isaiah predicts the destruction of the kingdom of Damascus, and the decay of the Israelitish state. See c. ix. and comp. Amos i. 2—5, and II Ki. xv. 29. xvi. 9. The remnant of the Israelites will then turn to Jehovah. This is also spoken of by Hosea, c. vi., although he describes the conversion as imperfect and unsteady. The Jews are threatened with an immediate calamity in the invasion of Sennacherib, against whom the Cushites in alliance with the Egyptians will arise; unnecessarily, however, since God himself will humble the Assyrians. Comp. II Ki. xviii. xix. II Chr. xxxii. Isa. xxxvi. xxxvii. HEROD. II. 170., and Archæologie II. Th. I. B. § 41. S. 190. ff.

Chap. xix. predicts the state of anarchy which lasted two years in Egypt, after the death of Sethos, the contemporary of Sennacherib, which was followed by the government of the twelve princes. In the end Psammetichus obtained the kingdom. See DIODORUS SICULUS, I. lxvi. HERODOTUS, II. 147, 151, 152. The miseries occasioned by the anarchy, (which took place during the first years of Manasseh's reign,) were increased by the failure of the Nile to overflow its banks.

Chap. xx. refers to a period not long before the invasion of Sennacherib, when Tartan is sent to Jerusalem by that monarch, (II Ki. xviii. 17,). The text calls him Sargon, which can hardly be explained of any other than Sennacherib. Ashdod or Azotus, which is taken by Tartan, was a conquest of Uzziah's from the Philistines, lost in the reign of Ahaz, and again taken from Sennacherib by Hezekiah. Comp. II Chr. xxvi. 6. xxviii. 18. II Ki. xviii. 8. After

its conquest by Tartan, it was attacked by Psammetichus and taken in the time of Manasseh after a siege of twenty-nine years. In order to represent to the Hebrews the vanity of their confidence in Egypt, Isaiah goes three years barefoot and without his upper garment, to indicate that the Ethiopians, who, becoming lords of the Egyptians, wished to relieve Ashdod, should be led away naked and barefoot to prison by the Assyrians.

In Chap. xxi. the prophet sees (*v.* 1—10.) the conquest of Babylon by the Medes and Elamites, (Persians,) The subsequent fragment (*v.* 11. *s.*) concerning Dumah, (a race of Arabians descended from a son of Ishmael, Gen. xxv. 14., or a city in Arabia,) and the next, (*v.* 13—15,) concerning the dangers to which the caravans of Dedan would be subjected, have no connexion with this vision.

Chap. xxii. 1—14, contains a prophecy of the state of Jerusalem when Sennacherib demanded its submission; and of the fall of the prime minister Shebna. and the appointment of Eliakim in his place, (*v.* 15—25.) In c. xxiii. the destruction of Tyre by the Chaldeans is predicted.

The difficult section in chaps. xxiv—xxvii. is applied by GROTIUS to Salmanassar, by HENSLER to Sennacherib, by DATHE to Nebuchadnezzar and to the destruction of Babylon, and by VITRINGA to the Maccabees. It corresponds best with the devastations of Nebuchadnezzar and the fall of Babylon; and probably it glances occasionally at the times of the Maccabees, as can hardly be denied of c. xxvii.

Chaps. xxviii—xxxii. seem also to constitute one whole. Isaiah laments the approaching ruin of Israel (xxviii. 1—4.), and promises happiness to the Jews after they should be delivered from the dangers with which they were threatened by the impending invasion of Sennacherib. He reproaches (xxix. 9—24.) the false prophets with their blindness, and proceeds (xxx. xxxi.) in the same tone to upbraid the Jews with want of faith, and with their alliances with Egypt, which were useless, as God himself would deliver them from the Assyrians. The discourse is interrupted in xxxii. 1—8. by a description of Hezekiah's reign.

Chap. xxxiii. predicts deliverance from Sennacherib's devastations. at the very time when he was in the country.

Chap. xxxiv. announces chastisement to all people, (in the vicinity of Judea,) and was accomplished in part by Sennacherib and in part by Salmanassar.

Chap. xxxv. promises to the wasted country better times, when those who had fled away should return, and the truth of these predictions be acknowledged.

The next four chapters (xxxvi—xxxix.) are in part historical. They treat, 1) of Sennacherib's invasion and destruction, and some prophecies relating to that event are introduced; 2) of Hezekiah's sickness and extraordinary recovery, as announced by Isaiah, and confirmed by a miracle, (comp. II Ki. xviii. 13—xx. 11.), which is perpetuated by a song of praise; 3) of the embassy of the king of Babylon which leads to Isaiah's prediction of the captivity. Comp. II Chr. xxxii. II Ki. xx. 12—19.

Although the second part of the work xl—lxvi. is certainly one connected whole, several divisions are observable. Thus the section in xl—lii. 12, treats of the overthrow of the Babylonian kingdom, (see xliii. 14. xlvii. 1—15. xlviii. 14, 20, and comp. xiii. 1—14. xxiii,) by an eastern hero coming from the North (xli. 1—6, 25. xlv. 13,) Cyrus by name, who should cause the scattered Hebrews to return to their own land, and their city and temple to be rebuilt, (xliv. 28. xlv. 1). This restoration is continually floating before the eye of the prophet, although here and there he extends his vision to a more remote future, which he presents (and this can hardly be too often repeated,) in perspective view; as bordering close upon the return.* Thus he introduces the times of the Maccabees (xlix. 20—26. xli. 15. s. comp. Mic. iv. 13,); the extension of the knowledge of God, (xliv. 4. s., 9. xlv. 14. ss. 23. s.). With these views he consoles the desponding people (xl. 27—31. xlix. 14. ss.), frequently assuring them that the promises should be accomplished, and from the fulfilment of past predictions strengthening their confidence in those which still remained to be verified, and proving that **ЈЕHOVAH** is the true and only God.

The section in lii. 13—lvi. 8, treats of the Messiah and of the extension of true religion, both before and after his coming. In lii. 13

* [See § 81 of this part. Tr.]

—liii. 12, Jesus is certainly represented. All other expositions, of Cyrus, of Isaiah, of Jeremiah, or any other prophet, of the better part of the nation, or of the whole nation, are extremely forced. It is worth while to compare with this, c. xlii. 1 ss (chap. lv. 1—5, also does undoubtedly speak of the Messiah. The perseverance of the Hebrews in the true religion after their return from the captivity is very clearly represented in liv. 13, and the extension of religion in liv—lvi.

The prophet's tone changes with the ninth verse of c. lvi., and he begins to reprove the wickedness of the shepherds, (meaning not teachers or priests, who are never called shepherds in the Old Testament, but kings,) and of the false prophets. Although he returns to his former consolatory manner in lvii. 18 ss., yet he renews his reproofs of hypocrisy and vice, c. lviii., with promises of various blessings on condition of sincere conversion. This extends to the end of c. lxii., and refers in part to the Maccabean times, as the blood stained hero seen by the prophet coming up from Edom (lxiii. 1—6,) is certainly a figure of the Maccabees conquering their enemies without the aid of allies.

Immediately there follows (lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12.) a song of thanksgiving, which insensibly changes into a prayer that God would pity the miserable state of the Hebrews, whose cities were destroyed, whose capital was devastated, and whose temple was burnt. God answers in lxv. 1—lxvi. 24, that although he has punished the people for their sins, he has not exterminated them; that the better part shall return and be happy, while the wicked shall be destroyed; that a state of things altogether new shall take place, which is depicted in strong colours as a golden age, (lxv. 17. ss.). Chap. lxvi declares God's determination to punish hypocrites, idolaters, and apostates, while Zion shall be blessed with inhabitants. All nations shall acknowledge God, and the Jews wherever dispersed shall return. This is undoubtedly the return from the captivity, but it refers in part to the Maccabean times, when apostate Jews drove out their pious brethren (lxvi. 5.), and at last were themselves destroyed. And after repeated perusals of this portion. it always appears to me, that the similar times of the apostles and of the last punishment of the

Jews by Titus are also here in the picture represented in perspective.]

The principal predictions contained in the whole book are these : 1) *The overthrow of the kingdom of Israel*, which happened in the sixth year of Hezekiah, but undoubtedly had been predicted long before by Isaiah, as it had been also by Micah, Hosea, and Amos. 2) *The expedition of Sennacherib* against Egypt, the devastation of Judea, the summons to surrender made to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the remarkable destruction of his army, his return to the city of Nineveh, and his death. Comp. Mic. i. 9. 12. s. The prophet throughout foresees and sketches all the evils which the kingdom of Judah suffered from Tiglath-pileser, Salmanasar, and Sennacherib. 3) *The Babylonian captivity and universal devastation of Judea* : comp. Mic. iii. 12. iv. 9—11. vii. 7. s. 13, and Amos ii. 5. 4) *The fate of Philistia, Moab, Tyre, Damascus, Idumea, and Egypt*; and especially *the overthrow of the kingdom of the Chaldeans, and of Babylon*. 5) *The return of the Hebrews from captivity, the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple, the friendly connexion of Israel with Judah, the subsequently settled worship of God, the propagation of religion, and the times of the Maccabees* : comp. Mic. iv. 1—12. v. 4—8. vii. 11, 14, 17. Hos. ii. 1—3, 5, 9, 15—25. xi. 9—11. xiv. 9. and Amos ix. 14. 6) *The Messiah* : c. lii. 13—liii. 12. xi. 1—10. lv. 1—5. The servant of God, whom the prophet frequently introduces in his second part, is not always the Messiah, but sometimes the Hebrew nation, sometimes the prophet himself, yet never Cyrus, who is called either *the righteous*, that is, *the conqueror*, as xli. 1—3, or *the shepherd*, and *anointed*, that is, *the king*, as xlv. 28. xlv. 1.

§ 102. *The style of Isaiah.*

Isaiah far excels all the other prophets in elegance and sublimity, and nearly equals, especially in particular parts, as c. xiii. 1—xiv. 23, the songs of Moses and the poem of Job. The propriety of his method is not less remarkable than the elegance of his style. His images are accurately delineated, and if they occur frequently, as, for instance, that of the golden age, are depicted in varied colours. His language is remarkably pure. His style is vehement, and varies ac-

ording to the nature of the subject, remarkable euphony of language being sometimes discoverable, and, occasionally, a similarity of cadence forming a sort of rhyme. The resemblance of the style of Isaiah to that of his contemporary Micah is worthy of observation

§ 103. *Are the prophecies of Isaiah entire?*

That all the prophecies of Isaiah have not been preserved, is plain . . . 1) from the fact that we nowhere read what was the occasion of the prophetic name שׂאֵר יְשׁוּב, “*the remnant shall return*,” of Isaiah’s first born son, who is mentioned or referred to in c. vii. 3. viii. 18. x. 21. s., although the reason for the appellation of his second son, מַהֲרָה שְׁלַל חַשׁ בָּנֵי, “*hasten spoil, come quickly plunder*,” is expressly given, viii. 3. s.—2) Many passages want a beginning or an ending, and are mere fragments, as xiv. 24—27, 28—32. xxi. 11. s. 15—17: and in the end of c. v. and in viii. 1. s. something appears to be wanting.—3) If Isaiah commenced his prophetic office in the last year of Uzziah, the prophecies that he published under Jotham are lost; for those contained in c. ii—v. were published, not under Jotham, but under Abaz. as must be evident to every reader acquainted with the history of the times; and nothing is proved in contradiction to this by ROSENUELLER in the last edition of his Scholia.—4) If Isaiah is the author of the second part, as I shall hereafter prove, there seems to be wanting some more perspicuous prophecies concerning the overthrow of the Jewish state, and the carrying away of the inhabitants. The beginning of c. xl. seems to be wanting; I know that a writer may be hurried at once into the midst of his subject; but, in the present case, this principle does not meet the difficulty, especially as the prophet here as in xli. 6, 21, uses the uncommon formula יֹאמֵר יְהוָה, “*the Lord will say*,” which seems to show that something must have gone before, determining the time in which he *would say*.

§ 104. *All the Prophecies are Isaiah’s.*

During the last thirty years not a few of the prophecies of Isaiah have been attacked by numerous writers. All those which are uttered against the Gentiles, but especially the last twenty-seven char-

ters, have been denied to belong to this prophet, and arguments of no small weight have been brought to show that they first originated during the Babylonian captivity. [a] These, however, after frequently repeated and diligent examination, appear not at all satisfactory, and, on the contrary, weighty arguments in proof of the genuineness of these prophecies present themselves. These shall be stated.

I. *The style* differs scarcely any in the different prophecies. We find every where the same descriptions of particular objects, and the same images, taken from trees, especially cedars, firs, and oaks; from the pains of childbirth, from history, and from the golden age. The beginning of the prophecy constantly enters into the midst of the subject, and every where poetical passages are inserted; as v. 1—6. xii. 1—6. xiv. 4—20. xxv. 1—5; so, exactly in the same manner, xlii. 10—13. lii. 9. s. lxi. 10. lxiii. 7. lxiv. 11. Every where the same clearness and obscurity, the same repetitions, and the same euphony of language, are observable. The visions are similar; comp. c. xxi. and c. xl. with c. vi. Even the same phrases occur repeatedly: e. g. קְרוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs in the first part *seventeen* times, in the second, *twelve* times. הוֹדֵה, which occurs in all the rest of the Bible only *nine* times, is found in the first part of Isaiah *four* times, in the second, *six*. צֹאצְאִים, which is elsewhere only to be met with *four* times in the book of Job, is found here *twice* in the first part, and *five* times in the second. שְׂרוֹן is used in lxv. 10. just as in xxxiii. 9. xxv. 2: יֹאמֶר יְהוָה, in xl. 1. xli. 7, 21. lxvi. 9, just as in i. 11, 18. xxxiii. 10, instead of which the other prophets say אָמַר יְהוָה, or וַיֹּאמֶר. The expressions applied to the Sabæans, מִמִּשְׁךָ, *stretched out*, or *tall*, xviii. 2, 7., and אֲנָשֵׁי מִדָּה, *men of measure*, or *tall men*, are peculiar to our prophet, as well as many others, which I have not room here to specify.—*The sublimity of the style* does not vary more throughout all the prophecies, than is usual in poems which are written by the same author at different times, as, for example, the different psalms of David; and the style in all, is such as could by no means be expected from writers of the age of the Babylonian captivity. It is granted that style does not depend entirely upon the age, but in some mea-

sure upon the cultivated genius of the writer ; yet it does not therefore become probable that such poems should be composed in the age of the Babylonian captivity, so that we may assert this without any historical testimony or tradition : more especially as we find nothing similar in the writings of Jeremiah or Ezekiel, who wanted neither genius nor polish.—The *language* itself is not the same as that observable in Jeremiah and Ezekiel : it is not probable that any one could have cultivated the knowledge of the Hebrew during the captivity more thoroughly than they, nor is such a state of the language discernible in Zechariah, who is usually cited as an instance of it.—Lastly, *the arrangement and method of treating the subject*, are the same in all these prophecies. Chap. vii. contains a prophecy interwoven with a history, which is followed, c. viii—xii, by prophecies without titles ; so also in c. xxxix, the prophecy is woven into the history, and prophecies without a title follow. As in the first part there are several prophecies concerning Sennacherib : so also in the second, there are several concerning the overthrow of the Chaldean monarchy, and the return of the Hebrews from captivity. As in the vision in c. vi, we read that the prophet's efforts should not be accompanied by a happy result ; so the prophet, c. xlii. 16, 23. xliii. 8. xlv. 4, and especially xlix. 4. lix. 6. complains that his endeavours had been unsuccessful.

II. What is said in c. lxvi. 1—6, of the temple, does not suit the latter part of the period of exile, in which Haggai and Zechariah speak altogether differently on the same subject. Much less could any one during the captivity write, as in xlvi. 4—8, that the ruin and utter destruction of the city of Babylon had not yet been foretold, when Jeremiah, l. li., had plainly predicted it ; or speak, as in lii. 4, of the Egyptians and Assyrians as the only enemies of the Hebrews, and pass over the Chaldeans.—The severe reproofs, lvi. 9—lix. 20. lxx. 11—16 ; especially those denounced against the shepherds, i. e. the kings, lvi. 11. s. ; the reproaches not only on account of idolatry, but also of the immolation of children, lvii. 1—13, and of enormous corruption of morals, lviii. 6—9. lix. 1—3, are entirely at variance with the times of the captivity. Then, we might rather expect mention to be made of the prophecies of Jeremiah, as in Dan. ix. 2. and that more should be said respecting the Magians or worship-

pers of Ormuzd, than that one allusion to the two principles of things. xlv. 7, which certainly were maintained by very many in an age older than that of the captivity. Comp. below, § 150. and Archæol. Germ. P. II. T. II. § 179. S. 282—285. [UPHAM'S Trans. § 312].

III. Jeremiah shows that he had read these prophecies, and that too seven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, Jer. li. 49—64 ; for the connexion of the prophecy of Jeremiah contained Jer. l. li., with those of Isaiah with which we are at present concerned, is evident : nor can it be said, that the author of the controverted prophecies of Isaiah, living toward the end of the captivity, had read the book of Jeremiah ; for he is an original and independent author, drawing entirely from his own resources, and never imitating others ; while, on the contrary, it is well known that Jeremiah had read the older prophets, and borrowed much from them, especially in his prophecies against foreign nations. In my German Introduction, I have instituted a comparison of the two prophets which I could now greatly enlarge, did the limits of this work permit. Some passages have been observed in other prophets also, which have been taken from the controverted prophecies of Isaiah : as, Zeph. ii. 14. s. from Isa. xiii. 21. s. ; Ezek. xxxiv. from Isa. lvii. 10. ss. ; Ezek. xxvi. 20. xxxi. 14—17. xxxii. 18—33, from Isa. xiv. 8—28 ; Ezek. xxvi. 13, from Isa. xxiii. 25 ; Ezek. xxxviii—xxxix, from Isa. lxvi. 6—9, 24. That Habbakuk is indebted to Isaiah, has been long since observed : comp. Hab. i. 6, with Isa. xxiii. 13.

IV. Cyrus, in his written proclamation, Ezra i. 2, says, that the God of heaven had given him all kingdoms of the earth, and had charged him to build to Him a temple at Jerusalem.—These words, as well as the acts of Cyrus, namely, his dismissal of the Jews to their own country, his grant of a sum of money for the building of the temple, and his restitution of the valuable holy vessels, can only be explained on the supposition that he had seen the prophecies of Isaiah concerning him as Josephus states, and was induced by their manifestly divine origin, to confer such great benefits upon the Jews. Nor was Cyrus the man to suffer recent prophecies scarcely yet published to be palmed upon him for ancient ; not to mention that there were many who would have been glad to discover to him the fraud, if any had existed. Neither would Cyrus the Magian, who built nothing

but pyres to Ormuzd, have been so easily led to construct a magnificent temple to the God of the Jews.

It may, indeed, seem strange that the prophet should say so much concerning the return from Babylon, and yet make no express mention of the carrying away. But he certainly does say something concerning this subject as xxxix. 4—7 vi. 11—13. v. 5—9. xi. 11—16; and Micah the contemporary of Isaiah, speaks clearly of this carrying away, and of the overthrow of Jerusalem; so that it would seem probable that Isaiah had said more on this subject, which has not been preserved to us. If this were the case, the prophet who sings the glad return, would no more contradict himself by predicting the carrying away, than Jeremiah does, who has predicted both events [b] —To all this analogy is said to be opposed, according to which, it is thought, prophets do not foretell such remote events as those concerning the Chaldeans, the Medes and Persians, Cyrus, and the return of the Hebrews, which Isaiah has predicted. But this analogy as I have already remarked, is by no means universal. Besides, in this objection it is supposed that the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians, were in the age of Isaiah, obscure nations, or entirely unknown; whereas, in fact, the Medes, almost 100 years before Isaiah and Hezekiah (826 before Christ, 149 after the division,) had, under their king Arbaces joined in alliance with Beleses the governor of Babylon, overthrown the first Assyrian monarchy. It is true that the Median anarchy of seventy-nine years followed but in the tenth of Hezekiah, (728 before Christ, 257 after the division) they elected Dejoces king. who founded Ecbatana, and whose son Phraortes (665—643 before Christ, 310—332 after the division,) attacking the new kingdom of the Assyrians. was slain while besieging Nineveh: and under Cyaxares I. Zoroaster found the kingdom of the Medes again flourishing.*—Elam was a celebrated kingdom even in the most ancient times, Gen. c. xiv., and it is always by the ancient name עֵלָם, Gen. x. 22. xiv. 1. that Isaiah mentions it, and never by the modern appellation פָּרַס, which is given it, Dan vi. 28. Ezr. i. 1, 2. iv. 5. II Chr. xxxvi. 22. s. The Elamites are mentioned as a part of the

* [Comp. PRIDEAUX COND. P. I. B. I. Tr.]

army of the Assyrians, Isa. xxii. 6., which prophecy is certainly Isaiah's, as appears from *v.* 8—11. comp. II Chr. xxxii. 2—5. Esarhaddon sent some Elamites among his other colonists to Samaria: Ezr. iv. 9. s. At a later period Jeremiah c. xxv. 25. xlix 24. s., mentions Elam among the powerful kingdoms which should be conquered by the Chaldeans, and Ezekiel, c. xxxii. 24, beholds Elam overthrown.—

It is only by a long succession of time and victories, that nations are enabled to conquer the surrounding people, and spread themselves so widely as to obtain sufficient celebrity to entitle them to an eminent place in history. It was not, therefore, in a short space of time that the Chaldeans, Medes, and Elamites or Persians, emerged from their obscurity into so great a light, as to become conspicuous to the world when before they had been utterly unknown. If then Isaiah foretells the overthrow of the Chaldeans by the Medes and Elamites, his prophecy in that age would have been neither more nor less obscure than Zechariah's (ix. 13.) concerning the wars of the Jews against the Greeks in Syria. Isaiah might easily have used the name *Cyrus*, כּוֹרֶשׁ, (or Koresh,), xlv. 28. xlv 1, since it means nothing more

than *king*; for in the language of the Parsees KHOR means the *sun*, and SCHID, *splendour*, whence is compounded KORSCHID, *the splendour of the sun*, and with the addition of the word PAE or PAI *habitation*, KORSCHIDPAI, *the habitation of the splendour of the sun*, which was a customary appellation of the kings of Persia. Comp. my Archæol. P. II. T. II. § 179. S. 286. This appellation corrupted into כּוֹרֶשׁ, (Koresh), might become known to the Hebrews by means

of merchants travelling between Judea and Persia; and Isaiah, who did not hesitate to call Cyrus *the anointed*, מָשִׁיחַ, may have called him by the appellative of the kings of Persia, which became afterwards the proper name of that particular king.

[a] KOPPE was the first who questioned the genuineness of all the prophecies which go under the name of Isaiah. He published a translation in German of Bishop LOWTH's Isaiah, with the preliminary dissertation and notes, accompanied with his own additions and observations. Leipz. IV. vol. 1779—81. GESENIUS' Iesaia, Einleitung, § 20. S. 135. f.; EICHHORN's Einleitung in das A. T. Goett. 1824. § 524. Th. IV. S. 82. note 3:] ROSENMUELLERI Scholia in Isaiaam. Leipz. 1811. Vol. I.

notitia interp. p. xxii.;—The genuineness of the last part (xl—lxvi.) was first attacked by DOEDERLEIN, (*Auserlesene Theolog. Biblioth. B. I. St. XI. S. 832.*) then by EICHHORN, (*Biblioth. der Bibl. Literatur, S. 1044—1046. Einleit. § 525.*) DOEDERLEIN again, (*Theolog. Bibl. B. IV. St. VIII. S. 573—575. Præf. ad vers. Lat. Esaiæ p. XV.*); JUSTI, (*über die Orakel des Iesaias, die Wegführung der Juden ins Babylonische exil und ihre Rückkehr ins Vaterland, betreffend, in PAULUS' Memorabilien, St. IV. S. 139. ff., enlarged in his Vermischten Abhandlungen, B. I. S. 254. ff. B. II. S. 1. ff.*); BAUER, (*in SCHULZII Scholia in V. T. cont. BAUER, Vol. VIII. IX. Einleit. in das A. T. § 356, 357.*); PAULUS, (*Clavis über den Iesaias, S. 277.*); ROSENMUELLER, (*Scholia in Isa. Part III. Præf. p. 3—5.*) BERTHOLDT, (*Einleit. in das A. und N. T. S. 1356.*) and DE WETTE, (*Comment. de morte Jesu Christi expiatoria, p. 26. ss. and Einleit. in das A. T. § 208. S. 286. ff. auf. Berlin, 1822.*) In favour of its genuineness HENSIER has written, (*Neue Uebersetzung des Iesaias, 1788.*); PIPER, (*Integrität des Iesaias, 1793.*); BECKHAUS, (*Integrität der Prophetischen Schriften des A. T. 1796. S. 152. ff.*) although he afterwards entertained doubts; GREVE, (*Ultima Cap. Esaiæ, Amstelod. 1810. Proleg. p. 1—21.*); JAHN, (as above, and in his *Einleit. S. 458 ff.*) and DERESER (*Uebersetzung des Jesaia in Brentanos Bibelwerk S. 2. ff.*). See JAHN *ut sup.* and GESEN. *Iesaias. Th. III. Einleit. S. 18. f.* Gesenius considers Jahn's arguments as not entitled to much weight. His opposition to the doctrine of inspiration would naturally lead him to reject a considerable part of Isaiah's prophecy. It is well remarked by Jahn that the difficulties which critics have found on this subject have arisen from an erroneous view of the character of the Hebrew prophets. *Einleit. S. 470. Tr.*]

[*b*] Prophets are not, like historians, confined to the order of chronology in announcing future events. This is plain from their writings, which always give perspective views. Zechariah predicted a kingdom for the high priest, without noticing the destruction of the Persian monarchy and the division of the Greek power. Isaiah foretold the return of the Israelites from the Assyrian captivity, without saying any thing of the intervening revolutions by the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians. In prophecy the more remote events are often introduced, while the intermediate are unnoticed.]

§ 105. *Prophecies denied to be Isaiah's.*

The objections that are made to some of the prophecies of Isaiah may be answered in few words.

I. Some have said that the fragment, Isa. ii. 2—4, is inserted by mistake by the person whom they suppose to have collected the se

veral prophecies into this one book, about the end of the Babylonish captivity; but others have already remarked that this passage may have been taken by Isaiah from Mic. iv. 1—3. or by Micah from Isaiah,* or by both from some more ancient prophecy.

II. Chaps. xi. and xii. have been supposed not to belong to Isaiah, because, c. xi. 11—16, the very distant event of the return of the Israelites from Assyria and Egypt and other regions, is predicted. But this return was predicted also by Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, by Hosea, and by Amos.†

III. The prophecy c. xv. xvi. is thought to have been written three years before the devastation of Moab by Nebuchadnezzar xiv. 13. s., because Zephaniah, ii. 8. ss. and Jeremiah. c. xlviii., threaten the Moabites with the same calamity. But who can show that Isaiah did not speak of another calamity to be inflicted upon them by the Assyrians? or who would suppose that the Assyrians spared the Moabites? Their country was devastated, therefore, as Isaiah foretold, by the Assyrians, and then *again* by the Chaldeans, of whom Zephaniah and Jeremiah prophesied. That this prophecy of Isaiah was much older than the time of Jeremiah, is certain; for Jeremiah, c. xlviii. borrows many ideas from it, as must be evident to every one who compares the two. That it is the production of Isaiah himself, is shown by the time of its fulfilment being stated, which is according to Isaiah's usual practice. See vii. 14—17. viii. 4. s.

IV. No other reason is brought to prove that the passage c. xix. 18—25. is not Isaiah's, than this, that in the same chapter, v. 1—15. a prophecy of the calamity of Egypt had preceded, whereas v. 18—25. predict prosperity. But this is nothing more than is common with the prophets—to promise better fortune after predicting calamity. As the Egyptians are called, v. 25, the people of **JEHOVAH**, and the Assyrians, the work of the hands of **JEHOVAH**, the prophecy must necessarily have been the production of a Hebrew, and it is much more probable that Isaiah should have written it, than any more modern author.

* [This is the opinion of BERTHOLDT. *Tr.*]

† [These chapters are allowed by DE WETTE, *Einleit. S. 292.*, although rejected by Gesenius. *Tr.*]

V. Isa. xxii. 1—14, is rejected as spurious because the Elamites are mentioned, v. 6; but from a comparison of v. 8—11, with II Chr. xxxii. 2—5. and Isa. vii., it appears that the subject is the irruption of Sennacherib: the mention of the Elamites, therefore, must be at least as old as the time of Isaiah: why, then, seek for any other author than Isaiah, who is mentioned in the title of the prophecy?*

VI. They who contend that it is not natural that Isaiah should have uttered so many prophecies concerning the irruption of Sennacherib alone, do not consider that this event was one of great importance, and contributed very much to confirm the Hebrews in their religion, so that it well deserved a multitude of prophetic notices. The style and construction, too, confirm the opinion that they are productions of Isaiah, since they do not differ more from each other in this respect, than do the various Conferences of Hariri, or the different Psalms of David.

VII. The prophecy, Isa. xxiv—xxvii., is referred to a more recent date, on account of the frequent occurrence of paronomasiæ. Now we know that these are considered singular beauties in the oriental style, and that Micah the contemporary of Isaiah makes frequent use of them, so that they are no proof of a recent date. Besides, Isaiah himself elsewhere frequently uses paronomasiæ. See Isa. i. 7, 23. iii. 1, 5. vii. 7, 8, 22. s. xxix. 16., comp. Hos. i. 4. s. v. 1., and Mic. i. 14. s. iii. 12. iv. 10.

VIII. The xxxivth chapter of Isaiah, in which the devastation of Idumea is predicted, is thought to be of later origin because the same devastation is predicted by Jeremiah xlix. 7. ss., and by Ezekiel, xxv. 12. ss., and after a long time was first effected by Nebuchadnezzar, which is thought to be too distant from the time of the prophet. But it has not been disproved that Isaiah is speaking, c. xxxiv., of another calamity, to be inflicted on Idumea by the Assyrians, of which Amos, c. i. 11—15., had spoken before him.

IX. The xxxvth chapter of Isaiah is entirely destitute of anything which could give countenance to the supposition of a more recent origin, and v. 8. comp. II Ki. xvii. 25, proves it to belong to the age of Hezekiah.

* IDE WETTE. Einleit. S. 292., considers this passage as certainly genuine. Tr

§ 106. *The Prophecy against Tyre, Isa. xxiii.*

The prophecy concerning the destruction of Tyre by the Chaldeans, Isa. xxiii., points out its own age in v. 13., where the Chaldeans are said to be a recent nation, to whom a district of country lying on the Euphrates had been assigned by the Assyrians, who must, consequently, have been at that time the prevailing power. For as Habbakuk also, who lived under Manasseh, asserts (i. 6.) that the Chaldeans were a late people, who were endeavouring to possess themselves of the territories of others, it is plain that the time of the delivery of the prophecy in Isa. xxiii. could not have been far distant from that of Habbakuk. It is indeed uncertain whether Isaiah lived till the reign of Manasseh; but as the Chaldeans made frequent irruptions out of their own settlements in the eastern and northern parts of Armenia into the more southern territories, during a long period of time, without doubt these incursions had begun as early as the latter years of the reign of Hezekiah, since the kingdom of Assyria was at that time so much weakened by the assassination of Sennacherib and the intestine tumults which followed that event, as to afford a sufficient inducement for such expeditions.—Without sufficient reason also is it asserted that the 70 years mentioned Isa. xxiii. 10, are a prophetic number taken from Jeremiah, xxv. 11. s. xxix. 10., and that therefore the whole prophecy must be later than the time of Jeremiah. If either of the prophets borrowed this number from the other, it is certainly more reasonable to conclude that Jeremiah, who, we know, has borrowed from prophets more ancient than himself, took it from the prophecy of Isaiah, than that the author of this prophecy, who every where else appears to rely solely upon his own resources, was indebted for it to Jeremiah. What confirms this conclusion is, that particular specifications of time are altogether in character with Isaiah's manner. The distance of the event predicted is no objection; for Amos had before the time of Isaiah, denounced the destruction of Tyre.—The Chaldaisms, Isa. xxiii. 11. לשמר מעוניה, will disappear, if we point the words, לשמר מעוניה, to *destruy her weakened or expelled ones*, from *עזן* *debilitavit*, and *עזן* *expulit*.

§ 107. *Prophecies against Babylon.*

The prophecies concerning the overthrow of the Chaldæo-Babylonian kingdom, and concerning the return of the Hebrews from captivity, Isa. xiii. 1—14, 23. xxi. and xl—lxvi, are referred to the time of the captivity, for the following reasons.

I. *The difference of style*: for in the last twenty-seven chapters, the better part of the people is distinguished as *the servant* or *worshipper* of JEHOVAH, xli. 8. s. xlii. 1. ss. xlv. 1. xlviii. 12, 20. xlix. 7. lii. 13, which is not the case in the former part of the book.—Idolatry is exposed to derision and contempt, xl. 19. s. xlv. 9—17. xlv. 5—7, an exhibition not to be found in those passages of the former part, e. g. ii. 19, wherein idolatry is reprehended.—The accomplishment of former prophecies is frequently noticed, xli. 21—24, 26—29. xlv. 6. s. xlv. 21. xlviii. 5, which argues a modern author and is not to be found in the first part.—Lastly, words and phrases of frequent occurrence in the first part, are not discoverable in the second.

II. *The particularity of the prophecies, and the distance of the events from the time of their prediction.* In the age of Isaiah there was no Chaldean monarchy, nor were the Medes and Elamites, who are predicted to be the destroyers of the Chaldean monarchy, nations of any celebrity. From the fourteenth year of Hezekiah to the founding of that monarchy was ninety years: it was one hundred and fifteen to the birth of Cyrus who was appointed general of the Median army in the one hundred and fifty-fifth year after Hezekiah, and it was not until the one hundred and seventy-sixth year that he overthrew the Chaldean monarchy. Yet our prophet so long before sees Judea and Jerusalem devastated by the Chaldeans, xlv. 26—28; discerns the kingdom which had brought such destruction upon Judea verging to its ruin, and its enemies already rushing from the north, xlii. 14. xli. 2, 25: and even designates Cyrus twice by his very name as the deliverer of the Hebrews, xlv. 28. xlv. 1.

III. The prophecies of events as far as the time of Cyrus are clear and perspicuous; but those which refer to later times are obscure: hence it may be concluded that the author was contemporary with Cyrus. For if it had pleased God to grant such very clear prophecies in times so far remote, and even to reveal the name of Cyrus:

why is it said, xlv. 14, that the Hebrews after their return to their country, should participate in the commerce of the Cushites and Sabeans, when, as is evident from Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi, the event was not so? Nor were the great promises made c. lx. 6—10, ever fulfilled. The contemporaries of Isaiah certainly never could have been able to discern that those things which were prophesied concerning Cyrus should be literally fulfilled, but the others only in part, and figuratively.

§ 108. *The prophecies against Babylon are the productions of Isaiah.*

1. The language, style and composition are certainly not such as *must necessarily* be referred to the time of the captivity, and *could not* have been produced by Isaiah. On the contrary, the purity of the language, the sublimity of the style, and the elegance of the composition, are such as could not be expected from the leaden age of Hebrew literature; but show their origin to have been in the silver age. Comp. above, Part II. § 104. The difference of style in the two parts is not greater than the difference of Micah, i—v. from vi. vii. and is less than that which may be observed in Hosea, i. iii, compared with ii. iv—xiv, or in Amos i—vi. compared with vii. viii, or in the different psalms of David. The occurrence of some words or phrases not to be found in the other writings of the age of Isaiah, proves nothing: for it is not to be expected that in the small remains of Hebrew literature, all the words and phrases of any particular age should repeatedly occur. Yet there are in the writings in question exceedingly few words or phrases of this kind.[a]—On the contrary, the accustomed vehemence of Isaiah, the same dismemberment of objects, and the same antithesis between Jacob and Israel, are observable in both parts of these prophecies. All the difference is, that the prophet in the first part was censuring wickedness, in the latter endeavours rather to teach and console, as the nature of his subject required: yet even here he sometimes inveighs against different vices, lvi. 9—lvii. 12. lviii. 1—7. lix. 1—8. lxx. 11—14. If Isaiah wrote these prophecies in the latter years of his life, it is easy to conceive that the prophet now old (in the time of Manasseh, as appears from every part of these prophecies,) filled with consolatory pros-

pects, chose rather to teach than to rebuke : but it was peculiarly proper for a teacher to address the people as the servant of God, to distinguish the better part of the nation, and to illustrate the madness of idolatry ; which last, however, he had done in the first part, not only c. ii. 18. s., but also ii. 8. viii 19, 21 although with more brevity than in the latter part. The notice of the fulfilment of former prophecies was especially adapted to convey instruction, whether the author refers to the carrying away of the ten tribes, or to the deliverance of the Jews from the Assyrians, or to some other more ancient predictions : this, therefore, is no proof of a modern date. Such remarks do not occur in the first part of the book, because there the prophet neither teaches nor consoles, but reproveth.—The occurrence of certain phrases in one part which are not to be found in the other might prove a difference of authors, if the genius of Isaiah were dry and barren ; but not otherwise.

II. The particularity of the predictions to be accomplished at a period so distant is indeed extraordinary : but the prophet frequently recommends this very circumstance to the attention of the reader as something remarkable ; whence it appears that even in his age it seemed incredible to many, and therefore the fact that the remoteness of the fulfilment is noticed in these prophecies, is a proof of the antiquity of their author.—I have already shown that the Chaldeans, Medes and Persians, or Elamites, were not in the time of Isaiah such obscure nations as that the prophet, when speaking of them, could not have been understood as far as was necessary. That the prophets have sometimes spoken of very remote events has been already proved by several examples, some of which were even afforded by Isaiah himself : to these may be added that in this same second part, Jesus the Messiah is predicted, c. lii. 13—liii. 12, a passage so clear that all attempts to explain it of any other are perfectly vain and fruitless. Comp. also iv. 1—5. Indeed in his very first vision, c. vi. the prophet foresees the entire devastation of Judea, and the subsequent restoration. Lastly, the propagation of religion, predicted in the same second part was itself exceedingly distant from the end of the Babylonian captivity ; so that even allowing for argument's sake the hypothesis concerning the recent origin of these prophecies to be correct, there will yet remain a prophecy verified in a remote poste-

riety, the Hebrew people, and more particularly the better part of that people, being pointed out as the instruments of its completion.—It is certainly true that the prophet discerns the hostile kingdom of the Chaldæo-Babylonians, the cities of Judea overthrown, the ruins of Jerusalem, and the downfall of the Chaldean monarchy, and names not only the Medes and Elamites, but even Cyrus himself. But that Isaiah, receiving such revelations in the time of Hezekiah or Manasseh, might so totally have lost himself in the contemplation of a very distant period, as to forget the present and write only of the future, will not be denied by any one who has observed that Micah, Joel, Habbakuk and Nahum are altogether conversant with far distant ages. And Isaiah himself warns his reader of this, c. xl. 1. xli. 7, 21. lxvi. 9. by the expression יְהוָה יֹאמֵר, *the LORD WILL say*, comp. Isa. xlv. 5.

III. That the prophecies relating to times anterior to Cyrus should be the more perspicuous, but those referring to more distant periods the more obscure, is not to be wondered at; for in visions, as in prospects, the more distant objects appear the more indistinctly marked.—That the Cushites and Sabæans formerly carried on a considerable commerce and brought merchandize to the Hebrews even after the captivity, cannot be doubted: nor were the Hebrews of that time so universally poor as is pretended; for Hag. i. they built ceiled houses, and supplied funds for the building of the temple, and, in the time of Nehemiah even for the fortifications of Jerusalem. Besides, these passages relate not so much to commercial intercourse with these people, as to their conversion to the worship of the true God. That not a few of them did embrace Judaism, and visit the temple of Jerusalem, as is predicted c. lx. 6—10, is certain from Ac. ii. 10. s. viii. 27. s.

[a] The author declares that after repeated perusals, he can find only two such words: עֵרָה c. lvi. 14. lxiii. 1, which occurs elsewhere only in Jerem. ii. 20. xlviii. 12, but yet is not Aramæan; and סַגְנִים, which is found in Isa. xli. 25, and elsewhere only in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, but which cannot be a very modern word, as it was in use among the Assyrians. See Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23.—Einleit. S. 485. *Tr.*]

§ 109. *Whether Isaiah was the author of c. xxxvi—xxxix.*

The chapters of Isaiah, xxxvi—xxxix. agree verbally in most respects with II Ki. xviii. 13—xx. 19; yet in some they differ. Thus the song of Hezekiah, Isa. xxxviii. 9—30 is wanting in II Kings: on the contrary the reconciliation of Hezekiah with Sennacherib, II Ki. xviii. 14—16, is wanting in Isaiah. What we read, II Ki. xx. 7. s. concerning the lump of figs to be placed upon the boil of Hezekiah, is, in Isa. xxxviii. introduced where it does not belong: its natural place would have been after v. 6. There are also some other discrepancies of less moment, which it is unnecessary to adduce. From all this it appears that the text of these two passages is so different and yet so similar, that both would seem to have been taken from one common source, namely, from the history of Hezekiah, which Isaiah wrote, II Chr. xxxii. 32. The speeches of the ambassadors of Sennacherib, of Hezekiah, and of Isaiah, and the attention paid to minute circumstances, show that the narration was written by a contemporary witness, who was himself concerned, as it is certain that Isaiah was, in the transactions which he has recorded. The words פַּחַת and יְהוּדִית which occur in the narration, are not more recent than the time of Isaiah, and even if פַּחַת were of Aramæan origin, that would not be a proof of a modern date, since some exotic words had already been introduced into the Hebrew language, in the time of Isaiah, as may be observed in the writings of Hosea and Amos. The word יְהוּדִית has not in this place the signification which it acquired after the captivity, but designates the Hebrew language, which at that time flourished only in the kingdom of Judah.[a]

[a] Those who deny the genuineness of these chapters generally suppose them to be taken from the corresponding places in Kings.]

§ 110. *The publication of the Book of Isaiah.*

Although all the prophecies are Isaiah's, it may yet be questioned whether the volume as it now exists, was edited by him.—That Isaiah did not immediately commit to writing all that was revealed to him, is evident from the title of c. vi. *in the year of the death of Uz-*

ziah, which could not have been written before the death of the king, since it was then unknown whether he would die that year or not; nor could the vision have taken place after his death. as it would then have been dated. *in the first year of king Jotham*. This title (which, according to the conjecture before proposed, would read, *in the year of the death of Jotham*), intimates that some space of time had already elapsed since the vision at the time of Isaiah's committing it to writing. The title of c. vii., *it came to pass in the time of Ahaz the son of Jotham the son of Uzziah*, is of the same nature, and seems equally to indicate some interval of time between the event and its being recorded. Hence we must account for the confused order of the prophecies, which ought to have been so arranged as that the book should begin with chap. vi and this be followed by ii—v., and these by vii—xii. together with chap. i. However this may be, Isaiah seems to have published his prophecies singly, thus: c. vi; ii—v; vii—xii. and i; xiv. 24—27; xiv. 28—32; xvii—xviii; xix; xx; xxii; xxiii; xxiv—xxvii; xxviii—xxxv; and also xiii. 1—xiv. 23; xxi. and xl—lxvi. Sometime afterwards, probably after the death of the prophet, these separate publications were collected into the present book. Hence it happened that some prophecies were lost, and some mutilated, as we have already seen.[a] At what time the collection was made it is impossible to tell. They who suppose several of the prophecies not to be the productions of Isaiah, contend that the whole were collected about the end of the Babylonian captivity, or after the return of the Jews to their country. But this cannot be supported by sufficient proof. It is most likely that the smaller collections, such as c. i—v; c. vi—xii; c. xiii—xxiii; c. xxiv—xxxv. were already made at the death of the prophet, and not long after were written out into the present book.

[a] This also affords a reason why the inaugural vision is not introduced until the viii chapter, and why c. xiii. 1—xiv. 23. and c. xxi., both relating to Babylon, are disunited.]

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PROPHETS WHOSE AGE HAS NOT BEEN RECORDED

§ 111. *Of the Prophets of an uncertain age generally.*

THE age of the prophets Joel, Nahum, Habbakuk, Obadiah, and of the book of Jonah, has not been handed down to memory, and must therefore be elicited from the subject of the books. This method of investigation is liable to great uncertainty and hazard, especially as the books in question are small and exhibit but few indications of age, and those not exempt from ambiguity. For this reason, learned men have entertained various opinions on this point. It is generally agreed, however, that Joel, Nahum, and Habbakuk flourished during the period when Hezekiah, Amon, Manasseh, and Josiah reigned, that is, in the seventh century before Christ, from 720 to 612, and from 255 to 368 after the division; that Obadiah lived a short time after; and that the book of Jonah is a composition of a still more recent age.

§ 112. *Contents of the book of Joel.*

Joel, יוֹאֵל, begins his book by describing a lamentable devastation of Judea by four species of locusts succeeding each other, i. 2—ii. 11, which devastation, although represented as present, is an evil threatened to a future age, as he expressly tells us in i. 15. ii. 1, 2, 13, 14. The prophet represents these enemies, small in size indeed, but terrible in consequence of their numbers, in the style of the orientals, as an immense army of God; and hence some old commentators, from ignorance of the eastern mode of representation, have supposed

a real army to be intended.—The Hebrews are then exhorted to reformation, penitence, and prayer, which the prophet dictates, ii. 12—18. God answers, first, that there shall be an end of the locusts and that years of fertility shall return, ii. 19—27; then he adds, that hereafter the gift of prophecy shall be more extensively distributed; and that a great divine judgment, a lamentable revolution shall take place, in which, however, the faithful worshippers of God shall be delivered, iii. (ii. 28—32.); that a terrible war shall be enkindled, which also is described as some great judgment of God in the valley of Jehoshaphat, (יהושפט *God judges*), iv. (iii.) 1—18, and at last that these calamities shall be succeeded by a happier state of things, iv. (iii.) 18—21.

The predicted desolation of Judea by the locusts is not that barrenness which took place in the age of Elijah, nor that drought which is mentioned in Jer. xiv. It is the famine which happened in the time of the Maccabees, I Macc. ix. 23—27. For the prophet makes no mention of a king, but of elders and priests; he says nothing about idolatry, which at no time before the exile had entirely ceased; he does not name the kingdom of Israel, but only Judah and Jerusalem, and in iv. (iii.) 2, he applies to all the Hebrews the term *Israel*, as is usual with the prophets when they speak of times subsequent to the exile; nay in iv. (iii.) 1, 2, he assumes that the captivity, the dispersion of the people, the occupancy of the country by other nations, and even the return, had already taken place some time. He also reckons the Tyrians and Zidonians, who had sold Hebrews to the Greeks, among the enemies of his people, iv. (iii.) 4. These are clear indications of the Maccabean age, I Mac. ix. 23—27. v. 14, 15. JOSEPH. Ant. XIII. i. 1.—What occurs in c. iii. 1—3. (ii. 28—30.) respecting the gift of prophecy to be communicated to men of every class, may indeed be *accommodated* to the age of the Maccabees, provided it be understood *merely of the knowledge of God*; but according to the *proper force of the words* it applies to the history in Ac. ii. 14—21. The two succeeding verses, iii. 4, 5. (ii. 31, 32,) relate to the last Jewish war against the Romans, but in the next chapter the prophet returns to the times of the Maccabees.

§ 113. *Style of Joel.*

The language of Joel is pure, his style elegant, the figures well chosen and judiciously managed, and the whole composition possesses a degree of sublimity similar to that of Hosea and Micah. The delineations of the locusts, of the great mourning, and of the golden age are admirable, and the images of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and of the fountain arising from the temple, no less agreeable, iv. (iii.) 2, 12, 18—21. Comp. Ezek. xlvii. and Zech. xiv. 8.[a]

[a] A great degree of originality and invention is also observable throughout the whole. EICHH. § 561, notices as uncommon words, peculiar to Joel, פֶּאֶרֶר, ii. 6; כִּנְרֵפָה, עֵבֶשׂ, פֶּרְרוֹת, i. 17; and יֵשׁ. iv. 11. Tr.]

§ 114. *The age of Joel.*

The time in which Joel, the son of Pethuel, lived, is a doubtful question.[a] Yet the purity of his language and the elegance of his elocution afford an argument that he is not a writer posterior to Manasseh, nor does any thing occur to justify the conclusion that he is of a more recent age, unless it be the remoteness of the events predicted; an argument which of itself proves nothing.

[a] The improbable opinions of certain ancient and Jewish writers, respecting the history and age of Joel, may be found in ROSENM. Schol. in Proph. Min. T. I. p. 430. ss. A multitude is collected by САРЗОВ, Introd. P. III. p. 300. ss., ROSENM. ut sup., EICHHORN, Einleit. Th. IV. § 558. S. 299., and DE WETTE, Einleit. § 230., conclude from i. 14. ii. 1, 15, 17, 32. iii. 1, 2, 6, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, that he was of the tribe of Judah; and, after VITRINGA, Typus doctrinæ Prophet. c. iv. p. 35. ss., that he was contemporary with Amos, prophesying rather before him. See iii. 4, 19, where there is no mention of the Syrians or Assyrians as enemies of Judea, and compare those passages with Am. i. 9. ss., and c. i. ii with Am. iv. 6—9. Tr.]

§ 115. *Contents of the book of Nahum.*

Nahum, נַחֻם, begins with a description of the power of God in punishing his foes and protecting his servants, i. 2—7; representing him as about to lay waste Nineveh by its enemies. to overturn the

monarchy of the Assyrians who had oppressed the Hebrews, and to aid and support again the kingdom of Judah, i. 8—ii. 14. (13.) Then the siege and destruction of Nineveh are depicted with more particularity, c. iii.

Nineveh, as DIODORUS SICULUS (L. II. c. 32.) from Ctesias relates, having been first attacked and rased under Sardanapalus, by Arbaces, king of the Medes, and Beleses, governor of Babylonia, in the years 877—867 B. C. and 99—108 after the division, was shortly after rebuilt and made the capital of the second Assyrian empire, which has attained celebrity by being so often mentioned in the bible. At last it was again overthrown, under Chyniladanus, by Cyaxares I. and the Chaldean Nabopolassar, in the year 625 B. C. and 350 after the division, and was never again raised from its ruins.

There are some authors* who suppose Nahum to refer in the first two chapters to the first destruction of Nineveh, and in the third to the other, and who place the age of the prophet before the year 877 B. C. But this opinion is undoubtedly not supported by the arguments alleged in its defence. It is evident from i. 9—11, 14, ii. 1, 14, (13,) where the Hebrews are represented as already reduced to difficulties by the Assyrians, and the irruption also of Sennacherib is mentioned as having already taken place, that Nahum's prophecy always refers to the same destruction of the city, the second, and i. 12. manifestly indicates the ultimate destruction.[a]

[a] See the more full discussion of this subject, Germ. *Introd. Th. II.* S. 506. ff. *Comp. EICHR. Th. IV. S. 393. ff.*, who, as well as DE WETTE, § 241, agrees with Jahn, while BERTHOLDT, S. 1661. f., maintains the contrary opinion. *Tr.*]

§ 116. *Style of Nahum.*

The style of Nahum is scarcely inferior to that of any of the minor prophets. His elocution is ornate, and his tropes bold and elegant; but here and there his sentences are deficient in fulness and leave something to be supplied.[a] See ii. 8, 9. iii. 16. His description of the divine power, i. 2—7, is majestic, and that of the siege of Nine-

* [KALINSKY, *Vaticinia Chabacuci et Nahumi illustrata*, 1758, and DATHE, *Prophetae minores Latine versi*.]

veh. ii. 4—iii. 19 . very impressive. The author possesses originality, or characteristic peculiarities. Comp. i. 10. ii. 4—9. iii. 17. His language is pure without any foreign admixtures, unless it be the word טַפְסָרִים in iii. 17, a name applied to certain of the Assyrian magistrates.

[a] LOWTH, De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum. Præl. xxi. p. 287. ed. Ox. 1775, has given a still more favourable opinion of the style of Nahum. “Ex omnibus minoribus Prophetis nemo videtur æquare sublimitatem, ardorem, et audaces spiritus Nahum; adde quod ejus vaticinium integrum ac justum est poema; exordium magnificum est et plane augustum; apparatus ad excidium Ninivæ, ejusque excidii descriptio et amplificatio, ardentissimis coloribus exprimitur, et admirabilem habet evidentiam et pondus.” To this judgment ROSENUELLER, Schol. III. 245, fully accedes. Tr.]

§ 117. Age of Nahum.

Nahum is called *the Elkoshite*. הַאֵלְקוֹשִׁי, (i. 1.), not to designate his family, for this would require אֲבִי אֵלְקוֹשׁ, *the son of Elkosh*, but from the place of his nativity; comp. Mic. i. 1. Jer. xxix. 27. I Ki. xvii. 1. There is a city of this name in Assyria, three hours distant from Nunia, (a village on the site of the ancient Nineveh,) where the sepulchre of the prophet is pointed out. See ASSEMAN. Bib. Orient. T. I. p. 525., and T. III. P. I. p. 352. NIEBUHR Reiseb. Th. II. S. 352. The more ancient writers make no mention of this place, but speak of an Elkosh in Galilee. See JEROME Proœm. in Nahum, and EUSEBIUS in Onomasticon sub voce ΕΛΚΟΣΣΙ. Nahum therefore was a Galilean, who, upon the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, passed over into that of Judah, where he obtained his surname, *the Elkoshite*, from the place of his birth. This affords a sufficient reason for the preservation of his prophecies in the kingdom of Judah, which it would not be easy to account for, if he had written in Assyria.[a]

Some authors have attempted to infer the prophet's age from iii. 3—10. supposing that the siege of No-Amon, that is, Thebes or Diospolis in Egypt, by the Assyrians, when Tartan in the reign of Sargon conquered Ashdod. is referred to.[b] But the siege men-

tioned by Nahum can hardly be assigned to a definite age, neither is it of this that Isaiah speaks in c. xx.—Nevertheless, it is evident from Nah ii. 3. that the ten tribes had already been carried away into captivity; it may be inferred from i. 11—13, ii. 1, 14, that Sennacherib's invasion had already taken place; it is clear from ii. 1, that no very considerable time had elapsed since that invasion; and lastly, ii. 2, 3, shows that the kingdom of Judah had indeed been reduced to a low state, but was again to struggle through its difficulties, which happened afterwards under Josiah. Nahum, therefore, exercised his prophetic office before the reign of Josiah, yet not long after the irruption of Sennacherib, consequently, in the last years of Hezekiah.

[a] MICHAELIS, Uebersetz. d. A. T., XI. Th. S. 138., EICHHORN, Einleit. IV. S. 389. ff., and others, embrace the opinion, that the prophet's birth-place was in Assyria. ROSENM. Schol. in V. T. III. p. 242., DE WETTE, Einleit. S. 328., and BERTHOLDT, S. 1652. ff., agree with Jahn. The striking agreement between the writings of Nahum and those of the other Hebrew prophets noticed by EICHH. S. 391, although not so used by him, is strong in favour of this last opinion. *Tr.*]

[b] So EICHH Th. IV. S. 383. ff. ROSENM. Schol. III. 243, and DE WETTE, S. 327. *Tr.*]

§ 118. *Contents of the Book of Habakkuk.*

Habakkuk, חַבְבְּקֻם, begins his work by complaining, i. 2—4., that his prayers against injustice, violence, and oppressions are not heard, and obtains the divine answer, i. 5—11 that the Chaldeans are to avenge these crimes. The prophet at length discerning in vision the slaughter to be effected by that people, beseeches God, i. 12—17, to restrain those cruel enemies. The answer is given, that destruction is hanging over the Chaldeans also, and that however it may be deferred, it will certainly follow, ii. 2—20. This is succeeded by an ode, in which the prophet celebrates the deliverances wrought by the Almighty for his people in past times, and prays for a similar interference now to mitigate the coming distresses of the nation, which he describes, representing the land as already waste and desolate, and yet giving encouragement to hope for a return of better times. c. iii.

§ 119. *The Style of Habakkuk.*

The elegance and sublimity discernible in the style of this prophecy may place it in competition with any of the others. Habakkuk has some things indeed in common with other sacred poets, as ii. 12. with Mic. iii. 10., and ii. 14. with Isa. xi. 9; but he makes even these his own by his peculiar manner. His figures are all great, happily chosen, and properly drawn out. The ode in the third chapter is particularly excellent.[a]

[a] The animated description of the style of Habakkuk given by EICHH. Einleit. Th. IV. S. 410 ff. is well worth perusal. Jahn in his German work, declares that the language of Habakkuk is throughout free from foreign words. Eichhorn gives a considerable number of words which he considers as peculiar to this prophet, but as DE WETTE, Einleit. S. 332. observes, 'his list needs sifting.' ׀לִּפְּ׀, ii. 16. is, however,

an unexceptionable instance.—Additional instances of borrowed ideas occur iii. 19., comp. Ps. xviii. 34.; and ii. 6., comp. Isa. xiv. 4 —Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, and De Wette, are loud in their praises of the style of Habakkuk. LOWTH, de Poes. Hebræor. p. 287. says only "Poeticus est Habbaccuci stylus; sed maxime in oda, quæ inter absolutissimis in eo genere merito numerari potest." Tr.]

§ 120. *The Age of Habakkuk.*

The opinions respecting the age in which Habakkuk lived are various. That he prophesied during the first years of king Manasseh is shown by the commencement of the prophecy, i. 2—4, which points to the early years of that king; for it is impossible to explain this, as some have endeavoured to do, of the Chaldeans because they are spoken of, i. 5—11, as the agents by whom the iniquitous persons mentioned in i. 2—4, were to be chastised. and it is not to be supposed that the prophet would have offered the prayers contained in i. 12—17, for the Chaldeans. The sublimity of the composition is in character with this period, being such as could not be expected from a more recent age.—Finally, the Chaldeans are represented, i. 6. as a people just forming themselves into a body and seeking a new habitation, which, as has been already observed, they

did during a considerable interval of time, as early as the reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh, long before they established their authority in Babylonia. Comp. Isa. xxiii. 13. [a]

[a] WAHL, Ueber. de Habakkuk, S. 16, coincides with Jahn. But EICHH. Th. IV. S. 401. ff. places the age of Habakkuk subsequently to the reign of Joiakim, in the commencement of the oppression of the Hebrews by the Chaldeans. DE WITTIE, Einleit. S. 330., after CLEMENT of ALEXANDRIA, Strom. I. 14., places it still later, making the prophet a contemporary of Jeremiah. ROSENUELLER, Schol. in Min. Proph. III. 341. s. supposes c. i. to have been written under Joiakim, c. ii. under Jeconiah, and c. iii. during the three years' siege of Jerusalem under Zedekiah.—All, however, acknowledge the precise date to be exceedingly uncertain. Tr.]

§ 121. Contents of the prophecy of Obadiah.

Obadiah, עֲבַדְיָהּ, or, as the translators of the Septuagint and Vulgate pronounce the word, Abdiah, עֲבַדְיָהּ, who has left nothing but the fragment of a prophecy against the Edomites, upbraids them, like Amos, c. i. 11, Jeremiah, c. xlix. 7—22. [Lam. iv. 21, 22.] Ezekiel, c. xxv. 12—14, and the author of the 137th Psalm, with their hostile intentions towards the Hebrews, and warns them not to add to the evils of these their brethren, because they themselves are to experience the same lot. Zion will be hereafter restored, and the Hebrews, even the ten tribes, will again receive their country, and take possession of Edom and also Philistia. This took place 125 years before Christ, under John Hyrcanus. Comp. Archæol. P. II. Th. I. § 104. p. 479.

§ 122. Style of Obadiah.

The style of this writer shines with various beauties, yet it does not equal that of the more ancient prophets. His interrogations in particular are too frequent, and they are not always very happily introduced. Comp. v. 8.

§ 123. *Age of Obadiah.*

Many men of the name of Obadiah are mentioned in the Bible, as in I Chron. iii. 21. ix. 16. II Chron. xvii. 7. I Kings xviii. 3.[a] It is impossible to determine whether the prophet is to be identified with any one of these, or with him who, II Chron. xxxiv. 12. assisted in superintending the repairs of the temple under Josiah. His age also is uncertain. It is clear however from v. 20. that in his time Jerusalem was subject to the Chaldeans, and that many of the citizens had been carried away captive; so that Obadiah must have prophesied after the removal of Jehoiachin, or the seventh year of the captivity, that is, subsequently to the year 599 B. C., or 376 after the division, II Kings xxiv. 8—17. That he exercised his prophetic office before the destruction of Jerusalem, appears from v. 12—14, where he admonishes the Edomites not to continue their hostilities against the Jews.

As Jeremiah, c. xlix. 7—22, has many expressions similar to others in Obadiah, it is a question which of the two has borrowed from the other. Opinions vary on this subject, and there is not much preponderance of evidence on either side, except that as Jeremiah has used the works of other prophets in his other predictions against foreign nations, this fact renders it more probable that he had read Obadiah, than the reverse. The following table of the parallel passages will enable the reader to form his own judgment.

Obadiah, v. 1.	Jeremiah, xlix. 14.
„ 2.	„ 15.
„ 3, 4.	„ 16.
„ 5.	„ 9.
„ 6.	„ 10.
„ 8.	„ 7. [b]

[a] This name, like the Arabic *Abdallah*, which has the same signification, (*the servant or worshipper of God*,) is very common.]

[b] DE WETTE, Einleit. S. 321., who agrees with Jahn, supposes that the want of arrangement, the compression, and alteration of these passages in Jeremiah, exhibit a still stronger proof that he has borrowed them from Obadiah. EICHH. Th. IV. S. 327. f. is of the same opinion. Comp. however, VERSCHUIRIJ Opuscula, p. 191. s. (*Traj. ad Rhen.* 1810.) where several arguments are drawn from the subject to prove the contrary. Th.

§ 124. *Of Jonah.*

Jonah, the son of Amittai, יונה בן אמתי, a native of Gath-Hepher or Gittah-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulon,* Jos. xix. 13., predicted the restoration of the ancient boundaries of the Israelitish kingdom, II Kings xiv. 25, which took place under Jeroboam II. He must have lived therefore before Amos.† about the year 825 B. C. and 150 after the division. Pul, the first king of the new Assyrian monarchy must have reigned in Nineveh at the time that Jonah was sent to that city; II Ki. xv. 18—20. But if Pul, according to the commonly received chronology, ascended the throne 774 years B. C., and 201 after the division, Jonah must have been quite an old man at the time of his mission to Nineveh.

§ 125. *Contents of the Book of Jonah.*

Jonah is commanded by God to go to Nineveh and there to prophesy; but apprehending that God would have mercy on the city, and that his prediction would not be verified, he goes to Joppa, and thence embarks for Tartessus in Spain. God raises a terrible storm at sea so as to threaten the vessel in which he sails with shipwreck. While all the crew are imploring the assistance of their gods, Jonah sleeps carelessly in a corner of the vessel until he is roused and urged to call also upon his God. At length they cast lots for the purpose of ascertaining on whose account the Deity has raised so violent a tempest against them, and the lot falls upon Jonah. The prophet, being asked who he is and what he has done, replies that he is a Hebrew and a servant of the God of heaven, but that he is now fleeing away from him.‡ Upon being further asked, what should be done with him, he answers that they should cast him into the sea and that then the storm would cease. Still the sailors, fearing to devote to destruction the servant of so great a God, renew their efforts to reach the shore, but are hindered by contrary winds from the east; and after imploring Jehovah not to impute the man's death to them, they throw

* [The Latin has, erroneously, Naphtali. *Tr.*]

† [Comp. § 90. *Tr.*]

‡ [Or rather, from the discharge of his prophetic office. See below, § 128, note [b] note 1 p. 376. *Tr.*]

Jonah into the sea, c. i.—But God had prepared a great fish which swallowed up Jonah. In the belly of this sea monster he pours out his prayer to God as given in c. ii. At last on the third day, the fish, by divine command, vomits Jonah forth upon the dry land.

Now the prophet obeys the direction of God, goes to Nineveh, enters a day's journey into the city, and proclaims that in forty days it shall be destroyed. Immediately a general repentance takes place, and God spares the city, c. iii.—Upon this, Jonah becomes exceedingly angry, wishes for his death, expostulates with God and says that it was in anticipation of this very result that he had wished to flee to Spain. Nevertheless, he takes his station on a mountain at the east of Nineveh, and there under a booth which he erects, waits to see what is to become of the city. God prepares a gourd (*ricinus*, the Palma Christi,) which affords to Jonah a most agreeable shade. When, however, at the divine command, this is affected by a worm and withers, the prophet, exposed to the burning heat of the sun, is again greatly dissatisfied, and wishes earnestly to die. He is reproved by God for being so much excited on account of the withering of a gourd, and yet wishing at the same time that the Deity should be unaffected by the repentance of a city in which were found more than 120,000 children who had not yet attained the use of their reason, and a multitude of cattle, c. iv.

§ 126. *Difficulties in this narrative.*

The difficulties of this book are by no means trifling. 1) Many extraordinary things occur, which are referred immediately to God.—2) The preservation of Jonah in the belly of the fish three days and nights, without having been digested by the natural heat of the stomach, or suffocated for want of fresh air; nothing similar to which is to be met with: and this, too, without an object equivalent to the magnitude of such a miracle.[a]—3) The strange character of Jonah, who flies from God; who, when in imminent danger of destruction by a tempest and when all around him are offering supplications, is quietly sleeping; who voluntarily offers himself to be thrown into the sea; and lastly, who is constantly opposing God.—4) Silence respecting circumstances which it might be expected would be men-

tioned in *the history*: as, for instance, in what land the fish vomited out Jonah; what were the crimes of the Ninevites, a point which the prophets are by no means accustomed in other cases to pass over; by what particular calamity the city was to be destroyed; and whether the abolition of idolatry was included in the general repentance of the citizens.—5) The general repentance itself at the message of an unknown individual, and the order issued by the king that a fast should be observed and sackcloth worn even by the infants and beasts.—6) The silence both of profane and sacred history respecting so extraordinary a fact.—7) The embarking at Joppa, a city remarkable for fictions and matters of a wonderful nature; said to be more ancient than the deluge, and in mythology celebrated for the account of Andromeda; to which may be added, the analogy of Jonah's continuance in the fish's belly three days, with the contest of Hercules during the same space of time in the same situation.

The tree which afforded Jonah a shade, is called in the Vulgate *ivy*, *hedera*, a word which Jerome retained from the ancient version in order to avoid controversy; for elsewhere he contends that the Hebrew word יָבֵב does not mean *ivy*, but what is called *palma Christi*, the *ricinus*.

And he is right; for this tree or shrub has retained in Egypt the same name under the form *Kiki* not only to the age of Strabo, but even to our own times. It grows up with rapidity, but not as is said in Jonah, in one night. In moist situations it reaches the height of eight feet in five months, and in others in twelve;* but it very soon decays. Its leaves, a foot or more in length, afford a convenient shade. It bears flowers, and green fruit and ripe at the same time. On account of its extraordinary character it has received from the Germans the name of *the wonder tree*, *Wunder baum*. See NIEBUHR, *Beschreib. von Arabien*, S. 148.[*b*]

[*a*] The author says nothing in his Latin epitome of the alleged impossibility of a fish being large enough to contain a man, as he supposes the animal to have been a species of shark, some of which have been caught with still larger substances in the belly. *Tr.*]

[*b*] Comp. also BOCHART, *Hierozoicon*, P. II. col. 293; CELSUS *Hierobotanicon*, P. II. p. 273. ss.; MICHAELIS *Sup. ad Lex. Heb.* p. 2185. ss. *Tr.*]

* [In this country, it has been known to attain the height of thirteen feet in less than three. *Tr.*]

§ 127. *Whether the narrative of Jonah is a parable.*

Expositors have at all times felt these difficulties, and have used their efforts to solve them. Some have supposed that the narrative is a dream; [a] others, an allegory; [b] but not a vestige exists of either the one or the other. Many of the more modern interpreters therefore conclude it to be a parable. [c] the design of which is they say, to teach that heathens (of whom the Ninevites are designed to be a specimen) are of good disposition and readily susceptible of reformation, and therefore not worthy of punishment as the Hebrews supposed; and that the Hebrews on the contrary, (who are represented under the character of Jonah,) are continually refractory, and remain intractable, notwithstanding the many and important divine benefits which they had enjoyed. To this some add that the parable is intended also to represent the future conversion of the Gentiles to God. [d]

[a] So H. A. GRIMM, in a work called *Der Prophet Jonas aus neue übersetzt* 1789, S. 61. ff.; where he supposes all related between c. i. 6. and c. iii. 11, not to have happened in reality, but merely to have occurred to Jonah in a dream. *Tr.*]

[b] This opinion was supported by HERMAN VOR DER HARDT (called by Lowth, on account of his love of paradoxes, the German Harduin,) in a work entitled *Jonas in luce in historia Manassis et Josiae. ex eleganti veterum Hebraeorum stylo solutum ænigma. Helmstadt. 1723. Comp. ROSENEM. Schol. in Min. Proph. II. 338. ss.* He had previously allowed the historical character of the book, and maintained that the fish which swallowed Jonah was *an inn*, at which he was received subsequently to his shipwreck[!], in two tracts. *Jona in Carcharia*, and *Jona sub Sillio*, published in 1718. *CARPZ. P. III. p. 340 ss. Tr.*]

[c] So SEMLER, *Appar. ad liberatior. Interp. V. T. p. 271*; MICHAELIS, *Uebersetz. des A. T. Th. XI. S. 101. der Anm.*; HERDER, *Briefe das Studium der Theol. betreffend, I. Th. S. 136*; NIEMEYER, *Charakteristik der Bibel, V. Th.*; EICHH. *Einleit. Th. IV. S. 352. ff.* and many other modern German critics. *Tr.*]

[d] This is scarcely a fair representation. It would lead the reader to conclude that all who supposed the book of Jonah to be a parabolic fiction, agreed in assigning to it the objects stated. But in fact, the case is far otherwise: every writer finds his own interpretation of the parable, and their discordant expositions are almost sufficient of themselves to prove the folly of their opinion respecting the nature of the work. SEMLER.

with whom MICHAELIS nearly coincides, supposes it to teach that the hatred of the Hebrews for other nations was unjust, and that GOD entertained as much kindness for the latter as for the former. EICHORN'S opinion is that given by JAHN. HERDER maintains that the author's object was to exhibit the prophetic character, and the various failings to which it was most liable. HEZEL places the design of the parable in this, that the prophetic office is not to be resigned on account of difficulties and dangers, as even among the rudest and most uncultivated people, it may produce salutary effects more than sufficient to counterbalance the evils endured by the prophet. PAULUS contends that it merely teaches that GOD will revoke his threats, if they produce a change of life in the objects of them. MUELLER agrees in attributing the same design, but supposes it to be carried out in a threefold plan. Comp. VERSCHUIJII Opusc. p. 75. s. and ROSENM. Schol. in Min. Proph. II. 351. ss. Is any one of the parables in holy writ susceptible of so many and such discordant interpretations? Could any regularly constructed parabolic writing so completely baffle and bewilder the ingenious German critics? *Tr.*]

§ 128. *Whether the narrative is a true history.*

There are others, however, who do not acquiesce in the preceding view of the subject, and contend that the narrative contains a true history. But among these there is yet a difference of opinion. Some think that the principal heads of the account are true, which having been handed down by oral tradition, and increased by the addition of wonderful circumstances, have grown to the present narrative.[*a*] But any one will easily see, that, in this case, neither would the character of the prophet, who was known, (see II Kings, xiv. 25.) have been represented in a light so little to his honour, nor would that of the heathen in the vessel have been so benevolent, or the Ninevites so ready to exercise repentance.—Others, therefore, are induced to suppose that some true history of Jonah has been transformed into the present narrative by some prophet of a later age; and that thus it is in reality a parable, but founded on fact. But why is that fact passed over unnoticed in II Kings, xiv. 25. ? They who regard the whole narrative in the light of a true history, appeal to ancient ecclesiastical writers, to JOSEPHUS, Ant. IX. x. 2., to Jonathan's Targum on Nah. i. 1., and to Tobit, xiv. 3, 13. (4, 8.) Matt. xii. 39—41. xvi. 4. Luc. xi. 29—32. They endeavour in various ways to extricate themselves from the above mentioned difficulties.[*b*]

[a) These are distinguished by DE WETTE, Einleit. § 236. into three classes. 1) Those who suppose the history to be a mythical compilation; THADDAEUS, Sendungsgeschichte des Propheten Jonas. Bonn, 1786; GOLDHORN, Excurs. z. B. Jonas, 1803; BAUER, Einleit. 3te Aufl. S. 489. f.; see ROSENM. Schol. in Min. Proph. II. 347. ss.; 2) those who explain it by philological perversions; ANTON von den Alten Hebr. Tonkunst in PAULUS N. Repert. Th. V. S. 36. ff.; and 3) those who make a real history of it by allegorically explaining parts of the narration; LESS von dem Historischen Styl des höhern Alterthums, who supposes *the fish* to have been *a ship*, having a fish for her figure head, by which Jonah was picked up See ROSENM. ubi sup p. 346. and VERSCHUIR, ubi sup. p. 70.; PALMER, ueber Jonas im Wallfische. &c. &c. Tr.]

[b) There are certainly difficulties in the narrative contained in the book of Jonah. but we cannot think that the author's account of it is satisfactory. Although he does not expressly pronounce an opinion, it is quite evident, even from the Latin work and more so from the German, that he does not consider the account as a true history of facts. And it does appear to us important, and even necessary, to caution the reader against being induced, in consequence of any difficulties like those in this book, to reject a work admitted into the sacred canon by the Jewish and Christian churches, and sanctioned by our Lord or his apostles. If the account be parabolic, or not a true history, is it conceivable that Christ would have used the language contained in Matt xii. 39. 40? To say, as the author does in his German work, p. 531. that "he uses this continuance of Jonah in the belly of the sea monster during three days as a figure of his own continuance in the grave," is saying nothing; for the question immediately arises, would he have founded such a resemblance upon a fiction?* This is altogether improbable; especially if it be considered, that other similar analogies are in all cases founded upon fact. Comp. John iii. 14. xix. 36.

It is but just however to our author's memory to mention, that in his German Introduction. p. 532, 533, he states the answers by which those who defend the history of Jonah reply to the previously enumerated objections.—1) The ascribing of most of the circumstances related immediately to God, is in character with the usage of Scripture, which often speaks of natural events as if they were produced by direct divine agency.†—2) Jonah's preservation in the belly of the fish is a miracle,

* [The arguments of VERSCHUIR, Opuscula, p. 73, 79, 87, 91—95. drawn from these passages are very strong; indeed unanswerable. Tr.]

† [Besides, the object of the whole transaction was of sufficient importance to justify the continual interference of the Deity. Comp. VERSCHUIR, p. 74 83. s. Tr.]

and it is impossible to prove that the design which God had in view in producing it did not correspond with its magnitude. It may have had a bearing on the penitence of the Ninevites.*—3) The character of Jonah is extraordinary, but not so unnatural as to oblige us to consider the account of him as fictitious or parabolic. Besides let it be as bad as it may, the instance of Balaam proves that this does not render it impossible that he should have been a prophet of God.†—4) The omission of circumstances which would have afforded a clearer view of the whole matter may be regretted, but it is no objection to the account, and agrees with

* [To say that it *may* have had, is, indeed, too little. Doubtless the extraordinary circumstances attending the mission of Jonah had the effect of procuring the ready credence of the Ninevites for his message. So our Saviour, when the Jews asked him for a miracle in proof of his heavenly mission, referred them to the sign of Jonah; meaning, that, as Jonah's miraculous punishment and deliverance was to the Ninevites proof of his divine mission, so the resurrection of the Son of man, after three days' death, of which the former was a type, should be to the Jews an irrefragable evidence of his divine authority. Comp. VERSCHUIRN Opusc. p. 64, 89, 95. SAURIN Disc. sur la Bible. Continuat. par ROQUES, Tom. VIII. p. 64. ss. VERSCHUIR, p. 67. s., supposes that Jonah was not *preserved alive* three days, but after being devoured and retained three days in the belly of the fish, cast up and brought to life again. He reasons speciously in support of this opinion, though without sufficient proof. *Tr.*]

† [1) He seems to have supposed that the remission of the punishment of the Ninevites would prove him a false prophet, and cast imputations upon the veracity and power of God himself; the prediction being made without any conditional expressions. 2) He may have thought that the mission of a prophet to foreign nations would be a breach of the prerogative of Israel. 3) He may have deemed it for the honour of the true religion and the glory of God, that the threatened punishment should be rigorously inflicted on the Ninevites, as an instance of the justice and holiness of God. A rigid zeal, ungoverned by knowledge or benignity, is surely not so uncommon as to form an objection against the verisimilitude of history. 4) He may have wished the destruction of Nineveh, for his country's sake, which its growing power must ultimately ruin. Cato's *delenda est Carthago* proves the possibility of such overstrained patriotism, even among upright men. 5) THEODORET has added that he anticipated the disgrace which must result to the stiffnecked Israelites if a heathen state should be divinely warned, and display an obedience to such warning which the favoured Israelites had never shown. VERSCHUIRN Opusc. pp. 51. s. 59. s.—It is objected that Jonah flies from God when he must have known the futility of such a procedure. His flight was not to escape the the omnipresent God, but to avoid the discharge of his prophetic office. See this amply proved by VERSCHUIR, *ut supra*, p. 57.—His sleeping during the storm is similar to an event in our Saviour's life, Matt. viii. 24. Mar. iv. 38., and may be satisfactorily accounted for in different ways. VERSCHUIR, *ut sup.* p. 63. s. *Tr.*]

the custom of the Hebrew writers.* 5) The general repentance of the Ninevites is not a circumstance inexplicable. For in the old world the threatening of a man of reputation, (and it must not be assumed that Jonah was an obscure or unknown person,) led to an inclination to pacify the offended Deity; and some allowance may be made for the use of hyperbole, as, for instance, where the beasts as well as the people are ordered to be clothed in sackcloth, and to fast, and cry mightily unto God: or this may have been done with the view of exciting the people to penitence.† 6) The silence of profane history on the subject of this book may be accounted for from the imperfection of history in relation to the Assyrian monarchy; and that of sacred history (comp. II Kings xiv. 25.), by the fact that the book of Jonah was well known. 7) The analogy of this narrative to certain fictitious matters of Heathen mythology, is but inconsiderable, and can have no weight against its truth. Tr.]

* [In addition to this it may be observed, with particular reference to the objection drawn from the silence respecting the crimes of the Ninevites, that *the prophecies* of Jonah, in which we might expect a description of those crimes, have not been preserved, and that the present book is probably only an abridgement of his history. Tr.]

† [Similar instances, especially among Oriental people, are adduced by VERSCHUIR, ubi supra, p. 46. s. Tr.]

§ 129. Age of the Book of Jonah.

The language of the book exhibits Chaldaic terms, compound particles, and other words of a late age, as *שלמי*, i. 7., *באשר למי*, i. 8., *בשלי*, i. 12.; the words *מלחים*, for *sailors* or *rowers*, i. 5, and *חבל* for *master of a vessel*, i. 6. do not occur except in Ezek. xxvii. 8, 27, 28, 29. Chaldaic terms are *אני ספינה* for *a ship*, i. 5., *יתעשת*, *he will think*, i. 6., and *טעם* in the sense of *a command*, iii. 7. The ode of Jonah, c. ii. is compiled from sentences taken from more ancient writers, which method of composing prayers is comparatively recent.* Lastly, the words, “Nineveh was a very great city.” iii. 3., where *היתה* cannot be translated *is*, intimates that the author wrote after its

* [Yet NACHTIGALL, who maintains that the book is a late compilation from three successive writers, allows *this hymn*, and this only, to be the genuine production of the Jonah who lived in the reign of Jeroboam II. Tr.]

destruction. From all this it follows, that the Jonah who is said to have prophesied in II Kings xiv. 25, cannot have been the author of this book, who must have lived a long time after the year 625 before Christ when Nineveh was destroyed, and even after the Babylonian captivity, when the Jews vehemently desired the chastisement of the heathen, and could scarcely bear to have it delayed, a disposition which is silently reprov'd in this book. Comp. Mal. ii. 17. and Ps. cxxxvii. 8. s. It is impossible to determine the time of the author more particularly, or to identify him, for want of historical documents.[a]

[a] VERSCHUIR, ubi supra, p. 100—105, examines all the words and phrases supposed to prove the recent origin of this book, and shows that they do not necessarily lead to that conclusion. DE WETTE, although he relies on them as proofs of a recent date, yet asserts that “Jahn probably places this book too late.” He denies that c. iii. 3. affords any certain data. ROSENM. Vol. II. p. 358, asserts that, without doubt, the book was composed *before* the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares, but in the latter period of the kingdom of Judah; and that perhaps the author was a contemporary of Jeremiah, and composed his book in the latter part of the reign of Josiah. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER IV

OF THE PROPHETS FROM THE AGE OF JOSIAH TO THE END OF THE
CAPTIVITY.

§ 130. *Age of Zephaniah.*

ZEPHANIAH, צפניה, or as he is called in the Alexandrine and Latin translations, Sophonias, is said to be "the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah," i. 1. This progenitor of his was therefore a man of note, but not the celebrated king of that name [*a*] for in that case, it would be reasonable to expect some such addition as *the king*, or *king of Judah*. Zephaniah exercised his prophetic office in the very beginning of the reign of Josiah, while that monarch was yet a youth, and under tutelage, i. 1, 9. ; but yet after the first reformation, for the remnant of the worshippers of Baal, i. 4. is large, i. 5, 6, 8, 9, which was not the case after the second reformation in the eighteenth year of Josiah. The prophet therefore must have entered upon his duties after the twelfth year of Josiah's reign, (B. C. 630, after the division 345,) when the nobles still exercised considerable power over the king. This chronology is confirmed by ii. 13—15, where the ruin of the city of Nineveh is predicted, which followed in the eighteenth year of Josiah. 625 B. C.

[*a*] So ROSENM. Schol. in Min. Proph. IV. 1. s. and DE WETTE, Einleit. S. 333. But EICHH. Th. IV. S. 414. follows ABEN-EZRA and HUET in supposing the king of Judah to be referred to. *T. 7.*

§ 131. *Contents of Zephaniah.*

The first two chapters contain predictions of the carrying into captivity of all the inhabitants of Judea, of the desolation of the country, and of the destruction of the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Cushites, Assyrians, and of Nineveh; and in ii. 7. the restoration of the Jews to their own land is touched on. In the third chapter the prophet reproves the vices of the Jews which had merited that desolation, and promises, after the return from captivity the propagation of the true religion, the perseverance of the Hebrews in the worship of God. and a period of rest and happiness, which it would have been impossible for him to foresee in the ordinary course of nature.

§ 132. *Style of Zephaniah.*

The style of Zephaniah is by no means low, yet it is not so elevated as that of the more ancient prophets. He is not always an original writer, but borrows considerably from the prophets who had preceded him. Comp. ii. 14. with Isa. xxxiv. 11., ii. 15. with Isa. xlvii. 8., iii. 10. with Isa. xviii. 1., and ii. 14, 15. with Isa. xiii. 21, 22.[a] The language is pure, although foreign words are occasionally to be met with.[b]

[a] DE WETTE considers these as doubtful instances, but gives the following: Zeph. ii. 8. comp. Isa. xvi. 6. Zeph. i. 13. comp. Amos v. 11. Even these are not such close resemblances as to render it *necessary* to allow that they are imitations. *Tr.*]

[b] EICHH. Th. IV. S. 418, and ROSENM. ubi supra, p. 7, have remarked coincidences in expression between Zephaniah and his contemporary, Jeremiah, and even Ezekiel. Comp. Zeph. i. 5, with Jer. viii. 2. (comp. II Ki. xxiii. 12); Zeph. i. 12. with Jer. xlviii. 11; Zeph. i. 18. with Ezek. vii. 19; Zeph. iii. 4. with Ezek. xxii. 26. *Tr.*]

§ 133. *Of Jeremiah and his Age.*

Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, יְרֵמְיָהוּ בֶן חִלְקִיָּהוּ, was a priest of the city Anathoth, which was situated in the tribe of Benjamin, three Roman miles from Jerusalem, to the north. Jer. i. 1. xxix. 27. Jos. xxi. 18. FUSEB. in ONOMAST. JEROME on Jer. i. xi. xxxi. It is with

good reason doubted whether Jeremiah's father was that Hilkiah who in the eighteenth year of Josiah found a copy of the law of Moses in the temple, as in that case the appellation *high priest* would have been added to his name. Jeremiah prophesied first at Anathoth, or at least he was not constantly at Jerusalem c. ii. 2. until the people of Anathoth and even his own relations, plotted against his life- xi. 21, 22. xii. 5, 6. At length he exercised his office in Jerusalem, where he suffered imprisonment and chains, and was in frequent danger of his life. He was called to assume the prophetic character when a youth, in the 23d year before the commencement of the Babylonian captivity, the 41st before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the 13th of Josiah, c. i. 2, 3. and he continued to retain it until after the burning of the city. At last, upon the murder of Gedaliah, being forced by the rest of the Jews, he accompanied them into Egypt, and there died but in what year is not known. His prophecies relating to the seventy years of the captivity, were read by Daniel, c. ix. 1.

§ 134. *Contents of the Book of Jeremiah.*

In the first chapter, Jeremiah relates his call to the prophetic office, and the commission which he had received to announce the ruin and restoration of the state, and by two visions he is instructed that this desolation is to come from the north. The prophet therefore in two discourses, ii. 1—iii. 5 and iii. 6—vi. 30, upbraids all classes with their sins. and predicts destruction by a distant people, who should come from the north and speak a language unknown to the Hebrews. He foretells also the return and re-establishment of the nation.

The discourse in c. vii—x. Jeremiah proclaims in a gate of the temple, and exhorts the Jews not to repose their trust in that building but to reform, lest otherwise they experience the fate of the kingdom of Israel. The 10th chapter contains an exhortation to the Israelites in the Assyrian captivity, to keep themselves from idolatry. The 11th and 12th exhort the people to obey the covenant with Jehovah. No doubt they refer to the finding of the law in the eighteenth year of Josiah, and the covenant to which that event gave rise. The prophet complains that the priests at Anathoth, and even his own relations, seek his life. He then predicts that the neighbouring people shall be

driven from their lands but afterwards return and embrace the Jewish religion ; and that those who refuse, shall be again destroyed, which was accomplished under the successors of the Maccabees.

Chapter xiii. represents the corrupt state of the people and the consequent calamity by the emblem of a rotten girdle, and by the distresses of drunkenness Chapters xiv. and xv. relate to the beginning of Jehoiakim's government. They contain the prophet's intercessions on occasion of a barren year produced by want of rain. God replies that all intercession is vain. At the end, the prophet complains of being exposed to ridicule and persecution. In c. xvi. 1—xvii. 18. he announces the devastation of the land, and the removal of the people as a punishment of their crimes and adds, r. 19—27 that the state shall be restored, if the Sabbath is kept holy. In c. xviii. he sees a potter at his work, who, after making one vessel which did not satisfy him breaks it in pieces and makes another out of the materials. Thus, says the prophet, can God do with his people without affording to any one a right to find fault, comp. Isa. xlv. 9. lxiv. 8. In v. 18—23, he complains of treacherous efforts made to destroy him.

In c. xix, xx. Jeremiah, in the presence of many witnesses, breaks an earthen bottle in the valley of Tophet and proclaims the similar destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the city of Jerusalem. On this account, he is abused by Pashur, and thrown into prison ; but upon being released the next day, he confirms his prediction, and for the first time mentions the king of Babylon as the instrument by whom the inhabitants and their treasures were to be removed. Pashur himself is to die in Babylon. Passionate complaints and a curse denounced upon the day of his birth similar to that in Job iii., form the conclusion, v. 7—18.

Chapter xxi. relates to the last years of Zedekiah, and should stand after the 38th, but is placed here because the name Pashur, belonging to a different person from the one just mentioned, occurs in it. The prophet replies to the messengers of Zedekiah, who had sent to inquire of him what would be the result of the siege, that the city would be taken and burnt, and the inhabitants perish by famine, pestilence, and sword, or be carried into captivity ; but that whosoever would go over to the Chaldeans, should save his life.

Chapters xxii, xxiii., belong to the early period of Jehoiakim's reign, but are placed after c. xxi., because the termination of the one is similar to the commencement of the other. Comp xxi. 12 with xxii. 3. Chap. xxii. predicts that the royal palace shall be reduced to a heap of ruins, the body of king Jehoiakim be cast out before the gates, and his son Coniah or Jeconiah be made a prisoner together with his mother, by the Chaldeans, never to return. Then follows a denunciation against the pastors of the people, in other words the kings; the return from captivity is predicted, and in perspective the second David or Messiah xxiii. 1—8. A reproof of the false prophets, and a warning to the people, form the conclusion of this portion.

Immediately after Zedekiah is raised to the throne Jeremiah sees, c. xxiv., a vision of two baskets of figs, the one good and the other bad. He explains the former as a symbol of the Jews who were fellow captives with Jeconiah and whom God would bring back again, and the latter as emblematic of the Hebrews who remained in the country, and were to be destroyed.

The 25th chapter which belongs to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when the captivity commenced, reproves the indocility of the people during the twenty-three years which the prophet had devoted to their instruction, and threatens devastation and seventy years service of the king of Babylon. A similar fate is predicted of various other nations, including the Babylonians themselves. This is represented under the figure of a cup of strong wine which the prophet stretches out to the kings of those nations until they become intoxicated.

In the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, Jeremiah, c. xxvi., predicts the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, and is on that account accused of a capital crime by the priests and prophets. He is acquitted, but Urijah, who had made the same prediction, is put to death.

To the same period belong c. xxvii. xxviii. By the emblem of a wooden yoke, which the prophet wears upon his neck, he announces the subjugation of the Jews, and also that of other nations by sending yokes to their kings by their ambassadors then at Jerusalem, warning them to submit to Nebuchadnezzar. He also warns Zedekiah not to expect the speedy return of the captives and the restitution of the vessels of the temple; for on the contrary the remainder

should be transported to Babylon. The death of the false prophet Hananiah, who had announced the return within two years is then predicted as about to take place that year. It followed in two months.

Chapter xxix. contains a letter written by Jeremiah to the captives in Babylon, wherein he counsels them to settle themselves in the country and not to trust their false prophets who deluded them with the promise of a speedy return; for on the other hand even those who still remained in Judea would be destroyed or carried away captive. To Shemaiah, who had sent a letter from Babylonia to Jerusalem in opposition to that of Jeremiah, the complete mortality of his family is predicted.

The prophecy in c. xxx. xxxi. of the return of the Hebrews, the rebuilding of the city, the perseverance of the people in the true religion; of the times of the Messiah and of the Maccabees; and of the perpetuity of the nation, was not first announced, as is supposed by some, after the destruction of Jerusalem. The prophet committed this prediction to writing in obedience to an express command of God, that it might be preserved as a monument for the remotest posterity. Now as from the fourth year of Jehoiachin he regularly committed all his prophecies to writing, it follows that this prediction must have been announced before that year.

Chapters xxxii. xxxiii. contain an account of Jeremiah's purchasing a field at the command of God from one of his relations, and of God's revealing to him the return of the people and the repossession of the land, although the city was then besieged and would be taken and burnt. This took place in the tenth year of Zedekiah, while Jeremiah lay in prison. A second David is then announced, who is to have a numerous family and levites. xxxiii. 14—26; although this passage is wanted in the Alexandrine version. Comp. xxiii. 5. xxx. 9.

The first seven verses of the 34th chapter ought to stand before the 32d; for here, during the first siege of Jerusalem, Jeremiah predicts that the city shall be taken and Zedekiah carried away; on account of which (see xxxii. 3, 4.) he was imprisoned. In the next portion, xxxiv. 3—21, he upbraids and denounces vengeance against the citizens, because after Nebuchadnezzar had left the city they reclaimed the slaves whom they had before set free.

The prophet, c. xxxv., invites, by the divine command, the nomad Rechabites to an apartment in the temple, and offers them wine, which they refuse because their ancestor, Jonathian, the son of Rechab, had forbidden them the use of this liquor. Hereupon he shames the Jews who had deserted the divine religion of their fathers, and renews the threat of punishment.

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim c. xxxvi., Jeremiah by the direction of God dictates all his prophecies to Baruch the scribe, and in the ninth month (December) of the next year, while he was prisoner in his house, sends Baruch to read them to the people. Baruch executes his commission, and also subsequently reads the roll to the royal council. The king is informed of the subject, and commands the roll to be read in his presence. After hearing a part of it he burns it, and gives orders for the seizure of Jeremiah and Baruch, whom, however, the princes had previously advised to conceal themselves. Jeremiah dictates the whole a second time to Baruch, and predicts of Jehoiakim, that he shall have no heir to his throne, and that his dead body shall be cast out exposed to the open air, and that Jerusalem shall be taken and destroyed.

Chaps. xxxvii. xxxviii. When Nebuchadnezzar interrupts the siege of Jerusalem in order to oppose Pharaoh who is advancing, Zedekiah sends to Jeremiah, at that time not in prison, with a commission to make entreaty to God. The messengers are sent back with the answer, that Pharaoh will return to Egypt, the Chaldeans renew the siege of the city, take it, and reduce it to ashes. Upon this the prophet determines to leave Jerusalem for Anathoth, but is seized as a deserter, beaten, and imprisoned. After a considerable time he is called by Zedekiah, who privately interrogates him, and is answered that he shall fall into the hands of the Chaldeans. Upon Jeremiah's interceding for more favourable treatment the king commands him to be removed to the court of the prison, (the guard house,) and to be allowed a daily portion, as long as the bread of the city may remain. But upon being earnestly solicited by the nobles to consent to his being put to death he acquiesces, whereupon Jeremiah is cast into a dungeon, and must have died a miserable death had not Ebedmelech, an Ethiopian eunuch of the court, obtained the king's permission to remove him. A second time the king privately inquires

respecting the result of the siege, and is advised to capitulate, as the only method of saving the city and royal family.

The portion in c. xxxix—xliv. contains an account of what took place after the conquest of Jerusalem. Zedekiah, while endeavouring to make his escape, was taken prisoner in the plains of Jericho, and brought to Riblah in Hamath, where his sons were slain in his presence, his eyes put out, and himself taken in chains to Babylon. Jerusalem and the temple were burned, the walls razed and the citizens taken to Babylonia, except a few poor people who remained. At the express command of Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah was released from his chains, and received permission either to go to Babylon or to remain in the land, upon which he chose the latter. (The promise made to Ebedmelech, which properly belongs to the 38th chapter, is here introduced, xxxix. 16—18.)—Gedaliah, who had been appointed governor over the inhabitants who still remained, was murdered by Ishmael; but notwithstanding this, Jeremiah announced the divine protection to the company that had escaped, and was dwelling at Chimham near Bethlehem, provided they remained in the land. But this they refused to do, and went to Egypt, although warned by the prophet, whom they constrained to accompany them, both before they went and after they had arrived at Tahpanhes, that Nebuchadnezzar would conquer and devastate that country.—After their settlement in Migdol and Pathros, and other places, Jeremiah, seeing that they still continue idolatrous, warns them earnestly to abstain from this wickedness; but they reply, that their misfortunes have arisen from intermitting the worship of the gods, whom they will no longer neglect: upon which he repeats his denunciations.

The 45th chapter, which is a declaration of comfort to Baruch, is connected with the 36th, and contains the promise, that, notwithstanding all the calamities of that period, God will preserve his life.

Chapters xlvi—li. contain prophecies against foreign nations. 1) Two respecting Egypt: the first, xlvi. 1—12, of the slaughter of the Egyptians in Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim; and the second, v. 13—28, of the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, to which is appended a prediction of the return of the Hebrews.—2) Against Philistia, c. xlvii, which the Chaldeans should lay waste. This prophecy was announced by Jeremiah, before the capture of

Gaza by Pharaoh.—3) Against the country of the Moabites. c. xlviii, which also should be wasted by the Chaldeans. Comp. Isa. xv. xvi.—4) Against the Ammonites, xlix. 1—6, who had occupied some cities of the Israelites. —5) Against the Edomites, xlix. 7—22 —The three last predictions were accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, before he burst into Egypt although not expressly mentioned in the history. Comp. BEROSUS in JOSEPH. Ant. X. xi. 1. and Cont. Apion I. 20.—6) Against Damascus, xlix. 23—27, which must have been fulfilled before the destruction of Jerusalem, when Zedekiah was brought to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah in Hamath.—7) Against the Kedarenes and circumjacent Arabians, xlix. 28—33 who were pursued and plundered by Nebuchadnezzar, Comp. Isa. xxi. 11—17.—8) Against the Elamites, xlix. 34—39, who were to be dispersed but afterwards collected together.—9) Against Babylon, l. li. It is predicted that the city shall be taken by the Medes, in one night, during a festival; that it shall gradually become wasted, and a residence for wild beasts; and at last, shall vanish from the earth as completely as a stone cast into the Euphrates. Comp. Part I. § 17, at the end.

The 52d chapter comprises an account of the destruction of Jerusalem, in almost verbal coincidence with II Kings xxiv. 18—xxv. 30. There are nevertheless some discrepancies, among which lii. 28—30, is the most considerable.]

The principal points of these prophecies are the following.

I. The overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, the burning of Jerusalem, the carrying away of the citizens, and their return after seventy years of captivity, xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10., the re-establishment of the government and of Jerusalem, the perseverance of the Hebrews in religion, their happiness. the period of the Maccabees. the conquest of the neighbouring nations by the successors of the Maccabees, and the coming of the great son of David, the Messiah.

II. The overthrow of all the neighbouring kingdoms by Nebuchadnezzar.

III. The destruction of Babylon, with all the circumstances which followed that event through a long series of ages.

IV. Many predictions of proximate events, but which are accurately defined, as xxii. 18. 19. xxxvi. 30.

§ 135. *Style of Jeremiah.*

The language of Jeremiah is simple, or to use the word of Jerome. Præf. in Jerem., rustic,[a] intermixed with Chaldee words, forms, ideas, and expressions. Thus he adds, in imitation of the Aramæans, the feminine *Jod* to the second person feminine of the first aorist, as לַפְדָּתִי ii. 33. xiii. 31., קָרָאתִי iii. 4. Comp. iii. 5. iv. 19. xxii. 23. xxxi. 21. He uses also the feminine pronoun אַתְּ, *thou*, iv. 30, and the feminine suffix כִּי in רַעְתָּכִי xi. 15. Aramæan forms also occur, as הוּלִי for תּוּלִי ii. 36, and הַגְּלָתָה for הַגְּלָתָהּ xiii. 19; also the article as the Aramæan emphatic state, where otherwise it should not be found, as הַנְּהָהּ הַכְּרִמָּה הַדְּבָרִי iv. 26. Other expressions are to be met with, which, though not properly Aramæan, are yet modern. Some words are frequently repeated, especially בָּקָר, and even some ideas in the same words. The style of Jeremiah only occasionally breathes a poetic vehemence, but is soft and easy. In the prophecies against foreign nations, where the author has borrowed much of the very language of the more ancient prophets, the composition is somewhat more elevated.[b]

[a] Yet Lowth, de Sac. Poes. Heb. Prælect. XXI. p. 283, says, "Hieronymus nescio quam sermonis rusticitatem ei obijcere videtur, cuius equidem fateor nulla me deprehendisse vestigia." He then proceeds to characterize his style as follows: "His sentiments, it is true, are not always the most elevated, nor are his periods neat and compact; but these are faults common to those writers, whose principal aim is to excite the gentler affections, and to call forth the tear of sympathy and sorrow. This is frequently instanced in the prophecies of this author, and most of all in the beginning of the book, which is chiefly poetical. The middle of it is almost entirely historical. The latter part, again, consisting of the last six chapters, is altogether poetical." GREGORY'S Trans. p. 291. Boston, 1815. Tr.]

[b] Comp. the laboured article of EICHHORN on this subject, Einleit. § 536. Melancholy, tender sensibility, and somewhat of the verbosity of grief, are the distinguishing characteristics of Jeremiah's style. His mournful anticipations of calamities are the most pleasing, while his threatenings partake more of a high poetic strain, and his admonitions almost assume the character of simple prose. Tr.]

§ 136. *Order of the Prophecies.*

Regard to the order of time in which the prophecies of Jeremiah were delivered is very little observed in the arrangement of them. When he was commanded in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, (c. xxxvi.) to commit the prophecies in the first thirty-five chapters to writing, he seems to have dictated them in the order in which they came to his recollection. But this supposition will not solve the whole difficulty, as this part contains prophecies belonging to the time of Zedekiah. The same want of chronological order appears also in the following chapters. The reason of this confusion has not yet been satisfactorily explained; probably it arose from some incidental disorder into which the prophecies written on separate small rolls, had fallen soon after the time of the prophet. [a]

[a] So EICHH. Th. IV. S. 167. f., but DE WETTE, Einleit. § 218, anm. a) contends that c. xxxvi. 28. proves that a great part, at least, of the prophecies of Jeremiah were written on a single roll.

The following table of the dates of the prophecies is from Jahn's German work, (with which Eichhorn agrees,) with a single addition from De Wette.

<i>Under Josiah.</i>	<i>Under Zedekiah.</i>
c. iii. 6. without year.	c. xxi. without year.
<i>Under Jehoiakim.</i>	xxiv. beginning of his reign.
c. xxv. fourth year.	xxvii. beginning of his reign.
xxvi. beginning of his reign.	xxviii. fourth year.
xxxv. without year.	xxix. without year.
xxxvi. fourth year.	xxxii. tenth year.
xlv. fourth year.	xxxiii. tenth year.
	xxxiv. without year.
	xxxvii. without year.
	xxxviii. without year.
	xlix. 34. beginning of his reign.
	l—li. fourth year. <i>Tr.</i>

§ 137. *Jeremiah according to the Alexandrine Version.*

The order of the prophecies from c. xxv. 15. to the end of the book is entirely different in the Alexandrine version from that of the Hebrew text; for those against the Gentiles, which in the latter occupy the last place. c. xlvi—li., are found in the former after xxv. 14.

and in a different order.[a] Further, not only are many words and sentences wanting in this version, but also passages of considerable length. See viii. 10—13. xvi. 5, 6. xvii. 1—4. xxx. 10, 11. xxxiii. 14—26. xxxix. 4—13. xlvi. 40, 41. 45—47. As these omissions were observed by Jerome in the old Latin versions, which were made from the Alexandrine at least as early as the second century, and are mentioned also by ORIGEN (Ep. ad Afric. p. 226.); it is evident that they are of great antiquity, older than the time of Christ, or even than the Alexandrine translation. All of them cannot be explained as errors of transcribers, for both the Hebrew and Greek copies exhibit an intention at least to follow a particular plan.

In order to account for this twofold series of prophecies, and for these omissions of the Alexandrine version, several hypotheses have been formed. Eichhorn supposes that Jeremiah prepared a twofold edition of his prophecies, and that the second, which we have in the Hebrew text was more complete than the other from which the Alexandrine version proceeded.—It is the opinion of John D. Michaelis that the second was the more accurate, and that our Hebrew text contains interpolations. But both these opinions are at variance with the character of Jeremiah, who was not fond of writing, and when divinely commanded to record his prophecies did not write himself, but dictated to Baruch. Besides, in his second edition the prophet would have taken pains to secure an arrangement of his prophecies, which should not afterwards have been disturbed again in both editions.—*pohn* contends that the Alexandrine translator has rendered six places, which in the original occur twice in one version only for the sake of brevity, and for the same reason has omitted other places. But this supposition cannot be reconciled with omissions arising from similar terminations, as xxxix. 4—13. xxvii. 12—14. 18, 21. vii. 27. xxv. 14. xlvi. 45—47. lii. 15. It is plain therefore that all the omissions cannot be ascribed to one and the same cause, but that some arose from the negligence of the translator, others from the carelessness of transcribers, and others from interpolations of the Hebrew text. In this manner perhaps two recensions

* [In the preface, p. 1—12, to his work entitled—*Jeremias vates e versione Judaeorum Alexandrinorum ac reliquorum interpretum Graecorum emendatus, notisque criticis illustratus, Lipsiae, 1794.*]

were produced, one interpolated in Babylonia, and remaining in our Hebrew text ; and the other in Palestine, which omitted something, and which, having been afterwards brought to Egypt was the original from which the Alexandrine version was composed. On all these points I shall speak more fully in Apend. Herm. Fasc. II.*

[a] The following tables (the first from Jahn's German work, the second from EICHHORN'S Einleit. § 542 a.) exhibit the differences between the arrangement of the Hebrew text and that of the Alexandrine version, and will be found useful to the student of the writings of this prophet.

LXX.	HEBREW.
c. xxv. 15—21.	c. xlix. 34—39.
xxvi.	xlvi.
xxvii.	l.
xxviii.	li.
xxix.	{ xlvii. 1—7.
	{ xlix. 7—22.
xxx. 1—5.	xlix. 1—5.
xxx. 5—11.	xlix. 28—34.
xxx. 11—16.	xlix. 23—28.
xxxi.	xlvi. 1—45.
xxxii.	xxv. 15—38.
xxxiii.	xxvi.
xxxiv.	xxvii. 2—19.
xxxv.	xxviii.
xxxvi.	xxix.
xxxvii.	xxx.
xxxviii.	xxxi.
xxxix.	xxxii.
xl.	xxxiii.
xli.	xxxiv.
xl.ii.	xxxv.
xl.iii.	xxxvi.
xl.iiii.	xxxvii.
xl.v.	xxxviii.
xlvi.	xxxix.
xlvii.	xl.
xlviii.	xli.
xlix.	xl.ii.

* [Comp. also the Germ. Introduction, p. 567—569. Tr.]

i.	xliii.
ii. 1—30.	xliv.
ii. 31—35.	xlv.
iii.	lii.
HEBREW.	LXX.
c. xxv. 1—14.	c. xxv. 1—14
xxv. 15—38.	xxxii.
xxvi.	xxxiii.
xxvii. 1—19.	xxxiv.
xxvii. 19—22.	wanting
xxviii.	xxxv.
xxix.	xxxvi.
xxx.	xxxvii.
xxxi.	xxxviii.
xxxii.	xxxix.
xxxiii. 1—14.	xl.
xxxiii. 14—25.	wanting
xxxiv.	xli.
xxxv.	xlj.
xxxvi.	xlii.
xxxvii.	xliii.
xxxviii.	xliv.
xxxix. 1—3. 15—18.	xlv.
xxxix. 4—14.	xlvi.
xl.	wanting
xli.	xlvii.
xlii.	xlviii.
xliii.	xlix.
xliv.	l.
xlv.	li. 1—31.
xlvi.	li. 31—35.
xlvii.	xxvi.
xlviii. 1—45.	xxix. 1—7.
xlviii. 45—47.	xxx.
xlix. 1—5.	wanting.
xlix. 7—22.	xxx. 1—5.
xlix. 23—27.	xxix. 7—22.
xlix. 28—34.	xxx. 11—16.
xlix. 35—39.	xxx. 5—11.
i.	xxv. 15—21.
ii.	xxvii.
iii.	xxviii.
	lii.

§ 138. *Respecting the Author of the Lamentations.*

The Book of Lamentations, which in Hebrew bears the title of *איכה*, from the word with which it begins, in Greek called *Θρηνοι*, and in Latin, *Lamentationes*, is the work of Jeremiah. This is attested by the most ancient and uniform tradition, and is confirmed by the subject of the book, and by its language and style. The events which Jeremiah had predicted in his prophecies as about to take place, in his lamentations he deplores as having come to pass; as for instance, the imposture of false prophets who were seducing the people with vain hopes (Lam. ii. 14. iv. 12. s.), the folly of trusting for aid to allies (Lam. i. 19. iv. 17. comp. Jer. xv. 15. ss. xxvii. 22. 4—11.), the destruction of the city and its inhabitants, and the hatred and calamities which he himself experienced, and of which he had so frequently complained in his prophecies. The language, like that of the prophecies, is intermingled with Chaldee words and forms, and the style is of a melancholy character.[a]

[a] DE WETTE, Einleit. § 274. anm. c) gives the following references. Lam. i. 15. ii. 13. comp. Jer. xiv. 17. xlvi. 11.; Lam. ii. 22. comp. Jer. vi. 25. x. 3. 10; Lam. i. 11. comp. Jer. xv. 19. Chaldaisms; *שׁוֹכְמִין* i. 4; *יִשְׁנָה*, iv. 1. &c.—*Tr.*]

§ 139. *Subject of the Lamentations.*

Some authors, as Josephus and Jerome among the ancients, and Michaelis and Dathe among the moderns, have maintained that these mournful poems were composed on occasion of the death of Josiah. Others, both ancient and modern, have supposed that it is the destruction of Jerusalem which is lamented. But upon a careful examination of the whole matter, it appears that the book does not relate to a single subject, but consists of five different poems, in which the same number of calamitous events are deplored. These are as follows: 1) the carrying away of king Jehoiakim, with ten thousand of the principal Hebrews, c. i. comp. II Kings xxiv. 8—17, II Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.—2) The assault of Jerusalem, c. ii.—3) The calamities undergone by the prophet, c. iii.—4) The overthrow of Jerusa-

lem, the carrying away of king Zedekiah, and the slaughter of the Hebrews, c. iv.—5) The wretched condition of the people and of Jerusalem after the destruction of the city, c. v. See HÖRNER'S *Neue Bearbeitung der Klagegesänge Jeremia's*, 1784.

§ 140. *Style of the Lamentations.*

These mournful poems express the feelings of the prophet in the very order in which they arose in his mind. We must not, therefore, expect to find in them any particular arrangement. The style, as the poetic character of the composition required, is somewhat more elevated than that of the prophecies. The tropes correspond with the sorrowful nature of the subject. The initial letters of the verses in the first four chapters follow the order of the alphabet, but yet in such a manner that in the third chapter each letter commences three successive verses. The fifth chapter corresponds in the number of its verses with the number of the letters of the alphabet, but the order of the initial letters is neglected. A remarkable transposition of the verses which begin with *Phe* and *Ain* is observable in ii. 16, 17. iii. 46—52, and iv. 16, 17; which is not found in i. 16, 17, nor in other alphabetical poems. No sufficient reason has been assigned for this; probably the verses have by some mischance or other been misplaced.

§ 141. *Age of Ezekiel.*

Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, בְּנֵי בּוּזִי יְחֶזְקֵאל, of a sacerdotal family, was carried away with king Jehoiachin and ten thousand other Jews, to Mesopotamia, on the banks of the river Chebar. In the fifth year after his removal, the seventh before the destruction of Jerusalem, and 594 B. C. he was called to the prophetic office, i. 2., which he exercised from that time during at least twenty-seven years, to the year 567 B. C., xxix. 17. The year of his call is mentioned i. 1, as the 30th, meaning from the commencement of the great Chaldean monarchy, which began 624 B. C. in the 18th year of Josiah, the same that was remarkable for the discovery of the ancient copy of the law of Moses. Ezekiel, therefore, was in part contemporary with Jeremiah, and the contents of his book remarkably agree with the writings of that prophet.

§ 142. *Contents of the Book of Ezekiel.*

[In the fifth year of his imprisonment, Ezekiel receives a divine commission to prophesy to the Hebrews, whether they would regard him or not. In the vision, a roll written within and without with lamentations is handed to him, and he is commanded to eat it, in token of the revelations which were to be communicated to him. He comes then to Tel-abib, on the Chebar, where, after seven days, he is again called to the prophetic office, and appointed a watchman to see and announce the coming events, i. 1—iii. 21.

It is probable that immediately after this call Ezekiel received the command to portray Jerusalem upon a tile, and to lay siege to this delineation, while he lay before it on his left side three hundred and ninety days, and forty on his right, at the same time living sparingly upon a wretched diet and a limited supply of water. Thus he was to represent the actual siege of the city, and the famine which should prevail, the number of days being designed to mark out the years during which Israel and Judah respectively had sinned; and the kind of bread which he was commanded to use being an emblem of the impure food which the Jews would be obliged to eat when dispersed among the Heathen, iii. 22—iv. 17. He is also directed, v. 1—4, to cut off the hair of his head and beard, to burn a third part of it, to smite a third part with a sword, and to scatter the remainder to the wind, hewing on it with the sword. A few hairs of this last third part he was to take, and bind in the skirt of his garment, and at last to throw some even of these into the fire. Thus a third of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were to be destroyed by famine and pestilence, another third by the sword, and the rest to be dispersed and pursued with the sword, v. 5—17. The prophet continues this subject in the sixth and seventh chapters, with the addition that Jerusalem shall be destroyed.

Chaps. viii—xi. In the sixth year, on the fifth day of the sixth month, Ezekiel is transported in a vision to the temple at Jerusalem, and sees there various kinds of idolatry practised. Those persons who are to be delivered, are by divine command marked on the forehead, and the others are put to death, and burning coals scattered over the city. Two men who have given bad advice, (an emblem of

the counsellors who seduced Zedekiah to revolt,) are brought to the borders of the country and there put to death. Comp. Jer. lii. 10. This portion concludes with the promise, that those who had been carried away captive along with Jeconiah, should return, and take possession of the land, abandon idolatry and live under the divine protection.

Chap. xii. The prophet is commanded to break a hole through the wall of his house, and to remove his furniture, carrying it on his back, at twilight, in the sight of the people, at the same time covering his face. This was a sign to Zedekiah, who should break through the wall and escape at night, but be taken prisoner and brought to the land of the Chaldeans, which, however, he should not see though he should die there. The remainder were to be destroyed or scattered. Doubters respecting the accomplishment of those prophecies are then assured that they will certainly and speedily be fulfilled. With this is connected a threatening against the false prophets and fortune-tellers denounced in the thirteenth chapter.

In the fourteenth chapter, some of the principal men, who in their hearts were devoted to idolatry, are threatened with punishment; and the prophet announces that although he had determined not to spare the guilty, yet in Jerusalem a remnant should be preserved, in whose conduct the exiles should see the viciousness of the people, and acknowledge the justice of their punishment. This is also represented in c. xv. under the figure of a vine tree, the wood of which, notwithstanding the excellence of the tree itself, cannot be employed like that of other trees of an inferior character, to make the most trifling article of furniture, but is fit for nothing but the flames. Thus also the citizens of Jerusalem are useless; they are destined to punishment.—In c. xvi. this viciousness is depicted in much stronger colours. Jerusalem is represented as a Canaanitish female, exposed immediately after birth, but taken by God, brought up, clothed in splendid garments, nourished with the most costly viands, taken at last as his bride and becoming a mother. But she grows proud, dissolute, wanton, and at length an adulteress devoid of shame, lavishing upon her lovers the presents which her husband had given her, and preparing the children which she had borne him to be devoured. She shall therefore be stripped, and her lovers shall stone her and cut her

limbs in pieces. The meaning of the allegory is, that Jerusalem, a Canaanitish city, was taken by the Deity as his residence, and embellished; but since it has become so idolatrous, it shall be destroyed. This allegorical female is then compared with her elder sister Samaria and with her younger sister Sodom, (that is, Moab and Ammon,) whose dissoluteness she far exceeds, and therefore shall be severely punished.

[In chapter xvii. the prophet utters a parable of a vine planted and carefully cultivated by an eagle, which bent its roots and shot forth its branches towards another eagle, and is therefore threatened with extirpation, 1—10. By this is represented the revolt of the Jewish king from Nebuchadnezzar with whom he had made a treaty, to the king of Egypt, for which exemplary punishment is denounced, 11—21. This is followed by a promise of a great king hereafter to arise, and to exercise royal authority in Israel, 22—24.* *Tr*]

Chapter xviii. exposes the erroneous opinion that posterity were punished for the sins of their ancestors which was expressed by the proverb—"the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge."

The nineteenth chapter contains two melancholy poems relating to the two captive kings, Jehoahaz in Egypt, and Jehoiachin in Babylon. They are represented as two young lions taken in the toils of the hunters. The nation is then introduced under the figure of a flourishing vine, scorched by the east wind, then torn up and transplanted in the wilderness.

Chap. xx. In the seventh year, on the tenth of the fifth month, some of the principal exiles, who had come to the prophet to inquire of the Lord, receive instead of an answer, a repetition of former threats. Like their fathers, they also are refractory, and bent upon assimilating themselves to the Heathen. But this shall not be. Yet shall they be preserved and brought back again to Palestine, where they shall become steady worshippers of God.

In c. xx. 45—xxi. 32. the destruction of Jerusalem is represented under the image of a forest wrapped in flames. The prophet explains this.—When Nebuchadnezzar comes to the place where his

* [This brief analysis of the seventeenth chapter has been added by the translators, as the author, probably through inadvertence, has passed it over unnoticed. *Tr.*]

road divides, the one branch leading to Rabbath Ammon, in rebellion because of its alliance with Jerusalem and Egypt, and the other to Jerusalem, he consults the lot of arrows, the soothsayers and the teraphim, respecting the road most proper to be taken, and the answer directs him to Jerusalem. Zedekiah must lose his crown, and all be lost until he comes to whom the government belongs, and to whom God will give it (comp. Gen. xlix. 10.). Although the Ammonites would for this time be spared, destruction should afterwards overtake them.

In c. xxii. the inhabitants of Jerusalem are upbraided with their crimes, and threatened with severe punishment on account of them.

The twenty-third chapter represents Samaria and Jerusalem under the image of two sisters, Aholah (אֶהֱלָה) and Aholibah (אֶהֱלִיבָה), both of whom have been harlots from their youth. The elder is punished as she deserves, but this only makes her sister worse, and therefore she also shall be punished. The Chaldeans shall cut off her nose and ears; she shall be stoned and hewed in pieces, her children put to death, and her houses burned. That is, as Samaria has been destroyed, so also shall Jerusalem be destroyed, and its inhabitants slain and dispersed.

Chap. xxiv. In the ninth year, on the tenth day of the tenth month, Ezekiel receives the divine commission to note down that day, because then Nebuchadnezzar began to besiege Jerusalem. Comp. Jer. lii. 4. The city is compared to a boiling pot, filled with flesh, out of which one piece after another is to be drawn. The brazen vessel is thereby so full of rust, that it must be cleansed, (made glowing hot and cooled in water) but even this operation does not completely cleanse it. By this image he declares, that the people of Jerusalem would not be entirely reformed by all the afflictions of the siege — After this the prophet loses his wife, and is prohibited by divine command from showing any sign of grief. By this emblem it is denoted that the sanctuary shall be destroyed, and that the exiles shall not dare utter a lamentation, through fear of the conquerors. As a prognostic of this event, the prophet is not to speak until the messenger shall arrive with an account of the conquest of the city.

Chap. xxv--xxxii. These chapters contain prophecies against foreign nations, principally those that exulted at the calamities which had befallen the Hebrews.—1) Against the Ammonites, xxv. 1—7, and the Moabites, 8—11.—2) Against Edom. *v.* 12—14.—3) Against the Philistines, *v.* 15—17.—4) Against Tyre. In c. xxvi. its conquest and destruction by Nebuchadnezzar are predicted; then follows a lamentation on account of the fate of this celebrated city, c. xxvii, which is succeeded by a denunciation of the downfall of its proud king, xxviii. 1—19., and of punishment to be inflicted upon Zidon, *v.* 20—24. A promise of return to the Hebrews. *v.* 25, 26, concludes this portion.—5) Against Egypt, c. xxix--xxxii, in six parts.—Its conquest and future depression, xxix. 1—16;—its invasion and devastation by Nebuchadnezzar immediately after the capture of Tyre, xxix. 17—xxx. 19;—the dispersion of the inhabitants, xxx. 20—26;—the fall of the king under the image of a large cedar-felled by Nebuchadnezzar, and cast into the kingdom of the dead, xxxi;—a lamentation on the fall of Pharaoh and the destruction of Egypt, xxxii. 1—16;—and another lamentation at the conducting of Egypt into the empire of the dead to rest with Assyria, Elam, and other nations. *v.* 17—32.

In c. xxxiii. 1—20 the duty of a prophet is represented by that of a watchman, who is to declare, under pain of severe punishment, what he sees at a distance, however calamitous it may be. God is ready to withhold the announced evil on condition of repentance; but if the sinner relapse into vice, his former repentance shall not avail to deliver him; as, on the contrary his previous crimes shall not subject him to punishment if he sincerely abandon them. This is the answer to the complaint of the Hebrews that God's proceedings against them were not just.

Chap. xxxiii. 21—33. In the twelfth year, on the fifth of the tenth month, the account of the destruction of the city is brought. On the previous evening the prophet had again resumed the subject, on which he had, since c. xxiv., been silent. He denounces punishment of the crimes, on account of which the country promised to Abraham should be wasted, and the inhabitants exterminated. Then follow in c. xxxiv. a denunciation against the shepherds or kings, who seek their own welfare and not that of the community, and a promise

that God will bring his people back again, become their king himself, and set up the second David or Messiah.

The 35th chapter contains a prophecy of the desolation of the country of Seir or of the Edomites, who had rejoiced at the calamities of the Hebrews. These, says the prophet, c. xxxvi., will God bring back and multiply. This return and the restoration of the state are represented xxxvii. 1—14, in a vision, as a resurrection from the dead. Then, v. 15—28, shall Judah and Israel be indissolubly united as one people, maintain the worship of God, live under his protection, and receive the second David as their king.

Chapters xxxviii. xxxix. predict the expedition of Gog, the king of Magog, against the returned Hebrews. when the country is to undergo a great revolution, Gog being conquered and sustaining a great slaughter. This is an image, somewhat strongly delineated, of the victories of the Maccabees over the Syrians.

Chaps. xl—xlviii. In these last nine chapters, the prophet, in the beginning of the twenty-fifth year, receives in a vision a statement of the magnitude of the temple and of its parts, of the duties of the Levites and priests, of the greatness of Jerusalem and its gates, of the duties and domains of the princes or kings, of the boundaries of the whole land, of its distribution among the twelve tribes, and of the name of the chief city which should be called יהוה שמה, *Jehovah there*. The Hebrews will then no more relapse into idolatry. Out of the temple a fountain shall spring which, on its progress to the Dead Sea, shall become a large stream with fruitful trees on its banks, and shall even sweeten the salt waters of that sea, c. xlvii. Comp. Ps. xlvi. 5. Joel iv. 18. Zach. xiv. 8. It is abundantly evident from this stream, which is a figure of happiness, and from the name of the chief city, that the whole description is only an image of the certain restoration of the Hebrews. The prophet sees the temple already standing, Jerusalem rebuilt, and the land divided. Should I venture to determine with more particularity the period referred to, it would seem to me most probable, that the representation is figurative of the times of the Maccabees, when the country received a large accession by conquests, many of the Jews returned from foreign lands, and the people lived under their own kings.]

The points in these prophecies which are principally worthy of attention, are the following. 1) That the prophet, more than one hundred miles distant from the scene, should have announced the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem on the very day it took place; and like Jeremiah, should have constantly predicted the conquest and destruction of the city and the carrying away of the inhabitants.—2) That he should have foreseen also the flight of Zedekiah through the broken walls at night, together with the circumstances, that he should be overtaken by the Chaldeans, that he should not be slain but carried into their country, which however he should not see. This was verified by Nebuchadnezzar's causing his eyes to be put out.—3) That moreover, like Jeremiah, he should plainly predict the return of the Hebrews to their country, and their perseverance in the worship of God, events so remote and in themselves improbable, and also the conquest of Idumea by the Hebrews.—4) That he should have announced not only the demolition of Tyre to be rebuilt no more, (for the new city was founded upon an island,) but also that its ruins should be thrown into the sea; a prediction which Alexander unconsciously verified.—5) Lastly, that, like Jeremiah, he should have foretold the advent of that great Son of David at a period when David's family were deprived of royal dignity.

§ 143. *Style of Ezekiel.*

The work of Ezekiel contains many visions, which are not only minutely described in all their circumstances and details, but even in some instances, repeated. His tropes and images do not always correspond accurately with nature. Comp. xvii. xxiii. 34. xxix. 7.[a] The prophet's style in reproving vice is vehement, indeed, but by no means sublime, and it is almost everywhere prosaic. His language is intermingled with many Chaldee words and forms, as might naturally be expected from his residence in Mesopotamia. Comp. אכלתי in xvi. 13 ילרתי xvi. 20; אור as an article in i. 15, and ור instead of אור in xxxiii. 30; and many other places.[b]

[a] St. John, in his Apocalypse, has exhibited many of Ezekiel's figures in a manner much more elegant and natural.¹

[*b*] GeseNIUS observes that Ezekiel “has probably the greatest proportion of grammatical anomalies and errors of all the writers in the Old Testament.” See his examination of the language of this prophet; *Gesch. der Heb. Sprache und Schrift*, § 11. S. 35. f. EICHHORN also, *Einleit.* § 548, IV. Th. S. 242. f., enters at some length into a consideration of the language of Ezekiel, for the purpose of proving the identity of the author throughout the book. *Tr.*]

§ 144. *Order of Ezekiel's Prophecies.*

These prophecies have been digested in the order of time, as is attested by the titles; so that those which are destitute of titles are to be ascribed to the time mentioned in the title next preceding, especially as all the prophecies were prepared with particular care, and were certainly recorded by the prophet previously to their being uttered. Those only which were pronounced against the Heathen, although collected in c. xxv—xxxii., were not all written at the same time, nor have they been digested in chronological order. It is hardly possible to remove this difficulty, unless on the supposition, that some transcriber inconsiderately added those prophecies to xxiv. 27, where Ezekiel is said to be silent, and in doing so, wrote them out in the order in which he found them.[*a*] This will account for the total want of arrangement in this portion, and for the omission through forgetfulness of the predictions against the Edomites in xxxv., and against Gog and Magog in xxxviii. xxxix.

[*a*) Comp. xxvi. xxx. xxxi. which belong to the period of his silence.]

§ 145. *Of the last nine chapters of Ezekiel.*

Some writers deny that the last nine chapters are to be attributed to Ezekiel.[*a*] But the arguments on which this hypothesis rest are by no means sufficient to sustain it.—1) The obscurity of these chapters is urged. But certainly this is not at variance with the opinion that they were written by Ezekiel, for many other parts of his work are less perspicuous, not to say, that descriptions of this kind, particularly of buildings, can scarcely be made very intelligible without the aid of drawings.—2) These chapters are supposed to contain commands which were disregarded by the Hebrews after their return, and therefore it is inferred that they did not then exist,

or at least were not ascribed to Ezekiel. But this supposition is unfounded: for those chapters do not contain commands, but an emblematic or figurative representation intended to confirm the certainty of the return, and the re-establishment of divine worship.—3) It is further objected, that the prophet could not possibly retain in memory the numbers of so many measurements as were perceived by him in his vision. But this is of little weight; for as the impressions of the visions were the more vehement on account of the outward senses being at rest, there would be the less difficulty in retaining them in the memory. Besides there are persons who commit numbers to memory with great facility, and if the objectors to these prophecies allow that visions constitute merely the dress and form in which the prophets announce their predictions,[*b*] there would have been no need of memory in the case.—4) JOSEPHUS, Ant. X. v. 1., attributes to Ezekiel *two books of the Babylonian Captivity*. But as by the second book of Ezekiel, he means the last nine chapters, how is it possible thence to infer that Ezekiel is not their author? There is no necessity therefore to apply the language of Josephus to Jeremiah,[*c*] which can not be done without violence to the series of the discourse.

CORRODY, I. Th. S. 105, conjectures, that some Hebrew, who returned later than the great body of his brethren, made up these chapters, in order to effect a new distribution of the country by which he might acquire a portion for himself. But this conjecture is altogether worthless, for no such impostor would have written so largely and in such a manner of *the temple and of the division of the country among the tribes*, and at the same time forget entirely the distribution *among individuals*.

Nothing therefore can be established in opposition to the genuineness of these prophecies; and it is confirmed by their contents. The *visions, the manner of conveying reproof the multitude of circumstantial particulars, the character of the language and style*, in all which respects Ezekiel is remarkably distinguished from other writers, prove that he must have been the author of these chapters. No imitation could possibly have been so successful.

[*a*] This suspicion was first advanced by OEDER in his Freye Untersuchung ueber einige Bücher des A. T., 1771. and subsequently main-

tained by G. T. L. VOGEL in his edition of Oeder's work, mit Zugabe und Anmerkungen, and by CORRODI in his Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Gesch. des Kanons. It is rejected with scorn by EICHHORN, Einleit. § 549. IV. Th. S. 248. ff., and by DE WETTE, Einleit. § 223. ann. a. and BERTHOLDT, S. 1491. ff. Tr.]

[b] This is an *argumentum ad hominem*, resorted to by Jahn, as sufficient to confute his antagonists, who, in all probability, maintained on this subject opinions similar to those of Eichhorn. This latter writer explicitly avows his sentiments as follows: "All ecstasies and visions are, in my opinion, mere poetic fiction: and [he refers particularly to those of Ezekiel] another writer of a different age and of a different disposition, or gifted with less fancy and invention, would have expressed the same ideas in an entirely different manner." Einleit. Th. IV. S. 257. Tr.]

[c] As is done by EICHHORN, Einleit. § 540, 549. Tr.]

§ 146. *Whether Ezekiel wrote the Prophecies against the Heathen.*

An anonymous writer in the Monthly Magazine and British Register, for March, 1798, p. 189, denies that the prophecies in c. xxv—xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, and xxxviii, xxxix, are Ezekiel's. His reasons are so exceedingly trifling, that they are not worthy of refutation. Nor indeed is this necessary, for these very parts of the book contain evidence that they are the work of this prophet; very many particulars which Ezekiel is accustomed to introduce elsewhere are found in these prophecies; as, for instance, the *designation of the year, the month and the day*, on which a revelation was communicated; the remarkable phraseology *son of man* corresponding with the usage in the Aramæan dialect; the forms, *set thy face towards or against—prophecy against—hear the word of Jehovah—thus saith the Lord Jehovah—the word of Jehovah came to me—they shall know that I am Jehovah—take up a lamentation for*. In these chapters, as in c. i—xxiv, the terms נגיד and נשיא are frequently applied to kings, the same devices for conducting sieges, ריק, a *circumvallation*, and סללה, a *mound*, are mentioned, comp. c. xxvi. 8. with iv. 2. xvii. 17. xxi. 27. (22), and in fine the same particularity and multitude of circumstances occur. Indeed xxviii. 14. contains a reference to the vision mentioned in i. 13. x. 2. If the mentioning the regions of the departed more frequently than is usual (see xxvi. 20. xxxi. 14—17.

xxxii. 18—32.) would seem to indicate a foreign origin, it must be considered that the subject required it, and it can never be alleged with any weight as a proof that these portions of Ezekiel's prophecies differ in character from the remainder.

§ 147. *Time of Daniel.*

Daniel, דניאל, of noble, if not of royal extraction was carried by Nebuchadnezzar as a prisoner to Babylon, when a youth, together with other children of the king and nobles in the fourth year of Jehoiakim B. C. 606. He was taught the language and sciences of the Chaldeans, and then employed in the service of the king, i. 1—4. Comp. II Kings xxiv. 8. Jer. xxv. 1, 11, 12. At Babylon he was distinguished by the Chaldee name *Beltshazzar* בלִטְשַׁצַּר, and with his three friends, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah observed the Mosaic law as far as was practicable in their situation, and lived in the most pious manner so that in the thirteenth year of the captivity, he is mentioned by Ezekiel. xiv. 14, 18, 20, in connexion with Noah and Job. After three years of instruction, he stood before the king, that is, he obtained some office in the court and excelled in wisdom, and particularly in sagacity in the interpretation of visions and dreams, and is therefore celebrated by Ezekiel, xxviii. 3 as the wisest of his contemporaries. In time, most probably after all the expeditions of Nebuchadnezzar, he was raised to the highest dignity in the kingdom, but afterwards was neglected by the successors of that monarch, and was only superintendent of the learned men who were connected with the court. After the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus for Darius the Mede, he was again advanced to be one of the three prime ministers of the kingdom, but through the machinations of the courtiers he was thrown into the den of lions, whence however he was taken out unhurt, and lived at least until the third year of Cyrus, that is, 534 B. C.. Dan. x. 1. He must then have arrived at the age of eighty-five or ninety years, so that his life could not have been protracted much beyond this period.

§ 148. *Contents of the Book of Daniel.*

[The first six chapters are historical, and speak of Daniel in the third person; the last six contain visions, which Daniel relates in the first person.

The first chapter is a compendious history of the carrying away of Daniel and his three friends, with other young sons of the principal Hebrews, and of their education and employment. Between the first and second there is a great chasm in the history. In ii. 1. the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign is indeed mentioned, but this cannot be the second year of his government, 605 B. C., for at that time Daniel was a youth in the second year of his course of instruction, whereas in this chapter he appears as a man. We learn, moreover, from ii. 29. that Nebuchadnezzar had been thinking of what should transpire after his death, which supposes him to have been of considerable age. Chap. ii. 28, also informs us that his conquests were ended; and as Ezekiel in xxix. 17. announces the conquest of Egypt in the twenty-seventh year of his exile and the thirty-fourth of Nebuchadnezzar's government, the campaign opening about that time, the account in Dan. ii. can hardly be placed before his fortieth year. The 'second year' therefore in ii. 1. must refer to Nebuchadnezzar's government over the conquered countries; in other words, it was the second year of his universal monarchy, which perhaps gave rise to a new method of reckoning time.

In his last years Nebuchadnezzar has a dream, which he either forgets or refuses to tell the learned in order to try their skill in interpretation requiring them not merely to explain but also to declare the dream itself under pain of death, ii. 1—13 Daniel at length receives a divine revelation of the dream together with the meaning of it.—Nebuchadnezzar had seen standing at the foot of a mountain, a colossal image, the head of which was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly of brass, the legs and thighs of iron, and the feet and toes partly iron and partly clay. He had moreover seen a stone roll down from the mountain without the intervention of human hands, and strike the feet of the image, which being overturned and crushed to dust, was dispersed by the winds, while the stone became a great mountain, 14—35. This is interpreted as emblematic of four

monarchies, only that by the toes of the feet a kingdom is pointed out with many contemporaneous kings, some strong and some weak, who should form connexions with each other by marriage, yet without securing unity. The stone represents a kingdom to which the divine attention shall be principally directed, and which shall destroy those kingdoms, but shall itself remain forever, 36—45.

In the 3d chapter Nebuchadnezzar convenes all his officers to celebrate the dedication of an immense golden idol, made from the spoils of his conquests, and which they are commanded to worship. Daniel's three friends refusing to obey, are thrown into a burning furnace, where they remain unhurt; upon which the king issues orders forbidding any disrespect to be shown to the Deity whom they worship.

In c. iii. 31—iv. 34. (iv.) Nebuchadnezzar makes known his recovery from insanity. With this view he gives an account of his malady, which he introduces by relating a remarkable dream. He had seen a large tree which was directed to be cut down leaving nothing but the trunk or a sprout from its roots, which was to be chained and exposed among the wild beasts to the dew of heaven. Daniel had interpreted the tree as an emblem of Nebuchadnezzar himself, who in his phrensy would imagine himself a wild beast and act as such, but should afterwards recover the use of his reason.—All this had taken place, and the king gives thanks for his recovery to the God of Daniel.

In the 5th chapter Belshazzar makes a feast and amidst the praises of the false deities, the holy vessels of the temple of Jerusalem are profaned. Immediately the king sees the fingers of a hand writing on the plaster of the opposite wall. Daniel, the only person who can read the writing explains it as referring to the conquest of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, which happened that same night.

The sixth chapter is intimately connected with the preceding. Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares II. constitutes Daniel one of his three prime ministers, and has it in contemplation to set him over the whole kingdom. This excites the jealousy of the other officers of the crown, who attempt to ruin Daniel by obtaining a decree that for thirty days no petition shall be asked of any God or man except of the king himself. As Daniel, notwithstanding this, continues to

pray to Jehovah three times a day he is thrown into the den of lions, where he remains without receiving any injury, while his accusers, being upon his release committed to the den, are immediately torn in pieces. Upon this Darius commands his subjects by a proclamation, to honour the God of Daniel.

In the seventh chapter, with which the second part of the book commences, Daniel relates a vision which he had seen in the first year of Belshazzar seventeen years before the destruction of Babylon.—The winds from the four quarters of the earth rage upon the sea, out of which arise four prodigious monsters. The first, in the form of a lion with eagles' wings, raises itself on its hind feet, and receives the understanding of a man. This is the Chaldean kingdom, very soon about to assume a milder character.—The second, like a bear, stands on one side, having three ribs in his mouth. This is the Medo-Persian empire, which had swallowed three kingdoms, the Lydian the Chaldean and the Egyptian.—The third monster is like a leopard, with four wings on its back, and having four heads. This is the kingdom of Alexander, who with great rapidity overturned the whole Persian empire, and whose monarchy was at last divided into four.

The fourth monster had no resemblance to the others, but was exceedingly strong and terrible to look at. It had great iron teeth, and what escaped being crushed by them, it trampled under foot. It had ten horns, among which there grew up a small horn which tore out three of the others, then became great was full of eyes and had a human mouth with which it blasphemed God. With the intention of changing the law or religion, it made war upon and conquered the saints, who were in subjection for a time, times, and a half of a time. Hereupon the Eternal sits in judgment commands the monster to be put to death, and the others to be deprived of their dominion, but allows them to live until a definite time. Then came in the clouds a human form and received the dominion, the saints received right, that is to say, they conquered and fortified the kingdom. All this is emblematic of the times of the Greek kingdoms which were to spring from the monarchy of Alexander. Although indeed the more considerable of these kingdoms were only four, yet if the less important are added to them, they will approach so near to ten, that this round number

may very properly be used. The little horn which became great is Antiochus Epiphanes, who prohibited the worship of the true God, and persecuted and made war upon the pious Jews. The human figure in the clouds is an emblem of the Maccabees.*

In the third year of Belshazzar, fourteen years before the conquest of Babylon, Daniel has another vision, which he relates in the eighth chapter. He sees before the river Ulai or Eulæus, a ram with two great horns, one of which is larger than the other (these represented the Medes and Persians); with these horns he strikes with such force to the West, North and South, that no beast can stand before him. (an emblem of the Medo-Persian victories.) Then he sees a he-goat, (the Greek power,) with a sharp horn between his eyes, (Alexander,) coming so swiftly from the West, that he scarcely touches the ground, running with rage against the ram, breaking off his horns, throwing him on the ground and trampling him under foot. After this the victorious he-goat grows to an astonishing greatness, (that of Alexander's monarchy,) but soon the horn is broken, (Alexander dies,) and four sharp horns spring up, (the four larger Greek kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Macedonia and Thrace,) from one of which grows out a small horn, which performs exploits towards the South, East, and the pleasant land that is, Palestine; it acts against the host of heaven, throws down some stars and tramples on them. It contends even with the prince himself of the heavenly host, the continual offerings are taken away, and through treachery a garrison is stationed at the place. This continues for 2300 morning and evening offerings, 1150 days, that is about three years and a half, and then the rights of the sanctuary are restored.—This is a representation of the expeditions of Antiochus Epiphanes against Egypt, against Armenia and Persia, and against Judea, and of his persecutions, when the Jews at the end obtained their independence.

Chap. ix. In the first year of Darius the Mede, Daniel computed the seventy years of service which are announced in the writings of Jeremiah (xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10.), and offered a prayer for the termination of the captivity. Immediately he received an answer through

* [The reader will recollect that the translators are not responsible for the views and interpretations of their author. On these and other expositions he will of course form his own opinion. *Tr.*]

the angel Gabriel, which, however, is in some respects not easily explained, and has therefore excited considerable difference among interpreters. It is probable that some errors exist in numbers, and that some false readings have crept in, for the Alexandrine translation has expressed considerable discrepancies in the numbers in v. 25—27, and Theodotion in v. 26 expresses רִיז instead of רִיז .* It is certain that in v. 24, the speedy termination of the seventy years is announced, and that we ought not to read $\text{שִׁבְעִים שִׁבְעִים}$, *seventy weeks*, but $\text{שִׁבְעִים שִׁבְעִים}$, *seventy seventy* (namely years) are determined or coming to an end over thy people, to finish transgression, (its punishment,) to seal up sins, (discipline on account of them,) to make reconciliation for iniquity, to re-establish ancient righteousness, to mark the vision of the prophet with the seal of truth. What follows is a disclosure of a remote futurity after the return from captivity; which the greater part of interpreters explain of the Messiah; and some of the destruction of Jerusalem, which Christ always ascribed to himself, and accomplished by Titus. This last is, in my opinion, the more probable exposition.

Chap. x—xii. In this portion, Daniel relates that very particular vision which he had in the third year of Cyrus. The introduction, x. 1—xi. 1, gives a representation of the vision with a reference to Media, Persia, and Greece. By the personage who appears to Daniel a long series of circumstances is announced, as follows:

Chap. xi. 2. The irruption of Xerxes into Greece is the original cause of the subsequent destruction of the Persian monarchy.

V. 3. Alexander's conquest of the Persian kingdom and his end.

V. 4. The division of his kingdom.

V. 5. The power of Ptolemy Lagus in Egypt, and the superior power of the Egyptian nobleman Seleucus Nicator, in Syria, Asia Minor, and the East.

V. 6. The connexion between Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus Theus, 249 B. C., with the lamentable consequences that followed.

[* See Daniel secundum Septuaginta ex Tetraplis Origenis, *Romae*, fol. 1775, v. 42. p. 276, 277. *Tr.*]

V. 7, 8. The war of Ptolemy Euergetes against Syria, 246. 245 B. C.

V. 9. The ineffectual expedition of Seleucus Callinicus against Egypt, 244 B. C.

V. 10, 11. The expedition of Antiochus the Great against Egypt. 219 B. C.

V. 12. The victory of Ptolemy Philopator over Antiochus the Great, 217 B. C.

V. 13—17. The expedition of Antiochus the Great against Ptolemy Epiphanes, 202 B. C., and the connexion of his daughter with Ptolemy Epiphanes.

V. 18, 19. The expedition of Antiochus the Great against Thrace, 197 B. C.

V. 20. Seleucus Philopator, who attempted to remove the treasure in the temple of Jerusalem, 186 B. C.

V. 21—45. The actions of Antiochus Epiphanes, his expeditions against Egypt, the persecution of the Jews, the desecration of the temple, &c.[a]

The conclusion of this vision, c. xii., determines the continuance of the oppressions under Antiochus Epiphanes for a time, times, and a half time. A further disclosure is refused to Daniel, to whom these revelations were unintelligible, v. 8, 9, only the period is announced in days, and the number placed at 1290, about three years and a half.]

[a) Comp. PRIDEAUX, P. II. B. II. AN. 249, 246, 187, 176, 164. *Tr.*]

§ 149. *Of the Style of Daniel.*

The dreams and visions by which divine revelations are presented in this book, exhibit great symbols which are easily distinguished. Those which are most obscure are explained, not as is the case in Ezekiel, by God himself, but by angels who like the Zoroastrian spirits, are, as it were, princes, the spirits who are watchers or guardians over kingdoms, x. 13, 20, 21.—The style is prosaic, the language intermixed with many Chaldee and other foreign words, and part of the book (ii. 4—vii. 28.) is written in Chaldee. Some writers assert that it contains Greek words: but clear examples cannot

be adduced, for those brought forward are oriental words, and partly Persian or Median, and may be satisfactorily explained from the Zend, the Pehlvi, and the Parsi. For instance פִּרְתָּמִים in i. 3, is not the Greek *πρωτοιμοι* but the Parsi, PHARDOMIM or PARDOMIM, *magnates, nobles*, Zend-Avesta, II. Th. S. 82. The names of musical instruments in iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, are originally eastern, transformed by the Greeks according to their usage.[a] The words פָּרוּז *to proclaim*, and פְּרוֹזָא *a herald*, in iii. 4. v. 29., still remain in the Zendian KHRESIO, *something that cries, shrieks out from behind*, Zend-Avesta, III. Th. S. 146., and consequently they are not derived from the Greek *κηρυσσω* and *κηρυξ*, but have rather given birth to these words. And the terms פִּתְנָמָא, פִּתְנָם in iii. 16. iv. 14, are the Pehlvi PEDAM and the Persian PEIGHAM, Zend-Avesta, III. Th. S. 171, 174, 190, 191, and certainly not the Greek *φθεγμα*, which was not so common a word as to have been introduced into the oriental languages.

A Hebrew version of those parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra which are written in Chaldee, was found by KENNICOTT, in a manuscript written A. D. 1327, and has been printed by him in his edition of the Bible. It was republished by JOHN LOUIS SCHULZE, in 1782, at Halle, with the title, *Chalदारorum Danielis et Ezrae capitum interpretatio Hebraica*. Comp. MICHAELIS Orient. Biblioth. T. XXI. S. 130.

[a] This may be true of קִיְתָרוֹס, *κίθαρις*; and כִּפְכָּנָא, *σαμβουκη*; but it seems hardly probable in the case of פִּסְנָטָר, *ψαλτηρ*, a word susceptible of a regular derivation from *ψαλλω*, and still less so in סוּמְפִּנְיָה, *συμφωνία*, a word evidently compounded from the Greek words *συν* and *φωνεω*.—DE WETTE allows the probability that פָּרוּז, פְּרוֹזָא, and פִּתְנָם, and נְבוּזַבְנָדֶשֶׁת, are of Persian origin, § 255. anm. c).—EICHHORN adds, as words of Grecian origin, פִּטְיִשׁ, (or פִּטְיִשׁ) *πετασος*, iii. 21., and הַמְּנִיכָא, *μανιακας*. v. 7. Einleit. B. IV. S. 479. 491. Tr.]

§ 150. *Whether Daniel was the author of the Book.*

Porphry placed this book in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, and supposed some unknown author (in which a considerable number of writers in the present day agree with him,) to have announced events which had already taken place in the manner of the prophets, and to have introduced Daniel as predicting them. But the book is composed in such a manner as it would have been if written by a *pious and wise man*, such as Daniel is represented by Ezekiel to have been; one who was well acquainted with the Chaldee and Hebrew languages, and who, from his education in Babylon and his residence among Babylonians, Chaldeans Magians and other foreigners, who came from all quarters in large numbers to the metropolis, *was accustomed to the use of foreign words*, and had acquired also many *foreign ideas and opinions*. The character of the book is such as it would have been if written by a man who *lived at Babylon in the time of the Chaldean monarchy* and was perfectly acquainted with the names of the various offices belonging to the kingdom and the court; who himself, *well versed in political transactions*, reflected much on future changes, examined the writings of Jeremiah with a view to them, and prayed to God for more extensive information; who saw the future *according to certain opinions of the Magians* to which he was accustomed; who, being *a man of political knowledge*, perceived *these divine revelations with greater accuracy*, and committed them to writing with more perspicuity, than a person of a different character would have done; who, like his contemporary Ezekiel noted *the year and day* when a vision appeared to him; whose *Chaldaic composition*, as is the case also in the book of Ezra, *contains many Hebraisms*, as הקטל and הקטל for הקטל , הקטל for הקטל , which are very seldom met with in the Targums; and lastly, *whose Hebrew is inferior* but yet as pure as could be expected from a man who had grown up and spent his life among the Chaldeans.

It is undeniable, that the whole book is the production of one author, for the same manner and style are constantly observable, and the latter parts contain references to the former.[a] Now if some other person than Daniel was the author, who composed the book in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, after the year 163 B. C. he

must have written in Palestine. In that case he would not have been acquainted with the names of Chaldean offices, which are in the *Zendic, Pehlvi and Parsic languages*; and he could not have been acquainted *with the views peculiar to the Magians* much less would he have ventured to make use of them; he would not have applied to the last king of the Chaldeans the name *Belshazzar*, which is unknown to historians: he would not have *covered the walls of the royal supper-hall with plaster* but rather with costly wainscot; he would not have known that Xerxes had excited even the West, (the Carthaginians.) neither would he have been acquainted with the history of Alexander, of Egypt and of Syria. Dan. xi. 2. vii. 6. viii. 5. xi. 3; he would not have mentioned *the third expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes* a second time (xi. 40.), out of its natural order; neither would he have written occasionally *so enigmatically*, nor have used *two dialects*: but he would carefully have avoided whatever would have thrown difficulties in the way of his reader; he would not have specified *the year and day of his visions*, which could afford him no advantage in the transformation of history into prophecy; he would have inserted in his visions *less of Alexander and more respecting the Maccabees*; and he would not have said in viii. 15, 27. xii. 4. 8. that these predictions were unintelligible until they should be accomplished and that the prophecy x. 1. was understood by Daniel such observations being inconsistent with the supposed transformation.

If, however, all these considerations should be disregarded, it will still be impossible to conceive how a work, written in the time of the Maccabees, when the Jews were so zealous for their sacred books, could have been introduced into the canon, especially as there were then large numbers of Jews whose minds were cultivated by the study of Greek literature, and who were therefore the more acute in distinguishing genuine productions from spurious. The canon had been for a long time so firmly settled at that period, that even the book of Ecclesiasticus, which is rather more ancient, could not gain admission, although written in Hebrew and of the greatest utility. Besides, a modern book could not be obtruded upon the Jews, at that time dispersed in various countries, without giving rise to controversies; and if this had been the case some traces at least would have been discoverable in the books of the Maccabees or in later writings.

But they will be sought for in vain, while on the contrary the ancients unanimously testify that Daniel is the author of the book. JOSEPHUS says, Ant XI. viii. 5., that the book of Daniel was shown to Alexander. The author of the first book of Maccabees, c. ii. 59, refers to the history of Hananiah, Azaria and Mishael and in i. 54, takes a phrase from Dan. xi. 31, and even from the Alexandrine version; which proves that at that period the book must have been some time translated into Greek. That the version is much more ancient than that period is further evident from the circumstance, that the Greek translator, sufficiently bold in other respects, has not only sought no information from history in obscure places, but has even misunderstood some which history illustrates. The book of Daniel is also much older than the time in which the Greek version of the Pentateuch was made; for the translator who is generally accurate would not have translated in Deut. xxxii. 3, that God had divided the nations *κατα αριθμον αγγελων θεων*, unless he had been preceded by Daniel, who mentions spirits as guardians of nations and kingdoms. See x 13, 20, 21. xii. 1.

[a) This is abundantly proved by DE WETTE, Einleit. § 256. who gives very numerous references which show the complete and necessary connexion of all the parts of the book with each other. Tr.]

§ 151. *Objections to the genuineness of the Book of Daniel.*

It is objected to the whole book of Daniel, that the Jews have inserted it among the Hagiographa; and hence it has been inferred, that the work first sprang into notice in a recent age, since it would have merited a place among the prophets, if it had been known in more ancient periods. To this it is added that as the son of Sirach does not reckon Daniel among the prophets, whom he celebrates in c. xlix, the book could not have existed in his time.—But the placing of Daniel among the Hagiographa is the work of a more modern age, when the Jews, in imitation of the conduct of the Greeks towards their philosophers, refused the honours of a prophet to those who had been conversant with courts, where Daniel constantly resided; and for this trifling reason, which however was then considered as very important, and is therefore made a ground of reproach by Porphyry.

as Jerome testifies in his comment on Dan iii., they have rejected Daniel from the order of prophets and place him among the writers of the Hagiographa. But the more ancient Jews reckoned Daniel among the prophets. Comp. above, Part I. § 28.—With respect to the son of Sirach, in xlix. 6—10 he confines himself to lauding those prophets who had predicted the Babylonian captivity, and therefore he passes by Isaiah not mentioning him except in connexion with Hezekiah, whom he introduces in xlvi. 20, 22. The *sealing* and *shutting up*, mentioned in Dan. viii. 26. and xii. 4. which some have considered as a direction to keep the book concealed until a definite time, is not, as they have supposed, an excuse for its late appearance. It is evident from viii. 26, 27. xii. 9, 10, that the prophet is ordered to declare that these predictions cannot be understood until the period of their completion, and thus they are shut up as if were with a seal and hidden from the understanding; for the prophets merely announce the future existence of what they are ordered to do. Comp. Isa. vi. 10. Jer. i. 10.—Neither is there any weight in the remark of some writers, that a book so very agreeable to the Maccabees could readily have been introduced into the canon, because after the burning of the sacred books by the command of Antiochus Epiphanes, it would be impossible to know what they were; for it was only the Pentateuch which was sought for; and neither of this nor of the other books could all the copies be destroyed, because they were very numerous in western countries not subject to Antiochus, as in Egypt, Cyrene, and Asia Minor. No doubt also many copies even in Palestine were rescued from the flames, for such treasures are always preserved with the greater care in proportion to the anxiety to destroy them. The Maccabees, who were exceedingly tenacious of the traditions of their ancestors, were intimately acquainted with the sacred books, which they had read while children, and now valued in the highest degree; and they were not so simple as to ascribe to Daniel and reckon among those books, a work which in their own day first sprang from obscurity.

§ 152. *Arguments against the first part of Daniel*

The arguments which are alleged against the first six chapters of Daniel, rest in a great measure on the many extraordinary and wonderful things therein related. But since the author's purpose, except in the first chapter, is to relate those things only which God did in an extraordinary way, that the Hebrew exiles might persevere in the religion of their ancestors, and the heathen be warned of the existence of the true God, all other matters which were merely in accordance with the natural course of things, are not to be expected.

They who urge or assume the impossibility of miracles, should know, that a philosophical question can have no bearing on a point of criticism.

The Chaldee dialect in ii. 4—vii. 28. extends to the second part of the book, and it does not present any difficulty; for whatever may be the cause of two dialects being employed in so small a book, the use of them may rather be expected from Daniel than from any other, for a more modern author would have avoided this diversity, which might offend his readers, as the prophets exhibit no similar example. It has been already remarked, that certain words which are said to be of Greek extraction, are oriental, and therefore they cannot be employed as an argument for a more modern age. On the contrary, Zendic, Pehlvic, and Parsic terms, belong to a more ancient period than that of Antiochus Epiphanes; for it is not to be supposed that little or no intercourse subsisted between the Babylonians and Medes and the Elamites or Persians, before the time of Cyrus. For although it admits of some doubt, whether Zoroaster taught at Babylon, yet that there were many Magians in that city, and that their system prevailed before his time, is plain from this fact, that Nebuchadnezzar was accompanied in his expeditions by the superintendent of the Magian priests, called *רַב מַגֵּן*. Jer. xxxix. 3. Comp. Germ. Archæol. II. P. II. Th. § 179. S. 282—285. The horses and chariots of the Sun, which the predecessors of Josiah had placed at Jerusalem, II Kings xxiii. 11. prove beyond a doubt that these superstitions were not only much more ancient than Zoroaster, but had been widely spread. Nor must it be omitted, that Belesis, governor of *Babylonia*, in conjunction with Arbaces king of the *Medes*, had long before overturned the

more ancient kingdom of the Assyrians, as afterwards Nabopolassar, a *Chaldean*, associated with the king of the *Medes*, conquered the second Assyrian empire. This same intercourse of *Babylonians with Medes and Persians*, is shown also by the wedge-like character of writing, which is observable both in the ruins of Persepolis and on the Babylonian bricks. Comp. *Asiaticches Magazin*, 1802, 6tes Stück. These arguments are abundantly sufficient to prove, that the Babylonians and other oriental nations, Medes and Persians for instance, lived in habits of mutual intercourse. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that some things should occur in the book of Daniel, which was written in Babylon, that belonged originally to the dialects of those nations.

Nebuchadnezzar does indeed adore or prostrate himself before Daniel, ii. 46. But after Daniel had announced the dream which the king had not made known and the interpretation of it, such humiliation is not, according to the superstition of that age, so excessive as to be a proper object of suspicion. It is not necessary to suppose, that the golden statue sixty cubits high and six wide, c. iii. was made of solid gold, which in the valley of Dura could hardly be preserved from robbers. It was overlaid with gold. The proportion of the height to the breadth, varying from that of the human form, was either believed to be more dignified, or it was retained from a rude antiquity. It is idle to ask why Daniel's three friends only were subjected to such extreme danger; Daniel himself was perhaps sick at the time, or he may have been absent from Babylon, and therefore not required to join in the adoration of the statue. The silence of the history with respect to Daniel rather proves that the book was written at a time when it was known to every reader in what way he avoided the danger. Those persons, who ask how the other Jews withdrew, forget that the command to be present at the dedication of the image was limited to the rulers of the state, iii. 2, 3.

In the account of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity, c. iv, the difficulty lies in the seven years during which it is said to have lasted. But if *שבע* in v. 13, which properly signifies any time, even a moment, be understood of months, or of parts of a year, six of which are numbered by the orientals, making Nebuchadnezzar's insanity to have continued through seven of these parts or fourteen months, the diffi-

culties will vanish. If עֵתִים and מִיָּעָרִים in vii. 25. xii. 7. mean years in the prophetic sense, the same cannot be the meaning of iv. 13. because it appears from the narrative that this insanity of Nebuchadnezzar happened after all his military expeditions, and after he had enlarged and adorned Babylon, and therefore in the fortieth or forty-first year of his reign, after which time he lived only two or three years, so that his insanity could hardly have been extended beyond fourteen months. It is needless then to inquire how the kingdom was preserved for an insane man; for his courtiers, ignorant of what would be their condition under a successor, used all their exertions to preserve the kingdom for him.—There is no reason for supposing that the insane monarch would have perished by living on herbs, or that he would have been devoured by beasts; for Nebuchadnezzar, labouring under the fixed idea that he had been transformed into a beast and driven from his kingdom, might have prepared for flight; and upon being guarded and confined, at length perhaps escaped, sought intercourse with beasts, few or none of which were to be found in the vicinity of the royal city, and ate herbs which may have had a salutary influence on his disease. At length being found by his courtiers he recovered his senses.—Profane history has preserved so little relating to Nebuchadnezzar that it would not be surprising if not a vestige respecting this insanity could be found; yet some traces of it occur in Megasthenes and Berosus in JOSEPHUS cont. Apion. I. 20. and Ant. X. xi. 1., and in EUSEBIUS, Praep. Evang. IX. 41. There can be no question, why Nebuchadnezzar announced these matters in public documents, for it is very evident that he wished to give his people notice that he had resumed the reins of government.—It is worthy of observation that the whole of this narrative is so accurate and natural that it is hardly possible that it should be a forgery.

Profane history does not indeed mention any Chaldean king of the name of Belshazzar, but this is no proof that no king of this name ever lived, for the orientals, and especially their kings, are often designated by several names. On the other hand, a modern writer, as was before remarked, would have carefully avoided a name unknown to history. Belshazzar is the last of the Chaldean kings, who is called

elsewhere Nabonnedus, Nabonnadus, Nabannidochus, Naboandelus, Labynetus. These names are more corrupt and agree less with other properly Chaldaic words than Belshazzar. Megasthenes in EUSEBIUS, ubi sup. does not deny that Nabannidochus was of the family of Nebuchadnezzar, but only says that he was not like his predecessor Labassoarascus in cruelty. The context shows that this is the meaning of προσηκοντα οι εδεν.—Although in v. 17. ss. Daniel addresses Belshazzar almost as a prophet would have addressed a Jewish king under the theocracy, it should be considered that Daniel was at that time a venerable old man of almost eighty-five years, much celebrated for piety, wisdom, and divine revelations. and that he was speaking a short time before the city was taken, to a king terrified by the writing which had suddenly appeared on the wall.—*But why such a miracle as this in the last moments of the Chaldean monarchy?* In order that an occasion might be afforded Daniel of again demonstrating his divine mission, and that thus he might acquire the favour of the victorious Medes and Persians, and particularly of Cyrus, from whom he was to obtain the release of the Hebrews.

§ 153. *Arguments against the second part of Daniel.*

To the prophecies of Daniel which are contained in the last six chapters, it is objected that the events predicted are remote, and that as they are announced with so much accuracy and do not extend beyond the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, they appear to be prophecies written in the time of that king respecting events which had already taken place.—But the accuracy of these prophecies is scarcely greater than of certain others which predict remote events, as Jer l. li. Ezek. xxvii. xxviii. Zech. ix. 1—8. ix. 11—x. 12; and if Daniel's representations of future events are somewhat more accurate, this is to be accounted for from his character as a man accustomed to political affairs, who would therefore take a more particular view of what was disclosed to him. The Jews of the age of Epiphanes were well acquainted with the form of prophecies, and if the book of Daniel had first made its appearance in that age and widely differing from that form, they would have rejected it, or at least they would not have unanimously received it every where without any opposition as

a genuine production. But indeed if the perspicuity were as great as is pretended, interpretations so exceedingly diverse would never have arisen. That the predictions do not extend beyond the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, is not correct, comp. vii. 13. ss. ix. 25. ss.; and if predictions of this latter kind are attended with greater obscurity than the rest it is from a reason already often mentioned, namely, that the more remote events may be, the more obscurely they are predicted.*—If the angels introduced in the book of Daniel are just such as those described by the Rabbins, these writers, who draw from the Bible, which however they do not always correctly explain, may be considered as having taken their representations from Daniel. The same remark affords a reply to the objection, that the book is in this respect like the modern apocryphal book of Ezra. But these spirits in Daniel, borrowed from the doctrine of the Magians, are symbols similar to those which occur in writings of a more ancient period, as the angel of the pestilence, II Sam. xxiv. 16. I Chron. xxi. 14—18., the spirit of lying, I Kings xxii. 19—22, and the Seraphim, Isa. vi. 1—10.—If the Messiah of Daniel is similar to the Messiah of the Rabbins; these have derived their ideas from the prophet.—If c. xii. 2, 3, 13. speaks of the general resurrection of the dead, both virtuous and vicious, it is well known that this was a doctrine held by the Magians. The figure in Ezek. xxxvi. is borrowed from it, and the truth of the doctrine may have been confirmed to the Jews in consequence of its being thus announced by Daniel, from whom it was obtained by the Rabbins. If, in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, a book just published had exhibited this as a new doctrine, it would on this account alone have been rejected. Lastly, the book is not silent, as has been said respecting the return from captivity; for this subject is introduced in c. ix, and in the twenty-fourth verse the consecration of a new temple is promised. A more modern writer would have said more on this subject.

Bertholdt contends that the book contains things which are more modern than the age of Daniel. But any one who will examine them with impartiality, will find that this is not the case. The expression, *son of God*, in iii. 25 is used of angels in Job xxxviii. 7. i. 6. ii. 1., and it is known that the sons of kings have been styled

* [See § 80, 81. of this part. *Tr.*]

sons of God, or of the gods; the practice of praying three times a day may be traced in Ps. lv. 18. (17.); that of turning the face towards Jerusalem while worshipping, in I Kings viii. 38, 44, 48. Comp. Dan. vi. 11. (10)—It is true that Shushan was first made the royal residence under the Persian monarchs, but Herodotus and Strabo both declare that it was a very ancient city, belonging originally to the kingdom of the Chaldeans, so that Daniel might have gone there for some cause, viii. 2.—But to examine all the objections of this kind which have been offered is inconsistent with the limits of this work.

§ 154. *Origin and Condition of the Book of Daniel.*

The book of Daniel is a collection of writings which had been at first composed and published separately. The first six chapters contain besides the exordium, four documents c. v. being closely connected with c. vi. The last six contain also four pieces, for c. x. xi. and xii. present only one vision.—The assertion of the Talmudists in Baba Bathra, c. i., that the men of the great synagogue wrote (כתבו) Ezekiel, the twelve minor prophets, Daniel, and the book of Esther, undoubtedly means no more than that they reduced these writings into order, which is evident from the twelve prophets; nor must it be omitted, that the Talmudists reckon even Daniel himself among the members of this synagogue.—The Alexandrine version varies constantly from our Hebrew and Chaldee text. This is the case not only in c. iii—vi. but even as early as i. 20. an addition is found in that version and in ix. 25, 27, several omissions, transpositions and alterations, are observable: yet the disagreement is more frequent in iii—vi., and in iii iv. it is exceedingly great. Some writers have observed in iii—vi. a difference in the method of translating, which, however, I cannot discover. This discrepancy of the Alexandrine version is thought by some to show, that these different parts were written on separate rolls, whence a twofold recension of some would have arisen, the one purer, contained in the Hebrew Bible, and the other altered and interpolated, used by the Alexandrine translator of iii—vi. whom they suppose to have been a different person from the translator of the other parts of Daniel. But

some of the discrepancies may with more probability be ascribed to the translator, as the omission of the officers in iii. 3.* whose names had been previously introduced in v. 2, of the musical instruments in v. 15, which had already been mentioned twice, v. 5 and 7; also the omission of iv. 3—6 and the transposition of the 8th verse, are undoubtedly to be ascribed to the translator. Other varieties which disturb the order or the sense proceed from negligence in the transcribers of the Alexandrine version, as when in c. v. v. 1, 4, and 5, occur first, then the words written on the wall, and at length the first five verses are repeated. A similar instance occurs in v. 6., when, after the account of the terrified king it is added, that the lords vaunted themselves; and also in the version of iii. 21, which is entirely destitute of meaning. Comp. iv 32, 34. The discrepancies of the 4th chapter from the Chaldee text, and the prolix additions in iii. and iv. cannot be satisfactorily explained by tracing them to transcribers or to some other account of the same subject, because the rest of that part agrees even verbally with the Chaldee text. They seem rather to have come down from the translator, who like the Chaldee paraphrasts, took liberties with the text, and perhaps even added the designation of time in iii. 1. and iv. 1.[a]

[a) Whether there were two recensions of the original text of Daniel, I do not venture to determine, but I must confess that it does not appear to me to be probable, since we have similar additions in the Alexandrine translation of Esther and of Job, which have never existed in Hebrew, but are certainly of Greek original. It seems most probable, that the old Greek Jews introduced such additions into their translation, as afterwards the Hebrew Jews made similar additions in their Targums.]

* [See Daniel, p. 12. ubi sup. § 147, p. 405. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PROPHETS WHO LIVED AFTER THE CAPTIVITY.

§ 155. *Time of Haggai.*

Haggai, חגי, *Aggaios*, prophesied during the reign of Darius Hystaspes, who mounted the Persian throne in 521, B. C. The Hebrews had already in the year 536, B. C. returned from captivity, and had rebuilt Jerusalem, and had begun to build the temple in the year 535, B. C. but had been prevented from finishing it by the Samaritans, who obtained an edict from the Pseudo-Smerdis, forbidding them to proceed. In the mean time they built splendid houses, and pretended that the time for rebuilding the temple had not arrived supposing the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah to apply to the temple also, from the time of the destruction of which it was then the 68th year. As on the death of the Pseudo-Smerdis, and the consequent termination of his interdict they still continued to wait for the end of the 70 years, Haggai began to prophesy in the second year of Darius, 520, B. C.

§ 156. *Contents of the Book of Haggai.*

The book comprises four discourses, of which in all probability we have only an epitome.* 1. The prophet exhorts the Jews to prosecute the building of the temple, which is done, c. i. Comp. Ezra v. i.—vi. 15.—2) The old men who in their youth had seen the temple of Solomon, and were now expressing their grief at the great inferiority of the new building, are comforted by the promise that after a remarkable revolution of affairs (under Alexander) this temple would

* [So EICHHORN, *Einleit.* § 598.—*Tr.*]

become much more magnificent, because the gifts of the Gentiles would be brought thither,* ii. 1—9.—3.) The prophet predicts that now, since the Jews had washed out the crime which they had contracted by neglecting the temple, the seasons should be productive, ii. 10—19.—4.) He announces to Zerubbabel that the prophecy in ii. 1—9. related to a great political revolution, (the overthrow of the Persian monarchy,) before which Zerubbabel should be removed by death, ii. 20—23.

Jerome, in the Vulgate version, has rendered Hag. ii. 7. somewhat incorrectly, “veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus.” For 1) חֲמֵדָה does not refer to a person, but as the verb is plural and the noun singular, the latter must be taken in a collective sense. 2) The abstract חֲמֵדָה, *desire*, is put in phrases of this kind for the object of desire, and signifies *what is desirable, precious things, treasures*, as may be seen by comparing I Sam. ix. 20. Gen. xlix. 26. II Chron. xxxii. 27. Jer. xxv. 34. Hos. xiii. 15. Nah. ii. 10. (9.) 3) The subject which lies at the foundation of the prophecy is *the splendour of the temple*. 4) The series of the discourse requires that the 7th verse should be explained of the *riches and magnificence of the temple*. The meaning is therefore this,—that the temple should be rendered very magnificent by the accession of the treasures of the Gentiles.[a]

[a] Admitting the author's first and second observations, the prophet may still have in view the coming of the Messiah, and the conversion of the Gentiles; and neither the subject which lies at the foundation of the prophecy, nor the series of the discourse, will give any difficulty to one who knows, that the coming of the Messiah was a prominent subject in the minds of the Hebrews, and that their prophets often look forward to that event, and to those connected with it, as the ultimate object of their predictions. Even Rosenmüller acknowledges, that the prophet entertained the hope of his prediction being verified in the time of the Messiah. See Schol. Proph. Min. vol. IV. p. 100. On the text see J. H. MICHAELIS, Bib. Hebraic. *in loc.*

In all probability this passage refers, 1st, to the beautification of the second temple by the treasures of the Gentiles, metaphorically termed *their desire*; and, 2dly, to the still greater glory conferred on it by the

* [And because, after extraordinary revolutions, the Messiah should make his appearance, and establish a dominion never to be destroyed. Tr.]

presence of the Messiah (comp. Mal. iii. 1.) to whom the Gentiles should seek, Isa. xi. 10. lx. 3. The terms are carefully chosen so as to admit of this double application, and the great solemnity of the introduction, v. 6, 7, together with the reference to this passage, Heb. xii. 26, s. seems to require it. See NEWCOME'S minor prophets, note *in loc.* Tr.]

§ 157. *Style of Haggai.*

The style of Haggai in reproving is indeed vehement, but by no means poetic. There are passages however, where he treats of future events, in which he becomes somewhat elevated. The language approximates to the Chaldee dialect, and labours under a poverty of terms, as may be observed in the constant repetition of the same expressions. Comp. i. 5, 7. ii. 15, 18. also i. 13. and ii. 4. [a]

[a] See also the expression צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה נָאִם, i. 2, 5, 7, 14. ii. 4, 6, 7, 9, 9, 11, 23.; and the division of his auditory into Joshua, Zerubbabel, and the residue of the people, i. 12, 14. ii. 2, 4. EICHHORN, § 599, attributes these repetitions to an attempt at ornament, rendering the writer disposed frequently to recur to a favourite expression. Tr.]

§ 158. *Time of Zechariah.*

Zechariah, זְכַרְיָה, the son of Barachiah, the son of Iddo, was contemporary with Haggai. In the first chapters of his book, he treats of the same subject with that prophet, urging the Jews to rebuild the temple, and is therefore mentioned in Ezra v. 1. vi. 14. His being called in these places *the son of Iddo*, and his father's name being omitted, is nothing but an instance of the imperfect genealogy common among the orientals, and intimates that his grandfather was more celebrated than his father.

§ 159. *Contents of the Book of Zechariah.*

[The book consists of two parts. The first of these refers in general to events shortly to take place, c. i—viii; the second contains predictions of remote periods, c. ix—xiv.

The introduction is an exhortation to the Hebrews who had returned from exile, to guard against those sins which had drawn so much distress upon their ancestors. i. 1—6. This is followed by

eight visions, which relate to the happy completion of the temple, and to the divine protection which the Jews were to enjoy.

1) A rider appears on a roan horse.* The colour was considered as particularly beautiful, (Koran, Sura II. 64.), and therefore the rider represents a person of distinction. He is in the recess among the myrtles, no doubt in the low country of Judea on the sea, and is followed by other riders on roan, sorrel and white horses, who bring intelligence that all is at rest. The meaning of this image is immediately added, namely, God protects Judea and gives rest to the land, that the temple and city may be built, and the inhabitants enjoy prosperity, i. 7—17.—2) The prophet sees four horns, it would seem, over a hill which concealed the two wild bullocks to whom they belonged. The four horns are then tamed and overthrown by four smiths or carpenters. This is a figure of the Assyrian and Chaldean powers, which had captured and dispersed the Israelites and Jews, but which had been destroyed, and should never again injure the Hebrews, ii. 1—4, (i. 13—21.)—3) A man appears with a measuring rod to measure Jerusalem, and it is announced that this city shall become great and populous by the return of many from captivity, and by the conversion of many of the Heathen. This was verified after the time of Alexander and particularly under the Asmonæan princes, ii. 5—17. (ii. 1—13.)—4) The high priest Joshua stands in mourning vestments before a messenger of God or an angel, and on his right hand is the accuser. The latter is driven away, and Joshua, in token of his innocence, is clothed, agreeably to eastern usage, with honourable garments. This is intended to represent that the Persian officers and others who accused the Jews of rebuilding the temple would not be able to procure a prohibition, and that Joshua who promoted the work, and his posterity, should preside in the temple and over the people, who should become entirely independent; which was the case under the Maccabees, c. iii.—5) This vision exhibits a golden candlestick with seven lamps, and two small olive trees one on each side of it. This is a figure of the happy completion of the temple and final setting up of the golden candlestick in the holy

* [With relation to the expositions which follow, the reader is once more reminded of the remark made in the preface and in a note on p. 409. *Tr.*]

place, through the aid afforded by the prophets, without any assistance of a forcible kind. The two olive trees are not clearly explained, but they appear to be emblematic of Haggai and Zechariah, c. iv.—6) A great roll of a book, written on both sides with curses against thieves and perjured persons, appears flying in the air; to denote that these crimes should be punished and no more rule in the land, v. 1—4.—7) The prophet sees an ephah in which sits the fury of wickedness, who is pressed down with a piece of lead over the mouth of the ephah, and thus is borne by two female figures with wings of hawks [or storks] through the air to Babylonia. This is a figure of the use of false measures, a crime for which the Jews were punished in Babylon, and which should no more become prevalent, v. 5—11.—8) Four chariots come out from between two mountains of brass, and on them the four winds of heaven ride. These are Magian representations of the tutelary spirit of war, Behram. Comp. HEROD. I. 131. Zend-Avesta, II. Th. S. 171—278. Appendix to Zend-Avesta, I. Band, I. Th. S. 320. f. Not. 92. The first chariot with pale red horses is appointed to go to and fro on the earth, representing the long wars against the Greeks; the second with black horses goes towards the north, being emblematic of the attack and conquest of Babylon by Darius, that city lying northeast from Jerusalem and northwest from Persia; the third with white horses, behind the second, represents the expedition of Darius against Thrace; the fourth with spotted horses towards the south, refers to his expedition against Egypt. The whole tends to this point, that during these wars the Jews should enjoy rest, vi. 1—8.

In vi. 9—15, the prophet is commanded to make two crowns of silver and gold and to place them upon the head of Joshua the high-priest, at the same time announcing his future greatness, and that hereafter the crowns of the high-priesthood and of the kingdom should be united; as a pledge of which the two crowns should be kept in the temple. This illustrates what was said before in iii. 7, 8. and was fulfilled under the Asmonæans 400 years afterwards, and could not have been foreseen by mere human wisdom.

Chapters vii. and viii. belong to the fourth year of Darius, 516 B. C., and relate in the first place questions which some respectable Jews had sent to Jerusalem to be answered, with reference to the

observance of certain fasts and feasts. The prophet answers that these observances had no necessary connexion with religion, and that God had already by former prophets declared righteousness and virtue to be what he required and that for neglecting to follow this instruction, the city and country had been wasted vii; but that now God would again be gracious, and Jerusalem should become populous, and as former times had been unpropitious, fruitful seasons should now follow viii. 1—17. comp. Hag. ii. 11. ss. The people should conduct themselves righteously, their fasts be turned into days of rejoicing, and multitudes of proselytes be added to the nation, 18—23.

The second part consists of two divisions. In the former, ix—xi, the prophet first predicts the expedition of Alexander through Syria and Palestine into Egypt and his return, when Jerusalem would be preserved uninjured. He sees in remote futurity the union of the Philistines with the Jews, and, still more remote, the Messiah, ix. 1—10. Then he describes the time of the Maccabees, and names expressly the Greeks as enemies whom the Jews should vanquish. Those who formerly belonged to the kingdom of Judah are to act the principal part in these wars, but others also who belonged to Israel shall be delivered, and many return from foreign countries ix. 11—x. 12. In the next chapter the prophet depicts the last times of this new Jewish kingdom. He begins with an allegory 1—3, and represents its application by two symbols, 4—17, the first of which (12, 13.) appears to contain some traces of the Messiah, but afterwards, like the second symbol, it represents the revolt against the Romans, the parties of the leaders, and the complete destruction of all order.

The latter division, xii—xiv. treats again of the times of the Maccabees. Jerusalem shall become to its enemies like a cup of intoxication like a great stone which should injure them in attempting to lift it; the city shall not be entirely destroyed as it was formerly by the Chaldeans, and the Jews will thankfully acknowledge the divine protection, xii. 1—5. They shall extend and make conquests towards the south and the north; Judea, not Jerusalem shall be first victorious, yet afterwards the inhabitants of the latter shall show themselves like heroes, and all the people that oppose them shall be destroyed, 6—9. God will then spread lamentation among the inha-

bitants of Jerusalem ; they will look to him, on account of him whom they have pierced through. A fountain to cleanse away sins and impurity shall be opened and no idols, prophets or soothsayers shall any more be found, 10—xiii. 6. The shepherd, who is nearest to God, shall be slain with the sword, and the flock shall be scattered, 7. This shepherd, and he who is before said to be pierced through, are the same person, Judas Maccabeus, but the prophecy is so constructed, as to represent the Messiah figuratively.—Then the prophet sees again the commencement of the Maccabean times, and takes in their complete extent. Through the whole country two-thirds should be slain, and the remainder tried like silver and gold in a furnace, would be found sincere worshippers of God and be protected by him v. 8, 9. Jerusalem shall be taken, but God will preserve the Jews, and a great revolution shall take place, by which they shall free themselves from the Syrian kingdom. This is represented, as if God stood on the mount of Olives, which divided under his feet, so that one part moved to the north and the other to the south, and produced a great valley, —as a day of a peculiar kind, which is properly neither day nor night, when the light shall first appear at evening, (this independence was extorted from the enemy late,) —as an abundant fountain, rising from Jerusalem, and flowing partly to the Dead Sea and partly to the Mediterranean, the mountainous country about Jerusalem becoming a plain, (that is, all the obstructions to this happy result shall be removed,) xiv. 1—11. The nations, and particularly the Syrian kingdom, shall be destroyed, as a living body that begins to decay, (meaning, by intestine wars.) The neighbouring people will then in large numbers become Jews, such as refuse will be punished, the knowledge of God will spread, and Jerusalem become a holy city, 12—21.]

§ 160. *Style of Zechariah.*

In the former part of the book, the future is generally represented in visions, which are explained by a few intimations, not given as in Ezekiel, by God, but, as in Daniel, by an angel who however does not communicate information without being interrogated. The symbols are not so bold and grand as in Daniel nor are they clothed with all the circumstances that belong to them, as in Ezekiel, but some

things are occasionally left to be supplied by the reader. Comp. i. 8—11. ii. 1, 2. iii. 1—4. iv. 1—14. v. 1—5. The descriptions of these symbols are necessarily prosaic, but c. vii and viii., containing neither visions nor symbols, are in a more elevated style. The latter part of the book is indeed poetical, but it is not composed in that strain of poetic rapture which is observable in other more ancient prophets. Many novel and elegant tropes and allegories occur, but they are not always quite in character with the nature of the things from which they are drawn, nor are they all completely delineated. Comp. ix. 13, 15. 16. x. 3. xi. 17. In the 11th chapter, which contains more visions or symbols, the style is again less ornate and almost prosaic. Throughout the whole book the language is intermingled with very few Chaldaisms, but difficult expressions very frequently occur. See i. 7, 8. ii. 12. v. 11. viii. 2, 3. viii. 12, 16. ix. 8, 9. xii. 6.

§ 161. *Whether Zechariah is the author of the second part.*

In the present day, many writers deny that the last six chapters were written by Zechariah, some supposing them to be more ancient and others more modern than his time. That those two prophecies in ix—xi., and xii—xiv., were written by *one and the same author*, is shown by the identity of language and style in both and is confirmed by certain particular representations common to both. There the leaders who oppress the people are called *sheep merchants*, פִּנְעֵי הַצֹּאן not only in c. xiv. 21, but also in c. xi. 7, 11, where the two words פִּנְעֵי עֵינִי and לִבְנֵי עֵינִי ought undoubtedly to be joined together, and read according to the Alexandrine translation, פִּנְעֵי עֵינִי וְלִבְנֵי עֵינִי, thus corresponding with xiv. 21.—That those prophecies were both written in *Zechariah's Age*, is evident from the condition of the people and of Jerusalem, which accords with that described by Zechariah in the former chapters, and by his contemporary Haggai, the Jews being yet but a feeble colony, which in a future age was to become warlike and more powerful and the inhabitants of Jerusalem being few in number, who were afterwards to become numerous. The

very title in xii. 1., *on Israel*, agreeing with that in Mal. i. 1. bespeaks an age posterior to the captivity.

They who maintain that these prophecies are more ancient[*a*] argue thus. 1) The language, style, and ornate character of the work show that it was written before the captivity. But it has been before seen (§ 160.), that the style is not without indications of a more modern age, and the style of c. vii. viii., which belong to the first part, is considerably elevated.[*b*]—2) In ix. 10, 13. x. 6. Judah and Jerusalem are placed in opposition to Ephraim and Joseph, as is the case before the captivity. But the same is also observed in the first part, c. viii. 13, and in Jeremiah, xxx. 4, long after the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel. Zechariah in the places referred to could not avoid this opposition, because he predicts that very many of the ten tribes should in a future age return to Palestine and in x. 6. he adds, that in the time of the Maccabees the descendants of the ten tribes should be protected by the tribe of Judah and obtain places of residence, and at length become themselves bold warriors.—3) In x. 2. xiii. 2—6, idols and false prophets are mentioned, of which there were none after the captivity. But Zechariah is not blaming idolatry and soothsaying as existing in his own time; he is predicting that in the future age of which he speaks, these superstitions should have no existence, as he elsewhere frequently declares, that the worship of God should be constant. The very passage adduced, xiii. 2—6, contains proof of a more modern origin, in the use of the expression, רוח ט אר, *impure spirit*.

to signify the soul of a dead person, which was unknown in a more ancient period. To this may be added the use of more modern orthography, similar to that in the books of Chronicles, as רוּר for רוּר in xii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. xiii. 1.

They who wish to show that these prophecies are more modern than Zechariah, and therefore allege that the events predicted are too remote from his time. rely upon the supposition that the prophets foretel those events only which are near at hand. But this opinion has been already proved to be untrue,* and it is unnecessary to urge that Zechariah, even in the first part, vi. 9—15, promises to the high priest a royal diadem, which was first obtained in a very distant period. In

* [See § 77. p. 298. ss.]

fine, the character of the language and composition of these prophecies is entirely at variance with a more modern date.

Although these prophecies are neither more ancient nor more modern than Zechariah, it may still admit of inquiry, whether he is their author, because their style is poetical, while that of the first part is prosaic. But whatever this diversity of style may be, it can never induce a judicious critic to ascribe these parts to different authors: for Hosea also uses prosaic style in c. i. and iii. and poetical in c. ii. and in iv—xiv. In both prophets the same reason gives rise to the diversity, for Hosea in c. i. and iii. and Zechariah in c. i—vi. relate symbols, which do not admit the poetical style. Zechariah in the first eight chapters admonishes and consoles, and speaks almost always of events near at hand; while in the last six he predicts events much more remote, to which the poetical style is better adapted. Still both parts have much in common: for instance, *a want of finish* in tropes and allegories, which are also sometimes rather unnatural; *symbols and visions*, which are frequent in the first part, occur also in c. xi.; *the language throughout* is not entirely free from *Chaldaisms*, and is *somewhat harsh*; *the style* also of the former part is *more vehement*, where symbols or visions are not related, and *it is less so* in the latter (xi.) where symbols are introduced. Indeed the very *phraseology* which we meet with in the one, is often found in the other. Comp. ii. 14. (10,) with ix. 9.; ii. 10. (6,) with ix. 12, 13; vii. 14. with ix. 8. The *extraordinary legate*, or angel, who speaks in the person of Jehovah in ii. 12—15. (8—11) iii. 1—7, assumes the same character in xi. 4—13. which occurs elsewhere only in a few passages of scripture. The reason why some things which are to be met with in the first part are wanting in the second, lies in the difference of the subject and of the style or species of composition. Thus, for instance, *angels* do not appear in the second part, because no visions are related; *the notation of time* in i. 1, 7. vii. 1. is wanting in the second part, because the subject relates to a distant period, and no doubt could possibly be suggested, as to the prophecy's being written after the fact referred to; the forms, *thus saith Jehovah*, *the word of Jehovah came*, *it was the word of Jehovah*, were better adapted to the popular discourses of the former part, than they would have been to the poetry of the latter, the force of which they would have weakened. They

are not, however, entirely wanting in this part, but they occur more rarely, and are to be met with chiefly in the 11th chapter, which contains symbols and a less elevated style of writing. See xi. 4, 11, 13, 15. also xiii. 8. Where they are used elsewhere, ix. 1. xii. 1. they are interchanged with the forms, *the annunciation or declaration* of the word of Jehovah*, מִשַׁא דְּבַר יְהוָה. Lastly, the notice in ii. 13, 15. (9, 11,) iv. 9. vi. 15., that the result of the prophecy should prove the author's divine mission, occurs again in the latter part, xi. 11. [c]

[a] This is the opinion of BERTHOLDT, Einleit. IV. 1722, and DE WETTE, Einleit. § 250. They both suppose these prophecies to be the productions of several authors, living at different times. Such is also the opinion of NEWCOME, Improved Version, &c. of the minor prophets, note on Zech. ix. (p. 303. ss. ed. *Pontefract*, 1809,) where a number of authorities are adduced in its support, and among others the marginal chronology of the authorized version. *Tr.*]

[b] The comparative goodness of the style of this second part may have arisen from the acquaintance of the author with the writings of the older prophets. Traces of this are very discernible in the first part also, comp. c. vii. 7—14, with Isa. lviii. 1—14. Jer. xiv. 12. Mic. vi. 8; c. ii. 15. (11.) with Isa. xiv. 1, lvi. 6; c. ii. 10, 11. (6, 7.) with Isa. lii. 11; c. ii. 14. (10.) with Isa. xii. 7 (6); c. i. 12. with Jer. xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10. In the second part, comp. c. xiv. 8. ss. with Ezek. xlvi. 1. ss.; c. xii. 1. with Isa. xlv. 24. li. 13.; c. xi. 4—17, with Ezek. xxxiv. 1—6; c. xiii. 8. s. with Ezek. v. 1. ss.; c. ix. 2. s. with Ezek. xxviii. 1. *Tr.*]

[c] The genuineness of Zech. ix—xiv. has been proved at length by KOESTER, *Meletemata critica et exegetica in Zechariaë prophetæ partem posteriorem*, cap. ix—xiv. pro tuenda ejus authentia, 8vo. *Göttingæ*, 1819. It is also maintained by BECKHAUS, *ueber die Integrität der prophetischen Schriften des A. T. S. 240. ff.* by ROSENMUELLER, *Schol. in Proph. Min. T. IV. p. 234. ss.* (who adopts Jahn's arguments) and by BLAYNEY, *Trans. of Zech. note on c. ix. p. 35. ss.* *Tr.*]

§ 162. *Publication of the Book of Zechariah.*

As the prophet often gives notice in the former part of his work, c. ii. 13, 15. iv. 9. vi. 15. viii. 6. and in the latter, c. xi. 12. (11.) that the accomplishment of his predictions would show his divine mission; it appears that his annunciations had been discredited by his contemporaries, without doubt because he published the second part, which was obscure and apparently discrep-

* [In our English Bibles the word *burden* is used. *Tr.*]

ant in some things from more ancient prophecies, before the first. Comp. xiii. 8, 9. xiv. 1, 2. and xi., where he predicts the utter ruin of all order among the Jews, while the older prophets have usually described this future period as a very happy one, and often as a golden age. In order therefore to secure confidence to himself as a prophet, he was favoured with those revelations which are described in the former part of his work, the fulfilment of which, as it was near at hand, would convince his contemporaries of his divine mission. But, when he published the whole book together, he placed the prophecies which had been last revealed to him before the others, that the reader might be prepared for what was to follow.

§ 163. *Time of Malachi.*

That Malachi, מלאכי, was a contemporary of Nehemiah was the unvarying opinion of the ancients, and is placed beyond all doubt by the subject of the book, which presents the same face of things as existed in Nehemiah's time. It speaks of *the temple* as having been built a considerable time;—it introduces the Jews *complaining* of the unfavourable state of their affairs;—it finds fault with the *heathen wives*, whom Nehemiah after some time separated from the people. Neh. xiii. 23—30.;—it censures *the withholding of tithes*, which was also noticed by Nehemiah, xiii. 5. From these circumstances it appears, that Malachi prophesied in the time of Nehemiah and during his second residence in Judea, about 412—408 before Christ, when he reformed the abuses before mentioned. This is confirmed by Mal. i. 1—5.

§ 164. *Contents of the Book.*

The book of Malachi consists of six parts, almost all of which relate to the dissatisfaction of the people and priests.

1) The Jews complained, that God had shown them no particular favours; to which the prophet answers, that their country was a cultivated land, whilst that of the Edomites was laid waste, and was to be still further devastated, i. 1—5. This was done by the Persian armies that marched through those territories against the revolting

Egyptians.—2) The prophet finds fault with the priests, who were constantly complaining of the multiplicity of their labours and of the smallness of their income, and who perverted the law and took unlawful sacrifices, i. 6—ii. 9.—3) He inveighs against the Jews, who repudiated their wives at pleasure, and married foreigners, ii. 10—16.—4) The Jews complained that the Heathen remained unpunished, and that the great messenger, the Messiah, who, as they supposed, was to crush the Gentiles and subject them to the Jews, did not make his appearance. Malachi replies, that the Messiah would come, although not to punish the Gentiles, but the Jews and particularly the Levites; and that he would be preceded by a messenger, who should prepare his way, ii. 17—iii. 6.—5) He declares that the complaints which were made of the sterility of the ground and of the devastations of locusts were idle, so long as they defrauded God by withholding the tithes, iii. 7—12.—6) The same subject is pursued as that in ii. 17—iii. 6, only the Jews are represented as saying, that, since God did not send the Messiah to punish the Heathen, it was unnecessary to serve him. But pious men, says the prophet, entertain more correct views of the divine justice, and such shall be delivered from the punishment which God will hereafter inflict upon the Jews. He will send a messenger to precede the Messiah, a second Elias, who will endeavour to produce a reformation in the morals of the people; but at length, the land shall be condemned to an irrevocable curse. This refers to the Jewish war and the complete devastation of the country by Titus, iii. 13—24. (iii. 13—iv. 6.)

§ 165. *Style of Malachi.*

Malachi reproves vice in vehement language. He generally brings forward his proposition first, then adds the inquiry of the people, to which he afterwards subjoins an answer.[a] His style is mostly prosaic, and his language is sometimes rather harsh, as for instance שנה שלח in ii. 16, where אָנִי must be understood, *I hate putting away.*

He uses the same tropes and allegories as other prophets. Yet he has some expressions which are new, as where the Messiah is called *the lord of the temple*, and *the messenger of the covenant*, iii. 1, that is, the messenger who will hereafter establish a covenant with the He-

brews, and when his forerunner is designated as *Elias*, iii. 23. (iv. 5.)
 Comp. Ex. xxiii. 20—23. xxiv. 1—3. xxxiv. 28. Deut. v. 3. ix. 9.
 Gen. xv. 8—18. xxii. 11—18, and my Append. Herm. Fasc.
 I. p. 17. ss.[*b*]

[*a*] Comp. i. 2. 6, 7. ii. 14, 17. iii. 7, 8, 13. *Tr.*]

[*b*] Eichhorn adduces as peculiarities, the thoughts in ii. 3. and iii. 2.
 and the phrases עַר וְעָנָה ii. 12. and וְנָשָׂא אִתְּכֶם אֱלֹהִים ii. 3. In common

with Haggai and Zechariah he uses רִנָּה for נִפְשׁ, c. ii. 15. s. comp. Hag.

ii. 5. ss. Zech. iv. 6. ss; מִשָּׂא רִנָּה יְהוָה, c. i. 1. comp. Zech. ix. 1.

xii. 1; and the word פָּתַח, c. i. 3. comp. Hag. i. 1. &c. EICHH. Einleit.

5610. *Tr.*]

SECTION III.

OF THE OTHER POETICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PSALMS.

§ 166. *Date of the Psalms.*

IT is plain from Jos. x. 13. and II Sam. i. 18. that the Hebrews had poems and collections of poems which were sacred long before David's time, and some slight remains of them are still extant in Exod. xv., Deut. xxxii., Judg. v., I Sam. ii., Jos. x. 12—14. The Psalms, תהלים, belong principally to the ages which elapsed between the time of David and the Babylonian captivity; it is a matter of dispute whether some of them are more ancient than this period; some are certainly more modern, but it cannot be proved by sufficient arguments that any are as recent as the age of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees.—David's name being prefixed to the collection only shows that he is the principal author.

§ 167. *Contents of the Psalms.*

The contents of the Psalms, like those of the prophetic books, are peculiar to those compositions; other nations have no similar works. They celebrate the attributes of GOD, the Creator and Go-

vernor of all things, his relations to this visible universe and to man, with man's correspondent relations to God; and especially God's providence, his government of the visible and invisible world, his infinite knowledge, justice, and mercy. They recommend to men piety, probity, and trust in God without which all worship is vain. They describe the happiness of the good, for the purpose of exciting the mind to piety and virtue, and particularly of producing resignation to the divine will, gratitude toward God, and delight in his beneficence. On the other hand the misery of sinners is also described. Several of the Psalms are historical, at least so far as to have been occasioned by some historical event. In order to understand such Psalms it is necessary to ascertain the events to which they relate, to draw them from an examination of the Psalms themselves, and to compare them with the history as derived from other sources.* This, it is to be lamented, is so compendious as not to afford all the assistance which would be desirable. But we are by no means to expect historical facts as the occasion of all the Psalms; those for which none such can be discovered amount to a fourth part of the whole number.

It is disputed in the present day, whether some of the Psalms contain predictions of the Messiah. There are many who refuse to recognise any such, because Ps. ii., xvi., xxii., xl., xlv., lxxii., lxxxix., and cx., which are considered as prophetic, are susceptible of explanation from history, provided the poetical expressions are not too strictly understood. It is impracticable to discuss the question in this work, but this much must be said, that the 89th and 110th contain more than can be illustrated by the history, unless violence be offered to the language. In Ps. ii., xvi., xxii., xl., lxxii., perspective views of the Messiah may be in part presented, and in part objective or figurative references to him. Comp. also Ps. lxxxvii.[a]

The imprecations which are found in the Psalms are not wishes for self revenge; self avengers are reckoned among the enemies of God, that is, among atheists and such as deny a divine providence. See Ps. vii. 13. x. 13, 14. xlv. 17. (16), xciv. 7. (6),† and Comp. I Sam.

* [See EICHHORN'S Einleit. § 628. 3. where some good rules for a critical study of the Psalms are given, although some things are to be received with caution. *Tr.*]

† [In the references to the Psalms, the reader must bear in mind that there is generally a difference of one in the number of the verses; the title of the Psalm being counted as a verse in the Hebrew, but not in the English. *Tr.*]

xxiv., xxvi. They are prayers to God to punish malevolent enemies, that thus his justice might be displayed on the wicked, and he not blasphemed as iniquitous or impotent ;—to restrain bad men by punishment, and deliver good men from being oppressed or dispirited by the railings of wretches. See v. 11. vii. 17, 18. ix. 5. x. 13. xxxv. 10. lii. 5—10. lviii. 11, 12. lxiv. 10, 11. xciv. 8—16. cix. 26—28. It is plain from some places, that the person who uttered the imprecation was desirous that by the evils inflicted upon sinners they should be led to consideration, to acknowledgement of God's justice, and to their own reformation. See lxxxiii. 17—19. lix. 14. xix. 12. comp. Isa. xxix. 9. s.—If these denunciations do occasionally appear somewhat harsh, we must remember—1) that they are poems, in which a vehement style is common—2) that they do not contain any doctrine, nor point out anything to be done, but merely express the feeling of the poet—3) that in the age in which they were written, when the inequality of the condition of the righteous and the wicked after death was unknown, it was necessary that the justice of the DEITY as rewarding and punishing in the present life should be the more strongly inculcated. that the upright might be confirmed in their righteous conduct, and sinners be struck with a salutary terror ; and 4) that the authors of the Psalms had not yet been instructed in the prayer, “forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.”

[a] Even if the writers of the New Testament had maintained silence on this subject, which is very far from being the case, it might be supposed, that the express declaration of our Lord himself in Luke xxiv. 44. would be sufficient to settle the question. There can be no doubt with any Christian who admits the divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures, that the Psalms do contain predictions of the Messiah. It seems to us that the author has expressed himself with unnecessary caution, and that the 2d and 45th, and several other Psalms, refer principally, if not exclusively, to the Messiah. Some writers have, no doubt, gone to an extreme on this side of the question, and taken it for granted, that any resemblance, however imperfect, is sufficient to constitute a prophetic reference to the Messiah. The more mystical expositors often apply passages to Christ to the plain distortion of the text, and in opposition to all well settled principles of interpretation. But on the other hand, it has become the fashion with certain modern critics to deny any

reference to the Messiah, and to explain all the passages which the writers of the New Testament apply to him as accommodated. But since several of them are quoted as predictions intended to illustrate the character and actions of Christ, they cannot be explained on this ground without destroying the authority and inspiration of the New Testament. It is certain, therefore, that some at least of the psalms do refer originally to the Messiah. A few of them seem to relate to him exclusively, the writer's only design appearing to be to celebrate the coming Saviour of mankind. Others refer to him, but not to the exclusion of some other person or object that may have been in the mind of the author, and have served as a model whereby to illustrate the character and history of Christ; and occasionally some parts of a psalm are intended to apply to Christ, and some to another person, as is the case in the 22d.

In Dathe's preface to his excellent version of the Psalms, he shows that he is far from being governed by the loose and wild views of some of his contemporaries and countrymen. He professes to have been guided by a "love of truth, which (says he, p. vii.) my readers will see in my judgment respecting the prophetic psalms, or those which are called psalms relating to the Messiah. As it was formerly the error of our ancestors to make all psalms prophetic of the Messiah which contained any degree of correspondence; so in our own times the opposite fault is sanctioned by some, who discard all predictions properly so called, and exclude David from the number of the prophets. I assent to the opinion of those who pursue a middle course, and consider the number of such psalms as not very great, supposing that a good cause is better supported by a few insuperable arguments than by many of a doubtful nature." Compare also his introduction to Ps. xxii. *Tr.*]

§ 163. *Titles of the Psalms.*

The Psalms, with the exception of about 33, have titles prefixed to them. Some of them (about 86) indicate the author; some the occasion and subject of the psalm; some refer to the leader of the choir, to the musician, to the musical instrument, or to the air to which they were to be sung, as אֵל תְּשַׁחֵת, lvii—lix. Some titles afford no information, as מִזְמֹר, *a Psalm*, xcvi. 1. מִזְמֹר לְתוֹרָה, *a Psalm of praise*, c. 1., but others comprehend several of the particulars just enumerated. These intimations are frequently of great importance, and afford much aid in interpreting; but it is to be regretted that some of them are rather obscure, as מִשְׁבִּיל in xliv. 1. xlv. 1. lii. 1. liii. 1.

liv. 1. cxlii. 1.[a] and להזכיר in xxxviii. 1. lxx. 1.[b]—The author's name is indicated by the prefix Lamed, as לאסף, לדרור, of *Asaph*, of *David*; yet the same method is used to indicate the music, as למנצח, to the leader of the choir, and לבני קרה, to the *Korahites*, musicians. —The musical instrument is expressed by the particles על, אל, or by the prefix Beth, as על הגתית in viii. 1, אל הנחילות in v. 1, בנגינות in vi. 1.—The titles which merely designate the leader of the band, the musical instrument, or the purpose for which the psalm was designed, have reference to the temple service, and afford the interpreter but little light.[c]

[a] See MICHAELIS, Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. No. 2483, p. 2323. *Tr.*]

[b] MICHAELIS, Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. No. 623. pp. 616. s. *Tr.*]

[c] The titles of the Psalms are ably illustrated by ROSENMUELLER, in the Explicatio dictionum nonnullarum in Psalmorum titulis frequentius obviarum, prefixed to his Scholia in Psalmos, pp. xxxii—lxii. See also DE WETTE, Einleit. § 268., and HORNE'S Introd. IV. 105. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 169. Age of the Titles.

Oriental poets were accustomed from a very remote age to prefix their names to their productions. See Exod. xv. 1. Deut. xxxi. 30. Jud. v. 1. II Sam. i. 17, 18. iii. 33, 34. xxii. 1.; also the extracts from the Hamasa in the Arabic Grammar of ERPENIUS, SCHULTENS' edition, 1767, or my Arabic Chrestomathy, p. 185, 189, 198, CAAB BEN ZOHEIR'S poem, and the *Moallakah* of AMARALKEIS, ed. LETTE, 1784, p. 3, 48.—It is therefore very probable, that the proper names which are prefixed to many of the psalms are from the authors themselves. But since the greater part want the authors' names, it must be acknowledged that they were not added to all the psalms, or that some of them were afterwards omitted and lost. Since also names of authors occur which are at variance with the subject of the psalms themselves, it cannot be denied that some must have arisen in a late age from conjecture. Titles therefore which exhibit the name of the author, although they have the sanction of

antiquity, are not on that account to be received as undoubtedly correct; they must be examined in order to ascertain whether they correspond with the subject of the psalm, and if they do not, must be rejected. Thus Ps. ciii. bears the title לְדָוִד, *of David*, although it exhibits a dialect mixed with Chaldaisms. It is better to confess that the title is false, than to distort it, as some have done, contrary to the use of language, so as to make it mean that the psalm is written *in David*, that is, *in David's manner*.^[a]—Titles which indicate the musical instruments, or the leader of the music, or some purpose for which the psalm was composed, may indeed have come down from the age of David, when the choir belonging to the sacred tabernacle and ark, and afterwards to the temple, was instituted. But certainly all of them do not belong to that age. Many are more modern, as is proved by some unusual connexions of words, (see for instance xxx. 1.); yet even these are old, as is shown by their being unintelligible to the Alexandrine translator.—Ancient interpreters, especially the Alexandrine and Syriac, have not unfrequently prefixed their own conjectures.^[b]

[a] See this subject discussed at some length by EICHHORN, Einleit. § 827, especially S. 52. f. *Tr.*]

[b] See ROSENEM. Prolegom. ad Schol. c. iv., especially p. xxvi xxviii. ss. *Tr.*]

§ 170. *A Psalm of Moses.*

The 90th Psalm bears the title לְמֹשֶׁה, *of Moses*; and both its contents and style, the latter of which is similar to that of the poems of Moses in Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii., suit the opinion that he was the author. The complaint which it contains of the short duration and many sorrows of human life was very natural at that period, during the march through Stony Arabia, when man's age was diminished from one hundred and ten or one hundred and twenty years to seventy or eighty, and the Israelites who were upwards of twenty years old when they left Egypt were perishing in quick succession.—The Jews ascribe the ten following psalms also to Moses. But they do this on the ground that those psalms which have no title are to be

attributed to the author whose name occurs in the next preceding title ; a supposition totally unfounded, and which will not bear the slightest examination. In xcix. 6. for instance, *Samuel* is mentioned.

§ 171. *Psalms of David.*

Seventy-one psalms have the name of David in the titles, and the Alexandrine version adds eleven others.[a] But in some instances the language or subject is at variance with the titles, as in the 103d and 139th. Some of the psalms attributed to David by the version just mentioned, may have been composed by him, the 96th for instance, as may also some which have no title naming the author, or have no title at all, as the 2d.—The topics of David's songs are the prosperous and the adverse circumstances which the author had experienced. Now he complains of persecutions and calamities, supplicates for deliverance, and supports himself by the hope of the divine protection ; now again he thanks God for his rescue, imploring his defence in future. At one time he prays for victory over his enemies, lest the Heathen should blaspheme God as destitute of power ; at another he testifies his gratitude for the conquests he had gained, which he ascribes to the divine assistance. Now he bewails his sins, particularly his adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah ; then again he forms pious resolutions and strengthens himself in virtue, declaring that this alone constitutes his felicity, and intreating God to aid him in the arduous path.—The poems of David are by no means sublime, but they are sweet. For this reason those are particularly agreeable which sing the smiling scenes of nature, as the 23d and 42d Psalms. Occasionally indeed they rise to a loftier character, as in the 18th, but they never equal the strains of Moses or of Asaph.

[a] The Psalms ascribed to David are *seventy-three*, viz. iii—ix. xi—xxxii. xxxiv—xli. li—lxv. lxxviii—lxx. lxxxvi. ci. ciii. cviii—cx. cxxii. cxxiv. cxxxi. cxxxiii. cxxxviii—cxlv. Those added by the Alexandrine version are as follows ; xxxiii. xlii. xci. xciv. xcv. xcvi. cxvii. cxviii. ci. cv., according to the numbering of that version. *Tr.*]

§ 172. *Psalms inscribed to the Korahites and to Jeduthun.*

Several of the Psalms (xlⁱⁱ—xl^{ix}, lxxx^{iv}, lxxx^v, lxxx^{vii}, lxxx^{viii}.) are inscribed to the sons or descendants of Korah, not as the authors, but as musicians who performed them in the temple. In the titles of some therefore (xl^v, xl^{vi}, lxxx^{viii}.) the musical instruments to be used are also named, and in one (lxxx^{viii}) the name of the author, Heman, is added.[a] These compositions are generally sublime, but they do not breathe the sweetness of David. It is not certain by whom they were composed.[b]—The word *Jeduthun*, which occurs in some of the titles, is not the name of the author of these psalms, but that of a musical instrument so called from the musician of the same name, who is mentioned in I Chron. xvi. 38, 41. xxv. 1, 3. This is evident from Ps. lxii. 1. lxxvii. 1, compared with Ps. xxxix. 1.[c]

[a] DE WETTE, Einleit. § 269. ann. f.) considers it probable that the ascription of these psalms to the sons of Korah may be intended to designate their authors. He considers Ps. lxxxviii. 1. as affording no objection to this view, as Heman the Esrahite may have been one of the sons of Korah, or the mention of him in the title may have arisen from the amalgamation of contradictory titles. BERTHOLDT, S. 1774, and EICHHORN, § 622, agree with Jahn, whose opinion is, upon the whole, the most probable. *Tr.*]

[b] EICHHORN, (§ 622, 4.) gives them the highest character for poetical worth, and says that “they abound with the loftiest and the most affecting passages.” *Tr.*]

[c] Jahn’s opinion is that of JARCHI. But there is no mention of a musical instrument of this name, and in Ps. xxxix. 1. the inscription is לִירְמֹנִים לְיְהוֹנָתָן. For these reasons ROSENMUELLER, Prol. ad Schol. p. xli. s. considers the word as designating in Ps. xxxix. the musician himself of that name, and in Ps. lxxvii, where לַי is used, a choir formed by him, and governed by rules of his framing; comp. II Chron. xxxv. 15. This is also the opinion of DE WETTE. *Tr.*]

§ 173. *Psalms of Asaph.*

Twelve of the Psalms (l. lxxiii—lxxxiii.) are attributed to Asaph, a very distinguished Levite. See I Chron. vi. 24 (39.) xvi. 5, 7, 37. xxv. 1. But the 74th and 79th mention the destruction of Jeru

salem and the burning of the temple, and are more in character with the Lamentations of Jeremiah. They cannot therefore be Asaph's. But there is not sufficient reason to deny him to be the author of the 77th and 80th, as some do, for these poems may have been composed in David's time, at the commencement of the war with the kings of Zoba or Nesibis, when the Hebrews lost many battles ;[a] and this is indeed quite probable, since the 83d Psalm also mentions a combination of the neighbouring people to destroy the Hebrews. Ps. lxxviii. does not reach the sublimity of Asaph ; v. 69 speaks of the building of the temple, and v. 67, 68, 70. refer to the division of the kingdom ; events which Asaph can hardly be supposed to have lived to see. It is, no doubt, of the age of Rehoboam or Abijah.[b]—But perhaps some of those psalms which are without the author's name were written by Asaph, as the 91st and 97th ; certainly Hezekiah's command that the Psalms of David and Asaph should be sung in the temple intimates that there were more of the latter than are ascribed to him. —This Psalmist excels in poems of an instructive kind ;[c] he is far superior in sublimity to David, and does not yield to Isaiah and Habakkuk. His compositions are finely arranged and beautifully written, less sweet indeed than those of David, but more vehement. No suspicion therefore can arise that these psalms were composed by David and were intended to be performed by Asaph.

[a] The author probably refers to II Sam. viii. 3. ss. ix. But these passages scarcely contain sufficient traces of ill success to warrant the strong expression used in the text. *Tr.*]

[b] DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 269 asserts positively that of all the Psalms ascribed to Asaph, only Ps. l. is certainly his, Ps. lxxiii. lxxv. having merely some features which seem to belong to him. ЕИСНПОРН, *Einleit.* § 622. S. 19. inclines to the same opinion, attributing Ps. lxxiii. lxxiv. lxxv. lxxvii. lxxix. lxxx. lxxxii. to the time of the captivity, and Ps. lxxxxi. to that of the return. Of Ps. lxxvi. lxxviii. lxxxiii. he thinks it impossible to determine the date with accuracy, but considers it certain that they could not have been composed by a contemporary of David, and probable that they belong to the time of the captivity. ROSEN-MUELLER, *Prol. ad. Schol.* p. xv., is of the same opinion. *Tr.*]

[c] "He was one of those ancient wise men who felt the insufficiency of external religious usages, and urged the necessity of cultivating virtue and purity of mind. The 50th psalm is a beautiful illustration of this." ЕТСНН. S. 622. 2. *Tr.*]

§ 174. *The Psalms of Heman and Ethan.*

The titles ascribe the 88th Psalm to Heman and the 89th to Ethan, both called Ezrahites. In this appellative there is some difficulty, (comp. I Kings v. 11. (iv. 31.) with I Chron. ii. 6. vi. 18, 29, (33, 44.) which however has no connexion with the subject before us, for the contents of these psalms show that they are of a more recent date than the age of the persons mentioned in the places referred to.[a] In the 88th we hear the complaints of a person of whose preservation there was scarcely any hope, such as Hezekiah in his pestilential disorder (Isa. xxxviii.), or the leprous king Uzziah might have uttered. The 89th appears like an answer to the complaints of the preceding, speaks of David as a person who had long been dead, dwells upon the great promise which had been given to David, and represents the state of things as if its accomplishment were in great danger, as affairs really stood in the time of Hezekiah's sickness. Some refer this psalm to the last periods of the kingdom of Judah.[b]

[a] In the Germ. Introd. p. 612, 613, the author expresses his opinion that most probably the titles are incorrect, but that the two Levites who are mentioned in I Chron. vi. 18, 29. (33, 44.) are undoubtedly the persons intended. Such is also the opinion of DE WETTE. *Tr.*]

[b] Comp. EICHH. Einleit. § 622. S. 23. f. DATHE. Arg. in Ps. lxxxviii. lxxxix. *Tr.*]

§ 175. *Psalms ascribed to Solomon.*

The 72d and 127th Psalms are ascribed to Solomon. But his name seems to have been prefixed to the latter, for no other reason than because the first verse mentions the building of a house, which was understood of the temple. Even the Alexandrine version, which is generally fuller in the titles of the psalms than the Hebrew text, omits the title of this psalm.—Ps. lxxii. consists of prayers, composed for the inauguration of Solomon, who could not have said all that is therein contained of himself.

§ 176. *Of the anonymous Psalms.*

The Hebrew text does not mention the authors of the other psalms. The Alexandrine version names some, but scarcely ever such as agree with the contents of the psalms themselves. Thus it attributes the 137th to Jeremiah, whereas its author was a returned exile ; the 146th and 147th it ascribes to Haggai and Zechariah, on the mere conjecture that they were the production of one or other of those prophets.

§ 177. *Collection and division of the Psalms.*

The division of the Psalter into five books existed as early as the date of the Alexandrine version.* This appears from the fact that that version contains the doxologies appended to the first four books ; Ps. xl. 13. (xli. 14.) lxxi. 18, 19. (lxxii. 18—20.) lxxxviii. 52. (lxxxix. 53.) cv. (cvi.) 48. The reason of this division may be gathered from the character of the psalms contained in each book. Almost all the psalms of the first book are the work of David. In the second there are twenty-two of David, one of Asaph, and eight anonymous inscribed to the Korahites. The third contains one, the 36th, ascribed to David, and this doubtful ; the remainder are partly Asaph's, partly the work of an uncertain author, and partly anonymous. Two only in the fourth book are ascribed to David, and one, the 90th, to Moses, the others being anonymous. In the fifth, fifteen are assigned to David, one is ascribed conjecturally to Solomon, and the rest are anonymous.—These five books of the Psalms, therefore, are evidently so many different collections, following each other in the order in which they were made. The first person who began the collection put together the psalms of David ; the second, those psalms of David which it was still in his power to glean, admitting a few others ; [a] the third had no psalms of David in view, and when he wished to join his own collection to the former, he added the note at the end of the second book : “ the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended,” lxxii. 20. The fourth collected anonymous psalms,

* [EICHORN divides the Psalms into two parts and five books, the first part ending with the 72d Psalm. § 623. *Tr.*]

and therefore his book exhibits only one of Moses, the 90th, and two of David: the 101st and 103d, the latter of which however is certainly not his. The last made a collection of whatever sacred poems he could gather; he has therefore fifteen of David, and thirty anonymous. This view of the subject readily accounts for the fact, that some psalms contained in an earlier collection again occur in a later, as the 14th and 53d, the 57th and 108th.

It is hardly possible to determine the age of these collections. All, or at least the two last, which contain Chaldaisms, were made after the return from Babylon, at the time of the re-establishment of the temple worship. The 18th Psalm occurs entire in II Sam. xxii.; and therefore it may be inferred that in the author's age the collection of Psalms had not been formed.[*b*] It is doubted on good grounds, whether smaller collections existed in David's time, for divine service at the tabernacle and afterwards in the temple. Such collections were unnecessary, as several copies of single psalms would be sufficient for the Levite singers. The command of Hezekiah to sing the Psalms of David and Asaph in the temple, is no proof of their having been collected together; for they could be sung without any such collection being made.[*c*]

1. In the Alexandrine and Vulgate versions, the 9th and 10th Psalms are connected, and therefore the subsequent numbers are one less than in the Hebrew, as far as the 114th, which again is united with the 115th. The 116th is divided into two, which still continues a deficiency of one in the following numbers; but the division of the 147th into two, completes the number 150.[*d*] These remarks are founded on the Hebrew text. But in seven manuscripts the first Psalm is without a number, being considered as introductory; and Jerome declares, that the Hebrews did not number it. Hence it is that the second Psalm is called the first in Acts xiii. 33.*

2. The word or letters $\overline{\text{ל}}\overline{\text{ל}}\overline{\text{ל}}$ which occurs so often, are variously explained by learned men. The most probable opinion is, that it denotes some musical mark equivalent, perhaps, to our *da capo*. [*e*]

[*a*] DE WETTE supposes this book to be formed of still smaller collections, perhaps 1st, Ps. xlii—l.; 2d, Ps. li—lxv.; enlarged by subsequent additions. He thinks the same of all the three succeeding books. Einleit. § 271. See more in BERTHOLDT, S. 2009. ff. *Tr.*]

* [See the critical editions. *Tr.*]

[b] Jahn thinks it improbable that the author of Samuel would have introduced the Psalm, if the collection of which it was a part had existed in his time. The conclusion does not seem to be very clear; for the author of Samuel may have thought proper to add a psalm to his work from an existing collection, or he may have added it from some common source. *Tr.*]

[c] After all, it is certainly very probable that the use of the Psalms in the public service would give rise to such a collection, for which, perhaps, some private collections would afford a supply. Eichhorn, who examines this subject, thinks that the first part was not originally intended for divine worship,—that David *may* have collected the first book, but not the second,—that there were certainly private collections of David's poems made in early times by religious Hebrews,—and that hence arose our present Psalter. He remarks, that in such a collection some pieces of David's would naturally be omitted, and that if the collector affixed David's name to those Psalms only, to which he found it affixed in his copy, or which he certainly knew to belong to David, it will be seen why in the first collection, which contains a large part of David's poems, his name is sometimes omitted. Such a private collection would become enriched in the course of time with other poems, either of David or of other authors. See § 624, p. 33—37. *Tr.*]

[d] The following table, from DE WETTE, exhibits at one view the different numerations of the Hebrew and the Alexandrine version.

Ps. i—viii.	in Heb.	are	Ps. i—viii.	in LXX.
“ ix, x.	“	“	ix.	“
“ xi—cxiii.	“	“	x—cxii.	“
“ cxiv, cxv.	“	“	cxiii.	“
“ cxvi.	“	“	cxiv, cxv.	“
“ cxvii—cxlvi.	“	“	cxvi—cxlv.	“
“ cxlvii.	“	“	cxlvi, cxlvii.	“
“ cxlviii—cl.	“	“	cxlviii—cl.	“
	to which is added	“	cli	“ <i>Tr.</i>]

[e] See Germ. Introd. p. 721. ROSENM. Proleg. ad Schol. P. lix—ixii. *Tr.*]

§ 178. *The Psalms of Degrees.*

Fifteen Psalms (cxx—cxxxiv.) have each the title שִׁירֵי הַמַּעֲלוֹת, which is usually translated *a song of degrees* but which might be rendered *a song of goings up*, that is to say, of journeyings to Jerusalem. It can hardly indicate the return from Babylon, not to say that the 126th Psalm was composed some time after that event. It refers to

the customary journeys to Jerusalem in order to celebrate the festivals; for these were not performed singly, but, in the oriental manner, in companies, chanting perhaps these songs by the way. The expression is very appropriate to these journeys, for the orientals are fond of using the phraseology *going up*, in reference to journeys to the metropolis.[a]

[a] See *Dissertatio Chorographica notiones superi et inferi, indeque ascensus et decensus in chorographis sacris occurrentis evolvens*, ab A. G. BAUMGARTEN, *Hale Magd.* 1735. § 36. in *Commentationes Theologicæ a VELTHUSEN, KUINOEL et RUPERTI editæ, Lips.* 1798. Vol. V. p. 455. Comp. also JAHN'S *Archæology*, Upham's translation, § 229. *Tr.*]

§ 179. *Whether there are any Psalms composed for choirs.*

It is evident from Ps. xxiv. cxviii. and cxxxvi. that in some Psalms there are two choirs that chant. But it is not probable that wherever the person speaking is varied, as in Ps. ii. xxi. lxxxix. xci. xc. cix. cxxi. cxxvi. cxxviii., the choirs were also changed; and much less, that where no change of the person speaking is observable, different choirs may still be distinguished, as NACHTIGAL contends, in his book entitled *Zion*, 1796.

The penitential Psalms (vi. xxv. xxxii. xxxv. xxxviii. li. and cxxx.) in the divine service,* are collected according to their subject; although all of them do not express penitence, but some utter complaints against enemies. The alphabetical Psalms (xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxix. and cxlv.) comprise a variety of subjects; yet they deserve to be compared, for the purpose of examining the Hebrew method of versification.

* [The author alludes to the service of the Romish church. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON.

§ 180. *Proverbs of Solomon.*

THE book of Proverbs is entitled משלי שלמה, where the word

משלי, as is evident from the Arabic *Ḥikm*, does not mean *proverbs*

in the strict sense of the term, but sententious declarations, such as the book really contains, relative to virtue and vice. to the conduct of domestic and public matters, to the education of offspring, to the government of a state. to the duties of children, parents, subjects, judges, magistrates and kings, to good and evil, and to happiness and misery. These declarations are. in some respects similar to the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, and to the Proverbs of Lockman and Meidan. [a]

[a] See EICHORN, Einleit. § 630, entitled, Of the universality of Moral Sentences among the Ancients; and HOLDEN'S Preliminary Dissertation to his Attempt towards an Improved Translation of the Proverbs of Solomon, 8vo. London, 1819; p. vi. ss. Tr.]

§ 181. *Contents of the book of Proverbs.*

The book consists of three principal parts.

I. The first part, i.—ix., is a commendation of *wisdom*. This expression is used to denote a wise course of conduct founded on correct views, and an inquiry after such knowledge as leads to a circumspect and virtuous life. Of this the fear of God, that is. true religion, is made the principal thing, and as it were the basis. Wicked-

ness is then the very contrary. This commendation is urged upon the attention of the young, accompanied by those eternal truths, which can never be uttered too frequently nor with sufficient earnestness.

II. The second part, x.—xxii. 16, to which is prefixed the title of “the Proverbs of Solomon” is complete in itself, and contains short sententious declarations generally unconnected, although sometimes a connexion with the preceding sentence may be discovered.

III The third part comprehends the remainder of the book, and comprises six small divisions.—1) The *first* begins with another commendation of wisdom, and then contains moral declarations somewhat more at length, relating chiefly to rich men and nobles, xxii. 17—xxiv. 22.—2) The *second* division is introduced by a remarkable title, “*these* also belong to the wise” or “are from the wise,” and exhibits brief unconnected sentences, v. 23—34.—3) The *third* division, as the title shows, contains the collection of Solomon’s proverbs, which was made by the learned under the reign of Hezekiah xxv—xxix.—4) The *fourth* portion is composed of sayings of an unknown person, Agur the son of Jakeh. c. xxx. Jerome mistook this proper name for an appellative, and in the Vulgate translated the expression thus without any meaning, “*verba congregantis filii vomentis.*” The style of this part differs from that of the others, [a]—5) the *fifth* part relates the instruction of a queen to her son, king Lemuel. Both mother and son are alike unknown and it has been conjectured that perhaps they are parabolical persons, and that Agur before mentioned is the author of the piece xxxi. 1—9.—6) The *last* contains a description of a virtuous woman, in which the initial letters of the verses follow the order of the alphabet. xxxi. 10—31.

[a] HOLDEN, Prel. Diss. p. xvii. s. conjectures that Agur and Lemuel were both real personages, and respectively the authors of the 4th and 5th parts of the Book of Proverbs, in opposition to those who suppose that they are merely different names of Solomon. For a statement of various opinions on this subject and a refutation of them, see HOLDEN, pp. xvii.—xxv. Tr.¹

§ 182. *Whether Solomon is the author of the Proverbs.*

These sententious sayings, with the exception of those contained in c. xxx, xxxi., which the title ascribes to Agur, are attributed in i. 1. x. 1. xxv. 1. to Solomon, who is said in I Kings, v. 12. (iv. 32.) to have composed 3000 proverbs. That they are the work of one author is proved, not only by the frequent recurrence of some particular words, as קָרָה for *city*, in viii. 3. ix. 3, 14 xi. 11., and חֲרָי בְּטֵן for *the inmost parts*, in xviii. 8. xx. 27 30. xxvi. 22 comp. vii. 27., but also by the sameness of the style throughout; so that the fact of Solomon's having been the author, which is implied in xxii. 20—22 and expressly declared in xxv. 1. can hardly be considered as doubtful. So large a number of sayings could not indeed have proceeded from a single author continuously and without intermission; but it involves no difficulty, to suppose as many, or even more, to have been uttered during a considerable period of time and at various intervals.

But no one would maintain that the book as we now have it was published by Solomon, for the titles show that the two last chapters are not his, and that the proverbs after xxv. 1., were collected by learned men of Hezekiah's reign. Indeed it does not seem probable, that Solomon composed the first 24 chapters in the state in which they are at present. In I Kings, v. 12. (iv. 32.) our book of Proverbs is not attributed to Solomon; it is only said that he *spoke* 3000 proverbs. It seems, therefore, that on various occasions he uttered *viva voce* these and many other sayings, and that the royal notary or chancellor, הַסֵּפֶר, in discharge of his office, entered these in the annals of the kingdom, noting also the occasion on which the king had uttered any proverb. Afterwards, perhaps at the king's command, these sayings were collected from the annals by the chancellor. and, omitting the occasion when they were uttered, introduced into a separate volume, to which the king wrote or dictated the exordium. i—ix. From this work, which it was troublesome to transcribe in full, different persons wrote out such portions as were particularly agreeable to them, so that the complete work itself was but seldom transcribed. and at length perished. A great part of the book therefore was lost: and, upon the loss being observed, the deficiencies were as far as pos-

sible supplied from other copies equally defective. In this way, we have what is contained in xxii. 17—xxix, to which the two last chapters have been subsequently added. This hypothesis accounts for the facts, that several of the proverbs are repeated as is the case in xiv. 31. and xvii. 5; xix. 12. and xx. 2; xxii. 28. and xxiii. 10; xxii. 13. and xxvi. 13; xix. 24. and xxvi. 15; xix. 13. and xxvii. 15; xxii. 3. and xxvii. 12; xx. 16. and xxvii. 13; that some occur three times, as in xiv. 12. xvi. 25. and xxi. 2; and some even five, as in xvii. 1. xix. 13. xxi. 9, 19. xxv. 25. It also explains why some proverbs are repeated immediately, as x. 8, 10. xix. 5, 9. xx. 10, 23; for as the king would repeat the same saying often, and sometimes with but a short intermission, as another suitable occasion arose the chancellor inserted in the annals the saying and the new occasion which gave rise to it, but when he made his extracts from the annals, he repeated the saying, omitting the occasion.[a]

[a] This account of the compilation of the Book of Proverbs is certainly nothing more than what it is styled by the author, *an hypothesis*, of the probability of which the reader must form his own opinion. It is, however, certain, that the first three parts are the production of Solomon himself, whatever may have been the method in which they obtained their present form. EICHORN supposes that the proverbs of other wise men antecedent to Solomon and contemporary with him are intermingled with those of that monarch. Einleit. § 635 DE WETTE, as might be expected, is of the same opinion. Einleit. § 281. Tr.]

§ 183. *Style of the Proverbs.*

Although the language of the book of Proverbs does contain some words rather modern it has none that are foreign. The style is simple, pointed, and occasionally enigmatical. The personification of wisdom, which often occurs in the first part of the book, is a bold figure, but it is well sustained, for the allegorical person always acts and speaks agreeably to her elevated character. The sentences are constructed in verse, and frequently some kind of rhyme may be observed as in vii. 13—15.

והחזיקה בו ונשקה לו

העזה פניה ותאמר לו

וּבְחֵי שְׁלֵמִים עַל־
 חֵי : : : :
 הַיּוֹם שְׁלֵמֹתַי נִדְרִי :
 חֵי : : : :
 עַל־כֵּן יִצְאֵתִי לְקִרְאָתְךָ
 חֵי : : : :
 לְשַׁחַר פְּנִיךָ וְאִמְצֵאךָ :
 חֵי : : : :

Comp. also xxix. 17.[a]

[a] The similarity of termination, however, in these instances, may be merely accidental, required by the sense and parallelism.—The character of the style of this book given by Holden, is beautiful and true. “Though in the charms of high-wrought poetry it must yield to several parts of the sacred volume, yet, in judicious brevity, in elegant conciseness, in nice adjustment of expressions, and in that terseness of diction, which gives weight to precept, and poignancy to aphoristic truth, it stands pre-eminent, and remains an illustrious monument to the glory of its author.” *Prel. Diss.* p. xxxviii. Comp. also *LOWTH*, *Prael. de Sac. Poes. Heb.* p. 313, *Oxon.* 1810, and in *GREGORY*’s *Trans.* p. 336. s. ed. *Boston*, 1815. *Tr.*]

§ 184. *Use of the Proverbs.*

The Proverbs are not only of great utility in enabling us to understand clearly the character of Hebrew poetry by means of the parallel structure of their members, but are also admirably adapted to give instruction by the treasures of practical wisdom which their contents open to us.[a] This method of teaching by sententious sayings is very ancient, and suited to the less cultivated classes of mankind in every age, by whom long treatises are not read; nor, if they were, would they be understood or remembered. Brief sentences easily make a deep impression on the mind, please by their pointedness, are recalled as occasions present themselves, and thus afford a rule of conduct. Hence the abundant use which is made of these proverbs in the New Testament.[b] The apostles found their moral instructions chiefly on this book, and many places in the epistles are scarcely intelligible, unless they are compared with the proverbs of Solomon, from which they are drawn. Julian the Apostate, who pompously expressed his contempt for our proverbs, depreciating them far below the works of Phocylides, Theognis, and Isocrates, has betrayed in this opinion his want of judgment. *CYRILL. ALEXAND. L. VII. cont. Julian.*

In the Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, c. i., the Proverbs of Solomon are attributed to Hezekiah. But this is true only of the collection in xxv—xxix. When in *Massecheth Shabbath*, c. ii. p. 30., it is disputed whether the book of Proverbs is canonical,[c] this is hardly anything else than an examination of scruples which had arisen in the minds of one or two Jews; for in the age of Jesus, of the Apostles, and of Josephus, the authority of the book was undoubted.

[a] See this more fully represented by HOLDEN, Prelim. Dissert. p. xl. ss. *Tr.*]

[b] See a list of the quotations from this book in the New Testament, in CARPZOV, *Introd.* P. II. p. 184., or in HOLDEN, p. xxvii. *Tr.*]

[c] See HOLDEN, Prel. Diss. p. xxviii. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III

OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

§ 185. *Contents of the Book.*

[The book of Job consists of an *introduction*, i. 1—iii. 1., a *discussion*, iii. 2—xlii. 6., and a *conclusion*, xlii. 7—17.

In the *introduction* two celestial counsels are held, in which one of the sons of God or the appointed inspectors of his kingdom, charges Job with practising virtue from interested motives. Hereupon he receives from God full power to put this rich and pious man to the proof, and Job hears from one messenger after another accounts of the loss of all his flocks, servants, and children. The impoverished and childless man nevertheless still praises God. In order to try him further the accuser is permitted to afflict his body, only with the condition of sparing his life. Job is immediately attacked with a shocking disease, the scabbed leprosy,* but in this hard trial he still remains unshaken in his piety. In this miserable condition he is visited by Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite, who bewail the lamentable state of their friend, and for seven days and nights remain in mournful silence, i. ii.

At last Job breaks out in bitter complaints, and curses the day of his birth, c. iii. Eliphaz endeavours to comfort him, and thus arises a long *discussion* between Job and his friends on the question, whether afflictions are in all cases the punishment of sin, and whether the pious and virtuous man under the righteous divine government of the world, can languish in misery, without being restored to happiness. Eliphaz in his discourse had said that sufferings are the pun-

* See MICHAELIS, Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. voce שָׂרָף No. 2457. Tr.]

ishment of sin, and that Job as a virtuous man could not sink under his affliction, but must again become happy, c. iv. v. Job rejects this consolation, sees nothing but death before him, and denies that his sins have merited such sufferings, c. vi. vii. Bildad then presses him more closely, maintaining that his children have been swept away as vicious persons, and that now the punishment extends itself to the too indulgent father, c. viii. In reply, Job shows that God destroys according to his pleasure the virtuous and the vicious, of which truth he is himself an unhappy illustration, since he suffers innocently without hope of restoration, c. ix. x. Upon this, the third friend, Zophar, denounces Job as a bad man, whose crimes are not unknown to God, and are now punished, c. xi. In answer to this reproach, Job maintains with feeling, not unaccompanied with bitterness, that the prosperity of bad men must be universally acknowledged; that this was to be learned from the beasts and plants, and was taught in ancient poems, and had often been observed by himself; he warns his friends not to defend the justice of God so badly, lest he should punish them: he calls upon God himself to make known the crimes which he must have committed, and then sinks back into lamentations, c. xii—xiv.

In the second dialogue Eliphaz grows warmer, and declares Job's speeches to be vain, boasting, presumptuous, and even injurious to virtue. Job should not regard the instructions of his friends with so much contempt, for he could not be entirely pure from sin; it is a truth confirmed by experience and the lessons of the ancients, that the wicked are not only in continual terror, but meet with a terrible end, c. xv. To this Job replies, that such are miserable consolations, that now he hath no hope of his innocence being acknowledged, but that it is known to God in heaven; that nothing but death is before him; ending, as he generally does, with distressful lamentations, c. xvi. xvii. Bildad answers, that Job's complaints would produce no change, that the sinner comes always to an unhappy end, which he describes with evident allusion to the wretched state of Job, c. xviii. Again Job asserts his innocence, of which he is so completely conscious, that his previous wish becomes a firm hope that God will appear and show his opponents the truth: this he ardently expects, c. xix. Zophar, indignant at Job's speech, replies that the happiness of the wicked is never lasting, and in his description of their punishment.

alludes to the affliction of Job, c. xx. On the other hand Job continues to affirm that sinners are happy ; that their joys are not lasting is contrary to experience ; the infelicity of their children is not felt by the deceased parents : in short, happiness and misery are distributed by GOD according to his good pleasure, c. xxi.

Eliphaz now in the third dialogue, becomes completely exasperated, and, like Bildad and Zophar, denounces Job as a great sinner, whom nothing but deep repentance can deliver. He recounts the crimes of Job as if he had seen them all with his own eyes. He charges him with having maintained, that the conduct of man is a matter of indifference with GOD ; which Job had not said, c. xxii. Job repeats his wish to appear before GOD, and his hope that his innocence should be attested, but complains that he cannot meet with him. He continues to support his opinion respecting the happy state of bad men by experience, c. xxiii. xxiv. Bildad is unable to contradict this, and therefore merely declares, that all complaints against GOD's omnipotence are vain, and that no one is pure in his presence c. xxv. This, Job says, was very well known to him, and describes the grandeur and holiness of the DEITY better than Bildad had done, c. xxvi. In this third dialogue Zophar has nothing to answer, and is silent.

Since now no one has anything further to reply to Job's arguments, he proceeds triumphantly, and defends his innocence, and his doctrine of the divine distribution of happiness and misery. Were he conscious of evil, he would not have appealed to the judgment of his Maker. But although GOD does distribute happiness and misery according to his own pleasure, yet he has always reasons, which man, although he has discovered much, and has spied out even the gold in the bowels of the earth, is incompetent to explore, c. xxvii. xxviii. He then depicts his former condition, and his pious and virtuous conduct, contrasting with it his present state of wretchedness, in order to show that his losses are not attributable to any criminal course of conduct. He expresses at last another wish to be able to vindicate himself before God, c. xxix--xxx.

Now the subject is taken up by Elihu the Busite, a son of Barachel of the family of Ram. This young man, who is not mentioned among the friends of Job, and yet must have been with him, since he had heard all that had passed, had observed that both parties had gone too

far, the friends in charging Job with crimes, and he in maintaining his innocence. He agrees with his predecessors that misery is the punishment of sin, and that the innocent man cannot remain irrecoverably unhappy; only he supposes that Job may have committed sins unconsciously, and have been somewhat overbearing in his prosperity. Now it is the divine intention to humble him, and after salutary admonitions to restore him to a happy condition.—This is in fact nothing more than had been already advanced, which Elihu repeats in different words: Job had sinned, is now punished, and if he repents will be again blessed with prosperity. No one therefore thinks this man of words worthy of an answer, and this he regards as an evidence of decided superiority, and speaks on that account with the greater confidence. When at last thunder is heard at a distance he describes the power of God which is displayed in this occurrence, c. xxxii.—xxxvii.

Suddenly God himself appears in the thunder cloud, which at first Job had merely wished, afterwards had hoped, and at last had again wished, but which his friends had constantly represented as something which was not to be expected. God proposes to Job questions on the creation and organization of the physical world and of the animal kingdom, to answer which it would have been necessary for Job to have taken part in the creation, and to have surveyed the whole plan, together with the causes and designs. Job acknowledges his ignorance, and learns from hence that it is bold and presumptuous for human powers to attempt to comprehend God's government of man, c. xxxviii.—xlii. 6.

In the *conclusion*, God declares that the three friends had not spoken so justly of him as Job himself had done; that they should be forgiven on condition of presenting a burnt offering, and that Job should intercede for them. Job himself is restored to health, his wealth is doubled, he becomes the father of seven sons and three beautiful daughters, and his life is prolonged 140 years, xlii. 7—17.

§ 186. *Arrangement and Style.*

The arrangement and style of this book exhibit much ingenuity. —The *introduction* explains to the reader the state of the question which is the subject of the subsequent discussion. This is done by

representing two councils (so to speak) of the DEITY, held in heaven. In these all the circumstances are apt and well arranged.—God is introduced as the benignant ruler and just judge of the universe. Among his sons or ministers who stand in his presence, is one, more acute than the rest who vaunts of being able to discover whatever latent evil any where exists, and is continually preferring accusations before the divine judge, on which account he has acquired the name of SATAN, שָׂטָן, *the accuser*. He speaks in perfect consistency with his character. When, on his representation the integrity of Job is put to the proof, the calamities of that just man follow each other in rapid succession, so that his spirits are broken as it were by constantly repeated strokes. The black leprosy, an execrable disease, which was considered as a punishment inflicted by the especial direction of the DEITY is selected as best adapted to excite the controversy; and Job, although reduced to a most wretched condition, is still possessed of his reason, that he may dispute with his friends on the cause of his misery.

The *introduction* and *conclusion*, are written in prose, but the *discussion* and the *speech of the DEITY* are composed in a high strain of poetry, to which there is nothing comparable in the other Hebrew books unless it be the poems of Moses, Exod. xv. Deut. xxxii. Ps. xc. Yet all the interlocutors do not speak in the same style. The discourses of Job are superior to the others; his friends have each his respective language; the revelations and poetry of remoter ages which are introduced, are conceived in a sublimer style, iv. 17—21. viii. 11—19. xii. 13—25. xv. 20—35; and the discourses of God very far excel all the other parts of the book. In those of Elihu some affectation is observable, which shows the talent of the writer; for this speaker ought to make his appearance, like a young sciolist, with an artificial modesty and high opinion of his own knowledge. Notices of various *subjects* are also introduced in this small work with remarkable ingenuity. They relate principally to God, to religion, to morals and to natural history especially that of certain animals, as the war horse, the hippopotamus and the crocodile, xxxix. 19. xli. 26. (34) See also the passages relating to mines, xxviii. and to the stars, ix. 7—9. xxvi. 13. xxxvii. 9. xxxviii. 31. 32.

The *character* of each person is well sustained through the whole book. JOB, every where consistent. pious, conscious of his own uprightness, but depressed by misery, weighed down by disease, and irritated by the clamorous accusations of his friends, is hurried on to make some rash assertions. Confident in his own innocence, his appeals to GOD are sometimes too bold, and his attacks upon his friends too harsh, but he always ends in complaints, and excuses his vehemence on account of the magnitude of his calamity. His *friends*, all sincere worshippers of the true GOD, and earnest advocates of virtue, agree in the opinion that divine justice invariably punishes the wicked, and rewards the good with present happiness. They endeavour to prove this. by appeals to more ancient revelations, to the opinions of those who had lived in former times, and to experience, apprehensive lest the contrary assertion of Job should injure morals and religion. They all speak of angels. Nevertheless they differ from each other in many other matters.—ELIPHAZ is superior to the others in discernment and in delicacy. He begins by addressing Job mildly, and it is not until irritated by contradiction that he reckons him among the wicked.—BILDAD, less discerning and less polished, breaks out at first in accusations against Job, and increases in vehemence : in the end however, he is reduced to a mere repetition of his former arguments.—ZOPHAR is inferior to his companions in both these respects. At first his discourse is characterized by rusticity ; his second address adds but little to the first, and in the third dialogue he has no reply to make.—ELIHU manifests a degree of veneration for Job and his friends, but speaks like an inflated youth, wishing to conceal his self-sufficiency under the appearance of modesty.—GOD is introduced in all his majesty, speaking from a tempestuous cloud. in the style of one with whose honour it is not consistent to render an account of his government, and to settle the agitated question, which is above the reach of human intellect. He therefore merely silences the disputants.—The *feelings* of the interlocutors, as is natural, become warm in the progress of the controversy, and each speaker returns to the stage with an increased degree of eagerness and impetuosity.[a]

[a] For an eloquent review of the character of each speaker in the book of Job, see EICHHORN'S *Einleit.* § 640, S. 143—148. "All that I can say," observes this elegant writer, "respecting the beauties of this book, is much too weak; they must be felt and enjoyed, not spoken of." He then proceeds to illustrate the characters in the poem, S. 148—151. *Tr.*]

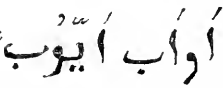
§ 187. *Opinions respecting the Contents of the Book.*

The ancients in general, considered the book of Job as containing a true history, while most modern critics regard it as a parabolical fiction.* Others, attempting a middle course, allow that the principal points of the narrative are real history, but maintain that the arrangement and style are intended for poetical effect. The observation of BERNARD LAMY, priest of the Oratory, in his *Apparatus Biblicus*, 1723 p. 336, is worthy of being mentioned: "It is to be remarked in general, that the book of Job is useful, even if Job himself never existed; as the Jews say in the Talmud, (*Baba Bathra* I. p. 15.) that Job was never created, and that his book is a parable."—I shall state the grounds of the different opinions, leaving it to the reader to form his own judgment.

§ 188. *Job not a history but a parable.*

In opposition to the historical truth of the account the following arguments are advanced.—1) The consultations of God in heaven with his sons or attendant angels, the introduction of so extraordinary an accuser, and the power ascribed to him of doing various things on earth, do not seem like reality; and no trace of vision is any where to be seen. If now the prologue, which exhibits a solution of the question discussed in the work, be fictitious, the discussion itself cannot be a historical event.—2) The arrangement and style show too much art to be consistent with a historical transaction; the sick man and his condoling friends could not have poured forth at the instant such sublime strains. And if all the discourses were uttered as they were related, they must have been taken by an

* [The author, it is presumed, refers more particularly to those of his own country. *Tr.*]

expert writer, which is neither probable nor consistent with the complaint of Job in xix. 23, 24.—3) It is incredible that God should have spoken from a cloud almost half an hour, with no other end than to quiet four disputants.—These are the principal arguments on the one side. But they prove no more than this, that the whole of the narrative is not history; there may still be a real history as the ground work, ornamented in this way by the poet. Other alleged proofs are of less consequence, such as the frequent *round numbers*, *the omission of Job's genealogy*, also of the *names of his sons*, while those of his daughters are mentioned, the omitting to state whether Job's children after his recovery were *by the same or a second wife*; *the length of his age*, which must have extended to 200 years; and lastly, *the name itself*, יָוֵב,* in Arabic  *repenting.*

returning to God, praising God, which is thought to be fictitious and adapted to the narrative.[a]

[a] See MAGEE on the Atonement, note LIX. Vol. II. p. 43—56. ed. Lond. 1816. The opinion advocated in this section is that of MAIMONIDES, Moreh Nevochim, P. III. c. xxii. p. 395. ss.; of LE CLERC, Sentimens de quelques Theologiens, p. 274. ss., although he expresses it with hesitation, and in his Commentary on Job is entirely undecided, “rem in mendio relinquens,” says the friend who published it, in his preface; of SEMLER, App. ad Int. V. et N. T. p. 171. s.; of MICHAELIS, Einl. in die Göttl. Schr. d. A. B. S. I. ff., and Epimetron in LOWTHII Prael. de Poes. Heb. Vol. I. p. 171—182, ed. Oxon. 1763; and of a multitude of subsequent German writers. Tr.]

§ 189. *Job a true history.*

Those who consider the book of Job as historical, allege—1) that ‘in Ezek. xiv. 14, 16, 20, Job is introduced as a real person along with Noah and Daniel.’ But certainly fictitious personages may be brought upon the stage along with real; and this is evident from Luke xvi. 19. ss. where Abraham is introduced in company with the fictitious characters Lazarus and the rich man.[a]—2) The Apostle James speaks of the patience of Job, and of the end with

* [See ROSENM. Proleg. ad Schol. in Job., § 3. not. 1.) Tr.]

which God crowned his calamities, v. 11 ; and hence it is argued, that he considered the book of Job as a true history. But others maintain that the Apostle means nothing more than that Christians had heard the book of Job read in the church ; not at all that the book contains a real history ; for even the parables which occur in scripture, and the characters introduced in them, although avowedly fictitious, are used as examples. If a preacher were to speak of the unbounded benevolence of the good Samaritan, and of what Jesus has said of him, it would not follow that he considered the Samaritan as a real person, and the parable in Luke x. 30—37, as a true history.

—3) In the book of Tobit, ii 12, it is said that “ when he was an old man he was tried with blindness, that, like Job, he might give posterity an example of patience,” and in v. 15, “ that as Job was formerly insulted by kings, so was Tobias by his connexions.” But it is replied, that these passages do not occur either in the Greek text or in the Syriac or Arabic versions, and that they are additions of the Jew by whose dictation Jerome translated the Chaldee text of Tobit into Latin. Besides, it is also questioned, whether the book of Tobit itself be a true history.—4) It was the general opinion of the fathers, that the book of Job is the narrative of a real transaction. To this it is said on the other hand that no father of the church had written on Job until the end of the 6th century, when Gregory first published his commentary on this book in which he confined himself to its moral sense, and therefore to boast of the consent of fathers is altogether idle ; and moreover, if it could be shown, nothing could be inferred from it, because the decision of the Council of Trent (Sess. IV.) only prohibits exposition of Scripture against the unanimous consent of fathers *in relation to faith and practice*, on neither of which has the question under discussion any bearing.—5) It is urged also that the Orientals point out the sepulchre of Job. If any thing can be inferred from this circumstance, it is simply the fact, that some person of this name has formerly lived ; not that our book of Job contains a real history. Besides, no credit is to be given to these representations of eastern people ; for they show not one, but six sepulchres of Job, widely distant from each other.—6) Lastly, the subscription of the Peshito version is appealed to, which was known to Origen, and which speaks of Job as a king of the Edomites. To this it is

replied, that if the subscription were even more ancient than the time of Christ, it would still be too modern to prove any thing in relation to a fact of such high antiquity; and that it is a mere conjecture founded on the trifling similitude of the name of Job with that of Jobab, a king of the Edomites.

[a] There is, however, an evident difference between a parable, expressly purporting to be fictitious, and a solemn rebuke or warning to a whole nation. Besides, in Luke the circumstances predicated of *all* the characters are fictitious; in Ezekiel, they are unquestionably true with relation to Noah and Daniel, and might reasonably be expected to be so in the other instance associated with these two. *Tr.*]

§ 190. *Whether the book of Job is founded on real history.*

Such are the arguments which are adduced on both sides of this question. They neither disprove the existence of some wealthy and pious man, agitated and distressed by severe reverses of fortune, nor do they confirm the truth of every part of the narrative. Hence the opinion has arisen, that the principal parts are founded in truth, and that the others are added by the writer for the sake of embellishment. This is maintained by HUET, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Prop. IV. § 2. p. 241, BERNARD LAMY, *Apparatus Biblicus*, p. 336, and DUPIN, *Prolegomenes sur la Bible*, P. I. L. I. ch. 3. § 10. p. 93—95, [on the Canon, p. 98. ss.] and by other learned Catholic divines. They do not indeed adduce arguments sufficient to prove the truth of the chief points in the account, except this one, that poets are accustomed to select their subjects from history, [a] which they suppose the author of the book of Job to have done. [b]

[a] EICHHORN illustrates this observation by referring to the poems of Homer. *Einleit.* § 638, 639. *Tr.*]

[b] Upon the whole it seems to be most probable, that Job and his friends were real persons; that the prominent circumstances related in the book were matters of fact, which, in order to produce the most effect, the poet embellishes; that so much of the introduction as relates to Satan's appearance before God and the consultations in heaven resulting in permission to put Job's piety to the test, is allegorical, intended to introduce the more graphically the causes and origin of his trials, and to afford a solution of the question discussed in the poem; and that God's speaking out of the whirlwind is a strong and sublime effort of the author's

splendid imagination, by which he terminates the controversy in the most masterly manner.

Such is the opinion of LOWTH, which is of the highest authority in a question of this nature. He says: "The truth of this narrative would never, I am persuaded, have been called in question, but from the immoderate affection of some allegorizing mystics for their own fictions, which run to such excess, as to prevent them from acceding to anything but what was visionary and typical. When I speak of the poem as founded in fact, I would be understood no further than concerns the general subject of the narrative, for I apprehend all the dialogue, and most likely some other parts, have partaken largely of the embellishments of poetry; but I cannot allow that this has by any means extended so far as to convert the whole into an allegory." *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, Lect. xxxii. GREGORY'S Trans. p. 452. ed. *Boston*, 1815.—ROSENMUELLER, *Prol. ad Schol.* p. 8.; DOEDERLEIN, as there quoted; PAREAU, *Inst. Interp. Vet. Test.* p. 551.; and MAGEE on *Atonement*, Note LI. p. 54, 56., accede to this opinion. *Tr.*]

§ 191. *Design of the Author of the Book of Job.*

Whatever may be thought of the contents of the book, it was the intention of the author to inculcate this lesson; 'that the reasons on account of which good men are often obliged to contend with adversity, and bad men enjoy prosperity, even to the end of life are inscrutable, and therefore that the one is no evidence of wickedness nor the other of goodness; that GOD does not always determine the lot of mortals according to their virtue or vice, but is frequently governed by other motives of the most equitable kind, which it is impossible for man to comprehend.' This is illustrated by the example of JOB, who was afflicted with so many evils in order that the sincerity of his virtue might be the more conspicuous; a design which was not perceived by any of his friends. The sentiment of JOB, who is declared by the DEITY to have spoken more correctly than the others, was the sentiment of the author, that good men might be afflicted even to the end of life, and that, for inscrutable but still equitable causes, GOD had so determined. It is therefore evident that the author was on the point of perceiving the doctrine of future rewards and punishments; but his view did not penetrate quite so far, as neither did the authors of psalms xxxvii. xxxix. and lxxii. who discuss the same subject.

1. The celebrated text in xix. 23—27, cannot be explained, according to the usage of language and the intention of the author, in reference to the resurrection of the dead; but it expresses Job's wish and hope that **GOD** would bear testimony to his innocence in the present life. In this respect indeed Job is at variance with himself, because he says elsewhere, that nothing but death awaits him; but such inconsistency is altogether in character with the state of a sick man complaining of his distresses. [a]

2. Some contend, that it was the intention of the author to illustrate the sentiment advanced by Elihu, that **GOD** sends calamities upon good men who have suffered themselves to be somewhat arrogant in prosperity, in order that they may be admonished thereby and return to a proper course of life, and afterwards regain their prosperous condition. But **GOD**, in his discourse, makes no mention of Elihu, but testifies that Job had spoken more conformably to truth than the others; and if the author had designed to convey his own opinion in the language of Elihu, he would have introduced this man as a person of years and gravity, and not as an inflated youth with an affectation of modesty. Besides, this opinion is inconsistent with the introduction, from which it appears that the design of Job's calamities was to prove the sincerity of his virtue.

[a] Whatever may be the true meaning of this passage, which commentators of high authority have so variously interpreted, the author has certainly expressed himself with too much positiveness. It is indeed very possible that Job intended nothing more than to assert his confidence that **GOD** would interpose to rescue him from the accusations of his calumniators, and by some visible manifestation vindicate the character of his servant. This view of the text would coincide with the manner in which the poem terminates, when **GOD** appears and frees Job from the charges which had been brought against him. But that Job referred to the resurrection of his own body, distressed and excoriated by the loathsome disease under which he was labouring, and to the **ALMIGHTY**'s vindicating the claims which he had constantly made to uprightness and integrity of character by a public recognition of his innocence at some future time, is not inconsistent with the circumstances of the case, or the views entertained by good men at that period on the subject of the resurrection (see Heb. xi. 19.), nor is it at variance with the use of language. Rosenmüller, who will not be considered as biassed towards any views of texts in the Old Testament particularly coincident with doctrines disclosed in the New, considers the passage in this light, and the 23d and 24th verses as intended to refer to the highly important avowal which immediately follows. His translation is this:

25. Equidem scio vindicem meum vivere,
Fumque novissimum pulveri adstiturum.

26. Et postquam corpus meum, hoc inquam, consumptum fuerit.
E carne mea adspiciam Deum.
27. Quem ego visurus sum mihi;
Oculi spectabunt mei, non alieni.

In the 25th verse, (the former clause of which he makes equivalent to *xvi. 19.* where Job declares that he hath a witness in heaven,) he considers the speaker as avowing his belief that GOD will continue to survive him, and that he who permanently endures will stand by him and show a care for his remains. This, says he, and what follows, are intended as a reply to the unjust suspicions and accusations of his friends, who pronounced him a despiser of GOD suffering under the merited punishment of his impiety, in opposition to which charges he makes this solemn profession of his faith. So far from disregarding God or accusing him of injustice, he is firmly persuaded that after his death he will appear to vindicate him, and the eternal existence of his vindicator constitutes his consolation.

The manner in which this German critic expresses himself respecting the belief in a resurrection being entertained by Job, is worthy of attention, and particularly as Dr. Jahn seems to consider it as a doctrine unknown in the patriarchal age. With this view the following passage is translated. "Job declares in the clearest terms the hope which he constantly cherished that he should see GOD with the eyes of his restored body. Many interpreters indeed, both of our own and of former ages, deny that those who lived at the time when this book was written entertained such a hope as that which this passage expresses according to the interpretation of it which I have given, and H. P. C. Henke* has shown that many fathers of the church, who treat of the resurrection, either entirely omit this text, or explain it in reference to Job's restoration to his former happy condition. But there is no reason to deny that Job cherished the hope which the simple sense of his words exhibits, that the sleep of his death would not be eternal, but that at some future time GOD himself would awaken him, and that GOD would not cease to watch over him a though dead, and after his restoration to life would receive him with kindness and affection. Since this oracle respecting the *Goël* exhibits the most confident hope and unshaken trust, it may be argued, that as Job did not expect any termination of his distresses nor any rest in the present world, and still cherished an undoubted hope of complete deliverance through the *Goël*, he must have had in mind a future judgment, a final resurrection, and a renewal of all things." ROSEN. Schol. in Job. Edit. Sec. 1824, p. 479—481. Tr.]

* Narratio critica de interpretatione loci Job. *xix.* 25—27. *Helmstad.* 1783, 4to

§ 192. *Of Job's place of residence.*

The country in which Job is said to have lived is called *Uz*, *אֲזַ*, *Uz*, i. 1., which some suppose to mean Idumea, or a part of it, deriving the name from *Uz*, the grandson of Seir, mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 28. Others think it to be the delightful and much celebrated valley of Damascus, the inhabitants of which, descendants of Shem, are mentioned under the name of *Uz* in Gen. x. 22, 23., and are called by Ptolemy *Ozita* or *Uzita*, Geog. Lib. V. This valley is no doubt to be understood wherever the word occurs without an adjunct, and especially where the connected circumstances suit, which is the case in this book. For Job is not only represented as a pious and virtuous man, but as in the full enjoyment of temporal happiness, to which a pleasant residence contributes not a little. Besides, this situation would enable him to carry on agricultural pursuits to a great extent, to support his numerous flocks in the neighbouring desert of Arabia, and like the Nomads, sometimes, as he tells us he did, to enter a city, meaning Damascus. Here also, in Auranitis are spacious caves, which even in the age of Josephus were occupied by fierce Troglodytæ, of whom Job makes mention.—On the other hand, it cannot be proved on sufficient evidence that a part of Idumea was called *Uz* from the grand-son of Seir of the same name. For Jeremiah, xxv. 20, 21., distinguishes the king of *Uz* from the king of Idumea, and in Lament. iv. 31. the “daughter of Edom dwelling in the land of *Uz*,” is a colony of Edomites who had settled in the valley of *Uz*, which had been depopulated by the Assyrians. Nor were Job's friends, with the exception of Eliphaz, Edomites. But if they had been, they might still have received intelligence of the distressing afflictions of so distinguished an inhabitant of the valley of Damascus. Besides, they were Nomads, with no settled habitation. [a]

[a] **EICHHORN.** (Einleit. § 639.) is decidedly in favour of fixing Job's residence in Idumea. He adduces highly probable evidence that this was the country of Job's friends, and shows that the contents of the book and the customs which it introduces agree with his opinion. Idumea, in the earliest ages, was distinguished for its wise men, and sentences of Arabian wisdom flow from the mouths of Job and his friends. The Jordan is represented as a principal stream, as it was to the Edom-

ites; and chiefs, such as those of Edom, are frequently mentioned. The Alexandrine version places Job's residence on the borders of Idumea and Arabia. See the addition at the end of the last chapter. It is not probable, as Eichhorn remarks, that Job's friends lived at any remote distance from himself. He observes too, that the scenes and imagery are not Syriac, but for the most part Arabic and occasionally Egyptian, and that the exposition given by our author of Lament. iv. 21, which is that of Michaelis also, is founded on historical conjecture, and not supported by the structure of the Hebrew. He does not take any notice however of Jer. xxv. 20, 21. where Uz is distinguished from Edom or Idumca.—Rosenmüller rejects both his opinion and that of Jahn, and places the scene of the poem in the northern part of Arabia Deserta, bordering on the Euphrates and Mesopotamia. See his Prolegomena in Jobum, Vol. V. Ed. Sec. Lips. 1824.—The authorities and part of the evidence in favour of Eichhorn's opinion, which, upon the whole, appears to be the most probable of the three, are stated at some length by MAGEE, Disc. on Atonement, Note LIX. Vol. II. p. 56. s. and HORNE, Introd. Vol. IV. pp. 72. s. *Tr.*]

§ 193. *Of the time in which Job lived.*

The age in which the author of the book places Job may be drawn from what he says of the friends. For the tribe of Shuah, from which Bildad was descended, sprang from the posterity of Abraham, Gen. xxv. 1, 2.; and that of Teman, which gave birth to Eliphaz, was of the family of Esau Gen. xxxvi. 15. The age therefore in which Job lived, is not only considerably below the time of Abraham, but even that of Esau. Yet it must not be placed too far below the time of Esau for nothing occurs in the work respecting the famous exode of the Hebrews from Egypt, and Job attained the age of 200 years, whereas shortly after the exode the period of human life rarely extended beyond 70 or 80 years. Job therefore seems to be put in the age immediately preceding the removal of the Israelites from Egypt. This is confirmed by certain other marks, such as the quoting of ancient poems, by which in remote ages wisdom was preserved. viii. 8—18. xii. 12—25. xv. 17—35.; the name כֶּסֶטָה, *kesita*, applied to a certain quantity of money, xlii. 11, as in Gen. xxxiii. 19; and the mentioning of no other species of idolatry but the worship of the sun and moon, xxxi. 26—28. [a]

[a) See this subject more fully examined in *MAGEE*, *ubi supra*, p. 53—63. and *HORNE*. *Introd.* IV. 67. ss., who both arrive at the same conclusion with the author. *Tr.*]

§ 194. *The rank of Job.*

As c. xix. 9. does not refer to a diadem and royal vesture, but is simply expressive of humiliation and grief, there is no reason to consider Job and his friends as kings. This is at variance with other circumstances in the book. 1) Job does not lose a kingdom, but children, servants and flocks. 2) He had no army to pursue the robbers. 3) He is accused by his friends of criminal harshness towards his servants, not of tyranny to his subjects. 4) Job speaks of his treatment of his servants, but says nothing of his conduct to his subjects. 5) He mentions kings, c. iii. 14. ix. 24. but does not compare himself with them.

But on the other hand Job does not appear as a subject, for neither he nor his friends speak of his behaviour towards the king; on the contrary when Job enters into the gate of the city, the accustomed place of judgment and resort of loiterers, he takes the most elevated station, and his opinion is sought.—The numerous flocks and extensive husbandry of Job show, that he was a chief among the nomads, who at the same time carried on agricultural pursuits; a powerful man indeed, but by no means equal to Abraham.

That Job's disease was the scabbed or black leprosy I have shown in my *Archæologie*, I. Th. II. B. § 230. S. 331—334.* Compare also the description of this disease in *HENSLER'S* *Geschichte des Abendländischen Aussatzes*, S. 47, 52, 55—59.

§ 195. *The Book of Job is the work of one author.*

The parts of the book of Job are so intimately connected that they cannot be separated without violence. The introduction supplies us with the necessary information relating to Job and his friends, shows the writer's design, and points at a distance, as it were, to the end of

* [For an account of the disease, see the *Archæology*, *UPHAM'S* translation, § 188, 189. *Tr.*]

Job's calamities related in the conclusion. This again refers to the introduction. All the discourses proceed in a regular order.—Those who ascribe the introduction or conclusion, or discourses of Elihu to some other writer,[a] urge the difference of style. But in the introduction and conclusion the author designedly uses the plain style of prose, as it was not his intention to deliver his own discourses in poetry, but only those of his characters. The use of the name *JEHOVAH* in the prose parts, while it never occurs in the discussion,* only proves that in the one a Hebrew is the narrator, and in the other the speakers are Arabians to whom the name was foreign. The peculiarity observable in the discourse of Elihu is to be attributed to the skill of the author, who had the address to distinguish the youth by the character of his speech.—Besides, by the removal of those parts a work of extraordinary elegance is injured. Without the introduction the reader knows not who Job and his friends were, and why so many deep afflictions had befallen the former. The speech of Elihu affords a transition from the last words of Job to the discourse of God, for which it prepares the reader. The conclusion is necessary to inform us what became of Job.—‘But why is no mention made of Elihu, either in the introduction, or in the discourse of God, or in the conclusion?’—As he did not come with the other friends, he could not be mentioned in the introduction which relates their visit. As he did not speak until all were silent and received no reply from any one, there was no occasion to mention him in the several discourses. In that of God and in the conclusion, he is passed over in silence as an orator who in a multitude of words had laboriously said nothing that had not been already uttered by others, except the single remark, that God urges sinners to self-examination and repentance by dreams, by messengers or angels, and by calamitous events; and even this had in effect been said by the others, although in different language.

[a] DE WETTE, *Emend.* § 237, with some other German writers of less note, deny the genuineness of the speech of Elihu. The same persons doubt the genuineness of the introduction and conclusion, or as they term them, prologue and epilogue, of the book. *Tr.*]

* [In xii. 9. the word has been introduced by the error of some transcriber.]

§ 196. *The Hebrew text is not a version.* [a]

That the disputants are Arabians, is no proof that the book was originally written in their language, and that the present Hebrew is a translation. Many passages do indeed occur, which must be explained from the Arabic; but it is not at all surprising that in a lofty poem we find many of the less common words and ideas, which the Hebrew, through the poverty of its literature, has lost, while they have been preserved by the Arabic, the richest of the sister dialects. The Arabic orthography frequently occurs, especially the omission of the Aleph, as ψ for $\psi\alpha$, xv. 31. מלתי for מלאתי , xxxii. 18. But this is no mark of a version, but merely a proof that the author had lived a considerable time among the Arabians. All doubt on this question is removed by the character of the style which is such as no version could exhibit. [b]

[a] Comp. EICHHORN, (Einleit. § 641. 1.) and particularly DE WETTE. Einleit. § 291 anm. a), where there are numerous references given, in proof of the Hebrew origin of the book. Tr.]

[b] "The language," says EICHHORN, ubi supra, "is too strong and nervous; the sentences are too pointed; the style is too full and round, and harmoniously constructed. The remarkable parallelism, which is in no book so accurately kept up from beginning to end, would be unattainable in a translation. Tr.]

§ 197. *The Author of the Book of Job was a Hebrew.*

As the book was written in Hebrew and not in Arabic, there can be no question that its author was a Hebrew, for none other could have used that language with so much flexibility. In no other ancient nation are to be found such views of the Deity and of morals as are displayed in Job; and the use of the name JEHOVAH in the introduction and conclusion, shows the author to have been a Hebrew. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that it is the work of some Edomite or Arab, from whom the Hebrews would not have received the book as a sacred composition. If frequent Arabisms occur, nothing more can be inferred from this than the author's long residence

in Arabia. He certainly did not live in Palestine, for he is totally silent on matters relating to this country, while he shows himself well acquainted with those which relate to Egypt and Arabia; which would be wholly unaccountable in a native, and resident of Palestine.

§ 198. *Does the Book of Job belong to the period of the Babylonian Captivity.*

The artificial construction of the book of Job, the elegance and sublimity of its style, the strongly marked traits of the respective characters which are maintained through the whole of the discussion, the increase of feeling with the progress of the debate, together with the purity of the language, abundantly prove, that it is not the production of an age, when the Hebrews conquered, cut off, and exiled, possessed neither inclination nor means for the cultivation of elegant literature. The question, moreover, which is discussed in the book, and had been treated in Ps. xxxvii. xxxix. and lxxiii. could not be agitated in the time of the Babylonian captivity, when the Hebrews, not innocent, like Job, but idolatrous and corrupted with all kinds of vice, were suffering the just punishment of their wickedness. The Satan or accuser who is introduced in this book is not the devil or the Ahriman of the Magians, but some one of the sons or ministers of God, [a] distinguished from the others simply by this, that assuming to himself more than ordinary sagacity in discovering hidden wickedness, he was accustomed to seek out and trace, and denounce some evil or other in every thing. Nor are the sons of God to be considered as modern notions of the Magians, for attendants of this kind are mentioned in Gen. xxviii. 12. xxxii. 1. Ex. xxxiii. 1—6. I Kings xxii. 19. and Isa. vi.; and indeed these sentiments of the Magians were by no means novel in the time of Zoroaster, who himself contends for their very great antiquity.—The forms of words which have been called Chaldee, are also Arabic.

[a) See MAGEE on Atonement, Vol. II, p. 67. ss. Tr.]

§ 199. *Does the Book of Job belong to the age of Solomon.*

So much attention was paid to literature in the age of Solomon, and even in that of David, that the book of Job could have been written by some person of that period. But then he must have seen Arabia and Egypt, and that not during the short space of time afforded by a journey; he must have made those countries the places of long residence, must have rendered all their objects so familiar to him as to use them with readiness on all occasions. Perhaps also, (although this is not probable) he might have forgotten all Hebrew objects, and have brought forward a scene altogether Arabian. But the question is not whether it were possible to write such a book in that age, but whether it be probable that the book of Job was then composed, when nothing similar is to be found among many writings of that time. — It is not mentioned among the works of Solomon in I Kings v. 12, 13. (iv. 32 33.)

The arguments which are advanced in favour of this opinion are of little weight. The most important is that many words occur which are used in the book of Proverbs. But this only proves that the book of Job, being more ancient, had been carefully read by the author, (or, if it be preferred the authors,) of the Proverbs, and its words transferred from sublime poetry to acute and sententious sayings. — But on the other hand many expressions occur in the book of Job which are scarcely or never to be met with except in the Pentateuch, as נִץ and נָכַר in Job xviii. 19. and Gen. xxi. 23, and elsewhere only in Isa. xiv. 22.; יֵרֵט only in Job xvi. 11. and Num. xxii. 32.; נָץ in Job xxxix. 26. and Lev. xi. 16. Deut. xiv. 15; קִשְׁטָה in Job xlii. 11. Gen. xxxiii. 19. and Jos. xxiv. 32.; פְּלִילִים in Job xxxi. 11. Ex. xxi. 22. Deut. xxxii. 31.; תְּנוּנָה in Job xxxiii. 10. and Num. xiv. 34. And further expressions which are not to be met with in the Pentateuch rarely or never occur in Job. as בַּל, which is used twelve times in Proverbs, and in the other books more than fifty times, but in Job only once, xli. 15.; אֲשֶׁר־

in v. 17. ; יהוה צבאות the prefix ψ , and other words in common use.

Besides, some ancient words are observable, which are never found elsewhere. Comp. i. 22. xlii. 8, and מלם in i. 11. ii. 5. v. 8. xi.

5. xii. 7. xiii. 3 4. xiv. 18. xvii 10. xxxii. 1.——Lastly, it is not probable, that the name of the author if he had lived in the time of David or of Solomon would not have been preserved to posterity. [a]

[a] In his German Introduction, p. 787—799. the author examines the arguments in defence of the opinion that the work belongs to the age of Solomon, which are advanced in STAEDLIN's Beitræge zur Philosophie und Geschichte der Religion und Sittenlehre, II Th. 1797. S. 235—255. The arguments for that opinion are also given by ROSENMUELLER, Prolog. in Scholia, § vii. p. 36. ss. Tr.]

§ 200. *Whether J. b was written prior to the Exode.*

In the book of Job we meet with nothing which could not have been written before the Exode. Now it is quite improbable that a writer posterior to this event should have possessed so much ingenuity and art, as to transfer himself entirely to such a remote antiquity, and, altogether unmindful of the events of his own age, to write as if he had lived antecedently to the Exode. Neither is it easy to conceive, that a Hebrew of Palestine should acquire such a profound knowledge of Egypt and Arabia, as the author of this book exhibits. Great art is indeed discoverable in the arrangement, in the elocution, and in the character of the persons introduced ; but not so great as to be incompatible with that age, of which we have poems extant in Ex. xv. Deut. xxxii. Ps. xc. Num. xxi. 27—30. xxiii. 7—10, 18—24. xxiv. 3—9, 15—24. These, as well as the poems of Job xxvii. 1. xxix. 1. are called מְשָׁלִים ; a term, by which Solomon does not designate sublime poetry, but sententious sayings.

§ 201. *Of the Author of the book of Job.*

It was the opinion of the Talmudists, and of many of the Greek and Syrian fathers, that this book was written by Moses. He was a man endowed with extraordinary mental qualities, as is attested by his actions, his books and his poems. A residence of 40 years in

Egypt and 40 in Arabia made him thoroughly acquainted with those countries. In the Pentateuch he displays also a vast knowledge of arts, and of natural history, and especially of that of the leprosy. He constantly and with seriousness inculcates the religion of the one true God which he had received from his ancestors, together with the strictest morality. All these characteristics occur in the book of Job, which also maintains a deep silence respecting Palestine and subjects connected with it, where Moses never was. The coincidence of this book with what we find in the writings of Moses renders it highly probable that he was the author.[a]

[a] See, however, *MAGEE*, ubi supra, p. 32. ss. or *HORNE*, *Introd.* IV. p. 74. who suppose the book to have been written *before* the time of Moses. In this opinion also, *EICHHORN* agrees, and supports it at length, § 641, 642. So also *STUHLMANN*, and *BERTHOLDT*, as cited by *DE WETTE*. *MICHAELIS*, *KENNICOTT*, and many others, agree with *Jahn*. *Tr.*]

§ 202. *Objections to the opinion that Moses is the author of this Book.*

“*But in the books of Moses, uprightness is always connected with happiness, and wickedness with misery; and since the author of the book of Job denies that such affinity exists, he cannot be Moses.*”

If the book of Job were indeed in this respect repugnant to the writings of Moses, the Hebrews would never have admitted it into the Canon. But so far are the two works from presenting any contrariety of sentiment on this point, that they are found, upon an accurate examination, entirely to correspond.—1) Job is at length restored, and becomes happier than before his affliction, which agrees exactly with the history that Moses has given of Joseph. xxxvii. 1—1. 26.—2) Job delivers his opinion, in language heightened by feeling, that good men may be miserable and bad happy; but he never questions the advantages of virtue, and that ordinarily it leads to felicity, and that on the contrary, vice is injurious, and ordinarily leads to misery. The principle which he contends for is this, that this connexion is not perpetual and invariable, but liable to many exceptions, the reasons of which are beyond the reach of mortals. And was not Moses instructed in this very truth by the example of

the oppressed Hebrews in Egypt, of whom very many righteous men must have fallen victims to the calamities by which they were overwhelmed, while their oppressors enjoyed themselves to the end of life? It was therefore well known to him that the connexion of virtue and happiness and of vice and misery was not necessary. But it would not have comported with the design of the Pentateuch to touch this point; for there it was proper to give precepts and to urge the observance of them by suitable reasons, whereas to state that happiness did not always correspond with virtuous character, would have been to weaken the disposition and the efforts to obey. It is plain from history, that by virtue nations constantly struggle through difficulties and rise to distinction whereas vice enervates and depresses. This is the point which is urged by Moses in the Pentateuch, whereas in Job the discourse relates to individuals, not to communities.—3) The design of God in afflicting Job as it is explained in the first two chapters, was to manifest his sincerity and integrity; and not only do such tests of character occur in the histories of Abraham and Joseph but in the subsequent books, Moses frequently warns the Hebrews to avoid certain things, because they were permitted by God to try them. See Ex. xv. 25. xx. 20. Deut. vii. 19, viii. 2, 15, 16. xiii. 3, 4. xxix. 3. Job therefore does not disagree with the Pentateuch with respect to doctrine.

And if the character of the language breathes of Arabia, and the tropes, allegories and comparisons are taken from that country, it is by no means to be concluded that Moses was not the author, since he was so long a resident among the Arabians. It is generally urged, that such an use of Arabian materials requires the author to have been educated in Arabia, since the character of a poet continues as it was formed in youth. But this can by no means be admitted, for the ardent genius and vivid imagination of the poet readily receives any impressions and changes with change of residence. Lastly, many things occur in Job which are plainly of Egyptian origin, verifying the observation,

Quo fuerit imbuta recens, servabit odorem.[a]

[a) Eichhorn lays great stress on this circumstance, that figures and illustrations taken from Arabia are constantly occurring as it were spontaneously, while those which the author draws from Egypt are less fre-

quent; whence he concludes that Egypt could not have been his native country.—But surely a long residence in Arabia, with the objects on which his figures were founded ever before his eyes, will sufficiently account for the poet's frequent reference to those objects. Eichhorn thinks that the book was written by some Hebrew who had not descended to Egypt with his brethren, (which, he says, must have been the case with many of that people, as the country of Goshen could not have supported all their cattle, comp. I Chron. vii. 21.), but had settled in some part of Arabia in the vicinity of Egypt, to which country, the principal residence of his nation, he supposes this master spirit to have travelled, as did Homer. See Einleit. § 642, S. 171. Rosenmüller is in favour of a late date, and supposes the work to be a production of the period which elapsed between the times of Hezekiah and Zedekiah. Proleg. VII p. 41. *Tr.*]

§ 203. *The design of Moses in writing the Book of Job.*

If Moses is the author of the work, he wrote it while a fugitive from Egypt, during his residence in Arabia. This is confirmed by many circumstances in the book itself; such as, the omission of matters relating to the Hebrews, the use of words in meanings different from those which were afterwards attached to them by the law, the Arabic orthography, and the tropes and figures drawn from the country. It seems to have been the intention of Moses, to exhibit Job to the Hebrews, as an illustrious example of piety, integrity, and constancy in affliction, in order to induce them, while oppressed in Egypt, to persevere in the worship of the one true God. Accordingly, he represents the calamities of Job as probationary, serving as a test of his piety and virtue; and by the termination of Job's afflictions, he confirms their hope of deliverance. He proposes these instructions in an indirect way, and accommodates them not to the people as a body, but to individuals, whose duty it was to bear their trials with patience and to persevere in the way of duty. Hence he explains in the first two chapters the design of the Almighty in afflicting Job, which any Hebrew might apply to himself. An allusion to the Hebrews seems to be evident in the discourses of Job and his friends; for it can scarcely be doubted that similar discussions took place among religious Hebrews, mindful of the divine promises, and their irreligious brethren, or Egyptians, and that many of the Hebrews were in this

way led to the worship of idols ; a result which it was the object of Moses in this work to guard against and prevent.[a]

[a] In the German Introduction, p. 310—312, some objections of Michælis are stated ; viz., that in Job the controversy does not relate to the causes of the happiness or misery of nations, but of individuals ; that the sufferings of Job contain no allusion however remote to the oppressions of the Hebrews ; that Job never loses his independence, like them ; and, that there is no reference to the promises which the Hebrews had inherited from their progenitor Abraham.

But, says the author, it is to be observed, that at the time of writing the work Moses was not at the head of the Hebrew nation, and had no idea that he was to become their leader. It would not therefore have been proper for him to address himself to them or to speak of them as a body ; consequently he considers the Egyptian oppression in the light of an individual calamity, and selects a single person to serve as the example which he wished to exhibit. The important point was, to disclose the divine purpose in the afflictions of Job, and in the parallel case of the Hebrews. He chose to avoid all particular allusion to the oppressions of the latter, and all mention of their particular circumstances, and might well hope to make a strong impression, by representing the illustrious example of an unhappy pious Arabian, who, by his perseverance in piety, was restored to prosperity after great distresses.—The opinion that Moses was the author of the book receives therefore an additional degree of probability ; at least no other opinion agrees so accurately with the history of the time.

To this it may be added, that it was sufficient for the writer's purpose that a general degree of resemblance should exist ; and, that any reference to the promises made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in a poem founded on facts which had transpired in Arabia or Idumea, and relating to a native of either of those countries, would have been irrelative and therefore objectionable.

The reasoning in this section, it may be observed, will be equally conclusive in favour of the opinion of Magee and others, that the book of Job was written before the time of Moses, but edited, with some additions and alterations, by him during his residence in Arabia, to subserve the divine purpose of shortly delivering the Hebrews from their bondage—provided that the other course of reasoning on which that opinion is founded, be deemed sufficient. MAGEE on Atonement, II. 82. ss. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SONG OF SONGS, OR CANTICLES.

§ 204. *Contents of the Canticles.*

THE little work which bears the title of שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים, *Song of Songs*, or *the most beautiful song*, comprehends several amatory poems. Interpreters differ very much with respect to the separation of these poems; it appears to me that the distribution of the different songs should be as follows.

1) An innocent country maiden makes an undisguised profession of her attachment, and her lover, a shepherd, replies to it with equal protestation of affection, i. 2—ii. 7. Some prefer concluding this dialogue at i. 11., and making i. 12—ii. 7. a soliloquy, in which the maiden is supposed to repeat some compliments of her lover. But this is without sufficient reason.—2) A maiden sings of her lover, who is seeking her everywhere, and she also confesses her warm affection, ii. 8—iii. 5. Some suppose that ii. 8—14. is a dream, and that in v. 15. the maiden awakes, who dreams again in iii. 1—5. But if these places are similar to dreams, it ought to be remembered that waking dreams are not uncommon with lovers. This the poet, true to nature, has here represented.—3) A maiden, in a litter surrounded by Solomon's soldiers, is brought to the harem of the king. The lover prefers far before all the royal beauties his own beloved, in whose society he declares that he is happier than the king himself, iii. 6—v. 1. Some choose to make iv. 8—v. 1. a distinct poem, but they can hardly offer any sufficient reason for separating this portion from the other. Nevertheless, the distribution of the work into its

several parts must be left very much to the reader's own taste and feeling.—4) A maiden beloved sings of her lover. He had come to her door at night, and had fled away before she opened it. She seeks him, is beaten by the watch, and stripped of her vail. She describes the beauty of her lover, who at length answers, celebrating her loveliness, with a contemptuous glance at the *multitude of the king's wives*, v. 2—vi. 9.—5) Shulamith recounts in few words the allurements of the courtiers whom she had met with unexpectedly in the garden, and her rejection of them, and celebrates her affection for her lover, vi. 10—viii. 3.—6) Protestations and praises of constant affection. viii. 4—7.—7) A discourse between two brothers about guarding and giving away their sister in marriage, who replies with scorn, that she would be her own guardian, viii. 8—12.—8) A fragment. A lover wishes to hear his beloved. She replies by persuading him to fly; perhaps because her parents or relations were near, who in the East never allow such meetings, viii. 13, 14.[a]

[a) Some of the preceding statements, especially the three last, are sufficiently fanciful. The reader must exercise his own judgment in receiving or rejecting them.—The opinion that the Song of Songs is made up of several distinct idyls, has been advanced by Bauer, Eichhorn, De Wette, Sir William Jones, and Good. See HORNE, *Introd.* IV. 127. s., EICHH. *Einleit.* § 649. S. 230. ff., and DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 276. anm. f) g) h). *Tr.*]

§ 205. *Whether the different parts of the Canticles are connected, so as to form one poem.*

Those writers who are of the opinion that these parts constitute one complete drama, under the guise of which subsists a real history,[a] are involved in great difficulties, and take too many things for granted to satisfy the minds of learned men.* Besides, a real history is very seldom the ground work of amatory poems which are founded, for the most part, on circumstances of common occurrence. The reader, who does not anxiously hunt after a connexion, will

* [See Salomo's verschmaechte Liebe, *Leipzig*, 1790, [by AMMON,] or EICHHORN'S *Bibliothek*, Th. II. S. 1062. ff.—STAEUDLIN has in some degree simplified this hypothesis, see *Memorabilia des PAULUS*, St. II. S. 178.]

readily perceive that the Canticles consist of several disconnected poems, and that the materials which compose the work are such incidents as were common among the Hebrews; because some verses are repeated as in ii 7. iii. 5. viii. 4., and some fragments occur, as viii. 4—7., 8—12. and 13, 14. But it must be acknowledged that it is difficult to determine the commencement and the end of each poem [*b*]

[*a*] This alludes to the opinion of Bossuet, who considered this book as a regular drama, divided into seven parts, to be represented on seven successive days. This opinion is countenanced by Lowth. See HORNE, *Introduct.* IV. 127., and comp. DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 276. *Tr.*]

[*b*] EICHORN, *Einleit.* 649. S. 231. f. supposes the book to consist of independent poems connected either by the author, or by some other person, into four books, with an appendix of passages which could not well be inserted in any other place. Book 1st. c. i —ii. 7.; Book 2d, c. ii. 8—iii. 5.; Book 3d, c. iii 6—v. 2; Book 4th, c. v. 3—viii. 4.; Appendix, c. viii. 5—14.—DE WETTE only differs from Eichhorn in considering the collection as a *single* work, with a definite object, and an appendix consisting of passages not well suited to that object. See his statement of its component parts, *Einleit.* § 276. *ann. f.* *Tr.*]

§ 206. *The subject contained in the Canticles.*

It has long been matter of discussion, what sort of love these poems celebrate. The Jews supposed it to be the mutual love of God and the people of Israel; the ancient Christians, that of Christ and his Church.—This interpretation is founded on the view in which the orientals regard their king (who among the Hebrews was God and with Christians Messiah or Christ,) as the husband of the people, and the people as his spouse, and sometimes as his mother, and sometimes even as a virgin. Comp. *Archæologie Th. II. B. II.* § 171. S. 245—248.* Those who adopt this mystical interpretation should be cautious not to explain every circumstance in the poem, as the older interpreters have done, and by consequence produced so many forced expositions; but, as in parables, the principal points only must be regarded as significant, the rest serving merely to fill up and orna-

* [UPHAM'S translation, § 230. *Tr.*]

ment.—But there is nothing in the Canticles to support this interpretation, and the name of GOD never occurs in it.[a]

Others therefore have understood the work as referring to the love of the sexes. The opinion of *Theodore of Mopsuestia* was perhaps the very worst. He was censured in the council of Constantinople, A. D. 553, because he rejected the Canticles as a disgraceful book, considering it no doubt as celebrating illicit love. But this is irreconcilable with the contents. If the author had intended to convey obscene ideas in ambiguous expressions, he would not have introduced innocent lovers declaring their inmost feelings, and even desiring their attachment to be made public, which is not the manner of unchaste persons. The interpreter, therefore, who perverts their meaning, should take care lest perchance he betray his own impurity. The whole poem may, without any forced constructions, be understood in a chaste sense, as DATHE has shown in his Latin Version of the Old Testament, Vol. IV. p. 418—447.

It was the opinion of Bossuet and Dupin, that the author celebrates the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of the king of Egypt.[b] But there is no trace of a marriage in the work,[c] nor do the poems seem to be adapted to royal nuptials. In this case more allusions to Solomon and to his Egyptian consort might be expected, and the strains are too rural to be the songs of the royal court at such a joyful solemnity.

Others again have maintained that the burden of the poem is conjugal love. But they have not observed, that not only in monogamy, but also in polygamy, it is never so ardent as it is here represented. Plurality of wives may indeed diminish affection, but it cannot increase it. And it is chiefly worthy of observation, that in the Canticles not the least trace of an union between the parties is discoverable, but only the hope that it will hereafter take place.

No other object therefore remains, but chaste and reciprocal affection of the sexes previously to marriage. Some of the language may be thought indecorous in persons in such circumstances, but this is not the case, unless it be taken in the worst sense. It admits of a meaning perfectly chaste which in the mouths of chaste lovers, such as the parties are uniformly represented, is the only one that can be true.

[a) In favour of this interpretation, so summarily rejected by Jahu, are ranged the names of Good, and Lowth, and Horsley, and many other divines of the English Church. HORSLEY'S Sermons, Serm. IV. Vol. II. p. 36. s. *ed. Am.* Comp. LOWTH. Prælect. XXX. Lectures on Heb. Poetry, tr. GREGORY, p. 424—444, *ed. Boston*; also HORNE, *Introd.* Vol. IV. p. 131—135. *Tr.*]

[b) This was also the opinion of Horsley. With him agree Calmet, Lowth, Percy, and Harmer, and many other interpreters. HORNE. *Introd.* IV. 129. *Tr.*]

[c) Yet DE WETTE says, “c. iii. 6. must necessarily be taken as a bridal song of Solomon’s.” *Einleit.* § 277. *anm.* b) and § 276, *anm.* g). *Tr.*]

§ 207. *The Canticles is a canonical book.*

But it will be said: ‘what have amatory poems to do among the sacred books?’——It will hardly be allowed by all that the chaste love of the sexes is a subject worthy of sacred poems: [a] I shall therefore speak my own sentiments with freedom. 1) The author or authors of these poems does not celebrate *all* chaste love of the sexes before marriage but that only which leads to *monogamy*, which is commended in Ecclesiastes, c. ix. 9; for which purpose polygamy is indirectly censured in iii. 6—11. vi. 8, 9. In this view these poems might be very useful.—2) The prophets, perhaps Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, who numbered these poems among the sacred books, seem to have understood them in a mystical sense, so that the sense of the Canticles, so far as it is a canonical book is mystical. For, although this sense may not have been designed by the author or authors, yet by those who introduced the book into the canon, it was the only one that was regarded. [b]

If these views are correct, it will be easy to repel the arguments formerly advanced against the Canticles, by some of the Jews (Pirke Aboth. c. i. p. 1, and Massechet Jadaim, c. iii. § 5.), and since by some Christians. However the Jews merit approbation for not permitting their youth to read this book, in which respect both ORIGEN (*Præf. in Cant.*) and JEROME (*Præf. in Ezek.*) agree with them. [c]

[a) EICHHORN, § 650., and DE WETTE, peremptorily reject it from the Canon. *Tr.*]

[b) This is a very extraordinary view of this subject. It is plain from § 206. that the author considers this mystical sense as destitute of any support from the poem itself. Does he mean then that those who introduced the book into the Canon understood it in a sense not intended by the author? And if so, that they were in an error with regard to its meaning? In this case he would deny its canonical authority.—Or, does he mean to say that the book contains a mystical sense, unknown to its author, as he allows to be the case with some *predictions*? See § 82 of this part. This will hardly be admitted by any sober critic, and it is difficult to conceive such to be the author's opinion. *Tr.*]

[c) See the proofs of the canonical authority of the Canticles, in HORNE, *Introd.* IV. 126. s. *Tr.*]

§ 208. *Of the author and age of the Canticles.*

The title attributes the poem to Solomon. But the language is not such as was in use in his time and is observable in the Proverbs, for forms of words and constructions occur which are more modern, and many Aramæan terms. Thus כְּתִלְנִי from כְּתִל or כְּתִל, is used for *wall* in c. ii. 9., פִּרְדֵּס for *garden* in iv. 13. [a]

But on the other hand those who argue from these circumstances that the book of Canticles was written after the Babylonian captivity, do not consider that those beautiful poems contain frequent allusions to the time and circumstances of Solomon, and that the whole appearance of the work is opposed to the supposition of this modern age. For then Jerusalem was not the royal residence, nor were there kings to whom maidens might be brought, nor soldiers of Solomon, nor Pharaohs reigning in Egypt, nor a Tirza, nor a tower in Libanus, all which are mentioned in the Canticles as well-known objects. These poems therefore seem to have been composed before the captivity, perhaps in a late period of the kingdom of Judah. I can hardly persuade myself that any of them were written by Solomon, nor are they all the work of the same author, for some are much more elegant than others.

[a) EICHHORN, Einleit. S. 218. adds, the frequent use of the prefix ש; the compound term שלמה; c. i. 7, and others similar; לך for לך; the orthography רוּר for רוּר, c. iv. 4; the construction אשר לשלמה, c. i. 1. and שלמה, c. iii. 7. But these Aramæisms “may be satisfactorily accounted for when we recollect the extensive intercourse that existed between Solomon and the neighbouring nations.” Horne, IV. 129. They are but few in number, and even of these, such as relate merely to spelling may have arisen in transcription. DE WETTE is of opinion that the whole range of the figures and allusions, and the character of the manners depicted, prove that this work belongs to the age of Solomon. He accounts for the later features by supposing the several minor poems to have been collected at some late period. Solomon was not the collector and publisher of the collection; comp. the title, and i. 4, 5, 12. iii 6—11. vii. 6. viii. 11, 12.—Einleit. § 277. Tr.]

CHAPTER V.

OF ECCLESIASTES.

§ 209. *Of the name Ecclesiastes.*

THE name of the book is קהלת, *kohleth*, where the final Thau is not feminine but emphatic,[a] as in many Arabic words, such as

رَاحِلَةٌ *a camel fit for burden*; دَاهِيَةٌ *unhappy*; رَاوِيَةٌ

a narrator; and others. This form is to be met with also in nouns which are properly Hebrew, as כְּפָרָה and פְּכָרָה in Ez. ii. 54, (55.) 57.

Neh. vii. 57, 59.[b] Those who explain the noun קהלת so as to signify *an assembly of learned men* ought to affix to the word the points of the abstract term קהלת. But not only are all the ancient versions

opposed to such a sense, but also many places in the book itself where the *Kohelth* always speaks as an individual and not as an assembly of persons. See i. 1, 12. In vii. 27. the words ought to be differently divided, so as to read אָמַר הַקְהֵלֶת instead of אִמְרֵה קְהֵלֶת,[c]

for it is not a congregation but an individual who is the speaker. The name has been rendered etymologically by the Alexandrine translator, ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής, *the assembler*, and this term has been retained by Jerome in his version. There is no doubt that Solomon is the person who is called the *Kohelth*; the question is, whether the name is applied to him as assembling the people or as addressing them when assembled. The contents of the book are not adapted to the multitude, and when in xii. 9. the *Kohelth* is said to teach

the people, the readers of the work are meant; just as the prophets and the Arabians frequently apply the word *people* in a limited sense to the bystanders. Nachtigal* gives the word קהלה the meaning before noticed, of *an assembly of wise men in an academy* or society. But the book contains not the least vestige of any such assemblage. The *Kohleth* uniformly speaks as a single person, and when in xii. 11. he commends the sayings of the wise, he indirectly commends his book itself which consists of such sayings. The בעלי אספות † of xii. 11. are not *assemblers* or *assemblies* of wise men, but collectors of wise sayings and reflections on the proper conduct of life. Such a collector of declarations is the author of this work, and this meaning of the word קהלה agrees exactly with the contents of the book, and is given also by the author himself in xii. 9, 10. [d]

[a] It is repeatedly joined with masculine nouns or verbs; e. g. i. 1, 2, 12. xii. 8, 9, 10. *Tr.*

[b] לפירות, Judg. iv. 4, מפכשת, II Sam. xxi. 8, ירמוזת, ענהות, עלמה, I Chr. vii. 8, and מספרת, Neh. vii. 7. are additional unexceptionable examples of feminine terminations to masculine nouns, in these instances all names of men. *Tr.*

[c] So MICHAELIS, Suppl. ad. Lex. Heb. No. 2236. p. 2168. *Tr.*

[d] The subject of this section is copiously discussed by HOLDEN, in his learned Preliminary Dissertation to his Attempt to Illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes, p. xxxi—xlvii. After stating and examining the various opinions, he decides in favour of that which considers *Kohleth* as meaning “one who conveys the people together, and imparts to them the lessons of wisdom and virtue;” and declares that “upon the whole, though ‘Preacher’ does not quite express the force of the original, the English language does not, he thinks, afford a more appropriate word.” p. xxxix. MICHAELIS’ interpretation is very little different, being “qui coetui seu academiae philosophorum praest, praesidem ejus et doctorem.” Suppl. p. 2169. DE WETTE, Einleit. § 283. anm. a) agrees exactly with Holden. EICHHORN, Einleit. § 657, comes also to the same conclusion. *Tr.*

* [Versammlung der Weisen, 1798—99, Halle.]

† [Masters of assemblies in our translation. HOLDEN, Prel. Diss. p. xlii. agrees with Jahn. *Tr.*]

§ 210. *Contents of Ecclesiastes.*[a]

The book comprises observations on the attempts and efforts, the occupations and labours, the pleasures and delights of men, all of which are pronounced to be vain, empty, fluctuating, fugitive and painful; iv. 4, 8. vi. 2, 9. viii. 10, 14. This truly lamentable condition of mankind, is moreover represented as rendered worse by numerous and heavy calamities, so that no other benefit of life appears to remain to man, but *to enjoy himself*, or, to use the language of the author, *to eat and to drink*. The reader is occasionally instructed, particularly in the latter chapters, in what way, notwithstanding this melancholy state of human things, he may live a tranquil life, or at least alleviate its troubles. All these observations relate to the present life; the author precludes himself from any advantage which he might have derived from the prospect of a future, in iii. 21.

[The author towards the close of his work gives particular directions for a happy life, recommending principally practical religion, xi. 1—xii. 7., and concludes the book, agreeably to the eastern manner, with his subscription and a declaration of the design which he had in view, namely, to teach the fear of God or practical religion; r. 8—14.]

[a] See the Analytical table of Contents prefixed to HOLDEN'S Attempt, &c., and the whole of his Paraphrase. *Tr.*

§ 211. *Arrangement of the Contents.*

In the beginning of the book nothing is to be found but complaints respecting the vanity and vexatiousness of human affairs, i. 2—iv. 16; afterwards they occur less frequently, and towards the end not at all. On the other hand, admonitions and instructions for a happy life begin at iv. 17. (v. 1.), afterwards they are oftener presented, and in the end they constitute the whole subject. This arrangement of the different parts will not, however, justify the conclusion that two speakers are introduced, or that the work contains two different discourses.[a] The *complaints*, and the *instructions* for a happy life, agree in the principal points. For as the former begin the work by announcing all things as vain and troublesome, the latter conclude it in the same way, and as in the complaints ii. 24. iii. 19, 22. v. 17.

(13.) vi. 3—6., so also in the instructions, xi. 8, 9, 10. an enjoyment of life is highly recommended, as the only certain gain. In only one passage, vii. 1. (2.) ss., are we taught the usefulness of the recollection of death for the proper regulation of life. These circumstances show that it is one person who speaks through the whole book. But remarks follow each other in no other order than that in which they occurred to the author, [b] and he appears to have often allowed himself a considerable intermission from his labours, and after some time to have resumed his work; and therefore the connexion is occasionally interrupted, and chasms frequently occur.

[a] This was the opinion of HERDER in his *Briefe das Studium der Theol. betreffend*, I. Th. S. 130.]

[b] This remark is too strong, and too positively made. Holden, in his *Attempt &c.* has shown a very considerable degree of method in the work, and a series of regular arguments throughout the whole. *Tr.*]

§ 212. *Scope of the Work.*

The author's frequent observations that a man has nothing better than to eat and drink, cannot afford reason to infer that he intends to recommend a life of effeminacy and ease, for he pronounces even pleasure joined with wisdom to be vain and troublesome, and he inculcates virtue and religion, and requires his readers to avoid corrupt and artful women as the greatest pest, all which are at variance with such a design. On the other hand his complaints of the vanity and vexatiousness of human affairs do not warrant the conclusion that he means to represent this earth as a valley of tears, and that gratifications, however, innocent, can have no connexion with virtue; for his frequent directions to enjoy life, yet in such a way as is consistent with religious obligations, are entirely opposed to such a sentiment. —The author does not dwell upon the vanity and vexatiousness of human affairs more than upon an agreeable use of the pleasures of life, and therefore his intention evidently was to repress the *restless* and eager efforts of men, which hurry them on in heaping up wealth, in securing pleasures and in acquiring honours; and at the same time to instruct them not to increase the troubles of life by denying themselves the enjoyment of harmless, though uncertain and fleeting

pleasures.—A future state is asserted in xii. 7., nor is it denied in iii. 21. The author merely remarks, that the condition of man after death is not discoverable by *human reason*.

An impartial judge will hardly consider the author as contending with particular opponents, Pharisees for instance, or Greek sophists.[a] No other opponents are found but such as it is his intention to instruct, such as weak and ignorant persons, who fancy that they are acting wisely when they pursue without moderation pleasures, riches, honours, and other objects of various kinds, and even wisdom itself, or when they give themselves up to despondency in calamities, without regarding the will of the DEITY, or seriously considering the condition of man.—Men of this character, whether they be called Pharisees or Sophists, are to be met with in every age. [b]

The Talmudists, in Shabbath, p. 50., tell us that some of the Jews found fault, because the author speaks of creatures as vain, and makes contradictory assertions. But these contradictions are not real. The objectors did not perceive that the arrangement of the book required the observations on the vanity and vexatiousness of human affairs to be weakened by means of other principles.[c] Some Christians are displeased with the melancholy light in which human affairs are represented in the book. But this objection amounts to nearly the same as that of the Jews just noticed. Others have taken umbrage at the frequent direction to enjoy the good things of life. Neither party has regarded the ultimate object to which all the observations of the author are directed.

[a] ZIRKEL supposes the former to be referred to, BERGST the latter. See EICHHORN'S Biblioth. X. Th. S. 955—979.]

[b] The reader will meet with a more satisfactory discussion of the subject of this section in HOLDEN'S Prel. Diss. &c. p. xlvi—lxxv. *Tr.*

[c] The author here in a measure corrects himself, by allowing that there is *some* arrangement in the book. See Note [a] on § 211. *Tr.*

§ 213. *Language and style of Ecclesiastes.*

The language of Ecclesiastes is intermingled with more modern and Aramæan words and forms of words and ideas, than are to be found in any other Hebrew book: as for instance, כָּבֵד, *of old time*,

already, in c. i. 10. ii. 16. iii. 15. iv. 2. vi. 10. ix. 6. s.; יָרַן, *to be made straight*, in c. i. 15; and others.[a] But the Grecisms, which ZIRKEL thinks he has discovered in his *Untersuchungen ueber den Prediger*, S. 46—56, admit of a satisfactory interpretation from the oriental languages. See JOH. ERNST SCHMIDT *Kohelets Lehren*, 1794, S. 283—304.—The style of the book is feeble and approximates to prose, the parallelisms which belong to Hebrew poetry being often neglected. The connexion of discourse is continually broken, but in the latter chapters it is somewhat more carefully preserved. Several expressions of considerable obscurity occur.[b]

[a] See more examples in *Einleit.* S. 348, and especially in EICHEN, *Einleit.* § 658. S. 255. ff.—They are examined and answered by HOLDEN, *Prelim. Diss.* p. x. ss. *Tr.*]

[b] See more on the subject of this section in HOLDEN. *Prel. Diss.* p. lxxv—xcviii.—LOWTH's opinion is as follows: "The style of this work is singular; the language is generally low, I might almost call it mean or vulgar [dictio est humilis plerumque et submissa, sed imprimis obscura]; it is frequently loose, unconnected, approaching to the incorrectness of conversation; and possesses very little of the poetical character, even in the composition and structure of the periods: which peculiarity may possibly be accounted for from the nature of the subject." *Lectures on Heb. Poetry*, *Lect.* XXIV. GREGORY's *Trans.* p. 542. s. ed *Bost.* *Tr.*]

§ 214. *The Author of Ecclesiastes.*

It is true indeed that Solomon speaks in this book, but he certainly did not write it. A king complaining of oppressions, of unjust judgments, of the elevation of weak and ignorant persons and of servants to dignified stations, would have condemned himself.[a] Solomon also could not use the language, *I was king*, or, *I am king over Israel in Jerusalem*, c. i. 12, a fact of too much publicity to be mentioned by him.[b] The occurrence of Aramæan and modern words, which has just been stated, shows that the author lived much later. In order to give weight to his discourse, he assumes the character of the wisest of kings. Who he was it is impossible to say; only from his observations on the course of human affairs it is evident, that he was one who had been taught by his own experience the vanity and vexa-

tiousness of all things and the miseries and calamities of mankind, and who felt in himself the efficacy of those counsels which he imparted to others.[c]

[a) Holden's answer to this is satisfactory:—Vice, folly, oppression, and misery will exist, more or less, even under the best Administrations. No wisdom being sufficient to prevent these evils, the king himself might lament them, as well as any of his subjects. He may have referred, too, to surrounding states, and the general course of things. Prel. Diss. p. xv. s. Tr.]

[b) The sacred authors repeatedly designate their stations and employments. So Jer. i. 1. Ezek. i. 3. Am. i. 1. Rom. i. 1. I Cor. i. 1. &c. It is especially agreeable to the Oriental style for a king to enumerate his names and titles in any of his productions.—There is a peculiar fitness in the recommendation of a didactic treatise by the weight of authority, and the very next remark of our author is a confirmation of this. See HOLDEN, p. xvi. s. Tr.]

[c) "The acknowledgment of numerous follies and delusions in this work implies, that—the author—had repented of past misconduct. The frequent assertion of the emptiness of earthly greatness; the declarations that human enjoyments are unsatisfactory; the enumeration of gardens, edifices, and possessions, requiring a long life for their completion; the deep condemnation of former pursuits; the expression of satiety and disgust at past pleasures; and the tone of cool and philosophical reflection which pervades the whole, are strikingly characteristic of an advanced period of life; and the production of a king, bowed with the infirmities of age, wearied with the pomp of royalty, sated with luxury, humbled with a sense of past guilt, and prostrate in penitence," appears upon every line: Comp. HOLDEN, Prel. Diss. p. viii.—The contents of this section, and the other objections against the authorship of Solomon, are answered in detail by HOLDEN, Prel. Diss. p. iii—xxvi. Tr.]

§ 215. *Age of the Book of Ecclesiastes.*

If this book had been written *in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes* against the tenets of the Pharisees and Sadducees, as Zirkel supposes, it would be impossible to account for its having crept into the canon, while the Wisdom of the son of Sirach, and the first book of Maccabees were excluded.—And as no other sophists are attacked in this work, but such as every age produces, there is no reason with Bergst to place it *in the age of Alexander*. The argument founded

on the absence of the name Jehovah, supposing this to have arisen from the fact that the work was composed after the period when the use of that name was interdicted, has no bearing on the subject, for this prohibition extended no further than the pronunciation ; and the written term very frequently occurs in the Chaldee Paraphrases which are much more modern.—Neither do the Aramæan and modern words which are found in it prove it to have been composed *after the captivity* : for Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, Malachi, and Nehemiah, write in purer Hebrew, and on the contrary the author of the Canticles, who lived before the captivity, intermingles Chaldee words with Hebrew. The frequent inculcation of obedience to kings, even if they are unjust, cruel, and weak, or neglect the wealthy and noble, and advance servants and fools, (see viii. 2. x. 4—15, 16, 20. comp. also iv. 13—17,) is not in character with the times after the captivity. Admonitions of this kind presume an age when the Hebrews had their own kings, and are inconsistent with that subsequent to the captivity, when they were subjected to foreign governments of immense power, against which they had neither the ability nor the inclination to form plots, as the history of this period uniformly attests their fidelity.—The book therefore appears to have been written in the latter years of the kingdom of Judah, between the time of Manasseh, and that of the destruction of Jerusalem. Perhaps, however, some indications may be found of the author's living in the kingdom of Israel, which was disturbed by numerous tumults and seditions, and where, from the vicinity of Syria, the language might be earlier corrupted by the introduction of Aramæan expressions.[a]

[a] It will be observed that the arguments produced by the author in this section merely show that the book could not have been composed *later* than a certain period. Whether it was composed *earlier* will depend upon the result of the examination of the preceding section. *Tr.*]

SECTION IV.

ON THE DEUTEROCANONICAL WRITINGS. [OR THE APOCRYPHA.]

§ 216. *Difficulties in the Deuterocanonical writings.*

THE difficulties occurring in the Deuterocanonical writings have been solemnly acknowledged by our church, in her separation of them from the protocanonical books, and formation of a second canon. Comp. Part I. § 29 and 36. The distinction between the two classes of sacred books consists in this very fact, that those called deuterocanonical are encumbered with difficulties which are not so easy of solution as those in the protocanonical, and have therefore induced not a few of the ancients to consider the books in which they occur as of doubtful authority, or even entirely to reject them. These difficulties, indeed, are not so great as they were formerly represented by the adversaries of the books; for many of the objections were far-fetched and forced, many others were grounded on erroneous views, and many were built on hypotheses; yet the answers of our writers* were, in not a few instances, unsound and weak. Both of the conflicting parties were deficient in accurate acquaintance with the oriental languages and antiquities.—After all, difficulties by no means trivial still remain. We will examine how these may be most conveniently removed; and if it should be found impossible to give solutions altogether satisfactory, still our opinion respecting the books themselves will not be affected, as we acknowledge the fact when we place them in the second canon.

* [Those of the Romish Church. Tr.]

CHAPTER I.

OF THE BOOK OF BARUCH.

§ 217. *Baruch, and the time in which he lived.*

BARUCH is said to be the son of Neriah, the son of Maasaia, (or Maasiah,) the son of Zedekiah, the son of Asadiah, (or Sedi.) the son of Chelkiah, who seems to have been a man of some note, but not the Hilkiah who found the ancient copy of the law in the reign of Josiah. Whether the Baruch who wrote this book was the Baruch who acted as scribe for Jeremiah, and who was also the son of a man named Neriah, admits of doubt. The circumstance, being worthy of remark, would have been noticed in the title of the book, which is somewhat prolix, whereas no mention of it occurs there. Besides, the secretary of Jeremiah went with that prophet into Egypt after the destruction of Jerusalem, Jer. xliii. 6., while the author of this book lived in Babylonia in the fifth year after that event. This, however, may be explained by supposing Baruch to have removed from Egypt to Babylon immediately after the death of Jeremiah.—EICHHORN, *Einleit. in die Apocryph. Büch. des A. T.*, S. 377. f., considers ‘the fifth year’ mentioned Bar. i. 1., as referring to the fifth year from the captivity of Jechoniah. But this is contradicted by Bar. i. 2., where the destruction of Jerusalem is spoken of as having already taken place; and no Jew can be supposed so ignorant of the history of his own nation, as not to know the difference between the captivity of Jechoniah and the destruction of Jerusalem.[a]

[a) The original date is εν τω ετει τω πεμπτω, εν εβδόμη τε μηνος. εν τω καιρω, ὃ ελαβον οι Χαλδαιοι τον Ἱερουσαλημ, κ̄ ενεπρησαν αυτην εν πυρι. It seems difficult to understand this as referring to more than a single date, namely, that in which Jerusalem was destroyed. If we compare it with II Ki. xxv. 8. s. it will appear probable that the intention of the writer was to place the date of Baruch's letter at the very time of the burning of Jerusalem. De Wette accounts for the insertion of ετει in the place of μηνι, by supposing a mistake or hasty correction of some early transcriber. Certainly the mention of *the year* and of *the day of the month*, which is made by the present reading, without any notice of the month, is both extraordinary and absurd.—DE WETTE considers it as certain that the Baruch referred to in c. i. 1., is intended for Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah. Indeed the similarity in the father's name in both instances, seems to favour that conclusion. Comp. also Jer. li. 59., to which the genealogy, Bar. i. 1., seems to refer, although incorrectly. *Tr.*]

§ 218. *Contents of the Book of Baruch.*

I. The Prologue or Preface informs us that Baruch in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, read his book to king Jeconiah and the people, in Babylonia, by the river Sud or Sodi, and that the people were by it brought to repentance, and sent the book, with a letter and presents, to Jerusalem, c. i. 1—iii. 8. [a]

II. This is followed by the book itself, iii. 9—v. 9. It contains in the first place an exhortation to wisdom and a due observance of the law, iii. 9—iv. 8. Then it introduces the city of Jerusalem as a widow, comforting herself and her children with the hope of a return, iv. 9—29. An answer follows, in confirmation of this hope, iv. 30—v. 9.

III. A letter succeeds, attributed to Jeremiah, in which the vanity of idols is made manifest, and the exiles in Babylon are warned to keep themselves from idolatry, c. vi.

[a) The letter commences, i. 10. Its close is not so certain, although that mentioned by Jahn is as probable as any. DE WETTE places it at v. 15. Einleit. § 322. anm. d). *Tr.*]

§ 219. *Difficulties in the Book of Baruch.*

The sending of presents by the exiles to Jerusalem, i. 7., which city is mentioned as burned down and destroyed, i. 2, creates no difficulty, as we find in Jer. xli. 5. eighty Jews represented as bringing gifts to the ruined city. Sacrifices were sometimes offered even among the ruins, until in the 23d year of Nebuchadnezzar this custom was stopped by the deportation of all the remaining Jews, Jer. lii. 30. As this did not happen until the same fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem in which the sending of the presents took place, the cessation of offerings was as yet unknown to the exiles in Babylon.—There is scarcely any greater difficulty in the statement, c. i. 8, that the high-priest Joachim had received certain silver vessels made by order of king Zedekiah; for the Jews in Babylon might be able to *redeem* some of the sacred vessels. It cannot be objected that the high-priest at that time was not Joachim but Seraiah; for Seraiah was slain at the destruction of Jerusalem, Jer. lii. 24, 27., and the remnant of the Jews in Judea may have considered Joachim, some priest of high standing, as high-priest.—A more important difficulty than the preceding, is presented by the mention of Nebuchadnezzar and his son Balthasar, i. 11., when Evilmerodach, and not Balthasar (Belshazzar) succeeded Nebuchadnezzar. It may be answered that the name Balthasar is an interpolation, or that it was a title of any son that was heir apparent to the crown, or that Evilmerodach, like many other oriental princes, had more than a single name.—The passages i. 15. ss. ii. 7, 11, 15, 19. which are thought to be taken from Dan. ix. 7. ss., 13, 5, 15, 19, and 18, were perhaps forms of prayer in common use, which there would have been no occasion to borrow from any other book.—The river Sud or Sodi, i. 4, is the Euphrates, so called because not only the inhabitants of the district round Kufa and Bassora, but also those of all the villages in Babylonia, call it in Arabic سود
Suvad. as appears from the Moslemic Annals of Abulfeda.[a]

MELCHIOR CANUS, de Locis Theol. II. c. 9. p. 27. ed *Venet.* 1769. says, "To reject the book of Baruch from the canon of the Holy Scriptures, is not only rash, but *erroneous*. I call it *erroneous* (which is a word of various and ambiguous meaning) because, although near to *heresy*, I dare not call it heretical."*

[This quotation illustrates the extreme unwillingness of Jahn to admit the authority of the apocryphal books. His submission to the dictates of his church extorted an acknowledgment of their empty title as *deuterocanonical*; but on every occasion he shows his conviction of their inferiority to what Protestants rightly consider the only genuine Scriptures. *Tr.*]

[*a*] DE WETTE, Einleit. § 323. adds, as evidence of the spuriousness of the book, the contradiction between c. i. 1. as interpreted by him, and the history of Baruch, Jer. xliii. 6.; the mention of the altar i. 10. and of the house of God, v. 14; (but if the preceding objection applies, these do not); the contradiction between i. 3. and II Ki. xxv. 27; and that between i. 7. and I Chron. v. 36. (vi. 10), II Ki. xxv. 18. Jer. xxix. 25. Comp. also i. 9. with the LXX. of Jer. xxiv. 1. from which it is evidently copied. *Tr.*]

§ 220. *Language of the Book of Baruch.*

There is no mention made by the ancients of any Hebrew copy of Baruch. The Hebraisms of the Greek text might originate with a Jew writing Greek. It can by no means be inferred from the expression $\pi\omicron\mu\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$, *prepare* (or *make*) *ye manna*. i. 10, that the text was originally Hebrew; for the Alexandrine translation has rendered כִּנְחָה in Jer. xli. 5, by $\mu\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$, so that $\mu\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$ might be used in

Jewish Greek to express כִּנְחָה, as it is explained by Suidas; comp.

SUIDÆ ET PHAVORINI GLOSSÆ SACRÆ ex ed. ERNESTI, p. 86. Yet as there are not any orations inserted in Baruch, after the Grecian custom, as there are in the book of Judith, although there was a very fit opportunity for so doing, the book seems not to belong to the modern age, in which the Jews were accustomed to write in Greek. This, connected with the circumstance of the occurrence of the word $\mu\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$,

* ["Baruch a canone sanctarum scripturarum eximere, non solum temerarium, sed etiam erroneum est. *Erroneum* vero hic appello, (quia varia et ambigua est hujus nominis significatio,) id, quod haeresi proximum, haeresim non audeo vocare."]

and with the frequent Hebraisms, renders the opinion of those who suppose it to have been written in Hebrew, rather probable than otherwise.—But if the Greek text were allowed to be the original, the book must have been written under Ptolemy Lagus, or Philadelphus, and the author must have attributed his own ideas to Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah, and represented the latter as writing in Babylonia, in order the more effectually to confirm the numerous body of Jews then residing in Egypt, in the religion of their forefathers. That the book must have been useful at that time any one will readily allow, although it is not evident why the author should speak of the return from Babylon.

§ 221. *Of the Epistle which is contained in c. vi. of the Book of Baruch.*

The epistle in c. vi., attributed to Jeremiah, is an imitation of the letter of that prophet in Jer. xxix, so constructed as to purport to have been written to the Jews who had been carried away to Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is not a part of the book, as even the difference of the style attests; nor was it written by Jeremiah, who constantly limits the time of the captivity to seventy years, whereas the author of this letter, probably with reference to the exiles of the ten tribes, extends it to seven generations, and thus to a period of 233 years. Besides, it is written in Greek, and there are no observable traces of any original Hebrew text; for what BENDTSEN has remarked to the contrary, in his *Exercitationes Criticae*, 1788, is not satisfactory. Even the method of reasoning manifests Grecian learning, and a Grecian Jew or Hellenistic author. It was, nevertheless, the writer's intention to represent Jeremiah as the author of the epistle, unless the title has been erroneously added by some other hand.—The age of the epistle cannot be determined. It is only certain that it was written before the second book of Maccabees, comp. II Mac. ii. 2. with Bar. vi. 4.

§ 222. *Versions of the Book of Baruch.*

There are two ancient *Latin* versions of this book, the one in the Vulgate, the other published by Joseph Maria a Caro at Rome in 1688. Both are older than the time of Jerome, who did not translate the book of Baruch.—An *Arabic* and a *Syriac* version have been printed in the London Polyglot, and the Paris Polyglot contains another Syriac version, which differs in many places from the present text. All these versions have been made from the Greek. Their respective ages are unknown.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DEUTEROCANONICAL PARTS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

§ 223. *The Song of the Three Children.*

THE Alexandrine version of Daniel contains, c. iii. 24—90, a prolix exhortation to all creatures to join in the praise of God, sung by the three Jews, Azarias, Mishael, and Hananiah, the friends of Daniel, when cast into the fiery furnace. JEROME, Præf. in Dan., writes of a certain Jew, that “he raised cavils at the leisure which the three children were supposed to have to make verses in the burning furnace, and to call upon all the elements in regular order to praise God.” The whole of this difficulty, be it more or less, will vanish, if we suppose that some pious writer of a later age has represented these men as singing, for the purpose of celebrating their preservation in the fire.

§ 224. *Language of the Song of the Three Children.*

This song shows some vestiges of an original Hebrew or Chaldee text; for instance, v. 34. *αποσταται*, answering to מרדים, (or מרדין) *apostates*, which means in Syriac *cruel persons*, and must have that signification in this passage; so also v. 37. and 40 [a]. Some writers do not think these grounds sufficient to justify the conclusion that the song was originally written in Hebrew, because Theodotion did not translate it from the Hebrew, but merely copied it from the Alexandrine version. But Theodotion frequently differs from the Alexan-

drine text, so that it is doubtful whether he copied the Alexandrine version, or translated from a Hebrew text.—Our Latin version* was translated from the Greek text by Jerome.

[a] DE WETTE considers these instances, and others which he adds from v. 44, 48, 51, and 65, as proofs of the existence of an original *Chaldee* text. See *Einleit.* § 258. *anm. b).* *Tr.*]

§ 225. *The History of Susannah, Dan. xiii.*

Susannah, the wife of a rich Jew of Babylon, is solicited, while in a garden, by two Jewish judges to commit adultery, and although she foresees that they will meditate revenge, is induced by her religious principles to repel their attempt. The judges or elders, enraged at the repulse, call Susannah before a public assembly, and testify that they had caught her in the act of adultery in the garden, and condemn her to death for the offence. As the innocent victim is on the way to execution, Daniel, who seems to have had a knowledge of the character of these wicked judges from some extraneous source, induces the people to institute a fresh examination of the evidence against her. He interrogates the elders separately, under what tree, or in what part of the garden they had found the supposed adulteress? The first answering that it was under a mastich or lentisk tree,† ὑπο σχινον, Daniel instantly pronounces his sentence in the words, ὁ αγγελος κυρις σχισει σε την ψυχην σημερον,‡ ‘the angel of God hath received the sentence of God, to cut thee in two.’ The other answering that it was under an ilex tree, ὑπο πρινον, he condemns him by saying, νυν ὁ αγγελος κυριου την ῥομφαιαν εσηκεν εχων—ἰνα καταπριση σε,§ ‘the angel of the LORD waiteth with the sword to cut

* [The Vulgate. *Tr.*]

† [The Latin of our author, by a strange mistake, has *ilex* here, and *lentiscus* after πρινον. The German has σχινος, Mastixbaume, and πρινος, Steineiche. *Tr.*]

‡ [Or rather, ἡδη γαρ αγγελος του Θεου λαβων φασιν παρα τς Θεου, σχισει σε μεσον, MS. Al.; or, ἡδη γαρ αγγελος φασιν Θεου λαβων παρα του Θεου. σχισει σε μεσον, MS. Vat. *Tr.*]

§ [Or as MS. Al. ὁ αγγελος του Θεου, την ῥομφαιαν εχων πρισαι σε αεσον. *Tr.*]

three in two.' The people confirm the sentence of Daniel, and these false witnesses, who had been at once accusers and judges, are executed in conformity with the law of retaliation.

§ 226. *Difficulties in this history.*

Jerome says of this history, Præf. in Dan.: "I have heard one of the Jewish teachers, deriding the history of Susannah, and asserting it to be the forgery of some unknown Greek, make the same objection that was made to Origen by Africanus, namely, that the etymological allusions between $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\sigma\chi\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$, and $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ were derived from the Greek language. This objection may be rendered intelligible to those acquainted only with the Latin language, by supposing that from the answer of the one elder 'under an ilex tree,' *sub ILICE*, Daniel had taken occasion to say to him *ILICO percas*, and that to the answer of the other, 'under a lentisk tree,' *sub LENTISCO*, the reply had been, *in LENTE te comminuat angelus*, or *non LENTE percas*, or *LENTUS*, that is, *flexibilis, ducaris ad mortem.*"* This paronomasia, which is not only unforced and natural, but is moreover intimately connected with the principal point of the history, could not have occurred either in Hebrew or Chaldee, one of which languages Daniel must have used. Besides, there is no trace of either of these languages in any part of the narrative. It must therefore have been written in Greek, and cannot be the work of Daniel. The tumultuary judgment given by the elders, and by Daniel himself, moreover, is entirely at variance with the forms of judicial proceedings among the orientals; not to say, that the captive Jews did not possess the power of life and death.—These difficulties, not to mention others which occur, have induced LAMY, Appar. Bibl. p. 336., to express himself as follows: "The history of

* ["*Audivi ego quempiam de praeceptoribus Judaeorum, cum Susannae derideret historiam, et a Graeco, nescio quo, eam diceret esse confictam, illud opponere, quod Origeni quoque opposuit Africanus, etymologias has, $\alpha\pi\omicron$ τοῦ $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\chi\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$, καὶ $\alpha\pi\omicron$ τοῦ $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$, de Graeco sermone descendere. Cujus rei intelligentiam nostris hanc possumus dare, ut verbi gratia dicamus, de arbore *ilice* dixisse illum: *ilico percas*; et a *lentisco*: *in lente te comminuat angelus*, vel *non lente percas*, aut *lentus*, id est, *flexibilis, ducaris ad mortem.*"—It will be perceived that the text is a free translation. *Tr.*]*

Susannah, although of uncertain authority, is an example of admirable chastity: from the letter of Julius Africanus to Origen, and the reply of Origen, we learn, that it has been held by some to be true, by others to be false."—The readiest solution of these difficulties would be, to suppose the whole narrative a parable, intended by the author to teach us, that old men are not always to receive implicit confidence, and that young men of wisdom, piety, and uprightness, are worthy of more deference than those advanced in age, if irreligious and wicked. This is expressly noticed, as the result of the narrative, in the Alexandrine MS., at the end.—Perhaps something similar had happened among the Jews at a late period, from which the author took occasion to write this parable.

§ 227. *Versions of the History of Susannah.*

The text of *Theodotion* is not a distinct version from the *Alexandrine*, and yet it differs from the text of the latter in many places, as if Theodotion had corrected some things, with the view of removing difficulties. From this text of Theodotion three *Syriac* versions and one *Arabic* have been made. The latter, with two of the *Syriac* versions, (one by an unknown author, the other by the bishop of Hecralea, A. D. 613,) are contained in the London Polyglot. In both these *Syriac* versions the text is continually altered. The third *Syriac* version is by Jacob of Edessa, and has not been printed. Bugati has given a specimen of it in his notes to the *Syriac Hexaplar* version of Daniel. The *Vulgate* version of this history was made by Jerome from the text of Theodotion.

§ 228. *The History of Bel and the Dragon.*

The narrative of Bel and the Dragon, Dan. xiv., is in the *Alexandrine* text ascribed to Habakkuk; but in the text of Theodotion, xiii. 65, the transaction is placed in the time of Cyrus.* According to the *Alexandrine* text, which is the most ancient, the narrative is as follows.—Daniel, on being invited by the king of Babylon to worship the idol Bel, pledges himself to prove that the idol does not con-

* [See Daniel sec. Septuaginta. Romæ, 1772, p. 298, 299. Tr.]

sume the food which is daily set before him in large quantities. With this view, as soon as the food has been deposited, he orders every one to depart from the temple, and sprinkles the pavement with ashes, shuts the door, and seals it with the royal signet. Early in the morning the king and Daniel open the doors, and enter the temple. They find the food consumed, it is true, but at the same time discover in the ashes on the pavement the footsteps of the priests and of their wives and children, who had entered the temple at night by a secret door, and devoured the food. On this account the king orders the idol Bel, which was made of earthenware overlaid with gold, to be broken in pieces.—Daniel, again importuned by the king to adore a dragon, who is represented as an object of worship at Babylon, replies that he will undertake, unarmed, to destroy this supposed terrible deity. With the king's permission, he offers the dragon food prepared of a compound of 30 minae of pitch, and of fat, and hair, which the dragon devours, and immediately bursts asunder.—The populace are excited by these outrages upon their gods, and rising tumultuously, force the king to give up Daniel. The seditious multitude having cast him into the den of lions he nevertheless remains unhurt, and on the sixth day receives food from Habakkuk, who, as he was carrying dinner to his reapers, had been seized by the hair by an angel, and thus transported through the air to Daniel, and who is the same day carried back to Judea by the same mode of conveyance. The king, at last, finding Daniel unhurt, orders him to be taken out of the den, and his persecutors to be cast to the lions.

§ 229. *Difficulties in the narrative of Bel and the Dragon.*

JEROME, Præf. in Dan., says, that the Jewish teacher already mentioned made objections to this narrative also, asking “ what miracle or sign of divine inspiration it contained? and whether the destruction of the dragon with bals of pitch, or the detection of the priests of Bel by a stratagem, were performed by a prophetic spirit? When he came to the part relating to Habakkuk, and read about the Jew who was carrying the dinner being borne away into Chaldea, he asked, what instance could be produced within the compass of the Old Testament, of any of the saints having flown in his cumbrous body, and

having in a moment passed over so great an extent of country? and when one of our religion, rather too ready to speak, had cited Ezekiel as an instance, and had said that he was carried from Chaldea to Jerusalem, he ridiculed the man, and proved from the book itself, that Ezekiel being in the Spirit, seemed to himself to be transported thither. He moreover alleged that our Apostle, being a learned man, and having learned the law from the Hebrews, had not ventured to affirm that he had been translated to the third heaven in the body, but had only said '*whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not, God knoweth.*'"—There are, besides, other things in this narrative repugnant to history, such as Daniel's being called a priest, xiv. 1. (which has originated from confounding him with Daniel the priest, Ezr. viii. 2. Neh. x. 7. (6.)) ; the king's commanding that the idol Bel should be broken in pieces; and the assertion that a dragon was worshipped at Babylon.—These difficulties are so great, that no one has attempted to remove them; yet they all disappear if we choose to say that these narratives are parables, intended by the author to show the vanity of idols and of sacred animals, and the impostures of their priests: and the accomplishment of such an object would have been exceedingly useful to the Jews, when dwelling in Egypt, and falling off to the worship of idols and sacred animals.

§ 230. *Original language of the History of Bel and the Dragon.*

There is no evidence or indication of any kind that this book was originally written in Hebrew or Chaldee. The text of Theodotion, it is true, differs in many respects from the Alexandrine, so that it may almost seem to be another narrative; but it bears no marks of being a translation from the Hebrew or Chaldee. The history was, without doubt, written in Greek in the age of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, where, according to HERODOTUS, II. 74., serpents were worshipped at Thebes. The author perhaps saw that the Jews were embracing some of the Egyptian superstitions, and wrote these stories with the view of warning his brethren of the vanity of idolatry. The book was therefore suited to its time, and may serve to us for a witness that philosophy, introduced into Egypt, and known to the Jews, was not sufficient to prevent apostacy to the absurd worship of idols and animals.

§ 231. *Versions of this History.*

The Vulgate Latin version of this narrative was translated from the text of Theodotion by Jerome, who says, Praef. in Dan., when speaking of these deuterocanonical parts of the book of Daniel, “which (Daniel), as received among the Hebrews, contains neither the history of Susannah, nor the hymn of the three children, nor the tales of Bel and the dragon; all of which, as they are scattered throughout all the world, we have added, lest to the ignorant we should seem to have cut off a considerable part of the book; but we have given the precedence in order to that part which is true, and evinces the falsity of these.”*—The *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions printed in the London Polyglot, have been made from the text of Theodotion. The Alexandrine text is translated in the Hexaplar Syriac version of Daniel published by BUGATI, at Milan, in 1788. Comp. Part I. of this Introd. § 51.

* “Qui (Daniel) apud Hebraeos nec Susannae habet historiam, nec hymnum trium puerorum, nec Belis draconisque fabulas, quæ nos, quia in toto orbe dispersa sunt, vero anteposito easque jugulante, subjecimus, ne videremur apud imperitos magnam partem voluminis detruncasse.”

CHAPTER III.

OF THE DEUTEROCANONICAL ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

§ 232. *Contents.*

THE Alexandrine version of the book of Esther contains many things which are wanting in the Hebrew text, and which in the Vulgate are added at the end, c. x. 4—xvi. 24.* We will mention them as they are found in the Alexandrine version, and will point out the places which they occupy in the Vulgate.—1) The book begins with a dream of Mordecai concerning two fighting dragons, which represented Mordecai and Haman. Mention is also made of the discovery of the conspiracy of the eunuchs by Mordecai, which is related Esth. ii. 21. ss. This is in the Vulgate c. xi. 1—10. and xii. 1—6.—2) The royal mandate relating to the plundering and slaying of the Jews, iii. 13. Vulgate; xiii. 1—7.—3) The prayers of Mordecai and Esther, iv. 17. Vulgate; xiii. 8—xiv. 19.—4) The entrance of Esther to the king, v. 1. Vulgate; xv. 4—19. (xv. 4—16.)—5) The royal mandate for the deliverance of the Jews, viii. 13. Vulgate; xvi. 1—25.—6) The remark that Mordecai now understood the dream above mentioned; and the subscription purporting that the epistle concerning the feast of Phurim or Purim was brought by Dositheus into Egypt under Ptolemy and Cleopatra, c. x. 3. Vulgate; x. 3—xi. 1.

* [In the English translation forming a separate book in the Apocrypha, under this title: "The rest of the chapters of the book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee." 77.]

§ 233. *Language of these additions.*

The Chaldee text of these additions, found in some Hebrew manuscripts, has been translated from the Greek, and interpolated into those manuscripts.[a] For the Greek of these fragments is evidently that of a Jew writing in that language, and exhibits not the slightest trace of a Chaldee original. The diversity of style in the different fragments, too, shows that they have been written by different authors. JEROME, Præf. in Esth., says, concerning them: "It is certain that the book of Esther has been corrupted by its various translators. I have more closely rendered it word for word, exhibiting it to the reader as it is found in the records of the Hebrews. This book is swelled out in the [old] Vulgate edition with patchwork appendages of matter which might be said and heard extempore, such as students in the schools compose on some given theme, inventing speeches suitable to the character of an injured person, or of him who does the injury."*—Besides, there are some passages which are contradictory to the protocanonical book, as c. xvi. 14. comp. Esth. ii. 2—23. Hence SIXTUS SENENSIS says, Biblioth. Sanct. p. 33, "the other six chapters, extending to the close of the book, are added by some unknown Greek writer from various histories, but especially from the eleventh book of the Antiquities of Josephus, from which the copy of the letter of Haman, and that of the proclamation of the king, given in c. xiii. and xiv. are taken word for word."—Those who urge that the deuterocanonical parts throw light on the book of Esther and must therefore be portions of it, do not consider that the same remark might be made of scholia, which are certainly not parts of the works to which they are appended.

[a] This is asserted by Jahn in opposition to the hypothesis maintained by DE ROSSI, Specimen variorum Lectionum Sacri textus V. T. et Chaldaica Estheris additamenta. 1782, Romæ, pp. 131. ss., that the whole

* "Librum Esther variis translatoribus constat esse vitiatum, quem ego de archivis Hebraeorum revelans, verbum e verbo expressius transtuli. Quem librum editio (antiquior) Vulgata laciniosis hinc inde verborum sinibus trahit, addens, quae ex tempore dici poterant et audiri, sicut solitum est scholaribus discipulis, sumto themate excogitare, quibus verbis uti potuerit, qui injuriam passus est, vel qui injuriam fecit."

book of Esther, together with these additions, was originally written in Chaldee, and that the present Hebrew book is an abridgment of it, omitting the deuterocanonical parts, which have been restored by the Alexandrine translator. See Germ. Introd. S. 285. ff. *Tr.*]

§ 234. *Versions of these fragments.*

The *Latin* version of these fragments is not by Jerome, but more ancient than his time. In the Vulgate they are thrown at the end of the book, because Jerome, who followed the Hebrew, did not think proper to give them any place in the text.—An imperfect *Arabic* version, and a *Syriac* version, are contained in the London Polyglot.—The *Chaldee* version already noticed, is sometimes more diffuse, sometimes more succinct, than the Greek text; it has been published by EVODIUS ASSEMAN in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, whence it was taken by DE ROSSI, *Specimen Var. Lect. V. T.*

§ 235. *Whether these additions are Deuterocanonical.*

The common opinion is, that these additions are part of the second canon. But SIXTUS SENENSIS, *Bibliotheca Sancta*, Tom. I. § 6. p. 22. s., reckons them among the apocryphal books, and says: “It occurs to me at present, to admonish and exhort the pious and benevolent reader, not to accuse me of temerity because I have detached these latter seven chapters from the canonical scriptures, and thrown them back into this lowest rank, among the apocryphal books, as though I had forgotten the decree of the holy Council of Trent, which under pain of anathema, commands us to receive all the books entire, as they have been accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church, and are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition. That canon is to be understood of the true and genuine parts, which only are necessary to constitute the integrity of a book; and not of any mutilated appendixes, and patchwork additions rashly affixed by some unknown author, and in some way or other foisted in. Yet such is the character of these last chapters, which are not only rejected from the canon by Cardinal Hugo, Nicolas de Lyra, Dionysius the Carthusian, and other more modern interpreters, but are also separated from the whole book of Esther by Saint Jerome, as a corrupted part, and, to use his own words, ‘as patchwork appendages of matter which

might be said and heard extempore, such as students in schools compose on some given theme, inventing speeches suitable to the character of an injured person, or to that of him who has done the injury.³ Origen too, in his epistle to Julius Africanus, throws aside these same additions with contempt."—On these matters every one is free to form his own opinion: but the book of Sixtus Senensis was accepted by Benedict XIV. when dedicated to him by Milante.[a]

[a) The struggles of the author in this, and indeed, in all the preceding sections, to evade the dogmatic decisions of his church, must be evident to every reader. They afford additional proof, if proof were needed, of the correctness of the Protestant canon of Scripture. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

§ 236. *Contents.*

THE book of Tobit contains a narrative, belonging to the time of the Assyrian captivity, and relating to Tobit the father, (according to the Vulgate Tobias,) and his son Tobias. The principal heads are as follows.—Tobit of the tribe of Naphtali, a native of the city Thisbe, or Thesbe, in Galilee, having been carried captive into Assyria by Salmanasar after the destruction of Samaria, and having been made *αγοραστης*, a merchant or factor for the king, in the city of Nineveh, constantly adhered to the law of Moses, was a benefactor of the needy Israelites, and even secretly buried the slain, who were thrown on the outside of the walls. On a certain journey he had deposited ten talents of silver with Gabael in Rages, a city of Media. Being deprived of his office, under Sennacherib, he did not cease secretly to bury the Israelites whom that monarch frequently put to death after the destruction which his army had sustained in Judea. At length being betrayed, he merely saved his life by flight, but was despoiled of all his property, i. 1—20. Sennacherib being a short time after slain by his sons, Tobit, by the intercession of his relative Achiacharus, who had been elevated to an exalted dignity, obtained from Esarhaddon permission to return to Nineveh, and went on in his practice of burying the murdered Israelites. Having interred one of them on the feast of Pentecost, and on account of the uncleanness thus contracted, having slept in the court of his house under shelter of a wall, the dung of swallows who had built their nests in the wall, fell into his eyes, and brought on *λευκωματα* or white spots in his eyes,

which reduced the pious old man to total blindness ; c. i. 21—ii. 10. He bore this affliction with patience, and was supported at first, till he removed to Elymais, by Achiacharus, and after that by the wages which his wife received for her labour. On some occasion she received a kid in addition to her ordinary wages, and Tobit, upon hearing its bleating, supposed it to have been stolen, and vehemently urged its restitution. His wife, offended at this, reproached him, not only with this unjust suspicion, but even with his former beneficence, which had not prevented his becoming blind. The old man was exceedingly distressed at this, and intreated God to put an end to his life ; ii. 10—iii. 6.—The same day, Sarah, daughter of Raguel, Tobit's cousin, was reproached by her maids with having slain her seven husbands, all of whom had been killed in her chamber by Asmodeus on the very day of their nuptials. This so terrified the young woman that she thought of strangling herself, but desisted lest she should afflict her parents, praying God to grant her death ; c. iii. 7—14.—Tobit, hoping soon to reach the end of his life, furnishes his son Tobias with salutary admonitions, and sends him to the city Rages to receive the ten talents that were due to him there. Tobias, having found out a fit companion who called himself Azariah the son of the elder Ananiah, commences his journey, c. iv. v.—At the end of the first day's journey, Tobias bathing at evening in the Tigris, meets with an enormous fish, which, by the advice of his companion Azariah, he seizes, draws out of the water, embowels, and by the same advice preserves the heart, liver, and gall, as useful medicines ; vi. 1—9.—As they approach Ecbatana Azariah persuades Tobias to marry the Sarah already mentioned, the daughter of Raguel, who was very rich, and Tobias, informed by Azariah that Asmodeus, who had slain the seven former husbands of Sarah, had no power over those who married merely for the sake of having children, and that this prince of the demons might be put to flight by the smoke of the heart and liver of the fish, consents ; vi. 10—17. The marriage is contracted, c. vii., and the first night Tobias burns the heart and liver of the fish, by the smoke of which Asmodeus is put to flight, and to prevent his return he is bound with chains by an angel in the desert of Upper Egypt. Then Tobias offers a prayer to God, in which he states the end of matrimony, c. viii. In the mean time his

companion Azariah having gone alone to the city Rages, brings thence the ten talents, and with them Gabael also to the nuptials. Upon the complete celebration of these, Tobias, accompanied by his wife Sarah, who takes with her the half of her father's fortune as a dowry, returns to his parents, who had already begun to be anxious respecting him. Tobias, in pursuance of the instructions of Azariah, rubs the eyes of his father with the gall of the fish, and so restores his sight, c. ix—xi.—At last Tobit and Tobias, offering Azariah as a reward, five talents of the money received from Gabael, are informed by him that he is the angel Raphael, one of the seven spirits who stand, or minister, in the presence of God, and present the prayers of men. The angel relieves them from their amazement and disappears, Tobit rendering thanks to God, c. xii—xiii. It is added that the father, Tobit, attained the age of 158, (in the Vulgate 102,) and the son, Tobias, that of 127, (in the Vulgate 99,) c. xiv.

§ 237. *Difficulties of the Book of Tobit.*

The difficulties that occur in this narrative are of no small moment.—1) The seven angels standing or ministering before God, who present to God the prayers of men.—2) The angel Raphael, clothed with a human form, falsely asserts that he is an Israelite, and performs a long journey.—3) Asmodeus, or the devil or Ahriman, smitten with love for Sarah, slays her seven husbands,—is put to flight by the smoke of the heart and liver of the fish,—and is bound with cords in Upper Egypt.—4) The dung of the swallows falls upon both the eyes of the old man Tobit at once, and, after having been made blind, his sight is restored by the gall of the fish.—5) Tobit and Sarah are both unjustly reproached at the same time, pray at the same time for death, and obtain at the same time help from the angel Raphael. So many coincidences do not look like history.—6) The city Rages or Ragia in Media was, according to STRABO, p. 524., founded by Seleucus Nicator, after the year 300 B. C., and yet according to our book it must have been already in existence 700 years before Christ. The Rages mentioned by ARRIAN in *Expedit. Alexandri*, L. III. c. 20., is not called a *city*, but *χωρος*, a *place*, or *region*, and perhaps Arrian first gave it the name.—7) Tobit is said to have been carried into captivity by Salma-

nasar, whereas the tribe of Naphtali was carried away by Tiglath-pileser. Perhaps, however, it may be thought that Tobit had before that time removed to Samaria.—The ages of Tobit and Tobias are unreasonably great; but perhaps this has originated in the mistakes of transcribers; for the Vulgate version has smaller numbers.[*a*]

[*a*] But it is at least as probable that these numbers should have been altered in the Vulgate to lessen the difficulties of the narrative, as that they should have been increased, against all verisimilitude, by a transcriber.—DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 309. *anm.* a), adds to this list of difficulties, the significancy of the proper names; referring to BERTHOLDT, S. 2494. f. *Tr.*]

§ 238. *Solution of the difficulties of Tobit.*

These difficulties have induced most of the modern interpreters to conclude that the narrative is a parable, teaching that the prayers of the good who are oppressed with calamities are heard by God; which is declared by Raphael in express words; c. xii. 15.[*a*]—Some others think that the principal points of the narration are founded on historic truth, and the marvellous circumstances which occur they ascribe either to the gradual exaggeration of a historical fact handed down by a long course of oral tradition, or to the illustration and ornament of the writer.[*b*] They who place the whole narrative in the rank of true histories, think that they can get over all the difficulties by the single answer, that they are miracles.

[*a*] This is the opinion of DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 309., who grounds it entirely on the similarity of this book to that of Job, and its miraculous stories.—But surely the former is not very striking, and is entirely insufficient to prove the parabolic design of the work. *Tr.*]

[*b*] So ILGEN, *Die Geschichte Tobis nach drey verschiedenen Originalen, dem griechischen, dem lateinischen des Hieronymus, und einem syrischen, uebersetzt und mit Anmerkungen exegetischen und kritischen Inhalts und einer Einleitung versehen*, 1800, S. lv—xcix. He relies on 1) the notice of Tobit's tribe, and the tracing of his genealogy through four generations, and the mention of his birth-place, i. 1. s., all of which would have been needless and superfluous in a parable. 2) The mention that Tobit was an orphan, and brought up by his grandmother Deborah; i. 8. 3) The unostentatious notice of Tobit's situation as royal factor.

and of the high advancement of Achiacharan his brother's son, i. 13, 21. Both of these last circumstances are very little to be expected in a parable.]

§ 239. *The language of the book of Tobit.*

No Hebrew text of this book was found either by Jerome or by Origen: nor can it be proved by internal arguments taken from the Alexandrine text, that any such has ever existed. What ILGEN, *Geschichte Tobit*, u. s. f. S. cxxiii—cxxv., has advanced to the contrary is by no means satisfactory, as I have shown in my German *Introd.* § 239. p. 900—902. Jerome had indeed a Chaldee text; but it is impossible to show that it was not a translation from the Greek. —The author seems therefore to have written in Greek.[a]

[a] The reader who is curious to examine this subject should consult DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 310., who gives very numerous references in support of the opinion of Ilgen. He also maintains that not only the Chaldee and Greek, but also the Syriac and old Latin or Italic versions, are separate and independent texts, or editions of this narrative. He argues from the material differences in all four in 1) names; 2) accounts of particular circumstances; 3) appendices; 4) omissions; and 5) more or less full representations of the same events and speeches. *Ann.* b), d), and e). *Tr.*]

§ 240. *Age of the book of Tobit.*

That the book was not written in the age of Tobit himself, is plain from the fact that he is represented as living under the reigns of Salmanasar, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, (734—678 B. C.) at which time the Magian ideas concerning Asmodeus or Ahriman, and concerning the seven spirits that stand before the throne of God, &c. were not yet introduced and mingled with the Mosaic religion. This is confirmed by the mention of the city Rages, first built by Seleucus Nicator, which could not have been made by the author without raising a difficulty in the mind of his readers, by carrying back to such a remote antiquity the existence of so modern a city, unless he had lived at a time when its founder had already been forgotten. The book, therefore, could not have been written more than 150 or 200 years before Christ.—That it was written after the Christian

era, is entirely unsusceptible of proof. The silence of Josephus and Philo respecting Tobit proves nothing; for both writers are silent also concerning Jesus the son of Sirach. Josephus, doubtless, considered the contents of the book as parabolical, and therefore could no more use it in his *Antiquities* than he could the book of Job. Besides, the writers of the New Testament had read the book of Tobit; for proof of which comp. Rev. xxi. 18. ss. with Tob. xiii. 16. s. [a]

[a] This is merely an instance of the same figurative language, which of itself is by no means sufficient to establish the position of the author. *Tr.*]

§ 241. *Of the Author of the book of Tobit.*

From what has been said it is evident that the command given by Raphael, according to the Greek text, xii. 20., that what had taken place should be written down, is nothing more than a recommendation of the book, as being written at the command of an angel. This command, therefore, which is not given in the Vulgate, is merely an ornament of style.—It is true that Tobit speaks, i. 3—iii. 6., in the first person and in a simple way; but this is no proof that this portion of the book was written by Tobit himself, or by some person different from the author of the remainder of the work, which speaks of Tobit only in the third person: for the change of persons may readily be attributed to the fancy of the writer, as the orientals take great liberties in changing the person in which they write.—Ilgen divides the book into three parts, (I. c. i. 1—iii. 6.; II. c. iii. 7—xii. 22. and c. xiv.; III. c. xiii.) which he supposes to be the productions of three different authors. But the arguments which he adduces in support of his opinion are far-fetched and forced, and the circumstances on which he founds them may be more easily accounted for in other ways. See *Germ. Introd. P. II. Sect. IV. § 241. p. 905. s. [a]*

[a] See also the arguments of Ilgen in DE WETTE, *Einleit. § 310. 2m. h.* *Tr.*]

§ 242. *Versions of the book of Tobit.*

The Vulgate version is by Jerome, who says of it, Præf. in Tob., "I cannot but wonder at the importunity of your demands; for you require me to clothe in the Latin language a book written in the Chaldee tongue, and that too the book of Tobit, which the Hebrews have separated from the catalogue of the holy scriptures, and classed with the writings which they call hagiographa. I have done enough to satisfy your desires but not my own wishes. They find fault with our Hebrew studies, and accuse us of transferring such books as these into the Latin language, against their canon. But as I think it preferable to incur the condemnation of Pharisees, and to obey the commands of the bishops, I have done it to the best of my ability. As the Chaldee language has a close affinity to the Hebrew, I obtained a skilful interpreter of both languages, and setting apart a day for the work, made him interpret the Chaldee to me in Hebrew words, which, as he uttered them, I again dictated in the Latin language to a secretary."* Such a precipitate method of procedure could hardly produce a faithful and accurate version. The Jew rendering the Chaldee into Hebrew, may have committed many errors, the number of which was, without doubt, enlarged by Jerome, when he dictated it extempore in Latin, as it was interpreted to him in Hebrew. This is enough to account for the frequent differences between the Vulgate version and the Greek text.—There is extant also another *older Latin version*, made from the Greek text, which has been published by SABATIER in his *Bibliorum Sacrorum Lat. vers. antiq.* 1751.—The *Syriac version* is of an uncertain age, and has

* ["Mirari non desino exactionis vestrae instantiam; exigitis enim, ut librum Chaldaeo sermone conscriptum ad Latinum stilum traham, librum utique Tobiae, quem Hebraei de catalogo divinarum scripturarum secantes, his, quae hagiographa memorant, manciparunt. Feci satis desiderio vestro, non meo studio. Arguunt et nos Hebraeorum studia, et imputant nobis, contra suum canonem Latinis auribus ista transferre. Sed melius esse judicans, Pharisaeorum displicere iudicio, et episcoporum jussionibus deservire, institi ut potui. Et quia vicina est Chaldaeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguae peritissimum loquacem reperiens, unius diei laborem arripui, et quidquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego accito notario sermonibus Latinis exposui."]

been made from the Greek text. It is printed in the fourth volume of the London Polyglot.—That work contains also *two Hebrew versions* of this book, of no great antiquity. The first of these, made from the Greek text, was first published by Paul Fagius at the end of the Sentences of Ben Sirach, 1542, and has since been printed at Constantinople in 1617. The other, published by Sebastian Munster in 1542, seems to have been made from a Latin version.—All these versions differ from each other in many respects, but it is difficult to determine whether the discrepancies originated with the translators themselves, or are the fault of transcribers.[a]

[a) See DE WETTE, Einleit. § 310. anm. Tr.]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE BOOK OF JUDITH.

§ 243. *Contents of the Book.*

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, king of Nineveh, in the twelfth year of his reign, being injured by the warlike incursions which were made on the frontiers of Ragau by Arphaxad, king of Media and founder of Ecbatana, obtains from the neighbouring nations some auxiliary troops. He sends also to others more distant, which are recounted in a geographical order altogether peculiar, and entirely different from that of their real situations; these all dismiss his ambassadors without any marks of honour. Nebuchadnezzar on this account resolves to ruin them, and, after having conquered and slain Arphaxad, sends Holofernes with a numerous army, who brings great calamities upon those nations, which are again enumerated, in a still more extraordinary geographical arrangement. Notwithstanding the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of the sea coasts, who became terrified by these proceedings, Holofernes plunders their cities, burns their groves, and breaks in pieces their idols, that Nebuchadnezzar alone may be worshipped as God. After this, having pitched his camp in the plain of Esdraelon, he remains at rest a whole month, c. i—iii.—The Jews, however, who had lately returned from captivity, and had restored the temple and worship of God, prepare for war under the direction of the high priest and the elders. The high priest Joachim writes to the inhabitants of the cities of Bethylua (according to the Vulgate, Bethulia) and Betomesthaim, which were on the borders of Esdraelon, to guard carefully the passes of the moun-

tams. In the mean time all the Jews fast, and implore help from God, c. iv. Holofernes, wondering at their unusual boldness, inquires of his captains, who this people was. Achior, leader of the Ammonites, in reply, gives a brief history of the Hebrews, in which he shows, that so long as they continued faithful to their God they were invincible, and dissuades Holofernes from undertaking a war with them, unless he is well assured that they have apostatized from their God, c. v. Holofernes, enraged at his unwelcome counsel, orders him to be given up to the inhabitants of Bethulia, that he may undergo the same fate with them, c. vi.—The next day having occupied the passes of the mountains of Bethulia, he intercepts their supplies of water, in order to oblige the city to surrender. After thirty-four days the inhabitants are reduced to such extremities that they resolve to yield, unless some aid should arrive within five days, c. vii. Upon hearing this, Judith, a rich and beautiful widow, calls the governor and senate of the city, and having upbraided them for their design of surrendering, asks them to have the gate opened for her at evening. Her request being complied with, she goes out clothed in the most splendid manner, and accompanied by her maid Abra or Habra carrying provisions, to Holofernes. She pretends to be a deserter, and informs him that the Hebrews could not, indeed, be conquered while they continued faithful to their God, but that they were now about to convert to their own use the tithes which were sacred to the use of his priests, and in this way to sin against him; and that for this reason she had left the city, foreseeing its approaching ruin. She adds, that she would remain with him in the camp, if he would allow her to go out at night and offer her prayers to God, and that she would point out to him the time when the Hebrews, having apostatized from their God, might be conquered, and would be his guide even to Jerusalem, c. vii—xi. This gratifies Holofernes, and Judith is well received. But on the fourth day, being left alone with Holofernes when he is drunk, she cuts off his head while asleep, and giving it to her maid Abra to carry in her bag, leaves the camp as she had been accustomed to do, for the purpose of prayer, but returns to Bethulia, where she displays the head of Holofernes to the governor and the people. In the morning the besieged make a sally, and the enemy, deprived of their general, are

put to flight. The rejoicings of all the Jews and the song of victory of Judith, with an account of the remainder of her life, and of her honourable sepulture, conclude the book, c. xii—xvi.

§ 244. *Difficulties of the Book of Judith.*

Inextricable difficulties in geography, chronology, and history, pervade the whole of this book. For the sake of brevity we will only undertake to show that there is no period of time in which all the things related in the book could have taken place.

I. *Not before the captivity*; for in c. iv. 3. v. 18. s. and in the Vulgate in v. 22. s. the return from the captivity is expressly mentioned. Nor can the silence respecting any king of the Hebrews, and the administration of the government by the high priest and the elders, be reconciled with a date antecedent to the captivity. It cannot be said that this is accounted for by supposing Manasseh, king of Judah, to have been a captive in Babylon; for at that time neither Arphaxad, king of Media, nor Nebuchadnezzar, were in existence, nor was Nineveh standing, as it had been destroyed by Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar. Besides, it could not have been said then, as Judith says, that none of the people worshipped idols; nor could a general of Nebuchadnezzar who had carried away the Jews, find Jews in Palestine and be ignorant who they were. [a]—It appears to me, that the author of the book has confounded Nebuchadnezzar with Neriglissar, who, when he was preparing an expedition against the Medes, invited the Lydians, Phrygians, Carians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, and other neighbouring nations, to join in the war. But he did not conquer the Medes, but was slain by Cyrus: comp. Archæol. P. II. T. I. § 47. S. 216.

II. Nor is there any space of time *subsequent to the return from the Babylonian captivity* in which this history may be placed. For the Hebrews were 207 years subject to the Persians, then to Alexander, to the Ptolemies, the kings of Egypt, and last of all to the kings of Syria, till they recovered their liberty. If any thing like the matter of this history had happened it must have been in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. But this is at variance with the statement that the Hebrews had had *their temple destroyed*, and had been carried captive, but now, having *returned only a short time before*, had restored

the temple and worship of God. Moreover no age in all this period witnessed an Arphaxad king of Media, or a Nebuchadnezzar king of Nineveh. This last place did not even exist; for it had been destroyed by Nabopolassar, 625 B. C., and was never afterward rebuilt, as HERODOTUS, I. 106, STRABO, p. 737, EUSEBIUS, Chronicon, p. 124. and SYNCELLUS, p. 218, unanimously testify.

[a] PRIDEAUX, *Connexions*, Book I. sub anno 655, Vol. I. pp. 35—43, is inclined to consider the book of Judith as a true history, with some amplifications and exaggerations, such as xvi. 23, 25. He places it in the forty-third year of Manasseh, which was the twelfth of Saosduchinus, king of Assyria, and the last of Dejojces, king of the Medes. He notices most of the objections, but confesses that they hardly admit of answers. *Tr.*]

§ 245. *Solution of the Difficulties in the Book of Judith.*

From what has been said it appears how strongly they are armed who impugn the historical truth of this narrative and contend that the book contains a parable, which teaches that the Hebrews as long as they remained faithful to God, might expect deliverance even in the utmost extremity of danger.[a]—Some, however, think that at least the principal points of the history are true.[b] They bring no arguments in favour of their opinion, it is true, except the single one that every thing is told in a historic style: yet it might be urged that the genealogy in viii. 1. would be entirely useless in a parable.—They who think that the entire narrative is a true history, either do not notice the difficulties at all, or touch them very slightly, or at least do not give them all their force, in order to avoid them with the more facility. Yet after all they confess that they cannot extricate themselves from all. DU PIN, *Proleg.* L. I. c. iii. § 8. p. 86. ss. [On the Canon, p. 92. s.] HUET, *Demonst. Evang. Prop.* IV. p. 231. ss. LAMY, *Apparat. Bibl.* p. 337.

[a] GROTIUS, *Præf. in lib. Judith*, considers it as an extended allegory. See PRIDEAUX, *Coun.* ubi supra, and DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 307. anm. a).—BUDDAEUS, *Ecc. Hist.* V. T. p. 618., after LUTHER; SEMLER, *Abhandlungen von freyer Untersuchung des Kanons.* III. Th. S. 120. ff.:

BERTHOLDT, S. 2550. ff., and DE WETTE, ubi supra, are of opinion that the book is a political and moral fiction. *Tr.*]

[*b*] So SANDBUECHLER, *Erläuterungen der biblischen Geschichte*, I. Th. S. 369—383.]

§ 246. *Age of the Book of Judith.*

The author of the book is unknown; it merely appears from the narrative, that he wrote in the age of the Maccabees, [*a*] in order to inspire the Jews with courage to resist the Syrians. The practice observed throughout the work, of making set speeches in the Grecian style, agrees with that period, and proves that the author lived at a time when, as was the case in that of the Maccabees, the Hebrews were acquainted with Grecian literature. Besides, c. viii. 6., the *προσαλλεατον* and *προνεμηνιον* are mentioned, both of which belong to a modern age. The circumcision of Achior is not indeed at variance with an ancient date, but it suits a modern one better.

[*a*] BERTHOLDT, S. 2564, places it as low as the time of the war with the Romans. DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 307. *anm. c*), considers it impossible to fix the date of the book. *Tr.*]

§ 247. *Language of the Book of Judith.*

The imitation of the Grecian practice of introducing orations into the history renders it probable, that the author used the Greek language. This is confirmed by the fact that there are no instances of readings, the origin of which must necessarily be traced to the Hebrew or Chaldec. Origen, moreover, declares in his epistle to Africanus, that nothing had ever been heard of any Hebrew text. Jerome, it is true, had a Chaldec copy, but there is no proof that it was not a translation from the Greek.

§ 248. *Versions of the Book of Judith.*

JEROME, *Præf.* in *Judith*, writes thus: “The book of Judith is reckoned by the Hebrews among the hagiographa, the authority of which they deem insufficient to decide any controverted points. Yet being written in the Chaldec language they consider it as one of their histories. But as we read that this book was reckoned by the

Nicene Council in the number of the Sacred Scriptures,[a] I have acquiesced in your request, or rather demand, and laying aside my other occupations, with which I was greatly pressed, I have devoted one evening to this translation, rather rendering sense for sense, than word for word. The very corrupt various readings which occur in many manuscripts I have left out, translating into Latin only that which I found in a complete sense in the Chaldee text." The version thus made is that of the *Vulgate*. Jerome having acquired only a very imperfect knowledge of Chaldee, at an advanced age, as he himself acknowledges. Præf. in Dan., must certainly have made use of a Jewish interpreter, or else he only occasionally compared the Chaldee with the Greek text. His version differs considerably from the Greek, a circumstance which perhaps arose from the simultaneous use of the Greek and Chaldee texts, and is alluded to by Jerome when he speaks of having left out the corrupt various readings of manuscripts.—There is extant another *older Latin version* made from the Greek text, yet constantly differing from it; which fact confirms the statement of Jerome, that there existed a corrupt variety in the manuscripts. Some have thought that this version has been mixed along with that of Jerome.[b]—The *Syriac version* is of an unknown age, but follows the Greek more closely than the others, so that there can be no doubt that it was made from that text.

[a] It is worthy of remark that no such admission is found in the Acts of that council, no mention of the *Book of Judith* occurring in them.]

[b] This opinion is advanced by Jahn himself in his German work, where he supposes the mixture to have been made during the middle ages. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS, OR THE WISDOM OF JESUS
THE SON OF SIRACH.

§ 249. *Age of Jesus the Son of Sirach.*

THERE is no sufficient evidence to determine who Jesus the son of Sirach was ; but the age in which he lived may be inferred from the age of the Greek translator, who in his preface declares himself his grandson, telling his readers that in the thirty-eighth year he had translated the Hebrew book of his grandfather into Greek, in Egypt, under Ptolemy Euergetes. There were, however, two Ptolemies surnamed Euergetes, the first of whom reigned from 246 B. C. to 221, and the other from 145 to 116. The common opinion is, that the latter, who was also called Physcon, and Kakergetes, is the one intended, since Jesus the son of Sirach praises a Simon, whom they suppose to be Simon the Second, the son of Onias II. This would make Jesus to have written under or just after this Simon II., who was high priest from 217 to 195 B. C., and hence it would follow that his grandson must have translated his book under Ptolemy Physcon.—The “thirty-eighth year,” refers to the age of the translator, not, as many suppose, to the reign of the monarch under whom he wrote ; for Euergetes I. reigned only twenty-four years, and Euergetes II. only twenty-nine. The notices occasionally given by Jesus of his condition, and of the vicissitudes which he had undergone, agree well enough with the age of Simon II. But this date is rendered doubtful by the praises which are bestowed upon Simon, in

c. l. 1—21., where he is said to have been a most prudent and grave man, which was not the character of Simon II. but of Simon I., surnamed *the Jusi*, a very celebrated man, who is said to have completed the Canon, and exercised the office of high priest from 300 B. C. to 292 B. C. This would make Jesus the son of Sirach to have published his book in the interval of time which elapsed between 292 B. C. and 280. This age agrees not only with all that the author says in relation to himself and his various fortunes, but also with his use of the Hebrew language, and the ignorance of Grecian affairs which the work exhibits.—The grandson, therefore, must have translated the book into Greek under Ptolemy Euergetes I., sometime between 246 and 221 B. C. The interval of time between this date and that in which his grandfather wrote, answers exactly to the two generations which intervened between the grandfather and his grandson. Comp. Germ. Introd. P. II. Sect. IV. § 249, p. 927—932.

1. The additional preface to this book which is printed in the Complutensian Polyglot, and has been republished by LINDE, in his edition of the Sentences of Jesus the son of Sirach, 1795, *Gedan*, seems to be a fragment of the synopsis of the Pseudo-Athanasius, and contains nothing more than a conjecture respecting the name of the translator, and a notice of the subjects treated of in the work itself.

2. Ben Sira, the author of the Hebrew Sentences published by Fagius, is not our Jesus the son of Sirach. This appears plainly from the difference of the style, and of the sententious sayings, which although sometimes the same in our book as in that under the name of Ben Sira, are yet more generally different.[*a*]

[*a*] See DE WETTE, Einleit. § 319, for a fuller discussion of this subject. *Tr.*]

§ 250. *Contents of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.*

The son of Sirach has imitated the Proverbs of Solomon, at the same time adding many things which are not to be found there, and always treating his subject in a more diffuse manner, yet without exhausting it.[*a*] His sententious observations, like those of Solomon, are drawn from experience. They are not indeed to be ap-

plied without any limitation, for many of them express no more than what generally takes place; nevertheless, when properly understood, they are of the greatest utility, and are therefore very often used by the apostle James in his epistle.

The book may be divided into three parts. [b] 1) Chap. i—xliii. contains a commendation of wisdom, and precepts for the regulation of life, which are adapted to persons of all classes and conditions and of every age and sex. The author discusses some topics more frequently than others, and furnishes additional precepts, for he prepared the book during a considerable space of time, in the course of which new observations on the same subject occasionally occurred, as he freely acknowledges. See c. xxx. or xxxiii. 16.—2) In c. xliv—l. the author celebrates the patriarchs and other distinguished men among the ancients.—3) In c. li. the work concludes with a prayer or hymn of the author, and an exhortation to the pursuit of wisdom.

1. GOTTL. SONNTAG, in his *Commentatio de Jesu Siracida Ecclesiastico, non libro sed libri farragine*, 1792, has endeavoured to show that the book which we have is an imperfect work, containing only materials for a larger one, and that these have fallen into confusion and disorder. This he attempts to prove from the diversity of the style. But since observations of the kind contained in this work could only have been written during a long course of time, as opportunities of making them occurred, the author must necessarily have returned to his unfinished work at different times with various feelings, and that this should produce a variety of style is not at all extraordinary.

2. They who censure the author for not mentioning the Messiah, do not consider, that the prayer in c. xxxvi. 13—17, for the accomplishment of the promises, and the hope expressed in c. xliv. 21—23, do both comprehend the expectation of his coming. An express mention of the Messiah in a work relating to morals, would have been irrelative.

[a] The following illustrations of the copious and connected method of treatment in this work, compared with the book of Proverbs, are given by DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 317. *anm.* b): c. xii. 8—xiii. 26.; xv. 11—20.; xvi. 26—xvii. 16.; xxiii. 16—26.; xxvi. 1—18.; xxix. 1—19.; xxx. 1—12.; xxxvii. 27—xxxviii. 15.; xxxviii. 24—xxxix. 11. He notices a particular resemblance between c. i—ix. xxiv. and Prov. i—ix. *Tr.*]

[*b*) This arrangement receives the approbation of DE WETTE, Einleit. § 317. anm. d), who rejects the hypothetical division of EICHHORN, Einleit. in d. Apok. Büch. S. 50. ff., by which that author endeavours to account for the transposition of c. xxx—xxxiii. in the Vulgate. *Tr.*]

§ 251. *Versions of Ecclesiasticus.*

The Hebrew text of this book was extant in the time of Jerome. for in his Preface to the books of Solomon he tells us that he had seen it, and that it did not bear the name of *Ecclesiasticus*, as the Latins called it, but that of *Parables*, (משלים) and was joined with Ecclesiastes and Canticles. It is much to be lamented. that Jerome did not translate it into Latin. Our Vulgate version is more ancient than his time, and was made from the Greek text, from which however it frequently differs, and not only contains some additions, but presents what is included in xxx. 25—xxxiii. 16. after xxxiii. 15, and has thus produced a different arrangement of the chapters.—The Greek text itself contains many proofs that it is a translation from the Hebrew,[*a*] into which language it may, in consequence, be rendered with the greatest ease. There is no probability in the conjecture advanced by the Pseudo-Athanasius, that the 51st chapter is an addition of the translator. But very considerable differences exist in the Greek Manuscripts, so that it would seem that occasional omissions or additions have been made by the readers or transcribers.—The *Syriac version* in the London Polyglot contains sometimes more and sometimes less than the Greek; still it may have been made from it. BENDTSEN, however, in his *Exercitationes Criticæ*,* contends that it was derived from the Hebrew text, and labours to establish this from readings, which could not have arisen except from the Hebrew language. His proofs are not sufficient to settle the point.[*b*] —The *Syriac Hexaplar* manuscript which is preserved at Milan, contains the book of Ecclesiasticus in that language, but it has not yet been examined.—The *Arabic version* in the London Polyglot agrees with the Syriac in some particular readings, and appears to have been made from it.

* [Specimen exercitationum criticarum in Veteris Testamenti libros apocryphos scriptis Patrum et antiquis versionibus, *Gottingæ*, 1788.]

[a) See DE WETTE, Einleit. § 318. anm. a). *Tr.*]

[b) SABATIER, *Bibl. Lat. Vers. antiq.* T. II. p. 390.; BENGEL, über die muthmassliche Quelle der alten lateinischen Uebersetzung des Buchs Sirach in EICHHORN's *Allg. Bibl.* VII. Th. S. 832. ff.; and BERTHOLDT, S. 2304. ff., agree with Bendtsen. EICHHORN, *Einleit.* S. 84., and BRETSCHNEIDER, *Excurs. I. ad libr. Jes. Sir.* p. 699. ss., suppose it derived from a corrupt Greek text. DE WETTE, *Einleit.* § 320, leaves the matter undecided. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

§ 252. *Contents.*

As Jesus, the son of Sirach, imitated in some measure the Proverbs of Solomon, so also the author of the book of Wisdom imitated Ecclesiastes. In this way he even introduces Solomon speaking.—The book consists of two parts. 1) In c. i—ix. wisdom is recommended to all, and especially to kings, in order that they may labour to acquire it with the more earnestness, in proportion to the facility of securing it, and to the abundance of the recompense with which it rewards those who seek it. Even if they should happen to be oppressed by adversity in the present life, yet in the future, wisdom will render them happy. while on the contrary foolish and wicked men are miserable now, and will be more so hereafter. (This is the first time that a future life of happiness or misery is expressly mentioned.) This part may be separated into three sections. In c. i—vi. wisdom and folly are represented according to their consequences; in c. vii. and viii. Solomon states the methods by which he had sought and found wisdom; and c. ix. contains a prayer of Solomon for obtaining wisdom.—2) In c. x—xix. the happiness which wisdom imparts, and the wretchedness into which folly, and particularly idolatry plunges its votaries, are illustrated by examples taken from history. In this part two sections are distinguishable; c. x—xii. containing examples of persons remarkable for wisdom or folly; and c. xiii—xix. comprising various observations in praise of the ardent pursuit of wisdom.

§ 253. *Language of the Book of Wisdom.*

This book was originally written in Greek, for the style, as Jerome has observed in his Preface to the books of Solomon, partakes of the Grecian eloquence. The Hebraisms which occasionally occur, only prove that the author was a Hebrew, and resembled his countrymen, who scarcely ever wrote the Greek language in its purity. The readings which FABER (Programm. 5—8. in Lib. Sap.) has adduced to prove a Hebrew origin can be better explained on other grounds. R. Moses Ben Nachman mentions a Hebrew text which he had seen; but this was nothing more than a Syriac version written in Hebrew letters.[a]

[a] NACHTIGALL, Uebers. des B. Weisheit, S. 24. f. considers the Greek text as a translation from either the Hebrew or the Chaldee.—EICHORN, S. 194. ff., BERTHOLDT, S. 2280. ff., DE WETTE, Einleit. § 315, and HASSE, Uebers. des B. Weisheit, S. 192 ff. agree with Jahn. Tr.]

§ 254. *The Author and Age of the Book of Wisdom.*

The Greek language in which the work is written, and many modern ideas which it contains, show plainly that it is not only much more recent than the time of Solomon, to whom it is ascribed, but also than that of Zerubbabel, whom FABER, in his 8th Program, 1776—1787, considers as the author, and supposes that, as in the book of Ecclesiastes,[a] Solomon is merely introduced as a speaker. The author of the book is unknown. Jerome indeed tells us, in his Preface to the books of Solomon, that some of the ancients affirmed it to be the production of Philo the Jew. But if they meant the Philo whose works are still extant, they were entirely mistaken, for the work is not written in his style; and if they referred to some older writer of the same name, he is altogether unknown to us. There is not sufficient evidence to enable us to determine even the date of the book with accuracy; this only is clear, that in the age in which the author lived the Hebrews were well acquainted with the Grecian philosophy, and therefore it would seem that the book must have been written at the end of the second or the beginning of the first century before Christ. The places which urge wisdom upon the attention of kings.

and those which mention the persecutions of the son or friend of God, xviii. 13. (i. e. the Jewish people,) appear to indicate the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.—Those who have brought down the date of the book to some time after Christ, have advanced no arguments which merit refutation.—The conjecture that it has been interpolated by Christians is founded almost entirely upon doctrinal grounds, on the mere assumption that such doctrines as it contains were not to be expected from a Jew.

There are some persons who consider the second part (c. x—xix.) as a separate work, and suppose it to have been written by a different author, or else by the same in the earlier part of his life.[b] But they have not been able to establish their opinion by solid arguments, nor have they noticed the connexion between the ninth and tenth chapters. The difference of style which is urged may be traced to the nature of the subject, which is different in the second part from that of the first.[c] It is not true, as has been supposed, that Solomon does not speak in the second part, for if no express assertion to that effect occurs, it ought to be considered that whether there is any such assertion in the first part, except in c. ix. 7, 8, 12.—Lastly, the argument founded on the difference of ideas and doctrines in the two parts, to which much importance has been attached, is too far-fetched, and is refuted by the fact, that very many of these ideas and doctrines do occur in both parts. For instance, that remarkable appellation “the son of God,” applied to his people in xviii. 13., (Ἐπιτωτων πρωτοτοκων ολεθρω ωμολογησαν Θεου υιον λαου ειναι,) has a manifest reference to the ‘son of God’ mentioned in ii. 18., viz. *the man that honours him*, of whom it is said, that he will be persecuted even to death. See Germ. Introd. p. 944—947.

If the contents of the book had been produced by assemblies of the learned, which Nachtigal thinks he discovers every where, the character and style of its language would have varied more; not to say, that these assemblies are altogether fictitious.

[a] Comp. § 214. notes. *Tr.*

[b] Houbigant, Proleg. in Sac. Script. P. II. makes c. x. begin a book distinct from the preceding part.—Eichhorn, S. 144. ff. makes c. xi. 2. the commencement of a separate work. Bretschneider concludes the first part with the end of c. xi. De Wette, Einl. § 313, and Ber-

THOLDT, Th. V. S. 2259. ff. agree with Jahn, and refute these various hypotheses.—BRETSCHNEIDER, Diss. de libri Sapientiā parte priore c. i—xi. e duobus libellis diversis conflata, *Viteb.* 1804, and ENGELBRECHT, Librum Sapientia Salomonis vulgo inscriptum interpretandi specimen I. et II. *Hafniā*, 1816, even subdivide the first part at vi. 8, considering this as a separate work. See DE WETTE, ubi supra, anm. c.) *Tr.*]

[c) Besides, DE WETTE shows, § 313, anm. d) that there is no real difference between the styles of the two parts. *Tr.*]

§ 255. *Versions of the Book of Wisdom.*

The *Latin Vulgate* version is of higher antiquity than Jerome. It expresses the Greek text word for word, and is therefore occasionally unintelligible.—The *Arabic version* in the London Polyglot is of an unknown age, and it also follows the Greek text closely.—The *Syriac version* in the same Polyglot exhibits the Greek text in the beginning with accuracy, but afterwards it becomes more negligent. The readings of this version which Faber has adduced to prove that it was made from a Chaldee text, are in part errors of transcribers and of the press, in part paraphrastic renderings, and in part susceptible of better explanations on the supposition of their being translations from the Greek.

CHAPTER VIII.

 OF THE FIRST TWO BOOKS OF THE MACCABEES.

§ 256. *Of the name Maccabees.*

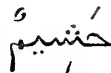
IT is very evident from I Mac. ii. 4., that the sons of Mattathias had each his own proper surname, and that Judas alone was called *Maccabeus*, ὁ μακκαβαίος. Afterwards this appellation was extended to all who in the second century before Christ contended for their religion and country, and thus the title of these and certain other books originated.—The name was formerly supposed to have been formed from the initial letters of the words מִי כְמוֹן בְּאֱלִים יְהוָה, *who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah*, or מִי כְאֵל בְּאֱלִים, *who is like God among the gods*, which were thought to have been embroidered on the standards of the Jews during their wars with the Syrians, and to have been contracted into one word מַכְבִּי or מַכְב. But if this were the origin of the term, it should have been written μακαβαίος, whereas it is constantly written μακκαβαίος, as if derived from מַקְבֵּה, *a hammer*, מַקְבִּי, *a hammerer*, a surname given to Judas, as formerly to Charles *Martel*, in consequence of his heroic actions.

In Arabic also the word **تَقَبُّ** signifies not only *to perforate a wall*.

but also *to be prince or chief of the people*, and hence **تَقِيْبُ** means *a prince of the people*. This is the way in which the term was explained by Isidore of Pelusium, who compared the word μακκαβαίος

with the Persian *κοιρανός*, which in an unpublished Etymologicon is explained by *δασποτός*, *master*. The same thing is expressed by the Hebrew or Chaldee title of the book, as cited by ORIGEN in EUSEBIUS, Hist. Eccles. VI. 25., *σαρβατ σαρβενε ελ, אל בני אלה*, *history of the prince of the sons* (or *worshippers*) of God; where *μακκαβαίος* is made equivalent to *prince*. [a]

The Maccabees are called also by JOSEPHUS, Ant. XII. vi. 1., *Asmonæans*, or *Hasmonæans*, a term which most probably has its origin in the family name *Asmon* or *Hashmon*, *חשמונ*. [b] But some derive it from

חשם, because among the Arabians  means a man of much service; [c] this however seems to be very far-fetched.

[a] Comp. MICHAELIS, Or. Bibl. Th. XII. S. 112., and DE WETTE, Einleit. § 299. anm. c).—For the various opinions which have been maintained respecting the origin of the name, see LEYDECKER de Republica Hebræorum, Lib. VIII. Cap. I. p. 580. Amstel. 1710, and DRUSII explicatio tituli, prefixed to his Notes on the first book of Maccabees in the Critici Sacri, Tom. V. p. 50.—That the application of the epithet “the hammerer,” to a conquering ruler, would not be incongruous with Oriental, and especially with Hebrew usage, is proved by Jer. I. 23., where *פטיש* is similarly applied. Comp. also Jer. li. 20. Tr.]

[b] So JOSEPHUS BEN GORION calls them *בני חשמוני*, and *בני חשמונא*, p. 66, 159, 443. ed. BREITHAUP. Tr.]

[c] So EICHHORN, S. 217, referring to the use of *חשמן* in Ps. lxxviii. 32. Tr.]

§ 257. Contents of the First Book of Maccabees.

Antiochus Epiphanes, who had seized the kingdom of Syria in the year 137 of the era of the Greeks, or of contracts, (175 B. C.), in the year 143 of the same era (169 B. C.) returning from his second expedition into Egypt, plundered Jerusalem, slew many of the Jews, made many of them prisoners, and spoiled and profaned their temple. Purposing acts of still greater atrocity, in the 145th year of the era of contracts (B. C. 167), upon his return from his fourth expedition into Egypt, he issued orders to put to death all the citizens of Jeru-

Jerusalem, to raze the walls, and to fortify the castle of Zion; he even proceeded to such extremities as to command all the inhabitants of his kingdom to embrace his own religion. Officers appointed by the king were despatched to Judea, in order to force the Jews to worship idols; and to punish with death all who should refuse. One of these officers having gone to the city Modein, was resisted by Mattathias, a priest of the twenty-fourth course, which derived its name from Joiarib. This courageous man, with his five sons, assembled the Jews who persevered in the religion of their ancestors, and marching through the country put to death not only the Jewish apostates but also the royal officers, and called upon his countrymen to repel force by force. Upon his death, which took place in the year of the era of contracts 146 (B. C. 166), his son Judas Maccabæus was appointed conductor of the war, c. i. ii., and, with his few companions, destroyed immense armies of the Syrians. He was slain in battle in the year of the era of contracts 152 (B. C. 160), iii. 1—viii. 27., and the Jews substituted in his place his brother Jonathan, who discharged the duties of his office fourteen years, and at length fell a victim to the perfidy of the enemy in the year 170 of the same era (B. C. 142), viii. 28—xii. 53. He was succeeded by the eldest son of Mattathias, Simon, who shortly after received from the people the dignity of prince, and that of high priest by hereditary right. After he had conducted the affairs of the nation with great ability, he was treacherously slain by his son-in-law Ptolemy in the seventh year of his government, in the year of the era of contracts 177 (B. C. 135), c. xiii.—xvi.[a]

[a] DE WETTE, Einleit. § 299, characterizes this history as “partly unsatisfactory on account of its brevity, faulty, (i. 6. viii. 7.) uncritical, (xii.) and tending to exaggeration, but yet on the whole very deserving of credit, sufficiently attentive to chronological accuracy, and superior to the other historical productions of its age.” *Tr.*]

§ 253. *Date of the First Book of Maccabees.*

In I Mac. xvi. 23. the acts of John Hyrcanus, who succeeded his father Simon, are said to have been inserted in the annals or chronicles of his priesthood. From this declaration it is with reason inferred,

that the work in question was written either during the last years of that prince, or after his death which took place in the year 106 B. C. The inconsiderable knowledge which it displays of the Romans, (in c. viii.), is at variance with a more modern date; for in the century immediately preceding the birth of Christ the Jews were much better acquainted with that nation. The author has left no vestige of himself. It is evident, however, from the declaration already mentioned relating to the actions of John Hyrcanus and from the remark made in ix. 21. (22.) in reference to those of Judas, (which, it is said, were not all written,) that he had drawn from annals contemporaneous with the events. The contents themselves present sufficient evidence that the author made an unexceptionable use of his authorities.

§ 259. *Language of the First Book of Maccabees.*

JEROME (Prolog. Galeat.) asserts that he found the first book of Maccabees in the Hebrew language, and Origen gives us, (as before stated, § 256.) the Hebrew or Chaldee title of the book. To this evidence for the Hebrew origin of the work it may be added, that the Greek text not only abounds with Hebraisms, but exhibits also some erroneous translations and various readings, which betray their origin from a Hebrew text. Compare vi. 1., Ελυμαις εν τη Περσιδι πολις, where πολις arises from the equivocal character of the word מדינה, which in Chaldee means a *province*, and in Syriac a *city*, in which last meaning the translator has improperly understood it; also xiv. 5., where the original Hebrew word יַמִּים, which ought to have been rendered *coasts*, is explained by ταις νησοις θαλασσης *the islands of the sea*. Very harsh Hebraisms occur also in i. 16. ii. 19, 42. iv. 19. v. 40, 53, 64. See Germ. Introd. p. 955, 956. [a]

[a] See also DE WETTE, Einleit. § 300, who agrees with Jahn, and gives additional examples of Hebraisms and mistakes of the Greek translator. *Tr.*]

§ 260. *Versions of the First Book of Maccabees.*

The age of the *Greek version* of this book is unknown. But a work, the contents of which were so interesting to all the Jews, was no doubt soon translated into that language in which it could be read

by Hellenists. It is therefore in the highest degree probable, that this version was made before the commencement of the century immediately preceding the birth of Christ.—The *Vulgate* version was made before the time of Jerome, and from a Greek text.—That the *Syriac* was translated immediately from the Hebrew is maintained with a multiplicity of arguments by JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS in his notes added to his German version of this book; but TRENDLENBURG, in EICHHORN'S *Repertorium für Biblisch. und Morgen. Lit.* xv. Th. S. 58. ff. has advanced some considerations against his hypothesis which are not to be disregarded. A more critical examination therefore is still necessary in order to settle this question.[a]

[a] EICHHORN, *Allgem. deutsch. Bibl. Th.* LI. S. 14. ff., and DE WETTE, § 301, consider it as made from the Greek. *Tr.*]

§ 261. *Contents of the Second Book of Maccabees.*

The second book of Maccabees consists of three parts, which have no connexion with each other. 1) Chap. i. to the middle of the 10th verse contains a letter, addressed by the people of Jerusalem and of Judea to the Egyptian Hellenists, written in the year B. C. 123. and of the era of contracts 188. After mentioning a previous letter which had been sent, in the year 169 of the era of contracts (B. C. 143), relating to the calamities that had been undergone, it informs the Jews in Egypt that now the sacrifices had been restored and the feast of dedication was kept, and urges upon them the celebration of the same religious festival.—2) From the middle of the tenth verse of the first chapter to the eighteenth of the second is contained another more ancient letter of the inhabitants of Judca, the elders, and Judas Maccabeus, to the priest Aristobulus, the instructor of king Ptolemy, and to the Egyptian Jews. From the mention of Judas Maccabeus, it is clear that this letter was written between the years of the era of contracts 149 and 153 (B. C. 163—159). It contains an account of the dangers with which the writers had been threatened by Antiochus Epiphanes, and of his death, and admonishes the Jews of Egypt to celebrate the feast of dedication and of the consecrated fire on the 25th of the month Casleu. Of this consecrated fire, and also of the ark of the covenant, the holy tabernacle, and the golden altar of in-

cense, some extraordinary things are related.—3) Then follows in ii. 19—32, a preface to the book, in which the author signifies his intention of reducing the five books of Jason into an epitome. He relates some more ancient transactions which prepared the way for the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, c. iii—v. At last he recounts the exploits of Judas Maccabeus, and concludes the book with the defeat and slaughter of Nicanor, of which an account is also given in I Mac. vii.

The two books of Maccabees ought to be constantly compared together, as they serve for mutual illustration; and therefore in my German Archæology, II. Th. I. B. § 93—103. S. 402—476., I have given the corresponding places. The differences in the chronology of the books may be reconciled by reference to the different methods of commencing the year, the first book following that of the Babylonians, and reckoning from *April*, 311 B. C., while the second begins with *October*, 312 B. C. The objections which have been urged against this method of computing in these books, are answered in a work, which bears the title: *Auctoritas utriusque libri Maccabæorum*, *Viennæ Austria*, 1749, p. 129—146.

§ 262. *Difficulties in the Second Book of Maccabees.*

Although this work supplies some deficiencies in the history in the first book of Maccabees, yet it labours under difficulties by no means inconsiderable.—1) The letters prefixed to the book are in some respects repugnant to its contents. For instance, the second letter states that Antiochus Epiphanes was stoned and his body cut in pieces by the priests, in the temple of Nanæa in Pèrsepolis; but in c. ix. it is related, that this monarch was thrown out of his chariot as he was returning from Persia, attacked by a disease, and that his flesh putrified while he was yet alive. The other circumstances mentioned in this second letter, relating to the deportation of the Jews, i. 19., to the consecrated fire, i. 19—22. ii. 1, 4—8., and to the tabernacle of Moses, the golden altar of incense, and the ark of the covenant, ii. 4—8., are at variance with the history contained in other parts of the Bible. These letters do not appear to have been prefixed by the author, who could not so plainly contradict himself; they must have been added by some other person. like the epistle at the end of the book of Baruch. If it should be urged, that the words $\tau\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\varsigma$ at the

commencement of the book in ii. 19., presumes that something has preceded them ; this is readily answered : for in Jewish Greek the occurrence of $\delta\epsilon$ in the beginning of a discourse is not a matter which need shock the reader : or the particle $\delta\epsilon$ may have been introduced by the person who prefixed the letters.—2) The history of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in c. ix. varies from that contained in I Mac. vi. 1—17. However, the discrepancy is not of much consequence, for the principal fact, the death of Antiochus in Persia while on a journey, is stated in both places.—3) The accounts of apparitions and prodigies which are given in iii. 25. s., 33, 34. v. 1—3. x. 29. s., xi. 8—10. xv. 11. ss., do not occur in the first book of Maccabees, and have the appearance of being additions to the true history. The author seems to refer to them when he says, in ii. 28. and xv. 38. that he had left the investigation of the several events and actions recounted, to the writer (Jason), and had confined himself to what had been written by him. But these adjectitious circumstances produce no change in the facts themselves. See SANDBUECHLER *Erläuterungen der Biblischen Geschichte*, 1794. I. Th. S. 426, 427.

§ 263. *Author and Age of the Second Book of Maccabees.*

The conjectures which have been advanced respecting the author of this book are so unfounded, that it is best to confess our ignorance. The determination of its age is also involved in difficulties, since the author has not told us when Jason lived ; doubtless, because at that time he was a writer well known. There is, however, abundant evidence, arising from the work itself, that it was written out of Syria, and some considerable time posterior to the transactions which it relates. We shall not therefore greatly err, if we place it before the middle of the century immediately preceding the Christian era. In a more modern age, a work of this kind would scarcely have obtained readers.

§ 264. *Language and Versions of the Second Book of Maccabees.*

JEROME has remarked (Prolog. Galcat.) that the second book of Maccabees was written in Greek, which, he adds, *may be proved from its very phraseology*.* The Greek of this work is pure, and occasion-

* [Quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest.]

ally elegant, so that the Jew who composed it must have been well acquainted with that language.

The *Latin Vulgate* version is older than Jerome, and is a free translation from the Greek text.—The age of the *Syriac* version in the London Polyglot is unknown. It was made immediately from the Greek, although it does not always faithfully adhere to the meaning of its original.—The *Arabic* book of Maccabees is not a version, but an entirely different narrative; compiled from our books of Maccabees, and from Josephus, or from the treatise relating to the Maccabees which is appended to the work of Josephus.—The *Jews in China* possess two books of Maccabees, but it is uncertain whether they are the same as ours; it is suspected by some that they are the fabulous work which the Jews at present read on the feast of dedication. See MICHAELIS *alte orient. Biblioth. Th. V. S.* 80.

ERASMUS FROELICH, formerly librarian in the Academy of Theresa at Vienna, published in 1744, *Annales compendiarum regum et rerum Syriæ, nummis veterum illustrati, in folio*. In this work he admirably illustrated the history of the Maccabees, and the books which we possess at present, and established the chronology and certainty of the accounts which they contain. He was opposed by ERN. FRED. WERNSDORF in his *Prolusio de fontibus historiæ Syriæ in libris Maccabæorum, Lipsiæ, 1746, 4to.*, to whom Frölich replied in a book entitled, *De fontibus historiæ Syriæ in libris Maccabæorum prolusio in examen vocata, Vindobonæ, 1746, 4to.* This work was attacked by GOTTL. WERNSDORF, brother of the former, in his *Commentatio historico-critica de fide historica Maccabæorum, 1747, Vratislaviæ, 4to.* and was answered by an anonymous Jesuit in a work called, *Authoritas utriusque libri Maccabæorum canonico-historica adserta, Viennæ, 1749, 4to.*

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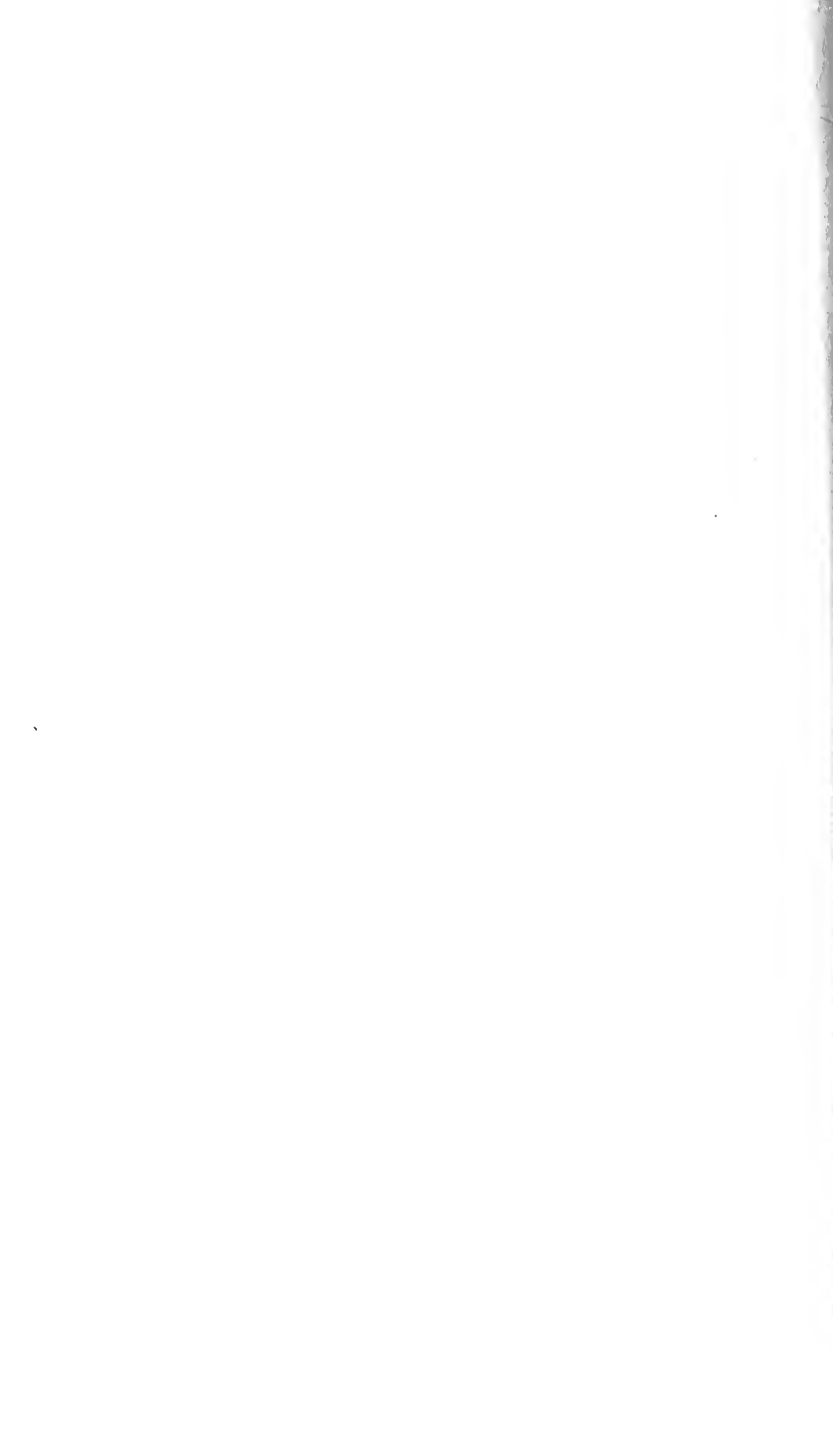
ERRATA.

Notwithstanding the great care which has been taken in the correction of the press, the following errata have been discovered.

- | | | | | |
|------|------|---------------------------------|-----|---|
| Page | 2, | line | 6 | from the bottom, for VELTHUSESEN read VELTHUSEN. |
| " | 4, | " | 5 | " " after "nations," insert the reference [b]. |
| " | 8, | " | 15 | for "abrisz" read "Abriss." |
| " | 10, | " | 2 | for "Apparata" read "Apparatus." |
| " | 56, | first column, | | for חזיה' read חזיה. |
| " | 57, | line | 13, | for "hyperlemnisks" read "hypolemnisks." |
| " | 64, | " | 13 | from the bottom, for הַגְּמֹלֶת read הַגְּמֹלֶת . |
| " | 73, | " | 5 | from the bottom, for "Münster," read "MÜENTER." |
| " | 75, | " | 13 | from the bottom, for VULGATAM read VULGATA. |
| " | 76, | " | 2 | from bottom, for "est" read "esse." |
| " | 128, | " | 10, | for "the publication" read "the time of the publication of the Masora." |
| " | 131, | " | 7 | from the bottom, for "than single" read "than a single." |
| " | 165, | " | 8, | for "restore" read "correct." |
| " | 191, | bottom, | | for עֵנָה read עֵנָה. |
| " | 205, | line | 2 | from the bottom, for "on Le Cene" read "on the theories of Le Cene." |
| " | 238, | " | 17 | for "transactions at" read "transactions of." |
| " | 254, | " | 1, | alter "his intention" add "of building a temple." |
| " | 258, | " | 19, | for "assertion" read "assertions." |
| " | 264, | " | 19, | for "book of Samuel" read "books of Samuel." |
| " | 312, | " | 10 | from the bottom, for הָיָה read הָיָה . |
| " | 313, | at the end of notes [a] and [b] | | add <i>T</i> . |
| " | 314, | line | 3 | from the bottom, after "by his style" dele "alone." |
| " | 330, | " | 3 | from the bottom, for הַמִּצְוֹת read הַמִּצְוֹת . |
| " | 345, | " | 7 | from the bottom, for יִצְחָק read יִצְחָק . |
| " | 374, | " | 17, | for "parabolic" read "parabolic." |
| " | 396, | " | 20, | for "although he had" read "although God had." |
| " | 410, | " | 10, | for "thv people" read "the people." |

ERRATA.

- Page 420, line 10 from the bottom, for "than of certain" read "than that of certain."
- „ 425, „ 7 from the bottom, for J. H. MICHAELIS read J. D. MICHAELIS.
- „ 429, „ 8 from the bottom, for "intoxication like" read "intoxication ; —like."
- „ 431, „ 14, for "viii. 2, 3." read vii. 2, 3."
- „ 442, „ 3, after "the music" add "and the musical performers."
- „ 450, „ 5 from the bottom, for שרי read שר.
- „ 465, „ 13, between **أَيُّوب** and **أَوَاب** insert a comma.
- „ „ „ 21, for "mendio" read "medio."





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