



v. 1



AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
OLD TESTAMENT,

BY
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EDITED BY
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PREFACE.



BLEEK'S "Introduction to the Old Testament," which is here for the first time presented in an English dress, has been long and favourably known to Biblical students as, perhaps, the most complete and trustworthy of the works which, under the same title, and professing the same objects, have appeared with such rapidity in Germany during the last quarter of a century. Many as these so-called "Introductions" are, and various their degrees of excellence, this of Bleek's deserves to be specially commended for the union of the qualities most essential to the character of such a work: thorough acquaintance with every department of the subject, breadth of view, honesty and fairness of treatment, quickness of perception of the main points at issue, calmness of judgment, and, above all, deep reverence for Holy Scripture as the Revelation of the Mind and Will of God.

This translation is now offered to the English reader in the hope of supplying the want, long felt by theological teachers, of a work that they could safely recommend to students as a storehouse of well-sifted and trustworthy Biblical material, which would introduce them to the field of literary investigation, and put them in possession of the latest authenticated results of the criticism which has been brought to bear on the structure and contents of the Old Testament. It was originally proposed to append notes to those places where Bleek—either from deducing a conclusion from insufficient data, or from placing too much dependence on his own critical perspicacity, or from that prepossession in favour of certain lines of thought from which the most impartial cannot wholly free themselves—

diverges most widely from the views that have been generally accepted by the soundest and most unprejudiced scholars in this country. But to have done this at all satisfactorily would have entailed lengthened discussions which would have given the book a polemical aspect it was desired to avoid, and have swelled it to an inconvenient bulk. In a few cases where Bleek's decisions appeared most at variance with those of sober and conservative critics, references have been given to works where what is thought to be the sounder view is maintained. But, on the whole, the book has been left to stand on its own merits, and to speak for itself. Thus, it is believed, its real usefulness has been best consulted. The student will be furnished with the data on which Bleek's own conclusions have been based, but he will not be compelled to accept these conclusions as indubitable without further reflection. He may trust to the facts being, on the whole, fairly and impartially stated; but he must not be surprised if in some instances Bleek's deductions from the facts fail to commend themselves to his judgment. He will be careful to distinguish between the phenomena which Bleek brings so clearly before his notice and the explanations of the phenomena he gives. These explanations may be, and sometimes are, precarious, if not erroneous. These, however, which are rather errors of judgment than of principle, are not such as to affect materially the value of the work. Its general spirit or tendency, it is believed, cannot be otherwise than beneficial, or the translation would never have been attempted.

Those who have hitherto been strangers to the controversies of the day, and have accepted, without doubt or question, the traditional views of the authorship and composition of the Books of the Old Testament, must be prepared to meet with much that is new, strange, and at first sight even startling, in Bleek's investigations and their results. His attempts to resolve the Pentateuch into its original elements, and to assign each to its own separate date and author, however ingeniously planned and ably carried out, may fail to carry conviction, especially in the

face of some twenty different modes of solving the same problem, each put forth by their authors with equal confidence in their own theory, and contempt for those of their opponents, from the days of Astruc to those of Bunsen and Colenso. His views as to the dates of other books may bring them down far too low, and his objections to their historical accuracy may be needlessly refined. To such objections it may be not unjustly replied that there is no history, however authentic, that will stand the application of such tests, and that, as Archbishop Whately has shown with such masterly irony, any page in the world's annals may with equal ease be transferred from the domain of fact to the cloudland of myth. Bleek's critical skill may fail to convince us that the latter chapters of the Book of Isaiah are to be referred to the time of the return from the Captivity.¹ His mode of dealing with the Book of Daniel—"the battle-field," as Dr. Pusey calls it, "between faith and unbelief"—may be too much coloured by the views prevalent around him which have led Bleek to descend to a minute hyper-criticism at variance with his usual breadth and fairness of treatment. But with these and similar qualifications the value of the work still remains very great; and, even where we disagree most widely, we must acknowledge the scrupulous care with which the investigation has been conducted; the earnest desire after impartiality that has generally governed it, and the spirit of reverence which animates the whole. Whatever there may be to cause disagreement, it is believed that there is nothing in the following pages that can justly give pain or distress to the devout student of Scripture.

Bleek, as a critic, is free from that exaggeration of dis-

¹ On this point I have much pleasure in referring to the seventh of Professor Stanley Leathes' recently published *Boyle Lectures* and note D. in the Appendix, in which the authorship of Is. xl.-lxvi. is discussed with much learning and critical acumen. The argument from the supposed differences of language between the early and later portions of the book, is put to an exhaustive test by an elaborate analysis of the principal words occurring in each division, proving their linguistic identity.

crepancies, that magnifying of difficulties, that ostentatious parading of grounds of suspicion, which so painfully characterize much of the later Biblical criticism, and not unwarrantably give rise to the question, whether there be not some secret ground of malevolence, some unacknowledged but most influential desire to find reasons for an already existing unbelief, to account for the bitter and determined hostility with which the books are treated, which have been the object of the continuous reverence of the Church of God, and which—a fact unaffected by any hypotheses as to their date and authorship—have proved instruments of such wondrous power in the moral and spiritual elevation of mankind. The negative school of criticism which delights in the work of destruction, careless whether it leaves any solid ground for human hope and human faith to build upon, finds no favour with our author. Himself an earnest believer, walking by humble faith with God as revealed in His Son, and finding the food of his soul in the word inspired by His Spirit, the work he set before himself was that of building up rather than of demolition. If in any instances he found himself obliged, in what he felt to be the cause of truth, to overthrow existing beliefs, it was only when the basis on which they were raised was too insecure to stand the assault, and with the view of reconstructing the edifice on a firmer foundation, and in a more stable and permanent form, and less vulnerable to the attacks of hostile criticism.

Undoubted as we may regard Bleek's piety, and his reverence for the Books which God has made the vehicle for making known His Will to mankind, not less unquestionable, from a German point of view, is his orthodoxy. I say, from a German point of view, for it should always be borne in mind, when reading the writings of men of other times and other countries, that orthodoxy is, to a considerable extent, a relative term. While Divine truth offers an invariable standard by which to test and measure human opinions, the apprehension of that standard, and its mode of application, have been ever various. And thus the

orthodoxy of one age or school may be the heterodoxy of another, and *vice versâ*. The orthodoxy of a German theological writer is not to be estimated by an English standard.

But when it is said that Bleek is orthodox, it is not intended to imply that he is characterized by the unelastic reactionary orthodoxy of Hengstenberg and his school, which in a pious but misapplied zeal often spends its strength in defending what is indefensible; and closing its eyes to undoubted facts, and, refusing to accept the results which have been ascertained by modern criticism, weakens the cause it desires to establish. Bleek's orthodoxy is of a far higher and truer form. He is convinced that honest investigation, conducted in the love and fear of God, can do "nothing against the truth, but for the truth:" that though new discoveries, whether literary, historical, or scientific, may alter received views and traditional beliefs as to the subjects of God's revelation in His Word, and the form in which this revelation has been conveyed, they cannot affect the treasure therein enshrined as the heritage of mankind. He therefore calmly and fearlessly carries on his searching analysis, with the sole anxiety of making more clear, and establishing more incontrovertibly the truth which was so dear to his own heart, as it is to the hearts of all pious believers.

It should ever be borne in mind that the Old Testament may be regarded from two points of view—the religious and the literary. It is needless here to enlarge on the disproportion between the value of the two, or to reassert the truism of the uselessness for the highest ends of the most accurate knowledge of the literary history of the Holy Scriptures, and the most minute acquaintance with their criticism, unless we also employ the Scriptures for the purpose for which they were given by Divine inspiration, and make them "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." But while we endeavour to keep both in their places, and especially not to exalt the lower at the expense of the higher, we must recognize the existence of the two characters borne by

the Old Testament. We must not be afraid to acknowledge the undoubted fact that it is not merely a revelation of God, His Being, His attributes, His Will, His works, His ways, but also a national literature, and a collection of books of different characters, historical, prophetic, poetic, didactic ; of widely different dates, some, perhaps, misdated, by very diverse authors, and some, perhaps, wrongly assigned. Taking this view of the Books of the Old Testament, no satisfactory reason can be assigned why the canons of criticism which hold good for other literatures, should fail altogether when brought to bear on this, and why the processes of literary investigation to which secular writings are subjected, should be restrained from being applied here ; either in the lower department as directed to the text and its variations, or the higher as directed to the genuineness and authenticity of the documents. To seek to forbid this application of sound and impartial criticism to the books with which our highest hopes are connected by raising the cry of irreverence, might seem almost to argue a doubt whether they would stand the test ; like the jeweller who should refuse to apply the touchstone, lest the gold should prove to be nothing but dross. Real faith is ever courageous. It does what it believes to be right, and trusts God for the issue. It can say "Thy word is tried to the uttermost, and Thy servant loveth it."

At the same time, it must be carefully remembered that the result these critical investigations have on our personal faith is one for which we are, more or less, individually responsible. Moral causes react on the intellectual. The state of the heart is all-important. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness." "He who will do,"—is determined to do,—"God's Will shall know of the doctrine," as well as of the books in which it is delivered, "whether it be of God." It is impossible for the Christian student to approach the criticism of the Holy Scriptures in the same cold spirit with which he studies Æschylus or Homer. He may endeavour to treat the Bible *like any other book*, and do all he can to guard against his judgment being warped by

any undue prepossessions during the course of his critical investigations. Still, to adopt the pregnant words of Professor Leathes,¹ “treat the Bible how we will, *it is not like any other book*. The demand so often made so to treat the Bible is itself a witness to the fact that it is *felt* to be *unlike any other book*.” The Bible is to the Christian—explain it as you will, the fact remains—the book which has been a fountain of life and strength to generation after generation of his brethren, supporting them in trial, comforting them in the midst of sorrows, nerving them to meet persecution in its most terrible forms. It has enabled them to conquer moral evil within and without, to resist temptation, and fight against sin, and raised them to a spiritual elevation which no other writings have ever pretended to attempt. Such a book is not to be treated carelessly. If despised, it will avenge itself. To make it give up its secrets of heavenly wisdom it must be approached in the spirit of candour, of reverence, of love of the truth.

These few introductory remarks cannot be concluded better than in the weighty words of the holy Neander:² “God reveals Himself in His word as He does in His works. In both we see a self-revealing, self-concealing God, who makes Himself known only to those who earnestly seek Him; in both we find stimulants to faith and occasions for unbelief; in both we find contradictions, whose higher harmony is hidden, except from him who gives up his whole mind in reverence; in both, in a word, it is the law of revelation that the heart of man should be tested in receiving it; and that, in the spiritual life as well as in the bodily, man must eat his bread in the sweat of his brow.”

EDMUND VENABLES.

The Precentory, Lincoln,
Nov. 23, 1868.

¹ *Boyle Lectures*, Preface, p. i.

² *Leben Jesu*, 1st ed., Preface.



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PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT: ITS IDEA AND PLAN.

§ 1.—*Meaning of the Title.*

THE subjects which will occupy our attention in the following treatise are usually comprehended under the title "Introduction to the Old Testament," or "Old-Testament Introduction," just as the same topics with reference to the books of the New Testament are comprehended under the title "Introduction to the New Testament," or "New-Testament Introduction," while the two together are known as a "Biblical Introduction," or "Introduction to the Holy Scriptures." The extent of these works, and their limitation in respect of other works, also relating to the Holy Scriptures, the necessity for treating them as a separate work, or separate works, both in published books and in academical discourses, and the most suitable mode of dealing with them, are topics on which I prefer to express my views more definitely in my work on "The Introduction to the New Testament." On the present occasion I shall confine myself to the following remarks.

My purpose is to deal with the Introduction to the Old Testament as well as that to the New, from a purely historical point of view. I mean, as a history of the books comprised in the Old-Testament collection, both individually and collectively, from their earliest origin to the present day. The more appropriate title for such a work would, therefore, be "A *History*;" and, with reference to its predominant character, "A *Critical History*, of the Books of the Old Testament," or "A *History of the Canon of the Old Testament*." These or similar titles have, indeed, in some such cases been adopted. The title "Introduction to the Old

Testament" simply, has somewhat too wide and indefinite a character. And yet, inasmuch as it has once become established almost as a technical term for works of this nature, it may be conveniently retained and adopted by us. Certainly the department of Biblical Introduction forms a portion of literary history, and, consequently, that of Old-Testament Introductions becomes a portion of the history of Hebrew literature; or rather, since the books of the Old Testament are the only relics of the early literature of the Hebrews, at the time when that language was a living one, which have been preserved to us, it is completely coincident with the history of the Old-Testament literature. An introduction to the Old Testament, however, maintains at the same time the character of a theological work, which a history of the early Hebrew literature, pure and simple, would not possess, inasmuch as the writings with which it is concerned are viewed as a complete collection of the original documents, in which are stored up the revelations of God to the people of Israel, as preparatory to the revelation of the New Covenant in Christ. And for the very reason, that these writings form a complete collection of an individual character and specific dignity, it becomes necessary that we should not rest satisfied merely with special introductions to the several books, and investigations into their origin, but should also treat them comprehensively. From the theological point of view, it is of importance not merely to know the origin of the several books, but also the growth and completion of the collection as a whole. It is only when these works are thus viewed collectively, that not only their common character as relics of Hebrew literature and records of the Old Testament revelation is seen in its appropriate light, but also their individual character, which each of them presents when compared with the other books. To this we may add, *firstly*, that, after the completion of the collection of those books, the whole of the works therein contained have had essentially the same history as well in the Jewish as in the Christian Church, especially as regards the preservation or corruption of their text; and, *secondly*, that the books of the Old Testament, in their full number and extent, cannot very well be discussed individually and in turn in separate academical lectures, and that those books

on which separate lectures are delivered and attended are confined to a proportionately small number. On this account, therefore, it becomes even more essential in the case of the Old Testament than in that of the New to subject the collective writings to a common treatment in academical lectures. The case is also the same with the Introduction to the Old Testament.

§ 2.—*Mode of Treatment.*

As regards the method of treatment and the arrangement of the materials, it is my purpose to follow the same course which I have adopted in my lectures for more than thirty years. The customary arrangement in modern times is to make two main divisions—the *general* and the *particular* introduction. The latter of these has for its object the investigation into the origin of the individual books. The former treats of the history of the collection, as such, and the later history of the text, as well as anything else which is admissible into the province of "Introduction;" while usually the general precedes, and the special follows. This is the course adopted, among others, by De Wette and Hävernick, the latter of whom expressly asserts that this is the only suitable mode of proceeding. To me, however, that course appears much the more appropriate which corresponds the most completely with the course of the history itself—I mean that which takes into consideration, *first*, the origin of the several books of the Old Testament, *then* that of the collection of the books as such, and, *finally*, the history of the text of the books subsequently to their union into one collection. In accordance with this plan, the whole will fall into three main divisions, to which I propose to prefix some preparatory sections.

These last will be as follows :

I. A short review of what has been done up to the present day in the sphere of Old Testament introduction, or for the critical history of the books of the Old Testament.

II. A preliminary analysis of the entire collection with which we are concerned, and a view of it in connection with its name, and general arrangement, as well as with its separate component parts and their order.

III. A short historical review of the language in which

these books are written in its relation to other languages, and in reference to the more striking linguistic peculiarities supplied by some of the constituent parts of the Old Testament as compared with others.

This will be followed by the investigation into the history of the Old Testament itself, according to the three main divisions already indicated :

I. The history of the origin of the *separate books* of the Old Testament, and the alterations they may have experienced while in their separate condition.

II. The history of the rise of the *collection* of the books of the Old Testament regarded as such, *i.e.* as a "Corpus" of the sacred writings of the Old Covenant, or a History of the Old Testament or Jewish Canon as such.

III. The later history of the *Text* of the Old Testament from the formation of the Canon to our own days.

I.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS ALREADY MADE TO
THE "INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT."§ 3.—*From the First Ages of the Christian Church to the
Reformation.*

IT is not to the Christian Church that we owe the collection of the books of the Old Testament, either generally or particularly. This collection was formed in the Jewish Church before the time of Christ; and it is from the Jewish Church that our Church has received it. In the time of our Lord and his Apostles definite views with regard to the origin and authorship of the majority of these books were already established. These views were at that time simply traditional, and were accepted at once *in toto*, together with the Jewish Canon, by the Christian Church and its teachers. They were also, for the most part, firmly held for a considerable period, without any special investigation as to their correctness being made. At the same time an occasion for such investigation might have been afforded by the attacks made on the Old Testament books, and the received views as to their origin, from two quarters: *first*, those made by some of the heathen philosophers, *e.g.*, that of the Epicurean philosopher Celsus, in the second century, against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; and that of the neo-platonist Porphyry, in the middle of the third century, against the genuineness of the Book of Daniel; and, *secondly*, those of the Gnostics, the determined opponents of Judaism, and especially of the Jewish law, upon the Pentateuch. These attacks, however, did not at once lead the Fathers of the Church to any special historical and critical investigations concerning the controverted books. They were content with maintaining against them the traditional view. It naturally follows, therefore, that the remarks and statements on the origin of the books of the Old Testament which we find in some of the Fathers are far from being of the same importance as those on the books of the New Testament. The New Testament was formed in their own days, and they themselves were more or less concerned in its formation; while the Old Testament came

to them with certain definite received ideas with regard to the origin of the greater part of the books, and they were content with retaining a firm hold of that which had been delivered to them, and transmitting it to others.

The first and chief movement in the early Christian Church in connection with the Old Testament was with regard to its interpretation, the determination of its true meaning, and its relation to the New Testament. This was followed by an inquiry into the limits of the Old Testament Canon; and whether, in addition to the books of the Old Testament written in Hebrew, some existing writings, belonging to the Jewish literature, composed in Greek (the so-called *Apocrypha* of the Old Testament) were to be included in the Canon, and how they were to be regarded in relation to the Canonical books. Not even on these points, however, were any vigorous and searching investigations set on foot; and this was still less the case with respect to the origin of the particular books of the Old Testament, and the correctness of the traditional views on this subject.

There is a separate work, bearing the title of "An Introduction to Holy Writ,"¹ *εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς*, *Isagoge Sacrarum Scripturarum*, by a Greek named Hadrian. His date is uncertain, but he probably flourished towards the middle of the fifth century. This book is, however, chiefly devoted to a consideration of the biblical modes of expression, especially those of the Old Testament, as well as the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic terms of the Bible, and is therefore essentially nothing but a kind of introduction to biblical rhetoric. On the other hand, we have separate remarks on the origin of the books of the Old Testament by Jerome, in the prefaces to his Latin translation of the individual books; also by Augustine, in his *De Doctrina Christiana*; and by Junilius, an African bishop, towards the middle of the fifth century, in his *De Partibus Legis Divine, libri duo*. This last work contains, in the first book, much that belongs to the province of "Biblical Introduction," on the style employed in the Bible, the authority of its books, their authors, its divisions and arrangement, the Canon, and the matters contained in the various Canonical books, &c. &c. On the last subject he gives us much that is peculiar. He appeals, in support of his views, to a Persian named

¹ First published by Dav. Höschel, Augsburg, 1602.

Paulus, who had been instructed in the Syrian school at Nisibis, in which, especially, a more active and independent study of the Scriptures seems to have prevailed. We may also mention among these works that of Cassiodorus (d. 562), *De Institutione Divin. Literar.* This work met with wide acceptance for the study of the Introduction to the Bible, although it does not contain any independent investigations on the origin of the books of the Bible and their collection, but merely keeps to the ordinarily received views, as they are found in the earlier orthodox Fathers, especially Jerome and Augustine. This is also the case with the work of Nicolas de Lyra (d. 1340), one of considerable learning for his age, *Postilla Perpetua seu Brev. Commentar. in univ. Bibl.* The portions of this work with which we are now concerned are the preliminary remarks, *de libris canonicis et non canonicis*, and those on the versions, especially the Greek. Still smaller were the contributions to this department by other Christian theologians, very few of whom, indeed, were in a position to read the Old Testament Scriptures in the original.

On the other hand, the study of Hebrew, and the interpretation of the Old Testament, was cultivated very diligently in the middle ages by Jewish scholars. Traces exist of a freer mode of investigation into the origin of some of the books of the Old Testament, particularly the Pentateuch and the latter part of Isaiah, among some of these writers. But they scarcely ventured openly to publish the results of their investigations when they were at variance with the traditional views. In this department they generally continued to abide by the ideas which had been handed down to them from the early Jewish Church. During the whole of this long period the theologians of the Christian Church adopted the same course.

§ 4.—*From the Reformation downwards.*

Contemporaneous with the Reformation was the awakening of a greater zeal for the more accurate and independent study of the Holy Scriptures in the original, and consequently for the study of Hebrew and the interpretation of the Old Testament. At the same time, Luther and others ventured to express their own opinions to some extent as to the doctrinal and ethical value and canonical claims of

some of the books of the Old Testament; not much, however, was said by them concerning their origin. On this point they were contented to abide by the established views with regard to the Old Testament. With regard to the New Testament, the case was in some degree different. Still, as early as the sixteenth century we find in the works of Karlstadt, and somewhat later in those of the Roman Catholic writer Masius, intimations that the Pentateuch in its present state is certainly not the work of Moses. The subject, however, was not pursued any further at that time.

The first works of any completeness which appeared on "Biblical Introduction" after the Reformation were those of two Roman Catholic writers, both Italian Dominicans: (a) Santes Pagninus, *Isagoge ad Sacr. Lit.*, Lyons, 1536, and (b) Sixtus Senensis (of Siena), *Biblioth. Sanct.*, Venet. 1566. The latter work was widely circulated, chiefly on account of its copious exegetical materials, and was frequently reprinted.¹ The works on this subject which appeared during the course of the seventeenth century from the Protestant section of the Church were those of the Lutheran divine, Michael Walther (General Superintendent of East Friesland), 1636, &c., and the two divines of the Reformed Church, the Dutchman Andreas Rivetus, 1627, and the Swiss J. H. Heidegger, 1681, &c. The whole of these works, whether Catholic or Protestant, embrace both the Old and New Testaments, and met with various degrees of acceptance and circulation. None of them, however, contain any independent investigations as to the origin and the history of the books of the Bible, or any individual opinions on subjects of this nature divergent from the ordinary traditional ones.

§ 5.—*Walton—Hottinger—Leusden—Pfeiffer.*

Incomparably more important, both in a literary and critical point of view, are the contributions of Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester (d. 1661), in the *Prolegomena* to the Polyglot published by him, London, 1657. These contain learned treatises on Scriptural chronology, antiquities, &c., by Walton himself, Ludw. Cappellus, and others.

These treatises being accessible to but few in the large and costly Polyglot, they were printed in a separate form by Heidegger, Zürich, 1673. As an introduction to the

¹ The latest edition is that of Naples, 1740.

Old Testament, the sixteen last treatises by Walton himself deserve special mention. These have been published in a separate form by Dathe (Leipzig, 1777), with a preface, in which he gives many corrections. These treatises discuss the discovery and use of alphabetical characters; the age and excellence of the Hebrew language; the editions of the Bible; its various early translations; the Masora and Kabbala; the various readings; and the integrity and authority of the original text. On these subjects, all more or less belonging to the general introduction to the Bible, especially to the Old Testament, there is in these treatises much that is of great value, and is still serviceable; together with which the earlier views and investigations on these points are also given.

I may here give some other learned works also mentioned by De Wette, though they do not contain complete introductions to the Old Testament.

(1) J. H. Hottinger (Professor of Theology at Zürich, d. 1667, after receiving a call to Leyden), *Thesaur. Philolog. s. Clavis Script. Sacr.* (Zürich, 1649, 3rd ed. 1696). This work treats of the various religions and their relation to one another; the MSS. of the Bible; commentaries and versions; the Masora and Kabbala; the separate books of the Old Testament, and their divine authority. The author was well read in Talmudic, Rabbinic, and Arabic literature, from which sources he has furnished many extracts in the words of the authors. This gives the work its chief value at the present day.

(2) Joh. Leusden (Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, d. 1699, a scholar of Buxtorf): (a) *Philologus Hebræus*, Utrecht, 1657, 5th ed. 1696. This work treats of the original text of the Old Testament, its several books, and their division; the antiquity of the Hebrew documents, and their vowel points; the Masora, and the Jewish criticism. (b) *Philologus Hebræo Mixtus*, Utrecht, 1633, 5th ed. Basle, 1739. This treats of the various translations of the Old Testament, of the Talmud, and the Rabbinical Commentaries; of the Jewish texts, and various other subjects of Hebrew antiquities.

(3) Aug. Pfeiffer (Professor of Oriental Languages at Wittenberg, afterwards at Leipzig, subsequently Superintendent at Lübeck, d. 1698): *Critica Sacra* (Dresden,

1680; frequently reprinted; last edition, Altdorf, 1751). This treats of the nature of the original text and the translations of the Bible, both Old and New Testaments (on the latter, however, very briefly), also on the editions of the Bible, the Masora, Kabbala, &c.

About this time, the middle of the seventeenth century, vehement controversies as to the correctness of the present Masoretical text of the Old Testament were carried on, as well as the originality and correctness of the vowel points, a subject which I can only hint at here. The prominent leaders on the one side were J. Morinus and Ludw. Cappellus, who maintained the modern date and partial incorrectness of the vowels, as well as the occasional incorrectness of the Hebrew text generally; on the other, J. Buxtorf the younger, who followed his father, J. Buxtorf the elder, in upholding the originality of the vowels and the perfect integrity of the Hebrew text. In this they were followed by the before-named scholars, Leusden and Pfeiffer.

About the same time, very liberal views, at variance with those ordinarily received, on the origin of several of the books of the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch, were propounded by certain writers; *e. g.*, the English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, in his "Leviathan," 1651; Isaac Peyrerius (of the French Reformed Church, who subsequently joined the Church of Rome, and became a Jesuit, d. 1676), in his celebrated work *System. Theolog. ex Præadamit. Hypothesi*, 1655, in which he tries to prove that Adam was merely the progenitor of the people of Israel, not of the whole human race; and the Dutch Jew and philosopher, Benedict Spinoza, d. 1677, in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Hamburg, 1670.

§ 6.—*Richard Simon.*

Investigations had thus been set on foot, and carried on with some degree of vehemence, on the subjects connected with Biblical Introduction, when the Roman Catholic author, whose works make an epoch for these subjects generally, Richard Simon, appeared in France. (He was born at Dieppe in 1638; a member of the Oratory; for a considerable time teacher of philosophy at Juilly; then a priest at Bolleville, and afterwards either at Paris or Dieppe, at which last place he died, 1712.) His chief

work for biblical introduction is his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Test.*, which first appeared at Paris in 1678.

The work is divided into three books. I. "Du texte Hebreu de la Bible depuis Moyse jusqu'à notre temps," which contains investigations on the age of the books of the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch; and, as regards the other books, principally treats of the alterations in the text during successive periods, as well as of the nature of the MSS. and the criticism of the Jewish grammarians. II. "Detailed history and criticism of the chief ancient and modern translations of the Bible." III. "On the difficulties of a good new translation; a history of the various modes of interpreting the Bible at different times, and among different religious parties; and an examination of various ancient critical works on the Bible." Appended to this is a catalogue of the chief editions of the Hebrew Bible, and of its translations. We see, then, that the whole cycle of subjects usually treated of in our Old Testament introductions is treated of in this work of Simon's; but, as is plain from the above statement, not fully, and still less, uniformly.

The work of Simon is remarkable for the learning shown in its investigations, for its intelligence, moderation, the cautiousness of its conclusions, and its great ease of style. With regard to the controversies of the day respecting the integrity of the original text of the Old Testament, he took up a middle position between the two contending parties, one of whom, *e. g.*, the Buxtorfs, maintained its absolute integrity, including even the vowels, while the other regarded it as corrupted in many places, both with and without design. As regards the origin of the several books, he regards the historical books as later *excerpta* from the ancient public annals, drawn up by the priests and deposited in the Temple, and, in particular, maintains that the Pentateuch in its present form cannot have proceeded from the pen of Moses. His opinions on the expositors and critics of the Old Testament up to his day are well worth consideration, and, for the most part, well grounded and appropriate. As a Catholic he is often unjust towards Protestant expositors, especially those who were also authors of translations of the Bible, *e. g.*, Luther. At the same time he often finds fault with the Vulgate,

though he places it, on the whole, above all modern translations. Considering the character of the work, it is not at all surprising that immediately on its first appearance it caused great offence, and was vigorously attacked.

Simon's work appeared with a "Privilegium" of the French king. Notwithstanding, Bossuet, then Bishop of Condom and tutor of the Dauphin, afterwards Bishop of Meaux, in union with the Jansenists, brought about its confiscation and destruction by means of a decree of the Conseil d'Etat. Only some five or six copies escaped. This made the inquiry after it all the keener, which decided Elzevir, the Amsterdam bookseller, to bring out a pirated edition, which was printed three times. Of this a defective MS. was the only basis. This edition was condemned in a Dutch synod. This Amsterdam edition was the groundwork of the still more defective Latin translation by Albert de Versè (a scholar who, after having gone over to the Remonstrants, returned to the Catholic Church), which appeared at Amsterdam in 1681. The best edition, without doubt, is that superintended by Simon himself, under the mask of a Protestant theologian, Rotterdam, 1685. This work called forth many strictures on various points, which Simon sought to meet by various replies, some of them under an assumed name, and, for the most part, in a tone of passionate irritation.¹ The following may be specially mentioned: (1) Ezekiel Spanheim, son of Fried. Spanheim, then envoy of the Elector of Brandenburg at the Court of London, who in "A Letter to a Friend," while recognising and commending the value of Simon's work, expressed his doubts, among other points, as to his views of the late date of the Historical Books of the Old Testament, and their composition out of earlier writings. This is to be found, together with Simon's reply, in the Rotterdam edition. (2) Isaac Vossius (D.C.L. and Canon of Windsor, b. at Leyden, 1618; d. 1689). Simon had controverted his exaggerated ideas as to the value of the LXX. Vossius, in reply, endeavoured to justify his view, and to prove that the LXX was inspired, while the Hebrew text had been falsified by the Jews, and that the Chronology of the Patriarchs was to be restored in accordance with the LXX. Several controversial writings

¹ Cf. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch*, i. p. 126, ff.

were exchanged on both sides, and the dispute was carried on with great bitterness. (3) *Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire Critique du V. T.*, par R. Simon, Amsterdam, 1685. The author of this work, a later edition of which appeared in 1711, and a German translation, with remarks and appendices by Corrodi, at Zürich, 1779, was Joh. Clericus (le Clerc), Professor of Hebrew Philosophy and Ecclesiastical History at the Arminian College at Amsterdam (b. at Geneva, 1657; d. 1736), who previously had had some literary transactions with Simon. He reproaches Simon with his too severe and often unjust verdicts on the works of Protestant as well as Socinian theologians, stating that Simon himself had made much greater use of the works of Protestant than of Catholic writers, and only sought to avoid the suspicion of a Protestant tendency by his exaltation of tradition, &c. Clericus is far from disapproving of the critical method adopted by Simon in investigating the origin of the books of the Old Testament. On the contrary, he thinks that he has not gone far enough, and places some of them, *e.g.*, the Pentateuch, Samuel, Kings, &c., later still, and endeavours to support this divergence of his views with sagacity and erudition. Besides this, he controverts the conclusions which Simon believed he had been able to draw from the historical uncertainty of the Sacred Scriptures, in support of the Catholic doctrine of the necessity of tradition, on the ground that in all that concerns salvation the Scriptures are sufficiently clear and certain, while, on the other hand, tradition is excessively vague. Simon replied to this work under the name of a Prior of Bolleville (Rotterdam, 1686), in a very irritated and unbecoming manner. The battle became warmer when Clericus brought out his *Défense des Sentimens*, &c. (Amsterdam, 1686), in which he endeavours to elucidate several points. (4) Louis Ellies du Pin (member of the Sorbonne, and Professor of Philosophy at Paris, d. 1719), *Dissertations Préliminaires, ou Prolégomènes sur la Bible*, which first appeared as a supplement, and first volume of the *Bibliothèque des auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1688, and afterwards separately. Among other points, he distinguishes, in reference to the books of the Old Testament, between the *protocanonical* and *deuterocanonical* (our *Apoerypha*), and endeavours to prove that the inspiration of the Bible

extends only to the ideas, and not to the words, or even to matters of fact which have no connection with religion. He attacked Simon's line of criticism specially on two points: (*a*) his idea of the continual existence among the Hebrews of a class of prophets who were also public historians, and who, by divine inspiration, might compose the sacred books of their nation at pleasure: (*b*) and his view that the Pentateuch was only in part composed by Moses. On these grounds his controversy with Simon arose, which was carried on by the latter with great bitterness.

The vehement, passionate spirit with which Simon endeavoured to repel anything that came in opposition to him from any quarter, could not fail to have some influence on the impartiality of his judgment, and consequently his later controversial works have but small value as contributions to science. The value of his principal work is also sometimes too highly rated. His investigations as to the formation of the individual books of the Old Testament are only valuable as regards the Historical Books, especially the Pentateuch, and even here his line of argument is not very strict. The most valuable are his investigations into the character of the critical testimonies for the Old Testament text, and his verdicts on the exegetists and critics of the Old Testament, though even these are not universally just and fair. In this respect, however, his work had a very suggestive character, and exercised such an influence that even those theologians who felt themselves least able to side with him in his views on the books of the Old Testament, both generally and particularly, found it impossible calmly to repose in the ordinarily received views, and saw the necessity of establishing them more accurately by an examination and refutation of his objections.

§ 7.—*Carpzov.*

Simon's critical investigations on the Canon, both generally and particularly, though in appearance chiefly directed against Protestant writers, were yet carried on rather in a Protestant than a Catholic spirit,¹ and they were subsequently taken up and prosecuted by Protestant scholars. Originally, however, the Protestants, especially the Lutherans, took more objection to him than the Catholics,

¹ See H. Holtzmann, *Kanon u. Tradition*, p. 59.

since he appeared to them to start from the principle of unsettling Holy Scripture, the foundation of the Evangelical Church. This lasted for some time, until the mode of criticism especially adopted by him and Clericus met with a degree of sympathy, instead of universal opposition, particularly in Germany from the Lutheran divines.

This form of criticism found a very notable opponent in Germany in Joh. Gottlob Carpzov (b. at Dresden, 1679, Professor of Hebrew at Leipzig, d. 1767), who gained great, and to some extent well-founded, respect by his two works on the Old Testament, his *Introductio* and his *Critica Sacra*.¹

Both works are distinguished by a very comprehensive and profound erudition, and are still very valuable for their scientific apparatus. The author, where he is not hindered by his decided dogmatic views, also manifests great intelligence and sound judgment. He was, however, hampered by the strong opinion held by the Lutherans of the time on the Canon of Scripture and on Inspiration, and thus was entirely deficient in a spirit of free inquiry and an unprejudiced critical feeling. His conclusions and line of argument as to the origin of the individual books, and the integrity of the text, are in direct opposition to those of Simon, Clericus, &c., and certainly frequently serve to correct the latter, and show their weakness, though he was unable to recognise and appropriate the truth contained in them.

§ 8.—Growth of Free Inquiry. Semler—Herder—Eichhorn—Michaelis.

It was not till the last decade of the preceding century that the spirit of critical inquiry into the Canon

¹ *Introductio ad Lib. Canon*: Leipzig, 1714-21, in three divisions. Div. 1. On the Historical Books. Div. 2. On the Poetical. Div. 3. On the Prophetical. His *Critica Sacra* (Leipzig, 1724) embraces a kind of universal introduction to the Old Testament, in three divisions: 1. *Circa textum originalem*; i. e., on the Divine origin, authenticity, and authority of the Hebrew text, its purity and freedom from interpolations; the division of the Old Testament, its original languages and their history; the primitiveness of the Hebrew language, and its vocalization; the Masora; Hebrew manuscripts, and printed editions. 2. Of the translations of the Old Testament, especially of the ancient, but also of some modern Latin versions. 3. *Contra pseudo-criticam Gul. Whistonii*, who had maintained that the Jews had altered the Hebrew text in the second century, and corrupted it from polemical interests against the Christians.

of the Old Testament and its component parts awoke in Germany. Semler,¹ who had himself received his chief impulse in that direction from the works of Simon, was the chief instrument of this awakening. Semler, on the whole, made common cause with Simon as far as regards the first principles of biblical criticism, and also agreed with his conclusions on many essential points. His line of criticism, however, has rather a preponderating negative character, since he attacks and undermines received views without placing anything of a positive character in their room. Connected with this is the great indecision and want of clearness he often displays; this is especially shown in what he says about the Canon, where it is by no means easy to determine what his meaning really is. Nevertheless, as we have already said, he exercised very considerable influence in arousing the spirit of historical and critical inquiry with regard to the Bible generally, and the Old Testament in particular. Subsequently to the impulse given by him, these investigations have been carried on with remarkable diligence by German theologians, and indeed almost by them alone. The destructive tendency of Semler's views was certainly not adapted to awaken or to revive the love for Old Testament literature, which was at that time greatly decayed. This was brought about at the same time, or a little later, by the celebrated Joh. Gottfried Herder (d. 1803, as Superintendent-General at Weimar), who, intimately acquainted as he was with the Oriental spirit, and endowed with a rich fancy guided by critical tact, together with a gift of attractive style, and an enthusiastic religious feeling, was able to treat with much ingenuity and skill the different divisions of the Old Testament literature. We may specially mention his

¹ Joh. Sal. Semler, d. 1791, as Professor of Theology at Halle. The work which demands mention here is his *Apparatus ad liberalem Vet. Test. interpretationem* (Halle, 1773), in two books. 1. *Qui historicam causam librorum Hebraici codicis explicat*, in five chapters, treating of the Canon, the object, value, and integrity of the text, and the editions of the Old Testament; of its authors, the period of composition, its inner economy, the genuineness and object of each separate book. 2. *De adjunctis interpretandi veteris recentiorisque temporis*, in two chapters; of the origin and value of the ancient translations, together with a critical catalogue of the chief modern translations and expositions of the Old Testament.

Briefe über das Studium der Theologie (1780), as well as his *Geist der hebräischen Poesie* (1782), and his *Bearbeitung des Hohenliedes* (the Song of Solomon) (1778). His object was to awaken, by a more tasteful treatment of the Old Testament, that feeling for its beauties which he possessed in no insignificant degree; one consequence of which, however, was, that the peculiar theocratical spirit which pervades the whole was not always brought into due prominence. The writer who worked the most completely in his master's spirit was Joh. Gottfr. Eichhorn (b. 1752, Professor of Oriental Languages at Jena, and subsequently at Göttingen; d. 1827), the first who, following Semler's suggestion, prepared an "Introduction to the Old Testament," as a separate work (Leipzig, 1780-83, 5th ed. 1823-24). This Introduction embraces the same subjects which it has usually comprised from that time.¹ The work was executed with great diligence, and was received in his day with extraordinary favour. Eichhorn is distinguished by a clear, lively, but somewhat too rhetorical style; he knew how to call attention to the æsthetical beauties of the Old Testament, and frequently in an admirable way; but was not so successful in directing attention to its peculiar religious and theocratical spirit, and to the relation of the Old Testament to Christian faith. He is still less successful in apprehending the spirit of the Hebrew prophets and their writings. He entertains peculiar ideas on the composition of some of the Books of the Old Testament, although as regards the authors of most of them he, on the whole, disagrees but little from the ordinarily received views. The last edition is much more comprehensive, but the character of the work has received but little substantial alteration, the author having paid but little attention to the subsequent investigations of other scholars.

Soon after Eichhorn, J. D. Michaelis (d. 1791), of the same college, began to publish his *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des Alten Bundes*. Of the first part, however,

¹ He divides it into *general* and *special* introductions. In the former he treats, in three chapters, of: (1) the Hebrew Literature generally; the editions, preservation, collection, authenticity, and canonicity of the Books of the Old Testament. (2) The History of the Text of the Books of the Old Testament. (3) The Aids to the Critical Treatment of the Old Testament, the Masora, Talmud, the Translations, MSS. edition, &c.

which was to contain the *special* "Introduction," and was to be followed by the *general*, no more than the first division appeared (Hamburg, 1787), containing the introduction to the Pentateuch and to Job, both of which he assigns to Moses as their author. In this, as in all the works of Michaelis, there is much that is valuable and instructive. But at the time of its publication Eichhorn's more æsthetic mode of treatment was meeting with general acceptance, so Michaelis gave up the prosecution of his work, and died a few years after the appearance of the first division.

Eichhorn's "Introduction" was followed by several other works of the same class, several of which were mere epitomes of his. We may name those of H. E. Güte (Halle, 1787); J. Babor, Catholic Professor at Olmütz (Vienna, 1794); G. L. Bauer, Professor of Oriental Languages at Altdorf, near Nuremberg, and afterwards at Heidelberg, d. 1806 (Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1794). Bauer's work is the most independent of them; in it the views of others are given and briefly criticised.

§ 9.—*Later Writers.*

After this date, particularly in Germany, writers began again to devote themselves afresh with special zeal to the subjects belonging to Old-Testament Introduction, both generally and particularly: this was done partly by the production of complete introductory works, partly by monographs on particular topics belonging to the general or special introduction. The topics on which the investigations were, and to some extent are still, carried on with the greatest diligence, are chiefly the following:—The date and composition of the Pentateuch; its historical character; the origin of the Book of Joshua; the historical authority of the Books of Chronicles, and their relation to those of Samuel and Kings; the origin and historical character of Jonah and Esther; the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah; the unity or plurality of the authors of the Book of Isaiah (xl.-lxvi.) and Zechariah (ix.-xiv.); the composition of the Book of Jeremiah, and the relation of the Hebrew to the Greek text; the date of Joel; the genuineness, unity of authorship, and date of the composition of the Book of Daniel; the date and historical authors of the Psalms; the age and object of the

Book of Job : the origin, date, and composition of the Book of Proverbs ; the composition and object of the Song of Solomon ; the formation of the Canon ; the origin and critical character of the various versions ; and similar topics.

§ 10.—*Works of Roman Catholic Writers.*

Nearly all the investigations of these points which are of any importance were carried on by German theologians, and those especially of the Protestant Church. Among modern Catholic divines we have works on "Old-Testament Introduction" from Jahn, Herbst, and Scholz, and later still, a sketch by Reusch.

Johann Jahn (Professor of Oriental Languages and Dogmatics, at Vienna, d. 1816), published his *Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, Vienna, 1793. The first edition is of little importance ; the second, in 3 vols. (1802-3), is much more valuable, and is almost a new work. Jahn was a learned and acute Catholic, and a temperate thinker. The first edition of his work led to an examination by his ecclesiastical superiors, on the special ground of his having treated the Books of Job and Jonah, as well as Tobit and Judith, as mere instructive tales ; and the task was imposed upon him of so modifying them in a second edition that these views might be represented as merely problematical, without passing any positive decision upon them. This was done. On the whole he generally manifests a conservative character in his investigations as to the particular works, and almost always declares himself in favour of the received views as to their authors ; these he seeks to defend industriously, and not without acuteness, against the divergent views which had been brought forward in different quarters in modern times. What he has brought forward in this respect is still of some value, though his line of proof fails on the whole in depth, and his style in liveliness. There is an edition of Jahn's *Einleitung* under the title *Introductio in libr. Sacr. Vet. Fœd. in compend. redact.* (Vienna, 1805, ed. 2, 1815). Ackermann's (Professor at Vienna, d. 1831) *Introd. in lib. Sacr. Vet. Fœd.* (Vienna, 1825, ed. 2, 1839) is, for the most part, built upon Jahn.

Dr. J. G. Herbst (late Professor of Catholic Theology at Tübingen, d. 1836) compiled a *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*

in die heil. Schriften des A. T., completed and published after the author's death by B. Welte, in two parts (Carlsruhe and Freiburg, 1840-4). Part I. contains the "General Introduction," including (1) the Names, Contents, and Collection of the Old Testament Canon; (2) Language and Writers of the Old Testament Books; (3) History of the Text; (4) Versions. Part II. "Special Introduction," (1) (1842) Historical Books; (2) Prophetical and Poetical Books; (3) Deuterocanonical Books (1844). Herbst belonged to the more liberal inquirers among the Catholic divines of our time; but it is not possible, from these works, to discover his views on the subjects he treats of with any completeness or certainty. For the editor claimed the license not only of making considerable additions by way of correction, in cases where the author appeared to make too large concessions to modern criticism, but even of suppressing whole passages, and supplying his own composition in their room. This is the case with the entire sections on Isaiah, Lamentations, Obadiah, and Jonah. The closing section on the Deuterocanonical Books was entirely added by the editor, who was of the strictest orthodoxy, but knew how to maintain his own views with learning and acuteness.

J. M. Augustin Scholz (Professor at Bonn, d. 1852) wrote an *Einleit. in die heil. Schriften d. A. u. N. T.* Part I., "General Introduction," gives the external history of the Bible, so far as it is common to the whole or the majority of the books. Parts II. to IV. gives the Inner History of the particular Books, and their component parts, viz., Part II. the Historical; Part III. the Prophetical and Poetical Books of the Old Testament; Part IV. the Books of the New Testament.

Fr. Heinr. Reusch (Professor at Bonn) brought out a *Lehrbuch d. Einl. in d. A. T.*, at Freiburg, 1859.

Of far higher importance among Catholic divines as a critic of the Old Testament is F. E. Movers (Professor at Breslau, d. 1856), as appears from his various monographs and treatises on Chronicles, Jeremiah, the Pentateuch; and we should probably have had much more important works in this department from his pen, had he not been held back by a degree of apprehension with regard to his Church.

§ 11.—Works of German Protestants.

A far wider activity in the department of Old-Testament Introduction, and the investigations connected therewith, prevails among the German divines of the Protestant Church. The first to be mentioned are the works of Augusti and Bertholdt, although neither of them has essentially promoted knowledge.

(1) Joh. Ch. W. Augusti (Professor at Bonn, d. 1841), author of *Grundriss einer hist.-krit. Einl. ins A. T.* (Leipzig, 1806, ed. 2, 1827), in two divisions, "General" and "Special Introduction." The former is divided into six sections: (1) Idea, Essence, and Value of the Old Testament. (2) The Age of the Hebrew Language and Literature. (3) Authenticity. (4) The Canon. (5) History of the Hebrew Text. (6) Ancient Versions. The style of this work, which was intended to form a guide to the author's lectures on Old Testament Introduction, is bright and agreeable. Augusti does not present much that is original. When his work appeared there were already extant in the department of "Special Introduction," the investigations of Vater and De Wette on the Pentateuch, its composition and its epic character; and those of Bertholdt on Daniel, which were adopted, to some extent at least, by Augusti.

(2) Leonard Bertholdt (Professor of Theology and University Preacher at Erlangen, d. 1822), *Hist.-krit. Einl. in die sämmtl. kanon. u. apocryph. Schriften d. A. u. N. Tests.*, Erlangen, 1812-19, in six parts. The first two parts contain the "General Introduction to the Old and New Testament," which are followed by the "Special Introduction," in which the Books of the Old and New Testament are simultaneously treated of without distinction, in definite classes. Part III. contains the Historical Books of the Old and New Testament. Parts IV. and V. the Poetical Books, to which the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse are added. This mode of treatment involves much that is inconvenient and unsuitable. The work, however, is useful, especially from the fact that in single sections, particularly in the "Special Introduction," many various views are collected and criticised, although even in this respect it can make no claim to completeness or uniformity of treatment. The author is not wanting either in acuteness or clearness

of style, but in depth and taste. The style, from its latitude and prolixity, is often somewhat fatiguing.

§ 12.—*De Wette.*

A great contrast is offered to the last-named work by the conciseness of treatment, united with richness of material and completeness of view, which mark the Introduction of De Wette.¹ He had previously published *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T.* (2 vols. Halle, 1806-7), with a preface by Greisbach. Vol. I., "On the Credibility of the Book of Chronicles, with reference to the History of the Books of Moses and the Giving of the Law; a Supplement to the Inquiries of Vater on the Pentateuch." Vol. II., "Critical review of the History of Israel." Part 1. "Critical review of the Mosaic History." Ten years later appeared his *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in die Bibel, A. u. N. T.* Part 2. Berlin, 1817: 6th ed., 1845, 7th ed., 1852. This work is divided into four parts. I. *The Bible generally*, in two sections, (1) "Name, Component Parts, Arrangement, and Division of the Bible;" (2) "History of the Canon of the Old and New Testament." II. "General Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament" in three divisions: (1) "The Original Language of the Old Testament;" (2) "Versions;" (3) "Criticism of the Text, including (a) History, and (b) Theory of the Criticism of the Hebrew Text." III. "Particular Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament." IV. "Introduction to the Apocrypha." An English translation of the work, with notes and an appendix, by Theodore Parker, has been published at Boston, 1844.

This work is one of much value as a handbook for private use, and also as an aid for students attending academical lectures, from the concise form in which it supplies and examines the results of the investigations on the subjects treated of, up to the present time, with a rich abundance of literary and other material. As regards the critical character of the work, in the earlier editions, it is rather of a negative and sceptical character; the author brings pro-

¹ W. M. de Wette, born 1780, near Weimar, first private tutor and Professor at Jena till 1809; then Professor at Heidelberg, and from 1810 till 1819 at Berlin; then from 1821 at Basle; died 1849. We are told in Herzog's *Real. Encycl.* xviii. 64, that De Wette regarded his *Alten Testaments Einleitung* as the most valuable of all his critical works.

minently forward the reasons on which the older traditional statements, especially on the origin of several of the Books of the Old Testament, have been called in question, and directs his reader's notice to the positive, divergent views put forth by later writers on these subjects with great confidence—views, too, which had gained considerable currency—without thinking himself bound to express any definite positive conclusion upon the points in question. In the later editions the author has examined the investigations of other writers, both those which substantially agreed with his own and those that were at variance with or in opposition to them, which had been published in the mean time: and, especially in the last two editions, made it more his object to develop and establish definite positive views on the subjects treated of, especially on the origin of the separate Books of the Old Testament. The value of these later editions would have been still further increased if the author had consented to dispense with some of the theories which had appeared in the former editions, which are far from possessing the degree of probability, still less of certainty he desires to ascribe to them. I may specially mention the view he propounds as to the date of the commencement of Hebrew literature which he brings down far lower and places much later than, I am of opinion, a careful unprejudiced consideration of the premises warrants. This view naturally exercises a prejudicial influence on his judgment as to the age and origin of several of the Books of the Old Testament, especially the earliest historical books, as well as some others, and not less on his view of the historical character and value of these ancient historical books. The author has, however, in his latest editions, in several instances, modified and softened his views and conclusions on these points. At the same time every part of the work renders manifest the love of truth which guides the author in all his investigations as well as the warm interest he feels for the Canon of the Old Testament, and the recognition of the Spirit which declares itself therein. We cannot say as much of some other writers, who though agreeing with De Wette in his critical principles, and also in many of his views on the origin of the Books, do not appear to be equally guided in their inquiries by religious feeling and interest for theology, and who from their inability to recognize duly the lofty moral and religious spirit of the Old Testament, content

themselves with rejecting all that has been received from tradition without building up anything coherent or solid in its room.¹

§ 13.—*Ewald.*

Ewald deserves special mention as the representative of a definite tendency in the critical treatment of the Old Testament. This is seen in his works treating on (a) "The Poetical Books of the Old Testament;" (b) "The Prophets;" (c) "The History of Israel." He makes it his serious endeavour to fashion his conceptions of the Old Testament in accordance with the elevated spirit and character peculiar to it; and, as regards the origin of the particular books, he is not contented, as is often the case with De Wette, with merely negative conclusions, but endeavours to pronounce as positive a judgment as possible, and that frequently with the greatest confidence in cases where the existing data warrant it the least. This is shown, for example, in his conclusion as to the composition of the Historical Books of the Old Testament, the date of particular Psalms, &c., where he is far too much inclined to enunciate his own views at once as established truths, and then to proceed to build upon them, though they not only contain not a little that is uncertain, but much that is decidedly false. Ewald has formed a school, of which among others Hitzig is a representative, who (in his works on the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, and Proverbs), in the way in which he brings forward definite positive views, shows almost more confidence than Ewald himself, though in details he diverges from him in many not unimportant points. There are, however, certain conclusions, and those of great importance, in which the German theologians of every school, those who follow De Wette as well as those who belong to the school of Ewald, essentially agree; *e.g.*, that the Pentateuch in its present form is not the work of Moses; that Is. xl.-lxvi. belongs to the time of the Babylonish exile; and Daniel to the epoch of the Maccabees, &c.²

¹ We may specify Gramberg on the Chronicles; Von Bohlen on Genesis; Hartmann on the Pentateuch, &c.

² To the same class belong Stähelin's *Specielle Einleitung in die kanon. Bücher des A. T.*, Elberfeld, 1862; and Dr. S. Davidson's "Introduction to the Old Testament," London, 1862-63; to which I have called attention in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1863, vol. 4.

§ 14.—*The Orthodox German School.*

On the other hand, there are others among the modern Protestant theologians of Germany, and those not insignificant as scholars, who, in this department, are representatives of a reactionary tendency, and, in opposition to the views just described, seek once more to maintain those which were received in earlier times. Among these, we may specially name Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, and Keil.

Ernst W. Hengstenberg, Professor at Berlin, author of (a) "Christology of the Old Testament," Berlin, 1829-35, 2nd ed. 1854-7; (b) "Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament, Vol. I., 1831. "Authenticity of Daniel and Integrity of Zechariah," Vols. II. III., 1836-9; "Authenticity of the Pentateuch."

H. A. Christoph Hävernicks, Professor at Königsberg, d. 1845, author of (a) "Commentary on Daniel," 1832; (b) "Historical and Critical Handbook to the Old Testament," 1837-49, in three parts, of which Hävernicks himself prepared the two first in four divisions. Part I. contains (a) "General Introduction," in six chapters: (1) History of the Canon; (2) History of the Original Languages; (3) History of the Text; (4) History of the Interpretation; (5) and (6) Fundamental Principles of the Old Testament, Textual Criticism and Hermeneutics; and (b) the "Special Introduction to the Pentateuch." Part II. contains Division 1, "On the other Historical Books." Division 2, "The Prophetical Books." Part III. was completed after the author's death, by Professor K. F. Keil, of Dorpat, who treated of the Poetical Books of the Old Testament, Job being furnished chiefly from manuscripts left by Hävernicks. In the 2nd edition, Part I., Division 1, the "General Introduction" was revised and improved, and partly re-written by Keil, in 1854: Division 2, the "Special Introduction to the Pentateuch," in 1857.

Keil himself has published the *Lehrbuch der histor.-krit. Einleit. in die kanon. (u. apocryph.) Schriften des A. T.*, Frankf. and Erlangen, 1853, 2nd ed. 1859: (1) Origin and Genuineness of the particular books; (2) History of the Transmission of the Old Testament; (3) The Canonical Value of the Old Testament, to which is added, in the 2nd edition, as appendices, "An Introduction to the Apocryphal Books."

Other writers of the German Protestant Church have followed in the same direction in works devoted to special subjects belonging to the Old-Testament Introduction, *e.g.*, Professor Kleinert, of Dorpat, d. 1834, Drechsler, d. 1851, F. H. Ranke, Caspari, Kurtz, Stier, d. 1863, &c.

§ 15.—*General Conclusions.*

In the above-mentioned works the authors shew no want of acuteness and comprehensive learning, and they always furnish varied information. Their relation to the representatives of the above-mentioned freer critical spirit, is the same as that of Carpzov in former days towards R. Simon and Clericus.

In the department of "General Introduction," the greater part even of these authors recognize a considerable amount of the results of modern criticism (*e.g.*, as regards the history of the language, and writing, as well as the masoretic text of the Old Testament), and no longer make it their object to maintain the earlier views (*e.g.*, those of the school of Buxtorf) in every point without exception. These earlier views are perhaps the chief end to which their labours are directed in the investigation into the origin and integrity of the Old-Testament Canon and its separate books, in regard to which they adhere with extreme and zealous pertinacity to the old traditional views, and endeavour to establish them against the modern criticism. This end, however, with all their resources of learning and intelligence, they have entirely failed in accomplishing to the satisfaction of any unprejudiced inquirer; and through all their writings it is far too evident that their first object in their treatment of these questions is not the discovery of truth but the establishing of the traditional views which they have already accepted as true. They leave the impression, therefore, of being rather zealous champions of the views they have adopted, than of being unprejudiced inquirers, and their labours are more adapted to the discovery of their opponents' weak side than the ascertaining of the true state of the case. They usually start at once with the hypothesis that the results of modern criticism are merely the fruit of unbelief, and not of faithful historical investigation. But such an hypothesis cannot be regarded as justified, as indeed may be gathered from the fact, that even theologians of the most

decidedly earnest tendency and warmest love of truth, are continually being driven to adopt certain of these ideas at variance with the traditional views, and that the former can only be got rid of by very unnatural and artificial hypotheses. At the same time it cannot be denied that the writers, who in modern times predominantly follow the critical tendency, do not, for the most part, when treating of the Old Testament, keep sufficiently before them the stand-point of Divine Revelation, and do not sufficiently regard it in its relation to Christian faith, *i.e.* as prophesying of and leading up to the New Testament; while the question of the greatest importance for Christian scholars is precisely this: whether and in what degree, this character is possessed by the Old Testament as a whole and in its several parts? This is much more strongly asserted by the writers of whom we have been last speaking, but they also go too far in this respect by maintaining the position of the Old Testament as an *absolute* revelation, and placing it nearly or altogether on the same footing as the New Testament.

There are, therefore, at the present time, sufficiently just grounds for undertaking that which I consider is the very problem to be solved by the Protestant theologians of Germany of our day, *viz.*, a mode of viewing and treating the Old Testament holding a middle course between the two extremes.

To secure this, it is above all things essential that, on the one hand, we should approach the consideration of the Old Testament with a degree of theological interest and with the reverence which it must inspire us with, even as regards its historical import, which, too, it has enjoyed continuously for so many centuries, not only in the Jewish but also in the Christian Church; but that we should, on the other hand, avoid any ready-made, decided views, either of a historical or dogmatical character. That we should, on the contrary, betake ourselves to the investigation with an open, unprejudiced mind, simply seeking to discover the truth, and consequently not shrinking from views at variance with those traditionally received, on the origin, date, and integrity of the books of the Old Testament, but recognizing them when they are the results of unprejudiced, conscientious investigation: taking care also, that in the

statement of our conclusions, we do not go further than the existing data on each occasion warrant, lest we run the risk of accepting as true and certain that which is false and uncertain, and then of raising a new edifice on this insecure foundation. It is only when the inquiry is conducted in this way, without the assertion of dogmatic principles either of one kind or another that are not recognized by our opponents, that there is any ground for hoping that among inquirers with whom the love of truth is, on the whole, a guiding motive, the conflicting views will, little by little, draw nearer to one another; so decidedly are they at the present day at variance with one another, even on some of the most important points, and so violent is the character of their opposition. For at the present day in the department of Old-Testament Introduction, these views diverge as far as possible from one another, in a very different degree than is the case in the New Testament. The question as regards the date of the books of the New Testament is limited to a few decades, at most some half century, or a little earlier or later than that: while with regard to the Old Testament it widens to centuries, and indeed in some cases to more than a thousand years. The more essential, therefore, must we deem it to be, not to form our conclusions too hastily; and although it is impossible to undertake such investigations with complete independence, for there are few indeed of whom this can be expected; still, we must preserve the requisite impartiality of spirit which will enable us to pursue our onward march with open mind and unfettered judgment. It is certainly impossible that the result of criticism on the history of the Old Testament Canon and its separate parts, can fail to have a certain degree of influence on our judgments regarding the dogmatical value of this portion of the Bible. Our apprehensions on this point, however, must not cause us any distress, but we should cherish the confident hope that if these conclusions are true, and in proportion to their truth, the less is the injury that can result from them to our Christian faith, and the greater will be their value in pointing out and guaranteeing the place which the Old Testament ought to occupy in this faith.

II.

NAME, CONSTITUENT PARTS, ARRANGEMENT, DIVISION OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT.§ 16.—*The Name.*

THE writings contained in the collection which will be the subject of our investigations, were regarded among the Jews and in the first Christian Church as "Sacred Scriptures," to the exclusion of all others; a rank which, at a somewhat later period in the history of the Christian Church, was shared with a series of other writings originating in the primitive Christian age. It therefore follows, naturally, that the various designations under which these books were collected had for their object to distinguish those writings as *holy writings* in a special sense, or as "*the writings*," or "*Scriptures*," κατ' ἐξοχήν. This, then, is the special character of all the designations which we find employed for these books by Jewish authors and in the first Christian Church. The most ancient of these designations of the holy writings of the Jewish people, as a whole, is found: Dan. ix. 2, סְפָרִים, "the books," LXX, αἱ βίβλοι. For there can be no doubt that the expression stands there for the entire collection of holy writings, so far as they were at that time in existence, and gathered into one. This designation was also employed by the later Jews in the Chaldee, from סְפָרִין, "Books;" סְפָרִיא, "the Books." The Greek rendering of this word is αἱ βίβλοι, or more frequently τὰ βιβλία, which latter word must have been already in use among the Jews of Alexandria in the second century, for the collection of the sacred writings, since we find it so employed in the preface to the Book of Jesus the son of Sirach, οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων. Another designation was כְּתָב, Chald. כְּתָב, "the writing," for which we find ἡ γραφή, or the plural αἱ γραφαί, in the New Testament, Josephus and Philo. Among the later Jews, we find the term קְרָא, "the reading," or the concrete, "the read," "the reading-book," and thence of this collection as

the Book, κατ' ἐξοχὴν.¹ All these expressions simply indicate these books as "the writings," or "the writing," κατ' ἐξοχὴν, on account of their eminent value above all other books. To point out their sacred character, an appropriate epithet is also frequently added: סְפָרֵי הַקְּדוֹשִׁים, γραφαὶ ἁγίαί, τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, and the like. At a later time, when the collection of the sacred documents of Christianity had come into being, these designations were also transferred to them in the Christian Church; so that both collections were conjointly comprehended under the titles "Scripture," "Holy Scripture," or "the Holy Scriptures," τὰ βιβλία. This last title was specially employed by Chrysostom for the entire collection, and afterwards by the Latin Church, under the form "Biblia," as a neuter plural, for which in the Latin of the middle ages we find "Biblia," as a feminine singular, from which has arisen the use of "the Bible" as a singular noun in all modern European languages.

For the older collection, in particular, that of the works already considered sacred by the Jews, the title "Old Testament" has become the most prevalent. This has arisen in contradistinction to the "New Testament," considered as the collection of the sacred documents of Christendom. The corresponding terms in Greek are ἡ παλαιά and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη.

The following remarks may be made on the origin of these titles. The word διαθήκη corresponds in the Greek translation of the Bible to בְּרִית, and like that stands particularly for the gracious dispensations of God with men; as, for instance, with Noah and his family, with Abraham and his seed, with the people of Israel, without any reference to the fact whether this was in the form of a simple promise to men, or was connected with definite obligations and conditions to be performed by them. In this latter sense it is used specially of the relation in which God placed Himself to the people of Israel by the mediation of Moses. This relation appears also as proceeding from God,

¹ Thus also the Arabs designate their sacred codex as **القرآن**, "Alkoran." from **قرأ**, "to read." The word **سُورَات** stands Neh. viii. 8, as a verbal "the reading"; not as Jahn and others think in the sense given above of the collection of the Sacred Books.

but in such a sense that the co-operation of men is understood so far as they accepted the conditions appointed by God. This covenant with the people of Israel, under the mediation of Moses, is called the "Old Covenant," ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, in relation to the "New," καινὴ διαθήκη (הַבְּרִית הַחֲדָשָׁה) established under the mediation of the Redeemer: a designation to which the Prophet Jeremiah had already led the way.¹

As regards the written documents of the Old Covenant, we find the term "Tables of the Covenant," לְחֻמֹּת הַבְּרִית,² πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης, for the Tables of the Law, and the "Book of the Covenant," סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית, βιβλίον or βίβλος τῆς διαθήκης, of the writing which contained the revealed law of God.³ In the same way we have ἡ ἀνάγνωσις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, used by St. Paul,⁴ of the law of Moses. It was customary in later times in the Greek churches to employ the terms ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, and ἡ καινὴ δ. for the written documents of the Old and New Testament, as abbreviated forms of αἱ γραφαὶ τῆς παλ., or καινῆς διαθήκης. The former also was used for the whole of the component parts of the Jewish Canon; not merely for the actual books of the law, but for the historical, poetical, and prophetic books as well. In the Latin Church, however, the expression "Testamentum," "Vetus" and "Novum Testamentum," came into use for these collections of the sacred writings belonging to the old and new covenants. The words "Fœdus" or "Pactum" would have been more appropriate, and these are found in the Vulgate for בְּרִית in those books of the Old Testament which were translated by Jerome from the Hebrew. On the other hand, the old Latin version, the so-called *Itala*, which was derived from the LXX, invariably has "Testamentum" when speaking of the relations of God to man; and this word is consequently found in the Vulgate in those books which still stand according to the old Latin version, viz., Psalms, Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, as well as throughout the New Testament. The old Latin version has in this case held fast to the customary meaning of διαθήκη, in Greek authors,—“a

¹ Jer. xxxi. 31.

² Deut. ix. 9.

³ Exod. xxiv. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 21; 1 Macc. i. 57; Ecclus. xxiv. 23.

⁴ 2 Cor. iii. 14.

testament,"—although this is really very seldom found in the Bible, and at any rate only appears in Heb. ix. 15, ff.; Gal. iii. 15, together with the other signification of "*a covenant*." Now, thus it has arisen that in the Latin Church the word "*Testamentum*" in the Bible (in the same sense as *διαθήκη*, בְּרִית,) has been taken to denote a mutual covenant between God and man; and it also became very usual, as we have already said, to employ "*Testamentum*" for the Greek *διαθήκη*, in designating the sacred documents of the Old and New Testaments. At any rate it must have become quite customary by the end of the second century, to distinguish the two collections from one another, as the "*Vetus*" and "*Novum Testamentum*." This is clear from the words of Tertullian,¹ "*duos deos dividens (Marcion) alterum alterius Instrumenti, vel quod magis usui est dicere Testamenti.*" The term "*instrumentum*" also occurs in the same signification in Rufinus,² "*Novum et vetus instrumentum*;" and in Augustine,³ used together with *Testamentum*. In the Latin Church, however, the ordinary expression "*Testamentum*" maintained its ground; and it has been also adopted by Luther. The terms "*old*" and "*new covenant*," or "*foedus*," have been now and then employed in modern times to designate the collections of Scripture.

This is the place to mention one or two inappropriate terms, not unfrequently used as the title of the Old Testament in the editions of the Hebrew Bible issued by Jewish scholars. For instance, מִקְדָּשֵׁי יְהוָה, "the Sanctuary of Jehovah," or בְּיַת מִקְדָּשֵׁי, and the like.⁴ Or, again, from the number of the separate books, "the Twenty-four," or "the Book of the Twenty-four," סֵפֶר הָאַרְבָּעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים, or עֵינָרִים וְאַרְבָּעָה, a title under which the Old Testament has frequently been printed.

§ 17.—Divisions.

In earlier times, before any general name for the collection of the Old Testament had obtained currency, it was considered sufficient to describe it by the names of

¹ *Adv. Marcion*, iv. 1.

² *Expos. Symbol. Apost.*

³ *De Civitat. Dei*, xx. 4.

⁴ *Josh.* xxiv. 26.

⁵ See Hottinger, *Thes. Philol.* Zürich, 1696, p. 95, ff.

its chief constituent parts. This leads us to the inquiry as to these separate parts, and the customary divisions.

In the usual editions and MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, the whole of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament are arranged according to their main divisions, which, however, are not in perfect agreement with their contents. These are as follows:—

(1) “The Law;” תּוֹרָה, ὁ νόμος. The so-called Five Books of Moses, or the Pentateuch.

(2) “The Prophets;” נְבִיאִים. Under this name two different classes of writings were comprehended in the Hebrew Canon; which were again distinguished from each other by special titles. (a) נְבִיאִים רִאשׁוֹנִים, “Prophetæ Priores,” a series of historical books succeeding the Pentateuch in the Hebrew Canon, contains the further history of the people of God from the death of Moses to the Babylonish Captivity; viz., Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings. (b) נְבִיאִים אַחֲרֹנִים, “Prophetæ Posteriores,” a series of prophetic books, further divided into (a) the greater prophets, נְרוּלִים, “Prophetæ Majores,” Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and (β) the twelve minor prophets, קְטַנִּים, “Prophetæ Minores,” from Hosea to Malachi.

It was customary to regard the twelve minor prophets as one whole, as early as the second century before Christ. This is evident from Ecclus. xlix. 10, where, after the commendation of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, we read καὶ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀναθάλοι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν. παρεκάλεσε δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐλπίδος. The appellation “Minor Prophets,” has reference to the smaller bulk of their extant writings, compared with those of the three who precede them: that of “priores” and “posteriores” simply to their place in the Canon, not as has been assumed by some¹ to their mutual relation in respect to time.² The general designation of the whole of the books of this second main division, as נְבִיאִים, may easily be accounted for by the fact that the authors of the historical books comprehended in it, were regarded as men of prophetic endowments, as well from the amount of direct prophetic matter they contain.

¹ This is done in the Talmud, and also by Bunsen.

² The expression, הַנְּבִיאִים הַרְשָׁנִים, Zech. i. 4, is used in an entirely different sense of the earlier prophets before the Captivity.

(3) The כְּתוּבִים comprehend the remaining books of the Hebrew Canon; partly poetical, partly prophetic and historical.

These books are arranged in the Hebrew editions in the following order: (a) *The Psalms, Proverbs, and Job*. These are the only three books regarded by the Jews as truly poetical, and which have the poetical accentuation. They are comprehended under the designation כְּנֻמֵּי, formed from the initial letters of their Hebrew titles.

(b) *Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther*. These five books are publicly read in the synagogue on certain feast-days among the later Jews. They were comprehended under the denomination "the five כְּנֻמֵּי," "volumina." The Book of Esther, which is publicly read at the Feast of Purim, and is held in extraordinary esteem by the later Jews, is specially designated as "the כְּנֻמֵּי," or more fully, כְּנֻמֵּי אֶסְתֵּר, from which the name has passed to the other books also.

(c) *Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles*.

The word כְּתוּבִים of itself imports no more than "written," "scripta," "books." This appellation, of itself of far too general a character, was certainly not selected at the first origin of the collection of the Old Testament, but was gradually formed to designate the books of the third division, so various in the nature of their contents, after the collection generally was already in existence, with its three main divisions, and in its present order. At the outset, any kind of designation would be employed just to distinguish them from the books of the two former divisions. Three instances of this, somewhat varying in form, are found in the preface to Ecclesiasticus: (a) διὰ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολοῦθηκότων; (b) immediately after this, τὴν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρῶν βιβλίων ἀνάγνωσιν; and further on, (c) ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων. We may safely assume that the author of this preface to the Greek translation of this book (about B.C. 130) meant each of these three passages to indicate the sacred books of the Hebrews, and that he intended the Pentateuch by ὁ νόμος; by οἱ προφηταί, or προφητεῖαι, those books which are now found in the second division of the Hebrew Canon and their authors; and,

therefore, by the books named besides these—"the other books of our fathers;" "the rest of the books;" "the others that have followed their steps;"—the other books contained in the Canon, at any rate generally, *i. e.*, the books which now form the third minor division. By degrees, however, in default of any more suitable appellation, these last books began to be styled compendiously, *the writings* or *books, i. e.*, "the remaining books," or "the remaining sacred books."¹ A literal translation of this, *γραφεία*, is used in this sense in several places by Epiphanius,² who remarks that they are called by others *ἀγιόγραφα*, a name which has become the ordinary one in subsequent times.

Another arrangement, more in accordance with the contents of the books, is found in the LXX, which is followed by the Vulgate, and by Luther in his translation. That of the Hebrew Canon, however, is, on the whole, the more ancient.

In Luther's translation the whole of the historical books from Joshua onward follow immediately on the Pentateuch. The Books of Kings are immediately succeeded by the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; and the Book of Ruth comes next to Judges. Then come the poetical books: first, Job, the Psalms, and the three Solomonian books, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles; then come the Prophets, among which Lamentations follow immediately on the prophecies of Jeremiah; Daniel, as the fourth of the major prophets, stands next to Ezekiel, succeeded by the twelve minor prophets. This arrangement has been inherited from the Vulgate, which again adopted it from the LXX, with the exception that in these earlier translations the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, placed by Luther as an appendix to the Canonical books, are ranked among them. Besides this, the MSS. of the LXX furnish many variations in the arrangement of the books. All, however, agree in placing *Daniel* as the fourth of the major prophets; *Ruth* next to *Judges*, or as an appendix to that book; and the *Lamentations* next to the prophecies of Jeremiah, as an appendix. We shall also see in the history of the Canon (§§ 295, 298), that in early times the books of

¹ Thus we find the denomination already expressly used in the Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, fol. 13, ff.

² *Hæres.* xxix. 7; Opp. 1, 122, Ed. Petav. *De Mens. et Pond.* c. 4 Opp. 2, 162.

Ruth and *Lamentations* occupied the same place in the Hebrew MSS., and that it was not until a subsequent period (not before the second century A.D.) that the Jews placed them together with the other Megilloth among the books of the third class, and that for special reasons connected with their use in Divine service. In other respects there is no doubt that the arrangement of the books of the Hebrew Canon is the earlier and original one; and that of the LXX later, made to suit the contents of the books. The former, as we shall see, is contemporaneous with the collection itself, and reaches probably to a time anterior to the complete closing of the Hebrew Canon. We may conclude with tolerable certainty from the passages of the introduction to Ecclesiasticus, already quoted, that this arrangement was already in existence, at least, generally, at the period of its composition. The division into the three classes, *Torah*, *Nebiim*, and *Ketubim*, is expressly mentioned in the Talmud,¹ as well as by Jerome.²

And yet, even after this division had been firmly established, we find variations even among the Jews of Palestine in the succession of the several books contained in the two last main sections. As regards the *Nebiim*, the Talmud³ places Isaiah after Ezekiel.⁴ Its position is the same in the MSS. of the German and French Jews; in those of the Spanish Jews, on the contrary, and also in the Masora, and our own editions, it stands before Jeremiah. It is, however, highly probable that the former was the ancient arrangement, and that the latter was introduced subsequently with reference to the chronological relation of the Prophets. Still more variations are found in the arrangements of the Hagiographa. In the Talmud the Book of Ruth is mentioned first, and then the Psalms. The Masora,⁵ however, com

¹ *Bab. Bath.* fol. 14.

² "Hi sunt quinque libri Mosis, quos proprie *Torah*, i.e., *Legem* appellant. Secundum *Prophetarum* ordinem faciunt. . . . Tertius ordo *Hagiographa* possidet."—*Prolog. Galeat.*

³ *Bab. Bath.* fol. 14, b.

⁴ The following reason for this is given by Kimchi in his preface to Jeremiah: "Cum libri Regum finiantur in desolatione et Jeremias totus versetur in desolatione; Ezekiel vero incipiat in desolatione et finiat in consolatione, et Jesaias totus versetur in consolatione, copulaverunt desolationem cum desolatione, et consolationem cum consolatione."

⁵ Eichhorn. *Einleit.* v. p. 215, ed. 4.

mences this division with Chronicles; the same is the case with the Spanish MSS. The German MSS. on the other hand, like the Talmud and our editions, have Chronicles as the last book. And this is most probably the original order, as we may with great likelihood conclude from Matt. xxiii. 35, Luke xi. 51, that as early as our Lord's days the Chronicles had their place quite at the end of the Old Testament Canon.

§ 18.—*Number.*

Differences also exist in the numeration of the books of the Old Testament. The Talmud and all the later Jews of Palestine reckon twenty-four books: (a) Nos. 1-5, the *Torah*, in five books. (b) Nos. 6-13, eight, *Nebiim*: viz., (1) Joshua; (2) Judges; (3) Samuel; (4) Kings; (5) Jeremiah; (6) Ezekiel; (7) Isaiah; (8) the twelve minor prophets (reckoned as one book). (c) Nos. 14-24, eleven, *Ketubim*, reckoning the two books of Chronicles as one book, and in the same way, Ezra and Nehemiah as one book of Ezra. On the other hand, Josephus,¹ Origen,² the Laodicean Council,³ Epiphanius,⁴ and Hilary,⁵ reckon only twenty-two;⁶ uniting Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah. This, too, must be regarded as the earlier mode of reckoning among the Jews, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, ם and ץ being regarded as a single letter. Even Jerome⁷ mentions both modes of reckoning, but that of twenty-two books as the more usual.

¹ *Cont. Apion*, i. 8.

² 2 Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25.

³ *Can.* 60.

⁴ *De Mens. et Pond.* c. 22, 23. *Hæres.* 6.

⁵ *Prolog. in Ps. Explanat.*

⁶ Cf. § 303, and §§ 309-311.

⁷ *Prolog. Galeat.*

“Atque ita fiunt pariter Veteris Legis 22, *i.e.*, Mosis 5 et Prophetarum 8, Hagiographorum 9. Quamquam nonnulli Ruth et Kinoth inter Hagiographa scriptitent, et hos libros in suo putent numero supputandos ac per hoc priscae legis libros viginti quatuor.

III.

THE LANGUAGES OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 19.—*Language—Hebrew, Chaldee—Semitic Tongues.*

THE Old Testament Scriptures are, with very small exceptions, composed in the language we call *Hebrew*. The exceptions are some short sections written in the language called by us *Chaldee*—Dan. ii. 4–vii.; Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18; vii. 12–26; Jer. x. 11. These two languages are related to one another as different, but closely allied dialects of one and the same stem; a language which had its home in hither Asia, and to which several other languages belong. The whole of the languages belonging to this stem, so far as they are known to us, are divided into three main branches: (a) the Northern or Aramæan, to which the so-called Chaldee and Syrian belong; (b) the Southern, among which the Arabic is the chief dialect, and with which the Æthiopic is also connected; and (c) the Middle, with which we have a special acquaintance from the books of the Old Testament as the language of the Hebrews; to which the languages of the other peoples of Palestine, especially the Canaanites and Phœnicians, belonged. The divisions of these three branches are, however, by no means sharply drawn, at least in the form in which we are acquainted with them; least of all between the Northern and Middle dialects, the Aramæan and the Hebrew. It is more the case as regards these two in relation to the Southern, the Arabic. The ordinary denomination of these languages in earlier times was “the Oriental languages.” This was employed by Jerome, and is still used to some extent in modern times. Thus, whenever reference is made to the study of the Oriental languages, we at once think [and this was much more so formerly], specially of the Hebrew language, and the dialects related to it. The reason was that the other languages of the East, which do not belong to this stem, were generally very little known in the West, or, at any rate, were not much studied scientifically, especially at the Universities.¹ Now, however, that an acquaintance

¹ The Persian might also be reckoned in, though it belongs to a different stem.

with the Eastern languages is more developed, and a scientific study of them has spread so widely and extended itself, especially in the academies, not merely to the Persian, but also to the Egyptian, Chinese, Armenian, and especially the Indian (Sanskrit), it naturally follows that all these languages, belonging to different stems, are comprehended under the name of "Oriental;" so that this has now become an unsuitable name for the stem to which the Hebrew belongs, and one exposed to misconception.¹ It became necessary, therefore, to look about for some other appellation which would distinguish this stem from the other Oriental tongues. This has been found in the word *Semitic*; and in this sense it has become customary of late to speak of Semitic languages and Semitic people.

This term is not altogether of recent invention. We find it here and there in earlier writers, and it was brought into notice, and particularly recommended by Schlözer² and Eichhorn.³ It is based on the fact that in the Table of Nations (Gen. x. 21-31), the Hebrews, together with other tribes belonging to this stem, are derived from Shem. Theod. F. Stange has declared himself the decided opponent of this designation;⁴ and, indeed, it must be acknowledged that if we regard this catalogue of nations as its groundwork, there is not quite so much to be said in favour of it. We there read, Gen. x. 22, "The children of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram." Of these, Arphaxad is described as the grandfather of Eber, and Eber as the father of Peleg and Joktan, the latter of whom is mentioned in the following verses as the head of many Arabian tribes; while Peleg is spoken of in chapter xi. as the great great-grandfather of Terah, the father of Abraham; so that Arphaxad may be regarded as the progenitor of the Hebrews, and of other tribes related to them by language. Aram also, as the progenitor of the Aramæans, would belong to this language-stem. On the other hand, Elam certainly does not belong to it, but to the same stem as the Persians; the same may probably be said of Asshur, and

¹ Hävernicks however continues to maintain its use.

² Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. und morgenl. Literatur*, 1781. Part 8, p 161.

³ *Allgem. Bibl. der bibl. Lit.* vi. 50, 772, ff., &c.

⁴ *Theol. Synmikta.* Part 1. 1802, pp. 1-39.

also of Lud, whom we may, with Josephus, regard as the parent of the Lydians: of these last, however, we cannot say with certainty what language they spoke; this is also a moot point as regards the Assyrians. On the other side, however, we find the Canaanites and Phœnicians—Gen. x. 15–19—the Æthiopians (Cush) *vv.* 6, 7, and several Arabian tribes traced up to Ham, although there is no doubt that, as far as language is concerned, they belong to the same stem as the Hebrews and Aramæans. It is, therefore, certainly not to be denied that this catalogue does not furnish us with a complete justification for comprehending the Hebrews together with the tribes related to them by language under the name of *Semitic*, nor their languages under that of *Semitic languages*; since, from what we have stated, this denomination would appear on the one side too narrow, on the other too wide. Indeed, it would be a very difficult task to find a really adequate name for them, since none has been formed historically, and the genealogical statements in Genesis are not quite in unison with the conclusions which may be drawn from the relationship of the languages. And we may, therefore, regard it most advisable, in default of a more suitable term, to abide by that of the *Semitic languages* and the *Semitic stem* which is now current.¹

§ 20.—*Characteristics of the Semitic Languages.*

The connection of the various Semitic languages to one another is, speaking generally, that of closely related dialects of the same stem. Their divergence is greater than that of the dialects of Greece, as is indeed natural when we remember that the Greeks of different races really formed one single people, while the Semitic nations, from the earliest times to which our historical researches can follow them, are divided into various nations, some of which, *e.g.*, the Hebrews and Arabians, are again divided into different branches. Abraham indeed, as regarded his origin, belonged to a Semitic people, and came from a land where a Semitic language was spoken; but no less were those

¹ I simply remark further, that Hupfeld (*Heb. Gram.* p. 2) deems the term "Hither Asiatic languages" the more suitable; which, however, has not met with direct acceptance, and is also of somewhat too wide a significance. See Ewald, *Jahrbuch der bibl. Wissenschaft*, xi. p. 181, f.

among whom he took up his dwelling, as we shall see hereafter, a Semitic people, and yet he was regarded as a stranger and looked upon himself as such; very unlike that which would have been the case with a Greek who removed from one tribe to another. We may rather compare the relationship of the Semitic languages to one another with that of the different branches of the German language: German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian; bearing in mind however that the relationship in the former case is more thorough and complete than in the latter.

In the first place, the whole of the Semitic dialects agree substantially with regard to the root words, and their meaning; the only difference being that one language, the Arabic, is comparatively far richer than the other dialects. This, however, may be accounted for, both because in the other dialects only a small number of literary records, comparatively speaking, have been preserved, and also because the Arabic, as a living tongue, is known to us in a far later development than the Hebrew. But by far the larger part of the root words which are found in Hebrew appear also in the other dialects, and in essentially the same, or a only slightly modified signification. Besides, in the present form of the language in all these dialects, nearly all the stem words are composed of three consonants, two of which however are for the most part more essential than the third; from which we may deduce the probable conclusion that in a still earlier period, antecedent to the first origin of all the literary memorials of these dialects which we possess, the stem words consisted in great part of two consonants, to which the third, by which the original signification has been in different ways more closely determined or more or less modified, has been added. In all the Semitic dialects, the consonants are seen to be far more essential than the vowels. The former almost alone determine the essential meaning of the word, while the differences of the vowels do no more than give the different references and modifications of this meaning. Not the less do we find in the whole grammatical construction, as well as in particular instances of grammatical formation and structure, the greatest and most surprising agreement between the various Semitic languages or dialects, plainly showing that one original language lies at the foundation of them all; that

in early times, anterior however to all our historical knowledge of them, these nations certainly all spoke *one* language, which has in later periods, as they separated one from the other, developed into these various dialects.

§ 21.—*Arabic.*

When we enter on the consideration of the mutual relation of these various Semitic languages to one another, we find that by far the richest and most developed is that of the *South Semitic*, known to us in *Arabic*, which, however, is partly to be accounted for, as we have already said, by the fact that our first acquaintance with this language begins at a considerably earlier period than the other dialects. A trace of the Arabic in its division from the other Semitic tongues is found in the word אַרְבַּע, Gen. x. 26, a district of Arabia Felix, where אַר is certainly the Arabic article. In the time of Solomon the Arabians appear to have been already celebrated for their wisdom, especially in proverbs,¹ and yet nothing has been preserved to us from their literature in this and the following periods; the earliest we have being only a little anterior to Mahomet. Subsequently, however, this language has been greatly developed by philological studies, and possesses a literature exceedingly rich in the most diversified branches, first in poetry, then in philology, history, geography, mathematics, and especially astronomy. By the fourteenth century the Arabian literature had passed its *acme*; but it is still a living tongue in the whole of the south-west of Asia, and in the northern and eastern part of Africa, and in Malta, and is also the religious and ecclesiastical language of all the followers of Islam.²

Arabic is not only the richest of all the Semitic tongues, but one of the richest of languages generally. It possesses nearly 6000 roots and about 60,000 words, while in Hebrew only about 2000 roots and 6000 words are known to us. This, however, may be partly accounted for, as we have

¹ 1 Kings v. 10: x. 1, ff.

² See C. G. Anton's "Attempt to discover the most authentic marks of distinction between the Eastern and Western tongues." Leipzig, 1792. W. O. Humboldt "On the Kawi language of the Island of Java, together with an Introduction on the differences of the construction of human language, and its influence on the spiritual development of mankind." Part I. Berlin, 1836. Einleitung, pp. cccxxiii.-xxxii.; cccxi.-xv.

already remarked, by the fact that in Hebrew we have so few books preserved to us, and those nearly exclusively from the religious or religious-historical department. It is certain, however, that the Hebrew language never possessed such richness as the Arabic. In Arabic, for one single idea we often find a crowd of different words, the greater part of which however are distinguished from one another by slight modifications of meaning,¹ while a large number consist of poetical epithets. Thus the Arabic philologists quote 1000 different terms for a sword; 500 for a lion; 200 for a serpent; 400 for misfortune. The Arabians themselves are proud of the riches of their language, and assert that no one without inspiration can comprehend the whole compass of it in his memory. A similar opulence, at any rate when compared with the other Semitic dialects, appears in its grammatical forms, in which again the Hebrew has the superiority over the Aramaic.

Arabic has twice as many regular conjugations as Hebrew; while Hebrew is only superior to the Aramaic in having the Niphal. The Aramaic has only one form for the future. The apocopated and paragogic future of the Hebrew, which also specially serve to indicate the notion of the conjunctive, optative, and third person of the imperative, are almost entirely wanting in the Aramaic, while Arabic has several other different forms of the "Futurum figuratum" with special modifications of meaning. It also has what is entirely wanting in Hebrew and Aramaic, a special form for the comparative, as well as a separate dual form in the verb, while in the Aramaic the dual is of very unfrequent occurrence even in the noun. The verbs הָב , which in Hebrew form only one class, divide in Arabic more definitely into two classes: as *verba quiescentia*, هَب , and هَب , while in Aramaic, and particularly in Syriac, the verbs in הָב , which

¹ On the contrary, a single word often has a large number of different meanings, cf. e.g. كز in Freytag's *Lexicon*. From these circumstances, and from the unscientific nature of the existing lexicographical aids, a large number of the mistakes in the employment of the linguistic treasures of Arabic for the explanation of Hebrew may in great measure be accounted for. The Arabic Lexicon is only too much like a chaos, where, as Renan expresses it, "avec un peu de bonne volonté on peut trouver tout ce que l'on désire."

in Hebrew form a separate class, though even in that language they frequently pass from one to the other, also unite completely with them in אֱל. The Arabic alphabet is also richer than the Hebrew: the latter has twenty-two consonants, or if ו and וּ, which originally counted as one, are regarded as different, twenty-three. Aramaic has the same number, except that Syriac has not וּ, which is also less frequent in Chaldee than in Hebrew. The Arabs, on the other hand, have twenty-eight consonants, inasmuch as six of the Hebrew consonants are, among them, each divided into two by peculiar modifications of the sound, viz., ג, ה, ט, ע, צ, ת. Here, too, the Hebrews also perhaps make some distinction of pronunciation, but not so decidedly as to lead to the adoption of different signs. Hence it is often the case that one and the same Hebrew word which comprises two different meanings, in Arabic is separated into two words written with different consonants, according to these different meanings, e.g., פֶּזֶז: (1) to ferment, to froth, Arab. with

cha, خَج; (2) to be red, Arab. with hha, حَج. Finally, the Arabic, at least in the language of literature, has a somewhat more sonorous character than the Hebrew, and is pronounced with more vowels, while the Hebrew, on the other hand, has more than the Aramaic, e.g., قَد, קַטַל, קַטַל;

סַכַּכ, מְלַךְ, מְלַךְ. From the Arabic language, which was in the middle ages for a time diffused by the Moors in Spain, as well as in several islands of the Mediterranean, many words have been adopted into the Occidental languages, e.g., algebra (properly “binding up,” “healing”), zenith, nadir, alkali, magazine, alcove, almanack, atlas (silk cloth), cotton, &c.

The vernacular dialect, that of ordinary life and intercourse, is distinguished from the Arabic of literature, or that of the Koran, by possessing less fullness and gravity. It has fewer vowels and so far approaches nearer to the Hebrew. There are also differences between the language of the Koran and the ordinary Arabic in a grammatical and lexicographical point of view, so that special manuals of the latter have been published,¹ formed particularly for the use of missionaries and the French in Algeria.

¹ For example, that of Caussin de Perceval. Paris, 1824.

In earlier times the Arabic language was divided into two main dialects: the *Hamjarish*, or *Himjarish*, prevailing among the Hamjars or Homerites, in the interior or south-west districts of Arabia, and *Koreishitish*, in the north-west, especially at Mecca. In consequence of Mahomet having belonged to the *Koreishitish* tribe, and having composed the Koran in that dialect, it has attained the rank of the universal literary language of the Arabians, and thenceforward is called specially *Arabic*. The Arabians have bestowed great diligence on the scientific treatment of their language, both grammatical and lexicographical. The Arabian grammarians began to flourish in the first century after Mahomet, and their example led the Jews also to undertake the grammatical treatment of their language.¹

§ 22.—Æthiopic.

The Æthiopic language, according to the views of modern investigators,² in all probability preserves the *Himjaristic* dialect; certainly this language is most closely allied to the Arabic: only it is simpler, less copious, and more closely allied to the Hebrew.³ This is the language which was prevalent in Æthiopia and Abyssinia till the fourteenth century. It had doubtless migrated thither across the Red Sea in primitive pre-historic times together with the nation from the southern part of Arabia.⁴ In this language there is a complete translation of the Bible, and several other religious and historical works. We may

¹ Among native lexicographers of the Arabians there are specially celebrated (a) *Dscheudhari* (literally "a jeweller"), d. 1107, containing 40,000 words; (b) *Firusabadi*, d. 1414, whose lexicon, under the title of *Al Lamé* "The Enlightened," originally extended to 60 volumes; an epitome of which, made by himself under the title of *Al Kamus*, "The Ocean," was printed at Calcutta in 2 vols. folio, 1817, containing 60,000 words. The best and most familiar of the Arabic lexicons composed by western scholars, up to this time, is that of J. Golius, Professor of Arabic at Leyden, who had previously travelled in the East. Leyden, 1653; folio. This has been surpassed by that of Freytag, Halle, 1830-37. As an Arabic grammarian, Silvestre de Sacy, d. 1838, has in modern times gained great fame; Paris, 1810; ed. 2, 1831. Cf. also Ewald, *Gramm. ling. Arab.*, Göttingen, 1831-2; and C. G. Caspari, *Gramm. der arab. Sprache*, 2 ed. 1859.

² Cf. Gesenius, Winer, Hävernick, Rödiger, Ewald, Osiander, &c.

³ See Ed. Schrader's prize essay, *De ling. Æthiop. cum cognatis linguis comparatè indole Universa*. Göttingen, 1860.

⁴ Another name of the language is *Geez*.

especially mention several apocryphal books of the Old Testament, the most important of which is "The Book of Enoch;" also *Isaïe Ascensio*,¹ and the Fourth Book of Esdras.² Considerable services have been rendered in the publication and the grammatical and lexicographical treatment of this language by Hiob Ludolf, who availed himself in Rome of the help of an Æthiopian abbot, named Gregorius who had been banished on account of his connection with the Jesuits.³ A new Æthiopian grammar appeared in 1857, by August Dillmann, who in 1851 published the book of Enoch, in 1859 that of the Jubilees, and who has been since 1853 superintending a critical edition of the whole Old Testament, and is now engaged on a new Æthiopic lexicon.⁴

The Æthiopic character, written from left to right, is very peculiar, and quite different from the Arabic. The vowels are indicated by small hooks or circles attached to the consonants, or by an alteration of their figures. Gesenius conjectures that this is the ancient Himjaritic character.⁵

At present the prevailing vernacular amongst Æthiopians is the Amharic, which was introduced in the fourteenth century, together with a new dynasty, and supplanted the *Geez* as the popular language. The Amharic is certainly a Semitic dialect, but is little employed in writing.⁶

§ 23.—Aramaic.

The Northern Semitic, or Aramaic, is the language of the Aramaic tribes, *i.e.*, of the whole of the district between the Mediterranean and the Tigris, bounded to the west by the Taurus, and to the south by Phœnicia, the land of Israel, and Arabia. To this district, and to the Aramaic tribes, belong the inhabitants (1) of *Syria proper*, particular districts of which appear in the Old Testament

¹ Ed. Lawrence, Oxford and London, 1819.

² Several works in this language remain still unprinted in the libraries of Rome, Paris, Oxford, Gotha, Berlin, &c.

³ *Æth. Gramm.* 1661; much enlarged, 1702. *Lexicon*, 1661. Ed. 2, 1699.

⁴ *Lex. ling. Æth. cum ex opere Ludolf. tum e permultis lib. MSS. et impress. coll. et digest.* The first part appeared in 1862.

⁵ See Ewald, *Heb. Gramm.* § 10 b.

⁶ Isenberg, "Gramm. of the Amharic Language," London, 1842.

under special names, as אֲרָם דְּמִישָׁק, “Syria of Damascus”—which is also called אֲרָם צוֹבָה by way of pre-eminence: אֲרָם צוֹבָה רְחוֹב, &c.¹; (2) those of the province of *Mesopotamia*, lying between the Tigris and Euphrates, אֲרָם נְהָרִים, or אֲרָם פְּדָן; (3) those of the province of *Babylon*, bounded on the south by Mesopotamia, on the east also by the Tigris,² to which the Jews were led captive by Nebuchadnezzar.

So much is certain, that at the time of Nebuchadnezzar the language prevailing in the countries under the sway of the Babylonians was Semitic, *i. e.*, Aramaic. It is, however, a controverted point whether this was the only language prevailing in the country, or whether, together with it, another language not belonging to the Semitic stem was also spoken, especially at the court of the king. The Chaldeans were the predominant nation in Babylonia. Their original seat was not in this country, but probably in the mountainous district of Armenia.³ Thence, though we cannot with any degree of certainty say *when*, they appear to have migrated into Babylonia, subjugated either at once or gradually the province, together with its earlier inhabitants, and afterwards, in alliance with the Medes, to have overthrown the Assyrian dynasty, and to have raised themselves to the position of the chief people of a great kingdom. Now, many scholars have assumed that these Chaldean invaders belonged to an entirely different family, and spoke an entirely different language from the earlier Aramaic inhabitants of the land. This is the opinion of Michaelis, Bertholdt, Hartmann, Lorsbach, Gesenius, Winer, and others, some of whom also maintain that the Chaldeans and their language, as well as the Assyrians, belonged to the Medo-Persian family. When, therefore, we read, Dan. i. 4, that Nebuchadnezzar commanded that the Jewish children at his court should be instructed “in the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans,” they consider that the reference is to the language of the court, that of the Chaldees proper, in contradistinction to the Aramaic language of the old subjugated inhabitants.⁴ This view, however, is hardly well grounded.

¹ See Gesenius, *Lex. s. v.* אֲרָם.

² Or Pasitigris.

³ See Winer, *R.W.B., s. v.* Chaldäer.

⁴ This is the opinion of Hengstenberg, *Beitr. zur Einleit. ins A. T.*, p. 310.

For since we read, Dan. ii. 4, that the Chaldeans, whom the king had summoned before him to interpret his dream, "spake to the king in Syriack," *i.e.*, Aramaic, the author at any rate seems to take for granted that the Syriac, or Aramaic, was the language spoken at court, since the wise men of the Chaldees use it to the king; therefore in ch. i. 4, he can hardly have intended by "the tongue of the Chaldeans," any other than the Aramaic, with which the Jewish lads brought from Jerusalem also have had no exact acquaintance. Besides, we nowhere find any historical indication that two completely different languages—a Semitic or Aramaic, and one belonging to an entirely different stem—were spoken in Babylon.

All that can be urged in favour of this assumption is this, that the Chaldee names of individuals and deities, *e.g.*, Nebo, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, Merodach Baladan, Belshazzar, &c., have no appearance of being Semitic. At any rate we can furnish no easy and natural derivations for them from the Semitic languages. But, even if this is really so, this circumstance alone cannot be decisive. For we can readily conceive that these names, derived from the Assyrian language, had become naturalized in Babylonia, from the days of the Assyrian empire onwards, and were preserved in later times, when the Chaldean dynasty had attained the predominance.¹

But with regard to the language of Assyria, the province to the east of the Tigris, it is a question whether it was Semitic or more accurately Aramaic, or whether it belonged to another stem, *viz.*, to the same as the Medo-Persian. The Semitic character of the Assyrian language was generally assumed in former days, *e.g.*, by Eichhorn, Heeren, Adelung, as well as by Hävernick and others. The contrary view is supported by Jablonski, Lorsch, Gesenius, Winer, and others. This latter view has in its favour the nature of the Assyrian personal names, whether of individuals or of deities, which appear in the Bible and Greek authors, *e.g.*, Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sardanapalus, Sennacherib, and the gods Tartak, Nibchas, &c. In fact, it cannot be denied that the Semitic language supplies no natural etymology for those names, though it has been repeatedly sought, and it is therefore by no means

¹ Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, i. part 2, p. 32, ff.

probable that they can have assumed these forms among a people speaking Semitic or Aramaic. Hartmann¹ refers with justice to Is. xxxiii. 19, where the Assyrians are described as “a people of a deeper,” less fathomable “speech” than the Jews could “perceive” (מִשְׁכּוּלֵי), “of a stammering tongue” (לְלִשָּׁתֵי לִשְׁוֹנִים), which they could not “understand.” It is at any rate improbable that the Prophet would have described them in this manner (see also ch. xxviii. 11), if their language had been Aramaic, a language spoken by so many tribes which were neighbours to the Israelites on the north, and which certainly was not unknown even at that time in Jerusalem. This view is not contradicted by the narrative Is. xxxvi. 11, and 2 Kings xviii. 26, where we find that when Jerusalem was invested by the Assyrians in the time of Hezekiah, the chief officials of the Jewish king besought Rabshakeh, the chief cupbearer of Sennacherib, to proclaim his summons for the surrender of the city in the ears of the people, not, as he had begun, in the Hebrew language, but in Syriac, *i.e.*, Aramaic. For, certainly, they took for granted that he was acquainted with Aramaic, and that it was a tongue in which he could readily express himself. But even if the Assyrian was not a Semitic tongue, we may yet suppose—indeed it is of itself highly probable—that at the epoch of the great Assyrian monarchy, the prevailing language in that kingdom, and especially in the army, was the Aramaic, the language of the tribes which certainly formed by far the greatest part of this monarchy, as well of the Assyrian army; so that the Jews might take for granted that Rabshakeh was familiar with Aramaic, just in the same way as he was with Hebrew itself.

More recently, to prove the Semitic character of the Assyrian language, a special appeal has been made to the inscriptions discovered subsequently to 1845 in the ruins of Nineveh, first by Layard and afterwards by other investigators. All the inscriptions hitherto discovered are in the cuneiform character,² and it is a matter of extreme difficulty

¹ *Linguist. Einleitung*, p. 141, Note 6.

² C. Niebuhr previously recognized three different kinds of cuneiform characters in the inscriptions found at Persepolis. After the preliminary investigations of Grotefend, Burnouf, and Lassen, the first of these is now fully deciphered; cf. Fr. Spiegel, “The Early Persian Cuneiform Cha-

to decipher them. Many German and English scholars, however, have undertaken the task with zeal and diligence. The interpretations given by them are still in every case very doubtful in their details, and vary much from one another; and yet all the interpreters agree so far that they consider that the language is decidedly Semitic, as is the case with that on the Babylonian monuments.

•This is also the opinion of the German scholars, *e.g.*, Grotefend, *Anlage u. Zerstörung der Gebäude zu Nimrud*, Göttingen, 1851, Anhang 2, p. 38, ff. "On the Assyrian and Babylonian Royal Names," and Joh. Brandis, "On the Historical Results of the Deciphering of the Assyrian Inscriptions," Berlin, 1856. This last is certainly the best work which has yet been published on this subject: the author has treated the matter with careful consideration from various points of view. He, too, declares himself very decidedly for the Semitic character of the language of the inscriptions, though I do not think the matter can be yet regarded as decided. Although I have not investigated the subject so thoroughly as to give a decided opinion on one side or the other, yet it appears to me that (*a*) many, if not the greater part, of the current interpretations of the signs of the cuneiform character, by themselves, are not sufficiently certain, and (*b*) that even if we allow the correctness of these interpretations, the inscriptions do not appear to me to have by any means a decidedly Aramaic, or indeed a Semitic character. If we follow this mode of interpretation, the vowels appear to me to assume a prominence by no means corresponding to

raeter," Leipzig, 1862. When we remember that at the present day the edicts of a Governor of Bagdad are written in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, it is not at all unnatural that the ancient Persian kings addressed themselves in their "inscriptions trilingues," to people of the three great families named. By the help of the few Achaemenian multilingual inscriptions, in which the third of the languages employed corresponds to that used by the Assyrians, attempts have been made to decipher the innumerable inscriptions from Nineveh and Babylon. The very difficult, and up to the present time still uncertain investigations (cf. the explanation of the cuneiform character of the second family, by Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1862), make it very probable that the inscriptions of the third family belong to the Semitic stem. See Julius Oppert, *Expéd. scientif. en Mesopotamie*, especially Vol. II.; *Dechiffrement des inscrip. cuneiformes*, Paris, 1854, and Ewald's references, *Jahrbuch der bibl. Wissensch.* xi. p. 173.

the mode of writing in the Semitic languages, and especially on the early monuments. In any case, I believe that the matter is not yet in such a position as to enable us to make use of this Assyrian cuneiform character with any certainty to obtain any fuller and more accurate knowledge of the Aramaic language. As regards the language of Babylonia, I believe that at present also we cannot determine with any certainty whether the Chaldeans spoke a Semitic tongue before their migration into that country, though the weight of probability is on this side. So much, at any rate, is certain, that the actual language of the Babylonians, which continued in use in that country even after the invasion of the Chaldeans, was Aramaic. The word אַרְמֵיית also occurs, even in the Old Testament, for this North Semitic dialect, as the language of the Chaldeans (*i.e.*, magi) in Babylon, Dan. ii. 4; as the ordinary language in the Assyrian army in opposition to "the Jews' language," יהודית, Is. xxxvi. 11, 2 Kings xviii. 26; as well as that employed by the Samaritan officials in writing to the Persian king, Ezra iv. 7.

§ 24.—*Grammatical Character of Aramaic.*

With regard to the character of the Aramaic, and its relation to Hebrew, it has been already remarked that it is somewhat poorer in grammatical forms, as well as that its pronunciation is less full, and employs fewer vowels. I may also mention as conspicuous peculiarities, (*a*) that its pronunciation is somewhat broader, and avoids the sibilants, generally employing linguals instead; כ for ש, *e.g.*, דָּבַח, to kill; דָּהַב, gold; ט for צ; *e.g.*, טוּר, a rock: ת for שׁ; *e.g.*, תּוּב, to return, תָּם, &c.; (*b*) that the article is not expressed by a prefix to a noun, but by the affix א (in Chaldee אַ, in Syriac ܐ), and (*c*) that in the conjugations the passive forms are not formed as in Hebrew by a change of vowel, but by prefixing the syllable אַת.

§ 25.—*Aramaic Literature.*

The earliest definite trace of the Aramaic dialect as distinguished from Hebrew occurs Gen. xxxi. 47, when Jacob and Laban name the monument, erected by them in common, the former in Hebrew, גִּלְגָּל, the latter in Aramaic, גִּלְגָּל. No written compositions by native

Babylonians, or from the pagan Aramaeans generally, have come down to us. We cannot follow Hävernick in reckoning the prophecies of Balaam, the Mesopotamian sage, as belonging to this class: for being in Hebrew, they certainly are not presented to us, in any case, in the form and language in which they were uttered. We cannot, however, doubt that, especially among the Babylonians, to whom even the discovery of alphabetic characters has been attributed by some, a literature flourished in very early times, particularly in the departments of mathematics, astronomy in connection with astrology, and chronology. It is related by Callisthenes, the fellow-traveller of Alexander the Great, that he communicated to Aristotle astronomical observations derived from Babylon which were 1903 years old, *i.e.*, more than 2200 years B.C., reaching far beyond the time of Moses. Nothing, however, has been preserved to us of these writings.¹

All the writings we possess in Aramaic belong either to Jewish or Christian authors. The Jews were already acquainted with Aramaic in early times in consequence of frequent, but usually hostile, contact with the Aramaic tribes, but to a greater degree through the Babylonian exile, when they lived among Aramaic and other tribes. They certainly brought back with them the knowledge of this language on their return, and it is probable that it had already become in part the language of ordinary intercourse,² although the language used in writing still continued to be Hebrew. Aramaic was still more completely adopted by that very large number of Jews who, after receiving permission to return to the land of their fathers, preferred to remain in Babylon and the neighbouring provinces. But

¹ The hope raised by Professor Chwolson, the author of the learned work, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, of seeing some very precious sources of knowledge of Aramaic in early pagan times opened by the publication of some hitherto neglected Arabic MSS., has proved fallacious. See Ewald, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1859, pp. 1121-42, and especially the treatise of Alfred von Gutschmid, *Die Nabat. Landwirthschaft u. ihre Geschwister*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, 1861, pp. 1-108. Those who have seen Chwolson's works "On the Remains of Early Babylonian Literature in Arabic Translations," Petersburg, 1859, and "On Thammuz and the Worship of Human Beings among the early Babylonians," Petersburg, 1860, will scarcely share in the exalted hopes of the author.

² Cf. § 42, post.

even in Palestine Hebrew became more and more supplanted by Aramaic among the Jews, especially at the time of the Seleucidæ, when they came a second time under the dominion and influence of an Aramaic speaking people. The want of more complete data prevents our stating the exact circumstances with any greater accuracy. Thus much, however, is certain, that at the time of our Lord and the Apostles, and indeed considerably earlier, Hebrew was entirely supplanted among the Jews as a living language, and that at that time it was no longer in use in Palestine either as a spoken or written language, Aramaic, and to some extent Greek, having taken its place.

We see this plainly, first of all from the New Testament, if we notice the words which have been retained from the language then prevalent in the country. For these are either not Hebrew at all, but belong entirely to the Aramaic dialect, or, at least in their final terminations, wear an Aramaic and not a Hebrew character, so far as the one is distinguished from the other. Thus we have *ῥακά* (𐤓𐤓𐤁), Matt. v. 22; *μαμμωνᾶς* (𐤌𐤌𐤍, 𐤌𐤌𐤎), "riches," "earthly treasures," Matt. vi. 24, Luke xvi. 9, 13; (frequently used in this sense in the Targums): *βᾶρ Ἰωνᾶ* (𐤁𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤁), Matt. xvi. 17; *ἡλί ἡλί, λημὰ σαβαχθανί* (𐤁𐤓 𐤁𐤓, 𐤋𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁), Matt. xxvii. 46 (the Hebrew form being 𐤁𐤓 𐤁𐤓, Ps. xxii. 2); *ταλιθὰ κοῦμι* (𐤓𐤓𐤁 𐤓𐤓𐤁), Mark v. 41; *ἐφθαθὰ = διανοίχθητι*, Mark vii. 34; *ἄββᾶ (ὁ πατήρ)* (𐤁𐤁𐤁), Mark xiv. 36; *κηφᾶς* (𐤓𐤓𐤁), John i. 43; *Βηθεσδά* (𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁), "domus benignitatis, gratiæ," v. 2; *γαββαθᾶ = λιθόστρωτον* (𐤓𐤓𐤁𐤁), xix. 13; *τῆ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν Ἀκελδαμά, τουτέστιν χωρίον αἵματος* (𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁), Acts i. 19; *μαρὰν ἄθᾶ* (𐤓𐤓𐤁 𐤓𐤓𐤁), 1 Cor. xvi. 22. With these we may class the words *ῥαββί, ῥαββονί, μεσσίας*, John iv. 25 (𐤓𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤁), and the proper names commencing with 𐤁, *e.g.*, *Βαραββᾶς, Βαρθολομαῖος, Βαρνάβας, Βαρτίμαιος = υἱὸς Τιμαίου*, Mark x. 46. We can also deduce a similar proof from Josephus, from the words which he incidentally quotes as belonging to the vernacular language of the time, *e.g.*, when interpreting the name Edom: *ἄδωμα γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ ἐρυθρὸν καλοῦσι* (𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁), *Ant.* ii. 1, § 1; when speaking of the priests *ὡς Χαναϊᾶς καλοῦσι* (𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁), iii. 7, § 1; *τῆ πεντηκοστῇ ἦν Ἑβραῖοι*

Ἀσπαθὰ καλοῦσι (אֶסְפָּאָתָא, from אֶסְפָּאָתָא, the usual name for Pentecost among the later Jews), iii. 10, § 6, &c. The passage iii. 7, § 2, with reference to the girdle of the priests (טַבַּיִת) deserves special attention : Μωσῆς μὲν οὖν ἀβανῆθ αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων μεμαθηκότες ἐμίαν αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν οὕτως γὰρ προσαγορεύται παρ' αὐτοῖς (יִמְיָא), an Aramaic word which is found also in Onkelos on Exod. xxviii. 8, and other places, for the Hebrew term.¹

This Aramaic language, however, in the form then in use among the Jews, was generally designated Hebrew. It is in this sense that Ἑβραϊστί and τῇ Ἑβραϊδί διαλέκτῳ are used in the New Testament, e.g., Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2; xxvi. 14; John v. 2; xix. 13; Rev. ix. 11; xvi. 16; viz., of the language then in use in Palestine, i.e., the Aramaic, which was not, however, in this way distinguished from the earlier Hebrew, but from the Greek. This is probably the meaning of Ἑβραϊστί as early as the preface to Ecclesiasticus. In Josephus, however, "Hebrew" stands promiscuously for the early Hebrew, and for the Aramaic subsequently used in Palestine, but in both cases in opposition to Greek. Among the later Jews in the Talmud this language is called (to distinguish it from the early Hebrew) both אֶרְמַיִ and סוּרַיִ, and לְשׁוֹן דְּעֵבֶר הַנְּהָרָא. The language as it is found in the books written by the Jews is termed by us *Chaldee*.

The earliest works in this language which have reached us are the sections of the Bible written in Aramaic. Next to these are the Chaldee translation of the Books of the Old Testament, as well as the Talmud of Jerusalem. We might have expected, *à priori*, that in these books we should not find Aramaic in its perfect purity, as it was written and spoken by the Aramaic tribes, e.g., the Babylonians, but with a Hebrew tinge. And the facts correspond with this, on the whole, though in different degrees.

¹ On this subject consult H. F. Pfannkuchen's treatise "On the Language spoken in Palestine in the time of our Lord and His Apostles," partly following De Rossi's, Eichhorn's *Allg. Bibl. d. bibl. Liter.* pt. 8, pp. 365-480; also De Rossi's Italian treatise "On the Language used by Christ, and that generally prevalent in Palestine from the time of the Maccabees," in opposition to that of Diodati, the Neapolitan, "*De Christo Græce loquente.*" Both of these works, however, contain erroneous and exaggerated statements with reference to the relations of Aramaic to Hebrew. [See also Dr. Roberts' *Discussions on the Gospels.* Camb. and Lond. 1864.]

The Aramaic presents the largest amount of Hebraisms in the sections of the Books of Daniel and Ezra written in that tongue; a smaller number in the Targums, especially that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch. Formerly this led to a distinction between two supposed dialects: the Babylonian, as the purer, such as it appears in Onkelos; and that of Jerusalem, as the form assumed by the language among the Jews of Palestine. This distinction, however, is exceedingly uncertain, nor do we possess even in Onkelos the Chaldee language in its perfect purity as spoken at Babylon.

§ 26.—*Syriac*.

The writings of the Aramaic Christians, subsequently to the end of the second century, present us with the language in a form somewhat different from that of the early Jewish Aramaic literature. At this time we find a Christian literature flourishing among the Syrians, especially in Mesopotamia, Edessa, Carræ, and Nisibis. The earliest monument we possess of this literature is a translation of the entire Bible; then followed theological works, commentaries on the Bible, ascetic and dogmatic writings, to which the controversies between the different religious parties in the Syrian Church gave rise; as well as works in other branches of literature, history, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, and natural science. The language, as we find it in these Christian Aramaic works, we call *Syriac*.

The inquiry into the more accurate relations of this so-called Syriac to the earlier Chaldee has, in later times, proved a subject of controversy. It was generally assumed in former times that the relation between these two was the same as that from the earliest times existing between the idioms of the eastern and western divisions of the territory of the Aramaic tribes, so that the so-called Chaldee was the language of the Babylonians and the Eastern Aramæans generally; and the Syriac that of the Syrians and the Western Aramæans; and in conformity with this view the one has been styled the Eastern and the other the Western Aramaic. The correctness of this view has been controverted by Hupfeld,¹ his view being that the existing Chaldee merely diverged from the Syriac, under the hands of Jewish authors, by the introduction of

¹ *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1830-32, p. 290, ff.

Hebraisms into the Aramaic. Hupfeld's view has been adopted by De Wette¹ and J. Fürst,² while others again have declared themselves against his view, at least, when so broadly stated.³

On this subject I now simply offer these brief remarks:

(1) When we take into consideration the immense extent of the Aramaic language from east to west, we may with great probability believe that in different districts it may readily have assumed in the mouths of the people, as well as under the hands of writers, sundry dialectic peculiarities and variations, though not such as would essentially alter the character of the language, inasmuch as Greek authors, *e.g.*, Xenophon and Strabo, knew only of one language in these districts.

(2) If we would rightly estimate the relations of the existing Chaldee and Syriac languages, we must view both of them apart from much with which in their present form they appear connected, though it is at least questionable whether these features originally formed a part of their intrinsic character.

As examples of our meaning we may mention (1) the difference of character employed; the Chaldee being written with the same character as the Hebrew is now, the so-called Babylonian square character; the Syriac with an entirely different one: (2) the difference of vocalization; the same vowel system which we find in the Hebrew having been transferred to the Chaldee, wherever it is provided with vowels; the system in Syriac being much simpler, and entirely different; neither of them, however, appearing till comparatively modern times: (3) the partial difference of pronunciation; the Chaldee being pronounced with clearer vowels than the Syriac is now; the latter, for instance, often having a long *o* where the Chaldee has a long *a* (*e.g.*, אֲבָרָא = אֲבָרָא; אֲבָרָא = אֲבָרָא); the Syriac also has the diphthongs *au*, *ai*, where the Chaldee has a simple long *o* or *i*: the tonic syllable in Syriac is, as a rule, the penult, while in

¹ *Einleitung*, 4th ed. § 32.

² *Lehrgeb. d. Aram. Idiom.* 1835, p. 5, ff.

³ Hävernicks, § 20. Dietrich, *De Serm. Chald. proprietat.* Winer. *Chald. gramm. Einleitung.* J. Wichelhaus, *De Nov. Test. vers. syr. Peshito*, pp. 36-50.

Chaldee, as in Hebrew, it is the ultimate. But there is no certainty that these distinctions existed when these were living languages, since, if we regard only the consonants, which alone were written by the authors themselves, we have no difficulty in pronouncing Chaldee as we do Syriac, and the converse: while we find definite evidence that among some of the Syrian Christians, especially the Nestorians, *a* is pronounced instead of the deeper *o*. If we take these circumstances into consideration, the Syriac and Chaldee, as we have them, seem, especially in a grammatical point of view, to possess much more homogeneity and agreement than otherwise readily appears. A somewhat more considerable difference appears in a lexicographical point of view. This, however, is chiefly the result of two causes: *first*, that the books preserved in Syriac are of a much more varied nature than those in Chaldee, and that the former are the work of native Syrian Christians, the latter of Jews, who, on the one hand, did not make themselves masters of the entire stock of the words and significations of words peculiar to the Aramæans, or at least had no occasion to employ them in their writings, and, on the other hand, intermingled much that was peculiar to the Hebrew; *secondly*, that the Syriac writers have appropriated, and formally adopted into their language, a large number of foreign, certainly not Semitic, words, including many Greek words, especially from the Septuagint, which are not to be found, at least in such abundance, in the Aramaic writings of Jews.

(3) If, then, we disregard differences of this character and produced by these means, the diversity between the Chaldee and Syriac appears considerably less important than is usually stated. Many differences, however, still remain, partly such as we may, at any rate, assume with probability had their original ground in provincial peculiarities, *e.g.*, that in Chaldee the prefix in the third person masculine singular, and the third person masculine and feminine plural of the future is ܐ ; but in Syriac ܕ ; that in Syriac the infinitive is formed by the prefix of ܐ , which in Chaldee is only used in Peal, &c.

But it is by no means certain that the characteristics of this nature which Chaldee now presents were a peculiarity of the Babylonians or of the Eastern Aramæans

generally, or that those shewn in the Syrian were peculiar to the Western Aramæans. The former idea would assume considerable probability under two hypotheses: *first*, if among the Chaldee writings there were some which were composed by *Babylonian Jews*, which is indeed possible, but cannot be certainly proved of any of them; *secondly*, if the Jews generally had adopted their Aramaic from the Babylonians only, while it is certain that after the captivity the influence of the Syrians also affected their language; *e.g.*, in the Talmud סורסי of the Palestino-Aramaic language of the country twice stands in contrast to the Babylonio-Aramaic ארמי. There is therefore, in any case, no adequate justification for the designation Western and Eastern Aramaic. Even the designation Syriac and Chaldee for the two languages, respectively, is not quite suitable and accurate. It would be more certainly correct to entitle the one *Christian-Aramaic*, and the other *Judæan-Aramaic*. The former names, however, may be retained as now established by usage.

§ 27.—*Modern Syriac—The Maronites.*

After the tenth century, the Arabic became more and more substituted for the Aramaic as a conversational language among the Syrians; first in the towns, and then in the country. The Aramaic is said to be still spoken, only in a very corrupted form, by the Syrian Christians in Kurdistan and Mesopotamia.¹ As a written language, the Syriac was preserved some centuries after the above date; and Syriac literature flourished to a certain extent up to the thirteenth century. As the language of the Church, it has been retained still later, even up to the present day, by the various religious divisions of Syrian Christians, the Jacobites (Monophysites), Nestorians, and Maronites, at least in the service of the Mass.

The Maronites are Syrian Christians, who, originally springing from the Monothelites, subsequently united themselves to the Roman Catholic Church, and entertained a great veneration and attachment for the Pope, but in their *cultus* and usages they retained, and were per-

¹ Cf. Rödiger, on the Aramaic Vulgar-tongue of the present Syrian Christians, in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. ii., p. 77, ff., 314, ff.

mitted to retain, many peculiarities which were not allowed to Catholics in other countries; such as the marriage of priests (following the usage of the Greek Church), the cup for the laity in the Lord's Supper, the use of the Arabic and Syriac languages in Divine service (the latter for the Mass). They derive their name from their Saint *Maro* or *Marum*, who is not acknowledged by the rest of the Catholic Church, an Abbot in the fifth or sixth century. They chiefly dwell (together with the Druses) on Lebanon, from Tripoli to the neighbourhood of Safed; their chief settlement there is the Kesrawân district, where they have numerous monasteries. But many Maronites live in various towns from Aleppo on the north as far as Nazareth, also in Cairo and other African cities, and particularly in Cyprus; cf. Ritter's (d. September 28, 1859) *Erdkunde*, Band xvii. pp. 745-797.

The Maronites in the monasteries of Lebanon continue for the most part to be devoted to the study of Syriac; there is a printing-press in a monastery at Kanobin, where prayer-books are printed in the Syriac language. There are also in these monasteries Syriac dictionaries in a manuscript form, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, about which, however, no details are yet known to us (cf. Ritter, *ut supra*, pp. 761-763). The knowledge of the Syriac language also has been spread in Europe, since the sixteenth century, chiefly by learned Maronites. Many Syriac manuscripts are to be found in the library of the Vatican. From these a quantity of "excerpta" are collected in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of the Maronite Joseph Simonius Assemani (Rome, 1719-28; 3 parts in 4 vols.), who, in his travels, collected these manuscripts himself for the above library. Some are by Maronite authors (Part I.), some by Jacobites (Part II.), some by Nestorians. (Part III.) This work still continues to be the most important source of our knowledge of Syriac literature. A nephew of this Joseph Simonius Assemani, Stephen Evodius Assemani, edited the *Acta Martyrum* in Syriac. Rome, 1748.

Among other Syriac works printed in previous centuries, two are of especial importance: (1) "Ephraem Syrus," and (2) the "Syriac Chronicle of Abulpharagius."

(1) Ephraem Syrus (d. as deacon in a monastery at Edessa, A.D. 378) wrote many books, both in verse and

prose, homilies and other works of an ascetic character, as well as commentaries on most of the Books of the Old Testament (with exception of the Psalms and the Books of Solomon). His works are translated into Greek, Latin, Slavonic, and Armenian. The most complete edition of them up to the present time appeared at Rome, 1732-1746, in six volumes, the three first of which contain the works extant in Syriac, edited by the Maronite Petrus Benedict, a Jesuit, and Stephen Evodius Assemani, with a Latin translation made by them, but of a very inaccurate and untrustworthy character.

(2) The Syriac Chronicle of *Abulfaradsch*, or *Barhebräus*, (d. 1286, as Jacobitish Maphrian, or suffragan bishop, the next ecclesiastical dignitary after the Patriarch). He composed works of many kinds, mostly still unprinted, on theology, philosophy, medicine, grammar, and history; some in Syriac, some in the Arabic language; his Syriac Chronicle has been published in Syriac and Latin by Bruns and Kirsch. Leipzig, 1789; 2 vols.

In more modern times, Cureton and De Lagarde may be mentioned as having done good service by making public theological works in the Syriac language, before unprinted, from manuscripts which had been acquired by the British Museum.¹

Long before the labours of the above-mentioned Maronites, when Arabic was beginning to take the place of Syriac, the Syrians themselves had done a good deal towards the lexicographical elucidation of their language. Thus in the ninth century, a Nestorian, Isa Bar Ali, a physician at Bagdad, and after the middle of the tenth century, Abulhassan Bar Bahlul also laboured in this sphere. The latter's work is very copious, but principally consists of

¹ Cf. Dr. Land's notice in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1862, p. 260, ff. Also [Besides the "History of the Martyrs in Palestine," by Eusebius, and "Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring Countries," &c.] the book published 1858: "Remains of a very ancient recension of the four Gospels in Syriac hitherto unknown in Europe; discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton," London, and also Ewald's ninth *Jahrbuch*, p. 69, ff. [P. de Lagarde published, *Dilascalia Apostolorum* (1854); *Analecta Syriaca* (1858); *Libri Vet. Test. Apocryphi, Clementis Rom. recognitiones* (1861), &c.]

compilations.¹ Both of these lexicons have been made use of by Castellus for the Syriac in his *Heptaglotton*. J. D. Michaelis has had printed the Syriac portion of this work, which forms a part of the London Polyglot, with additions. Göttingen, 1738; 2 vols. But a fresh lexicographical treatment of the Syriac is a pressing want. Prof. Bernstein (and also Quatremère, d. 1857) have long since announced a new dictionary, which has now begun to appear.²

For Chaldee, the lexicographical work most in use is that of J. Buxtorf (the Father, d. 1629). *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*. Basle, 1640.

In a grammatical point of view, the Syriac and Chaldee have often been treated in conjunction with one another, and as often separately, e.g., the Syriac, by Anton Gottlieb Hoffmann (*Grammaticæ Syriacæ*, lib. iii. Halle, 1827), and by Fried. Uhlemann of Berlin (*Grammatik der Syrischen Sprache, mit vollständigen Paradigmen, Chrestomathie und Wörterbuch, für akademische Vorlesungen und zum Selbststudium*, 1829); a second revised and enlarged edition: Berlin, 1857. The Chaldee has been treated by Georg Benedict Winer (*Gram. des biblischen und targumischen Chaldäismus*. Leipzig, 1824; 2nd edit. 1842).

§ 28.—The Samaritan—Sabian—Palmyrene—Ægypto-Aramaic.

With the Aramaic the *Samaritan* must also be classed, as well as the *Sabian*, the *Palmyrene*, and the *Ægypto-Aramaic*. Of these idioms, the two first we know from written works, the two last only from inscriptions on ancient monuments.

(1) The *Samaritan dialect*.—The Samaritans were a mixed people, arising from the fusion of the Israelites who remained in the land after the breaking up of the kingdom of Israel and the deportation of its inhabitants by the Assyrians, with the foreign Aramæan colonists who were planted there by the conquerors. Subsequently they formed themselves into a peculiar, strictly monotheistic religious community, of which a feeble remnant still exists at Nablous, the ancient Sichem. The only sacred book they

¹ As to these two works which exist in manuscript, v. a *Programme* by Gesenius, *De Bar Ali et Bar Bahlul*, Leipzig, 1834.

² Georg Heinrich Bernstein (d. 5th April, 1860), *Lexicon linguæ Syriacæ*, Vol. I. fasc. i. Berlin, 1857.

accept is the Pentateuch, of which they have a translation in their language, which still prevails with them as a *sacred* language, although for other purposes it has long been supplanted by the Arabic. This translation was made two centuries after Christ, at the latest, and is printed in the Paris and London Polyglots. There are besides, though of a later date, liturgical hymns in the Samaritan dialect, which Castellus made use of, and cited under the title of *Liturgia Damascenorum*, and which were edited by Gesenius: *Anecdota Orientalia*. Fasc. i. *Carmina Samaritana continens*. Leipzig, 1825.¹

The language in these works, as may easily be conceived from the origin of the Samaritan people, is a mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew; there is in it a constant interchange of the gutturals. The chief labourers in the grammatico-lexicographical treatment of the Samaritan dialect have been Joh. Morinus (*Opuscula Hebræo-Samaritana*, 1657; among them is a Samaritan dictionary); Christoph. Cellarius (*Horæ Samaritanæ*, Cizæ, 1682; Jena, 1703; grammar, chrestomathy, and dictionary); Fried. Uhlemann (*Institutiones linguæ Samaritanæ*, Leipzig, 1837). As to the Samaritan written character, cf. § 325, ff.

(2) The *Sabian* or *Nazarene*, *i.e.*, the language in the religious works of the so-called Disciples of John (John the Baptist), a mystico-theosophical sect on the Euphrates and Tigris, the members of which (at least some of them) called themselves *Mendeites*, *Mendai* (= Gnostic) or *Nazarenes*, and by the Arabians were styled *Sabians*; but the exact relation between these names and the sect thereby designated is not yet certain. (Cf. Ritter's *Erdkunde*. xi. p. 300, ff.) Several of their religious works are in the libraries at Paris and Oxford. Of these there has been printed the "Book of Adam,"² by Matthias Norberg (Professor at Lund. d. 1826): *Codex Nasaraeus liber Adami appellatus*, with a Latin transla-

¹ Cf. the communications of M. Heidenheim in his German *Vierteljahrschrift für Englisch-theologische Forschung u. Kritik*, 1861, ff., and also Abr. Geiger in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1862, p. 714, ff.

² The "Book of Adam" is placed as to date in the seventh to the tenth century, and assigned to various authors. The Nazarenes themselves call it "The Great Book." סֵפֶר הַגָּדוֹל , or "The Treasure," סֵפֶר הַצֵּמַח ; v. Petermann in Schneider's *Zeitschrift für christl. Wissenschaft und christl. Leben*, 1856, No. 43, p. 342, ff.

tion, Lund. 1815-16, 3 Parts; also by the same, a Lexidion and Onomasticon on the book, 1816-17. The language fluctuates between the Syriac and Chaldee, but is distinguished by a great freedom in the use of the different gutturals, and also by the frequent interchange of other letters. It is generally somewhat barbarous and grammatically irregular, and many Persian words are adopted in it. The written character in the manuscripts is peculiar, the shape of the letters is for the most part similar to that of the Nestorian Syriac; the vowels are inserted in the text as vowel letters.¹

(3) The *Palmyrene*, the writing on the ruins of Palmyra or Tadmor, once the magnificent capital of Zenobia, destroyed A.D. 273 by the Emperor Aurelian, and still more completely by an earthquake A.D. 1042. However, it continued to be inhabited, but is now a small village.² There are still very extensive and gorgeous ruins of the ancient city which have not been completely and accurately surveyed; numerous columns, some overthrown, and some (about 400) still standing upright (*v. Ritter, ut supra*, pp. 1508-1544). On these many inscriptions have been found; but only a comparatively small number of them are at all well preserved. These have been more completely brought to light by the Englishman, Robert Wood, who travelled over the countries bordering on the Mediterranean to search for antiquities ("The Ruins of Palmyra," London, 1753); the following year, 1754, they were explained by Barthélemy in Paris, and Swinton in Oxford, who proceeded independently of each other, but agreed essentially. They were interpreted most perfectly by Swinton; several also were interpreted by J. G. Eichhorn (*Marmora Palmyrena explicata*, Göttingen, 1827); *v. Ritter, ut supra*, pp. 1544-1557. Most of them are *bilingues*, Aramaic and Greek. The most ancient is of A.D. 49, the greater part of the second and third centuries. They contain notices of individuals, and some, especially the inscriptions on the altars, afford information as to the religious condition and *cultus* of the inhabitants of Tadmor. The language of the Aramaic inscriptions presents but few deviations from the Syriac. As to the character of

¹ Cf. Noldeke *Ueber die Mundart der Mandäer*, in the treatises of the Gött. Gesell.-ch. der Wissenschaften, Bd. x.

² For the history of the city, *v. Ritter's Erdkunde*, xvii. pp. 1486-1507.

the writing—which is similar to our Quadrate letters, but of a more cursive form—see § 327, d.

(4) The *Ægypto-Aramaic*. This dialect is found on some ancient monuments of Egyptian origin, which were probably set up by Jews who had emigrated to Egypt from Palestine or Babylonia. The most famous among them is the inscription on a stone which is at the present time at Carpentras in the South of France. It is, however, questionable whether (as Gesenius thinks) it proceeded from a heathen Syrian living in Egypt, of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, or from a Jew devoted to the Egyptian *cultus*. The latter is perhaps the more probable view. There are, besides, the inscriptions on several papyrus-rolls, some at Turin, and some in the possession of Count Blacas;¹ as to all these, v. Gesenius's *Monumenta Phœnic.* vol. i. pp. 226–245. Another inscription of this kind was discovered some years back by Mariette, among the ruins of the Serapeum, near Memphis.² The language on these monuments is Aramaic, approximating, for the most part, to our own Chaldee, sometimes mixed up with peculiarities of the Hebrew dialect.

§ 29.—*Hebrew.*

The *third main branch* of the Semitic, the *Mid-Semitic*, is best known to us as the Hebrew language, *i.e.*, as the language of the Hebrew people, which was spoken by the Israelites in Canaan until supplanted by the Aramaic, and in which the Sacred Books of the Old Testament were written. But it becomes a question, how widely this language extended while it was a living tongue; whether it was limited only to the Hebrew people in the land of Canaan, the descendants of Jacob; or whether the Israelites shared it with other nations, and if so, with whom? Connected with this is also the question, whence the Hebrews themselves received it? Abraham, the ancestor of the Hebrews, emigrated from Mesopotamia, from beyond the Euphrates, and found Canaan already inhabited by various nations, among whom he and his son and grandson settled themselves down as strangers.

¹ Now (1867) in the British Museum.

² Explained by Ewald, Göttingen, 1856 (in Vol. VII. of the *Treatises of the Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*).

Some of these nations still remained dwelling in the land, when the Israelites took possession of it after their deliverance from Egypt. The question now is, did Abraham speak Hebrew before his emigration, or did he and his children first adopt this language in the land of Canaan? The former idea is generally presupposed by the older divines as a matter of course, and is connected with their obsolete views as to the antiquity of the Hebrew language and its relation to all other tongues; which views we shall consider presently (§ 34).¹

As to Abraham, we can have no doubt that when he was in Mesopotamia the only language he spoke was that of his father's family. This, however, was the Aramaic, as follows, apart from every other reason, from the previously (§ 25) considered passage (Gen. xxxi. 47), in which Laban calls the monument erected by him and Jacob by an Aramaic name. But Laban was the grandson of Nahor, the brother of Abraham, and, as the historian assumes (cf., also, Deut. xxvi. 5), made use of this Aramaic name for no other reason than that this dialect was the one current with him and prevailing among his race, and must therefore certainly have been the one spoken by Abraham, so long as he remained at his home and with his family. But as it is expressly recorded of Jacob that he called this monument by a name of similar meaning in the Hebrew language, we cannot but conclude that the children of Abraham did not adopt this language until after their immigration to Canaan, and that they adopted it from the nations among whom they had fixed their residence, and that therefore the so-called Hebrew, as distinguished from the Aramaic, was originally the language of the Canaanitish nations who inhabited the land before Abraham.

It is also in favour of this view that in Is. xix. 18, the Hebrew language, that spoken by the people of God, is styled *לשון כנעני*, which could not well be explained if it were not the same language as was spoken throughout the whole of Canaan. Besides the geographical position of

¹ This idea is still adhered to and maintained in a decided manner by Pareau, *Institutio interpretis v. Ti.* Utrecht, 1822, p. 25, by Hävernick, § 26, and by Keil, § 9; but in opposition to express intimations in the Bible itself. Clericus is in general correct in his *Dissertatio I. de lingua Hebraica*, prefixed to his Commentary on Genesis.

Canaan between the Aramaeans and the Arabians would lead us to suppose that the Canaanites had a language belonging to the same family, and one which, in reference to its character and dialectical peculiarities, held a middle place between the Aramaic and Arabic, as was the case with the Hebrew. That the Canaanites (*i.e.*, the nations inhabiting the land before Abraham) spoke one and the same language as the Israelites, or at least a dialect which was more closely allied to that of the Hebrews than the Aramaic, may be concluded from the fact, that, notwithstanding the varied and close connection of the Hebrews with these nations, we nowhere find any intimation as to a diversity of language, by which they were prevented from mutually understanding one another, or which compelled them in their intercourse to have recourse to an interpreter. Finally, this view is confirmed by the circumstance that the proper names of Canaanitish persons and districts are evidently Hebrew, and their Hebrew etymology can be shown just as easily as those of the Hebrew *propria nomina* themselves, and their formation points directly to the Hebrew as distinguished from the Aramaic, *e.g.*, מְלִיִּצְדָק, אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ, שָׁכָם, קְרִית סֶפֶר. It therefore follows that the language of the Canaanitish nations was essentially the same as that of the Hebrews. Now, we cannot doubt that the Canaanites spoke this language when Abraham came among them, for we can scarcely imagine that they first learnt it from these few immigrants and adopted it from them; and, as we have before seen, Abraham and his race unquestionably spoke Aramaic before their immigration; we are, therefore, led to the conclusion that Abraham and his children, after their immigration, adopted their language from the people in the midst of whom they afterwards lived. The Israelites must, therefore, have taken this language down with them into Egypt, and from thence brought it back again to the land of Canaan.

§ 30.—*Phœnician—Punic.*

But if it be true that Hebrew was the language of the Canaanitish nations, we may *à priori* suppose that it was also that of the *Phœnicians*, at least generally, and this also may be distinctly shown from the existing relics of

their language. It is also probable that by means of the Phœnicians it found its way into the various colonies founded by them on the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and that it became and for a long time remained the prevailing language in these colonies, in Cilicia, Cyprus (especially Citium), in Sicily, Sardinia, in Bœtic Spain, then on the north coast of Africa, chiefly at Carthage and its territory.

Phœnicians (Φοίνικες), was the name given by the Greeks to the inhabitants of a small tract of the North of Palestine bordering on the Mediterranean Sea for about thirty miles, and the tract of country was called by the Greeks Φοινίκη. The inhabitants did not, indeed, call themselves by this name, but Tyrians, Sidonians, &c., from the cities which they had founded. This also is their designation in the Old Testament, in which, however, שִׁדְוֹנִי is used in a wider sense, as the name not only of the city of Sidon, but also for a wider circuit of its territory, Sidonia, and perhaps for Phœnicia generally. In Obadiah 20, the Phœnicians are included under the name of Canaanites (cf. Matt. xv. 22), and in the Table of Nations (Gen. x. 15) Sidon is mentioned as the first-born son of Canaan. On their coins also the Phœnicians style themselves שְׁנַנִּי, and the Carthaginians likewise said that they were Canaanites, according to Augustin, *Exposit Ep. ad Rom.* (tom. iv. p. 1235): “Interrogati rustici nostri, quid sint, Punice respondententes *Chanani*.” It may, therefore, be conjectured that the Phœnicians (and the colonies springing from them) had essentially the same language as the other Canaanites, and therefore the same as the Hebrews. That their language had the closest alliance to the Hebrew is shewn by the express statements of Augustin and Jerome as to the language of the Carthaginians in their days. Thus Augustin, *Questiones in Heptateuchum*, (vii. 16): “istæ linguæ (Punic and Hebrew) non multum inter se differunt. (*Id. in Joann. tract.* 15): “Cognatæ sunt linguæ istæ et vicinæ, Hebræa et Punica et Syra.” (*Id. lib. i. locutt.* No. 24 [ad. Gen. xviii. 9]): “Locutio (form of expression) est, quam propterea Hebræam puto, quia et Punicæ linguæ familiarissima est, in qua multa invenimus Hebræis verbis consonantia.” (*Id. contra literas Petilian,* ii. c. 104 [al. 239]): “quod verbum (Messias) Punicæ linguæ consonum est, sicut alia Hebræa multa et pœne

omnia." And Jerome, in *Jerem.* lib. v. c. 25, states "that Carthage was a Phœnician colony," "unde et Pœni sermone corrupto quasi Phœni appellantur, quorum lingua Hebrææ linguæ magna ex parte confinis est." (*Id. in Es.* lib. iii. c. 7.)

The same thing is pointed out by the various relics of the language of the Phœnicians and their colonies that have reached us, especially the Carthaginian. These are—no written works in the language of these nations having been preserved:—

(a) The words quoted by ancient authors as Phœnician or Punic, especially proper names of persons, also names of cities, but also many other words.

(b) The passage quoted by Plautus, *Pœnulus*, act v. sc. 1, vv. 1–10, and sc. 2 from v. 35, as the speech in the Punic language of the Carthaginian Hanno.

(c) The inscriptions on the coins of the Phœnicians and their colonies. The most ancient of these coins in the Phœnician language which are known to us are those struck at Tarsus and other Cilician cities, under the Persian rule; those of Tyre, Sidon, and other cities of Phœnicia belong to the age of the Seleucidæ and the Romans; there are also coins of this description of the cities of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, Carthage, &c.

(d) Inscriptions on carved stones and urns, and also on columns, votive tablets (either to the divinity or to celebrate certain events), and especially on sepulchral monuments. These inscriptions on stone are found at Malta, Athens, near the ancient Citium in Cyprus, in Sicily and Sardinia, in modern times especially on the site of the ancient Carthage and its district, also in Numidia and other places.

As to these various remains of the Phœnicio-Punic language, besides earlier works (as *e.g.*, by Bochart: *Chanaan, seu de coloniis et sermone Phœnicum*, as the second part of his *Geographia Sacra*, 1646, and often republished), Gesenius should be especially consulted: *Scripturæ linguæque Phœnicæ monumenta quotquot supersunt*, Thl. iii. (the third of which contains forty-six lithographic plates) Leipzig, 1837. In this work all the accessible remnants of this language are given, many not before published, and revised with much critical and exegetical industry, noticing also the views brought forward by others. Besides many inscriptions on

coins, it contains seventy-three of the inscriptions on stone. After the appearance of Gesenius's work, further inquiries were prosecuted in this sphere by various investigators; some were fresh attempts to decipher more accurately and completely that which had been before dealt with, as the passages in Plautus (*v. Movers's Phönizische Texte*, Thl. i.; also *Die Punischen Texte im Pönulus des Plautus, kritisch gewürdigt und erklärt*, Breslau, 1845); some were expositions and explanations of newly-discovered monuments. Since Gesenius's time, a number of newly-discovered inscriptions, especially Numidian, are given by Judas: *Etude demonstrative de la langue Phénicienne et de la langue Libyque*, Paris, 1847; forty-five other inscriptions have been made known in Paris by the Abbé Bourgade, Paris, 1852, and Abbé Bargés also attempted to decipher them. The most important among these newly-discovered monuments are the two following: (1) An altar slab discovered in pulling down a house in Marseilles (the ancient commercial city of Massilia), of the fourth century B.C.¹ (2) The inscription (consisting of twenty-two lines) on a sarcophagus of a Sidonian king, named *Eschmunazar*,² discovered at Ssaïda (Sidon), on the 15th of January, 1855, which is, on the whole, in good and complete preservation. These two monuments are altogether the most significant and important amongst the inscriptions on stone; the others, however numerous they may be, are not of so much service in the accurate and complete investigation of the language as one might perhaps expect. In some cases the inscriptions are but very short, consisting only of a few lines, and those

¹ Cf. Movers's "Phœnician Text," Part ii. (1847), Commentary on the Altar-slab at Marseilles; also under the title, *Das Opferwesen zu Karthago, Commentar zur Opfertafel von Marseille*: see, besides, Ewald's treatise in the first of his *Biblischen Jahrbücher*.

² This most valuable monument is now in the museum of the Louvre, and has been explained by Dietrich, Rüdiger, Hitzig, Schlottman, and others, also by the Duc de Luynes (Paris, 1856, who places the date of inscription about B.C. 600; by Ewald (*Erklärung der grossen phönizischen Inschrift von Sidon*, &c., Gött. 1856), who dates it very far back, at a time when Sidon, before the rise of the superiority of Tyre, was flourishing in its full power. [As to the most modern Phœnician investigations, *v. the references* (p. 18 of the 7th Edit.) in Ewald's *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, and the last yearly number of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, e.g., 1850, p. 649, ff.: 1862, p. 438, ff. *Phönizische Analekten*, by O. Blau; 1863, p. 156, ff. *Bericht von Goscke*, &c.]

with but few words; sometimes they consist in a great part of proper names of cities or persons on coins or votive tablets, and the same words and formulæ repeatedly recur in different inscriptions; sometimes the monuments are much defaced, and it is difficult to read the writing with any certainty, and on this account the interpretations often differ from one another. Thus in the Punic passage in Plautus, the text is not very certain, and the few manuscripts in which the *Pœnulus* is preserved do not always agree; added to which, it may be imagined that the Roman poet, not being very learned in the Punic language, did not reproduce it in the Latin work with any great accuracy; so that in reference to this text the explanation is in part very difficult, although it is made easier by the fact that the poet has repeated the passage in Latin.¹

§ 31.—*Phœnico-Punic.*

Under these circumstances, it may be readily understood that the opinions of investigators differ very much as to the precise character of the Phœnico-Punic in its relation to the various Semitic dialects; especially to the Hebrew.

The Belgian Orientalist, H. A. Hamaker, in his *Miscellanea Phœnicia* (1822), expresses his opinion that the Phœnico-Punic has indeed a similarity to the Hebrew, but also a no less similarity to the other Semitic languages, the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan. This is decidedly incorrect. But, on the other hand, Gesenius and others go too far in almost completely identifying the Phœnico-Punic, as we have it in the above-mentioned remains, with the Hebrew language. The most probable conclusion, from a consideration of these remains and all other data, is, in my judgment, as follows:—

(a) Originally, the Phœnicians spoke essentially the same language as the other Canaanitish nations, and therefore essentially the same as the Hebrews, who adopted their language from the Canaanites. (b) It may be very easily imagined, and is, *per se*, not improbable, that from an

¹ The Jewish scholar, M. A. Levy, of Breslau, whose "Phœnician Dictionary" (Breslau, 1864) contains over 900 articles, will supply, in his *Phönizischen Studien* appearing from time to time (at present three parts, 1856, 1857, 1864), a *repertorium* of all discoveries in the sphere of Phœnician learning.

early date the language among the Phœnicians themselves was not in every respect the same in all parts of their territory, stretching so far from North to South, and that the language of the inhabitants of the Northern portion approximated more to the Aramaic. It is likewise not improbable that, at a later time, the Aramaic exercised a still greater influence on the language of the Phœnicians generally, as was the case also with the language of the Hebrews. (c) Still less can it be doubted that among the Hebrews, who were so markedly distinguished from their neighbours by their monotheism and many other peculiarities, and also by their completely fixed character, this language developed itself, especially as regards modifications in the meaning of words, in a somewhat different way than was the case among the heathen nations whose language it originally was, and especially among the Phœnicians, who, as a far-spreading trading people, would readily adopt many things from other nations with whom they were in intercourse. (d) In the same way, it cannot be doubted that, in the Phœnician colonies, this language, in the course of time, assumed a form somewhat different from that used in the mother-country, and presented much that was peculiar, in different ways, in different districts. Thus it is probable, that the Phœnician language as spoken by the Carthaginians and Numidians assumed many of the peculiarities of the Libyan nations, among whom Dido settled down; and subsequently of the Latin also. This is pointed out by the expression of Jerome, in *Ep. ad Galat. Præf. in lib. ii.*: “quum et Afri Phœnicum linguam *nonnulla ex parte mutaverint*,” and of Sallust, *Jug.* 78-4, in reference to the inhabitants of the city of Leptis, who were mixed up with the Numidians: “*ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa conulio Numidarum; leges cultusque pleraque Sidonica.*” But on the monuments which have been preserved no precise distinction has, as yet, been shewn between the Phœnician on the one hand, and the Punic and Numidian on the other.

But as regards the existing remains of the Phœnico-Punic, its coincidence with the Hebrew, as compared with the Aramaic, is unmistakable, while its coincidences with the Aramaic, where the latter differs from the Hebrew, are proportionably few. Some proofs in favour of this are:

(1) In the passage of Plautus, the very first words,

Pænulus, act v. sc. 1, v. 1: *yth alonim valonuth*, rendered by Plautus: *Deos Deasque*, is doubtless אֵת עֲלִיּוֹנִים וְעֲלִיוֹנוֹת *Superos Superasque*, and is quite grammatical in a Hebrew but not in an Aramaic construction.

(2) The proper names of Phœnico-Punic persons in ancient authors, as:

Abdalonimus (King of Tyre, at the time of Alexander the Great) = עֲבֵד עֲלִיּוֹנִים.—*Abdelemus* (a Tyrian, Josephus, *C. Apion*, i. 21) = עֲבֵד אֱלִים.—*Anna*, sister of Dido = חַנָּה *Dido* = רִידוֹ: *amor ejus*.—*Elisa* (the ancient name of Dido in Virgil and Ovid) = עֲלִיָּה: *exultans* (mulier).—*Asdrubal*, עֲזָרוֹ בְּעַל: Baal's help.—*Hannibal* = חַנִּי בְּעַל: Baal's favour, it exists in the contracted form חַנְבַּעַל in a Maltese inscription.—*Hamilcar* = חַן מְלִיָּקָר: favour of Melcar, or *donavit Melcar*.

(3) Names of cities, as Sidon, צִידוֹן = *piscatus*; צוֹר or צוֹר = צִיָּר: *cliffs*, for Tyre.

Carthage: the more ancient form for this, according to Solinus, c. 27, was *Carthada*, which he explains, as Eustathius: *nova civitas* = קָרְתָּה הַחֲדָשָׁה, as it stands on a coin of Palermo.—*Berytos*, a city in Phœnicia, so named according to Stephanus Byzantinus: δῖα τὸ εὐσθρον βῆρ γὰρ τὸ φρέαρ παρ' αὐτοῖς = בְּיָר, plural בְּיָרוֹת, *wells*.

(4) Other words quoted by ancient authors as Phœnician or Punic; thus:

Alma, according to Jerome in Punic = *virgo*, Hebrew עֲלָמָה.—*Jar*, according to Augustin in Punic = *lignum* evidently the Hebrew יַעַר.—*Salus*, according to Augustin = *tres*; שְׁלוֹשׁ.—*Sufes*, *sufetes*, as it is written in the oldest manuscripts of Livy, with a single f, is unmistakably the Hebrew שׁוֹפֵט; on a Carthaginian inscription, שִׁפֵּט.—*Mess* was a peculiar Punic form, from a statement of Augustinus, in *Evang. Joan.*, tract xv. (tom iv. p. 552) = *ungue* therefore = the Hebrew מְשִׁיחָה.

(5) The inscriptions on coins and stone monuments, the former of which however will present but little for us to consider here. By far the greater part of the evidence afforded by the latter, as far as it is legible, agrees with the Hebrew not only as regards the root-words, but also in the form

and constructions. It is of particular importance, that just in those very words and constructions in which dialects otherwise allied may easily vary, and in which sometimes the Hebrew differs from the other Semitic languages, especially the Aramaic, the Phœnico-Punic most usually follows the Hebrew; *e.g.*, for *son*, בן (not בר, and so בן בן = grandson, in Sidonian); for *daughter*, בת (not as in the Aramaic ברת, or as in the Arabic *بغت*); for *the father*, with the article האב, and in the plural אבת = Hebrew אבות (in Aramaic אבתין); for *word*, דבר (not מלה); for *to come*, בוא, not אהא (and thus יבאה, *bull*, אלה; זבח (not רבח) for *to slay, to sacrifice, and offering*; for *man*, אדם (in Aramaic אדם). The article is most usually formed, as in Hebrew, by a ה prefixed, and there are very few cases, and those uncertain, in which, instead of this, a א, or as in Arabic, a אל is prefixed; in no case, however, is it formed, as in the Aramaic by a א added at the end. The pronominal constructions, on the other hand, present much that is peculiar and differing from the Hebrew. I will only mention here, that, for the relative, אישׁ never occurs, but usually only ישׁ, which, however, is not unfrequently found also in the Hebrew, especially in poetical passages. On the altar-slab of Marseilles it is אישׁ. The termination of the singular of the feminine nouns is never ה, but either א, as in the Aramaic (which appears to be pronounced, as in the present Syriac, with a vowel o), or ת,—and this is most frequently the case—(ת as it is occasionally in the Hebrew); the plural termination, on the contrary, for both genders, is the same as in the Hebrew, although with ם (ים) for the masculine, sometimes also the Aramaic termination ם (ים) occurs. The Phœnician has, besides, the Niphal in common with the Hebrew, and the sign of the accusative תא, and even the use of the *Vau consecutivum* and *conversivum*. Cf. Movers in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgem. Encykl. der Wissensch. u. Künste*, 3 Sect., Bd. 24 (1848), article "Phœnizien," No. 9; "Sprache," pp. 423–441.

§ 32.—Phœnician Literature.

From all that has gone before, so much, however, is certain, that the Phœnicians had in general the same

language as the Hebrews and the other Canaanitish nations, with all the essential peculiarities which distinguish this dialect from the Aramaic and the Arabic, the other main branches of the Semitic tongue; and that the Phœnicians transplanted it into the colonies founded by them in the West.

By the intervention of the Phœnicians many words belonging to this language (cf. *Ges. Gramm.* § I. 4) have found their way into the Greek and other Western languages, mostly with the object itself to which the term applied; *νάρδος* = נֶרְדִּי, *κιννάμωμον* = קִנְמֹן, *σάπφειρος* = סַפִּיר, *μύρρα*, *μίρον* = מִרְרָה, &c. To the same source may also be traced the names of the Greek letters, which the Greeks, perhaps, received together with the written letters; but on this point it is to be considered that the construction of most of these Greek names, the ending in *a* (*alpha*, *beta*, *delta*, &c.) is actually more Aramaic than Hebrew; so that we are led to the supposition that the Greeks obtained the letters from the Aramaeans, the Syrians, or Babylonians, or at least (as Movers thinks, *ut supra*, p. 430) from the northern part of Phœnicia, “whose language inclined more to the Aramaic,” so that the letters made their way, perhaps, from thence to the adjacent parts of Asia Minor, and thence to Greece. There is no reason that this should exercise any influence on our decision as to the relation of the Phœnician to the Hebrew and Aramaic language.

The language, therefore, which we call Hebrew, whilst it was a living language, extended far beyond the extent of the country and people of the Hebrews, both as a colloquial and commercial, and also as a written language. Yet the only written works in this language which are extant are by Hebrews solely (the books of the Old Testament), and there are none by Phœnician or Punic authors, although some such are known to us by name.

Among Phœnician authors, Sanchoniathon ranks as one of the most important. Philo, of Byblus, a Phœnician living in the time of Adrian, is asserted to have translated into Greek a work by Sanchoniathon. Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* I. cap. 6, 7, has preserved some considerable fragments of this Greek work.¹ From these passages we see

¹ Cf. Spiegel's article “Sanchoniathon” in Herzog's *Real. Encykl.*

that the work laid claim to have been written by an ancient Phœnician, Sanchoniathon, a priest of the city of Berytus, who had derived his Phœnician history from the city annals, and the archives of the temple.¹ But what were the relations of this work to the Greek work brought out by Philo Byblius, is in the highest degree problematical. From the portion of it with which we are acquainted, it may be assumed as certain that it was not an actual translation of an ancient Phœnician author; at the very most it could only have been a very free revision of the work, with many arbitrary additions. But very probably Philo's whole assertion is an invention, and that the work edited by him was his composition and not a translation. Cf. Movers: "*Die Unechtheit der im Eusebius erhaltenem Fragmente des Sanchoniathon bewiesen,*" in the *Jahrb. für kathol. Theol. und christl. Philos.* 1836. Bd. 7, Heft 1, pp. 51-91.² Suidas attributes to Sanchoniathon some philosophical works as well, as *περὶ τῆς Ἑρμού φυσιολογίας*, and *Διγυπτιακὴ θεολογία*, which, however, were certainly even less genuine.

There are, besides, mentioned as Phœnician historians: (1) Theodotus; (2) Hypsicrates; (3) Mochus (*Μῶχος*), all three named by Tatian (*adv. Gent.* c. 37), as having their works translated into Greek by a certain Chaitos. Mochus is also mentioned by Athenæus, Strabo, and Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3, 9), as an author before the Trojan war. Cf. Josephus, *C. Apion*, i. 17, where he speaks of numerous Tyrian works.

Literary composition also flourished among the Carthaginians and Numidians, especially of an historical, geographical, and agricultural character: (1) The Carthaginian general Mago, probably in the sixth century B.C., wrote twenty-eight books *de Re Rustica*, which, after the destruction of Carthage by the Romans, were translated into Latin by command of the Roman Senate, and also into Greek by Dionysius of Utica. (2) Hamilcar, probably the son of the above-named Mago, wrote on the same subject.

¹ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 14, 2.

² Subsequent investigations, especially by Ewald and Bunsen, have placed beyond doubt that Philo Byblius's work is of high value on account of the authentic communications in it as to the ancient Phœnician mythology. Besides the edition of the divine, Joh. Conr. Orelli (*Sanchoniathonis Berythii quæ supersunt, &c.*, Leipzig, 1826), we must mention the more complete critical edition of the fragments of Philo in the 3rd Vol. of C. Müller's *Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, Paris, 1849.

(3) Himilco, son of the last-named, sailed round the western coast of Europe, and wrote an account of his voyages. (4) His brother *Hanno*, who sailed along the western coast of Africa, and described it in a work which was recorded on a column in the temple at Carthage, and is still preserved in a Greek translation (*περίπλους*), and is very important in ancient history and geography. (5) *Hannibal*, who, according to Pliny, is said to have himself written an account of his deeds. (6) *Hiempsal II.*, King of Numidia, who, according to Sallust, *Jug. c. 17*, wrote a history of Africa in the Punic language. (7) King *Juba*, the younger, who is said to have written many books: *De rebus Libyæ*; *De artis et picturæ historia*; *De re herbaria*. Cf. also Movers, *ut supra*, pp. 441-443.

§ 33.—*Hebrew—the Name.*

The points we have been previously considering furnish us with data for determining many questions which in earlier times were the subject of dispute, especially as to the age of the Hebrew language, and its relations to the other languages of the world. First, however, something as to its *name*.

The custom being established of calling it the *Hebrew* language, we are in the habit of considering it as the language of the Hebrew nation, *i.e.*, of the Hebrews or Israelites. Whence this people derived their name, scarcely belongs to our present inquiry, but rather to a history of the nation, or the exegesis of the Old Testament. But I will here remark, that there are two different explanations given, quoted by Theodoret, *Quest. in Gen.* 61, one of which considers עִבְרִי as a patronymic, from Eber, עֵבֶר (Gen. x. 24, ff.; xi. 14, ff.), the father of Peleg and Joktan. But from Eber, as we have seen above, § 19, and as Theodoret objects, not the Hebrews only, but also the Arabian and Aramæan nations derive their origin, while Eber himself appears in history as a comparatively unimportant personage. The other explanation brought forward by Theodoret derives the word from the appellative עֵבֶר, *the opposite side*. This is the view taken by Raschi, Maimonides, Luther, Walton, Clericus, Gesenius, Winer, and others, and it is doubtless the correct one. We must

start from the fact, that, in Gen. xiv. 13, Abraham is called "the Hebrew," הֶעֱבְרִי. This name was most probably given him by those among whom he had settled in Canaan, inasmuch as he had emigrated "from the opposite side," *i.e.*, from the other side of the Euphrates (עֵרֶב הַנְּהַר).¹ In the LXX it is rightly translated ὁ περάτης. This name was transmitted to his descendants, chiefly however to those who came from Jacob, consequently to the Israelites, who, taking possession of the land to which their ancestor had immigrated, considered themselves as his only true posterity. In the canonical books of the Old Testament, the name "Hebrew" nowhere occurs for their language, but in Isaiah xix. 18, שְׂפַת פְּנֵעַן is placed in contrast to the Egyptian, and in 2 Kings xviii. 26, 28, and Isaiah xxxvi. 11, 13, יְהוּדִית is placed in contrast to אַרְמֵיית, for the language spoken in the Jewish kingdom, *i.e.*, Hebrew (cf. above § 23); and the same expression is subsequently (Neh. xiii. 24) placed in contrast to the "speech of Ashdod," which, however, was not exactly another language, but only a dialect of it which was considered to be less pure. The name of *Hebrew* for this language is not found until later, in contrast to the Hellenic, and the term is so used, that our real Hebrew, and the later Aramaic vulgar tongue in Palestine, appear to be equally included in it; *v.* above § 25.

It must be simply attributed to inaccuracy, when Philo, *De Vita Moses*, ii. §§ 5, 6, speaks of the original language of the Old Testament books, especially of the Pentateuch, as γλωσσαν χαλδαϊκὴν. In the addition to Job in the LXX, the Hebrew language probably is designated as Syriac (οὗτος ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου). The later Jews call our Hebrew the "holy language," לְשׁוֹן קֹדֶשׁ (first appearing in the Targums), as being the language of the sacred books, in contrast to the Chaldee vulgar tongue.

¹ Cf. my review of Horne's "Biblical Introduction," *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1858; ii. p. 349, ff. Ewald opposes this explanation (*Isr. Gesch.* 2nd Edit. i. 380; *Hebr. Gr. Ausg.* 5, ff. § 1, c.), and in the preface to his *Isr. Gesch.*, 1st Edit. p. 6, ff., brings forward the supposition that the name perhaps is equivalent to "clearly speaking," from عبي, to explain, to interpret. He has not however, repeated this improbable idea. [It appears almost as if עֲבָרִים, 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7, were meant to point out the Israelites east of Jordan.]

§ 34.—*Antiquity.*

In earlier times, there has been much controversy as to the *age* of the Hebrew language. Ancient writers mostly assume that it was not only the most ancient of the languages existing in the world, but that it was the primitive language, and spoken by the first races of mankind up to the time of the building of the Tower of Babel; and that, from that time, it remained the language of that portion of the human race from which the Hebrews proceeded; whilst amongst other races and nations other tongues prevailed. Thus Augustin,¹ Jerome,² and other Fathers, with the exception only of Theodoret, who, *Quæst.* 60, in *Gen.* looks upon the Syriac as the more ancient; and that the Hebrew was introduced by God, through Moses, as a holy language. But the Targums of Jonathan, and Jerusalem, or *Gen.* xi. 1, point out the holy, *i. e.*, the Hebrew language, as the one spoken before the confusion of tongues. Many Christian writers, also, *e. g.*, Hävernick,³ Michael Baumgarten (*Theolog. Commentar zum Pentateuch*, i. p. 155, ff., and Scholz, *Einleit.* i. § 9, ff.) hold the same view. But, in the first place, the theological prejudice in favour of this opinion entirely vanishes, if we weigh well what has been previously laid down, *viz.*, that, as is proved by *Gen.* xxxi. 47, Hebrew cannot have been the language which was spoken among the family of Abraham, or by Abraham himself, before his emigration, but that he must first have adopted it from the Canaanitish nations (*v.* above § 29). Consequently, therefore, the primitive language would have been preserved among these *heathen Canaanites*, and not among that race from which Abraham sprung. But apart from this incongruity, the question as to the most ancient or primitive language appears

¹ *De Civ. D.* xvi. 11: Quia in familia Heber remansit, hæc lingua, divisis per alias linguas ceteris gentibus, ideo deinceps Hebræa est nuncupata: tunc enim opus erat distingui eam ab aliis linguis nomine proprio. Quando autem erat una omnium, nihil aliud quam humana lingua vocabatur, qua sola universum genus humanum loquebatur.

² *Ep. ad Damasum*, 142: Initium oris et communis eloquii, et hoc omne quod loquimur, Hebræam esse linguam, qua Vetus Testamentum scriptum est, universa tradit antiquitas.

³ Keil acknowledges in the 2nd Edit. (i. 1, p. 160, ff.), that Clericus, Gesenius, and others, have come nearer to the truth than the older divines, who held that the Hebrew was the primitive language.

generally to be a vain one, when based on the supposition that this primitive language can be discovered in any living or dead language with which we are acquainted. For the characteristics of the primitive language must be such, that from it it may be possible to derive the formation of all other tongues, and that the germ of all of them should exist in it. This is, however, not the case in any of the languages known to us. It follows, therefore, that we can recognise none of them, and consequently not even the Hebrew, as absolutely the most ancient, but only, perhaps, as comparatively so. If now, we put the question, whether the Hebrew fills this latter position, this language must be considered: (a) in comparison with the other languages of the Semitic stem; (b) and the Semitic language-stem individually in comparison with other stems.

As regards the former point, all the phenomena presented by a comparison of the Semitic languages point out that they all proceeded from a common source, and that there was a time when the existing Hebrew flowed in a common channel with the other Semitic tongues. When, therefore, this language-stem of the oldest languages is spoken of, it is the primitive Semitic language that is in question. But it can be asserted with certainty that this was neither the Hebrew of the Old Testament, nor the Arabic or Aramaic as we have them, but must have been the Semitic in a less developed shape, from which the various languages proceeded, and from which both their respective points of agreement and difference can be derived. This, however, is not the case in any of the Semitic languages as we have them, either as regards their grammatical construction or the signification of the root-words.

Frequently, indeed, the most simple and original form and primary meaning of a radical word appears to have been preserved in the Hebrew, but in other instances this is more the case in some other dialect; and it may be generally assumed that the real original has been lost, and that in all the various dialects only something derived from this has been preserved. The question, therefore, can only be thus put: Which of the Semitic languages, in the shape in which we know them, is—not the Semitic primitive language—but *comparatively the most ancient, and approaching the closest to the common ancestor?* And this, perhaps, may

be the Hebrew language. In it, the most ancient written records have been preserved; by means of the Old Testament, we are acquainted with Hebrew of a far earlier date than is the case with Aramaic or Arabic. It may, therefore, be supposed that these latter languages, up to the time of the most ancient written records in them which have been preserved, were further removed from the Semitic primitive language than the Hebrew. This latter also is, in fact, less polished than either the Arabic (cf. also Gesen. *Gramm.* §§ 1-6) or Aramaic. In the grammatical formations in Hebrew the etymology is often evident in cases where it is more obscure in other dialects. Thus in the formation of the perfect it can still be recognized in the Hebrew, that it arose from an abbreviated form of the personal pronoun, whilst in the other dialects these forms are (partly) more polished, and their origin is thus more obscured. This, however, by no means applies in every case. In some cases the original form has been preserved in the Arabic, and is less evident in the Hebrew (*e.g.*, in the article), and very often the primary meaning of a word has been preserved in the Arabic, whilst in the Hebrew it occurs only in derived meanings. This, however, may be caused by the word occurring in this meaning only in the comparatively few Hebrew writings which are extant. The primitive element appears to be comparatively most obscured in the Aramaic, as the latter language is now presented to us in the Chaldee and the Syriac, and Fürst is decidedly wrong in attributing a higher antiquity and more originality to the Aramaic than to the Hebrew.

But as regards the *second* point, the age of the *Semitic language-stem* as compared with other stems, we cannot distinctly ascertain whether the Semitic was formed earlier than some others, *e.g.*, the Indo-Germanic and other language-stems. There is, on this point, a deficiency in adequate and sufficient data. Here again it is most probable that at the same time as the Semitic, and independently of it, other language-stems were formed with their individual peculiarities. But we may here also assert pretty confidently that, in none¹ of the languages generally known to us have such ancient written records been preserved as

¹ There are not a few Egyptian monuments which are anterior to the oldest passages of the Old Testament.

in the Semitic, viz., in the Hebrew, and therefore that none of the other languages, in the shape and development in which we meet with them, reach so high an antiquity as the Semitic in the Hebrew dialect.

Among the arguments on which the idea that the Hebrew was the primitive language is based, peculiar importance is attached to the fact (as by Hävernick) that the proper names of persons and places which occur in the oldest portions of Genesis, and before the Confusion of Tongues, clearly show a Hebrew derivation, e.g., אֲדָם, connected with אֲדָמָה, *earth*. הָנָה, הֶבֶל, אֲנָשׁ, נֹדֶד, עֶדֶן, &c. But this is not decisive. Grotius, *ad Gen.* xi. 1, and *Annotat. ad libr. I. de veritate relig. Christianæ*, broached the idea that Moses may have translated these names from the *lingua primæva* into Hebrew. And as the narratives in the beginning of Genesis certainly proceed from primeval and widely-spread traditions, it cannot be doubted that, as told by the Hebrew people as well as by other nations, in each case they took their own peculiar shape, so that the names, as we have them, were formed or remodelled by the Hebrews in a way which suited their own language. Clericus has correctly pointed out that these terms are not really *names*, but rather appellative *cognomina*, which were applied to the objects in later times in allusion to their history, as e.g., הֶבֶל, &c. This was done in the Hebrew tradition in a mode suitable to the genius of the Hebrew language. In other places, however, the names are such that the Hebrew language affords no natural etymology for them, as e.g., Tubal-Cain, and almost all the names from Cain or Cainan down to Lamech, *Gen.* iv. 17, ff.; v. 12, ff. If Hebrew had been the sole language at that time, this could not easily be explained.

§ 35.—Date of existing Hebrew.

A deficiency of well-founded historical data renders it impossible for us to prove accurately when the development of the Hebrew or Canaanitish, as distinguished from the North and South Semitic, actually took place, and what course this development took in each separate particular (cf. Ewald's *Lehrbuch*, § 6, e). We obtain our earliest knowledge of Hebrew from the Hebrew Scriptures of the

Old Testament, and pretty nearly from these alone. But in the very earliest of these we find the language in an advanced stage of perfection, both as regards its grammatical and lexicographical development, and completeness of grammatical forms and their symmetrical use, and also as to its copiousness of words; so that in the later Scriptures there is no very important stage of superiority arrived at, and those very points in which they differ from the more ancient, appear rather as if they arose from a degeneracy in the language, viz., from a greater admixture with other Semitic dialects, particularly with the Aramaic, owing to their intercourse with the Aramæan nations. We find the Hebrew the purest in the very oldest Scriptures that have been preserved, and the separation from the Aramaic which is implied in Gen. xxxi. 47, must have preceded the composition of the most ancient of them. Even at that time the language appears to have been so completely developed that we may suppose that a considerable amount of literary exercise in it had already existed.

Many critics have made use of this circumstance to prove that the most ancient of the existing Hebrew Scriptures must belong to a considerably later date than the traditional idea allows, viz., to a later age than the Mosaic. They proceed upon the supposition that the Israelites, in the period preceding Moses, could hardly have practised the literary art, and have thus developed their language into a more fixed shape.¹

On this point it may of course be supposed that, although the earliest of these writings exhibited perhaps a less degree of development and conformity to rule, yet, in the course of time and the progress of the language, they would experience some advance and alteration in these respects, and would gradually undergo a further remodelling in the language of the existing age. This has been the case in the earliest records existing in other languages, especially in the most popular works. For instance in Greek antiquity, the Homeric poems did not proceed from the mouth

¹ The pre-Mosaic use, among the Hebrews, of the art of writing, which appears also to be pre-supposed in the book of Job (*e.g.*, ch. xix. 24), is now generally acknowledged. Written records in the primitive time are proved by passages such as Gen. xiv. ; Num. xiii. 22; cf. also Exod. v. 6, ff.; Josh. xv. 15.

of the poet exactly in the same form as that in which we now possess them, but received it gradually, especially under the influence of the Alexandrine philologists. Luther's translation of the Bible also has gone through all the orthographical and grammatical changes which the German language has experienced since the time of Luther. Nevertheless we have no need to lay any great stress on the fact that the oldest of the existing Hebrew books have gone through this kind of alteration, in order to explain the grammatical development in which we find the language in these books. But we must not forget the fact that the Hebrew language was not peculiar to the Israelites, the descendants of Abraham and of Jacob, but was also the language of the Canaanitish nations, and was adopted from the latter by the descendants of Abraham. We may thus very well imagine that the language, at the time the Israelites adopted it, was cultivated to no inconsiderable extent among these Canaanites, even by means of literary composition; and this cannot the least surprise us in the case of a people so given to trade as the Phœnicians especially were. The very same thing is pointed out by the ancient name, *קִרְיַת סְפֵר*, for a Canaanitish city in the district which was afterwards the territory of the tribe of Judah, and was subsequently called Debir, Joshua xv. 15, 16; Judges i. 11, 12. The Israelites, therefore, not improbably found the Hebrew language at the very first in a definite and established state of development, even by means of literary composition. But, besides, we know absolutely nothing as to the details of the circumstances of the Israelitish people in the period which preceded the Mosaic Age, during the 430 years which elapsed between Joseph and Moses. For what is contained in the Bible on the subject, relates only to the beginning and the end of this interval. We cannot, however, at all tell whether, during this time, the Israelites may not have more or less practised the art of writing; so that the Hebrew language, which also they retained whilst in Egypt, may have received a further grammatical and lexical development than it had before; at any rate we have no *à priori* right to deny this. There are genuinely Mosaic laws in the Pentateuch, given in the very shape in which we now have them.

§ 36.—*Distinction of Style—Poetical—Prose—Parallelism.*

Now, as regards the language of the various books when considered relatively to one another, we cannot overlook the fact, that, in a grammatical and lexical respect, they present many varieties of form. These variations may be caused by either (a) a difference in the age in which they were written, or (b) provincial peculiarities, or (c) simply the literary individuality of the several authors, or (d) the distinction between poetical and prose writing. But it is questionable whether all these influences have actually been at work, and still more so as to which of them have operated in the several cases; and this cannot everywhere be clearly ascertained.

The distinction between the *poetical* and *prose* style of composition is the one that can be perceived the most decidedly and certainly. The poetic style of the Hebrews is not distinguished from the prose by any prescribed metre, but by a certain rhythmical measurement and division of the periods and separate sentences, and also by many linguistic peculiarities, the form of words, grammatical constructions and inflexions, which are not used in the prose. This poetical diction, as distinguished in both these respects from the prosaic, is found not only in the so-called (cf. § 17) "Poetical Books," but also in the poetical fragments—hymns, blessings, and the like—which are inserted in the Historical Books; sometimes, likewise, in the Prophetical writings: but yet in the various books and fragments this poetic style exists in various degrees, and sometimes with a gradual transition into prose, so that a strict division between poetry and prose cannot very well be made.

The Rhythm in Hebrew poetry is generally more unfettered than, *e.g.*, in the Greek. It is not in one prescribed, uniform measure, or framed only by counting off the syllables in the separate verses; but is produced by a certain harmonious, yet unconstrained relation to one another of the parts or members of the several verses. This kind of unfettered rhythm, shaped in its own peculiar way, and with beautiful variety, is called the parallelism of members, *Parallelismus Membrorum*. The structure of this is, that each of the separate verses, or according to our

mode of division, double verses, mostly express complete thoughts; these verses being again divided into several members, standing in a certain symmetrical relation to each other, not, indeed, according to any prescribed metrical laws, but still with regard to euphony and logical fitness, and breaking up more or less clearly into short paragraphs. Accurate investigations as to the nature and different kinds of this construction are to be found in the works of Lowth, Herder, and especially De Wette.¹

The parallelism is divided in a logical point of view by Lowth (*Praelect.* xix.) into the *Synonymous*, the *Antithetical*, and the *Synthetical*.

(1) The *Synonymous* Parallelism is when one thought is so expressed in several different members, that it is properly set forth in the first, and the second or following members merely repeat it in other words, but usually so as to represent it from a somewhat different point of view, so as to define it more exactly, or complete it more fully, in cases where in prose it would be comprised in one member, e.g. :—

- Ps. cxiv. 1. When Israel went out of Egypt,²
The house of Jacob from a people of strange language,
2. Judah was His sanctuary,
(and) Israel His dominion.

¹ Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, formerly Professor at Oxford, d. 1787, *De Sacra Poësi Hebræorum Prælectiones*, Oxford, 1753. *Notas et Epimetra Adjecit*, Joh. Dav. Michaelis, Göttingen, 1770, 2 vols., subsequently edited, with fresh additions, by E. F. K. Rosenmüller, Leipzig, 1815. J. G. Herder, *Vom Geiste der hebr. Poesie; eine Anleitung für die Liebhaber derselben und der ältesten Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes*, Dessau, 2 Parts, 1782-83 (previously his *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*. First part.). De Wette, *Commentar über die Psalmen, Einleitung*, his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, §§. 126-134. H. Ewald, *Die Poetischen Bücher des A. T. erklärt*, Part I. pp. 52-92, Göttingen, 1839. E. Meier, *Die Form der hebr. Poesie*, Tübingen, 1853. [Cf. with other things, the article "Hebrew Poetry," by Ed. Reuss, in Herzog's *Theol. Real. Encyklopädie*, and the remarks by Peters in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1857, p. 533, ff., and Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*, iv. p. 443, ff.]

² In prose, therefore, it would be expressed: "When Israel, the house of Jacob, came out of Egypt, the strange land, then was Judah his sanctuary and his dominion. When the sea and Jordan saw it, they went back. The mountains and little hills hopped like rams and lambs."

3. The sea saw it, and fled:
Jordan was driven back.
4. The mountains skipped like rams,
(and) The little hills like lambs.

Cf. Is. lx. 1-3.

This kind of parallelism, which is peculiarly frequent in the Psalms, is explained by the unaffected simplicity and child-like nature of Hebrew poetry. Any one who feels a want of power and confidence in the expression of his thoughts is readily led to repeat, in somewhat different words, the idea just expressed, from the fear that it may not have been sufficiently clearly and distinctly indicated: and the parallelism in this form originally perhaps arose from this endeavour, and it has been evidently purposely retained in poetry as a rhythmical construction. The Synonymous form is, however, not always equally complete in this kind of parallelism; perfect Synonymousness between the members but seldom occurs. Yet in some cases it goes so far, that not only the same thought is repeated, but it is in almost the same words, so that the Synonymous parallelism becomes *identical*. Thus:—

Is. xv. 1. Because in the night Ar of Moab is laid
waste, and brought to silence;
Because in the night Kir of Moab is laid
waste, and brought to silence.

Occasionally there is merely something supplied in the second member which had been left out in the first—the object, subject, verb, or some short secondary sentence, *e.g.*:—

Ps. xciv. 1. O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth;
O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew
Thyself.

3. Lord, how long shall the wicked,
How long shall the wicked triumph?

(2) The *Antithetical* parallelism is very frequent; in this the thought is elucidated or strengthened in the second member by means of a contrast with the first, *e.g.*:—

Ps. xx. 8. They are brought down and fallen:
But we are risen, and stand upright.

- Prov. x. 1. A wise son maketh a glad father :
 But a foolish son (is) the heaviness of his
 mother.
2. Treasures of wickedness profit nothing :
 But righteousness delivereth from death.
3. The Lord will not suffer the soul of the
 righteous to famish :
 But He casteth away the substance of the
 wicked.

This kind of parallelism is most frequent in the Proverbs, as the Hebrew had a peculiar fondness for those *Maschals* in which the Antithesis immediately followed the Thesis. But the contrast often consists, not so much in the thoughts, as in the words only, so that it may be just as suitably classed among the Synonymous as among the Antithetical parallelisms, *e.g.* :—

- Prov. i. 8. My son, hear the instruction of thy father,
 And forsake not the law of thy mother.¹
- viii. 8. All the words of my mouth are in righteousness;
 There is nothing froward or perverse in them.

(3) The third kind is styled by Lowth the *Synthetical* Parallelism, in which the separate members correspond to one another neither by Synonymousness nor by Antithesis, but more through juxtaposition and progression of the thoughts, or as primary and secondary sentences, or by means of a causal relation ; *e.g.*, we find a parallelism with progression of the thoughts in

- Ps. xxxvii. 25. I have been young, and (now) am old ;
 Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,
 Nor his seed begging bread.
26. He is ever merciful, and lendeth ;
 And his seed is blessed.
27. Depart from evil, and do good ;
 And thou shalt dwell (quiet) for ever.
28. For the Lord loveth judgment (justice),
 And forsaketh not his saints ;
 They are preserved for ever ;
 But the seed of the wicked shall be cut off.

¹ Equivalent to : "Hear the instruction of thy parents (thy father and mother), and forsake not their commands."

Cf. Prov. xxxi. 10, ff. The praise of the virtuous woman.

In the examples quoted above, the Synthetical parallelism, as well as the Synonymous and Antithetical, are evidently based on a symmetry of thoughts; and the separate members constitute by themselves short sentences, expressing thoughts corresponding to one another.

It is, however, not unfrequently the case in Hebrew poetry, that a thought is expressed by a simple sentence only, without any other sentence, either synonymous, antithetical, or synthetical, being made to correspond with it. But even in this case the law of parallelism is brought to bear in a certain way, the sentence being divided into two (or more) members, not indeed according to any logical relation of the thoughts, but so that they are nevertheless clearly divided from one another as regards rhythm. Lowth has improperly included this kind among the synthetical parallelisms. It may more fittingly be considered—with De Wette, who however does not quite clearly distinguish it from the synthetical—as forming a separate class, and may be styled the *merely rhythmical* parallelism.

For examples of this kind I quote—

Ps. xxv. 22. Redeem Israel, O God,
Out of all his troubles.

Ps. cxxiii. 1. Unto Thee lift I up mine eyes,
O Thou that dwellest in the heavens.

Thus especially:—

Lam. iii. 1. I am the man that hath seen affliction
By the rod of His wrath.

2. He hath led me, and brought me
Into darkness, but not into light.

3. Surely, against me afresh
Turneth He His hand daily.¹

Cf. v. 45, 46, 48–51, &c.

§ 37.—*Parallelism as regards Rhythm.*

After the consideration of this logical form of parallelism in the investigation of which Lowth took the lead, it is equally necessary, if we would obtain a more accurate and complete acquaintance of the subject as we meet with it in

¹ E.V. "Surely against me is He turned; He turneth His hand against me all the day."

Hebrew poetry, that we should observe the different modes in which it is framed in a *rhythmical* point of view. With this object it has been specially investigated and classified by De Wette, and also, in a different manner, by Ewald.

As regards this point, the most complete form of the parallelism is that in which there is a perfect, or almost perfect, *equality of length* between the several members, which sometimes is found to such a degree that one word almost exactly corresponds to the other.

Thus, *e.g.* :—

Job vi. 5. Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass?
Or loweth the ox over his fodder?

There are similar instances in the antithetical parallelism, in the previously quoted passages, Prov. x. 1, ff.; Ps. xx. 9; in the synthetical parallelism, the passage Ps. xix. 8, ff.; and in the *merely rhythmical* :—

Ps. ii. 6. וְאֲנִי נִסְבַּתִּי מִלְּבִי
עַל-צִיּוֹן הַר-קֹדֶשׁ

In this example there is a harmony of sound in the course of the two members, and a *rhyme* is thus brought about. Rhyme is much more easily dealt with in the Hebrew and the Semitic dialects generally, than in the Western languages, because in the former the various constructions, both of verbs and nouns, have similar sounding terminations, *e.g.*, all plural nouns in םִ or וֹת; in the verb, the third person plural, perfect and imperfect always in םִ, &c., and also especially by means of the suffixes to nouns and verbs. We find rhyme, however, comparatively but seldom in Hebrew poetry, which is the more surprising, as the Hebrews otherwise very much loved paronomasia and homophony especially in poetical language (*v.* Gesenius's *Lehrgebäude*, p. 856, ff.), and rhyme is, in fact, a kind of paronomasia, only that in it the harmony of sound depends exclusively on the termination of the words which are at the ends of the several members. From this we can the more readily perceive that rhyme does not form, as some would have it, an actual law of Hebrew poetry. But nevertheless it cannot be overlooked that, in passages of Hebrew poetry where we meet with rhyme, the latter has been brought about with a certain

design and exercise of skill, and at least not always accidentally; but that it has been done with the view of producing a greater measure of euphony or expression.

It is so, certainly, in the Song of Lamech:—

Gen. iv. 23. עֲדָה וְצִלָּה שְׁמַעַן קוֹלִי
 לְנִשְׂא לְמִדָּה הַאֲזִנָּה אִמְרָתִי
 כִּי אִישׁ הִרְגֵתִי לְפָצְעִי
 וְיִלְר לְחִבְרָתִי

Likewise:—

Job xvi. 12. נִשְׁלוּ הַיַּיִתִּי וַיִּפְרְפְּרֵנִי
 וְאֶחָז בְּעַרְפִּי וַיִּפְצַּצְנִי

Another example is:—

Prov. xi. 3. תִּכְמֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל תִּנְחָם
 וְסִלְף בְּגֵדִים יִשְׂדָּם

Nor is this unfrequent, although still, comparatively speaking, not very common.¹ For several examples of this kind of parallelism with equal members, *v.* De Wette, §§ 129, 130. The examples that are quoted in these two paragraphs as belonging to two different kinds, one as a parallelism with symmetry of *words*, the other with symmetry of *thoughts* in equal members, may be more suitably comprehended together as forming one and the same class. The instances chosen by De Wette do not shew any such a decided distinction. This parallelism formed of equal members, in which the separate members contain as a rule 6–8 syllables each, is found most frequently in the Books of Job and Proverbs; in the latter, as already remarked, they are mostly antithetical, in the former synonymous or synthetical.

The most frequent example of this form of parallelism, and of parallelisms generally, is that of *two members*, yet we

¹ Cf. Sommer's (formerly Professor at Bonn, now at Königsberg) *Bibl. Abhandlungen*, Bd. i., Bonn, 1846, pp. 85–92; *Vom Reim in der Hebr. Volkspoesie*, in which there are many examples; and we find the assertion, that the rhyme was often intentionally arranged, and especially in the ancient national poems [*e.g.* Judg. xiv. 18; xvi. 23; 1 Sam. xviii. 7].

find them also of *three members*, which stand in a synonymous or synthetical relation to one another, *e.g.* :—

Job x. 17. Thou renewest Thy witnesses against me,
And increasest Thy indignation upon me;
Changes and war are against me.

It is just the same, ch. xiii. 27; ch. xiv. 12, 13, 14; Is. xxxiv. 3; Ps. i. 1; lxiv. 10; lxxiii. 28.

There is not, however, everywhere such a complete or even partial equality of length between the parallel members. In the Psalms especially we frequently find considerable inequality, which serves, however, to produce a greater variety and liveliness. Sometimes this inequality merely consists in one of two parallel members being considerably shorter than the other, *e.g.* :—

Ps. xlvi. 5. בִּיהִהָהּ הַמַּלְכִים נוֹעְרוּ
עֲבְרוּ יְהִדּוּ :

Ps. lxvii. 8. יִבְרַכֵּנוּ אֱלֹהִים
וַיִּירָאוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּלֹא־פֶסֶם־אֲרָץ

It is often the case, when we have two principal members parallel to one another, that one is divided into two sub-members, which form between them an accessory parallelism, which may again be subdivided according to its various logical relations, *e.g.* :—

Ps. lv. 22. 1. Cast thy burden upon the Lord,

2. { *a.* And He shall sustain thee :
b. He shall never suffer the righteous to be moved.

Ps. lvi. 13. 1. { *a.* For thou hast delivered my soul from death :
b. Yea, my feet from falling,

2. That I may walk before God in the light
of the living.

Consequently, in both passages, 1 and 2 are synthetical, and *a* and *b* are synonymous.

Ps. xv. 4. 1. { *a.* In whose eyes a vile person is contemned ;
b. But he honoureth them that fear the Lord,

2. Who sweareth to his neighbour, and changeth
not.

1. and 2 are synonymous, *a* and *b* antithetical to one another. Cf. also Ps. xxxi. 11; li. 6.

- Ps. xlv. 3. 1. { *a.* For they got not the land in possession
by their own sword,
b. Neither did their own arm save them :
2. { *a.* But Thy right hand, and Thy arm, and
the light of Thy countenance,
b. Because Thou hadst a favour unto them.

Here 1 and 2 are antithetical; 1 *a* and *b* synonymous; 2 *a* and *b* synthetical.

- Ps. lxxix. 2. 1. { *a.* The dead bodies of Thy servants have
they given
b. To be meat unto the fowls of the
heaven,
2. { *a.* The flesh of Thy saints
b. Unto the beasts of the earth.

1 and 2 are synonymous, *a* and *b* merely rhythmical. Likewise Lam. iv. 10.

Sometimes in this compound parallelism the divisions of the second principal member correspond more or less exactly to those of the first; thus, *e.g.* :—

- Ps. xxxiii. 13, 14. 1. { *a.* The Lord looketh from heaven ;
b. He beholdeth all the sons of men.
2. { *a.* From the place of His habitation
He looketh
b. Upon all the inhabitants of the earth.

The two verses form a synonymous parallelism of words to each other. Each principal member is, however, on account of its length, divided into two sub-members standing in rhythmical parallelism to each other; the first and second sub-members of the first of these divisions respectively form synonymous parallelisms with the first and second of the other.

- Ps. xlv. 2. 1. { *a.* Thou didst drive out the heathen with
Thy hand,
b. And plantedst them ;
2. { *a.* Thou didst afflict the people,
b. And cast them out.

1 and 2 are synonymous; *aa* synonymous; *bb* synonymous; *ab* antithetical. Is. ii. 7, &c.

It is often the case in the compound parallelism, that one member comprises more than two sub-members (cf. Amos v. 5; vii. 17; Micah ii. 12, ff.; Hab. iii. 17); this mode of dividing long members into several sub-members, is found mostly in the Prophets, where Poetical composition frequently trenches more or less on the Prosaic. In the Psalms, on the contrary, the members are generally shorter, by which means a greater animation and freshness, better suited to lyrical poetry, are produced.

§ 38.—*Metre.*

The question now arises whether Hebrew poetry had any actual *verse-measures*, any prescribed metre, as well as this symmetry of thoughts and parallelism of members. This has been often asserted, but without any adequate grounds for the opinion.

Josephus, Eusebius and other Fathers, attribute to Hebrew poetry a similar kind of metre to that in Greek and Latin, and several writers of later times have maintained the same view, *e.g.*, Bellermann (*Versuch über die Metrik der Hebräer*, Berlin, 1813), also Sommer (*ut supra*, No. 3: *Die alphabetischen Lieder von Seiten ihrer Struktur und Integrität*). The latter, indeed, limits himself to the opinion that in Hebrew poetry the verse was for the most part merely rhythmical and not metrical; but considers that some more artistic composers went beyond a simple rhythmical versification, and had laid down stricter rules and practised some defined form of verses and songs. He believes himself justified in this opinion by the great similarity in the external characteristics of many poems. But I myself consider this idea to be unfounded, and still more so that of some others, who attribute a metre to all Hebrew poems. Sommer himself admits that the nature of this kind of verse cannot now be ascertained in its details, nor on what metrical or rhythmical laws it depended; but he thinks that the only reason for our inability to determine this lies in our no longer knowing the original pronunciation and vocalization of the Hebrew. But, although our present vocalization may not absolutely correspond to the pronunciation of the Hebrew while it was a living language, yet it certainly does so in essentials; and if there were

various prescribed forms of verse in Hebrew poems, these would certainly become discernible, as distinguished from and related to one another, by means of a consideration of the consonants by themselves, without regard to the vocalization. This, however, we have never succeeded in attaining to.

On the other hand, it is unmistakeable that there is in Hebrew poetry an attempt at the construction of strophes, a subject to which Fried. Köster¹ first called special attention; although he, and others following him, have carried the notion much too far. The fact is, that the several larger portions of entire poems sometimes stand in a certain relation to one another, in the same unfettered way as is the case with the rhythm in the separate verses. From what has preceded, we certainly cannot altogether expect that we shall find in the Hebrew such regularly formed strophes as in the lyrical poems of the Greeks. Yet even in the former language there often exists a kind of strophical symmetry. This is sometimes clearly to be seen.

E.g., Ps. xlii., xliii., which together make up one poem, consist of three strophes, the same verse being repeated as a refrain at the end of each :

Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou
disquieted within me?

Hope thou in God : for I shall yet praise Him
Who is the help of my countenance, and my God.

Is. ix. 17–x. 4, consists of four strophes, each concluding with the recurring verse :

For all this His anger is not turned away,
But His hand is stretched out still.

Cf. also Amos i. 2–ii. 16.

But in other places, also, where these larger divisions are not so distinctly marked out, we may still often discern that the several songs divide themselves into long paragraphs of this kind, all of which stand in a certain symmetrical relation to one another, both in reference to their length and also to the thoughts contained in them.

¹ "The Strophes, or the Parallelism of the Verses in Hebrew Poetry." *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1831, I. pp. 40–114. [Cf. also Köster, *Die Psalmen nach ihrer strophischen Anordnung übersetzt*, Königsberg, 1837, p. xvi. ff.]

Thus Psalm i. divides into two such members or strophes, which stand in antithetical relation to each other; the blessedness of the righteous being depicted in *vv.* 1-3, and the misery of the wicked in *vv.* 4-6. So also Isaiah v. 1-6 (the parable of the vineyard), divides itself into three synthetical strophes, each consisting of two verses: the first describes the care taken of the vineyard; the second depicts the consultation as to what should be done with it; the third relates the resolution for its being laid waste. This is likewise the case in various other passages, cf. De Wette, § 134, b.

But we must be on our guard not to go too far in this matter, as *e.g.* Köster, *ut supra*, and in his translation of the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes (1831), in which he attempts to show the strophical system throughout. It seems natural that poetry and poetical utterances should be divided into various paragraphs according to their subject, just as in prose composition. But it is by no means the case, that in poetry these separate paragraphs are everywhere indicated by equality of length, number of verses, &c., so that if we regard these paragraphs as strophes, we shall find that they often appear of a very unequal length, and that they can only be made to assume any degree of symmetry and regularity in this respect by means of very arbitrary and artificial measures. Thus, there are many of the Psalms, in which no uniform strophes can at all be shewn, *e.g.*, Ps. iv., v., vii., x., xii., xv., xx.-xxiii., &c. The same is true in the other poetical books. Ewald rightly remarks, that in regard to the strophes, Hebrew poetry stands on the very first step of the transition into the Technical and the Defined, and that there are but few among the poems in this language which present a thoroughly fixed and measured arrangement of strophes.¹

§ 39.—*Diction.*

But Hebrew poetry is distinguished no less by the peculiarities of its *diction*, than by its rhythmical character.

¹ Subsequently to this, Ewald has gone further in his seeking and finding the various turns of Hebrew poetry, than he did in the first part of the poetical books of the Old Testament, cf. *e.g.* *Jahrbuch*, iii. p. 61, ff., viii. p. 68, ff., ix. 35, ff.

Poetry has not only adopted the language of prose in its whole extent, but besides allows many things which are not permissible in the latter, both in the use of words and their meanings, and also in grammatical forms and constructions. This distinction between prose composition and that which is allowable in poetry, prevails in all languages: but in no other language whatever do we find the expressions which are unusual in prose, and allowable solely in poetical composition stamped so distinctly as they are in Hebrew. The necessity of enriching the language of poetry more than that of prose, would specially arise from the form of the rhythm in Hebrew poetry, *i.e.*, from the parallelism of its members. The endeavour to alternate the expressions in the parallel members, especially in the synonymous, and perhaps also in the antithetical parallelisms, would easily supply an inducement for using in one of the members words or constructions which were otherwise but little or not at all customary in the language, and these would afterwards be readily accepted as a possession by poetry generally.

We may mention three special sources from which poetry has thus enriched its diction: *sometimes* the language of early antiquity, which, although no longer usual in prose composition, poetry adopted when occasion offered, as the ancient expressions were well suited to the poetic style, and adapted to give it a more stately character; *sometimes* the common language of conversation, from which poetry appropriated many phrases, of which written prose did not avail itself; some phrases, perhaps, which were customary close round the home of the poet, in some isolated and limited district of the country; *sometimes* other tongues and dialects, in calling in the aid of which, poetical composition may easily go further than the language of written prose. Thus, Hebrew poetry has appropriated many forms of expression which were quite customary in the Aramaic, and employed them at least at a much earlier time than that in which they became usual in Hebrew prose. In the course of time, also, poetical composition created much that was entirely new. We cannot, however, distinguish with absolute certainty where and how far this has been the case, nor what has been adopted from one or the other of the above sources.

Some examples of these peculiarities are as follow :¹

(1) *Words which are peculiar to poetry* : אָמַר (plur. אֲמָרִים) אֲמָרָה, אֲמָרָה = דָּבַר ; מְלֵא plur. מְלֵאִין, also = דָּבַר ; אָתָּה = בּוֹא ; גִּבֹּר = אֵינֶשׁ ; בָּל = לֵא ; חָנָה = הַגִּיד ; פָּעַל = עָשָׂה ; עָרָה transire = עָבַר ; מְלַחֲמָה = קָרַב ; פָּתַח = זָהַב ; שָׂתַל = נָטַע ; לָאם = גּוֹי.

(2) *Significations of words* : אָרַח way = דְּרָגָה, (in prose, way of acting) ; צַר, enemy = אוֹיֵב ; קָדַם (in prose only of space, poetically of time also, past time = עוֹלָם). Of this nature is also the use of an adjective as a constant designation of a definite substantival idea, as חָמָה (the glowing = the sun), לְבַנָּה (alba = the moon), נוֹזְלִים (the purling = a spring), אֲבִיר (the strong = God), אֲבִיר (the strong, for an ox), חָרִיז (sharp ; poetical (a) gold, (b) threshing-sledge).

(3) *Poetical formations of words* : e.g., אֶלּוּהַ is the singular ; in prose only used in the plural, אֱלֹהִים ; נְשׁוֹת, יָמוֹת (in prose only מְנִי עַמּוּיִם) הָהָה = חָהָה ; עַמּוּיִם in prose only עַמּוּיִם ; מְנִי = מֶנֶן : the plurals אֶלִי, אֶלִי, אֶלִי = אֶל, אֶל, אֶל ; יְחִלָּהּ = יְחִלָּהּ ; יְעָרִי = יְעָרִי.

(4) *Peculiar grammatical formations* : הָהָה (cf. Hupfeld on Ps. iii. 37), in the absolute form of the feminine singular ; (יְשׁוּעָתָהּ, &c.) the feminine termination תָּה instead of הָהָה ; (עֲזָרָת, זְמַרְתָּ, &c.) the plural termination יָוִן (מְלֵאִין) ; particular power of certain suffixes, e.g., מְנוּ, מְנוּ, instead of מְנוּ ; מְנוּ instead of מְנוּ ; וְהִי יְהִי instead of וְהִי ; יְכִי instead of יְכִי.

(5) *Peculiar grammatical constructions* : the use of the demonstrative for the relative, which serves to give a peculiar emphasis to the expression ; the relative is also sometimes entirely omitted ; the omission of the article in cases where it would be used in prose, by which omission the composition acquires something of a more indefinite and general character ; &c.

§ 40.—Dialects.

The question as to the *dialects* of the Hebrew language admits more controversy. A distinction, however, must

¹ Cf. Vogel, *De Dialecto Poetica V. T.*, Helmstadt, 1764. Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache und Schrift*, p. 22, ff. ; *Lehrgebäude Register*, p. 892 ; *Poetische Formen und poetische Idiotismen*, Hävernick, §. 29.

here be made. If by Hebrew we understand the language of Canaan, the hypothesis is *à priori* admissible that, among the various nations which spoke it, it would take a somewhat varying shape, and that it would be in some measure different among the trading Phœnicians in the North from what it was among the inhabitants of the Southern sea-coast, or among the other nations who dwelt at a greater distance from the sea. Besides it is quite impossible but that among the Hebrews the language would assume a peculiar character, differing from that of the heathen peoples; this difference being caused by the influence of their monotheistic religion, and the laws and institutions connected with it. We might, for instance, expect, and indeed it admits of proof, that many expressions which were commonly used by the heathen Canaanites, and also by the Aramæans, to designate sacred objects, actions, and customs, were accepted among the Hebrews in a bad sense, and remained in use in reference to idolatry.¹

But among the Hebrew people themselves, whilst their language was a living one, doubtless there were distinct provincial peculiarities, by which the language of the North was slightly distinguished from that of the South, and that of mountainous districts from the dialect of the plains, principally perhaps in pronunciation. Thus we perceive from Judg. xii. 6, that the Ephraimites could not properly pronounce the *שׁ*. The question, however, is, whether the various books preserved in the Old Testament display any definite differences of dialect or provincial peculiarities. Now, this is very possible, for we may well imagine that provincial peculiarities would be retained by many of the authors, and that many of the varieties existing in the different books are derived from this cause. Whether this has really been the case, and to what extent, cannot be proved with any certainty, especially as, in regard to most of these books, we have such meagre and uncertain accounts as to the personal circumstances of their authors, both as to their respective tribes and their education and culture.

Several scholars have endeavoured to prove the exist-

¹ From Neh. xiii. 24, we perceive that in Nehemiah's days the pure Jewish was distinguished from "the speech of Ashdod," cf. above § 33 (and Matt. xxvi. 73).

ence of these dialectical variations. J. D. Kiesling goes the furthest on this point (Prof. of Div. at Erlangen, d. 1778), *De dialectis Hebraeorum puris Dissert.* ii. He particularizes a number of the rarer constructions and inflexions as belonging to different dialects: also Hartmann, *Linguistische Einleitung*, 1818, Section 3, p. 93, ff., where two allied forms of the same word occur. The latter attributes these to different dialects, e.g., הִלָּה, and יִלָּה, וַעַק and וַעֲס, &c. But it is very questionable whether these various constructions were distinguished according to the different districts and tribes, or whether they were freely used in the same way in every part of the country, especially as often the constructions alternate in the same author; and in no case can we ascertain with any certainty what constructions belong to the respective tribes. One might, however, be readily disposed to consider as a dialectical peculiarity of the North the וַ prefixed for וַעֲס, which occurs in the Song of Deborah (Judges v. 7), and also in the prose portion of the same Book of Judges, in the history of Gideon (ch. vi. 17; vii. 12; viii. 26), and frequently in Solomon's Song, and Ecclesiastes; whilst, on the other hand, in many other books of the Old Testament it does not occur at all; Nachtigall (in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, ix. 235, ff.), Ewald (*Gramm.* Ed. 5, § 181, b.), and Hävernick (§ 20), thus regard it. A confirmation of this opinion may also be found in the fact that this וַ prefixed exists also in the Phœnicio-Punic monuments, but never וַעֲס. It might therefore, perhaps, have been usual in the northern and north-western parts of Palestine.

§ 41.—Differences due to Date of Composition.

The question how far the differences of the language are based on the difference of the dates of the several books is one that scarcely admits of any definite decision, although it cannot be doubted that the alterations which the language experienced during the period of the composition of these books, extending over many centuries, were by no means few or inconsiderable.

Hävernick (l. 1, pp. 188-247, ed. 2) has endeavoured to give a general survey of the various periods of the lan-

guage. It is made with much industry, but is by no means to be depended upon; and Keil's remarks on this point (§§ 14-17) are equally untrustworthy. Also the expressions which have been collected by Gesenius (*Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, p. 28, ff.), as the chief peculiarities of the later style, needed a much more accurate sifting.¹ In order to be able to institute these comparisons with any certainty we need, in the first place, some more certain knowledge of the respective ages in which the books were composed. On this point, however, opinions in most cases differ very widely from one another, and will probably continue to do so for some time. Naturally, therefore, the decisions are very various as to what peculiarity belongs to the older and later forms of the language respectively, nor can any certainty be attained. On the other hand, a consideration of the language of the respective books cannot but have an influence on our decision as to the dates of their composition, nor can any certain conclusion on the latter point be arrived at, unless due regard be paid to the former. But there are in every case other arguments which, as the matter now stands, we can make use of with a greater degree of certainty in deciding the question as to the dates of the various books, and it is generally advisable to endeavour to secure our main points of evidence from other quarters before we venture to decide as to what belongs to the later and what to the earlier style.

This much on the whole is perhaps certain, that, at a late period, particularly during and after the Captivity, the Hebrew adopted more from other languages, especially from the Aramaic, than in earlier ages, and that the later dialect was peculiarly distinguished by its Chaldaizing character. Nevertheless, even here it is by no means the case, that anything of an Aramaic character in the words or forms of any book is to be regarded as a sure sign that the book originated either during or after the Captivity. A tendency to the use of Aramaic expressions is here and there found in the Scriptures anterior to the Captivity, even in prose, as indeed it was not the Captivity that first brought

¹ The industrious compilations of Knobel, in his *Kritik des Pentateuchs und Josua*, merit peculiar attention (*Exeg. Handb.*, 13te Lieferung, p. 516, ff., &c.) Cf. also my remarks in the "Exposition of Deuteronomy xxxii." p. 260, ff. K.

the Hebrews into connection with the Aramæans generally. On the other hand, we cannot deny that several of the books which were certainly composed at a late date, either during or after the Captivity, are distinguished by a tolerable purity of language, so that this Aramaic tendency cannot be taken as a sure token of a late age of composition.

The distinction may be observed especially in the orthography. In the oldest books the vowel signs are less used as *matres lectionis* than in the later ones. Thus, in the Pentateuch, especially in Genesis, the *scriptio defectiva* very frequently occurs in cases where in the later Scriptures we meet with the *scriptio plena*.

§ 42.—*Hebrew as a Living Language.*

It is a matter of controversy how long the Hebrew existed as a living language. The Jewish scholars, Talmudists and Rabbis, suppose that it was so only down to the end of the Captivity; during which, it is thought, the Jewish people quite forgot the ancient Hebrew, and adopted the Aramaic from the people among whom they lived, so that from that time Hebrew became simply a scholastic tongue. Many of the old Christian divines are of the same opinion: also Hengstenberg (*Authentic des Daniels*, p. 299 ff.); Hävernick, § 35; and Keil (*Apolog. Versuch über die Chronik*, p. 39, ff., and *Einleit. in das A. T.*, § 18). But this view is certainly incorrect, although it may be assumed that the Jews who returned from the Captivity were acquainted with Aramaic, and in some cases made use of it as the conversational language of ordinary intercourse.

One of the principal grounds for the former opinion is found in Neh. viii. 8, the passage being understood to signify that when, at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the Book of the Mosaic Law was read out to the people, an interpretation in the (Chaldee) language of the country was added; מִפְּרֹשֵׁי is explained as equivalent to *translated, interpreted*. But this is contrary to the use of the word in other places, where it means *plain, clear*; *i.e.*, that the Book of the Law was *audibly* read out; and what is there added as to the law being explained in reading out, does not lead us to regard it as an explanation in a different language

from that in which the law was written; for if this meaning had been intended, it would certainly have been expressed more distinctly. It is also *à priori* improbable that those carried away to Babylon and their children, should have entirely forgotten the language of their fathers during their exile, in which they lived together in masses and not isolated among the Babylonians. We must besides take into consideration, that even during the Captivity, no small number of the Jews remained behind in Palestine, or very soon returned thither, where they continued to dwell, although in distressed, miserable circumstances (cf. Ewald's *Geschichte des V. Isr.* iv. p. 101; ed. 2). The latter had not so much cause for forgetting their Hebrew during this period as those who were in Babylonia; nor can we doubt that they retained it all this time as the language of ordinary intercourse. That in general the ancient Hebrew, even after the Captivity, continued to be a language known to the Jewish people of Palestine, may be concluded with some certainty, because during this period several Books of our Canon were written in this language which were intended to exercise an immediate influence on the people; such as many of the post-exilic Psalms; the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.

Yet in the course of time, perhaps, Aramaic more and more obtained the ascendancy in the country of the Jews, and supplanted the ancient Hebrew as the language of conversation; this was especially the case in the age of the Seleucidæ, when the Jews once more came under the rule and influence of a people speaking Aramaic. Aramaic was next adopted gradually by the Jews as their written language, as the Chaldee fragments in the Books of Daniel and Ezra show us; [but still, even in the second century, B.C., we must conclude from the Book of Daniel that a great part of the people understood Hebrew, even apart from the fact that the latter never became extinct as a religious and learned language]. From a want of adequate data, we can give no exact account of the further course of the relation between the two languages among the Jews in Palestine. Only this much is certain, that, at the time of Christ and the Apostles, the Aramaic—only mixed with the Hebrew—was the language most prevalent among them.

In the same age in which the change of tongue took place among the Israelites, this language—the Canaanitish—was supplanted among the real Phœnicians; in some cases, indeed, likewise by the Aramaic; in some cases, particularly in the larger cities, by the Greek; and by the latter also in most of the Phœnician colonies. The Phœnician language appears to have been longest preserved in Africa. In the Carthaginian territory and Proconsular Africa, after the destruction of Carthage by the Romans, it was indeed soon supplanted by the Latin, by means of the numerous Roman colonists who settled there. But in the other districts, and in the interior of the country, *e.g.*, in Leptis, &c., it long remained the prevailing language, even up to the sixth century, A.D., although not in any very pure form. As a written language, it did not exist perhaps so long. V. Gesenius' *Monumenta Phœn.* p. 339, ff.: Movers in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclop.*, Section 3, Vol. XXIV., p. 433, ff.

§ 43.—*Hellenistic Jews.*

The Jews, however, even when the ancient Hebrew ceased to be the vernacular tongue, would have a reason for keeping up their knowledge of it, from the high esteem in which their sacred books were held, and their constant use of it in them. As to this point, however, we must draw a distinction between (*a*), the so-called *Hebrew Jews*, whose common language was the Aramaic, at that time called Hebrew, who dwelt chiefly in Palestine, but a large portion of whom, after the time of the Captivity, remained in Babylonia; and (*b*) the *Hellenistic Jews*, living in countries where Greek was spoken, who, in the course of time, adopted Greek as their ordinary tongue. Among these latter, the use of the Bible was not indeed lost, but the general knowledge of its original language disappeared much earlier than among the former.

After the time of the Captivity, this latter class of Jews were particularly numerous in Egypt, besides those in Palestine and Babylonia; and in the former country, under the Ptolemies, they took part in the study of Greek literature, of which Alexandria soon became one of the chief seats. They also soon adopted Greek, not only as their general conversational language, but also in written compositions.

In our investigations as to the several books of the Old Testament, we shall find distinct proofs of the zeal shown by the Egyptian Jews in dealing with the sacred books, both in a grammatical and critical point of view, and this indeed in the original language. But the more the Greek language prevailed among them, and the greater interest they took in Greek literature, the more their acquaintance with the original language of the Old Testament diminished. The necessity soon arose for a translation of it into Greek, and this translation, the so-called LXX, doubtless absolutely the most ancient translation made of the Old Testament, soon attained such currency and such authority among the Alexandrine and Hellenistic Jews generally, that the study of the Old Testament in the original language almost entirely ceased, and the knowledge of Hebrew more and more decreased, or became entirely lost, even among the best educated and most learned, as, indeed, is the case with Philo, who appears to have known little or nothing of Hebrew. The same thing may also be noticed in the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

§ 44.—*Hebrew Jews.*

The case was different with the so-called *Hebrew Jews*. Through the great affinity of the Aramaic, their then vernacular tongue, to the ancient Hebrew, it was much more easy for these people to retain a certain amount of knowledge of the latter, especially in their use of Holy Scriptures, their study of which continued to be based on the original text, both in Palestine and also in Babylonia. From the time of Ezra, the study of the Holy Scriptures was carried on, not only by isolated scribes, but also in regular schools and academies which were formed in these countries. These, at first, were principally seated in Jerusalem, but after the destruction of this city by the Romans, they rose in other cities in Palestine, particularly at Tiberias. Among the teachers at Tiberias, Rabbi Juda, the Holy, gained special reputation (after the middle of the second century). After his death, the seat of Biblical learning was transplanted to Babylonia, where the schools at Sora, Pumpeditha, and Nahardea, cities on the Euphrates, acquired peculiar authority in this respect. The schools of Palestine, however, continued also to exist, particularly that

at Tiberias; in this, about the middle of the fourth century, the Rabbi Hillel Hannasi (*princeps*) obtained a great name, particularly as a chronologer, having introduced a new era among the Jews, which reckoned from the creation of the world.¹

The language which the writers of this school made use of in their works was Chaldee, partly, however, Hebrew, as they endeavoured artificially² to copy it. Later, also, as the Mahometan rule extended in these parts, Aramaic—the language hitherto spoken in the country—was driven out by Arabic, and the Jews also began to make a partial use of that language in their writings, at least after the tenth century. Up to this time the Jewish schools had been maintained here; those at Sora and Tiberias for the longest time. But after this, scholarship among the Jews betook itself more to the West, first to Spain, where it flourished chiefly in Granada, Toledo, and Barcelona; and to the north coast of Africa; then to France, and somewhat later to Germany. The Spanish and African Jews for a longer time made use in their writings of Arabic also, which was then most familiar to them from their intercourse with the Moors who then had the sway in these parts. But as Jewish scholarship directed its course more to France and Germany, where Arabic was not spoken, the Rabbis began to use Hebrew as the language of their works, as far as it would serve their purpose.

By translating into Hebrew the works composed in Arabic by Jewish divines and philosophers, a great deal of Arabic made its way into this Neo-Hebraic language. The introduction of nearly the whole stock of words of the *Mishna* and *Gemara* made this new language differ still farther from Biblical Hebraism. In a grammatical point of view, much Chaldaic was mixed up with it; so also with regard to the use of words, the Rabbis often introduced new meanings for the old-Hebrew words they adopted to express ideas for which there are no proper

¹ As to these schools in Palestine, cf. Joh. Buxtorf (the Father); *Tiberias, s. Commentarius Masorethicus*, Basle, 1620; a new edition superintended by his uncle, Joh. Jacob Buxtorf, Basle, 1665; and Pressel's article, *Rabbinismus*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*.

² The Hebrew language, e.g., in the *Seder Olam* and the *Mishna*, is not entirely wanting in natural growth, cf. Delitzsch, *Jesurun* (Grimma, 1838), and Ewald, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache* (7th ed.).

expressions in the Old Testament, and also adopted many words out of the modern tongues. This is the origin of the New-Hebrew, or *Rabbinical* language, which learned Jews, since the twelfth century, have used in their writings, first in France, then in other European countries, including Spain.¹

§ 45.—The Talmud.

By means of these Jewish scholars, first those of Palestine and Babylon, then those of Africa and Europe, the knowledge of the original language of the Old Testament was first preserved, and subsequently propagated. Their works are of various descriptions, and, so far as they particularly come under our notice, are as follows.

I. The *Talmudical* writings. These contain the additions to, and interpretations of, the Jewish Law by the later Jewish scholars, which the orthodox Jews held as equal to the written Law of Moses, and to the Divine Revelation made to him on Mount Sinai, as they suppose that they were verbally communicated by Moses to the elders, and transmitted orally, until they were at last written out; they attribute therefore, to them, an equal authority with the written law.

The *Mishna*, מִשְׁנָה, *i. e.*, “repetitio,” sc. “legis,” “lex secundaria,” forms the foundation of the Talmud, the compilation of which is attributed to “R. Juda, the Holy,” at Tiberias (at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century). The language is an artificial, amplified Hebrew, interspersed with much Chaldaic. The whole

¹ This Rabbinical language is treated by Buxtorf, in a lexicographical point of view, in his “Chald. Talm. Rabbin. Lexicon” (1639), and by M. J. Landau (“Rabbin. Aram. German Dictionary,” Prague, 1819-1820, 5 vols.); as regards grammar, by Opitz (in his “Chaldee Grammar,” Kiel, 1696), and especially by Chr. Cellarius (*Rabbinismus*, 1684, reprinted in Reland, *Analecta Rabb.* 1702), and Joh. And. Danz (*Rabbinismus enucleatus ed. noviss.* Frankfort, 1765). [As regards the literary language of the modern Jews, they have endeavoured lately to approach nearer to the Biblical Hebrew; but in general, the barbarous Latin of a Duns Scotus comes nearer to that of Cicero than does the Rabbinical language to that of Isaiah. As to the Vulgar Tongue of the German Jews, which is written in so called Rabbinical writing, but must not be confounded with the real Rabbinical, cf. Jost’s article, *Judendeutsch*, in Ersch and Gruber’s *Encyclopädie*, and Gottfried Selig’s, “Compendium for the Thorough Acquisition of the German-Jewish Language,” Leipzig, 1792.]

of the matter is divided into six סִדְרֵי, *Ordines*, or books, each Seder again into a number of טַרְכֻּטֵי, or *Tractatus* (there are sixty-three of them altogether), and each *tractatus* again into a greater number of chapters, פְּרָקִים (altogether 523 chapters).¹ After the *Mishna* was completed, and had already become authoritative, fuller interpretations and supplements to the law, consisting of casuistical definitions entering still more fully into particularities and subtleties, were joined with the separate tractates in its text; and these make up the *Gemara* or the *Talmud*. The former word, גְּמָרָא, signifies either *supplementum, consummatio*, or as others suppose, *doctrina*, from גָּמַר, signifying *discere* and *docere*, according to the usage of the Talmudical dialect; it would be, therefore, synonymous with the other name תַּלְמוּד. Under the name of *Talmud* in the fuller sense, we now understand the *Gemara* and the *Mishna* together; but in the narrower sense the *Gemara* only, as contrasted with the *Mishna*.

There is, however, a duplicate *Gemara*, the Jerusalemic (*Talmud Jeruschalmi*) (redacted at Tiberias), and the Babylonian (*Talmud Babli*) (that originating at Sora). Neither of them comprises all the tractates of the *Mishna*; the Jerusalemic only thirty-nine, the Babylonian only thirty-seven (thirty-six according to Zunz, *Die got'esdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, p. 55); fifteen tractates are not comprised in either *Gemara*. The Jerusalemic was composed earlier (according to Maimonides' statement, about 300 years after the destruction of the temple) than the Babylonian; the latter must have been completed about 500 A.D. The Babylonian is much more copious (four times as long) than the Jerusalemic, and is considered of much higher value by the orthodox Jews. The language of the Jerusalemic *Gemara* is Chaldaic, mixed with Hebrew; Hebrew is more the basis of the language of the

¹ There are indexes of the single tractates in Wolf's *Bibl. Hebr.* Th. ii. p. 744; in Wähner's *Antiqq. Ebræorum*, Vol. I. p. 258; (in Pinner's "Compendium of the Hierosolym. and Babylonian Talmud," Berlin, 1832, 4 p. 12), in the copious article "Talmud" by Pressel, (Herzog's *Encyclop.* XV. p. 620), &c. The best edition of the *Mishna* with learned explanations, is that by W. Surenhus (Professor of Eastern literature at Amsterdam). Amsterdam, 1698-1703. 6 vols.; a very valuable German translation by Joh. Jak. Rabe, city chaplain at Onolzbach. Onolzbach, 1760-1763, 6 vols. [See also *Quarterly Rev.* Oct. 1867.]

Babylonian Gemara, but very much mixed up with Chaldaic, much more than in the Mishna.¹

Other Rabbis, as Raschi, Maimonides, and others, have, subsequently, not only frequently written commentaries on the Talmud, but have also supplied lexicons for it; one particularly, under the title *תפארת* (*dispositus, the arranged book*), by Nathan Bar Jechiel, of Rome (d. 1106), with additions by Mussaphia (d. 1674), remodelled (cf. DMGZ. 1860, p. 318). In German, by M. J. Landau, *v. above*, p. 107. Three manuscripts of another, under the title "Al Morschid, the Guide," are in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford; the more difficult words in it are explained in the Arabic language (cf. also DMGZ. 1858, p. 357).

II. Renderings of the Sacred Books into the languages of different countries by means of translations and paraphrases; first, especially, into Chaldee (*Targumim*) and then also into Arabic (cf. for the particulars, §§ 350, 353).

III. Critical attempts to establish the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, particularly in the so-called *Masora*, and by the Masorites. Further particulars as to this will be found in the history of the Text.

IV. On pointing, *i.e.*, the vocalization and accentuation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. When treating of the history of the Text, we shall see that this is of rather late origin, and was not, indeed, added to the original text before the eighth century, and by the Biblical scholars of the Palestine and Babylonian schools. This artificial punctuation proves with what persevering zeal and industry the scholars of that time devoted themselves to the treatment of the Hebrew text of their sacred books, even in a grammatical point of view. The first impulse to this study was communicated to them by the Arabians, who at

¹ There are only three editions of the Jerusalemic Talmud, each making up one folio volume. There are ten complete editions of the Babylonian Talmud (with the text of the Mishna annexed), (the last, Vienna, 1806), twelve folio volumes on the average [cf. Winer's *Hdbch. der Theol. Lit.* 3rd ed. 1 col. 523], and agreeing in the (2947) leaves and pages; the references being to the Tractatus, and then more closely to the number of the leaf, so that folios *a.* and *b.* indicate the two sides of the leaf.

A new treatment of the whole Talmud, the Mishna, and the two Gemara in the original, and in a German translation, together with the commentaries of various Rabbis has been undertaken by Dr. M. Pinner at Berlin, and is estimated to take 28 vols., of which, meanwhile, only one volume (1842) has appeared.

least from the time of Mahomet, devoted themselves very diligently to the grammatical treatment of their language, and were followed, in a measure at least, by the Jewish scholars in dealing with the original language of their sacred books.

§ 46.—*Jewish Grammarians, Lexicographers, and Commentators.*

Somewhat later, after the text had been provided with the present punctuation, we find the Jewish scholars not less active in the interpretation of it both as regards its contents, and also as regards its language, grammatically as well as lexicographically; partly in grammatical and lexicographical works, and partly in commentaries. Their knowledge of Hebrew was, in part, traditional, and in part obtained by their own investigation, for which, in addition to the Old Testament Scriptures, they employed the language of the Mishna and the Talmud, as well as the Chaldee and Arabic.¹

I only give here some short notices of the most esteemed and influential of these scholars and their works.

A.—Grammarians.

The first, as far as we know,² who, imitating the Arabians,

¹ For notices of the Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages, and their works, cf. R. Simon, Joh. Christ. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica s. notitia tum auctorum Hebr. cujuscunque ætatis, tum Scriptorum, quæ vel Hebr. primum exarata vel ab aliis conversa sunt, ad nostram ætatem deducta*, 1715–33, 4 parts; continued by H. F. Kocher, *Nova Bibliotheca*, &c., 1783–84, 2 parts. [Moritz Steinschneider supplied, besides the “Bibliographical Manual for the Theoretical and Practical Literature of Hebrew Philology,” Leipzig, 1859, “A Latin Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Bodleian Library, and the Hebrew Codices in the Leyden University Library.” Particularly cf. Jul. Fürst’s *Bibliotheca Judaica*. A bibliographical manual, comprising the printed works of Jewish literature, including the public writings on the Jews and Judaism, in the alphabetical arrangement of the author. Leipzig, 1848–50–63, 3 vols.] Gesenius, also, in his “History of the Hebrew Language and Writings,” §. 28; and in the preface to his “Hebrew Dictionary-Manual, Edits. 2–6; and more accurate accounts of many of the most ancient (of the scholars) in Heinr. Ewald’s and Leop. Dukes’ “Contributions to the History of the most Ancient Interpretations and Linguistic Explanations of the Old Testament,” 3 vols. in 1, Stuttg. 1844.

² The authenticity of many of the statements which Fürst made in the appendix to the first edition, in the introduction to the second edition of his “Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary-Manual,” is most decidedly questioned by the learned Geiger, in the periodical of the DMG. 1862, p. 291; whilst Delitzsch (*Psalmen*, ii. p. 519); and Grätz put more faith in the facts adduced by Pinsker.

attempted to treat the Hebrew of the Scriptures in a scientific way as regards grammar, was R. Saadia Gaon.

Saadia ben Joseph, d. 942 (aged fifty years), of Fayum in Egypt, was סַאדְיָא, i. e. spiritual chief at Sora, of the Jews in Babylon. He was a very learned Rabbi. He was the first of the Jewish scholars, as far as we know, who made use of the Arabic language in his writings. He is best known as the author of an Arabic translation of the books of the Old Testament, still in part extant (v. under § 353). He also wrote expositions of the Old Testament, e. g., of the Pentateuch, which have been much quoted by other Rabbinical expositors, but no part of which has been preserved to us.

The same holds good as regards his various grammatical works, which we know nothing of except from the quotations of others (e. g., "The Book of the Language;" the "Book of Dagesch and Raphe;" the "Book of Punctuation;" on the letters עֵטוֹת).

Many other Jewish grammarians followed him, most of whom are only known to us through quotations, and some only by name. Among those whose works have reached us, the two following wrote in Arabic, R. Jehuda Chajjug, and Abulwalid.

(1) R. Jehuda Chajjug (cf. Ges. *Gramm.* § 3, 3, and Hupfeld, *Commentatio de Antiquioribus apud Judæos accentuum Scriptoribus*. Partic. I. p. 11, seq. Halle, 1846), c. 1020; he is supposed to be of Fez (cf. however, Hupfeld's articles from Duke's contributions in the *Hall. A. L. Zeitung*, 1848, No. 199). He is considered by the Rabbis as the father of scientific grammar of the Hebrew language. Three grammatical works of his are known: (a) on the silent letters; (b) on the verbs with doubled letters, עֵטוֹת; (c) on punctuation.¹

(2) Abulwalid Mervan ben Gannach, generally called by the Jews, *Rabbi Jona*, a physician at Cordova, in the first half of the 11th century; he, besides other things, wrote various learned linguistic works, partly with a peculiar polemical reference to Chajjug. The principal of

¹ They are in the original Arabic, in manuscript, at Oxford, but in a Hebrew translation (by Mose ben Gekatilla and Aben Esra) in various manuscripts at Oxford, Hamburg, Munich, and other places. Dukes has now edited them for the first time, from a codex at Munich of Esra's translation, in the third part of his above-named works.

these he called the "Book of Investigation," which is said to have comprised grammatical and lexicographical matter in common.¹

Other grammarians, of this and the following age, whose works are extant, partly printed and partly in manuscript, employed the Rabbinical language in them, *e.g.* :—

(1) R. Salamo Isaaki (רסל"א) abbreviated by the Jews to *Raschi*), wrongly called Jarchi, born at Troyes, in Champagne, d. 1105. (Cf. Pressel's article "*Raschi*" in Herzog's *Encyclop.*)

(2) R. Joseph Kimchi, of Narbonne, c. 1160.

(3) R. Moschah Kimchi, eldest son of the above-named.

(4) R. David Kimchi, younger son of Joseph Kimchi (c. 1200), attained as a grammarian great celebrity, peculiar fame, and distinguished authority among the Jews; his grammatical work *מקלל*, in two parts, with a dictionary, has been often printed.

(5) Ephodæus, so-named from the title of his grammatical work, *מְעִיָּה אֶפְוֶדָא*; his proper name being R. Isaak ben Moschah. He lived some time after Kimchi, and was much engaged in controversy with him; his work is frequently used by Morinus and Buxtorf.

(6) Elias Levita, born 1742, near Baireuth, according to others at Venice, of German parents; d. at Venice, 1549.

Levita was the author of various grammatical works, and Hebrew tutor to many Christians. The first grammars composed in Germany by Christian scholars were founded on, and follow him. In his work, *Masoreth Hammasoreth* (German translation by Sember, Halle, 1772), he maintained (in the third preface) the modern date of our present vowel signs. On account of such expressions of opinion, and his intercourse with Christians, he had to meet many accusations of heresy from his contemporaries.

B.—About the same time as the first experiments in Hebrew grammar, there arose, on the part of Jewish scholars, the first attempts at Hebrew lexicography, which, however,

¹ It is translated from the Arabic into Hebrew by four different Rabbis; an Arabic original is in manuscript at Oxford; in Hebrew it is found in various libraries. He called the grammatical part the "Book of the Variegated Fields" (embroidery), because of the multitude of chapters with heterogeneous contents, and this is printed complete, in a Hebrew translation. Frankfort, 1856.

were something still very imperfect. They were at first satisfied with interpreting some of the more difficult words by means of the Arabic. The earliest attempt of the sort which is known to us in this province is by Rabbi Saadia Gaon, in a smaller work, in which seventy Hebrew words are explained in this way. This has been reprinted by Dukes,¹ from a codex in the Bodleian Library. In the same codex there is a work of the Rabbi Juda ben Karisch, of Fez, in which, among other things, some Hebrew words are explained, partly from the Talmud, and partly from Arabic and other languages.² After the beginning of the eleventh century some more complete works followed, which collected and explained all the primitive words; the lexicological part of the works in the Arabic language of Abulwalid ben Gannach, already mentioned, also did this.

In this Lexicon, called the "Book of Roots," besides the Biblical passages, the author has employed, for explaining Hebrew words—as he says in the preface—the Mishna, the Talmud, the Chaldaic, and especially the Arabic languages. It was used by Pococke, and subsequently by Gesenius.

Some other lexicographical works have been written for the Hebrew language; as the dictionary, belonging to a somewhat earlier period, of Rabbi Menhahem ben Saruk,³ and that of Rabbi Salomo Parchon, about 1160.⁴

David Kimchi, however, obtained much greater repute and authority as a lexicographer than those hitherto named, by his סֵפֶר יִרְמְיָהוּ, the second part of his *Miklol*.⁵ There is also a lexicographical work, called תִּשְׁבִּי, by Elias Levita,

¹ In the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* Vol. V. Part 1, p. 115.

² Extracts of it are given by Schnurrer (in Eichhorn's *Bibl. der bibl. Liter.* Vol. III. pp. 951-980). and Ewald (*ut supra*, Vol. I. pp. 118-123).

³ There are manuscripts of this work in the libraries of Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, Leyden, Oxford, and Florence. For the Berlin manuscript, Dukes has supplied the preface (*ut supra*, Vol. II. pp. 125-148); and Herschell Filipowski published the work itself with an English translation. London, 1854. He reduces all the Hebrew words to biliterals. Cf. Ewald's "Compendium," § 4. c. Notes 2.]

⁴ J. B. de Rossi has published an extract of his interpretations in a separate work. Parma, 1805.

⁵ Often printed with the first grammatical part of *Miklol* but also by itself; lastly (with a comparison with previous editions and three manuscripts, also with the addition of the punctuation and indication of the Bible passages), by H. R. Biesenthal and F. S. Leberecht. Berlin, 1847.

giving a copious explanation of the more difficult words in the Bible and Talmud.¹

Among the Rabbinical commentators on the books of the Old Testament, Rabbi Saadia Gaon is certainly the first to be mentioned.

His expositions, *e.g.*, on the Pentateuch, are known to us by frequent quotations, but, as I have already said, are no longer extant. There are two MSS. of an Arabian translation of the Psalms by him at Oxford and Munich, containing separate notes after each Psalm, explanatory of difficult expressions and passages; this led Ewald, who did not doubt but that they were by Saadia himself, to have the most important of them printed (*ut supra*, Vol. I. pp. 9-74).

A commentator on the Bible, living only a little later, and very little known up to this time, was Rabbi Japhet ben Heli, of Bassora, a Karaite (*cf.* Pressel's article, "Karäer," in Herzog's *Encyclop.*), at the end of the tenth century; his manuscript works are contained in twenty volumes.²

There are other Rabbis³ better known in this province, among whom I only mention here, Raschi, Aben Esra, David Kimchi, Tanchum, Levi ben Gerson, Abarbanel, Salomo ben Melech.

(1) R. Salomo Isaaki (*cf.* p. 112) wrote a short Commentary on the whole Bible, chiefly following the Targums. He generally gives the meaning of Hebrew words by the corresponding French ones; it is printed in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible, also several times separately; translated into Latin with learned notes by Breithaupt, Gotha, 1710-1714, 3 vols.; "Commentary on Genesis," in German, by Haymann, with his own notes. Bonn, 1833.

¹ Printed at Basle, 1527, with Fagius' Latin translation, 1541.

² E. Burgés (Professor of Hebrew Literature at Paris) published a specimen of his "Commentary on the Psalms," with the Rabbinical writings as in the manuscript itself, and with a Latin translation, Paris, 1846. [J. G. L. Kosegarten published a portion of a Karaite commentary on the Pentateuch of the year 1360. (*Libri Coronæ legis ab Aharone ben Elihu conscripti aliquot particulas primus edidit, Latine vertit, &c.*, Jena, 1824). *Cf. the writings of S. Pinsker (Vienna, 1860) and J. Fürst (Leipzig, 1862), on the "History of Karaism and its Literature."*]

³ "On the Exegetical School of the North of France," *cf.* Geiger in the *DMG.* 1861, p. 149; 1862, p. 299.

(2) Aben Esra (Abraham ben Meir ebn [ben] Esra), of Toledo, d. about 1167 (cf. Herzog's *Encyclop.* I. p. 41), one of the most distinguished and richly endowed of the Jewish scholars, author of numerous works, and among them, of "Commentaries on most of the Books of the Old Testament," often made use of Arabic in explanation of the Hebrew; reprinted in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible.

(3) David Kimchi. There is a Commentary of his on "The Nebiim; the former and latter Prophets," also on "Chronicles," in which he gives both grammatical explanations and investigations of historical and dogmatical questions, and often quotes opinions of others; reprinted in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible.

(4) Tanchum, of Jerusalem, in the thirteenth century: nothing further is known of him; author of an "Arabic Commentary on the Old Testament," with the exception of the Pentateuch. Of this a single MS. is extant at Oxford, in which the Arabic is written in Hebrew character. Schnurrer first published a specimen of this (Judges, chapters i.-xii.; Tübingen, 1791), and subsequently Haarbrücker brought out the nine last chapters of the Book of Judges (Halle, 1843), and the most important passages in the Books of Samuel and Kings (1844: Arabic with a Latin translation); besides, S. Munk on Habakkuk (Paris, 1843; Arabic with French translation); and W. Cureton, the Book of Lamentations (London, 1843, the Arabic text only); he also intended to publish the "Commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets."

(5) R. Levi ben Gerson, of Provence, "Expositions on the Earlier Prophets, Proverbs, and Job;" in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible.

(6) Don Isaak Abarbanel, of Lisbon, d. 1508, at Venice; wrote Commentaries on "The Pentateuch," "The Nebiim," and "Daniel," each of which are separately printed (*v.* Arnold's article "Abarbanel," in Herzog's *Encyclop.*); his exposition is very diffuse, more an elucidation of things than words, and strongly hostile to the Christians, as was not unnatural considering the violent persecutions which he and those of his religion then suffered.

(7) Salomo ben Melech, of Fez, in the 16th century: his "Commentary on the whole Old Testament" bears the title מְלֶכֶת יוֹשִׁי (published, with additions, by Jac. Abendana, Amsterdam, 1685); it is short and condensed, and gives

almost exclusively grammatical and lexicographical explanations, mostly from Kimchi's writings.

I must here mention a very eminent Jewish scholar, R. Moses ben Maimon, (Maimonides abbreviated רמבם, *Rambam*), born at Cordova, d. at Cairo in Egypt, 1206 (1204 in the article by Jost (d. 1860), in Herzog's *Encyclop.*). Of his works I only mention here his celebrated work מורה נבוכים, "Instruction of the Erring," in which he helps us to the right interpretation of Scripture (in a dogmatical point of view), with many peculiar and remarkable opinions, which were partly accepted and partly controverted by his co-religionists, who even accused him of heresy. It was originally written in the Arabic language, but was translated into Hebrew under his own eye, and is more often printed from this translation. It is translated into Latin by Joh. Buxtorf, the son; Basle, 1629. (S. Munk published lately at Paris the original Arabic text, with a French translation, and numerous notes, cf. DMGZ., 1860, pp. 722-732.)

We have now brought down the study of the Scriptures amongst the Jews to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Up to this time and still later, the Jewish scholars did good service by their care of the printed editions of the Old Testament in Hebrew. But subsequently, the study of the original language of their holy books was for many centuries much neglected by them, and only partially revived at a later date, when they imitated the efforts of Christian scholars in this branch of learning.

§ 47.—*Christian Commentators—Greek.*

The knowledge of Hebrew, however, originally came to Christian divines¹ from the Jewish Rabbis. But the con-

¹ There does not yet exist any satisfactory history of the interpretation of the Old Testament in the Christian Church. Without regard to those works which only treat of the New Testament (cf. particularly Ed. Reuss, "History of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament." Book 5, Edit. 4). we have successive works on the entire Bible by J. G. Rosenmüller, *Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacr. in Ecclesia Christiana*, 1795-1814, 5 vols.), who continued it up to the end of the fifteenth century; by Meyer, "History of the Interpretation of Scripture since the Restoration of Learning," 1802-1808, 5 vols.; with which should be compared Sam. Lutz, "Biblical Hermeneutics," 1849, pp. 101-154; and Sam. Davidson, "Sacred Hermeneutics," 1843, in which pp. 70-192, a History of Biblical interpretation in the Patristic and Hierarchical Period is given.

tinuous study of this language was not begun to be carried on independently in the Christian Church until it had ceased to a great extent among the Jews.

Any exact knowledge of Hebrew in Christian writers of the earlier centuries is but trifling in amount, and limited to particular points. The members of the church were satisfied with interpreting the Old Testament from the translations in the languages of their respective countries; some of which translations possessed almost a recognized ecclesiastical authority, *e.g.*, the LXX in the Greek Church, the Vulgate in the Latin and Western Churches generally, and the Peshito in the Syriac. The latter is most probably the work of Syrian Christians at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, and as it is entirely derived immediately from the Hebrew, is an important record as to the knowledge of the original language of the Old Testament in the Syrian Church at that epoch. This knowledge, however, was not, from the very first, much disseminated among them, and subsequently the Christians who spoke Syriac kept to this translation only.¹

There were in the Greek Church in the second and third century, besides the LXX derived from the Jewish Church, many other Greek translations of the Old Testament; some of which, at least, were of Christian (Jewish-Christian) authorship. It became customary to compare these later translations, many of which followed the Hebrew text more closely than the LXX, with the LXX; particularly as to the doubtful passages; this was facilitated by the Harmony which Origen (d. 254) gave of these translations in his so-named *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*.

Origen himself was well versed in the Hebrew language, but not to the full extent and degree that has been supposed. He wrote expositions of the books of the Old Testament of three sorts: (*a*) *ὁμιλίαι*, practical, edifying expositions; (*b*) learned disquisitions in more copious commentaries, called *τόμοι*; (*c*) shorter disquisitions, *σημειώσεις*, or *Scholiasts*. The greater part of these Old Testament

¹ It is also referred to in the expositions which Ephraim Syrus wrote in the Syriac language, forming short commentaries on nearly all the Old Testament (except the Psalms and Solomon's books), which contain much that is valuable in the historical explanations. Cf. above, §. 27.

expositions are lost, and this is the case with the whole of his *σημειώσεις*. Of his Commentaries, only some fragments in Greek on different books have been preserved; of his Homilies, nineteen on Jeremiah; besides a larger portion still, in the Latin translation of Rufinus, which, however, is not to be depended upon. Many of the expositions of Origen are found in the later Greek exegetists and in the *Catena*. Although Hebrew, as we have said, was not unknown to Origen, yet his exegetical works are quite useless for the grammatical or historical interpretation of the Old Testament; as he, and the whole school to which he belonged, which also took its rise from him, gave little weight to the simple sense of words in the Old Testament, but considered that the true sense was a higher one, concealed under the veil of the letters.

Other commentators of the Greek Church, particularly of the Antiochene school, attach greater importance to the simple historical sense, particularly in the historical books, of the Old Testament; but they were almost entirely ignorant of the Hebrew language, or at best only slightly acquainted with it, and for interpretation adhered to the Greek translation, either the LXX exclusively, or as compared with other translations. Those whose exegetical works have been preserved to us, are as follows:—

(1) Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea (d. 340), wrote, among other things, a continuous elucidation of Isaiah (*ὑπομνήματα εἰς Ἠσαΐαν*), of which the greater part has been preserved; and a connected exposition of the Psalms, of which the first 119 have been preserved. Both are published in the first volume of Montfaucon's *Collectio nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum*. (Paris, 1706, 2 vols.) He chiefly followed Origen in his expositions, and compared together the LXX and the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

(2) John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 407), expounded most of the books of Holy Scripture in his copious Homilies; those of the Old Testament, according to the LXX, of which sixty-seven homilies on Genesis, five homilies on Isaiah vi., and homilies on many of the Psalms, have been preserved to us; besides, an "Exposition of the first Eight Chapters of Isaiah," and "Eight Sermons (*λόγοι*) on single passages of Genesis, particularly the first chapter."

(3) Theodorus, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (d. 428), one of the most eminent and most unprejudiced exegetists in the Greek Church; but none of his Greek exegetical works have been published except the "Commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets," partly (Rome, 1825), by Mai (*Scriptorum Veterum, nova collectio*, Vol. I. Part 2, pp. 41-104; on Jonah, Nahum, Obadiah, with the prefaces and commencements of the commentaries on Amos, Haggai, Zechariah, Hosea), and complete (according to a Vienna codex) by Fried. Victor von Wegnern, Berlin, 1834. A considerable portion of his expositions on the Octateuch (Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth), is found in the *Catena*, published by Nicephorus. Some other exegetical works of his are extant in manuscript in a Syriac translation.

(4) Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Mesopotamia (d. 457), a scholar of Theodorus and Chrysostom, was also one of the best exegetists of the Greek Church. We have of his a running "Commentary on the Psalms, Solomon's Song, the Four Greater and Twelve Lesser Prophets." Of which, however, the "Commentary on Isaiah" is not yet printed complete, but only so far as Sirmond recovered it from the *Catena*; besides *ἐρωτήσεις* on the historical books (Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles), explaining certain passages of these books which offer peculiar difficulties. (The whole of the exegesis on the Old Testament is in Schulze's edit. Vols. I and II.)

(5) Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria (d. 404). We have copious Commentaries by him "on Isaiah, and the Twelve Lesser Prophets," and a work on the Pentateuch, under the title *Glaphyra*, in twelve books, containing typical and allegorical views of numerous single passages. He keeps entirely to the LXX.

(6) Procopius, of Gaza, teacher of oratory in the first half of the sixth century, is the author of many exegetical works, in which he gives extracts from the interpretations of the earlier expositors of the Greek Church, but with additions of his own. Besides the LXX, he also made use of other Greek translations, and appealed to the Hebrew text as well, although he himself appears not to have understood Hebrew. Of his exegetical Greek works are printed with a Latin translation, (a) "A copious Commem-

tary on Isaiah," Paris, 1580 (published by Curterius); (b) "A Short Scholiast on the Four Books of Kings (2 Sam. and 2 Kings) and Chronicles," by John Meursius, Leyden, 1620, also a "Commentary on the Octateuch," in a faulty Latin translation only. Zürich, 1555. The Greek original is in the library at Augsburg, together with the "Commentary on Solomon's Song."

(7) Theophylact, Archbishop of Achrida, in Bulgaria, at the end of the eleventh century. There are commentaries extant by him on the Old Testament, on Hosea, Habakkuk, Jonah, Nahum, and Micah, which are printed in Greek and Latin in the edition of his works. Venice, 1754-1763 (Vol. IV.); several earlier editions in Latin.

The Greek Church now began to rest more and more satisfied with following the example of the last-named expositors in the interpretation of the Old and New Testament; merely collecting and arranging the expositions of the earlier Greek interpreters, especially the orthodox, and stringing them together as it were in one chain, on which account such collections are called *Catene*, *σειραί*.

There are many such in MSS. on various books of the Old Testament, and they are not devoid of value, chiefly as preserving the interpretations of many ecclesiastical writers, whose commentaries are otherwise lost.¹

We have evidence of the Greek Church having busied itself with the original text of the Old Testament in a mediæval Greek translation, of which the only MS. exists at Venice, on which account it is known as the *Versio Veneta* (De Wette, § 56); nothing further, however, is known of its origin.

¹ The following of them are printed: (a) "A Catena on Job," Greek with Latin translation, published by Patricius Junius, London, 1637. It contains, among other things, much of the exposition of a certain Olympiodorus, Deacon at Alexandria, probably at the beginning of the seventh century, a complete and elegant expositor, although his expositions refer only to the LXX; the compiler of this Catena was probably Niketas, a Greek divine in the second half of the eleventh century, Archbishop of Sarrä (Heraclea), in Macedonia. (b) "On Solomon's Song," published by Meursius, Leyden, 1617; (c) "On the Octateuch and Four Books of Kings," published through a Greek monk, Nicophorus, subsequently Archbishop of Philadelphia, Leipzig, 1772, 2 vols. Besides (d) one on the Psalms, which however has been at present published only in a Latin translation by the Jesuit Balthasar Corderius. Antwerp, 1643-46, 3 vols.

On the whole, we may assert that a cultivation of Hebrew, and a study of the Old Testament in the original tongue, scarcely existed at all in the Greek Church after the time of Origen, and even now this study is but little pursued among them, inasmuch as the LXX is alone of authority, even where it is at variance with the Hebrew text.

§ 48.—*Latin Commentators.*

Among the Latin Fathers of the Church, only two deserve mention with respect to the exposition of the Old Testament: the two contemporaries, Augustine and Jerome. For grammatical interpretation, however, the latter only must be taken account of, for Augustine (Bishop of Hippo Regius, in Africa, d. 430), had not much knowledge of Hebrew, and only a slight acquaintance with Greek.¹ He was, however, remarkable for the great depth of his religious and moral consciousness, enabling him to perceive the correct and inmost sense of the Scriptures, often even in the Latin translation; this is particularly the case in his copious "Commentary on the Psalms."

We also have by him (2), "Annotations on Job;" (3) Works on Genesis, against the Manichæans, to vindicate it against their objections as to the contents of the book; (a) *De Genesi contra Manichæos libri duo*, in the year 389, from the creation up to the expulsion of man from Paradise; (b) *De Genesi ad literam liber imperfectus*, up to ch. i. v. 26; (c) *De Genesi ad literam, libri xii.*, also only up to the expulsion from Paradise. (4) *Questiones ad Heptateuchum* (Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges). (5) *Locutionum, libri vii.*, a record of the peculiar readings in the Latin translation of the books of the Heptateuch, in which he often refers them to the Greek of the LXX.

The expositions of Jerome (d. 420) are not very eminent for their dogmatical and ethical value, while, in respect to the grammatical and philological part, they surpass all the patristic interpretations. Jerome surpassed all the other Fathers in his philological culture, and particularly in his knowledge of Hebrew. He learnt this language in his early youth from one of the Jewish converts to Christianity,

¹ Augustine is one of the first to discriminate between (cf. Lutz, *Hermeneutics*, p. 113) the fourfold sense of Scripture which afterwards prevailed in the Catholic Church (cf. Hase, *Hutterus Rediv.* §. 48).

and ever afterwards continued the study, making use, at great expense, of the instruction of learned Jews in the schools of Tiberias and Lydda, particularly of a certain Barhanina. His knowledge of Hebrew, therefore, completely followed the Jewish schools, and his interpretations of the Old Testament writings agree very frequently with those of the Rabbis. This is conspicuous in his Latin translation of the Old Testament. The Latin translation of the Old Testament, existing up to that time in the Western Church, and circulating in different forms, particularly in the so-called *Itala*, was made from the LXX, and shared in its deviations from the Hebrew text. Jerome translated anew, immediately from the Hebrew, the whole of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, which work, except the Psalter, was afterwards accepted in the West as an authorized version, and, although with various alterations and corruptions, constitutes our present Vulgate. He also wrote commentaries on different books of the Old Testament, in which he attaches the exposition to his own Latin translation, but in the doubtful passages he cites the LXX, and the other Greek translations differing from it, and sometimes he goes back to the Hebrew text. His interpretations are at once philological, historical, and dogmatical, and do not fatigue by their prolixity. He also makes diligent use of the earlier interpreters, but especially Origen. Of his writings we still possess: (a) "A running Commentary on the whole of the Prophets, the four greater and twelve lesser;" (b) the same on Ecclesiastes; (c) *Quæstiones s. traditiones Hebraicæ in Genesin*, which is a short exposition of this book, and is especially devoted to a comparison of the ancient Latin translation with the LXX and the Hebrew text.¹

Jerome had the reputation among his contemporaries of being a distinguished example of Hebrew grammatical knowledge, and they addressed themselves to him with multifarious inquiries in this particular branch of learning.

¹ The other exegetical works on the Old Testament Scriptures which appear under his name in most of the editions of his works are not from the pen of Jerome, particularly those on the Psalms (according to Martianay by another Latin Father in the fourth century, who, however, is insignificant as an exegetist, and was quite contented to borrow from his predecessor), on Job and Proverbs, Lamentations and Habakkuk.

He also imparted some knowledge of the Hebrew language to many of his friends, among whom were some learned women. This however had but little effect, nor did the zeal for the study continue. Among the Western ecclesiastical teachers, in the century after Jerome, we do not find even one who betrays any knowledge of Hebrew, or any acquaintance with the original text of the Old Testament, since, in expounding Scripture, they always exclusively adhere to the Vulgate. The scholastic divines of the middle ages also adhered to its text alone in their speculations and interpretations of Scripture, as they were not even acquainted with Greek. When they met with any words in the authorized translation which were retained out of the original text, as, *e.g.*, Alleluia, they referred to the explanation of it in the earlier Fathers, as Augustine, Jerome, and others, and in this way sometimes gave very strange meanings.¹

There were very few Christians in the West in this age who possessed any knowledge of Hebrew. Among these Raymundus Martini, a Spanish Dominican (d. 1284), peculiarly distinguished himself.

Raymundus Martini was well read, not only in the Old Testament, but also in the Talmud and Rabbinical writings, and mastered even Arabic and Chaldaic; he wrote a work directed against the Mahometans and Jews, *Pugio fidei*, first printed at Paris, 1642, again published by Joh. Bened. Carpzov. Leipzig, 1687.

The controversies which began to arise between the Church and the Jews and Jewish divines, whose schools in the middle ages were principally seated in Western Europe, must from time to time have shown that there was a greater need in the Western than in the Greek Church for Christian divines to be acquainted with the original language of those Holy Scriptures which were regarded by both parties as a common possession. It was therefore

¹ Gesenius gives the following instance:—"History of the Hebrew Language," p. 104; Durandus (Bishop of Meaux, d. 1333) ad Apocal. xix. 1; Alleluia; Augustinus sic exponit: *al*, *i.e.* salvum; *le*, *i.e.* me; *lu*, *i.e.* fac; *ja*, *i.e.* domine. Hieronymus sic: *alle*, *i.e.* cantate; *lu*, *i.e.* laudem; *ja*, *i.e.* ad dominum. Gregorius sic: *alle*, pater; *lu*, filius; *ja*, spiritus sanctus; or *alle*, lux; *lu*, vita; *ja*, salus. M. Petrus Antisiodorensis sic: *al*, altissimus; *le*, levatus in cruce; *lu*, lugebant apostoli; *ja*, jam resurrexit.

ordered at the Council of Vienna (1311), by Pope Clement V., that Hebrew, with Chaldee and Arabic, should be taught in all the Academies, in order to confute the Jews and Moors. But the plan does not appear to have had any great result; indeed it could not have, as proper teachers were wanting. There were, however, at this time, even in the West, a few Christian divines and scholars who were proficient in Hebrew, especially the converted Jews who had previously received a learned education in the schools of the Rabbis. We must mention here particularly Nicholas de Lyra, at the end of the fourteenth century, who was probably of Jewish origin (cf. Herzog's *Encyclop.* x. p. 347).

Lyra was a Franciscan, of Paris, d. 1340, "Doctor planus et utilis." He composed a Commentary on the whole Bible under the title of *Postilla perpetua*, in 85 books, between A.D. 1292–1330, first printed at Rome 1471, 5 vols.; subsequently reprinted up to the seventeenth century. To a knowledge of Biblical he joined that of Rabbinical Hebrew, and he also used the Commentaries of the Rabbis in elucidating the Old Testament, especially that of Raschi. He gained great authority as an expositor, particularly at a later date with Luther and Protestants generally.¹ He laid great stress on the necessity of first of all investigating the literal (philologico-historical) sense of the Scripture, since on that only can the mystical interpretation be based.

As proficient in the Hebrew language in the fifteenth century, we must particularly mention Johann Wessel and Johannes Pico.

The first, born at Gröningen, 1419, lived at Cologne, Louvain, and Paris, but especially at Basle, as teacher of philosophy. On account of his comprehensive erudition, he was called *Lux mundi*. It is not known whence he obtained his knowledge of Hebrew, but probably through the instruction of a Jewish master. Johannes Pico, Duke of Mirandola, born 1463, was much devoted to philosophy, especially the Platonic, and also to other sciences; when only twenty-three years old he excited the greatest wonder

¹ As in the proverb:—

"Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset;
seu (Totus mundus delirasset)."

at Rome by his learning and acumen. He learnt Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic from a Jewish scholar, and in the same way became acquainted with the Kabbala. He made use of these acquirements in his Biblical researches and controversies against Jews and Mahometans. Led by his zeal for Christianity and learning, he at last resigned his duchy, and was on the point of becoming a Dominican, when he died, 1494, aged thirty-one years.

§ 49.—*Hebrew Scholars in the early part of the 16th Century.*

The study of Hebrew was carried on by the Christian Divines of the West with more continuous zeal after the commencement of the sixteenth century. Then also Hebrew grammars first appeared, composed by Christian Divines in the Latin language. The first experiment of the kind is by Conrad Pellicanus. *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebræa*, Basle, 1503 (cf. Herzog's *Encyclop.* xi. p. 289).

The author, when this work appeared, was about twenty-six years old, a Franciscan, and teacher of divinity at Basle. He learnt Hebrew in a great measure by himself, with considerable exertion. His attempt, however, was very imperfect in some things. He afterwards went over to the Protestant Church, and became (1526) teacher of Hebrew at Zürich (d. 1556). His Lectures on the Old and New Testament are also printed. Zürich, 1532-39, 7 vols.

Three years after this attempt of Pellicanus, the very much more efficient grammar of Reuchlin's (father of Hebrew philology among Christians) appeared.

Johann Reuchlin, born at Pfortzheim, 1455, first learnt Hebrew of Joh. Wessel, and afterwards from the Jewish scholars at Vienna and Rome. From 1520 he was teacher of Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt, d. 1522 at Stuttgardt, when he had been just summoned to Tübingen. His work, *Rudimenta linguæ Hebraicæ* (Pfortzheim, 1506, pp. 620), (a corrected edition by Seb. Münster, Basle, 1537), extended to three books, of which the two first form a vocabulary, which, however, gives little beyond the primitive words, and very few of the derived ones. The meanings of single words are put down in it, usually, according to Kimchi, all together and unarranged. The third book contains the grammar in which he likewise follows the Rabbis. The *technical terms* mostly take their origin from Reuchlin;

these have since become customary in the Hebrew grammar (as "status absolutis," "affixum," "conjugatio," "verba imperfecta," "quiescentia," &c.); the accents also, which have become usual in Germany, partly date from him.

The impetus which at this time affected the study of the Hebrew language was connected with the general advancement of learning, and particularly philological learning, in the West at this time. This study was also facilitated by the art of printing, as it had been necessary before to acquire, at very great expense, manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, and also of the grammatical and lexicographical works of the Jewish scholars, so that, for this reason, few were in a position to attain the knowledge requisite for reading the Hebrew Old Testament. But the study of Hebrew was peculiarly promoted by the Reformation. The Evangelical Church has continually regarded it as essential to the perception and appropriation of Salvation, that we should go back to the Holy Scriptures as the purest sources of knowledge. The investigation of Scripture in its original language, therefore, must be regarded as an essential part of theological learning. The Reformers therefore, particularly Luther, promoted both by word and example a diligent study of the original languages of the Bible. Luther, especially, insisted with peculiar energy on the study of the Hebrew language.¹

But the great zeal with which the Protestants insisted on the study of the original language of the Holy Scriptures had at once the effect of rendering it suspicious among the stricter adherents of the Romish Church, especially because

¹ *E.g. Tischreden* (Table Talk), [W. A. xxii. p. 1067]: "The 'verba,' and 'res St. Pauli,' are taken from the Prophets and Moses; young divines should therefore study Hebrew, that they may be able to compare the Greek and Hebrew words with each other, and perceive the attributes, nature, and force of them. If I were young, and wished to become a distinguished divine, I would compare 'Paulum cum veteri Testamento.'" And so elsewhere. Gesenius, "History of the Hebrew Language," p. 106, quotes his Commentary on Psalm xlv.: "Sæpe monui, ut linguam Hebræam disceretis nec eam ita negligeretis. Arbitror nos habituros religionis nostræ hostes Hispanos, Gallos, Italos, Turcas etiam: ibi certe cognitione linguæ Hebrææ opus erit. Seio enim, quantum mihi contra hostes meos profuerit, quare hac quantulocunque cognitione infinitis aureorum millibus carere nolim. Et vos dabit operam, ut hanc quoque linguam discatis, si non pecora campi et indoctum vulgus haberi vultis."

it more or less endangered the unlimited authority of the Vulgate, which ranked as an authoritative interpretation of the Holy Scriptures accepted by the Church. Reuchlin was, indeed, persecuted by the Inquisition at Cologne, principally on account of his zeal for the study of the Hebrew language; and the Theological Faculties at Paris, Louvain, Erfurt, and Mayence followed the example. The Emperor Maximilian had promulgated an edict in 1509 and 1510, to burn all Hebrew writings except the Old Testament; and it was alleged against Reuchlin, as showing a great partiality for the Jews, that he voted against this measure, which however really never was executed.

So also, subsequently, Franciscus Vatablus (d. 1547) was regarded with hostility in France, on the same grounds as Reuchlin. The King of France, Francis I., made him in 1530 Professor of Hebrew at Paris, and he exercised this office with the greatest commendation. But as he at the same time delivered lectures on the Old Testament, the divines of Paris endeavoured to obtain an order that he should give this up, or, at least, that he should not impute any error to the Vulgate. They did not succeed, however, in limiting him in this way.

His *Annotationes in Vet. Test.* appeared at Paris, 1545, published by Rob. Stephanus from the notes (but cf. Herzog's *Encyclop.* xvii. p. 50) of one of Vatablus' hearers; then augmented after the Vulgate of Rob. Stephanus, 1557 (those on the Psalms at the same time with those by H. Grotius, separately edited by Vogel, with his own observations and preface by Nösselt. Halle, 1767).

Santes (Sanctus) Pagninus, a Dominican, of Lucca, was another Catholic divine of this time who devoted himself zealously to Hebrew, and used his knowledge of it in elucidating the Old Testament (d. at Lucca, 1541).

He is best known as the author of a new Latin translation of the whole Bible, the first made since the Vulgate, which appeared, with the approval of Pope Leo X., at Lyons, 1527. It received great commendation from Jewish as well as Christian scholars, particularly the Reformers and other Protestants. He attempted the greatest possible fidelity in it; but the translation is so slavishly literal that often it is not at all intelligible, except by reverting to the original text. We have, besides, by him, a gram-

matical and lexicographical work on Hebrew; viz., *Institutionum Hebraicarum, libri iv.*, Lyons, 1526 (again published, improved, and corrected by Joh. Mercerus, and two other scholars, Lyons, 1575, 2 vols.). In both works he adhered entirely to the Rabbis, whose works he made use of very diligently. The Lexicon contained almost entirely *excerpta* from Kimchi and other Rabbis.

Then (on Masius, cf. § 69), and subsequently, there were many other divines of the Catholic Church who endeavoured to promote the study of the Hebrew language, and employed the knowledge of it in the explanation of the Old Testament. Among those who, up to the beginning of the previous century, have done good service and obtained great approbation for their commentaries on the whole or important parts of the Old Testament, the three following must be particularly mentioned—Maldonatus, a Lapide, and Calmet.

(a) Joh. Maldonatus, a Spanish Jesuit, b. 1534, taught for some time at Paris with great acceptance (d. 1583, at Rome). His writings did not appear till after his death, and some of them long after; among these was his *Commentarii in præcipuos Sacræ Scripturæ libros Veteris Testamenti*, Paris, 1643, containing scholiasts on the Psalms, the three writings of Solomon, and the four greater prophets. There is much that is valuable in it.

(b) Cornelius a Lapide (Von Stein), born at Liège, a learned Jesuit, delivered lectures on the Bible at Louvain, and then at Rome, where he died 1637. We have by him a Commentary on the New Testament, and also on all the Books of the Old Testament, excepting Psalms and Job. He was hindered by his death from completing these. The commentaries on the different books appeared at first singly, then collected together, and were often reprinted thus, last at Vienna, 1730:—"The Old and New Testament," in 10 vols. His knowledge of Hebrew can hardly be called comprehensive, and his expositions are not generally deep, yet he received much approbation, especially in the Catholic Church, both for the completeness with which he quotes the various interpretations, and his multifarious dogmatic labours. Great use has been made of him by later Protestant expositors.

(c) Augustin Calmet, a Benedictine of Senon, in Lorraine (d. 1757). His "Commentary on the Bible" ap-

peared originally in French, Paris, 1707-1716, 23 vols., then *ib.* 1724-1726, 8 vols.; in a Latin translation by Mansi, Lucca, 1730, and Würtzburg, 1787; executed with much industry, and with the help of the best earlier expositors; with much historical and antiquarian learning especially. His exposition, however, does not go very deep.

§ 50.—*Protestant Commentators.*

In the meantime, however, the study of Hebrew, and the use of it in interpreting the Old Testament, extended among Protestants much more than it had done in the Catholic Church. Among the Protestant divines at the time of the Reformation who rendered good service by their exposition of the Old Testament by means of running commentaries, Luther and Calvin themselves deserve the first place. Luther worked at Hebrew at Erfurt, and continued the study of it more extensively at Wittenberg, where he was assisted in it by Aurogallus (Professor of Hebrew), Creuziger, and others. First of all his works we must mention his German translation of the Old Testament, which he published after 1523, in single books. It first appeared complete in 1534,¹ and, together with his translation of the New Testament, has been of unspeakable influence for the extension of Biblical knowledge, in forwarding the cause of the Gospel, and even in the improvement of the German language. He made very great use of the LXX and the Vulgate, also of Rabbinical tradition, although neither the one nor the other were considered by him as a sufficient authority. Before this, also, at the same time, and subsequently, he composed comprehensive exegetical works on different Old Testament Scriptures.

¹ In order to get a complete insight into the internal history of this work, it is indispensable to have the work published by Dr. Heinr. Ernst Bindsell, of Halle, 1845-55, in seven parts (Part 5, the "Apocrypha;" Parts 6 and 7, the New Testament); "Dr. Martin Luther's Translation of the Bible, from the latest (1545) original Edition, critically treated," &c. A glance at the great freedom with which Luther proceeds, is afforded in the "German, Hebrew, and Greek Bible-Concordance," by Fried. Lanckisch, which Reineccius published in two folio volumes at Leipzig; cf. also Heinr. Schott, "History of Dr. Martin Luther's German Translation of the Bible," Leipzig, 1835.

Among Luther's exegetical works on the Old Testament we must particularly mention (a) a complete "Exposition of the whole of Genesis," in Latin, at which he worked 1536-1545, which was printed by some of his friends from his lectures. But a German translation of it soon appeared (Walch's Edits. i. and ii.); the Latin original was last printed in *Lutheri Exegetica Opera Latina*, tom. i.-xi., curâ Edsperger et Schmidt, Erl. 1829-1842, 8 vols.; (b) *Deuteromium*, exclusively Latin, first published 1525 (in the *Exegetica Opera*, tom. xiii., cur. Irmischer, 1845; German, Walch's, iii.); (c) "Isaiah," one of his college lectures, written down afterwards, exclusively in Latin, printed by a hearer, 1532; added to 1534 (*Exeg. Opera*, tom. xxii., xxiii., cur. Schmidt, 1860-61; German, Walch's, vi.); (d) the "Lesser Prophets," except Haggai, in different years; a twofold work on "Hosea" and "Joel" (translated into German, Walch's Edn., vi.); (e) "Ecclesiastes," entirely Latin; in German, by Justus Jonas, 1533; (f) a short "Exposition of Solomon's Song," from Luther's lectures by Veit Dietrich, 1538 (*Exeg. Opera*, tom. xxi., cur. Irmischer, 1858, Walch's, v.); (g) different expositions on the "Psalms," only, however, on a certain series of them. (*Exeg. Opera*, tom. xiv.-xx., cur. Irmischer, 1845-1848; Walch's, iv. v.)

Calvin is of still more importance as an expositor. There are expositions of his on most of the books of the Old Testament, particularly on the "Pentateuch," "Joshua," the "Prophets," and "Psalms," which are in the five first volumes of the Amsterdam edition of his works (1671, 9 vols.); they first appeared singly. His knowledge of Hebrew was less comprehensive than Luther's, but his interpretation is generally more exact in a grammatical point of view, entering with more care and greater depth into the actual sense, and, at the same time, has everywhere a practical aim. His "Commentaries on the Psalms" (newly edited by Tholuck, Berlin, 1836, 2 vols.) are most excellent, and also that on "Genesis" (republished by Hengstenberg, Berlin, 1838, 2 vols.); in the latter, among other things, he carries on a continual controversy against those expositors who misapprehended and disputed the historical character of the book, since, even then, mythical and parabolic ideas of the sense of this book had become current

(especially among Italian scholars). In his commentary on the "Psalms," he showed the great impartiality of his spirit, by expressing the idea with regard to many of those songs, then mostly considered as directly Messianic, that the immediate reference was to other circumstances and persons lying nearer to the writer's time. Besides the two former books, he also published a commentary on "Isaiah," and the book of "Joshua;" the expositions of the other prophets were published by some of his hearers.

Among the Protestant expositors of the Old Testament from the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century we must further particularly mention Brentz, in the Lutheran Church, and, among the Reformists, Æcolampadius, Mercerus, Drusius, and Piscator.

(a) Johann Brentz (d. 1570, as Provost at Stuttgart), was the most proficient in Hebrew among the Lutheran expositors of his time; his expositions, although chiefly dogmatical, paid great attention to grammatical illustration. We have commentaries by him on most of the books of the Old Testament (on the "Pentateuch" and the other historical books, except Chronicles; on the "Psalms," "Job," "Ecclesiastes," "Isaiah," "Jeremiah," "Hosea," "Amos," "Jonah," "Micah"), which are collected in the four first volumes of his *Opera*, Tübingen, 1576-90, 8 vols.

(b) Johann Æcolampadius (Hausschein), Professor of Divinity at Basle (d. 1531), possessed a well-grounded knowledge of Hebrew, which he showed in his exegetical works on the different books of the Old Testament: on "Genesis," "Job," "The Greater and the Lesser Prophets," which appeared singly (after 1523), and have been variously reprinted.

(c) Johannes Mercerus (le Mercier), a divine of the French Reformed Church, was, for many years, Professor of Hebrew at Paris (a follower of Vatablus), d. 1570 at Usez in Languedoc. We have commentaries of his on different books of the Old Testament, most of which were not published till after his death. (1) On "Genesis," edited by Beza, Paris, 1598. (2) On "Job" and "Solomon's Writings," 1573, 2 vols.; a new edition, Amsterdam, 1651, 1 vol. (3) On the five first of the "Lesser Prophets," first published by Peter Cevalerius (le Chevalier) without indication of date or place; then in a mutilated form,

Giessen, 1695. (4) *Scholia et Versio ad Prophetiam Haggæi Ebraice*, Paris, 1551. Mercerus was a linguist well versed in Hebrew, and, besides his interpretations of Job and Solomon's books, some very useful remarks out of his other works are still in existence; he also made diligent use of the earlier commentators, particularly Jerome and the Rabbis, and gives *excerpta* from them, which, however, are scarcely at all brought into his work on the "Lesser Prophets."

(d) Joh. Drusius (properly Van der Driesche), born in Flanders, 1550, Professor of Eastern Languages at Oxford after 1572, then at Leyden after 1575, subsequently Professor of Hebrew at Franeker from 1585; d. 1616. There are by him continuous lectures and commentaries on most of the Books of the Old Testament, and interpretations of the more difficult passages, which he had worked at by direction of the Netherland States-General, portions of which were not printed till after his death. Without losing himself in dogmatical inquiries, he busied himself in investigating the meaning of the words of Scripture by means of the Hebrew linguistic usages, the Jewish expositors, and the ancient translations.

(e) Johannes Piscator (or Fischer, in Herzog's *Encyclop.* xi. p. 683), born 1546 at Strasburg, after 1584 Professor of Divinity in the Reformed Academy at Herborn; d. 1625. He is the author of a new German translation of the Bible (Herb. 1602-1604, 4 vols., and often republished), with which he quite thought to displace Luther's translation among the Reformers in Germany; it never, however, acquired ecclesiastical authority among them (except in Berne; cf. Herzog's *Encyclop.* iii. p. 346), although it is not without value. There are also by him a Latin commentary on the whole Bible, which first appeared singly in twenty-four volumes at Herborn, 1601; afterwards *ib.* in four volumes, 1643-45. In this commentary there is, for the Old Testament, a double Latin translation of each chapter, his own and that of Immanuel Tremellius and Franz Junius (first appeared 1575, and often reprinted), besides a copious analysis of the sense, explanatory exegetical notes thereon, and, lastly, dogmatical and moral reflections.

§ 51.—Hebrew Lexicographers.

The grammatical method of interpreting the Old Testament among the Protestant expositors of this age was, as regards its nature, generally a traditional one. As Christian scholars derived their knowledge of Hebrew from the Jewish divines, the former mostly followed the indications of the Rabbis in explaining Hebrew words, comparing occasionally the Vulgate and LXX. The other old translations were consulted by some few, *e.g.*, Mercerus and Drusius.

The most celebrated grammatical and lexicographical works of Protestant divines which appeared in this age, have a like character, as they follow, in the same way, the works of the Rabbis, particularly among the Reformist divines, Seb. Münster at the beginning, and Joh. Buxtorf at the end of this period.

(a) Seb. Münster, born at Ingelheim, a Franciscan monk till he joined the Protestant Church, a scholar of Pellicanus, Professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg, then at Basle; d. 1552; a widely-accomplished scholar, peculiarly well versed in geography and mathematics. As regards Hebrew, he most particularly followed Elias Levita, whose grammatical works he translated into Latin and published, and generally imitated him in his own grammatical and lexicographical works; his *Diction. Hebr. adj. Chald. Vocabulis* appeared at Basle, 1523; various grammatical works of his appeared after 1525; the most complete is his *Opus Grammaticum Consummatum ex Variis Elianis Libris Concinnatum*, Basle, 1542. We must also mention among his works a new Latin translation of the Old Testament, with notes, in the edition of the Hebrew Bible edited by him, Basle, 1534–35, 2 vols.; new edition, 1546. In this work also he mostly follows the Rabbis.

(b) Joh. Buxtorf, the father (cf. on the different Buxtorfs Bertheau's article in Herzog's *Encyclop.*), born at Camen in Westphalia, 1564, Professor of Eastern Languages at Basle after 1591; d. 1629. He was extremely well read in the Rabbis, and has chiefly followed them, both in a grammatical and lexicographical point of view, but in both respects he has rendered good service to the study of Hebrew by his very complete and judicious method of handling it. His grammatical and lexicographical works have

received great commendation, and being widely circulated, continued for a long time to be the principal works for the study of Hebrew among Christian divines (Protestant as well as Catholic). His grammar first appeared in a shorter form in 1605; more complete (*Thesaurus Grammaticus Lingue Sanctæ*) in 1609, and has been often reprinted in both shapes. His lexicographical works have been still more widely and more continuously circulated. There are two Hebrew dictionaries by him, a shorter one, a "Manual," 1602, and a copious *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, Basle, 1607, and often reprinted, 1710. I have mentioned before (§ 27) his *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (published after his death by his son Joh. Buxtorf), Basle, 1639. I mentioned, besides, his *Concordantiæ Bibliorum Hebraicæ*, &c. (likewise published by his son), Basle, 1632, for finding out all the places in which the root-words appear, as well as their derivatives and formations.¹

Among other Hebrew lexicographers in the Protestant Church in this age, we must notice Forster (cf. Herzog's *Encyclop.*) and Schindler, two scholars of diverse views, who, however, both endeavoured to make themselves more independent of the works of the Rabbis.

(a) Joh. Forster (Förster), d. 1556 as Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, who had as his teachers in Hebrew, Reuchlin and a learned Jew, and was well versed in the Rabbinical writings. He endeavoured, however, to render himself as independent as possible of the authority of the Rabbis in finding out the meanings of Hebrew words, as indeed the title of his lexicon (not appearing till after his death) shews—*Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum, non ex Rabbimorum commentis nec nostratium doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum bibliorum et eorundem*

¹ The first who wrote a Hebrew concordance was the Jewish scholar, R. Mardochai Nathan, about the middle of the fifteenth century; it appeared at Venice, 1523, Basle, 1581; also Marius de Calasio, a Franciscan at Rome, and Professor of Hebrew at the same place, Rome, 1621, 4 vols.; London, 1647-49, 4 vols. This is apparently a translation of the first-named work; all the forms and derivatives stand, one after another, under the roots; whilst in Buxtorf's work the passages are arranged under the several forms and derivatives. An augmented and improved re-arrangement of Buxtorf's work appeared by Julius Fürst, *Librorum Sacrorum V. T. Concordantiæ Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ*, &c. Leipzig, by Tauchnitz, 1840, and by Bernh. Baer, Berlin, 1862.

accurata locorum collatione depromptum, Basle, 1557 and 1564). He endeavoured to find out the meaning of Hebrew words, partly by a careful and comparative consideration of different passages in which each word is found, partly by a comparison of the various allied words; in this he proceeds from the hypothesis (which generally proves to be the case, and has been subsequently again accepted and widely followed) that those words are allied to one another in meaning which have two consonants in common with each other, or which have the same consonants only transposed, or which have consonants of the same origin. A partial adoption, however, of this plan could not have preserved him from many errors, and alone it would not have been sufficient, if he had not borne in mind the Jewish traditions, and been very much led by them, even unconsciously to himself, in fixing the meanings of words. Förster is often, also, consulted by Luther in the meanings of the more difficult Hebrew words.

(b) Valentin Schindler, Professor of Eastern Languages at Wittenberg, then at Helmstadt, where he died, 1610. He possessed no insignificant knowledge of the various Semitic languages, and was the first who instituted a comprehensive comparison of them, particularly for the interpretation of Hebrew, in his *Lexicon Pentaglotton Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum et Arabicum*, Hanover, 1612. This work was written especially for the sake of Hebrew students (the Syriac and Arabic are printed with Hebrew letters); and the *Targumim*, LXX, and Vulgate, are also used in the explanation of the Hebrew, besides the other Semitic languages.

§ 52.—*Castellus—De Dieu—Bochart, &c.*

During the seventeenth century, the comparative study of Hebrew and the other Semitic languages was comprehensively carried on by Castellus, De Dieu, and Hottinger; and these languages were treated comparatively and collectively in grammatical and lexicographical works, not, however, as Schindler did, chiefly for the sake of the Hebrew, but to aid in the study of the other languages as well.

This is the case with the before-mentioned *Heptaglot Lexicon* of Edm. Castle (1669), which indeed deals with Hebrew,

yet aims still more at the interpretation of the linguistic treasures of the other Semitic languages. In the same way the grammatical works of L. de Dieu and J. H. Hottinger, the first of whom (*Grammatica Trilinguis*, 1628) treated of Hebrew with Chaldaic and Syriac; the latter (*Gramm. 4 Linguarum*, 1649) added the Arabic as well. We must mention now the *Etymologicum Orientale s. Lexicon Harmonicum Heptaglotton* (limited, however, to the roots only), by Hottinger, Frankfurt, 1661.

Lud. de Dieu's (d. 1642 at Leyden) *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti Libros omnes* (Leyden, 1648) must now be mentioned. These are included in his *Critica Sacra s. Animadversiones in loca quaedam difficiliora V. et N. Test.*, Amsterdam, 1693, in which he makes a happy use of his knowledge of the other Semitic languages in interpreting Hebrew.

Among the other scholars of this century who distinguished themselves by comprehensive Oriental learning, and made use of it in explaining passages of the Old Testament, we must mention A. Pfeiffer, and especially S. Bochart.

Sam. Bochart, born at Rouen, Antistes of the Reformed Preachers at Caen, d. 1667, wrote: (a) *Geographica Sacra s. Phaleg et Canaan*, Caen, 1646; and, besides, (b) *Hiero-zoicon s. de Animalibus S. S.*, London, 1663; republished by E. F. K. Rosenmüller, Leipzig, 1793-96, 3 parts.

Aug. Pfeiffer, born in Silesia, Professor of the Eastern Languages and Divinity at Leipzig, then Superintendent at Lübeck, d. 1698: *Dubia vexata Scripture Sacre s. loca difficiliora Veteris Testamenti*, &c., Dresden, 1679; often republished; last at Leipzig, 1713. (Broedelet, the Utrecht bookseller, supplied a beautiful collected edition, *Augusti Pfeifferi Opera omnia quæ extant Philologica*; in 2 parts, or one vol. 4to.¹

There are, besides, others who became eminent, and did good service by their peculiar treatment of the Hebrew Grammar at this time; on one side S. Glass, and on the other Alting and Danz.

¹ Honourable mention must be made here of Edmund Pococke (Professor of Arabic at Oxford, d. 1691), who translated into Arabic the work of Grotius, *De Veritate Reliq. Christ.*, and published in the English language a learned commentary on Hosea, Joel, Micah, and Malachi, Oxford, 1685.

The first, Salomo Glass, born 1593, in Schwarzenburg, Professor at Jena, late Superintendent-General at Gotha, d. 1656, wrote *Philologia Sacra*, first edition, Leipzig, 1623. It is the later editions, however, that we take into consideration here [from 1636]. These contain five books, the third and fourth of which (not in the first edition) treat of Biblical grammar, the remaining ones of Biblical hermeneutics, rhetoric, and criticisms. The grammatical part is principally taken up with syntax, which is treated much more exactly than in any other grammatical work up to this time, but taking that of the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament in common. The work became very popular, and was at last remodelled, *his temporibus accommodata*, with many peculiarities removed, by Dathe and Bauer; the grammar and rhetoric were treated by J. A. Dathe, Leipzig, 1776.

A peculiar school for discussing grammatical formations originated in the seventeenth century; this school predominated for a long time in Germany, particularly by means of Alting and Danz. The first, Jacob Alting, born at Heidelberg, 1618, died 1670, as Professor of Oriental Languages and Divinity at Gröningen, wrote *Fundamenta Punctationis Lingue Sanctæ s. Grammatica Hebraica*, Gröningen, 1654, and often republished. The latter is Joh. Andreas Danz, born 1654, at Gotha, died 1727, as Professor of Oriental Languages and Divinity at Jena. His Hebrew grammar first appeared (under the title *Nucifrangibulum*) at Jena, 1686; he also published, under another title, the formations and syntax in separate works; both have been often republished, and after his death were edited by other scholars, partly in epitome and partly provided with elucidations; also in German tractates up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Both scholars, especially Danz, had a comprehensive knowledge of the different Semitic languages. But the peculiarity of their treatment of the grammatical forms consists in a certain demonstrative method, in which they endeavoured to point out that the phenomena presented by the Hebrew language in a grammatical point of view, especially the changes which the words undergo in inflexion, are based on a certain necessity in the essence of the language, and they tried to derive them from first principles. To this end they made use of the so-called "Moren System," *Systema*

Morarum, which is founded on the placing of the vowels in reference to the choice of a short or long one (one *mora* was reckoned to a short vowel, to a long vowel two *mora*, and to the consonant or consonants following the vowel one *mora*). Accordingly, each single syllable (except the accented syllable) must have an equal number of *mora*, either two or three *mora*, according as a *mora* is reckoned to the one or more consonants before the vowel or not. This system prevailed in Germany up to the end of the last century, and in some parts even longer, and was really only set aside by Vater and Gesenius.

Sam. Bohle (born 1611, died 1639, as Professor of Hebrew at Rostock), in the first half of the seventeenth century did good service by his endeavours to arrive at the real meanings of words, in his *Dissertationes pro Formali Significatione S. S. eruenda*, Rostock, 1637. His labour was directed towards finding out the fundamental meaning of single words, which he endeavoured to effect in this way: out of the different meanings in which the word appears in the Old Testament he concocted one common to all, which, however, often gives a much too abstract idea. Though his labour was praiseworthy, we cannot say the same of his plan of placing the variously different meanings of a word, unreconciled, side by side, instead of referring them to a fundamental meaning, and deriving them from that.

But among the lexicographical works specially devoted to Hebrew during the seventeenth century, we must notice those of Nold and Cock, both in the second half of that century.

(a) Christian Nold, Professor of Divinity at Copenhagen after 1664, d. 1683: *Concordantie Particularum Ebraeo-Chaldaicarum V. T.*, Copenhagen, 1679; new edition by Joh. Gottf. Tympe, Jena, 1734. This is partly a supplement to Buxtorf's "Concordance" [in which, as in Fürst's, the particles are not included], and partly a practical lexicographical treatise on the particles.

(b) Joh. Coccejus (Cock), born at Bremen, 1603, a Reformed divine, Professor of Hebrew and Divinity at Leyden (after 1650), d. 1669; *Lexicon et Commentarius Sermonis Hebraei*, London, 1669. He is particularly famed as an exegetist by a broad, typical, and allegorical form of interpretation (cf. Ebrard's article, "Coccejus," in Herzog's

Encyclop.). In this, in regard to several passages, he puts forth a further and deeper-lying reference, different from that sense to which a consideration of the immediate context would lead, especially as to the person of Christ, and the relations and history of the Christian Church; these he found everywhere foretold and set forth, not only in the prophetic, but also in the poetical and historical Scriptures, and even in the very least of the regulations of the Levitical *cultus*. His work contained, therefore, many constrained, unnatural, and trifling interpretations. In his commentary, he has, in the Old Testament, treated on all the Prophets, the three books of Solomon, Job, Psalms, Exodus, and Leviticus, and certain portions of the other historical books, which are in the first volume of his *Opera*, which appeared in eight volumes, Amsterdam, 1675-78, and twice reprinted.

But Coccejus united with his peculiar hermeneutical principles an excellent knowledge of the Hebrew language,¹ which he made the foundation both of this commentary and of his Hebrew Lexicon. The latter attained great popularity. It was republished by J. H. Mai (in Giessen), Frankf. 1689; 2nd ed. 1714; and subsequently by Joh. Christ. Fried. Schulz, in Giessen, Leipzig, 1777; 2nd ed. 1773-96, 2 vols.; in a later edition it has been remodelled, and somewhat altered, the *Coccejan* peculiarities being mostly laid aside.

§ 53.—*Other Protestant Expositors.*

Among the comprehensive exegetical works on the Old Testament by Protestant divines in the seventeenth century, we must mention also the works of Grotius, A. Calov, the *Critici Sacri*, also the works of M. Polus, S. Schmidt, Geier, Cappellus, and Clericus.

(1) Hugo Grotius, born 1583, at Delft, a very complete scholar, an Arminian, who after varied fortunes in the Netherlands was, after 1634, ambassador of Queen Christina of Sweden at Paris, up to 1644; d. 1645, at Rostock,

¹ Both exist in his Scholar *Campegius Vitringa* (d. 1722 as Professor at Franeker), whose *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Jesaiæ* (2 vols. Leuwarden, 1714-20; Basle, 1732), in spite of the "unreadable mystical interpretations" (Ant. Fried. Büsching has omitted them in his German translation published at Halle, 1749-51, 2 parts), is designated by Gesenius as marking an epoch in the history of the interpretation of Isaiah.

on his journey back from Sweden. He wrote *Annotationes* on the whole Bible; his *Annotationes in V. T.* appeared at Paris, 1644; and have been often (in the Basle edition of 1732—H. Grotii, *Opera Omnia Theologica*, 4 vols.—they form the first volume, containing 800 pp.) again reprinted by Vogel, Döderlein, and others, Halle, 1775–1776, 3 vols. (again later at Gröningen). He laid down as his basis (for the Old Testament) the translation of the Vulgate, and in several places joined to it his own emendations out of the LXX and the Hebrew text; also his elucidations from the Bible itself and the Hebrew antiquities, both from Jewish and classical authors. He displays in his exposition caution, thoughtfulness, and sobriety. In the Psalms and the prophetic utterances, which are mostly considered as immediately Messianic, he often suggested a reference to some person nearer to the author, attributing to them only a typical reference to the Redeemer. In a grammatical point of view, his explanations of the Old Testament are not directly important, as his knowledge of Hebrew was not very comprehensive, but for illustrations of a specially historical nature they are very valuable. His *Annotationes* are reprinted complete in the two following works by Calov, and in the *Critici Sacri*.

(2) Abraham Calov, born 1612 at Mohrungen, in Prussia, d. 1686, when Professor of Divinity and Superintendent-General at Wittenberg: *Biblia Testamenti Veteris Illustrata*, &c., Frankfort, 1672, 2 vols. (2nd ed. Dresden, 1719). The first and main object of this work is to oppose the interpretations of Grotius. The *Annotationes* of Grotius are first set out completely in single verses, or small pieces, and then follow copious remarks, mostly by Calov himself, which are generally aimed polemically against those of Grotius, as well as other expositors. The controversy is principally of a dogmatical character; hence the interpretations adopted get a one-sided dogmatical character, and indeed shew a crude Lutheran dogmatism. But the work also contains many things which are valuable and worthy of attention, as the author possessed an extensive philological and antiquarian knowledge, and in these is not wanting in sagacity and depth.

(3) *Critici Sacri, sive clarissimorum virorum in Biblia doctissimæ annotationes atque tractatus theologico-philologici*, un-

dertaken on the publication of the London Polyglot by several English scholars, London, 1660, in 9 vols., of which the six first embrace the Old Testament. The work was reprinted at Amsterdam (1698, 9 vols.), and at Frankfort (1696, 6 vols.), which latter edition contains also two additional volumes. Besides different treatises on special objects for the explanation of the Bible, there are in this work the interpretations of various earlier expositors, printed complete one after another in each separate chapter; as regards the Old Testament, those of Seb. Münster, Vatablus, Castellio, Isidorus Clarius (an insignificant expositor), Drusius, Hugo Grotius, and many expositions of single books, among which we must particularly mention the Commentary of Andreas Masius on the Book of Jonah.

(4) Matthæus Polus (Poole), an English Presbyterian minister, who (1662) with many others was deprived of his office, died in private life at Amsterdam, 1679: *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Scripturæ Sacræ Interpretum et Commentatorum*, London, 1669-1676, 5 vols.; and often again reprinted in various places, lastly at Frankfort, 1712, 5 vols. In this work the different interpretations of each single passage or controverted word of the earlier expositors are arranged in abstract, synoptically, one after the other, the expositors who follow either the one or the other being indicated in the margin, with their names abbreviated. Besides the expositions contained in the *Critici Sacri*, there are also extracts from many others, e. g., A Lapide, Piscator, Buxtorf, Bochart, Sal. Glass, Geier, &c. Interpretations of the ancient translations are also set forth—those, however, of the Eastern languages not in a trustworthy manner (only according to the Latin translations), and then the editor adds his own views.

(5) Sebastian Schmidt, born in Alsace, 1617, d. 1696, when Professor of Divinity at Strasburg. There are by him commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament, in which he investigates the meanings of Scripture words, for which he had sufficient grammatical knowledge. These commentaries appeared singly, mostly edited by himself, after the year 1670 (on "Judges," the "Books of Samuel," the "Messianic Psalms," "Job," "Ecclesiastes," "Isaiah," "Jeremiah," and "Hosea"); the others did not appear until after his death (on "Genesis,"

“Ruth,” the “Books of Kings,” the “Other Lesser Prophets”); the former commentaries are generally superior to the latter.

(6) Martin Geier, born 1614 at Leipzig, Professor and Superintendent at Leipzig, afterwards Superior Court Chaplain at Dresden, d. 1680, was, as far as regards grammatical philological exposition, one of the best-grounded of the exegetists of the Old Testament at this time; his “Commentary on the Psalms” is particularly valuable, Dresden, 1668, 2 vols., and often again published; lastly, Dresden, 1709; also his “Commentary on Proverbs,” Leipzig, 1653, often again published, lastly 1725; on “Ecclesiastes,” Leipzig, 1647, latest 1711; and the “Book of Daniel,” Leipzig, 1667, latest 1702. (All these collected in Geier’s *Opera*, Amsterdam, 1695–6, 2 vols.)

(7) Ludw. Cappellus, a French reformed divine, born 1586, after 1613 Professor of Hebrew at Saumur,¹ later on Lecturer and Professor of Divinity, d. 1658; and his elder brother Jac. Cappellus, born 1570, Lecturer and Professor of Divinity at Sedan, d. 1624; various writings of both brothers relating to Old-Testament literature are contained in the work edited by Jac. Cappellus the younger (son of Ludw. Cappellus, likewise Professor of Hebrew at Saumur): *Ludovici Cappelli Commentarii et Notæ Criticæ in V. T. Accesserunt Jacobi Cappelli Observationes in Eisdem Libros, &c.*, Amsterdam, 1689. The work contains notes by Ludw. Cappellus, on Isaiah, chapter liii., and eight of the Lesser Prophets; also on Genesis, chapters ii.–ix.; also critical notes on most of the Books of the Old Testament, including some other disquisitions on the modern date of the present Hebrew punctuation; notes by Jac. Cappellus on separate passages of the Pentateuch, also on other Books of the Old Testament.

(8) We must, finally, mention Joh. Clericus (le Clerc, born at Geneva, 1657, Professor of Hebrew, afterwards of Ecclesiastical History at the Remonstrant Collegium at Amsterdam, d. 1736) as an eminent expositor of the Old Testament at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. He treated exegetically the whole of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, namely, (1) “Genesis,” Amsterdam, 1693; and the other books of the

¹ There was a Reformist Academy at Saumur on the Loire, in Anjou, which was suppressed after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Pentateuch, 1696; both added to and improved, Amsterdam, 1710; after that reprinted, Tüb. 1733. This is a Latin translation, including a paraphrase and running commentary. (2) The remaining historical Books of the Old Testament ("Joshua," "Judges," "Ruth," "Samuel," "Kings," "Chronicles," "Ezra," "Nehemiah," "Esther"), Amsterdam, 1708; a later edition, Tüb. 1733. A Latin translation with a running commentary. (3) The "Prophets," Amsterdam, 1731. In this a Latin translation of all the prophets of the Old Testament is given, and, besides, a paraphrase and commentary on "Isaiah," "Jeremiah," with the "Lamentations," and "Obadiah." (4) The remaining Holy Scriptures, "Job," the "Psalms," and the "Three Books of Solomon," Amsterdam, 1731; in this a Latin translation is given of them all, with a philological commentary and a paraphrase besides on "Job" and the "Psalms." These treatises on the historical books, particularly the Pentateuch, have a distinguished and permanent value, and are among the most eminent expositions which we possess on the subject; they have been extensively made use of by later commentators, *e.g.*, Rosenmüller.

(9) A comprehensive lexicographical work was produced at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Jacob Gousset.

He was a French reformed divine, who was compelled to leave France on account of the persecutions against his church, d. 1704, as Professor of Divinity and Greek at Gröningen. His work bears the title, *Commentarii Linguae Hebraicae*, Amsterdam, 1702 (ed. by Joh. Christ. Clodius, with additions of his own, Leipzig, 1743). In this work, Gousset put aside all other expedients,—the Rabbis, the old translations, the comparison of the other Semitical languages, &c., and endeavoured to interpret the Hebrew entirely by internal means; this plan would have led him into perverted acceptations of the meaning of words, or left him altogether without guidance, as it did others (*cf.* Forster and Böhle), who have followed like paths even more fully and really were misled, if the meanings of many words had not been previously fixed for him by tradition, as he himself was ready to acknowledge. His work is in form a commentary on Buxtorf's small Hebrew dictionary.

(10) We must mention, besides, Neumann and Löscher. The first, Caspar Neumann (born 1648 at Breslau, Pro

fessor and Lecturer at Breslau, d. 1715), likewise endeavoured in different works (from 1693 to 1715) to establish a method of explaining Hebrew merely by internal means, putting aside all other expedients, in the same way as Joh. Forster had before done. He endeavoured to ascertain the meaning of Hebrew words by bringing them back to their simple elements. For example, he assigned definite meanings to the single Hebrew letters. From these he first deduced the monosyllabic words, with meanings resulting from the product of the meanings of the two letters forming them, and from these, again, dissyllables with three consonants, and that either by the simple addition of a third consonant, or by the fusion of two monosyllables having one consonant common to each other (לְקַל from קַל and לַל), so that their joint meanings gave as the product the meaning of the two-syllable word. This method, carried out in a one-sided manner, as it was by Neumann, could not fail to lead to the most artificial refinements and the most unnatural interpretations. It was, however, generally approved, only not asserted in so one-sided a manner, by Valentin Ernst Löscher (born 1673, Superintendent at Delitzsch; after 1707 Professor of Divinity at Wittenberg; lastly, after 1709, Superintendent at Dresden; d. 1749), in his learned book, containing much that is valuable for the history of the Hebrew language and its study: *De Causis Linguae Hebraeae*, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1706.

§ 54.—*Hebrew Schools of Holland and of Halle.*

A thorough, comprehensive study of the Hebrew language, and the interpretation of the Old Testament, were specially and permanently developed and promoted after the end of the first ten years of the eighteenth century, nearly at the same time at two different points—in Holland by the so-called Dutch school, and in Germany by the Halle school.

The founder of the Dutch school is Albert Schultens, and among his scholars Schröder and Venema are the most prominent.

(1) A. Schultens, born 1686 at Gröningen, was Professor of Eastern Languages at Franeker, 1713; at Leyden, 1729; d. 1750. He did good service in awakening and promoting

a solid study of the Hebrew language; he used, in his investigation of Hebrew, a comprehensive and well-grounded knowledge of Arabic, chiefly indeed to find out the fundamental meanings of the Hebrew root-words. After he had previously published different works, in which he endeavoured to detect the deficiencies in the way of treating Hebrew hitherto used, and to point out the utility of a comparison with the Arabic, he published his *Origines Hebraeae Linguae Antiquissima Natura et Indoles ex Arabice Penetratibus Revocata*, Franeker and Leyden, 1723-1737, 2 parts; 2nd ed., Leyden, 1761; in this he completely laid down his method for the investigation of Hebrew, and employed it on a multitude of Hebrew words. As he believed that he should, almost always, obtain in Arabic the fundamental meaning of Hebrew words, as it was the richest of the Semitic dialects, he endeavoured to derive from this fundamental meaning the different significations in which the word appears in the Old Testament. The polemical part of his work was particularly directed against Gousset, and in the second part against And. Driessen, also Professor of Divinity at Gröningen, who rejected the notion of interpreting Hebrew by means of Arabic. Schultens was far superior to these men in his knowledge of Eastern languages, yet his way of proceeding is not free from defect. In comparing the kindred languages he paid too little regard to the Aramaic. He also too much neglected the use of other aids, particularly ancient translations, and paid too little attention to the peculiar usages of the Hebrew language, and the context of the passage; so that his interpretations often have something very constrained and awkward about them. These deficiencies and excellences will be found in his Commentaries (*a*) on "Job," Leyden, 1737, and (*b*) on "Proverbs," *ibid.* 1748, which are full of grammatical knowledge, but too prolix and overladen. A Hebrew grammar by him appeared under the title, *Institutiones ad Fundamenta Linguae Hebraeae*, Leyden, 1737, 2nd ed., 1756, in which he also chiefly lays down Arabic as a foundation. The same title is borne by the Hebrew grammar, composed by one of the most eminent scholars of Schultens, Nik. Wilh. Schröder (born at Marburg, 1721, Professor of Eastern Languages at Gröningen after 1748, d. 1798), Gröningen, 1766, and often re-

printed, lastly at Ulm, 1792. This grammar, which was much used in Germany for learning Hebrew up to this present century, collects the valuable portion of Schultens' *Institutiones* in brief review, and manages to avoid many of the faults in them; the syntax is also of considerable value.

(2) Among Schultens' other scholars, Herm. Venema (born 1697, Professor of Divinity at Franecker after 1723, d. 1787) is particularly known by a copious commentary on the different books of the Old Testament, quite after Schultens' method, and also in his ample manner, particularly on the "Psalms" (Leuw. 1762-1767, 6 parts), on "Jeremiah" (*ib.* 1765, 2 vols.), on "Malachi" (*ib.* 1759), and others.

The school of Halle flourishing in Germany at the same time with this Dutch school is especially represented by the Michaelis.

(3) The two elder Michaelis must be first mentioned here: Johann Heinr. Michaelis (born 1668, Professor of Greek, Eastern Languages, and Divinity, at Halle, d. 1738), and the son of his sister (not otherwise related to him), Christian Benedict Michaelis (born 1680, Professor of Greek and also of Divinity and Eastern Languages at Halle, d. 1764).

Of the works by Johann Heinrich Michaelis we must, first of all, mention his edition of the Hebrew Bible (Halle, 1720), particularly on account of his exegetical notes both in the margin and under the text, which still maintain their value. In these Christ. Benedict Michaelis also took an important share. The *Uberiores Annotationes in Hagiographos V. T. Libros* (Halle, 1720, 3 vols.) are the work of both the foregoing, together with Joh. Jacob Rambach (born at Halle, 1693; Professor of Divinity at Halle, then at Giessen; d. 1735); by Joh. Heinrich Michaelis—the Psalms, Job, Solomon's Song, Ezra, 1 Chronicles; by Christ. Bened. Michaelis—Proverbs, Lamentations, Daniel; by Rambach—Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Nehemiah, 2 Chronicles. Christ. Bened. Michaelis besides did good service for the study of Hebrew by numerous dissertations on grammatical subjects.

As regards the general character of this school of Halle, their works are not so abundant in learning as those of the Dutch school, and they are also a little clumsy and one-sided. Of the languages related to Hebrew, they

chiefly employed the Aramaic, as well as the other means and sources of knowledge, while the statements of the Rabbis, the ancient translators, and particularly the context and a comparison of parallel passages were also made use of in an uniform manner.

(4) But a still yet greater literary activity than that of the two elder Michaelis was shown in investigating the Hebrew language, and in Biblical Exegesis by Joh. David Michaelis (Knight of the Swedish Order of the North Star), son of Christian Benedict, born at Halle 1717; Tutor at Halle from 1739-1745; then Tutor at Göttingen, and from 1750, a regular Professor of Philosophy at that university; d. 1791.

He distinguished himself in his theological works generally, and specially in those relating to the investigation of Hebrew and the exposition of the Old Testament, by a certain breadth of treatment, and great caution and clearness, although without any peculiar depth. Among his writings we must particularly mention:

(a) "Hebrew Grammar, together with an Appendix of Fundamental Knowledge of it," Halle, 1744, 3rd ed. 1778 (without syntax, generally not really important).

(b) "Examination of the Means employed for Understanding the Dead Hebrew Language," Göttingen, 1757.

(c) *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, six divisions, 2376 pp., Göttingen, 1785-92; the last ten sheets were not printed till after the death of Michaelis, from his papers collected by Chr. Th. Tychsen. The work contains partly short notes, partly copious investigations, on single Hebrew words, particularly on proper names of persons and places, as additions and corrections to the earlier lexicographical works, especially those by Castellus, Coccejus, and Simonis. These *supplementa* contain much that is of permanent value.

(d) "German Translation of the Old Testament," with notes for the unlearned, 13 parts, 1769-85 (clumsy, fitter for scholars).

(e) Various things in his commentaries, and other small works, as also in his "Oriental and Exegetical Bibliotheca," 23 parts, 1771-83, and vol. xxiv. (Index), 1789, Frankfort; and in his "New Oriental and Exegetical Bibliotheca," 8 parts, Göttingen, 1786-1791.

§ 55.—*Lexicographers and Commentators of the middle of the Eighteenth Century.*

Simonis, of the Reformed Church, gained celebrity and did good service as a Hebrew lexicographer about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Joh. Simonis, born 1698, was a scholar of the two elder Michaelis, but he enlarged his views by a study of the works of Alb. Schultens, so that he can be considered a pupil of both the Halle and Dutch schools (d. 1768, as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Christian Antiquities at Halle). His first published work was an *Onomasticum Veteris Testamenti*, Halle, 1741, in which the proper names of both persons and places are treated of according to their etymology. In a certain way it may serve also as a supplement to the concordances of Buxtorf and Fürst, although, especially in frequently occurring names, he does not quote all (Lanckisch gives all) the passages where they are found. Next appeared his *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, Halle, 1756; 2nd ed. 1771. In this, he has, like Schultens, made abundant use of a comparison with the Arabic. This work has met with much acceptance and attained great popularity, and has been subsequently improved by other scholars, viz. 3rd ed. 1793, by Joh. Gottf. Eichhorn¹ (born 1752, Professor of History of Literature at Göttingen after 1788, d. 1827), with many alterations and important additions, in which the works of J. D. Michaelis are particularly made use of; 4th ed., by Geo. Bened. Winer, Leipzig, 1828 (Gesenius being made use of). Winer's work is even now very valuable.

Among other lexicographical works that by Moser must be noticed next to Michaelis', and of grammatical works those by Vater, Hartmann, and Jahn. Phil. Ul. Moser (Minister at Dettingen, in Würtemberg, d. 1792), *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, with a preface by Storr, Ulm, 1795, which has many peculiarities in etymology, although not always correct.

Joh. Severin Vater (born at Altenburg, 1771, Professor at Jena, after 1800 at Halle, after 1809 at Königsberg, and

¹ We have to mention, by J. G. Eichhorn (cf. above, § 8): (a) "Repertorium für Biblische und Eastern Literature," 18 parts, Leipzig, 1777-1786. (b) "General Library of Biblical Literature," 10 parts, Leipzig, 1787-1800.

after 1820 again at Halle, d. 1826), "Hebrew Grammar," Leipzig, 1797; a 2nd ed., remodelled and added to, 1814; an Extract, 1798, 2nd ed. 1807; and for the first *cursus*, 1801, 2nd ed. 1807, 3rd ed. 1816. It is peculiar to him that he first propounded a separate paradigm for the inflexion of nouns.

Joh. Melchior Hartmann (born 1765, Professor of Philosophy and Eastern Languages at Marburg after 1793, d. 1827), "Elements of the Hebrew Language," Marburg, 1798; 2nd ed. 1819, without syntax.

Joh. Jahn (born 1750, d. 1816 at Vienna), *Grammatica Linguae Hebraeae*; 3rd ed. 1809, has many peculiarities; the two first editions, 1792, 1799, were in German.

Among the more comprehensive exegetical works on the Old Testament in the period we have just treated of, from about the middle of the eighteenth to the beginning of the present century, I mention the *Englische Bibelwerk*, the "Commentary" by Dathe, the *Scholiast* of Schultz and Bauer, and Rosenmüller's *Scholiast*.

(1) The so-called *Englische Bibelwerk* appeared originally in the French language in the year 1742 for the use of the members of the French Reformed Church in England, and was said to contain the best comments which the English expositors of the Bible (Old and New Testaments) had been able to furnish. In the same year an edition in Dutch was begun (by Joh. van den Honert), and some years after this a remodelling of it in German (Leipzig), in nineteen volumes, the first eleven of which (1748-1766) embrace the (Canonical) Books of the Old Testament, revised (at least the last and most of the volumes) by J. Aug. Dietelmair, Professor of Divinity at Altdorf (d. 1785), with additions of the editor's own. The work, however, suffers from extent and prolixity.

(2) Joh. August Dathe (born 1731, Professor of Hebrew at Leipzig, d. 1791) treated the whole of the "Canonical Books of the Old Testament" in six divisions, after 1773-1789, Halle (a most valuable Latin translation, with grammatical and critical notes under the text). The work has met with great acceptance, and most of the parts have gone through a second or third edition. The historical books (except the Pentateuch) were again (1832) reprinted in a second edition, and the four greater Prophets in a third edition, 1831.

(3) Under the title *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* we have two different works, both of which, however, are not quite complete. Of the one, ten volumes appeared, Nuremberg, 1783-98, the three first of which (embracing the historical books) appeared under the name of Professor J. Christoph. Fried. Schulz, of Giessen (d. 1806), who, however, is supposed to have given nothing but his name. They are thought to have been prepared¹ by a deacon, Schoder, of Lauffen, in Württemberg. From Vol. IV. the work is continued by Georg Lor. Bauer (Professor at Altdorf, and at Heidelberg after 1805, d. 1806). Vols. IV.-VI. contain Psalms, Solomon's Books, and Job; Vols. VII.-X. contain Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Lesser Prophets.

(4) Of greater and abiding value are the *Scholia* of E. F. K. Rosenmüller (born 1768, Professor of Eastern Languages at Leipzig, d. 1835). Since the year 1788 eleven parts in twenty-seven volumes have appeared. The work has attained considerable circulation, and, although it is not distinguished either by its depth or by any great independence, is continually serviceable through its exegetical matter laboriously collected both from ancient translations and the Rabbis, and also through an abundant knowledge of Eastern languages, and a generally sound and cautious exegetical judgment. The later volumes and the later editions of the earlier ones have in this last respect an advantage over the earlier volumes. The parts which appeared contain: I. Genesis and Exodus, 2 vols. 3rd ed. Leipzig, 1821-22; II. Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, 3rd ed. 1824; III. Isaiah, 3 vols. 3rd ed. 1829-34; IV. Psalms, 3 vols. 2nd ed. 1821-23; V. Job, 2 vols. 2nd ed. 1824; VI. Ezekiel, 2 vols. 2nd ed. 1826; VII. The Lesser Prophets, 4 vols. 2nd ed. 1827-28; VIII. Jeremiah and Lamentations, 2 vols. 1826-27; IX. The Books of Solomon, 2 vols. 1829-30; X. Daniel, 1832; XI. In 2 vols.: (1) Joshua, 1833; (2) Judges and Ruth, 1835. The author was prevented by his death from completing the work.

There are also extracts of many of these parts in some short works either by Rosenmüller himself or appearing under his inspection: *Scholia in V. T. in Compendium Redacta*;

¹ According to Gabler "Journal of Select Theological Literature," vol. ii. p. 748, notes.

(1) The Pentateuch, 1828; (2) Isaiah, 1834; (3) The Psalms, 1831; (4) Job, 1832; (5) Ezekiel, 1833.

We may consider as a supplement to the *Scholien* of the same author, "The East, Ancient and Modern, or Elucidations of Holy Scripture by means of Natural Attributes; the Sayings, Manners, and Customs of the East," 6 vols. Leipzig, 1818-20, the four first of which relate to the Books of the Old Testament, and the sixth, at the conclusion, contains several additions (a compilation translated from the English of Burder and Ward), some of which are very unimportant.

Among the more recent works on the entire Old Testament in the Catholic Church belonging to this age, we must particularly mention those of Brentano, Dereser, and Scholz.

(5) "The Holy Scripture of the Old Testament." Frankf. 1797-1832, 4 parts in 12 vols.; only the first part is by Dominicus von Brentano (d. 1797); the continuation up to the 3rd vol. of the 4th part (Ezekiel and Daniel) is by Thaddäus Dereser (ultimately Professor and Canon at Breslau, d. 1827); the conclusion (Part 4, vol. iv., the "Lesser Prophets") is by Scholz, and new editions of the former volumes are also by him. It is a German translation with explanatory notes at the foot; Dereser's particularly are very valuable.

(6) But among the more recent German translations, that of De Wette and his fellow-workers must particularly be commended. I mention it here, as the first edition of it appeared just at the end of the period we are now speaking of.

It appeared originally as the joint work of Joh. Christ. Wilh. Augusti and Wilh. M. Leb. de Wette (at that time Professor at Heidelberg), the whole Bible in 6 vols., Heidelberg, 1809-14; the four first volumes contain the Canonical books of the Old Testament (by De Wette, Pentateuch, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Jeremiah, Daniel, the Lesser Prophets except Jonah; the remainder are by Augusti). In the second and third editions, De Wette undertook the whole, and even translated entirely anew the books which had been done by Augusti; the whole in 3 parts, Heidelberg, 1831-33: the first part contains the historical Books of the Old Testament; the second the poetical and prophetic books; toge-

ther with the Apocrypha, the third contains the New Testament; the same arrangement in the third and much improved edition, 3 parts, 1839. A fourth edition appeared after De Wette's death, 1858, with some corrections from posthumous manuscript notes by the author.

§ 56.—*The study of Hebrew in the early part of the Nineteenth Century.*

The more exact study of the Hebrew language received a new impetus after the first ten years of this century, first from Gesenius, and subsequently from Ewald.

Wilh. Fried. Heinr. Gesenius, born Feb. 3, 1786, at Nordhausen, after 1810 Professor of Divinity at Halle, died the 23rd of October, 1842. His "Hebrew-German Dictionary" appeared the first of his works, Leipzig, 1810-12, 2 parts; abstract of it, *ib.* 1815; 5th ed. edited by F. E. C. Dietrich, 1856-57 (6th ed. 1863); in Latin, *Lexicon Manuale Hebr. et Chald. in V. T.*, Leipzig, 1833. (*Edit. altera emendatior, ab auctore ipso adornata atque ab A. Th. Hoffmanno* (d. 1864) *recognita*, 1847); in 1835 and subsequently, his *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaee Veteris Testamenti*, tom. i.-iii. fasc. i. 1835-42 (א — זָכָר), finished after the author's death by Emil Rödiger (Professor at Halle, now at Berlin), tom. iii. fasc. ii. 1853, and fasc. novissimus, 1858. Soon after the first appearance of the first edition of his dictionary, his "Hebrew Grammar," Halle, 1813; the tenth edition, with many alterations, 1831; the last edition superintended by Gesenius himself is the 13th, Leipzig, 1842 (since published by Emil Rödiger, and importantly improved, 18th ed. 1857, 19th ed. 1862); and "A Copious Grammatico-Critical System of the Hebrew Language, and a Comparison with the Allied Dialects," Leipzig, 1817.

Gesenius must in general be considered as following the earlier Halle school. Like them, he constantly endeavoured to make a harmonious use of the various sources of knowledge lying at our disposal for interpreting Hebrew, and carried it out in a more comprehensive and luminous way than had been hitherto done. He constantly compared Hebrew both with the allied dialects, and also with various other languages in a similar way, and carried out this system of comparison through the whole of his grammar. At the same time he

treated Hebrew as a separate language, and showed its peculiarities. In his later lexicographical works, he made diligent use of the Rabbis, partly from his own notes, which he made from their lexicographical works. He does the same in the exposition in his "Commentary on Isaiah." (Leipzig, 1821, 2 parts in 3 vols.)

In general, his grammatical and lexicographical works have gained increased value in the later editions from his comprehensive use of the sources and materials at his disposal, and from a deeper penetration into the rules of the language. He never hesitated to learn from others who had begun to labour after him in this sphere, and to avail himself of their investigations, so far, however, as his individuality allowed. So, *e.g.*, in his later labours at the dictionary he bestowed very great care on the treatment of the Hebrew prepositions and other particles, on which subject Winer, in the new edition of Simonis (1828), had gone before him; and in the later editions of his grammar (the 10th and following ones) he made use, among other things, of the investigations of Hupfeld, particularly in accentuation. In the earlier editions of his grammar he took much pains with the syntax, which was placed too much in the background in the older grammars. In the *Thesaurus*, the words are arranged according to their origin, the various derivatives together after the roots. This is customary in the other Hebrew Dictionaries, and is a plan well fitted for scientific investigation. Gesenius, on the contrary, in his Dictionary (both German and Latin), arranged the whole of the words alphabetically, the derivatives and roots mixed up in alphabetical order, which, of course, made it easier for beginners in looking out words. Altogether, his works are distinguished by their clear, comprehensive views, and their pleasing, tasteful mode of expression, and have, therefore, obtained merited praise and great popularity, even beyond Germany. His grammar has been translated many times into English, both in North America and in England. But the general character of his mode of treatment is empirical, for he takes the language just as it is given to us, namely, as it lies before us in the Old Testament Scriptures, and endeavours to comprise under certain rules the different phenomena it presents to us. He cannot go beyond this stand-

point, or investigate the inner principle of these phenomena by means of the spirit and most ancient development of the language, but, like Michaelis, is wanting in a certain philosophical profundity. He is, however, thus preserved from arbitrary assumptions and hypotheses.

G. Heinrich Aug. Ewald (born at Göttingen, 1803), 1827 Professor at Göttingen, 1838 at Tübingen, and 1848 again at Göttingen. He first published a copious work on Hebrew grammar—*Krit. Gram. der Hebr. Sprache*, Leipzig, 1827; then an improved abstract of it, *Gram. der Hebr. Spr. des A. T.* (newly arranged with greater brevity, Leipzig, 1828; 2nd ed. 1835; 3rd ed. 1837; also, *Hebr. Sprachl. für Anfänger*, Leipzig, 1842; 2nd ed. 1855; 3rd ed. 1862; lastly, a revised amalgamation of the larger works, with the smaller ones, under the title, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Spr. des Alten Bundes*, 5th ed. 1844, 6th ed. 1855 (the 7th ed., 1863, is increased to 942 pp. by a fuller exhaustion of the subject, and a copious index by Meding). In the first edition the author dealt with the Hebrew language just as it appears in the Old Testament Scriptures, almost entirely independently. In the later editions he paid more regard to the allied languages, and referred even to the Indo-Germanic tongues, and their relation to Hebrew in particular. (Cf. "The Two Treatises on the Science of Languages," resulting from the most comprehensive investigations of Ewald's, Göttingen, 1861-1862.) But he devoted his chief pains to throwing a light on the several grammatical phenomena offered by the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and that with fullness and precision, by means of their own nature and historical development, and thus to separate the later Hebrew from the more ancient. Ewald's works made a great stride in the investigation of the grammatical character of the Hebrew language, and in obtaining an exacter knowledge of its whole grammatical construction and of its individual developments. In many points of view the subject is treated with much more acuteness, accuracy, and completeness than by Gesenius; yet there is a great deficiency in arrangement, and of any compendious method of setting forth the subject. In particular, his smallest "Grammar for Beginners" would not prove in practice very serviceable or suitable for primary instruction. It is also to be lamented, from a moral point of view, that we cannot acquit Ewald

of the charge of denying and depreciating the merits of other scholars. This, however, must not prevent our availing ourselves of the manifold advantages afforded by his grammatical and other educational writings.¹

Among Ewald's other works I mention here, as relating to the Old Testament, the following:—

(a) *Die Poetischen Bücher des A. B. erklärt*, 4 parts, Göttingen: (1) "On Hebrew Poetry generally, and the Psalter" (with much on the poetical parts contained in the historical books and Lamentations); this part appeared afterwards as the last, 1839; (2) "The Psalms," 2nd ed. 1840; (3) "Job," 1836. 2nd ed. 1854; (4) "Proverbs and Ecclesiastes," and additions from the former parts, 1837.

(b) *Die Propheten des A. B. erklärt*, 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1840-41.

(c) *Geschichte des Volkes Israel (bis Christus)*, in 3 vols. Göttingen, 1843; 2nd ed. 7 vols. 1851-59, contains: Vol. I. Introduction; II. History of Moses; III. History of David; IV. History of Ezra; V. History of Christ; VI. History of the Apostolic Age; VII. History of the Decline of the People of Israel (to Barcochebas) and the Post-apostolical Age.

(d) *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel* (as an appendix to the *Isr. Gesch.* vol. ii., and 2nd ed. vols. ii. and iii.), Göttingen, 1848; 2nd ed. 1854.

(e) *Abhandlungen zur Oriental. und Bibl. Literatur*. First part (it is not continued), Göttingen, 1832. No. 3 in it, on the Syriac System of Punctuation from Syriac Manuscripts; 4, on Hebrew Accentuation.

(f) *Jahrbücher der Bibl. Wissenschaft*, i.-xi., from 1848-1861. (A convenient review is given of their rich contents in E. A. Zuchhold's *Bibliotheca Theologica*, Göttingen, 1864, p. 342, f.)

(g) Different articles in the *Zeitsch. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

Among other modern grammatical works we ought perhaps to mention those of Rudolph Stier and G. W. Freytag, both of which contain much that is original, but up to the present time they have not been much noticed. Rudolph Stier (d. 1863), "Newly-arranged System of the Hebrew

¹ Cf. Ewald's reply to this in the eleventh *Jahrbücher der Bibl. Wissenschaft*, p. 148.

Language," according to the principles of the development of the language, as a general hint for an universal grammar, Parts 1 and 2, *Laut- und Wort-Lehre*, Leipzig, 1833.

G. W. Freytag (d. 1861), "Abbreviated Grammar of the Hebrew Language, for the use of Schools and Universities, arranged on New Principles," Halle, 1835. (Cf. also the school grammars by Heinrich Thiersch, Erlangen, 1842, 2nd ed. 1858; by Edward Nägelsbach, Leipzig, 1856, 2nd ed. 1862; and by S. Preiswerk, Geneva, 1864, &c.)

A distinguished work in this branch of learning, promised for many years, but of which only a very small part has appeared, is to be expected from Hermann Hupfeld, Professor at Marburg, afterwards successor to Gesenius at Halle.

Hupfeld has previously published various treatises on Hebrew philology, as, *e.g.*, before Ewald, *Exercitationes Æthiopicæ*, 1825, containing also excellent remarks on Hebrew pronunciation, and subsequently various other things, in separate dissertations and essays in the journals (*e.g.*, *De Emendanda Lexicographiæ Semiticæ Ratione Commentatio*, Marburg, 1827; "On the Theory of Hebrew Grammar," in the *Theolog. Stud. u. Krit.*, vol. i. (1828); in Jahn's *Jahrbücher für Philol. u. Pædag.*, 1829 (Pronunciation); *Krit. d. Hebr. Element. Lehre*, in *Hermes*, part xxx.); also "A Commentary on the Psalms," 4 vols., Gotha, 1855-62. Of his own Hebrew grammar, only the first division of the first section of the first part has appeared, Cassel, 1841, eight sheets containing an historico-critical introduction "On the Hebrew Language and Grammar," and the not yet completed first section of the first main division.

[In addition to the grammar of Gesenius, gradually remodelled by Rödiger, recent times have given us a "Compendium of the Hebrew Language," by Justus Olshausen (Book I., *Laut- und Schrift-Lehre*; Book II., *Formen-Lehre*, Brunswick, 1861, which seeks by means of a return to the more ancient form of Hebrew, as the language appears in the Old Testament, to develop a more perfect understanding of grammatical phenomena, without presupposing in the reader any knowledge of the allied Semitic languages, especially the Arabic, the most important of them.

The latest among the more important Lexicons is Julius Fürst's "Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary," 2 vols. in 7 parts, 1850-61, 2nd ed. 1863, which may be employed

in reference to etymology, only with caution; it is, however, distinguished by a careful use of the latest materials, and will do good service when used with Gesenius' and Winer's dictionaries.^{1]}

Among the works lately brought out for the lexicographical investigation of Hebrew, we must mention that of Ernst Meier (Professor at Tübingen), "Hebrew Dictionary of Roots," together with three appendices to it: On the Formation of the Quadrilaterals; Explanation of the Foreign Words in Semitic Languages; and on the Relation between the Egyptian Primitive Language and the Semitic, (Mannheim, 1845).

In this work, he constantly tries to reduce the primitive Semitic trilaterals to monosyllabic bilaterals as roots, and to derive from their radical meaning the signification of our Hebrew words in their different modifications. This is an attempt worthy of notice, although, of course, it offers much that is uncertain and improbable (*v.* the observations on Joh. Forster, C. Neumann, and Löscher). By the same author (as if a supplement to his former work), "The Formation and Signification of the Plural in the Semitic and Indo-Germanic Languages; with an Introduction on the Construction of the primitive Semitic Words," Mannheim, 1846; besides a "History of the Poetical National Literature of the Jews," Leipzig, 1856; and a "Commentary on Joel," Tübingen, 1841; "Isaiah," first half, Pfortzheim, 1850 ("Solomon's Song," Tübingen, 1854; and "The Song of Deborah," Tübingen, 1859).

§ 57.—*The most recent additions to Hebrew Literature.*

From other quarters, also, many valuable contributions have been furnished in modern times for the more exact investigation of the Hebrew language, partly in monographs on individual grammatical or lexicographical points, partly in commentaries on single books.

(A) *Monographs.* By Jul. Fried. Böttcher (Tutor in the Gymnasium at Dresden, d. 1863), (*a*) in his "Specimens of

¹ *Heb. und Chald. Schulwörterbuch über das A. T.*, published by Fürst, 1842, Leipzig; cf. also E. F. Leopold's etymologically arranged small *Heb. et Chald. Lexicon*, Leipzig, 2nd ed. 1850; and the larger one by F. J. V. D. Maurer, *Kurzgef. Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch über das A. T.*, Stuttg. 1851.

the Interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures, and of Scientific Philology, with Attempts at Criticism on the hitherto existing Exegeses and Contributions to the Grammar and Lexicon," Leipzig, 1833; (b) *De inferis rebusque post mortem futuris ex Hebraeorum et Græcorum opinionibus libri duo. Libri I. Grammatici, in quo de verbis locisque grammaticis ad inferos etc., pertinentibus explicatur; Volumen I. Hebraica complectens*, Dresden, 1846; (c) "Exeg. Critical Gleanings in the Old Testament," Leipzig, 1849; [(d) "New Exeg. Critical Gleanings in the Old Testament," 3 parts, Leipzig, 1863]; Redslob (in various writings and essays, e.g., on the particle ׀, on the Hebrew numerical words, &c., also an ample but not very correct criticism of Ewald's grammar, in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, vols. xx. and xxi.); Franz Edward Christoph. Dietrich, Professor at Marburg ("Treatises on Semitic Etymology," Leipzig, 1844; and "Treatises on Hebrew Grammar," 1846).

(B) Commentaries, e.g., by Ferd. Hitzig, Professor at Zürich (now at Heidelberg) (Isaiah, Heidelberg, 1833; Psalms, 2 vols. 1835-36 [the first contains the translation, the second the historico-critical investigation, a more complete exegetico-critical commentary by Hitzig, appeared first in 1863; "The Psalms, translated and expounded"]. Proverbs, Zürich, 1858; cf. also by the same author, "Idea of Criticism on the Old Testament practically considered," Heidelb. 1831); Fried. Tuch, Professor at Leipzig (Genesis, Halle, 1838); like Hitzig, he closely followed Ewald as regards grammar; as regards lexicography he has adhered to the Sanscrit in the explanation of Hebrew; K. A. Credner, Professor at Giessen, d. 1857 (Joel, Halle, 1831); Aug. Knobel, Professor at Giessen (now Pastor at Hamburg) (Amos, 1847); Const. Schlottmann, Professor at Zürich (since 1859 at Bonn) (Job, Berlin, 1851); Ernst Bertheau, Professor at Göttingen [Karl Heinrich Graf, Professor at Meissen (Jeremiah, Leipzig, 1862)], and others (v. also the "Exeget. Manual," which will be soon mentioned).

Among the more comprehensive exegetical works on the entire Old Testament, which have been especially devoted to grammatical and philological interpretation, there are two of the more recent ones which we must mention—the unfinished *Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus* by Maurer,

and the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum A. T.* ("Abridged Exegetical Manual on the Old Testament"), by Hitzig, Knobel, Bertheau, Hirzel, Thenius, and Olshausen.

(a) By Franz Jos. Val. Dorn. Maurer (born 1795, formerly Catholic now Evangelical Minister at Württemberg), *Commentarius Grammat. Crit. in Vet. Test., in usum maxime gymnasiolorum et academiaram adornatus*, Leipzig, from 1832. Vol. I. (in 4 divisions, 1832–35) contains all the historical books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. Vol. II. (in 2 divisions, 1836) contains Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Lesser Prophets. Vol. III., the Psalms, 1838, and Proverbs, 1841. There is great disproportion in the mode of treatment. All the historical books from Genesis to Esther are comprised in 250 pages, and it is only after Isaiah that the treatment begins to be more ample, and is then really valuable. This work was continued by Aug. Heiligstedt at Leipzig, by whom two divisions of the fourth volume have appeared: (1) Job, 1847; (2) Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song, 1848.

(b) *Kurzgefasstes Exeget. Handbuch zum A. T.*, by several scholars, complete in 17 issues, Leipzig, 1838–62; namely, (1) "The Lesser Prophets," by F. Hitzig, 1838; 2nd ed. 1862; 3rd ed. 1863. (2) Much to be commended, "Job," by Ludwig Hirzel (Professor at Zürich, d. 1841), 1839; 2nd ed. by J. Olshausen, 1852. (3) "Jeremiah," by F. Hitzig, 1841. (4) The "Books of Samuel," by Otto Thenius (Preacher and Counsellor of the Consistory at Dresden), 1842. (5) "Isaiah," by A. Knobel, 1843; 2nd ed. 1854; 3rd ed. 1861. (6) The "Books of Judges and Ruth," by E. Bertheau, and "Ecclesiastes," by F. Hitzig, 1847. (7) "Ezekiel," by F. Hitzig, 1847. (8) The "Books of Kings," by O. Thenius, 1849. (9) "Daniel," by F. Hitzig, 1850. (10) "Genesis," by A. Knobel, 1852; 2nd ed. 1860. (11) "Exodus and Leviticus," by A. Knobel, 1857. (12) "Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua," by A. Knobel, 1861. (13) The "Psalms," by J. Olshausen, previously Professor at Kiel and Königsberg, now Ministerial Counsellor at Berlin), 1853. (14) The "Books of Chronicles," by E. Bertheau, 1854. (15) "Solomon's Song," by F. Hitzig; "Lamentations," by O. Thenius, 1855. (16) The "Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther," by E. Bertheau, 1862.

The two works mentioned above, the second of which is far more important than the first, are—the different divisions in different degrees—very valuable for the grammatical and philological, as well as for the historical and critical interpretation of the Old Testament. On the other hand, the theological portion of the Exposition is generally kept too much in the background. Another exegetical work begun on the Old Testament, in which peculiar attention is paid to this branch of exposition, is that by Mich. Baumgarten (then Private Tutor at Kiel), “Theological Commentary on the Old Testament,” Part 1, in two parts, Kiel 1843–44 (comprising the general introduction and the Pentateuch). The scientific philological foundation is well laid in this work. But the author’s view of the Old Testament, as relates to the historical and prophetic parts, is too rigid and literal, in consequence of which his interpretation of several passages is very unnatural and constrained.

This is likewise the case with the unfinished *Handbuch zu den Propheten des A. T.*, by Franz Delitzsch (Professor at Erlangen) and Carl August Caspari (Professor at Christiania), (“Obadiah,” by Caspari, 1842; “Habakkuk,” by Delitzsch, 1843), and also in the exegetical works of other writers, which have more or less taken the trodden path, especially those by E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Divinity at Berlin.

Hengstenberg (“Psalms,” 4 vols. Berlin, 1842–47; 2nd ed. 1849–52; “Solomon’s Song,” 1853; “Christology of the Old Testament,” 3 vols. 1829–35; 2nd ed. 1854–57; “Ecclesiastes,” 1859); Hävernick, Professor at Königsberg, d. 1845 (“Daniel,” Hamburg, 1832; “Ezekiel,” Erlangen, 1843); Keil (“Book of Kings,” Moscow, 1846; “Joshua,” Erlangen, 1847); Delitzsch (“Genesis,” 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1853; 3rd ed. 1860; “Solomon’s Song,” 1851; “Psalms,” 2 vols. 1859–60); M. Drechsler of Erlangen, d. 1850 (“Isaiah,” I. and II.: I. Stuttgart, 1845–49; II., published by H. A. Hahn (Professor at Greifswalde, d. 1861) and Fr. Delitzsch, Berlin, 1854; III. continued by them, 1857); H. Aug. Hahn (“Job,” Berlin, 1850; “Solomon’s Song,” 1852; “Ecclesiastes,” 1860).

[A “Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament” has appeared at Leipzig by Carl Fried. Keil and Franz

Delitzsch (Vol. I. part 1, Genesis and Exodus, 1861; part 2, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, 1862. Vol. II. part 1, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, 1863; part 2, Samuel, 1864; part 3, Kings, 1865. Vol. III. part 1, Isaiah: part 4, The Minor Prophets. Vol. IV. part 2, Job, 1864).]

A more unfettered interpretation, having practical religion chiefly as its object, but, at the same time, taking into account the claims of criticism, predominates in Fried. Wilh. Carl Umbreit's treatment of the Prophets. (Cf. Kamphausen's article "Umbreit" in Herzog's *Encyclop.*)

"Practical Commentary on the Prophets (except Jonah and Daniel) of the Old Testament, with Exegetical and Critical Notes," in 4 vols., Hamburg, 1841-46. Vol. I. in 2 parts, Isaiah, 1841-42; 2nd edit., 1846. Vol. II. Jeremiah, 1842. Vol. III. Ezekiel, 1843. Vol. IV. in 2 parts, The Lesser Prophets, 1845-46. There also appeared by Umbreit (d. 1860 as Professor at Heidelberg), "Commentaries on Job," Heidelberg, 1824; 2nd edit. 1832, and Proverbs, *ib.* 1826.

There are still to be mentioned Georg Benedict Winer's (d. 1858 as Professor at Leipzig) *Biblisches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Studierende*, &c., 2 parts. Leipzig, 1820. 2nd edit. 1833-38; 3rd edit., much improved and augmented, 1847-1848. [And as an aid in the so-called "cursory" reading of the several books of the Old Testament, Bunsen's (d. 1860) *Bibelwerk* (Leipzig, 1858); the three first volumes of which contain a translation of the Old Testament according to the traditional text, with explanatory notes.]

§ 58.—*Index of the more important Expository Works on the Books of the Old Testament.*

We find the more ancient literature up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, given in p. 15, of the *Introductio* by Joh. Gottlob Carpzov, who, under each of the books of the Old Testament, gives, with great completeness, a list of the extant *Commentarii Patrum, Rabbiorum, Lutheranorum, Pontificiorum, Reformationum*, and also *Remonstrantium, Fanatici* (e.g., sutoris Görliciensis on Genesis), &c.

There is, besides, in the already mentioned (p. 150¹) *Scholia*, by Rosenmüller, an ample *Elenchus interpretum*. The *Handbuch der Theol. Literatur* ("Manual of Theological Literature") by Winer (Leipzig, 1 vol. 1838, 2 vols. 1840. Supplement,—literature continued to the end of the year 1841–1842), gives in sections three to eight, a well-arranged, excellent review of exegetical divinity, and contains, as well, short biographical notices of the authors. An alphabetical list of almost all the theological works which appeared in Germany from 1830–1862 is supplied in the *Bibliotheca Theologica*, by Ernst Amandus Zuchhold, Göttingen, 1864. We have a continuation to this in the *Bibliotheca Theologica*, by Ruprecht (Göttingen), issued since 1849 half-yearly, which gives a classified catalogue of all the new books appearing on Evangelical Theology in Germany. Finally compare, besides, the *Jahrbücher* by Ewald, already mentioned in p. 154, the *Allg. Kirchl. Chron.* by Carl Matthes, appearing yearly at Leipzig since 1854, containing also a useful table of contents of the more important theological journals.

For the convenience of students, I now enumerate here, following the succession of the Scriptural Books, the more important Scriptural expositions, most of which are mentioned in my former remarks, briefly referring to the pages relating to them, and naming some writers before omitted.

No. 1. The whole of the Old Testament is embraced by the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, with the Commentaries (on all the Books) by Raschi, (on most of the Books) by Aben Esra, Kimchi, &c., p. 115; besides R. Salomo ben Melech, p. 115; Lyra, p. 124; Seb. Münster, p. 133; Piscator, p. 132; L. de Dieu, p. 136; Grotius, p. 139; Cornelius a Lapide, p. 128; Calov, p. 140; *Critici Sacri*, p. 140; Poli's *Synopsis*, p. 141; Clericus, p. 142; J. H. Michaelis, p. 146; Calmet, p. 128; *Englische Bibelwerk*, p. 149; J. D. Michaelis, p. 147; Dathe, p. 149; Brentano, Dereser, and Scholz, p. 151; Exeget. Manual, by Hitzig, &c., p. 159.

No. 2. Most, or at least many, of the Books of the Old Testament are treated of by Tanchum, p. 115; Ephraem

¹ In this Index I generally cite the page in my work wherein the author is spoken of.

Syrus, p. 117, note; Jerome, p. 122; Theodoret, p. 119; Luther and Calvin, p. 129; Brentz, p. 131; Maldonatus, p. 128; Drusius, p. 132; Coccejus, p. 139; Pfeiffer, p. 136; Cappellus, p. 142; Seb. Schmidt, p. 141; *Scholia*, by Schulz and Rosenmüller, p. 149; Maurer, p. 159.

No. 3. On the Historical Books, particularly the Pentateuch and the *Proph. Priores*, cf. Abarbanel's "Commentary on the Pentateuch" (edited by Bashuysen, Hanau, 1710), and on the *Proph. Priores* (edited by Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1686); Augustine, p. 121; Procopius, of Gaza, p. 119; *Catene*, of Nicephorus, p. 120; eminently Ewald (p. 155), who in the last volume of his "History of the People of Israel," gives a list of the disputed passages of Scripture.

No. 4. On the Pentateuch, besides Nos. 1-3, cf. also Bonfrère (*Pentat. Moysis Commentario illustr.*, Antwerp, 1625); Joh. Sev. Vater ("Commentary on the Pentateuch," three parts, Halle, 1802-1805); Baumgarten, p. 160.

No. 5. On Genesis, cf., besides those already quoted (of whom I name Luther, Calvin, Clericus, and Rosenmüller, as the most prominent), Commentaries by Mercerus, p. 131; Joh. Gerhard (Jena, 1693); Gust. Ad. Schumann (*Genesis, Hebr. et Græce cum annotatione perpetua*, Leipzig, 1829); Peter von Bohlen, p. 204; Fried. Tuch, p. 158; Knobel, p. 159; Delitzsch, p. 160; Keil, p. 160; Böhmer.

No. 6. On Exodus, cf., besides And. Rivet (Leyden, 1634) and Coccejus (p. 139), the more recent Commentary by Kalisch ("Historical and Critical Commentary on Exodus"), Knobel and Keil, p. 159.

No. 7. On Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, cf. Knobel and Keil, p. 159; on Deuteronomy alone, the Commentary by Joh. Gerhard (Jena, 1657); and Fr. W. Schultz, Berlin, 1859.

No. 8. On Joshua (besides Nos. 1-3, among whom Calvin, Clericus, and Rosenmüller are most prominent), Andr. Masius (*Josue imperatoris Historia illustrata*), p. 194; Maurer ("Commentary on the Book of Joshua," Stuttgart, 1831); Keil, p. 160; and Knobel, p. 159.

No. 9. On Judges, cf. Studer; Bertheau, p. 159; and Nos. 1 to 3, particularly Seb. Schmidt, Clericus, and Rosenmüller.

No. 10. On Samuel and Kings, cf., besides Seb. Schmidt

and Clericus, the Commentaries by Sanctius (Antwerp, 1624); and Thenius, p. 159; on Kings only, Keil, p. 160.

No. 11. All the fifteen *Prophete Posteriores* (cf. above Nos. 1 and 2) have been explained by Abarbanel (Amsterdam, 1641), p. 115; Theodoret, p. 119; Jerome, p. 122; Calvin, p. 129; Ekolampadius, p. 131; Coccejus, 139; Eichhorn, p. 148; Rosenmüller, p. 151; Maurer, p. 159; Hitzig, pp. 158, 159; Schmieder in O. von Gerlach's *Bibelwerk* (Berlin, 1851-53). [Dr. Rowland Williams, *The Hebrew Prophets translated afresh*, 1866.]

No. 12. On Isaiah, Abarbanel (*Jes. Lat.* by J. H. Majus, Frankf. 1711); Eusebius, p. 118; Cyrillus and Procopius, of Gaza, p. 119; Luther, p. 129; Brentz, p. 131; Wolfg. Musculus (Basle, 1570); Maldonatus, p. 128; Seb. Schmidt (Hamburg, 1702), p. 141; Clericus, p. 142; Vitringer, p. 139; Rob. Lowth (from the English, by Richerz, with additions by Koppe, Leipzig, 1779-81, four parts); H. E. G. Paulus (*Philol. Clavis.*, Jena, 1793); Gesenius, p. 152; Ewald, p. 154; Umbreit, p. 161; Hendewerk (Königsberg, 1838-43, 2 parts); Knobel, p. 159; Drechsler, p. 161. The Commentary of Meier is unfinished. p. 157; and only chaps. xl.-lxvi. are treated of by F. Beck (Leipzig, 1844); and R. Stier. [Dr. Henderson, *Isaiah, translated with a Commentary*, 1857.]

No. 13. On Jeremiah (besides No. 11), Brentz, p. 131; Maldonatus, p. 128; Seb. Schmidt (Frankf. 1685, 2 vols.), p. 141; and Clericus, p. 142; H. Venema, p. 146; J. D. Michaelis (*Observat. in Jer. Vatic. et Threnos*, edid. Schleusner, Göttingen, 1793); also notes by Schnurrer (4 *dissertationes*, Tübingen, 1793-1797); Hensler (Leipzig, 1805), and Gast (Tübingen, 1824); finally, the expositions by Dahler; Ewald, p. 154; Umbreit, p. 161; W. Neumann ("Prophecies and Lamentations," Leipzig, 2 vols., 1856-58); and Graf, p. 158.

No. 14. On Ezekiel (besides No. 11), Maldonatus, p. 128; Hieron. Pradi's et Joh. Bapt. Villalpandi's *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani commentariis et imaginibus illustratus*, Rome, 1596-1604, 3 vols.; Casp. Sanctus (Leyden, 1619); Joh. Fried. Starck (Frankf. ad Mæn. 1731); Venema, *Lectiones acad. ad Ezech.* edid. Vershuir, p. 146; Ewald, p. 154; Umbreit, p. 161; Hävernack, p. 160. On chaps. xl.-xlvi. cf. Bött-

cher's *Proben*, p. 157, and the references in Fürst's *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. p. 30. [Kliefoth, 1865. Dr. Henderson, *Transl. and Comment. on Ezekiel*, 1855.]

No. 15. All the Twelve Lesser Prophets have been treated of by the following expositors (besides those in No. 11)—Theodorus and Cyril, p. 119; Luther (except Haggai), p. 129; Joh. Tarnov (Fref. et Lips., 1688, also 1706); Seb. Schmidt, p. 141; Joh. v. Marck (Amsteloed, 1696-1701, 4 vols., reprinted with preface by Pfaff at Tübingen, 1734, 2 vols.); J. H. Michaelis (Bible of 1720); Dathe (3rd ed., 1790), p. 149; Ackermann (Vienna, 1830); Hesselberg (Königsberg, 1838); Ewald and Umbreit (except Jonah), pp. 154-160; Jos. Schlier (Stuttgartardt, 1861). [Dr. Henderson, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, 1858; Dr. Pusey, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, 3 parts published, reaching to Micah i. 12.]

No. 16. On Hosea (besides Nos. 11 and 15), the editions of the Scholiasts relating to Hosea by Raschi, Aben Esra, and David Kimchi, which Coddæus (1623) and L. de Dieu (1631) superintended at Leyden, also augmented by the *Targ. Jonath.*, Herm. von der Hardt (Helmst., 1703; nova editio cur. J. D. Michaelis, Göttingen, 1775), and the Commentary of Abarbanel (*Lat. cum notis ab Franc. ab Husen. Leyden*, 1687); further, the Commentary of Theophylact, p. 120; Brentz, p. 131; Pococke, p. 136; Stuck (Lips., 1828); Joh. Fried. Schröder ("The Prophets Hosea, Joel, and Amos," Leipzig, 1829); Aug. Simson (Hamburg and Gotha, 1851).

No. 17. On Joel, the editions with three Rabbinical commentaries superintended by Gilb. Genebrard (Paris, 1563); also the more complete editions, and that comprising Obadiah, by Joh. Leusden (Utrecht, 1657); Pococke, p. 136; Hasæus (Bremen, 1697); Eckermann (Lübeck and Leipzig, 1786); K. W. Justi (Leipzig, 1792); Holzhausen (Göttingen, 1829); J. F. Schröder (No. 16); Credner, p. 158; E. Meier, p. 157.

No. 18. On Amos, Brentz and Mercerus, p. 131; Joh. Gerhard (*Adnott. in Amos et Jon.* Jena, 1663 and 1676), Harenberg (Leyden, 1763); Dahl (Göttingen, 1795); J. S. Vater (Hallé, 1810); Justi, Leipzig, 1799 and 1820; Schröder (No. 16).

No. 19. On Obadiah, the Rabbinical editions by Leusden

(No. 17); the Commentary of Aug. Pfeiffer (with Abarbanel's Latin translation, Vitebergæ, 1666 and 1670); Clericus, p. 142; Schnurrer; Venema (Lotze published these *Lectiones* with additions by Vershuir and some of his own, Utrecht, 1810); Hendewerk (*Obadiæ oraculum*, Königsberg, 1836); Caspari, p. 160.

No. 20. On Jonah, the Rabbinical editions by F. Alb. Christianus (Leipz. 1683), and Leusden (Utrecht, 1692); also, Theophylact, p. 120; Brentz, p. 131; Joh. Gerhard (No. 18); Joh. Th. Lessing (*Observationes in Jon. et Nah.*, Chemn., 1780; Heinr. Ad. Grimm (Düsseldorf, 1789).

No. 21. On Micah, Theophylact, p. 120; Brentz, p. 131; David Chytræus (*Explicatio Michæ et Nah.* Viteb., 1565); Poccocke, p. 136; Justi (Leipzig, 1799, 2nd edit., 1820); A. Th. Hartmann (Lemgo, 1800); Caspari (Christiania, 1852).

No. 22. On Nahum, Abarbanel (Latin by J. D. Sprecher, Helmst., 1703); Theophylact, p. 120; Chytræus (No. 21); Lessing (No. 20); Agrell (Upsal, 1788); Grimm (Düsseldorf, 1790); E. Kreenen (Harderv., 1808); Justi (Leipzig, 1820); Hölemann (Leipzig, 1842); O. Strauss (Berolini, 1853); also "Commentaries on Nahum and Habakkuk," by Matt. Hafenreffer (Stuttgardt, 1663); Kalinsky (Vratesel, 1748); and Greve (Amstel. 1793).

No. 23. On Habakkuk (besides Nos. 11, 15, and 22), Theophylact, p. 120; Tanchum, p. 115; Abarbanel (Helmst., 1789, Latin by Sprecher, Utrecht, 1710); Hebrew and Latin, the Latin translation being, partly, the work of Joh. Meyer, and partly of Joh. Diet. Sprecher); Sal. von Til (*Phosphorus Propheticus*, Leyden, 1700); Wahl (Hanover, 1790); Kofod (Havn. 1792); Horst (Gotha, 1798); Justi; Wolff (Darmstadt, 1822); Delitzsch, p. 160; up to chapter iii., cf. disquisitions by Schröder (Grön. 1781); Schnurrer (Tübingen, 1786); and Mœrner (Upsal, 1791).

No. 24. On Zephaniah, Martin Bucer (Arg. 1528); Dan. von Cotta (*Observationes*, Breslau, 1818); P. Ewald (Erlang. 1827); Fr. Ad. Strauss (Berol. 1843).

No. 25. On Haggai, Mercerus, p. 131; Grynæus (Genev. 1581); Tarnovius (Rostochii, 1624); Woker. (Lips. 1719); Hesslen (Lund. 1799); Scheibel (*Observationes*, Breslau, 1822); also the Commentaries on Haggai.

Zechariah, and Malachi, by Baldwin (Viteb. 1610); Willius (Bremen, 1638); Varenius (Rost. 1662); and Aug. Köhler ("The Prophets after the Exile." 1st part Haggai. Erlangen, 1860).

No. 26. On Zechariah, Grynæus (Geneva, 1581); Ursinus (Fref. 1652); Sam. Bohl (Rostock, 1711); Vitringa (Lerv. 1734); Venema (*Sermones Acad.* Leov. 1789); [Köster (Gött. 1818); Forberg (Cob. 1824);] Mich. Baumgarten ("The Night Visions of Zechariah," Brunswick, 1854-5, 2 parts); W. Neumann, Stuttgart, 1861); Theod. Kliefoth (Schwerin, 1862); and of the Commentaries on the Prophets after the Exile (No. 25), especially those of Aug. Köhler (2nd Div. Zech. i.-viii., Erl. 1861. 3rd Div. Zech. ix-xiv., Erl. 1863).

No. 27. On Malachi, the Rabbinical editions by Sam. Bohl (Rostock, 1637), and Hebenstreit (Lips. 1731-46, 17 parts); also, the Commentary by Chytræus (Rost. 1568); Grynæus (Genev. 1582); Tarnovius (Rostock, 1624); Ursinus (Fref. 1652); Pococke, p. 136; Sal. von Til (Leyden, 1701); Venema, p. 146; Faber (Onold. 1779); Reinke.

No. 28. On the Psalms (besides Nos. 1 and 2), Eusebius, p. 118; Augustine, p. 121; Theodoret, p. 119; *Catenæ*, p. 120; Aretius Felinus, *i.e.*, Martin Bucer (Argent, 1526); Luther, p. 129; Jo. Campensis (*Psalmorum et Ecclesiasticis paraph. interpretatio*, Paris, 1533); Flaminius (Ven. 1548; recudi cur. Wald. Halle, 1785); Calvin, p. 129; Vatablus (mostly derived from Calvin), p. 127; Esrom Rüdinger (Görlitz, 1580-81); Maldonatus, p. 128; Coccejus, p. 139; Amyrald (Salmur, 1662); Geier, p. 142; J. H. Michaelis, p. 146; Clericus, p. 142; Venema, p. 146; Georg Christian Knapp ("Translation with Notes," 1776, 3 edit., 1789); Hermann Muntinghe (from the Dutch by Scholl, Halle, 1792-1793, 3 vols.); Rosenmüller, p. 150; De Wette; Clauss; Stier ("Seventy Selected Psalms," Halle, 1834-36, 2 vols.); Ewald, p. 154; Köster; Maurer, p. 159; Hengstenberg, p. 160; Tholuck; Olshausen, p. 159; Hupfeld, p. 156; Delitzsch, p. 160; Kamphausen ("Translation with Notes," Leipz. 1863); Hitzig, p. 158. [Vaihinger, 1845; J. F. Thrupp, *Introduction to the Study and Use of the Psalms*, 1860; J. S. Perowne, the Book of Psalms, Vol. I. 1864, Vol. II., 1868.]

No. 29. On the Proverbs, Maldonatus, p. 128; Mercerus, p. 131; Geier, p. 142; Chr. Bened. Michaelis, p. 146; A. Schultens, p. 145; Döderlein (Altdorf, 1778, 3rd edit. 1786); Muntinghe (translated by Scholl, Frankf., 1800-1802, 3 vols.); Umbreit, p. 161; Rosenmüller, p. 150; Ewald, p. 154; Maurer, p. 159; Bertheau, p. 159; Vaihinger (Stutt. 1857); Elster (Gött. 1858); Hitzig, p. 158, and with regard to the Jewish expositors, the *Table des Commentateurs*, given by L. Dukes in S. Cahen's work on the Bible (*Proverbes*, Paris, 1847), mentions thirty-eight works from Saadia to Löwenstein.

No. 30. On Job (Nos. 1 and 2), Augustin, p. 121; Catenæ, p. 120; Bucer (Arg. 1528); Brentz and Ecolampadius, p. 131; Calvin (*Conciones*, Genf. 1569); Mercerus, p. 131; Maldonatus, p. 128; Joa. de Pineda (Madrid, 1597-1601, 2 vols.); Piscator, p. 132; Drusius, p. 132; Coccejus, p. 139; Seb. Schmidt, p. 141; J. H. Michaelis, p. 146; Clericus, p. 142; A. Schultens, p. 145; Dathe, p. 149; H. A. Schultens (and Muntinghe from the Dutch of Weidenbach, with additions by Berg, Leipzig, 1797); Dereser, p. 151; Rosenmüller, p. 150; Umbreit, p. 161; Köster, p. 96; Ewald, p. 154; Hirzel, p. 159; Stickel; Heiligstedt, p. 159; Welte (Freiburg, 1849); Hahn, p. 160; Magnus; Schlottmann, p. 158; Ebrard ("Translation and Explanations for the Initiated," Landau, 1858); Ern. Renan ("Translation and Treatise," Paris, 1859); Delitzsch, p. 160; Vaihinger (Stutt. 1842).

No. 31. On Solomon's Song, Theodoret, p. 119; Catenæ, p. 120; Luther, p. 129; Mercerus, p. 131; Maldonatus, p. 128; Coccejus, p. 139; Clericus, p. 142; J. H. Michaelis, p. 146; Woken (Viteb. 1729); Jacobi (Celle, 1771); Hezel (Leipzig, 1778); Herder; Döderlein; Hufnagel (Erlangen, 1784); Nic. Schyth (Havniæ, 1797); Hug (Freiburg, 1813); Kistemaker (Monast. 1818); Umbreit and Ewald; Dopke (Leipz. 1829); Rosenmüller, p. 150; Magnus (Halle, 1842); Heiligstedt, p. 159; Delitzsch; Hahn; Hengstenberg; Meier, p. 157; Hitzig, p. 158; Vaihinger (Stuttgart, 1858); Weissbach (Leipz. 1858); Ern. Renan (Paris 1860); [J. F. Thrupp, 1862.]

No. 32. On Ruth, Theodore Mopsuest, Theodoret, and Procopius of Gaza, p. 119; Catenæ, p. 120; Drusius (Franecker, 1586), p. 132; Seb. Schmidt (Argent. 1696),

p. 142; Clericus, p. 142; Rambach, p. 146; Rosenmüller, p. 150; Bertheau, p. 159; Messer (Tübingen, 1856); and the most important Jewish expositors in J. Ben. Carpozov (*Colleg. rabbin.-bibl.* Lips. 1703, printed in abstract, Utrecht, 1720).

No. 33. On Lamentations, Tanchum, p. 115; Ekolampadius [Argentinae, 1533]; Calvin (Geneva, 1563); Tarnov (Rost. 1624); Chr. Bened. Michaelis, p. 146; Clericus, p. 142; J. Dav. Michaelis (No. 13); Pareau (Leyden, 1790); Rosenmüller, p. 150; Ewald, p. 154; Thenius, p. 159; Neumann (No. 13); Vaihinger (Stutt. 1858).

No. 34. On Ecclesiastes (Nos. 1 and 2), Jerome, p. 122; Van Kampen (No. 28); Luther, p. 129; Brentz, p. 131; Mercerus, p. 131; Coccejus, p. 139; Geier, p. 141; Seb. Schmidt, p. 141; Rambach, p. 146; Clericus, p. 142; Van der Palm (Leyden, 1784); Döderlin and J. E. Ch. Schmidt; Umbreit ("Koheloth's Soul's Conflict," Gotha, 1818; "What Remains?" Hamburg and Gotha, 1849; Rosenmüller, p. 150; Köster, p. 96; Knobel, p. 159; Ewald, p. 154; Herzfeld (Brunswick, 1838); Hitzig, p. 159; Heiligstedt, p. 159; Elstes (Götting. 1855); L. V. Essen; Vaihinger (Stuttg. 1858); Hengstenberg, p. 160; Hahn, p. 160; and among the most modern English expositors, Ginsburg; Theodore Preston, 1845.

No. 35. On Esther, Drusius (Leyden, 1586), p. 132; Sanctius (*Comment. in Ruth, Esdr., Nehem., Esther, &c.*, Lyons, 1628); Bonart (*Comment. litter. et moralis*, Cologne, 1647); Clericus, p. 142; Rambach, p. 146; L. Calmberg [Hamburg, 1837]; Bertheau, p. 159.

No. 36. On Daniel, cf. Jerome, p. 122; Theodoret, p. 119; Abarbanel (Ferrara, 1551); Calvin (Geneva, 1571), p. 129; Maldonatus, p. 128; Geier, p. 141; Chr. Ben. Michaelis, p. 146; Venema (chaps. ii., vii., viii., and chaps. xi. 4 to xii. 3, Levr. 1745-52); Bertholdt and Hävernick; Rosenmüller, p. 150; C. von Lengerke; Maurer; Hitzig, p. 159. Daniel and the Revelation of St. John are treated of together by Is. Newton (*Observationes*, London, 1733, in German, by Grohmann, Leipzig, 1765), and Auberlen; [Dr. Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel*, 1864.]

No. 37. On Ezra and Nehemiah (Nos. 1-3), Strigel (*Scholia in libr. Esræ*, Lips. 1571; *in libr. Neh.*, Lips. 1575); Sanctius (No. 35); H. B. Stark (*Notæ selectæ in Pent., Jos.*,

Jud., Sam., Reg., Chron., Esra, et Nehem., Lips. 1714); Clericus, p. 142; J. H. Michaelis (*Esra*), and Rambach (*Neh.*), p. 146; Bertheau, p. 159.

No. 38. On Chronicles (Nos. 1-3), Theodoret and Procopius of Gaza, p. 119; Lud. Lavater (*Comment. in Paralipp.*, Heidelberg, 1599); Sanctius (No. 10); Clericus, p. 142; Stark (No. 37); Michaelis and Rambach, p. 146; Bertheau, p. 159; Movers's *Krit. Untersuch.* (Bonn, 1834).

FIRST DIVISION.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SEVERAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, AND OF THE CHANGES UNDERGONE BY THEM UP TO THE TIME OF THEIR RECEPTION INTO THE SACRED CANON.

IN treating of the several books, we shall not observe the order in which they occur in the Hebrew Canon, but shall adopt a more practical arrangement. We shall first discuss the whole of the *Historical* books, not those only of the first and second divisions of the canon, as the "Torah," and the "Prophetæ Priores," but those also of the "Hagiographa" (Ruth, Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah, and Chronicles); next the *Prophetical* writings, and amongst these we shall include Lamentations and Daniel, both of which belong to the Hagiographa. Lastly, the five *Poetical* books, which complete the Hagiographa, viz. the Psalms, the three books of Solomon, and Job.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

§ 59.—*The Historical books in general.*

Of the Historical books, the Torah and the *Prophetæ Priores* form, on the whole, an uninterrupted series. They relate the history of the people of Israel, as the people of the covenant, in relation chiefly to Jehovah, their God, from their first origin up to the Babylonian Captivity. They set before us how Jehovah chose this people as His own possession; how He made a covenant with them, and for various periods led them as a father; and how, when they were disobedient and stubborn, He left them to themselves, and gave them up as a prey to the spoiler, so as thus to bring them back again to Himself, until at last He seemed wholly and entirely to have delivered them over to destruction, by the breaking up of their nation, and their exile from the land of promise among a strange people.

The Pentateuch, therefore, relates (1) how God first chose the people of Israel through their ancestor Abraham;

the history of the generations of men, from their creation up to the time of Abraham, being previously narrated as a kind of introduction ; then, the repetition to Isaac and Jacob of the promises given to Abraham and his seed, and the more complete establishing of the covenant already made with these patriarchs, by the giving of the law through Moses, up to the time of his death. (2) The Book of Joshua follows next, relating the taking possession of the land of Canaan, and its division among the israelites, which possession had been already promised to Abraham for his seed : it ends with the death of Joshua. (3) The Book of Judges gives us a history of the people of the covenant from the death of Joshua up to the death of Samson, and an account of the then oft-renewed apostasies of the people from Jehovah, who, on that account, ordained for them sufferings and shameful oppressions under foreign nations ; it tells of their deliverances therefrom, after the people had turned back to Him, by the aid of men whom God raised up for their help, and whom He endowed with His Spirit. (4) "The Two Books of Samuel," from the birth of Samuel up to the latest period of the reign of David. In this period occurs the institution of the sovereignty by Samuel, who, in this, complied with the will of the people, who, not contented with having in Jehovah a heavenly king, desired an earthly one, a fixed visible head, such as the neighbouring heathen nations had ; this was given them in Saul, and after his misfortunes and death, in David, and by the latter the Israelitish nation was raised to a splendour they had not before experienced. The history of these two first kings, and the people of the covenant under them, form the principal contents of these two books. (5) "The Two Books of Kings" follow this history still further ; from the death of David up to the complete breaking up of the two kingdoms, into which, after the death of Solomon, the people of the covenant were split up, viz., Israel and Judah, that is up to the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian Captivity.

The contents of these books follow in uninterrupted succession. There appears, however, to be a gap between the Books of Judges and Samuel.¹

¹ Cf. on this Keil in the *Dorpat. theol. Contributionen*, ii. p. 350 ; and the *Bibl. Jahrbuch*, in the Introduction to Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*.

The other Historical books, which, however, belong to the Hagiographa, are Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Esther, and Ruth. (6) "The Books of Chronicles" run parallel, as to their contents, with the books already named; they give first a long list of generations, from Adam downwards, and then a continuous narrative of the history of the kingdom of Judah (but not of the kingdom of Israel), from David down to the Babylonian Captivity, or rather to the conclusion of it. (7) The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah; these join on to the conclusion of the Chronicles, and record the return of various portions of the Jewish people from the Babylonian exile to their native land, also the new arrangement of the Jewish nation in both a political and religious point of view, from the age of Cyrus and Zerubbabel on to that of Ezra and Nehemiah. There are besides, the two so-called "Megilloth," viz., (8) The Book of Esther, which relates the remarkable preserving care which followed the Jews, and primarily a portion of them existing in a foreign, heathen kingdom; also the fact that when their existence was threatened by an exasperated adversary, the Jews themselves were able to punish and destroy their enemies. (9) The Book of Ruth, relating the remarkable conduct of a woman, whose fortunes, as one of the ancestors of the much-extolled King David, must have had a peculiar interest for the Israelites. We shall treat of the latter book after the Book of Judges.

§ 60.—*Fragments of Ancient Historical Works—Book of the Wars of Jehovah—Book of Jasher.*

The books named above—with the exception of some historical fragments in the Prophetical books—form the whole of the historical portion of the Old Testament, and, consequently, all that has been preserved to us in the Hebrew language of the historical literature of the ancient Hebrews. But this surely must be only a part, and indeed a small part, of the historical works composed by Israelitish authors in the Hebrew language while it existed as a living tongue, of which works the greater part has been lost. Our historical books themselves bear positive testimony to the truth of this, by their reference to other works quoted by name, as sources from which further information might be gained on the subject discussed; we know nothing, how-

ever, of these works except from these quotations. Most of these quotations are in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, there are several, however, in the earlier books. I notice the following of them:—

(1) Numbers xxi. 14, 15. In the narrative of the taking possession by the Israelites of the region of Arnon as the boundary river between Moab and the Amorites, a poetical fragment is quoted, and its origin is cited as “The Book of the Wars of Jehovah,” [עַל-בֵּן יְאֹמֶר בְּסֵפֶר כּוֹלְחֹמֹת יְהוָה.]

This title and quotation shew us that this work must have contained songs referring to the wars waged by Jehovah, or by Israel under His guidance with various heathen nations (cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 17). Whether the book contained only these songs, or a continuous narrative in connection with them, cannot be ascertained, as it is quoted only in this passage, neither can we tell of what extent it was, nor up to what period it extended; from this quotation we only observe that it related to events which occurred during the later period of the progress of the Israelites through the wilderness, from which we may conclude that the earliest date of its composition must have been after the termination of this journeying, while its latest date must have been before the writing of our present Book of Numbers. It may, not without probability, be conjectured from the title, that the earliest matters referred to in this book were God’s guidance of the people at their deliverance from Egypt and during the march through the wilderness, and their battles during this period, and that it also treated of the contests in the conquest of Canaan under Joshua. Numbers xxi. 17, 18, and 27–30, two other short songs are quoted, referring to the events of that time, and it is possible that these also are borrowed from that same book of “The Wars of Jehovah,” although we cannot assert that they are so.

(2) A writing is quoted twice in different books, under the title סֵפֶר הַיָּזָר, viz., (a) Josh. x. 13, in the narrative of the sun standing still upon Gibeon during the fight of the Israelites with the five Canaanitish kings: “Is not this written in the Book of Jasher?¹ So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven,” &c. The quotation shows, by its wording

¹ הֲלֹא הִיא כְּתוּבָה עַל-סֵפֶר הַיָּזָר.

and context, that the battle and victory of the Israelites over the five Canaanitish kings had been poetically commemorated in the book named, in a song relating to this event. (b) 2 Sam. i. 18, where we read that "The Song of the Bow," which David made on the death of Saul and Jonathan, is written in the Book of *Jasher*.¹

We perceive from these two quotations, that the Book of *Jasher* must have contained a collection of songs on some of the peculiarly memorable events in the Israelitish history; from the last passage it is evident that this compilation cannot have been arranged before the time of David, and, indeed not before his death, and from the two passages we know that they must have existed at the time of the composing of our books of Joshua and Samuel. Whether this work contained, as well as the songs, a continuous historical narrative of the occurrences to which the songs related, cannot now be determined with certainty; but it is most probable that this was not the case. The signification of the title is doubtful; the usual interpretation is the most probable, הַיָּשָׁר may be in the collective sense, *of the just, or religious* (the Vulgate has it in both passages, *Liber justorum*), referring to the pious Israelites, worshippers of Jehovah, whose deeds and proceedings were therein commemorated. There are other explanations in Gesenius, *The*. p. 642 (and Knobel, *Numb.*, *Deut.*, and *Jos.*, p. 546). [See also Donaldson, "The Book of *Jasher*."]]

§ 61.—*Book of the Acts of Solomon—of Samuel—of Nathan—of Gad—Prophecy of Ahijah.*

(3) 1 Kings xi. 41.² At the conclusion of the reign of Solomon, reference is made, for the further acts of this king, to a writing, in which more may be found about him, "The Book of the Acts of Solomon."

We see from this that it was an historical work, in which Solomon's history was related in a more copious manner, and that the author of our Book of Kings had, without doubt, made use of it in preparing his account of the reign of this king; it was also, doubtless, a private writing,

¹ הַיָּשָׁר כְּתוּבָה עַל-יַסְּפָר הַיָּשָׁר.

² "And the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written עַל-יַסְּפָר דְּבָרַי יְשֻׁלְמָה?"

composed after Solomon's death by an Israelitish author, and not a national chronicle of his reign, as Keil imagined in his "Commentary on the Book of Kings," 1846, Introd. p. xx.; he speaks of it more correctly, however, in his "Introduction to the Old Testament," § 59.

(4) 1 Chron. xxix, 29.¹ In the history of David, in regard to "his acts first and last," reference is made to three works:

(a) The Book of Samuel the Seer, דְּבָרֵי שְׂמוּאֵל הַרְּאָה.

(b) The Book of Nathan the Prophet, דְּבָרֵי נָתָן הַנְּבִיא.

(c) The Book of Gad the Seer, דְּבָרֵי גַד הַחֹזֶה.

Gad was a prophet in the time of David, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11.

The theory of Movers (*Untersuch. über die Chronik.*, 1843, p. 178) and De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 192) and others, is most unnatural, viz., that the entire quotation refers only to one and the same work, viz., to different portions of our Book of Samuel; the quotations are unmistakably from three different writings, bearing titles as quoted. It is very probable that the chronicler referred in the first-named work, the *Dibre Schemuel*, to our Books of Samuel; but in the two other works, the *Dibre of Nathan* and the *Dibre of Gad*, to other writings then existing under these titles, likewise containing information about the history of David, but which are now lost to us. One of them, the דְּבָרֵי נָתָן הַנְּבִיא is once again quoted, 2 Chron. ix. 29, in the history of Solomon; so that it cannot possibly be considered as a part of our Book of Samuel, which only extends to the latter part of the reign of David. But it is clearly arbitrary, for De Wette, *ut supra*, to refer the *Dibre Nathan hannabi* mentioned in 2 Chronicles to some fragmentary work, different from that quoted in 1 Chronicles. There is nothing that entitles us to assume, with Bertheau (*Bücher der Chron.*, 1854, Introd. § 3²), that this title does not mean independent works, but only fragments of a larger composition (which we shall speak of in No. 6), viz., "The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel." But whether the writings named bore the titles *Dibre Nathan*

¹ "Now the acts, דְּבָרֵי, of David the King, first and last, behold they are written in (על) the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad the Seer, with all his reign and his might, and the times that went over him," &c.

² In Ewald, *Isr. Gesch.* i. 247, 2nd edit.

and *Dibre Gad*, because they were composed by these men, or only because they treated of their history principally, as our Book of Samuel relates his doings, cannot be determined with certainty. The expression itself very well allows this latter conception, as the phrases *יְסֻלְמָה דְּבַרֵּי דְּיָד* in the cited passage of the Chronicles itself, and the like in many other passages, point out.

(5) In the history of Solomon, reference is made in the passage quoted above (2 Chron. ix. 29), to two other works: (a) "The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," *נְבוּיַת אַחִיָּה הַשִּׁילֹנִי*; and (b) "The Visions of (Jedai, A.V.), Iddo, the Seer," (*Jedo*, according to the Keri) "against Jeroboam the son of Nebat," *הַזֹּחַת יְעֲדֵי הַחֹזֶה עַל יִרְבְּעָם בֶּן נִבְט*.

Ahijah flourished as a prophet at the time of Solomon and Jeroboam, and first predicted to the latter his elevation as king of the ten tribes, and subsequently the destruction of his house, 1 Kings xi. 29; xiv. 7-14. The work quoted, of which we know nothing further, contained, perhaps, his prophetic utterances, and together with them, some historical matter on the reign of Solomon.

It is just the same with the work of Iddo (Jedai), and we must conclude that it contained, together with prophetic utterances and visions, chiefly relating to Jeroboam, some sort of history of Solomon and his reign, particularly the latter part, in which Jeroboam was prominent. Doubtless this Jedai (Iddo, A.V.) is one and the same person with the prophet Iddo (*יעדי*), who is mentioned in two other passages of the Chronicles as the composer of the history of Rehoboam, and of his son and successor, Abijah (Iddo is mentioned in the first passage in conjunction with the prophet Shemaiah). (a) 2 Chron. xii. 15, tells us towards the end of the story of Rehoboam, "Now the acts (*דְּבַרֵּי*) of Rehoboam, first and last, are they not written in the Book of Shemaiah, the prophet, and of Iddo, the seer *לְהַתִּיחֵשׁ*."

The first named, Shemaiah, is mentioned as a prophet in the time of Rehoboam, a little before (2 Chron. xii. 5), and as inducing the Jewish king and his princes to humble themselves before the Lord, during the contest with Shishak, king of Egypt. No more is known about him. By this close junction of his name with that of Iddo, it cannot be determined whether two distinct works are meant, or

one work in which both were associated ; but the first idea is the more probable. But the addition לְהַתִּיחֵשׁ, is difficult ; the word is used as equivalent to ἀπογράφεισθαι, of the entries in a genealogy ; but it is not clear what its exact signification is here, since, according to the way in which the quotation runs, it is not to be imagined that the works in question could have been made up altogether or principally of a pedigree or genealogical list (cf. Bertheau, *Chronik.*, Introd. p. xxxv). The meaning of this word was also very doubtful to the ancients. There may be also a doubt raised whether it refers to the work of Iddo only, or also to Shemaiah's. (β) 2 Chron. xiii. 22. "And the rest of the works of Abijah, and his ways (דְּרָכָיו), and his sayings (דְּבָרָיו), are written בְּמִדְרָשׁ הַנְּבִיא עֲדוֹ. The word מִדְרָשׁ is, properly, *investigation, research*. It probably points out here a more ample discussion (*commentarius*) on the history (merely ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ in the LXX). In any case the words relate to the historical contents of a work by Iddo, and perhaps a different one from that quoted in the two other passages in the histories of Solomon and Rehoboam.

§ 62.—*Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah.*

(6) In the existing Books of Kings, reference is very frequently made for the history of the kings of the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah, to "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), and to the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," (סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה). These quotations occur more than thirty times, at the conclusion of the history of the several kings of the two kingdoms, telling us that the rest of the acts of the kings in question are to be found in the work quoted. This reference to the Book of the Chronicles, or annals, of the Kings of Israel, first occurs with regard to Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiv. 19: "And the rest of the acts of Jeroboam (וְיִתְרֵי דְבָרָיו יִרְבְּעִים), how he warred, and how he reigned, behold, they are written עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל;" it occurs last, 2 Kings xv. 31, in reference to Pekah, the last king of Israel but one. The annals of the Kings of Judah are quoted first as to Rehoboam, 1 Kings xiv. 29 ; and

last, regarding Jehoiakim, the father of Jehoiachin, the brother of Zedekiah (d. 600 B.C., 14 years before the destruction of Jerusalem) 2 Kings xxiv. 5: "And the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all that he did, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?" In the corresponding passage of Chronicles it states, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8: "The rest of the acts of Jehoiakim," &c., "behold they are written in the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיְהוּדָה.

Mention is often made in Chronicles of "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיְהוּדָה (2 Chron. xxvii. 7, and xxxv. 27), or "the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (2 Chron. xxv. 26; xxviii. 26; xxxii. 32), and סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים לְיְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (2 Chron. xvi. 11); also, "the Book of the Kings of Israel," סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (2 Chron. xx. 34), or "the History of the Kings of Israel," דְּבַרֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18); both one and the other relate to the history of different Kings of the Kingdom of Judah, as the Kings of Israel are not treated of in Chronicles; also, in the parallel passages of the Book of Kings, reference is made to "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." Therefore we cannot doubt but that the work quoted in Chronicles as to the history of the Jewish kings, and called by these various titles, was one and the same with that quoted in our Book of Kings as to the history of the same kings, viz., "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah."

The same thing applies in reference to סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים מְדַרְשׁ (2 Chron. xxiv. 27), quoted as to the history of Joash, King of Judah. The work mentioned here, notwithstanding its peculiar title, is most probably no other than "the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," to which a similar reference is made in the parallel passage (2 Kings xii. 19). By comparing the passages in Chronicles, we may assume with great probability, that the works which, in the Book of Kings, are quoted as "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and also as "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," were not two works unconnected with each other, but perhaps only *one* work, in which,

however, each of the two kingdoms was dealt with separately. It related the history of the two kingdoms or their kings, from the time of their disunion, and that of the kingdom of Judah up to a short time before the Babylonian exile; it was, therefore, composed in the very latest period of the Jewish kings, or at least not finished before that time.

It must have been a tolerably copious work, including also several earlier special writings on separate fragments of history, complete or in abstract. The Book of Chronicles contains express statements on two cases of this kind: (a) 2 Chron. xx. 34, where in the history of the Jewish king Jehoshaphat, reference is made to the Book of the Prophet Jehu, the son of Hanani (who flourished as a prophet under Baasha and the Kings of Israel following him, up to Ahab's death, during the time of the King of Judah, Jehoshaphat, 1 Kings xvi. 1; 2 Chron. xix. 2), which "is mentioned (or inserted) in the Book of the Kings of Israel." The passage runs: "Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold they are written: בְּדַבְרֵי יְהוּא בְּוַחֲנַנִי אִשֶּׁר הִלְעָה עַל־סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל." In the parallel passage (1 Kings xxii. 45), a simple reference is made to "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," from which, however, it does not follow, that the authors of the Book of Kings were then ignorant of the insertion of the Book of Jehu in the main work. (b) 2 Chron. xxxii. 32. For the further history of Hezekiah, reference is made to a writing of Isaiah (חֲזוֹן יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ) "in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel:" "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his goodness, behold they are written: בְּחֲזוֹן יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ בְּוַחֲמוּזֵי הַנְּבִיאַ עַל־סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי־יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל." The title of this work of Isaiah's given here is חֲזוֹן יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ בְּוַחֲמוּזֵי, and is the same as in the superscription of our Book of Isaiah. Yet neither can this book be intended here, in reference to the historical fragment (chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix.) on occurrences in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, nor is it the fragment by itself which is referred to, but some work of Isaiah's, containing, together with prophetic utterances, fuller information as to the life and reign of Hezekiah, than that given in our Book of Isaiah. Besides, again in this case, in the parallel passage (2 Kings xx. 20),

only a simple reference is made to "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah."

But as to the nature of this great work, or the person of its author, nothing is known to us. (See more about it further, § 156).

§ 63.—*Other Minor Historical Works.*

(7) 2 Chron. xxvi. 22. Reference is made as to the history of Uzziah, King of Judah, to an historical work of the Prophet Isaiah. "Now the rest of the acts (דְּבָרָיו) of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah, the prophet, the son of Amoz, write." This work is entirely lost. In the parallel passage (2 Kings xv. 6), a reference is made, instead, again to "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." Yet it does not follow from this, that this writing of Isaiah's was included in this larger work, or that the author of Chronicles had not known it as an independent composition.

(8) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19. In the history of Manasseh, besides the reference in v. 18 to "the Book of the Kings of Israel," the דְּבָרָיו הַזֵּהוּ is also cited as to many subjects; this can only be considered as one of the writings of Hosai, an otherwise unknown man: "And his prayer, and how it was heard, and all his sins and his trespass, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up groves and idols before he was humbled, behold, they are written עַל דְּבָרָיו הַזֵּהוּ ("among the sayings of the seers," A.V.).

The LXX has here, ἐπὶ λόγων τῶν ὁρώντων, and Movers (*Chron.* p. 81), De Wette (§ 192, b.) and Bertheau (*Chron.* Introd. p. xxxv.) read הַחֲזוֹנִים, "Discourses of the Prophets;" but this can hardly have been a corruption of the text; and it is also, in itself, not natural if taken with the context. Jerome has rightly taken it as a proper name, so also the Targum.

(9) 1 Chron. xxvii. 24. An historical work relating to the reign of David is, as it appears, quoted, under the title, דְּבָרָיו הַיָּמִים לְמִלְכָּה דָּוִד. Nothing further is known of it.

§ 64.—*Authorship—Prophets—Priests.*

From these quotations we perceive (*a*), that the authors of our Old-Testament Historical Books had before them some still earlier historical works, and to some extent made use of them as sources of information for their own writings. By this, their own historical credibility can only be increased. For the authors of our books could not generally, in any case, have been themselves eye witnesses and partakers in all the occurrences which they describe in their books; a fact proved by the wide extent of the history narrated in most of these books.

The Book of Judges embraces a period of about 500 years; the Book of Samuel at least over 100 years; the Books of Kings about 450 years; Chronicles actually a much longer space of time; Ezra about 80 years, or perhaps longer; and the Pentateuch, taken as a whole, the entire period from the Creation of the Earth to the Death of Moses. The authors of these books, therefore, could in the most favourable case have lived to see only a part of the events recorded by them; the remainder must have been communicated to them by the report of others; and if we find that they derived their history from earlier original writings, the composers of which were contemporary with or lived not long after the events, their narratives will thus receive a greater authentication, than if the authors had been beholden only to verbal tradition as to events so widely removed from them. References of this sort, to any extent, meet us only in the Books of Kings and Chronicles; in the Pentateuch and Joshua only once in each; and not at all in the Books of Judges and Samuel. It does not, however, follow from this, that in these works a frequent use has not been made of such information, since surely the sources employed do not everywhere require to be cited, and this citation is much less consonant with the practice of antiquity than it is with ours.

(*b*) We also perceive that, at least during a certain period, the prophets among the Hebrews employed themselves specially in the composition of historical works.

Almost the whole of the books which are mentioned in the Chronicles as separate portions of the history of the Hebrews, are expressly named after prophets; and although

it is not certain from a title like **דְּבַרֵי נָתָן הַנָּבִיא**, whether Nathan is here meant as the real author of the book, or whether the book was so named after the chief person treated of in it; yet the first supposition is in most cases far the likeliest, especially since many of the prophets mentioned in this way are quite unknown to us except in these histories, so that it could not be expected that there should be particular works composed by *other* authors, in which their special history is treated of. Still less is it to be doubted that the author of the work is pointed out in the title, *e.g.*, *Nebuath Ahia, Chasoth Jedai, Chason Jeschajah*; and the passage in 2 Chron. xxvi. 22, is very decisive, where it plainly tells us Isaiah wrote the history of Uzziah; which passage also serves to make the corresponding idea likely in another case. We can, consequently, readily assume that in the period of the Kings, during which the Hebrew prophets flourished, it was especially the prophets who employed themselves in the composition of works on the history of their people, so as, in this way, to stir up and animate the theocratic spirit in them. Many have considered that the original recorders of historical circumstances and the authors of the historical books were certain public functionaries, or State-annalists, who, under the name **מְזִבֵּיר** appear among the Court officers of the Jewish Kings. But this is doubtless incorrect, as to which cf. § 156.

As to the point whether the priests as well as the prophets engaged in this branch of authorship, we have no sufficient historical evidence. It is not, however, unlikely that they took on themselves the composition of religious and political history, particularly after the return out of exile, when prophecy became almost extinct, and the Levitical priests had obtained an important ascendancy in their influence over public matters; and we might presume that those of our Old Testament Historical Books, which were composed subsequently to the exile, had priests (or Levites) as authors; but with regard to the books which were written at an earlier time, the supposition is more likely that they were written by the prophets, or, at least, that the historical works of the prophets form the basis of them. This, however, can only be stated as a general conjecture, and not as a proved fact as regards any of our books.

§ 65.—*Titles.*

In the investigation of the several Historical Books of the Old Testament, we shall, however, perceive that with regard to most, if not all of them, we must content ourselves generally with only ascertaining the approximate date of the composition and the historical and literary character of the author, his mode of composing and constructing his work, and of employing his sources of information, but can decide nothing as to his name or person. On these latter points historical evidence is wanting in almost every case. The titles by which we are wont to call these books can be of very little, if any use for this purpose, first, because it is not certain whether they were originally prefixed by the authors in the form in which we now have them; and secondly, because according to the intention of those who prefixed them to the several books, they were not meant as indications of the author, but rather to have a reference to the contents and principal subjects.

This is clear from the titles of the Books of Judges, Kings, and Chronicles, as well as those of Ruth and Esther. Nothing else can be intended in the Books of Samuel, since in these the history is carried some way beyond the death of Samuel, after whom they are named. The same is the case with the Book of Joshua, in which the death of Joshua is related. The "Five Books of Moses," however, do not bear this title at all in the superscription of the Hebrew editions and manuscripts, nor in the LXX and Vulgate, but only in the modern translations. This title [the Books of Moses] (which certainly occurs in the Fathers) might seem to authorize a conclusion as to the authorship. But our investigation, whether and to what extent Moses may have been the author of the Pentateuch, must be conducted quite independently of the customary title of these books.

PENTATEUCH.

§ 66.—*Divisions—Name.*

The first part of the Hebrew Canon, the תורה, comprises only *one* connected historical work, beginning with the Creation of the World, and extending to the Death of Moses. It is divided into five books, and in a similar way in the Hebrew manuscripts, in the ancient translations,

and even in the LXX. Philo and Josephus knew of this division, and it is very likely that it is as old as the last redaction of the work, in which it reached its present extent.

There is no need to assume it as a settled point, as Hävernäck ("Introduction," § 107) and Von Lengerke ("Kanaan," p. lxxxii.) (not so Keil) suppose, that the division must have proceeded from the Greek translators, and have been by them first imported into the Hebrew text. (The division of the Psalter into five parts opposes this, cf. § 273.)

After this division the work was well designated by the later Hebrew Jews as the *five fifth-parts of the Law* (חֲמִשָּׁה חֲמִשִּׁי הַתּוֹרָה); it is called by us, as by Rufinus¹ and Jerome,² "The Five Books of Moses," or in one word, the "Pentateuch." This last denomination originated, no doubt, with the Alexandrians.

The word Pentateuch is in Greek properly an adjective, and of the feminine gender; ἡ πεντάτευχος sc. βίβλος, *i.e.*, the *five-volumed book*, from τεύχος, signifying according to the later Greek usage, *book, volumen*. So, Origen, in *Joann.* tom. xiii. c. 26, τῆς πεντατεύχου Μωύσεως. In Latin the word *Pentateuchus* kept its ground, *e.g.*, in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* i. 10, where, however, the gender does not appear. It is the general custom to treat it in Latin as masculine, sc. *Liber*, as it is quite the rule in German to say, *der Pentateuch*. It is, however, perhaps more suitable to retain the Greek gender in the Latin and therefore to treat it as feminine.

The *namings* of the separate books in the superscriptions of the LXX and Vulgate, which have become customary in the Christian Church, allude to the chief subject of their contents. Thus the first book is called Γένεσις, Genesis, in reference to the origin of the world, related in the beginning of the book; the second Ἔξοδος, Exodus, in reference to the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt; the third, Λευιτικόν, Leviticus, in reference to its containing the laws about the Levitical worship, sacrifices, and priesthood;

¹ *Exposit. in Symb. Apost.*: Itaque Vet. Instrumenti primo omnium Moysis quinque libri sunt traditi.

² In *Prologo Galeato*: Hi sunt quinque libri Mosis, quos proprie Thora, *i.e.*, Legem, appellant.

the fourth, Ἀριθμοί, Numeri, in reference to its containing different enumerations of the people; the fifth, Δευτερονόμιον, Deuteronomium, because in this the law-giving of the earlier books is repeated. But in the superscription of the books in the Hebrew manuscripts and editions it is customary to denote the titles by the first, or two first words of each, and Origen gives this (*ad. Ps.* 1, v. further § 309), and also Jerome (*Prolog. Gal.* v. § 311), as the usual mode of naming them among the Jews; so Genesis, בְּרֵאשִׁית; Exodus, וַיֵּאֱלֹהֶם שְׁמוֹת; Leviticus, וַיִּדְבָּר; Numbers, according to Jerome, וַיִּדְבָּר, the word with which the book begins, but nevertheless it stands now בְּמִדְבָּר, in the Hebrew manuscripts and editions, which is not indeed the first word, but is in the first verse, and is chosen as being more characteristic for the title of the book. Origen gives as the usual denomination for it among the Jews, Ἀρμεσφεκωδείμ, which is difficult to explain; but it means, most likely, *recensiones*,¹ as a fusion of the two synonymous words הַמִּסְפָּרִים and פְּקוּדִים; Deuteronomium, וַיֵּאֱלֹהֶם הַדְּבָרִים.

§ 67.—*Contents of the Books of the Pentateuch.*

As regards the contents of these books, *Genesis* begins, as already remarked, with the history of the Creation of the World, viz., of the earth and the race of men (ch. i., ii.), joining with it that of the Fall and the punishment thereof (ch. iii.), and Cain's murder of his brother Abel (ch. iv.). A genealogical table unites the history of the first human pair and their sons to that of Noah (ch. v.), then the history of the Deluge is amply related (up to ch. ix., end). Chapters x. and xi. contain the account of the Tower of Babel, and the dispersion of mankind over the earth, and also two genealogical lists, one (ch. x.) more giving an account of the various peoples; the other (ch. xi.) serving to connect the history of Noah and the Deluge with that of Abraham the forefather of the Israelites, who becomes the chief person in the sections following, and to whom all the

¹ According to the statement of an early scholar of his, Marx of Trèves, Raschi designates the book חֲמִיט פְּקוּדִים, *the fifth part*, פְּקוּדִים, (as similarly also the other several books with חֲמִיט); which would certainly render the form given by Origen still easier to explain.

narrative there given relates, up to ch. xxv. 11, where his death is recorded. His relation with Jehovah is made peculiarly prominent: his faithful obedience, and the Divine promises given to him for his posterity, concerning the blessings which they, beyond all other people of the earth, were to be partakers of, and especially as to their sure possession of the land of Canaan. The following portion is entirely devoted to the history of the descendants of Abraham, particularly those who were the ancestors of the Israelites: to the account of Isaac, and to the history of Jacob and his sons, principally of Joseph, up to the immigration into Egypt, and the death of Jacob and Joseph there.

The *second* book, *Exodus*, begins with the account of the names of Jacob's sons who came into Egypt, and then notices very shortly that, after the death of Joseph and his brothers, the Israelites multiplied very much in the land of Egypt; immediately after which it is told (ch. i. 8, ff.), how a later king inflicted manifold oppressions on them, in order to check their increase, and how in this time of affliction Moses was born and preserved in a wonderful manner.

A considerable period intervenes between Genesis and Exodus, which, although not quite passed over, is touched upon in very few words. The fuller narrative does not begin again till the birth of Moses. It relates his education and sojourn in the court of the Egyptian kings, his flight among the Midianites in Arabia, the divine manifestation and calling granted to him there, his return into Egypt, his negotiations with Pharaoh, and the plagues miraculously inflicted on Egypt through him; the departure out of Egypt allowed at last, and taking place in a miraculous way; and then the journeying, first up to Mount Sinai, which they arrived at three months after their departure (up to ch. xix. 1). The rest of the book (ch. xix.—xl.), relates the sojourn of the Israelites at Sinai, and the giving of the law there revealed to them: up to the finishing and dedication of the Tabernacle of the Covenant, which, according to ch. xl. 2, 17, took place on the first day of the first month of the second year (after their departure from Egypt); so that this book embraces in its second part a full year from the time of the departure out of Egypt.

The *third* book, *Leviticus*, contains almost entirely laws, either detached, or in short series or compilations provided

to some extent with special concluding formulas. These laws especially relate to the Levitical *cultus*, the sacrificial service, and the priesthood. Historical matter is found only in chapters viii.—x, relating the dedication of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood, and matter connected with it. No progress in the history is to be perceived in this book, and with this corresponds the beginning of the fourth book.

Numbers. This begins with the first day of the second month of the second year after the departure out of Egypt, when Moses received the command of Jehovah, "to take the sum of the people of Israel;" so that now, since the departure out of Egypt, one year and one month had elapsed; and for the giving of the law in Leviticus, under the supposition of an exact chronological arrangement, there would be at most, a full month.

We shall, however, have to put Num. ix, at an earlier epoch. After (chaps. i.—viii.) we are told of the numbering of the Israelites, and many ordinances in reference to the camp, with other legal directions, which Jehovah had decreed, and then follows (ch. ix. 1—14) a law relating to the feast of the Passover, which Jehovah revealed to Moses, in the *first month of the second year* after the departure out of Egypt; in the *same month* therefore, as that already named (Exodus, ch. xl.), as the date of the dedication of the Tabernacle. In the following chapter (x. 11), the twentieth day of the second month of the second year is pointed out as the day on which the Israelites departed from Sinai, according to which they must have spent about a whole year there. The following chapters (xi.—xix.) narrate different events in the further journeyings of the people and several separate laws, particularly as to sacrifices and the Levites. Next, it is told, in ch. xx. 1, that the Israelites arrived in the *first month* at Kadesh in the Wilderness of Zin, and that they encamped there. The year is not mentioned, but it is most agreeable to what goes before to consider, that it was the year following the before-mentioned second year; at the beginning, therefore, of the third year. This assumption, however, becomes embarrassing when we compare other passages. In v. 23, ff. of the same chapter, Aaron dies on Mount Hor, to which the Israelites proceeded immediately after they set out from

Kadesh. But according to the statement in ch. xxxiii., which contains a list of all the journeyings and encampments of the Israelites in the Wilderness, together with some short historical statements, the death of Aaron takes place (v. 38) on the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year after the departure out of Egypt. It seems to follow from this, that *either* that *first month* named in ch. xx. 1 (the arrival of the Israelites at Kadesh) was the first month of the *fortieth* year after their departure from Egypt; and then there would be a period of nearly thirty-eight years between the setting out from Sinai happening (ch. x. 11) in the second month of the second year, and the arrival at Kadesh mentioned (ch. xx. 1), without any notice being taken of so considerable an interval in the narrative, which is here continuous; *or*, if in ch. xx. 1, the first month of the *third year* is meant, then this very chapter (xx.) embraces from v. 1 to v. 23, ff. a period of about thirty-eight years, which is taken up by the time of the sojourn of the Israelites at Kadesh, by their journey from thence to Mount Hor, and by their stay at Mount Hor up to the time of the death of Aaron, which followed thereon; whilst the way in which these events are told and their connection with each other would rather lead us to presume, that they all happened within a few months. The first explanation of this point has been usually adopted, viz., that in ch. xx. 1, the first month of the *fortieth* year is meant. But a comparison with Deut. ii. 14, appears to lead us to the second way of regarding it. There it tells us—in a speech of Moses’—that the Israelites passed thirty-eight years in the journey from Kadesh-barnea (= Kades) up to their passing over the brook Zered. Since the whole journey through the wilderness occupied forty years, they could not, according to this, have arrived at Kadesh later than the beginning of the third year, so that, in ch. xx. 1–23, a period of nearly thirty-eight years must be embraced, although the narrative in this section, considered in itself, would not lead us to such an assumption.

The following portion of the Book of Numbers contains first of all, up to ch. xxvii. 11, narratives of various circumstances in the further journeying of the people, of the conquest of several kings who opposed themselves to them, the History of Balaam (ch. xxii.–xxiv.), also of the

idolatry into which the Israelites allowed themselves to be led away (ch. xxv.) at Shittim, the last camping place in the Moabitish territory, a fresh numbering of the people (ch. xxvi.), and other things. Then (ch. xxvii. 12-23), it is related how Moses was commanded by Jehovah to ascend Mount Abarim, that he might, before his death, behold with his eyes that land which his foot must never tread, and how Joshua was fixed on by Jehovah as his successor. The three following chapters (xxviii.-xxx.) contain a series of laws as to various oblations and the vows of women; ch. xxxi. the account of the conquest of the Midianites; ch. xxxii. the distribution by Moses of some of the country conquered by the Israelites and lying beyond Jordan, among the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manassch, after they had engaged that they would move over Jordan with their forces fit for war, and assist their brethren in the conquest of the land of Canaan. Then follows (ch. xxxiii.) the already mentioned list of all the journeyings and encampments of the Israelites, from their departure from Egypt up to their encamping in the Moabitish province, along Jordan, to at least the second half of the fortieth year after the Exodus; in *v.* 5, the fifth month is named, on the first day of which Aaron died; in verses 40-49 various subsequent journeyings and encampments are given. The list itself presents in its statements many differences in regard to the foregoing special narratives. Chaps. xxxiv.-xxxvi. contain various ordinances of Jehovah as to the division of the land which was to be taken in possession and the men who were to manage the distribution, as to the cities of the Levites, and the cities of refuge in the land, also as to the inheritance of daughters.

The Book closes (ch. xxxvi. 13): "These are the commandments and the judgments, which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho."

The *fifth* book, *Deuteronomy*, in the very beginning places us in the same situation and period in which the fourth book closed. It is here related that Moses, on the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year, made an address to the Israelites beyond Jordan, in which he warned and admonished them on all that they had experienced in their previous journeys (up to ch. iv. 40); then ch. iv. 41-43, that

Moses fixed upon three cities beyond Jordan as cities of refuge. Next follows a long and closely connected section, ch. iv. 44, up to the end of ch. xxvi., viz., a speech of Moses, in which he anew lays down a complete system of laws; the laws given previously are here for the most part again enjoined, not however with verbal iteration, but with much amplification, alteration, and closer definitions; some new laws are, however, also communicated. The four following chapters (xxvii.—xxx.) contain still fuller ordinances and admonitions as to the keeping of the laws, with a reference to the Divine blessing and curse. In ch. xxxi. it is related that Moses, being 120 years old, laid down his jurisdiction, and appointed Joshua as leader of the host in his stead; that he (v. 9) wrote down *this* law, and delivered it to the Levites and elders with the command, that they should read it out every seventh year at the feast of Tabernacles: then, that he received a command from Jehovah to write down a song (v. 19, “*this* song”), and to teach it to the Israelites, as a testimony against them; then, after he had finished “writing the words of this law in a book” (v. 24), he enjoined the Levites to “put it in the side of the ark of the covenant.” The song, here alluded to, follows in ch. xxxii. 1–43; next follow some concluding words of admonition to the people, that they should take to heart all his sayings (verses 44–47). It is then further related (verses 48–52) how Moses was commanded by Jehovah to ascend Mount Nebo in the mountains of Abarim, and before his death to behold from thence the land of Canaan. The same command is therefore repeated here, which was given in Num. xxvii. 12, but without any notice being taken here of its previous communication. Chap. xxxiii. contains the last words of blessing which Moses, before his death, addressed to the people and to the separate tribes. Finally, ch. xxxiv. mentions how Moses, in obedience to the Divine command, ascended Mount Nebo, and from thence looked over the land of Canaan; how he died there, and was buried by Jehovah in a valley of the land of Moab, and that “no man knoweth of his sepulchre, even to this day” (v. 6); that the Israelites mourned for him in the plains of Moab forty days, and paid obedience to Joshua, who was filled with the spirit of wisdom; but that henceforth no prophet should arise in Israel who should be like unto Moses.

REVIEW OF THE VARIOUS IDEAS ON THE ORIGIN AND
FORMATION OF THE PENTATEUCH.§ 68.—*Authorship—Ancient View.*

The prevalent view in ancient times, both among the Jews and in the Christian Church, was that the whole work was written by Moses, the principal actor in the events related in the four last books. We can safely assume that this was the view at the time of Christ and the Apostles, and we find it expressly stated in Philo and Josephus. In the Talmud,¹ we read that Moses wrote his Book (*i.e.*, the Pentateuch), with the exception of only eight *pesukim* (the eight last, the writing of which is ascribed to Joshua). This was also the view of the later Jews, and of all the fathers of the Church; yet we find, even in the first century of our era, some differing opinions among small parties in the Church, principally Gnostics, who were opponents of Judaism and the Jewish law.

E.g. (a), Ptolemæus, scholar of Valentinus, in the second century,² makes a division in the contents of the Pentateuch, attributing only a portion of it to Divine revelation, another part to Moses alone, another to the elders of the people. The question with him, however, was not exactly as to the authorship of the book, yet on such an hypothesis it would be still less likely that he should attribute to Moses the literary composition of the whole work. (b) It was pronounced upon in a more decided way by an ascetic sect, of whom Epiphanius speaks (*Hæc.* xviii.), under the name of Nazarenes, who had in general a Judaizing character, and appear to have been only a peculiar party among the Nazarenes, with a theosophic ascetic tendency. They peculiarly venerated the Patriarchs, but they rejected the Pentateuch; they affirmed that Moses had indeed received a scheme of laws from Heaven, but not those contained in this work, and that these books were fictitious; that it was

¹ *Tr. Baba Bathra*, fol. 14, 2: Moses scripsit librum summ et sectionem Bileam et Jobum. Josua scripsit librum summ et octo versus in lege.

² *Ep.* ad Floram ap. Epiphani. *Hæres.* xxxiii. 4: 'Ο σύμπαρ ἐκείνος νόμος ὁ περιεχόμενος τῇ Μωσέως Πεντατεύχῳ οὐ πρὸς ἐνός τινος νενομοθέτηται, λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ μόνου θεοῦ—διαιρεῖται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν Μωσέα, οὐ καθὰ αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ νομοθετεῖ ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλὰ καθὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐννοίας ὀρμώμενος, καὶ ὁ Μωσῆς ἐνομοθέτησέ τινα. Καὶ εἰς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ διαιρεῖται, οἱ πρῶτοι εὐρίσκονται ἐντολάς τινας ἐνθέντες ἰδίας.

false that their fathers had sacrificed and made use of meat. The same thing is said about the Nazarenes by Joh. Damascenus, *de Herasibus*, ch. xix.: τὰς δὲ τῆς πεντατεύχου οὐκ εἶναι Μωϋσεως δογματίζουσι, ἄλλας δὲ παρ' αὐτὰς διαβεβαιούνται. (c) According to the Clementine Homilies, iii. 47, Moses' object was to propagate the primitive religion verbally, and he entrusted the law containing it to seventy wise men; but after his death the law was, contrary to his design, set down in writing, and this was the source of the Pentateuch;—that it could not proceed from Moses himself is clear from the account of his death, Deut. xxxiv. 5. They held also that the Pentateuch was subsequently often lost and written out with new additions. (d) At a later time we learn by the statements of Euthymius Zigabenus in his *Panoplia*, that the Bogomili, a sect in the twelfth century, particularly rejected the Mosaic writings from the Old Testament, ὡς κατ' ἐπινοίαν τοῦ σατανᾶ συγγραφέντα. But it is not said if they questioned the Mosaic authorship.

Among the Jewish scholars of the middle ages *two* at least have expressed their doubts whether the whole work were written by Moses; Isaak ben Jasos, and Aben Esra.

The former, who is little known (eleventh century), is quoted by Aben Esra on Genesis xxxvi. 31, and it is said of him that he maintained that this fragment (about the kings who reigned over Edom before kings ruled over Israel) was written at the time of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah. The latter, Aben Esra himself (twelfth century), opposed these assertions, but, in his "Commentary on the Pentateuch," expressed doubts as to the Mosaic authorship of several passages, viz., Genesis xii. 6: xxii. 14: Deuteronomy i. 1; iii. 11; and xxxiv. His intention, however, was not to deny the authorship of the Pentateuch in general by Moses, but he only appears to have considered that such passages as point to a subsequent period and its circumstances, were later additions. He expressly ascribes Deuteronomy xxxiv. to Joshua. In reference, however, to the rest of the passages, he expressed himself so gently and doubtfully, perhaps in order not to give offence, that his remarks for a long time excited no particular attention, and their meaning even has been a matter of controversy (*v. Maier*, "Aben Esra's Opinion on the Pentateuch," in the *Theolog. Stud. und Krit.*, 1832.

§ 69.—*Modern Views as to the Authorship of the Pentateuch.*

Carlstadt, at the time of the Reformation, declared more explicitly (*De Canonicis Scripturis*, 1520) as a view which might be defended: "Mosen non fuisse scriptorem quinque librorum." He only alleges, however, as his reason, the narrative given at the end of the work of the death of Moses, which no one, "nisi plane dementissimus Mosi velut auctori tribuet." In the second half of this century Andreas Masius expressed himself still more explicitly. He was a Catholic and a lawyer, born in the neighbourhood of Brussels (d. 1573 at Cleves), particularly known through an excellent "Commentary on the Book of Joshua" (Antwerp, 1574), in the preface to which he declared decidedly, that the Pentateuch, in the form in which we now have it, was not the work of Moses, but of Ezra or some other inspired man, who had altered many ancient names into those common at a later period, and the like. The received opinion experienced further attacks in the second half of the seventeenth century from Hobbes and Peyrerius, then from Spinoza, and soon after from Simon and Clericus, who coincided in this, that our Pentateuch, though it may have something Mosaic as the groundwork, belongs, in its present state, to a considerably later period.

Hobbes, in his "Leviathan" (1651), gave it as his opinion, "videtur Pentateuchus potius de Mose quam a Mose scriptus," as the passages Deut. xxxiv. 6; Gen. xii. 6; Num. xxi. 14, point to a later time; that Moses, however, might have composed that part of it which is expressly stated to have been recorded by him, viz., the Laws (Deut. xi.—xxxvii.).

Isaak Peyrerius,¹ a French Reformed divine, who subsequently went over to the Catholic Church (d. 1676 as a Jesuit), in his celebrated work, *Systema Theologicum ex præ-Adamitarum Hypothesi*, 1655 (in which he endeavours to

¹ Isaac de la Peyrere, born 1694, at Bordeaux, was imprisoned 1656 by the management of the Grand-Vicar of the Archbishop of Mechlin, but soon obtained his liberty through the Prince de Condé; he was, however, obliged to forswear not only his pre-Adamitism, but also the Reformed faith. He afterwards found a friendly reception in Rome from the Pope, but in 1659 he was again in France as librarian to his protector, Condé; cf. also the interesting article by G. Frank in the *Protest. Kirchenzeitung*, 1863. Col. 853-856.

produce proof that Adam was the ancestor of the Israelitish people only, and not of the whole race of men), treated of the Pentateuch, which he could not bring himself to acknowledge as a work of Moses, appealing to various passages which seem to show signs of a later time and its circumstances, also to the deficiency in arrangement, the abruptness, the repetitions, and the historical improbabilities.¹ He was of opinion that Moses composed diaries as to the departure out of Egypt, the journeyings in the Wilderness, and on the giving of the law, prefixing also a history of the foregoing time, even of that before Adam. These autographs of Moses, he considered, were lost, and that our books were abstracts of them composed at a much later date, and not even immediately derived from them.²

Spinoza, in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670), in which he refers to the hints already given by his compatriot Aben Esra, endeavours more effectually to establish these doubts by means of various separate passages in the Pentateuch, as well as by the phenomena throughout the whole work, particularly Moses' use of the third person. He propounds the view that our Pentateuch, and likewise the other historical books of the Old Testament in their present arrangement, were first composed by Ezra; that he wrote Deuteronomy first, then the four other books, and appended the former to them;—that their discontinuity and looseness of construction were caused by Ezra being prevented by his death from completing the work, but also that the books experienced many corruptions after Ezra's time.

Soon after Spinoza's book, appeared Richard Simon's "Critical History of the Old Testament" (1678), which attributes to Moses the literary authorship of the Law, but broaches the opinion that Moses caused the history of his time to be written by official annalists, whom he appointed after the custom of the Egyptians; and that our Pentateuch was compiled in a somewhat confused manner from the various writings of these annalists working without connection with each other, joined with the Mosaic book of

¹ *E.g.*, to the citations, Num. xxi. 14-15-27, ff.; Deut. i. 1, "beyond Jordan;" Deut. iii. 14, "to this day;" *ib.* v. 11.

² *E.g.*, Gen. xiv. 14, xxxvi. 31; Exod. xvi. 35; Num. xxi. 14; Deut. xxxi. 9, xxxiv. 10.

the Law; therefore that which is really by Moses, and the extraneous and later elements, cannot very certainly be separated, but that Moses appears to have derived the narratives and genealogies in Genesis from ancient written memoirs or from oral traditions. Clericus goes much further in his *Sentimens* (1685), Letter 6. Here he endeavours to prove that Genesis in particular is a work belonging to a considerably later period than the Mosaic (from such passages as ch. xii. 6, xiv. 14, xxxv. 21, xxxvi. 31, xxxvii. 14, xl. 15; also from the geographical notices, ch. ii. 11, 12, and ch. x.), and the same with the rest of the books, the historical elements of which, he thinks, may have been borrowed (*e.g.*, out of the book quoted in Num. xxi. 14). With regard to the existing Pentateuch, he broaches the strange opinion that it is the work of Israelitish priests who had been sent back from Babylon by the Assyrian kings after the breaking up of the kingdom of the ten tribes, in order to teach the worship of Jehovah to the new colonists (2 Kings xvii. 24–28), and that with this object, either alone or with assistance, they composed an account of the Creation of the World, with an abstract of the history of the Israelitish people and of the giving of the Law, and that this was our Pentateuch.

In his commentary on Genesis, which appeared in 1693 (*Prolegg. Dissert. tertia*), Clericus retracted his earlier opinions, and endeavoured to claim the authorship of the whole Pentateuch for Moses (with the exception of a few passages inserted later through interpolation), and to refute the objections raised against it. He therefore advanced the opinion about Genesis, that Moses had compiled it from ancient writings, in which the Patriarchs had related the events of their own times. This was opposed by another Dutch scholar, Anton van Dale,¹ the Mennonite (d. 1708), who again expressed the opinion that the Pentateuch was composed by Ezra, who had compiled it from the Mosaic book of the Law, and some other historico-prophetical writings. There were always individual scholars who doubted or disputed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but their opinions did not at that time attain any general acceptance in the Church, and least of all in Hol-

¹ *De origine et progressu idolatriæ* (1696), and in the *Epistola ad Stephanum Morinum*.

land, where they almost universally kept to the earlier received opinion, especially after Carpzov had endeavoured with all his energy, in his *Introductio* (1721), to establish it against the objections which had been raised. This opinion as to the author of the Pentateuch experienced in general no new attack during the first eighty years of the eighteenth century, and Michaelis endeavoured with peculiar industry (*Introductio*, 1787), and also Eichhorn (*Introductio*, 1782, 2nd and 3rd ed.), to fortify it against the earlier objections raised against it. Yet about this time doubts and objections began to arise from various quarters. The first who in a decided way expressed a differing opinion was Joh. Gottfried Hasse (Professor of Divinity and Oriental Languages at Königsberg, d. 1806) in his "Views for the Future Explanation of the Old Testament," 1785.

According to him, the Pentateuch was compiled at the time of the Captivity, from ancient records, partly Mosaic, which however were very much added to and altered. Subsequently, however, Hasse changed this opinion, and considered the five books generally as a work of Moses, which, after his time, received various glosses, additions, and supplements; Ezra finally finishing it off. (V. "Discoveries in the Province of the most Ancient Histories of the Earth and Mankind, from a closer examination of their sources." Part 2. Halle, 1805, pp. 196 and 301.)

After Hasse's first work, a posthumous work appeared in Paulus' new "Repertorium," Vol. III. (1791) by Fried. Carl Fulda (Minister in Württemberg, d. 1788): on "The Age of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament."

Fulda attributes many of the elements of the Pentateuch to Moses, as their author; *e.g.*, the first separate laws, most of the songs contained in the four last books, the list of encampments (Num. xxxiii.), and other things. His view was that it had been extant for a long time in fragments, but not united;—that in the time of David a collection of the laws had been prepared, and from these our Pentateuch was finally compiled by an unknown editor, not till after the Babylonian exile. Cf. also, by the same author, "Results of a Candid Investigation into the Canon of the Old Testament" in Paulus' *Memorabilia*, p. 7 (1795), in which it is asserted, in reference to the Pentateuch, that up to Ezra's

time, the collection of the laws and the history had been quite separate from each other.

Very soon after Fulda's first treatises, there appeared, by H. Corrodi (Professor of Natural Rights and Ethics at Zürich, d. 1793), "Attempt at an Inquiry into the History of the Jewish and Christian Sacred Canon," 1 vol., Halle, 1792, in which he likewise points out that the Pentateuch is composed of heterogeneous elements, partly Mosaic, and partly of a later date; yet that the Pentateuch must be as ancient as David's Psalms.

The investigation was carried still further by Otmar;¹ "Fragments on the Gradual Formation of the Holy Scriptures of the Israelites, particularly of the so-called Historical" in Henke's "Magazine of Religious, Exegetical, and Ecclesiastical Philosophy." Vol. II. Part 3 (1794); IV. 1, 2 (1795).

The author is not always of the same opinion in the course of this investigation. In Vol. II. he attributes much of the Pentateuch to Moses, and is of opinion that the whole, as we now have it, was compiled and arranged before the disunion of the kingdoms. On the contrary, in Vol. IV., he derives very little from Moses except the Decalogue, the list of encampments and several of the genealogies, and believes that it was written partly in hieroglyphics, and partly on stones;—that many of the Mosaic laws and songs had been only orally published;—that it was not till Samuel's time that they began to record them in writing in various compilations;—that our present Five Books of Moses were first brought into their present state at the time of the Babylonian exile, possibly by the Prophet Jeremiah.

Jac. Casp. Rud. Eckermann (d. 1836) opposed Nachtigall in his "Theological Contributions," Vol. V. Part 1 (1796), without, however, finally claiming the Pentateuch for Moses; he only endeavoured to establish that it must have been existing in its present extent before the division of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, since it could not else have been adopted by the Samaritans, who also acknowledged it as a code of laws; he therefore dates the present form of the Pentateuch at the time of Samuel

¹ The author is the then Pro-rector, Joh. Christ. Nachtigall, subsequently counsellor of the consistory, general superintendent, and director of the university school at Magdeburg, d. 1819.

or David. The opinion of some other investigators is inclined to this view, *e.g.*, Bauer, "Introduction to the Old Testament," whilst others, as, *e.g.*, Jahn, in the "Introduction to the Old Testament," 2nd ed. (1802), and Eichhorn, 3rd ed. (1803), maintained the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in general, and only admitted some later interpolations.

§ 70.—*Views of Vater, De Wette, Kelle, &c., as to the Authorship.*

Joh. Severin Vater, in his "Commentary on the Pentateuch," Part 3 (1805), pp. 391–728, endeavoured to prove, in a more complete way than had been hitherto done, that Moses could not be the author of the Pentateuch.

The whole of Vater's painstaking work has a rather negative character, and tends to prove that the Pentateuch could not have been written either by Moses, or in the Mosaic period, but that it was formed gradually;—that although some portion of the writing may have been promulgated by Moses, and handed down from his time, it must be, at most, a very small number of fragments of the Pentateuch, and that even these did not proceed from him in their present shape. That a considerable portion of Deuteronomy might have been existing in writing from, perhaps, the ages of Solomon and David; but that the other portions were composed singly and gradually, and that the whole was compiled and brought into its present shape about the time of the Babylonian exile.

Vater was closely followed by Augusti in his "Introduction" (1806, and also 2nd ed.).

At the same time as Vater, but independently of him, De Wette (then private tutor at Jena) also elaborated a copious investigation of the Pentateuch, in which he tried to prove that it was not by Moses, but of much later origin. But, in the mean time, the treatise by Vater appeared, so De Wette remodelled his work, and omitted much in it, which appeared to him to be proved by Vater, and brought forward other portions more prominently. This formed his *Beiträge zur Einleit. ins A. T.*, "Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament," Part 1 (1806).

His view is that the time of David is the earliest epoch in which the composition of the individual parts could have taken place;—that there is no ground whatever for

placing any portion of the Pentateuch before this date;—that the narratives of the Pentateuch were originally recorded as unconnected treatises separate from each other, and were not combined together till a later time, and by various compilers;—thus the compiler of Leviticus was probably later than that of Exodus;—that the Book of Numbers was a supplement to the earlier compilations, and a later continuation of them;—that the composition of Deuteronomy shows that it was the last composed, since it pre-supposes the giving of the Law in the earlier books, and imitates them in part, and joins on to them. He fixes the date of its composition at the time of Josiah, King of Judah (therefore not long before the Babylonian Captivity), and concludes that the present form of the Pentateuch could not have been earlier than this, and was perhaps still later.¹

In the 2nd vol. of his *Beiträge*—"Contributions"—(1807) he attempts a criticism of the Mosaic history, and in it tries to prove that the contents of the Pentateuch, both in relation to the history of the Israelites, and the Mosaic giving of the Law, are throughout unauthentic and unhistorical, and thereby to strengthen the arguments for the later origin of these books. De Wette also repeated these opinions on the origin of the Pentateuch in the later editions of his "Introduction to the Old Testament," with trifling modifications, *e.g.*, he appears inclined in the two first editions to fix the composition of Deuteronomy at the time of the exile, following the leading of Gesenius' *de Pent. Samaritani origine, &c.*, 1815, p. 6.

There were, however, other writers, who, in opposition to Vater and De Wette, endeavoured to maintain the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch generally, and at any rate only admitted some later additions and interpolations.

Thus, *e.g.*, Kelle (Minister in Saxony), "Unprejudiced Estimation of the Mosaic Writings as an Examination of the Mythical and Revelation-believing Bible-Interpretation," Parts 1-3, Freiberg, 1811. Ch. F. Fritzsche (then Superintendent at Dobrilugk, d. 1850, at Zürich).

¹ This opinion about Deuteronomy, that it is the latest of the Mosaic books, in which De Wette's inference particularly differs from Vater, De Wette had before attempted to develop in a separate Latin dissertation: *Dissertatio qua Deuteronomium a prioribus Pentateuchi libris diversum alius cujusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse demonstratur.* Jena, 1805. (Printed in his *Opuscula Theologica.*)

“Examination of the Grounds on which the Genuineness of the Books of Moses has been lately attacked.” Leipzig, 1814. Jahn, “Contributions to the Defence of the Authenticity of the Pentateuch” (in Bengel’s “Archives of Theology”), No. 1 in Vol. II. Part 3, 1818 (relates to language and style of writing); and No. 2 (*ib.* III. 3, 1819), “On the Fragmentary Parts and pretended Anachronisms.” Rosenmüller, 3rd ed. of the *Schol. in Pentateuch.* (1821); Pustkuchen, “Historico-critical Investigation of the Biblical History of the Primitive Ages” (1823), who, however, believes that the eleven first chapters of Genesis were admitted into the canon at a much later time; Kanne, “Biblical Investigations,” Part 1, Erlangen, 1819, pp. 79–116; (Notes against Vater), Part 2, 1820, pp. 1–123; (continuation of the same, and notes against De Wette). Hug, “Contribution to the History of the Samaritan Pentateuch” (Freiburg Journal, Part 7, p. 1), and “Investigation on the Age of the Art of Writing among the Hebrews,” *ib.* Part 4, p. 1. Sack, “Christian Apology,” 1st ed. (1829), pp. 151–176; the Englishmen, Richard Greaves (1815), Horne, and others.

Several of these works were devoted to confuting the objections against the authenticity and historical character of the Pentateuch, both as regards the external history of the Israelites and the giving of the Law. G. W. Meyer (Professor at Altdorf, afterwards at Erlangen, d. 1816) has particularly in view the defence of the historical character of the Pentateuch; in his “Apology for the Historical Comprehension of the Historical Books of the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch, in opposition to the merely mythical interpretation of the latter,” Saltzbach (1811); and in reference to the giving of the Law, E. F. Stäudlin (d. 1826); “The Authenticity of the Mosaic Law Defended,” in Bertholdt’s “Critical Journal,” Vol. III. (1825), Parts 1, 2.

Other inquirers do not, indeed, go so far as to attribute to Moses the whole Pentateuch in its present state; but they ascribe to him an important share in its composition; thus Herbst, Bertholdt, Volney, and Eichhorn (“Introduction,” 4th ed.).

Herbst¹ (of Tübingen) believes that the Pentateuch con-

¹ J. G. Herbst, *Observat. de Pentateuchi 4 librorum posteriorum auctore et editore*, 1817. in *Commentt. Theolog.* Edit. Rosenmüller, Fuldner et Maurer. Vol. I. Part 1, 1825.

tains the genuine writings of Moses, which were left by him in fragments, and at a much later date were compiled and arranged by Ezra, in conjunction with the assembly of the 120 elders, and that some of them only were remodelled and enriched with additions. In the "Introduction to the Old Testament," published after his death, Herbst fixes the date of the editing of the Pentateuch—out of the literary remains of Moses and other memorials of the ancient time—in the age of David.

Bertholdt—*Biblische Einleitung*, Part 3 (1813)—is of opinion that a great deal that is genuinely Mosaic is contained in the Pentateuch, and that the whole was compiled and brought into its present state between the beginning of Saul's and the end of Solomon's reign; and he relies on the Samaritan Pentateuch to prove that this could not have taken place later.

Volney,¹ without being acquainted with the investigations of the modern divines in Germany, broached the opinion that the Pentateuch, in its present combination, was the work of the Jewish high priest Hilkiah, in the time of Josiah (2 Kings xxii.), who combined the genuine Mosaic records with later treatises and some additions, and blended them into one whole.

Eichhorn—*Einleitung*, 1 edit., 1823—gave up to some extent his earlier opinion as to the Mosaic authorship of the whole work. His view is that the greatest part of the Pentateuch was composed by Moses, especially the Laws, and in particular the whole of Leviticus and Deuteronomy up to ch. xxxii., inclusive. That other parts, such as the history of the marches of the Israelites, were added by the contemporaries of Moses;—that Genesis was compiled from ancient records written before the time of Moses;—that the whole Pentateuch was combined and arranged between the times of Joshua and Samuel; and that separate glosses and the like were not added till later.

§ 71.—Hartmann—Von Bohlen—Vatke, &c.

Two essays of mine bear a close relation to the investigations of De Wette and Gesenius: (1) In Rosenmüller's *Biblisch-Exegetisch. Repertorium*, Vol. I. (Leipzig,

¹ Cf. Count Volney (Peer of France, d. 1820), *Recherches nouvelles sur l'histoire ancienne*. Part 1. Paris, 1814.

1822), pp. 1-79. "Some Aphoristic Contributions to the Investigation of the Pentateuch." § 1. There is a great deal in the Pentateuch which, by its internal character, could not well have been composed at a later time than that of Moses (Songs and Laws). § 2. That there is nothing in the Pentateuch which compels us to fix the earliest date of its last editing and conclusion so late as the time of the Babylonian Captivity. § 3. On the Composition or Compiling of the several Books of the entire Pentateuch, and its relation to the Book of Joshua. § 4. On the Origin of the Samaritan-Alexandrine Recension of the Pentateuch. (2) In the *Theolog. Stud. und Kritik*, Part 3, pp. 488-524, "Contributions to Inquiries as to the Pentateuch," in which I endeavoured to prove that the Laws in Leviticus xvii. (contrary to my earlier opinion), and also considerably more of the Laws, and other fragments of the Pentateuch, could not have been composed later than the Mosaic period. De Wette, in reference to the first treatise, has, in his "Introduction." 3rd edit., so far retracted his former opinion, that he (*a*) fixes the date of the completion of the Pentateuch at a time before the exile, and (*b*) allows that some of the songs are Mosaic in their origin. On the contrary, in the 4th edit. also, and even in the 5th and 6th edits., he does not acknowledge the reasons for the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch as convincing.

The authenticity of the legislation contained in the Pentateuch receives still less acknowledgment in several other works which have appeared since, by Hartmann, Von Bohlen, Vatke, and George.

Anton Theod. Hartmann (d. 1838), "Historico-Critical Investigations on the Formation, Date, and Plan of the Five Books of Moses," Rostock and Küstrow, 1831, pp. 817. He fixes the date of the introduction of the art of writing among the Hebrews as subsequent to the time of Moses, in the age of the Judges, and the first beginning of authorship in the age of Samuel; the question therefore cannot even be entertained whether Moses was the author either of the Pentateuch or even of separate portions of it. He considers that it was formed gradually, and subsequently to the age of Solomon; he believes that, at the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, all the actual elements of the Pentateuch were existing, with the exception of some later

supplementary additions, but that it was not then fully arranged. The completion of the whole work was, he considers, a result of the Babylonian Captivity, and that the last chapters, from Deuteronomy xxviii., were not added till then. These opinions could not be without their influence on his views as to the historical authenticity and character of the work. Thus Hartmann regards the narrations of the Pentateuch, not only those of Genesis, but of the other books also, for the most part mere myths, and distorted and embellished traditions; and he likewise appears not to have considered the entire giving of the Law as genuinely Mosaic.

P. von Bohlen essentially agrees with this (Professor at Königsberg, d. 1839): "Genesis Historically and Critically Elucidated," Königsberg, 1835. In the ample introduction to this work, he makes Deuteronomy the earliest part of our Pentateuch, but considers that this did not appear till about the reign of Josiah, and the entire work not before the Babylonian exile. The character of his investigation is, however, more sceptical, and hostile towards the Pentateuch, both as to its age and its authenticity, without allowing the precise, clear, positive opinion of the author to appear as to the exact origin of the work.¹

The investigations of Vatke (*Biblische Theologie*, Part 1, Berlin, 1835) and J. F. L. George ("The Ancient Jewish Feasts, with a Criticism on the Giving of the Law in the Pentateuch," Berlin, 1835), are of a more earnest tone than Von Bohlen's, but coincide with him in the real results, both as regards the later composition of the Pentateuch, in denying to Moses any participation in it at all, and also in considering the contents as little better than mythical, taking Deuteronomy as the earliest of the several books and probably belonging to the age of Josiah, and the other books as later still.

On the other side, however, works have been recently written from the opposite view, firmly maintaining, in the most decided way, the literary unity and Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch, and endeavouring to defend them against all objections, particularly by Ranke, Hengstenberg, Drechsler, Hävernick, Welte, and Keil.

Against him, v. my Programme: *De libri Geneseos origine atque indole historica observationes quædam contra Bohlenium.* Bonn, 1836.

Fr. Heinr. Ranke (Counsellor of the Consistory at Baireuth): "Investigations of the Pentateuch as regards the Higher Criticism," 2 vols., Erlangen, 1834-40. The author deals chiefly with the objections of De Wette, Vater, Hartmann, and George. Hengstenberg, "Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament," Vols. II. and III.; "The Authenticity of the Pentateuch," 2 vols., Berlin, 1836-39. M. Drechsler, "The Unity and Authenticity of Genesis," Hamburg, 1838. The same, "Inaccuracy in the Province of Ancient Criticism, supported by the Writings of the Modern Critics, particularly of Von Bohlen and Vatke." Leipzig, 1837. Hävernick and Keil, in their "Introductions to the Old Testament." Bened. Welte, "The Post-Mosaic Matter in the Pentateuch Examined," Karlsruhe and Freiburg, 1841; and in his notes to Herbst's "Introduction."

Bruno Bauer, "The Mosaic Origin of the Giving of the Laws in the Pentateuch Defended," in the *Zeitschr. für speculatif Theologie*, I. 1, Berlin, 1836. Ludwig König, "Old Testament Studies," 2 Parts, Berlin, 1839. ("Deuteronomy proved authentic" against Von Bohlen.)

We must not pass over F. E. Movers, "On the Discovery of the Book of the Law at the time of Josiah; a Contribution to the Investigation of the Pentateuch," in the *Zeitschr. für Philosophie und katholische Theologie*, Parts 12 and 14 (1834-1835).

Fried. Tach's "Commentary on Genesis," Halle, 1838, is built upon my investigations, and agrees with them in the substantial results. E. Bertheau has announced a peculiar opinion: "The Seven Groups of Mosaic Laws in the three middle Books of the Pentateuch, a contribution to Criticism on it," Göttingen, 1840.

Bertheau is of opinion, that in the three middle books there is a large, original, genuine Mosaic collection of laws (he does not decide whether recorded by Moses himself, or received by tradition and subsequently written down), consisting of seven groups of laws, each group of seven series, each series of ten precepts. That the remainder of the legal matter was not added till later, together with all the historical portion, and that the latter was even later than the supplementary laws joined to the original collection.

§ 72.—*Stähelin—De Wette—Ewald, &c.*

The most recent investigators as to the origin of the Pentateuch are Stähelin, De Wette, Ewald, Von Lengerke, and Knobel.

(1) J. J. Stähelin, "Critical Investigation of the Pentateuch and the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings," Berlin, 1843.

He places the redaction of the Pentateuch in its present shape (together with the Book of Joshua in its present form, the Book of Judges with the exception of the appendix, and the original sources of 1 Samuel) in the time of Saul, and is of opinion that it may, perhaps, be the work of Samuel or of one of his scholars. But he also supposes that another work was the basis of this, extending from the Creation of the World to the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the Israelites, which contained a great part of Genesis, the greatest part of the middle books of the Pentateuch, and the geographical part of the Book of Joshua, and that it was composed soon after the taking possession of the land by the Israelites in the early time of the Judges, between B.C. 1400 and B.C. 1300. He does not attribute to Moses himself any part in the authorship of the existing Pentateuch.¹

(2) De Wette has very much modified his earlier opinions as to the origin of the Pentateuch in the two last editions (edits. 5, 6, 1840, 1845) of his "Introduction to the Old Testament." He does not allow, as he did before, that the several books of the Pentateuch were collected together by particular compilers, but supposes a manifold, particularly a threefold, redaction of the whole work, together with the Book of Joshua: (*a*) the Elohistic; (*b*) the Jehovistic; (*c*) the Deuteronomic. The last of which he fixed in the time of Josiah, and the first not till the time when the Israelites were governed by kings.

As regards the sources of the first redaction, he owns that among the Mosaic laws there may be much that is

¹ Cf. "Special Introduction" (Elberfeld, 1862, p. 58): "The laws contained in the original document of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers were certainly written in the Mosaic time, and during the journeying through the Wilderness, since there are references in them to dwelling in camps."

ancient and genuine, and that the substance of them is chiefly Mosaic: but he does not appear to imagine that we have them altogether in the form in which Moses himself recorded them, but thinks it likely that the songs in the work, dating from the Mosaic age (Num. xxi. 17-27) were promulgated by verbal tradition, then at a later period formed into a collection, and thence adopted in the Pentateuch.

(3) Heinr. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Isr. bis Christus*, "History of the People of Israel up to Christ," 1 vol. 1843, pp. 60-164; 2nd edit. 1851, pp. 80-175; cf. Vol II. 1845, pp. 1-25; 2nd edit. 1853, pp. 19-45. He indeed allows that in the Mosaic age writing was already in use, and that the art appeared in history as a possession of the Semitic peoples long before Moses, and that Israel had already known and made use of it in Egypt before the time of Moses. But yet he derives only a small portion of our Pentateuch from Moses as author, such as the tables of laws and some other short legal formulæ, together with some of the songs, but none of the more lengthy laws and series of laws. He fixes the date, however, of several other fragments in very ancient times—*e.g.*, the list of encampments, Num. xxxiii; the enrolments for taxation, Num. 1, ff., Gen. xiv., &c. He (edit. 1) considers as the most ancient work of history a work commencing with Abraham, and containing various fragments of our Book of Genesis (from ch. xi. on), of Exodus (among other things the collection of laws, Exod. xxi. 2, xxiii, 19), of Numbers, and also of Joshua and Judges; and that it must have been composed in the second half of the period of the Judges, viz., in the age of Samson, on account of Gen. xlix. 16 (Dan.): this work he calls "The Book of Covenants" (*Buch der Bündnisse*).¹ He makes another book follow the "Book of Covenants," the "Book of Origins" (*Buch der Ursprünge*) (Elohist), composed at the beginning of the kingly rule, in the first third part of the reign of Solomon, by a priest,

¹ In Edit. 2, Ewald makes two other historical works precede this Book of Covenants: (a) The "Book of the Wars of Jehovah," quoted Num. xxi. 14, to which the Song must have belonged. Exod. xv. 1-18; the list of encampments, Num. xxxiii. and Josh. xvii. 14-18. (b) A Biography of Moses, composed about one hundred years after him, to which, however, can be referred with certainty only Exod. iv. 18, and ch. xviii. (Jethro in the camp of the Israelites).

who set forth the origins of what existed in his time, chiefly with a view to religion and the priesthood, and must have concluded his work (beginning with the creation of the world) with a short narrative of the building of Solomon's Temple (1 Kings viii. 1-11, only somewhat altered). A *third* narrator of primitive history must have lived in the tenth or ninth century (in the age of Elijah or Joel) in the kingdom of Israel, and have written several fragments of Exodus, Genesis, and Numbers. A *fourth* narrator of primitive history, who lived in the kingdom of Judah in the first half or middle of the eighth century, at the time of Uzziah or Jotham, must be the person from whom, with trifling exceptions, the four first books of the Pentateuch, with the conclusion of Deuteronomy and the Book of Joshua concluding with the death of Joshua, proceeded.¹ But in this work—that of the *fifth* narrator, as stated in the 2nd edit., or of the *fourth*, in the 1st edit.—(a) the fragment Levit. xxvi. 3-45, must have been inserted by a descendant of the exiled inhabitants of Israel, at the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century, and (b) Deut. i. 1, xxxii. 47, and xxxiv. 10-12, during the second half of the reign of Manasseh, King of Judah, by some one living in Egypt and belonging to the kingdom of Judah, who also gave the present book of Joshua its final shape; and lastly, (c) the blessings of Moses, Deut. xxxiii., added probably at the time of Josiah.²

(4) Cäsar von Lengerke, "Canaan, a History of the Religion and People of Israel up to the Death of Joshua,"

¹ Edit. 2, on the contrary, assigns this work to the fifth narrator, supposing the existence of another preceding work, which he there speaks of as that of the fourth narrator. His view is that it must have been composed at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century, and he attributes to it Exod. xxxii.-xxxiv., and several fragments in Genesis. The author must have, in a great measure, worked from earlier narratives, but also related much that is new, and particularly revised much foreign matter (as Gen. ii. 5—chap. iii.; chap. vi 1-4; xi. 1-19), all in a prophetic spirit.

² Edit. 2 takes a different view from this, viz., that the author of Deuteronomy composed it originally as an independent work, of a greater extent than that in which we now have it, since he described the whole Mosaic history in its course, and that subsequently the last editor—who inserted the blessings of Moses, Deut. xxxiii.—added and united with the rest of the work the present contents of Deuteronomy, about the end of the seventh century.

Königsberg, 1844, cxxxvi. and 710^o pp. He gives investigations on the Pentateuch (with Joshua) in the introduction, particularly in No. 5, "Criticism on the several Canonical Historical Books." He does not bring forward much that is decidedly original, but follows, in an eclectic spirit, the investigations of the modern critics; partly my own and Tuch's, partly Stähelin's, Ewald's, and De Wette's.

He supposes a threefold redaction of the primitive history of the Israelitish people up to the taking possession of the land of Canaan after the return out of Egypt. (1) The original writing (the *Elohists*), extending up to the division of the land by Joshua, he thinks was composed in the first part of the reign of Solomon, as the first private writing which acquired general authority. (2) The completer, the Jehovist, whose work contained our four first books, with Deut. xxxi. 14-23, and the history of the division of the land, and was composed in the beginning of the Assyrian age, about the time of Hezekiah. (3) The Deuteronomic narrator, to whom we owe Deut. i-xxxii. 13, *ib. vv.* 23-30, ch. xxxii. (ch. xxxiii. being only loosely inserted, and perhaps not by the Deuteronomic narrator), ch. xxxiv. 10-12, and the Book of Joshua in its present state;—about the time of the reign of Josiah, king of Judah. He supposes that authorship began tolerably early among the Israelites, and that several of the ancient records were included in the existing Pentateuch. But he does not appear to ascribe to Moses as author any of the detailed legislation in the Pentateuch.¹

(5) Knobel, "The Books of Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua explained. With a Criticism on the Pentateuch and Joshua." Leipzig, 1861. He supposes that Moses published his law in his lifetime altogether orally, and committed to his followers its completion and recording in writing. The way in which Knobel divides the six first

¹ The opinion (closely following Delitzsch) of J. H. Kurtz is noteworthy, in "History of the Ancient Covenant," Vol. II. (1855), p. 531. He is of opinion that Moses did not compose our Pentateuch, but only passages in the middle books, where something is positively mentioned as written by him, besides Deut. chaps. i-xxxii; but that the Pentateuch was written partly at the time of Moses and partly of Joshua, or not long after Joshua. (Cf. the opinion of Hupfeld and others, below, in speaking of Genesis, and on the whole Pentateuch, Vaihinger in Herzog's *Encyclop.*, "Pentateuch.")

books of the Canon according to their contents, into the "Original Writing," the "Law Book," the "War Book," the "Jehovistic," and the "Deuteronomic," has been made intelligible by him in a table, pp. 600-606.

According to Knobel, the "Original Writing," the oldest code of laws of Israel, originated in the time of Saul, but never attained public repute. The author had, generally, as sources of information, besides the existing ritual with regard to the Tabernacle of Covenant and verbal traditions, written records, particularly pedigrees, perhaps also written laws. After this sacerdotal work, Knobel believes that another work was composed in the time of David with similar historical and legal contents, which he calls the "Ancient Book of Wars" (cf. Numb. xxi. 14), to which Judaic work, the ancient "Law Book" (*sepher hajjaschar*) followed in the Northern kingdom at the time of Solomon. This was remodelled by a Levite for the Israelites who were left remaining on the land by Shalmaneser, and so the "Law Book" originated, just as later the Jehovistic book was produced. That in the time of Jehoshaphat the "War Book" received its later shape from a Jew, who made use of the "Original Writing," the "Older War Book," and the "Older Law Book." When, after the decline of Israel, King Hezekiah sought to unite the remainder of Israel with Judah by a religious reformation, he composed out of the "Jehovist," which came to Judah out of the north, a new work on the theocratic law, which he founded on the "Original Writing," and completed out of the "Law" and "War Books." After the death of Hezekiah, the Jehovistic work remained long concealed, till Hilkiyah discovered it; this high priest was probably the Deuteronomic narrator, who completed and worked out the matter following Num. xxxvi, with the help not only of the "Jehovistic," but also of the three sources from which it was taken. After the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua received their present shape, the Deuteronomic narrator, who had left the four first books untouched, made over the whole work to King Josiah, so that from the hands of Hilkiyah, as the latest of the law-givers of the Pentateuch, our six first books of the Canon have proceeded.

INVESTIGATION INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE PENTATEUCH.

§ 73.—*Question as to the Mosaic Authorship.*

The investigations into the origin and the date of the Pentateuch were directed to this question more fully in earlier than in modern times; but yet, to an important extent, quite recently they have borne upon the point whether it is a work of Moses and of the Mosaic age, and whether Moses had not, at least, a participation in the authorship, and, if so, to what extent. This question is, however, of much less importance as regards Genesis than as to the four following books. The facts narrated in Genesis, even if we look only to the close of the book, the histories of Jacob and Joseph, must be placed about 400 years before Moses; and the earlier portions are still more remote from him. But the facts narrated in the other books are contemporary with Moses. The question, therefore, about these is, whether, in their present state, they are, altogether or at least in part, the work of a contemporary, an eye-witness of, and principal partaker, in the events, or not. With regard to Genesis, on the contrary, if we look upon it as written originally as part of one continuous whole with the rest of the books, the question stands quite differently, and amounts to an inquiry as to how many centuries elapsed after the latest events recorded in it took place, before this book was written. We could not easily, as we shall see, bring the question to a conclusion as to one of the parts of the work, without at the same time settling it as to the other. But for reasons which will subsequently be clearly evident, it is quite in accordance with our object to devote ourselves, in the first place, more to the first four books, and ascertain if they point to a contemporary and actor in the events related in them as their author, or to one or more composers at a later period.

Without doubt, the Giving of the Law constitutes the most important part of these four books, and, in addition to the question whether Moses was their author, another question arises intimately connected with the first, viz., whether the several laws contained in them were given by him, or were framed at some later period. If Moses composed the books as we now have them, it follows, as a matter of course, that the laws in them were given to the people by

him. But it is possible that the books in their present shape may belong to a much later date, and yet that the laws were not only given by Moses, but also were recorded by him in the form in which they are communicated to us in the books. We can, therefore, preliminarily, without regard to the particular author of these books, direct our inquiry to this point, viz., whether the laws contained in them show, by their internal character, that they are, at least in part, decidedly Mosaic.

There can be no doubt but that the laws, as they stand in these books, make, as a whole, one and the same claim to have proceeded from Moses. But, nevertheless, it is possible that these, or at least many of them, belonged to a later period, and that much was attributed to the first law-giver, which had been gradually formed among the people, or, at any rate, did not exist in a written shape till a later period. But it is to be expected that records of this kind will always bear more or less traces of the time in which they were composed or written down, and that the circumstances existing in his time would be specially suggested to the mind's eye of the writer who composed or simply recorded them, so that unconsciously references to these circumstances would be intermingled in his work.

When, on the contrary, we meet with laws, in which this is not the case in the least degree, laws which refer in their whole tenour to a state of things utterly unknown in the period subsequent to Moses, and to circumstances existing in the Mosaic age and in that only, it is in the highest degree likely that these laws, not only in their essential purport proceeded from Moses, but also that they were *written down by Moses*, or at least in *the Mosaic age*. Of these laws, which appear to carry with them such clear and exact traces of the Mosaic age, there are many occurring, especially in Leviticus, and also in Numbers and Exodus, which laws relate to situations and surrounding circumstances only existing whilst the people, as was the case in Moses' time, wandered in the Wilderness and were dwellers in the close confinement of camps and tents, which was not the case after the people had come into possession of the land of Canaan, and had spread themselves out in cities and over the whole country.

§ 74.—*Mosaic Authorship of the Laws in Leviticus.*

The series of laws in Leviticus, ch. i–vii, with which this book begins, affords us an instance of this sort.

We have here precepts as to various kinds of offerings, which, from the conclusion, vii. 37, 38, appear to be a kind of small distinct collection ;¹ “this is the law of the burnt-offering of the meat-offering, &c., which Jehovah commanded Moses in Mount Sinai, when he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto Jehovah in the wilderness of Sinai.” Whatever local references occur here, always pre-suppose the camp and the wilderness. Thus, ch. iv. 11, 12 (the law as to the offering of a bullock for the transgression of the anointed priest): “and the skin of the bullock, and all his flesh, with his head, and with his legs, and his inwards, and his dung—even the whole bullock—shall he carry forth *without the camp* (אֶל-מַחֲוֵיזַן לְמַחֲנֶה) unto a clean place, where the ashes are poured out (on a ash-heap), and burn him on the wood with fire: where the ashes are poured out shall he be burnt.” *Ibid.* verse 21 (as to the offering for the sins of the whole people): “and he shall carry forth the bullock *without the camp*, and burn him as he burned the first bullock.” If this belonged to a later time, it would hardly run in this way, for the words *without the camp* would then have had no sense at all. A peculiar adaptation to the circumstances of a later period is needed if it is to be applied to them. Besides, in all this series of laws, the priests are not at all referred to *in general*, but *by name*, as *Aaron and his sons*, or the *sons of Aaron, the priests*, or the *sons of Aaron the priest*; thus, ch. i. 5, 7; ii. 2, 10; iii. 2, 5, 13; vi. 2, 7, 9, 11, 13, 18; vii. 10, 31, 33, 34; this would hardly have been the case if these laws were not composed at the time when Aaron and his sons belonged to the priesthood.

That the composition of these laws could not have taken place in any portion of David’s time, or at a later period, is plain from the fact that in ch. v, nothing is spoken of but the sin-offerings of the anointed priest, the whole community, the heads of tribes, and individuals out of the people;

¹ Levit. ch. i–vii. is the third of the groups of genuinely Mosaic Laws, supposed by Bertheau.

or otherwise, without doubt the king of the people would have been separately and specially named with them.

Leviticus xvi. affords a similar clear example of Mosaic composition, in the law as to the great day of atonement.

This law closely follows on to the narration Lev. xvi. 1, and contains the ordinance that Aaron and one of his sons who had been invested with the priesthood after him, should not enter into the Holiest of Holies, within the veil, without certain ceremonies, and on the great day of Atonement only. This law is, also, so composed that it could only have been applied properly in the Mosaic age when the Israelitish people sojourned in the Wilderness and abode in camps. The clearest references to these circumstances are to be found here. Thus it tells us in *v.* 10, that Aaron was to send away one of the two goats which had been placed before the ark of the covenant, into the wilderness to Azazel (A.V. "for a scapegoat"),—doubtless the name of a wicked demon, who was supposed to have his abode in the wilderness—(viz., to cause it to be driven without the camp); and likewise *vv.* 21, 22, that Aaron should cause the goat "to be sent away by the hand of a fit man *into the wilderness*: and it shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a *land not inhabited*: and he shall let go the goat *in the wilderness*"—and in *v.* 26, it is commanded that the man that drove out the goat "shall wash his clothes, and bathe, &c., and afterward come *into the camp*;" finally, it tells us *vv.* 27, 28, that the two animals offered for a sin-offering, the bullock and the goat, whose blood was brought in to the Holy Place, shall be carried forth *without the camp*, and the skin with the flesh shall be burnt, and that he who did this, shall then at the same time wash himself and his clothes before he come again *into the camp*. If this law had been composed at a later period, when the Israelites no longer sojourned in the Arabian desert, but in the land of Canaan, dwelling no more in camps, but in towns and villages, these injunctions would certainly have been modified, so as to suit their circumstances at that later time. Besides we must not forget, that this law likewise was first intended for Aaron only, and that he who was to make the atonement is not generally called the high priest, but *Aaron* personally (*vv.* 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 21, 23); not till the end *vv.* 32, 33, is it added that for the future, the atone-

ment shall be made by him who should be anointed and consecrated as priest (high priest) in the place of his father.

Leviticus xiii, xiv, are of the same kind; precepts concerning the uncleanness through leprosy and its cleansing.

This section also offers the clearest indications that it could not have been composed at a later time than the Mosaic (at least as far as ch. xiv. 32.) The precepts given up to this point refer throughout to their dwelling in camps, as was the case with the Israelites during their forty years' journey through the Wilderness. Thus ch. xiii. 46: "All the days wherein the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled; he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; *without the camp* shall his habitation be." Ch. xiv. 2, 3, When the leper shall be clean, "he shall be brought unto the priest: and the priest shall *go forth out of the camp*;" *ib. v. 8*, where it is permitted to the man, after his cleansing to "*come into the camp*," yet that he must for seven days "*tarry abroad out of his tent*."

If these precepts were not composed or recorded till a later time, they would not all refer to the dwelling in camps and tents; in their present shape they would need, at a later time, some special explanation and accommodation, in order to become at all practicable under the differing circumstances, when the people had fixed habitations in towns and villages.

This law has a suitable ending in *v. 32*. Then follow *vv. 33-53*, legal rules as to the leprosy in houses, and from these one might rather conclude that they were only a later addition to the original Mosaic laws. Yet such a presumption would be in no way correct or necessary, as we may quite well imagine that Moses and Aaron would have added precepts on these points; but it is expressly noticed in the beginning (*v. 33*), that what follows only relates to the future time, when Israel should be in possession of the land of Canaan. Only the Mosaic authorship cannot be so plainly proved in this appendix as in the remaining, and by far the larger, portion of this section.

The Mosaic authorship is, besides remarkably evident in Numbers xix. in the law as to the water of separation, which was to be prepared with the ashes of a red heifer, and was intended to cleanse, by means of sprinkling, either men or utensils which had become unclean by contact with a dead body.

This law also points clearly to a time, when the people dwelt in camps and tents, and Aaron and his son Eleazar were their priests. Thus, v. 3, "and ye shall give the heifer to Eleazar the priest, that he may bring her forth *without the camp*, and one shall slay her before his face;" v. 7, where the priest is commanded to wash his clothes and to bathe his body, and that after that he might come "into the camp;" v. 9, "and a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and lay them up *without the camp* in a clean place;" v. 14: "This is the law, when a man dieth *in a tent*; all that come into *the tent*, and all that is *in the tent*, shall be unclean seven days." Cf. also v. 4, where Eleazar is named as priest.

These instances which have been just considered have been already quoted in my treatise in Rosenmüller's *Reperitorium*, and the argument used by me on the Mosaic origin of these laws has been, at least hitherto, not at all confuted. This might indeed prove a difficult task. How could legal precepts have been formed at a later time, in such a shape as that in which we now have them in the Pentateuch? Still less can we look upon them as the work of some later author who wilfully corrupted the record; for what interest could such a man have had in composing them in a way which would be entirely devoid of practical application in his own time, and would require a special interpretation to accommodate them to later circumstances?¹ We cannot even entertain the idea that, though these laws were given before the taking possession of the land of Canaan, they were subsequently written down from oral traditions. For then, doubtless, in place of those expressions which no longer had any application at all, as *come into the camp, without the camp, in the tent; in the wilderness*, and *Aaron and Eleazar* being named alone as high priests, other words and names would have been involuntarily used, which were suitable to the circumstances of that time. Supposing we assume, that not only the giving of these laws but also their being committed to writing is to be ascribed to Moses or to the Mosaic age, it is self-evident that the form and shape must have been the same as that in which we now have them in the Pentateuch.

¹ Cf. on the contrary what I have said (*Das Lied Moses*, Deut. xxii. 1-13, Leipzig, 1862, p. 291), and Riehm (*Stud. and Krit.* 1862, p. 399).

De Wette (§ 149, *Ann.* ff.) brings forward some special circumstances which lead him to the conclusion that some of these laws could only proceed from a later author; but not one of his reasons is of any importance, and most of them are quite devoid of foundation. Thus he remarks as to the law about the great day of Atonement, Levit. xvi, that probably (according to verse 21, ff.) it was not written in the wilderness. But I do not see how this can be imagined, as these verses so precisely presuppose that the wilderness surrounded the people. It could not easily be proved that even the expression לְיָמֵינוּ was unknown to the author, especially as then it would be impossible to explain what could have induced him to use this expression at all. It is true that the last part (Levit. xiv. 33), of the laws about leprosy refers to dwelling in houses and cities, and we have previously remarked on it; but it is stated there expressly to be a part of the law which was only intended for the future, and cannot, therefore, be taken for a post-Mosaic composition; still less can it make this idea likely in regard to the foregoing part of the law, which so decidedly presupposes the dwelling in tents and camps. The objection would appear far more likely to be well grounded, that the command (Levit. vi. 5, ff.), to maintain a perpetual fire on the altar, would not have been practicable in the wilderness. But this also cannot be asserted. A fire, at least of charcoal, could quite well be constantly maintained on a portable altar during the journeying of the people, and it is also to be noticed that the Israelites did not march incessantly during the forty years in the wilderness, but must have stopped a long time, indeed many years, in different places. Indeed the verse immediately preceding, presupposes most decidedly, as the text shows, a residence in an encampment. De Wette remarks lastly (6th ed.), that this command (Levit. vi. 5, ff.) is not compatible with Num. iv. 13, in which the Levites are to cleanse the altar from the ashes, and to spread a purple cloth over it. This, however, cannot decide anything against the Mosaic authorship of the former law.

§ 75.—*Law as to Offerings.*

Leviticus xvii. also belongs to these Mosaic laws whose genuineness is so clear both in their form and purport. It is here commanded, that all oblations shall be slain before

the door of the Tabernacle, and there offered to Jehovah. The object of this command seems to have been to confine all offerings to *one* place. No certain trace of a command that this point must be observed exists in the later histories for a long time. Not only up to the time of the building of Solomon's Temple, but for some time after, the people built themselves altars on whatever place they liked, and offered oblations there without restraint—in different places at the same time—and this was done not only by that part of the people which was given to idolatry, but even by the most zealous worshippers of Jehovah, *e.g.*, Samuel, and many of the kings who were praised on account of their piety. Therefore many, and particularly De Wette, have considered, not without some show of reason, that a law in which all oblations were confined to a single place could not have existed at the time, at least not one confessedly Mosaic, and that therefore Leviticus xvii. can not have been composed till considerably later. I joined in this opinion in my Treatise in Rosenmüller's *Repertorium*, but I soon came to the persuasion (which I also expressed in the *Theol. Stud. und Kritik*, 1831), that such a supposition was scarcely admissible, as this law is framed in such a way as almost to exclude the idea that it could have been composed at a later time. *The door of the Tabernacle* is throughout spoken of as the only place where the oblations shall be offered (*vv.* 4, 5, 6–9): and not the slightest notice is taken of the Temple, which Jehovah at some future time would cause to be built. Then in *v.* 3 there is a distinction between the beasts which were slain, some *within the camp* and some *without the camp*, which would have been without sense at a subsequent time.

Finally, we must not overlook what is commonly quite disregarded, that it is not only forbidden here to offer oblations in any other place than before the Tabernacle, but it is commanded that no cattle generally, either oxen, sheep, or goats, shall be *killed* in any other place, either within or without the camp; and more, that all which were slain should be slain before the door of the Tabernacle, and in this way consumed as peace offerings in honour of Jehovah, *viz.*, that the blood should be sprinkled on the altar and the fat burned as an oblation to Him. A law of such purport would have been quite impossible to be carried out at a later period, when the people spread

out over the land, and it would scarcely have come into any one's mind to compose it in such a way. It could have been published in such a shape in the Mosaic age only, when the whole community of the people of Israel were closely confined in camps, and all the component parts of the sanctuary were close by in the Tabernacle. A fulfilment of this law was generally possible at that time only. The intention which Moses had in view in this institution was simply to hinder in this way all idolatry on the part of the people. Verse 7 shows this clearly. The question there is about the worship of he-goats, שְׂעִירִים (devils, A.V.) which the Israelites must have been devoted to, which worship is again alluded to 2 Chronicles xi. 15, together with that of calves. These שְׂעִירִים were regarded as evil spirits in the shape of goats, similar to the Greek satyrs, and thus they are mentioned as dwellers in solitary places, Isaiah xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14. The Israelites might have had a strong inclination to this cultus after their Exodus from Egypt. They were, however, thoroughly accustomed to associate the offering of an oblation with the slaughtering of each head of cattle; even when they killed any for food they thought that they must offer some portion of them to the Godhead. Moses found this custom in existence, and he added this institution to his laws. In order to prevent the Israelites from offering any homage to idols in the slaughtering of their cattle, to which, perhaps, they had been hitherto addicted, he altogether forbade any slaughtering except before the Sanctuary of Jehovah, the Tabernacle of Covenant, where the cattle were to be slain in honour of Jehovah alone; but this naturally could not have been accomplished at all afterwards, after the taking possession of the land of Canaan, when the people dwelt so far from each other, and some of them at such a distance from the Tabernacle, or afterwards from the Temple. We cannot, therefore, wonder that soon after the taking possession of the land of Canaan, the whole of this law remained neglected on account of the impossibility of observing it; but it cannot be inferred on this account that it was not considered as Mosaic at that time. But it was impossible that the law should have been composed in this form if it belonged to a later time; it would then have run quite otherwise.

§ 76.—*Laws as to clean and unclean Beasts, &c.*

Some other laws in Leviticus do not show in themselves such evident signs of the Mosaic age as those just considered, but yet they have in their whole form and character something so much in harmony with it, that we have every reason to ascribe them to Moses, or at least to fix the date of their composition in the Mosaic age. Thus, *e.g.*, chaps. xi–xvi. have nothing at all in them which would suggest anything relating to a later time.

First, in ch. xi. we find precepts on clean and unclean beasts, which latter were forbidden to be eaten, and the contact with their carcases is pointed out as making unclean. Ch. xii. Directions as to the time during which a woman lying-in shall be considered unclean, and in what way she shall afterwards get to be pronounced clean. Ch. xv. A separate small collection of precepts regarding uncleanness, arising in men through the flowing of the seed, and in women through their monthly separation and continual flow of blood, and in both through cohabitation; and also how to purify themselves and anything touched by them under these circumstances. Between the portions just quoted there are in chaps. xiii. and xiv. the precepts about leprosy and its cleansing, containing clear traces of Mosaic composition (*v.* above, § 74). The laws immediately preceding and following bear so close an affinity with these, that we can, with tolerable certainty, assume that they have the same origin. In ch. xv. we find a particular confirmation of this, where it is enjoined that any who are unclean through flowing of seed or blood, shall appear personally before the Tabernacle, and bring thither two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, one for a sin offering, the other for a burnt offering. On this account it is in itself highly probable that the composition of these precepts took place at a time when none of the people were yet living at a great distance from the Sanctuary. This precept would have been perhaps modified at a later time, as, worded as it is, it would have been in the highest degree burdensome, indeed, impossible for those who lived at a great distance from the Sanctuary. The inconvenience, also, would be quite out of proportion to the importance of the gifts to be brought.

Leviticus xv. is followed in ch. xvi. by the law as to the great Day of Atonement, which we proved before to be genuinely Mosaic, so that we have here in Leviticus xi-xvi. a connected series of genuine Mosaic laws.¹

§ 77.—*Evidences of the Mosaic Authorship of the Legislation.*

But if we can now assume as certain in respect to the laws just considered, that they were not only ordained by Moses, but also that they were written down as we now have them in the Pentateuch, either by Moses himself, or at least in the Mosaic age, a proof is thus afforded us that, (1), although the Pentateuch in its present state and extent may not have been composed by Moses, and also many of the single laws therein may be the product of a later age, still that the legislation contained in it is genuinely Mosaic in its entire spirit and character, and this applies not only to the part which relates to the general moral commands, such as the Decalogue, but also to what refers to the Levitical laws of purifying, which constitute so important a part of it. (2) That the art of authorship must have been actually in use among the people of Israel in the Mosaic age; since, if this were not the case, such laws would scarcely have been recorded in such detailed completeness at that time. (3) That in the Pentateuch (at least as regards these three middle books) we stand principally on *historical* ground. In these laws the very external circumstances of the people of Israel are clearly presupposed, which the historical part of the Pentateuch presents to us, and they thus serve to generally attest the historical character of this work.

Single laws, and indeed those very ones which bear in themselves clear traces of a Mosaic character, are closely connected with certain events which are here reported. Thus the law on the great Day of Atonement, Levit. xvi. and that *ib.* ch. x. 1, ff., relates the fate of the two sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, who perished while offering, because they offered oblations in a different way from that commanded by Jehovah; and thus through this law, the

¹ Bertheau acknowledges that these chapters are altogether genuine; they form, according to him, the fourth group of the original Mosaic lawgiving.

narrative is proved to be quite historical, and also much other matter which is connected with the purport of the above law.

Still more closely intertwined with the history is another series of ordinances in the Pentateuch, which relates to the disposition of the Sanctuary, and the arrangement of other concerns of the Israelites during their journey through the wilderness; Exod. xxv. to xxxi.¹

These chapters are closely connected with each other, and without doubt were originally written successively in this connection. This section begins with a demand for a free-will contribution which the Israelites were to pay for the establishment of a sanctuary as a seat for Jehovah, and then it is prescribed in detail of what nature this sanctuary shall be. First the arrangement of the Ark of the Covenant is given, with the Covering of it, and the Cherubs which were to be embroidered on it; then the account of the Table and the Shew-bread, and the golden Candlestick (ch. xxv); and of the Tabernacle, in which the Ark and the rest of the holy things were to have their place (ch. xxvi); then (in ch. xxvii), the account of the altar of burnt-offerings, and of the Court of the Sanctuary, and of the holy oil which the Israelites were to supply and the priests were daily to pour on the lamps of the candlestick; then follows (ch. xxviii.) the ordinance that Aaron and his sons should be dedicated as priests out of the number of the Israelites, together with a circumstantial description of the priestly dress, particularly the breast-plate; next, ch. xxix. treats of the solemnities with which Aaron and his sons were to be consecrated as priests, also the ordering of the daily burnt-offering; ch. xxx. gives the ordering of the altar of incense, also the ordinance of a legal taxation of the people in behalf of the establishment of the sanctuary; then some ordinances on the arrangement of the brazen lavers in the sanctuary, and on the preparation of the holy anointing oil, and the holy incense-perfume. Finally, ch. xxxi. 1-11 relates to the installation of

¹ Bertheau also acknowledges these chapters as strictly Mosaic ordinances; they form, with him, the second group of the original Mosaic lawgiving. According to De Wette, edits. 5 and 6, and Stähelin, they are *Elohistic*; according to Ewald they belong to the "Book of Origins," and therefore to the age of Solomon.

Bezaleel and Aholiab as the master-workmen, who were to superintend all these arrangements.

In modern times it has been supposed (and particularly by De Wette in his *Beiträge*) that the tenor of these ordinances, Exod. xxv-xxx, shows that they are not to be attributed to Moses, still less that they could have been committed to writing in the Mosaic age. His chief reason is that the whole arrangement of the Tabernacle and the rest of the holy things, as they are here ordered, was too magnificent and artificial to be expected or to be considered possible in an age like the Mosaic. It presupposes that the Israelites had gold and silver in plenty, as well as materials of other sorts, which they could hardly be in possession of (cf., on the contrary, Knobel's "Commentary on Exodus," pp. 254, 333); for this reason the conjecture has been made, that the whole of that which we read here was added by a much later author, who had before his eyes the pomp of the later cultus, particularly of Solomon's Temple, and transferred it to a much earlier time of legislation.¹

But there are also here a great number of ordinances which are so expressed that they would only be practicable in the Mosaic age; whilst a later author, considering the concerns of his own time, would have quite involuntarily and unknowingly expressed himself as to these points in such a way as was conformable to these later circumstances.

This argument holds good particularly in this section, in all the passages in which there is any question as to the priests; in the ordinances as to them, the priests are everywhere mentioned not *generally*, but Aaron and his sons are *specially* named; thus ch. xxvii. 21, where the account is given of the golden candlestick, it does not tell us "the priests," but "Aaron and his sons shall order it;" cf. ch. xxviii. 4, 12, 41, 43; ch. xxix. 4, 5, and so in the whole chapter, which treats of the consecration of the priests; ch. xxx. 7, 10, 19, 30. It is, therefore, clear that these ordinances relate properly only to Aaron and his sons, who officiated as priests in the time of Moses. As they could not properly, as they are here worded, be referred to the

¹ This is also repeated by Hartmann, p. 738; it is in reality also Ewald's opinion, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. p. 115, edit. 2.

later temple-services, except by means of some harmonizing interpretation, in which it then would have to be more closely defined how far these ordinances applied to the high priest only, and how far to the rest of the priests. For in these ordinances the two are not at all separately defined. A later author, in writing down such ordinances, could not well have had any other aim except to prove that those arrangements which existed in his time as regards the Sanctuary were indeed Mosaic, and so to claim a greater authority and holiness for them. But then he would have taken care so to modify those prescriptions about the priests, that they should find an actual and immediate application to the circumstances of his own time; and even if he had intentionally studied, in order to avoid all appearance of a later origin, to frame the ordinances in such a way as that they should be in conformity with the Mosaic age, he would then doubtless have added directions of such a nature and with such modifications as would make them valid in later times: at least, expressions would certainly have been suggested to him, unconsciously and against his will, which were derived from the circumstances of his own time. But this is nowhere the case. The whole tenor of the directions with regard to the priests, their arrangement, and their official duties towards the sanctuary, precludes any unprejudiced judge from any other view than that they were ordered by Moses himself. We shall not, therefore, after what we have already met with, have any further scruples in ascribing the written record of these commands, if not to Moses himself at least to the Mosaic age. This must also naturally hold good with regard to the other ordinances in this section, which are so intimately connected with the enactments as to the priests. That they could not have been written down at a much later date is evidenced by the great fidelity which is manifested in the detailed completeness and distinctness of the several ordinances.

To these ordinances about the arrangement of the sanctuary, there also belongs a short section (Num. x. 1-10) about the two silver trumpets which were to be used to gather together a meeting of the people or of the heads of tribes, or to summon them for departure. This was to be done by the sons of Aaron. This ordinance is of such a

nature as to refer closely and immediately to the circumstances of the Israelites in the time of Moses, when they lived densely crowded in camps, and is, therefore, doubtless genuinely Mosaic (verses 9 and 10 are a later addition).

To these paragraphs, which bear in the highest measure the stamp of exactness, distinctness, and historical fidelity, there also belong (Num. i.) the numbering of the people of Israel by Moses, and the installation of the Levites to serve the sanctuary, and, particularly during the journeying of the people, to conduct the Tabernacle with all the utensils belonging to it, and to perform all the business relating to it; ch. ii. is connected with this, and contains exact directions as to the arrangement of the camp. Chapters iii. and iv., about the numbering of the Levites according to the three different families, to each of which different duties were allotted in connection with the sanctuary. All these are ordinances which relate immediately to the Mosaic age only, when the people wandered in camps, and carried with them the Tabernacle and the Ark in their journeyings.

§ 78.—*Mosaic Legislation for more settled times.*

We see, therefore, that an important part of the laws and ordinances of the Pentateuch is of such a nature that, judging from their purport and form, it is impossible that they could belong to any other age than the Mosaic; also that the historical part of the Pentateuch is generally confirmed by them, since they relate so clearly to the circumstances contained in the history.

A good many of the legal ordinances may also be alleged, which can be shown, not indeed quite so clearly, but yet with preponderating probability, to have been published, and perhaps written down, at the same time and by the same law-giver, as the former ones adjacent to them. And, generally, if our investigations have led us to consider it a certain and established fact, that so important a part of the Book of Laws proceeds from Moses, and that consequently, in any case, the essence of the legislation contained in it belongs to him, we are not entitled to refuse to regard him as the author of the separate legal ordinances there attributed to him, provided that they do not contain in themselves unmistakable signs of a different character and of a later age. It cannot, however, be regarded as in itself a charac-

teristic of a later time, that a law refers to the possession of the promised land and to the Israelites dwelling in it, since this was the object which was before the eyes both of Moses and the Israelites from the time of their leaving Egypt; and it need awaken no scruple when we find Moses making his legal ordinances in reference to this state of things. Although, therefore, so many of the laws proceeding from him have close and immediate reference to the then-present time, and to the nomadic state of the people of Israel during their sojourn and journeyings in the wilderness, it does not follow that *all* which proceeded from him were composed from this point of view; only we shall expect that those which related more to the later circumstances, after the taking possession of the land, should, if they proceeded from Moses, have this reference made quite clear.

§ 79.—*Mosaic Authorship of the Songs in the Pentateuch.*

In addition to these laws, there are in the Pentateuch isolated songs, which bear the most distinct marks of the Mosaic age.

Those who think that the art of authorship among the Hebrews must be fixed at a later date than the Mosaic age, are naturally inclined to deny that the songs contained in the Pentateuch were composed by Moses, or the other individuals to whom they are there attributed, and to consider them as the production of a later bard. *Per se*, we can quite well consider it possible that these songs originated through a later writer of history, or some other author composing them, by a pure poetical fiction, in the name of Moses or his contemporaries, and endeavouring to transplant himself into the circumstances of that earlier time. He might even have done it without any intention to deceive, in a similar way as was customary among the ancient classical authors, when they composed copious orations in the name of the hero of whom they were writing. Such an idea has, therefore, nothing strictly offensive about it; the object would merely be to produce in this way more clearly to his readers the feelings and thoughts of the men in whose names these songs were composed. But in songs composed in such a way, we can scarcely ever fail to find some references to the time of the composition, and its circumstances. The latter will present themselves to the

eyes of the author far more vividly than the circumstances relating to the epoch of the person in whose name he composed. The whole composition will more or less receive the stamp of his own individuality. His ideas and expectations, his wishes and fears, will gleam through and be reflected therein. This would also easily happen (to a less degree, however) if the songs had been originally composed in an earlier age—the Mosaic—but not written down till a later period, from oral tradition only. If, on the contrary, we find here songs which bear indications of belonging to the Mosaic age, which, however, do not contain any reference at all to the circumstances of a later time, but are, on the contrary, full of features of individuality which are not otherwise intelligible and are without meaning except in reference to circumstances in the time of Moses, it becomes highly probable that they were not only composed in the Mosaic age, but that they were then written down, and have come down to us from thence; nor is there anything in what has hitherto been considered to warrant us in having the least inclination to call them in question. For if, as we have seen to be the case, at that time *laws* of such extent were already recorded, it is still less improbable that *songs* were committed to writing.

Of all the songs contained in the Pentateuch, *those* that appear to have the most distinct reference to the circumstances of the Mosaic age and can be ascribed to no other are to be found in Num. xxi. The first (*vv.* 14, 15), which, according to the express statement, is taken out of the “Book of the Wars of Jehovah.” is rather obscure; it seems to be quoted to prove that the brook Arnon formed the boundary between the Moabites and the Ammonites. The second (*vv.* 17, 18) relates to the discovery of a well during the journeying of the Israelites, in a place which is on this account called *Beer* :

Spring up, O well!
Sing ye unto it!
The princes digged the well,
The nobles of the people digged it
With their sceptres and with their staves.

So, he tells us, sang Israel then, and no poem could well bear more the character of genuineness and originality than this simple song. From the language of this song we may

collect the more proximate circumstances of the event which is only shortly alluded to in the preceding narrative, viz., that the chiefs and nobles, whilst perhaps the people murmured, dug in the earth with their staves, and thus uncovered the well. These proceedings might have readily given cause for a song like this, celebrating the event. The song, without doubt, was composed and written down immediately, or at least very soon, after it took place. Had this not been done, the event being in itself so unimportant, the song would hardly have been preserved to us, and still less is it likely that a later poet would have felt induced to compose a song on an earlier event such as this.

The third song (*vv.* 27-30) is introduced on the occasion of the conquest of the Amorites by the Israelites, and especially the capture of their chief city Heshbon, and refers to this event in so distinct a manner, and with such special marks, that it also can only be the work of a contemporary Israelitish poet. (Rosenmüller's *Repertorium*, i. p. 4, ff.)¹

If this, however, be correct, we are well entitled to suppose that these three are not the only genuine Mosaic songs arising in that age, which are preserved to us in the Pentateuch. This may be said, to some extent, even of those songs which, in the shape in which we now have them, contain certain features which appear to be the production of a later time, since they might have been added to by later transcribers or compilers. This is not unlikely to have been the case with Moses' Song of Praise after the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (*Exod.* xv.); on which see § 114.

¹ With regard to these songs it is so absolutely against all probability that they should be the production of a later age, that it has been acknowledged by De Wette (*Ed.* 3) that they are certainly derived from the Mosaic age. He starts the question whether they were not made public orally before they existed in writing, and in *Ed.* 5 and 6 he expressly states the probability that at first they were promulgated by oral tradition.

However, in this case, from the very unimportance of these songs, it is much less likely that they should have been a long time verbally current without any interpolation than that they should have been written out in the Mosaic age itself; and that the latter is the case we shall, from the preceding remarks, assume without hesitation.

§ 80.—*Separate Passages in Genesis and Exodus opposing the Mosaic Authorship.*

As we now find in the Pentateuch so many unmistakeable traces of genuine Mosaic matter, the idea is by no means unnatural that, without reference to historical tradition, the Pentateuch in its entirety, as we have it in our Hebrew Codex, both in its legal and historical contents, is a work of Moses, or at least of the Mosaic age. There are, however, some very important arguments derived from the contents of this work which oppose themselves to this opinion, both in the character of single passages, or sections longer or shorter, and also in the form and manner in which the separate component parts are collected into an historical whole. Some of the most remarkable illustrations of this kind are the following.¹

(1) Single passages which clearly point to historical circumstances belonging to a later time, and yet presuppose these circumstances as existing at the time of the author.

(a) Genesis xii. 6: "Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the terebinth (plain, A.V.) of Moreh. *And the Canaanite was then in the land.*" It cannot be denied that this "*then*" refers to a date of authorship when the Canaanite was *not* in the land.

On one side it has been thought that it stands in opposition to an earlier time, when the Canaanites were *not yet* in the land, because either men had not scattered themselves generally over the earth, or the Canaanites at least had not yet settled there; in this way it is presupposed that they dwelt in some other land at an earlier period. Hengstenberg explains it in another way (*Authentic*, ii. p. 185), and thinks that it refers only to the promise which God (v. 7) made to Abraham, that He would give this land to his seed: so that the contrast of the present time is simply indicated as opposed to the future and promised state of things. Both modes of explanation, however, are unnatural; the latter more so than the former. An author in the Mosaic

¹ We may be permitted now to partly advert to "Genesis;" for the remaining books, as we now have them, are clearly written as a continuation of the above book, so that the traces of a later time in "Genesis" also serve as proofs that the whole did not receive its present shape till this more modern period.

age, although he might have had in view these Divine promises as to the future possession of the land, would have had no inducement to insert this remark here in this way, at a time when the fact of the Canaanites dwelling in the land still continued, and was sufficiently known to all the Israelites. The remark is natural only if made at a time when that fact *no longer* existed, therefore *after* the taking possession of the land by the Israelites.

(b) In the same way we read (Genesis xiii. 7): "And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's: and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled *then* in the land." Consequently Abraham and Lot, with their herds, were not the only occupants of the country, and thus their close neighbourhood might the more readily prove an inconvenience. This remark, therefore, is connected very suitably with the purport of the narrative; nor is it probable that, as many have thought, it is only a later interpolation. But then it is a proof that the narrative generally, as it here runs, was not written down till a time when these nations *no longer* dwelt in the land.

(c) Genesis xxxvi. 31: "*And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.*" With regard to this passage also, any one with an impartial judgment would hardly venture to assert that Moses, or any author of the Mosaic age, could have written it. It clearly presupposes a time when a king ruled over the Israelites also; therefore the time of Saul at the earliest.

Some, indeed, have thought that the authorship of this passage, as it here runs, might be assigned to Moses, as referring to the promise given to Abraham and Jacob, that kings should proceed from them (Gen. xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11). The reference to the first passage (to the promise of this nature given to Abraham), is quite inadmissible; for Abraham was not only the ancestor of the Israelites, but also of other nations, particularly the Edomites; and thus an earlier author, with regard to this promise, if he even knew it, would be able to see nothing further in it, except just that the Israelites should one day come under the government of kings: and he could scarcely, for this reason, have expressed himself in such a manner.

A reference might be more justly assumed to ch. xxxv. 11, where the same promise is given to Jacob, that kings

should proceed out of his loins: since this could be understood of the Israelitish kings only, as Jacob was the ancestor of none but the Israelites. Hengstenberg (*u. s. ii. p. 202*), therefore, appeals to this passage as proof that these passages contain nothing which could not have been written by Moses. But the whole assumption, that these historical remarks relate to a state of things not yet existing, but only signified by a promise, is in the highest degree unnatural. Added to this, however, we are bound to presume, from the tenor of this passage, that the kings of Edom, cited in the list following it, ruled one after the other up to the time when the people of Israel came under the government of kings. Thus it would become still more clearly evident that this could not have been written by Moses or any other author in the Mosaic age.

(d) Genesis xl. 15: Joseph tells Pharaoh's chief butler, "*I was stolen out of the land of the 'Hebrews.'*" The land of Canaan can only be meant, either the whole land or a part of it. But Joseph could never have expressed himself in this way, since at that time the Hebrews wandered as strangers in the land, and had no sure possession of their own at all in it. This expression can only be explained by considering it as belonging to a later time, when the Hebrews were settled in the possession of the land of Canaan, and we are thereby pointed to some later historian, who deduced this expression from later events, and attributed it to Joseph.

(e) Genesis xiii. 18: *The city of Hebron is mentioned as early as the time of Abraham.* We read, on the contrary (Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13), that it did not receive this name till a later time, and had been previously called Kirjath-Arba. But this change of name does not appear to have taken place before the age of Joshua; and we are induced to assume that this mention of it could not have been made before this time. (Cf. Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27, where the city is pointed out as "Kirjath-Arba," that is, "Hebron.")

(f) Genesis xiv. 14: "*Abraham pursued them as far as Dan.*" On the contrary (Judg. xviii. 29): "*And they (the Danites) called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan, their*

¹ It is, of course, possible that the city in earlier times bore the name of Hebron also, and that a long time afterwards it received the name of Kirjath-Arba from its inhabitants, and that later still the original name was again used. (Hengstenberg, *ut supra*, ii. p. 187.)

father: howbeit the name of the city was Laish at the first." The same thing is remarked in Josh. xix. 47, only that there the earlier name of the city is called Leshem. Therefore many expositors (Gen. *ut supra*) have asserted that the well-known frontier town in North Palestine is not intended, but another town of the name of Dan. This, however, is not very likely; still less is it doubtful (Deut. xxxiv.) that the town there named Dan is the city of the Danites.

(g) Exodus xvi. 35: "*And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to the land of their habitation*¹ (a land inhabited, A.V.); *they did eat manna until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan;*" which clearly proves that this must have been written, not only after the expiration of the fortieth year, but also after the arrival of the Israelites in the land of Canaan (cf. Josh. v. 12), according to which this gift ceased when the Israelites crossed over Jordan. (In Levit. cf. xviii. 24, 25, 28.)

§ 81.—*Post-Mosaic Passages in Numbers and Deuteronomy.*

(h) We have (Num. xv. 32-36) a short narrative of a man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath, and was placed in ward, and afterwards stoned. This narrative has something very pictorial about it; but it begins with the words, "*And when the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man,*" &c.

The wilderness can only refer to the Arabian desert. But this mode of expression presupposes that these words were written when they were no longer in the wilderness, and therefore points to a later age. We can hardly think that Moses, or any other historian in his age, could have introduced this narrative in this way, but least of all if it were originally written down as a part of a larger historical work such as the Pentateuch, in the midst of narrations which all likewise relate to this sojourn in the wilderness. As we find it here, it has the character of a fragment, which the historian appears to have elsewhere found in this shape, and to have inserted it unaltered in his own work. But

¹ In Hebrew we do not read מוֹשָׁבָם, but גוֹשָׁבָת, so that the question is of the *coming* into an inhabited land; perhaps Bleek follows De Wette's translation, "*the land where they should dwell.*"

we cannot well imagine this if Moses were the author of the Pentateuch, as we now have it.

(i) Deuteronomy i. 1: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond ("on this side," A.V.) Jordan." And likewise *v.* 5; evidently written by one who was *this side* Jordan, and therefore written after the death of Moses, and after the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the Israelites.

On the assumption of a Mosaic authorship, **בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן** has been translated "*this side of Jordan*," but this cannot be justified by the usage of the language. We might rather say that the form **עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן** was an established equivalent for the country lying eastwards of the Jordan, without any reference to the place where the person writing it may have been. This occurs, of course, more frequently in later times; but we can assume, with the greatest probability, that this usage of the language had been formed among the Hebrews when they dwelt in the land of Canaan, and the greatest part of them to the westward of Jordan; and Moses, or any other author in his age, certainly could not have expressed himself in this way so long as he himself was on the eastern bank. In Deuteronomy this usage is so much the less likely, as here, for the most part, in the speeches of Moses the expression **בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן** stands precisely for the land of Canaan westward from Jordan, viz., *beyond Jordan*, from the standing-point of the speaker (ch. iii. 20, 25: xi. 30), although it also applies (in a speech of Moses') to the land eastward of Jordan (ch. iii. 8), and the same ch. iv. 41, 46, 47, 49 (as in the author's speech, *ut supra*). But if Moses himself were the author, standing, as he did, on the eastern bank of the river, he certainly would not have used this expression except for the land westward from Jordan, the actual Canaan (cf. Ewald, *Jahrbücher*, vii. p. 211).

(j) Deuteronomy ii. 12: "The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead: *as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them.*"

This also pretty plainly presupposes a time when the Israelites were settled in the possession of the land, and had already driven out of it the people who had before inhabited it; a time, therefore, after Moses. It is not at all a natural interpretation, when Rosenmüller and others refer this com-

parison to something which then was being done, and render it: *as Israel now does*, imagining that it relates to the tracts of country beyond Jordan which they had already conquered.

(*k*) Deuteronomy iii. 11: "For only Og, king of Bashan, remained of the remnant of the giants; behold, his coffin ("bed," A.V.) was a coffin of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits was the breadth thereof," &c. The conquest of the giant king Og is related Num. xxi. 33, ff., and occurred, therefore, in the fortieth year of their journeying, a few months before the death of Moses. Moses, however, would certainly not so soon after have spoken in this way of the coffin; it is here spoken of apparently as something of then existing antiquity.

(*l*) Deuteronomy iii. 14: "Jair, the son (*i.e.*, descendant) of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi, and called them after his own name, the villages of Jair (Bashan-Havoth-Jair, A.V.), *unto this day.*"

This refers to Numbers xxxii. 41, where there is an account of these villages, which Jair, son of Manasseh, had taken possession of and called the villages of Jair. These are also cited (Josh. xiii. 30) among the possessions of the half tribe of Manasseh. There is another tradition on the origin of this name (Judg. x. 3, 4), in which it is derived from another Jair, likewise of the tribe of Manasseh, at the time of the Judges, who was himself a judge for many years. He "had thirty sons, who rode on thirty asses, and had thirty cities. They are called the cities of Jair to this day, which are in the land of Gilead." We have, therefore, two varying traditions on this point, since, according to the one, the districts in Gilead, which afterwards bore the name of the villages of Jair, must have already got this name at the time of Moses; according to the other, they could not have obtained it till at least about 300 years after the death of Moses. If the latter were the case, there is an anachronism in both passages of the Pentateuch, and they could not have been written till a considerable time after the age of the judge Jair. So, *e.g.*, Vater understands the case (iii. p. 635, ff., 645, ff.), and rather weighty reasons can be alleged for it. If we adhere, however, to the statement of the Pentateuch, Jair's taking possession of this

district, and the consequent naming it by his own name, could not have occurred till quite the last portion of the life of Moses, and by no means would Moses have cited it here in this way; he named Bashan after his name, "the villages of Jair *to this day*." This necessarily supposes that a considerable time should have already elapsed since the naming. It is, indeed, little likely in itself that such a name as "the villages of Jair" should be given to and become prevalent for a whole district so immediately after its capture by a chief of that name; it is much more probable that the people began gradually to use this name, and that a considerable time elapsed before it was settled as the proper name of the place. Therefore, the whole difficulty here is not removed, if, with many expositors, we consider the words "*to this day*" as a later interpolation.

(*m*) Deuteronomy xxxiii. 1: "And this is the blessing wherewith Moses, the *man of God*, blessed the children of Israel *before his death*."

About the blessings of Moses and the date of their composition we do not speak till afterwards (§ 127). But, as regards this case, these introductory words certainly could not well be by Moses, as his death is already presupposed in them. It is also more natural that Moses should have received the honourable epithet the "*man of God*" from another author than from himself. We are, therefore, led to assume that, even if the blessing were composed by Moses, he himself did not add to the historical narrative; this again serves as a proof that the Pentateuch, at least in its present state, could not have been written by Moses.

(*n*) Deuteronomy xxxiv. leads us to this opinion still more decidedly. This contains the death and burial of Moses, and its immediate results.

Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, 48) and Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, iii. § 39), indeed, go so far as to ascribe to Moses the authorship even of this fragment, asserting that he wrote it in a prophetic spirit. Many others have followed them; yet by far the greater number of those who attribute every other part of the Pentateuch to Moses, consider (not very consistently) this chapter as a later addition. Most of the earlier expositors were of opinion that it is by Joshua, who added it as a conclusion to the book of the law after the death of Moses. This is the view of the Talmud (see § 68),

likewise of Carpzov and others. But that this fragment could only proceed from a considerably later period, is shown by expressions such as *v. 6*, "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day:" *v. 10*, "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom Jehovah knew face to face," &c.

§ 82.—*Citation of the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah."*

(2) We have already (§ 60) spoken of the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah,"¹ which is quoted in Num. xxi. 14. As we have there remarked, it certainly could not have been composed before the last period of the journeyings of the Israelites through the wilderness, and probably it was written at a still later time. If, however, we fix the date of its authorship during the life of Moses, we cannot very well imagine that Moses, or any author in his age, would have quoted it in the way in which it is done, as the source of a song which belongs without doubt to the Mosaic age. At all events, this citation points to an author living considerably later, who wrote the history of the Israelites during the Mosaic time from either written or oral tradition.

§ 83.—*Laws opposing the Mosaic Authorship.*

(3) Some of the *laws* also are of such a kind that we cannot well think them to have proceeded from, or to have been written down by, Moses, as they relate to circumstances which it is very improbable Moses could have noticed in such a manner in his legislation; and it is unlikely that these later relations should appear in them so distinctly presupposed as already in existence.

(a) Of the former kind is, *e.g.*, Deut xvii. 14–20, the *ordinance as to kings*. It is, indeed, brought prominently forward at the beginning that it was not to come into operation till a later period, after they were in possession of the land. But it is, in fact, but little likely that Moses should have composed a law in reference to the king-ship.

The regal power had no foundation at all in the original plan of the theocratic State of the Israelites; and, when it was afterwards introduced, it appeared as something

¹ Geiger rejects this work as entirely due to false punctuation. (For his view, founded on the LXX and Onkelos, cf. the *DMGZ*, xvi. p. 288.)

foreign, which was added against the will of Jehovah—as something by the desire of which the Israelites expressed a rejection of Jehovah as their peculiar king (1 Sam. viii. 7): “For they have not rejected thee (Samuel), but they have rejected me.” It is certainly true that in this law the kingly power is not exactly recommended nor laid down as something pleasing to God; but it is equally true that there is nothing said of its being displeasing to Him: and it is not at all natural that Moses should have given directions about a sort of government which was entirely out of harmony with the theocratic regulations founded by him, and which he himself would not have wished to see introduced. If such a law had been extant as a Mosaic one, Samuel could not easily have so long resisted the desire of the Israelites that he should grant them a king. It is also most probable that long before this, in the times of the Judges, when they were often oppressed, they would have desired a king, and would have fixed on one to reign over them. In 1 Sam. it is recorded that Samuel, after Saul had been publicly named as king, told the people, at Jehovah’s command, the *manner of the kingdom* (מִשְׁפָּט הַמְּלוּכָה), and wrote it in a book and laid it before Jehovah (in the Ark—1 Sam. x. 25, cf. viii. 9). In this there is not the least intimation or any notice taken that a similar “*manner of the kingdom*” already existed in the Mosaic law. All this appears to make it exceedingly probable that the law about kings in Deuteronomy could not have been extant at that time; at least that it was not recognised as Mosaic, and that it also is, in fact, the production of a later time.

(b) In another law, also, later relations are presupposed, without further remark, as actually then existing. Thus (Deut. xix. 14): “Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour’s landmark, which they of old time (רֵאשִׁימִים) have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it.” The laws (Deut. xx.) which relate to military concerns also refer to this; and presuppose, without further remark, the firm possession of the land. Thus *vv.* 5, 6: “And the officers shall speak unto the people, saying, What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? let him

go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. And what man is he that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? let him, also, go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man eat of it." It is clear that this law could only relate to a later time, when the Israelitish people were already settled in the land; but there is nothing intimated here as to this, and the passage runs quite generally, as if it could become practicable at once as a matter of course. It may be assumed as certain that if Moses had given this military law at a time (as would appear according to Deuteronomy) when the people were still beyond Jordan, and the Canaanitish nations had still to be driven out of the land promised by Jehovah, this law would have been quite of a different purport; and that if the lawgiver had also paid regard to the later circumstances of the people,¹ he would at least have then disjoined the two questions, and would have made that the most prominent which directly applied to the urgent affairs of the people.

(c) In Exodus xxii. 29, 30, it seems already presupposed that the Israelites brought to the priests first-fruits of their cattle, and of their wine, and of the fruits of the field. For it is enjoined, without anything having been ordered before as to the offering itself, that they should not delay in doing this. But this occurs in the same way in the first legal ordinances which were given at Sinai. There are in the same series (ch. xxiii. 10, 11, 16) laws as to the cultivation of the fields, vineyards, and olive-yards, and also as to the harvest feast, ordinances that must at least excite our surprise when given at so early a time. In v. 19 the existence of the sanctuary, the house of Jehovah, is presupposed, whilst the ordinances for the arrangement of the sanctuary do not follow till later.

(d) In Levit. xxvi. 3-45, an admonitory discourse of Moses' is given, the composition of which, as it here runs, very probably belongs to a much later age than the Mosaic

¹ Bleek intimates that laws like those (Deut. xx. 5-9, xxiv. 5) would have been absurd at the time of Moses; that precepts throughout unpractical, which made waging war quite impossible, could not generally be attributed to a man who, in fact, gave no impracticable laws; and that they are perhaps only attributable to the endeavour to limit the kingly rule.

—to a time when, after taking possession of the land, the people had given themselves up very much to idolatry, and on this account had been oftentimes punished by Jehovah. Thus v. 30, “And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images,” where it is clearly presupposed that the people had already transgressed in the land through idolatry and the worship of high places, which latter we do not find particularly denounced till the later period of the kings. And v. 34, ff., and v. 43 tells us that the land shall *then* (when, namely, its inhabitants shall have been carried into exile) have its sabbaths, as it did not have them whilst the people dwelt in it; by this it is presupposed that the sabbath years and jubilee years, during which the land was to remain uncultivated and, as it were, to rest, had not been celebrated by the people in the ordained manner while they were in quiet possession of the land.

(e) So also the song (Deut. xxxii.), which Moses is said to have taught the people, is shaped in such a way that it appears to refer to something that has gone before, both to the Divine guidance, when Jehovah helped the people to the possession of the land of Canaan and to the enjoyment of its products (v. 12–14), and also to the ingratitude of the people, who, when it went well with them, forgot Jehovah, their creator, and followed fresh gods, whom their fathers revered not (v. 15–18); so that the song, in this form at all events, appears to have been composed in a later age.

§ 84.—*Repetition of Laws.*

(4) There is another argument against the Mosaic authorship in the repetitions which occur in these books; first of all, in the giving of the law.

That the laws of the earlier books are repeated in Deuteronomy is, of course, consistent with the whole arrangement of it, although it is somewhat remarkable that Moses, in the long discourse delivered to the people shortly before his death, should have not only brought afresh to their remembrance a great part of those earlier-delivered laws, but that he should have also written down *in extenso*, as an integral part of his law-book, a discourse relating only to legislation already recorded. But, irrespective of this, if we take the three earlier books only by themselves, and consider the legislation in Sinai which is contained in

them, there are surprising repetitions of many kinds, both in separate laws and in entire lists of legal ordinances.

Thus, particularly in Exodus xxxiv. 17-26, there is a group of various legal precepts which are found already standing together in the collection (ch. xxi.-xxiii.), and in part agreeing exactly and verbally, and these various laws are also to some extent connected together in just the same way in both these passages.

We read in Exodus xxxiv. 23-26, in just the same order and combination as in ch. xxiii. 17-19, (a) that all the males shall appear before Jehovah three times in every year; (b) that no leavened bread shall be used at the killing of the Paschal lamb, and that the fat shall not be preserved until the next morning; (c) that the first of the fruits of the field shall be brought into the house of the Lord; (d) that the young kid shall not be seethed in its mother's milk (cf. *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1862, p. 304). We cannot, in fact, very easily imagine that the same laws on the like subjects should be here not only published to the Israelites by Moses at Jehovah's command so closely one after the other, but also that they should have been written down by him in the same way in this work.

Thus also, in Exodus xxiii. 9, the same prohibition is repeated which was given in the same series (ch. xxii. 20), not to oppress the stranger, and founded on the same reasons, "because ye also were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Levit. xx. contains penal laws and admonitions of various kinds nearly all of which occur in the same form shortly before in ch. xviii., only, for the most part, better arranged in the former place. Here, also, it is not very probable that Moses would have written the two chapters one after the other, and would so shortly after have repeated the same precepts which he had before given, only not so well arranged the second time.

§ 85.—*Traces of Composite Origin—Historical Repetitions.*

(5) In the *historical parts* also, there are sundry repetitions where the same events and circumstances are treated of in different places, making it almost appear that these were different events occurring one after another. Thus in Num. xi. we read how the people, satiated with the con-

tinued use of manna, longed after meat, and murmured on this account, and how quails were then given them, but also that Jehovah's wrath was kindled against them, and a great plague was decreed; therefore the place means "graves of lust." Not the slightest intimation is given here that a similar gift of quails had already been bestowed on the people about a year earlier, but it appears in the narrative as if this had been the first and only case of the kind. On the contrary (Exod. xvi. 12, ff.), at the same time that the gift of manna is spoken of, it is related that Jehovah sent them quails as animal food. It is perhaps probable that this is the very same event as that more fully recorded in Num. xi., and that in the narrative of Exodus two different facts are combined which were separate from one another in order of time, viz., the gifts of manna and of quails.

The case is probably the same with Exodus xvii. 1-7, where it is related how the people in their camping-place at Rephidim suffered from want of water, and on this account again murmured, till Moses, by striking with his rod on a rock, drew water therefrom, and that the place was named from that "Massah and Meribah:" the first = *temptation*, because they tempted God to afford them a proof of His miraculous power; the latter = *strife*. It is somewhat surprising that one and the same place should have received the two names. In Num. xx. 1-13, something similar is related: in reference to a like event, a place received the name "Water of Meribah" (water of strife), which place, however, according to this account, was situated near Kadesh. It is, therefore, very likely that in Exodus two various and very similar events are mixed up with one another, which, however, took place at different points in their journeyings, and that the places named were two different localities—one of which, Massah, was near Rephidim; the other, Meribah, near Kadesh.

The section (Num. ix. 15-23) belongs to the same class. This describes the pillar of cloud and fire which, from the time that the ark of the covenant was set up, always hung over it, and served as a signal to the Israelites when they were to encamp and when they were to depart. The same facts are related Exod. xl. 34-38, where they occur in a much more suitable place. It is there connected with the

day of the setting up of the tabernacle of the congregation; the establishment and dedication of the latter, however, is related immediately before. On the contrary, the account has a somewhat fragmentary appearance as it stands in Numbers.

Sometimes several different narratives of the same event appear to have been mixed together, in which narratives, the same circumstances are stated in several ways. Thus, when we read Exodus vi. 2-12, it appears throughout as if God had then first manifested himself to Moses, and had appointed him as the liberator of the people, and as if Moses at that time had not been before Pharaoh; while, on the contrary, we have already had, in ch. iii. iv., a circumstantial account of the manifestation made to Moses with this intent, and (ch. v.) how, in company with Aaron, he had come before Pharaoh; but no notice at all is taken in ch. vi. 2, ff., of this previous manifestation. Likewise in ch. vi. 28-vii. 7, there is the account of a manifestation of God to Moses, wherein he is charged to speak to Pharaoh. In this, again, there is nothing at all to indicate that he had been to this king shortly before. He also remonstrates against this command, and excuses himself on account of his uncircumcised lips, in reply to which Jehovah informs him that Aaron should be his spokesman. Both these things are likewise found in the previous manifestation (ch. iv.). There is, however, no trace in the later narrative that this plea and the Divine communication respecting it have been again repeated, which one would certainly expect, especially as they were mentioned so short a time before. It becomes in some degree probable here that, in this narrative of the Divine appointment of Moses, the portion (ch. vi. 2-12) had originally followed the end of ch. ii., and that, immediately after that, perhaps, ch. vii. 1-7 had followed, and that the remainder was not added till later, from some other source, either oral or written tradition. This would then serve as another proof that the whole, as we now have it, could not have been completed by Moses himself.

§ 86.—*Traces of Composite Origin—Discrepancies in various Laws.*

(6) There are also *laws* relating to like circumstances, the contents of which *are not quite in harmony with each other.*

(a) Num. iv., *e.g.*, where we are informed that Moses and Aaron, at Jehovah's command, instituted a numbering of the Levites, and at the same time allotted to them, according to their three families, their peculiar duties as to the sanctuary. It is here completely settled and presupposed that their time of service should last from thirty up to fifty years of age (*vv.* 3, 23, 30, 47). On the contrary (*ch.* viii. 23–26), it is expressly mentioned that their time of service in the sanctuary should cease at fifty years of age, but that it should begin at twenty-five years. We cannot well imagine that Moses should issue and write down two ordinances as to the same subject, which follow each other so immediately, and yet are at variance. Nor is there any intimation in the latter that it was to refer to some other time, perhaps after the taking possession of the land, or that the earlier ordinance was altered by it, but it is put down here without further remark as universally binding.¹ Of the ordinances in Num. iv., it has been already remarked (§ 77) that they bear throughout a genuine Mosaic character, as they relate immediately to the nomadic state of the people in the wilderness. On the contrary, the second ordinance (*ch.* viii.) appears not to have been made till a later time, when it might be found judicious to admit the members of this tribe to the service of the sanctuary at an earlier age than had been prescribed in the original law.

(b) According to Num. xviii. 20–32, the Levites were to have no fixed possession among the children of Israel, but for their obligatory service in the sanctuary they were to receive the tithes which were properly due to Jehovah, and give the tenth part thereof again to Aaron the priest. On the contrary, according to *Deut.* xiv. 22–29, the Israelites are only commanded to bring before the sanctuary the tenths of all the produce of their fruits and cattle either in kind or money, and there to consume it with their families in joy and gladness to the honour of Jehovah:

¹ The advocates of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch have endeavoured to set aside this variation in different ways, which, however, can be done only in the most forced and unnatural way, *e.g.*, as Hengstenberg, ii. 391. ff. asserts that *ch.* iv. relates solely to the service of the Levites to the Tabernacle of the congregation, in conveying it about until Jehovah had chosen for himself a fixed place of habitation; but *ch.* viii. deals with the service within the Tabernacle of the congregation. This is pure theory, and the actual variation cannot be denied.

and it is merely enjoined that the Levites, who had no possession of their own, were not to be forgotten; but that the people should, every third year, put by a tenth of all their incomings, and bestow it as a benefaction on the portionless Levites, the strangers, the orphans and widows in their gates.

It cannot possibly escape an unprejudiced reader, that the two laws differ from each other in their import and character. In the latter there is no reference to a legal impost for the special benefit of the Levites, but only to a free-will gratuity, which the Israelites are charged to confer on the portionless Levites, and on others who were in need. The Levites are, throughout, placed on a level with the other needy persons, and their whole position seems very differently laid down. We cannot very well imagine that Moses himself, in reference to the maintenance of the Levites, should have issued two laws differing so entirely in their whole character, especially as both the former law as well as the latter one relates only to the time when the Israelitish tribes would be in possession of the land promised to them. We can only suppose that, if the first law is Mosaic, the other belongs to a later age. And there can be no doubt on the point, that Num. xviii. is the original law, as it has quite the Mosaic character. On the contrary, in Deuteronomy we have it evidently in a form to which it has been altered at a later period, when probably the original law, with many other Mosaic regulations, were not any longer followed, and when circumstances had so shaped themselves that their future observance could not be any longer expected. This means was, therefore, adopted to excite the sympathy of the Israelites for the Levites, some of whom were perhaps very needy.

There are many other laws, particularly among those in Deuteronomy, which present greater or less variations from the legal ordinances and regulations of the earlier books, which likewise seem to show, by the comparison of their purport and character, that, as in this case, they are the production of a later time.

§ 87.—*Arrangement.*

(7) There is another argument against the Pentateuch, in the shape in which we now have it, having been composed

by Moses, in the *unnatural arrangement of many of the separate sections* of the work. The genealogy of Moses and Aaron is an instance of this kind (Exod. vi. 14–27).

Many things have been just related of them in what precedes, and immediately before, there is the narrative of a Divine manifestation to Moses, and how he was commanded by Jehovah to go before Pharaoh with Aaron. The very same thing is enjoined Moses in the section following (ch. vi. 28, ff.). Between these two portions of quite similar import, this genealogy is squeezed in, giving the family of the two men who in the preceding narrative had repeatedly made their appearance. Certainly no historian could give it such a position, who composed his history as a thoroughly independent author. We can better explain such a thing if we suppose that the author had borrowed something out of some earlier written records, and interwoven it in his own historical statement. The state in which this genealogy is presented to us confirms this view. With regard to the object of the insertion of the genealogy here, it serves to deduce the descent of Moses and Aaron from their ancestor Levi.

But not only the family of Kohath, the son of Levi, from whom they were both descended, is here named, but also that of the two other sons, Gershon and Merari, on whom nothing could depend in *this* connection. Indeed, the sons of Reuben and Simeon are, besides, previously mentioned here, on whom also nothing at all depended. This can only be explained by assuming that the historian here made use of some adventitious writing, containing a list of the posterity of all the sons of Jacob, of which he selected such portions as were necessary to distinguish the family of Moses and Aaron by tracing them up to the tribe of Levi. Thence it happened that, with regard to the two eldest of the sons of Jacob, Reuben and Simeon, he has gone so far as to mention their *sons*, whilst the remaining sons of Jacob, being younger than Levi, are not named at all.

That this list was originally drawn up without any special reference to Moses and Aaron, is shown by the title as well as the contents: "These be the heads of their (the Israelites) fathers' houses;" and by the conclusion (v. 25): "These are the heads of the fathers of the Levites according to their families." That it was not drawn up by Moses

we are clearly enough given to understand by verses 26 and 27, which smooth the transition to the further history which had been interrupted. We there read, "these are that Aaron and Moses, to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel from Egypt according to their armies; these are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron." Neither of these two could have readily expressed themselves in this way, nor even one of their contemporaries; in fact none but a later author.

§ 88.—*Dislocation of the Narrative.*

Another decisive argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is that many portions of it unmistakeably occupy a place which is incompatible with the natural sequence of the events. The following examples will suffice:

(a) In Exodus xviii. is related the visit which Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, paid to him in the wilderness. This section has something peculiar in its whole tone and character, in which it differs from the rest of the narrative in which it is contained. Its contents certainly lead to the view that it is inserted here at too early a place. From verses 12 and 19, where we are told that Jethro ate *before God* with the elders of Israel, and advised Moses that he should bring his business *before God*, it appears to follow that the Sanctuary of Jehovah with the Tabernacle already existed among the Israelites; but the establishment of these did not take place till afterwards. The misplacing of this passage is still more clearly seen from v. 5, where we read that Jethro came to Moses in the wilderness, where he encamped at *the mount of God*. This can only be Sinai, and it is, therefore, presupposed that the Israelites had already reached it, and had pitched their camp there. But it is not till the following chapter (ch. xix.) that we learn that they had come into the wilderness of Sinai, and had encamped over against the mount.

(b) Exodus xxv. to xxxi. contain the ordinances relating to the setting up of the Tabernacle and the holy things thereto belonging. *Ib.* ch. xxxvi. ff. it is related how these were regulated according to the Divine command, and the completion of the whole is dated on the first day of the first month in the second year, *i.e.*, exactly a full year after their

exit from Egypt, and nine months after their arrival at Sinai (ch. xl. 2, 17). It has been already shown (§ 77) that these ordinances have throughout the character of genuineness and of belonging to the Mosaic age. But yet it is somewhat improbable that so short a period should have been sufficient for the Israelites, especially situated as they were, to carry out so splendid and artistic a work as the tabernacle of the covenant must have been, according to the account and description of it. There is also this to be added. Between these two sections, which treat of the ordinance and its fulfilment, there is in ch. xxxiii. 7-11, among other things, a section where we read how Moses pitched a tent without the camp and called it the tabernacle of the congregation¹ (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, "Tabernacle of the Covenant," Luther), which served as a sanctuary, to which every one betook himself who sought the Lord, and where particularly Moses held intercourse with Jehovah. It is not quite evident here in what relation this tabernacle of the congregation stood to the sanctuary, the command for which is related a little before, and the completion a little after. There is not the slightest reference here to the former command of Jehovah; nor is there any intimation that it was to be only a provisional arrangement until the more splendid sanctuary had been completed. If we look at these things together, it seems most probable that what we here read in ch. xxxiii. as to the establishment of the tabernacle of the congregation, must have occurred at an earlier date than the whole ordinance of the more splendid sanctuary (chapters xxv. to xxxi.). This is confirmed by the fact that the name "Tabernacle of the Congregation" in chapters xxvii. 21, xxix. 42, 44, xxx. 36, is presupposed as already well known; while, on the contrary, in ch. xxxiii. 7, the denomination appears just as if Moses had only then first given it. One can hardly think that an arrangement, so inaccurate and so liable to introduce great obscurity, could have existed if Moses himself had written the whole history just as we now have it. But it is also very probable that, even if the more splendid sanctuary (ordered in ch. xxv. ff.) were finished during the sojourn in the wilderness,

¹ The Hebrew name is doubtless to be interpreted according to Exod. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, 43 (with Ewald, Knobel, Keil, and others), so that the translation, "Tabernacle of the Manifestation," appears more appropriate.

the completion took place at a considerably later date, as would appear from the placing of the section in which it is related (chapters xxxvi. to xl.). The following also favours the above view. In Numbers i. we read that Moses, at Jehovah's command, thirteen months after the Exodus from Egypt, instituted a numbering of the Israelites according to their several tribes; viz., every male person from twenty years of age upwards, with the exception of the Levites. The sum of the rest of the tribes altogether amounted to 603,550 men; so also ch. ii. 32 this number is rightly given. This is the same numbering as that of which there is an account (Exod. xxx. 12; xxxviii. 25); in the former passage, indeed, as if it was then impending, "when thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord," &c.; viz., every man from twenty years old upward a half shekel, as a contribution for the establishing of the sanctuary; but in the second passage in the section, which treats of the execution of the ordinances as to the sanctuary, it is presupposed that this numbering had already taken place; and here in v. 26 the sum-total is given as exactly the same as that in Numbers, *ut supra*. It is, therefore, clear that the collection for the building of the sanctuary mentioned here, and what is connected with it, the completion of the building of the tabernacle itself, and the subsequent consecration, could not have taken place at earliest till after the numbering of the Israelites mentioned in Numbers, *ut supra*; and, therefore, in any case, the date given in Exod. xl. for the completion and consecration of the sanctuary fixes it at an earlier time than suits the actual state of the case, and that this narrative ought not to have been placed before the numbering.

(c) Levit. xxiv. 5-9. Ordinance on the arrangement of the shew-bread, which was always to lie on the gilded table of acacia-wood standing in the Holy Place, and then to be used as food for the priests (Aaron and his sons), and to be renewed every Sabbath. This belongs to the general precepts for the arrangement of the Holy Place (Exod. xxv. ff.). And Exod. xl. 4, this ordinance is evidently presupposed as already known (cf. *ib.* xxv. 30).

§ 89.—*Want of Chronological Accuracy.*

(8) A chronological inaccuracy is most evidently conspicuous on comparing Numbers i. 1 and ix. 1, as the latter passage carries us back expressly to a month earlier than the former. In Num. i. the first day of the *second* month of the second year is given as the date for the numbering of the Israelites, while in ch. ix. we read that, in the *first* month of the same year, Jehovah commanded them to keep the Passover "at the appointed season," and that the Israelites complied with this command on the fourteenth day of this month.

This want of chronological order would have been of no importance, and would have had no direct weight against the Mosaic authorship, if anything like an arrangement according to subjects had pervaded the whole work, and the separate facts had been placed in accordance therewith. But this, for the most part, is not at all the case. Indeed the Pentateuch generally, both in its general plan and in the arrangement of its separate sections (especially as regards the four last books), claims the character of an *historical* work, in which both the several laws as well as the general facts succeed one another in the same order in which they followed one another in point of time, and alternated one with the other. Had this not been so, it would have been much more natural to have placed the whole collection of laws separately, and to have distinguished them more decidedly from the historical part, which would then have stood rather as an introduction to that collection. But the fact being that the separate laws, as they were made known to Moses by Jehovah, and to the people by Moses, are interwoven in the history of the journeyings through the wilderness, we should certainly expect that, if Moses wrote the Pentateuch as it is now constructed, all the particulars would have been fitted together in a consecutive order and connection in accordance with the actual sequence of events. Such evident inaccuracies, therefore, as we have already shown, and many more similar ones which might be pointed out, afford an important argument against the Mosaic authorship, and an evidence that the work as a whole is not that of a contemporary historian who had a continuous and immediate share in the events therein recorded.

§ 90.—*The Thirty-Eight Years' Chasm.*

(9) The historical difficulty presented by Numbers xx. (a much greater one than is generally supposed), is alluded to above (§ 67). In reading (Numbers xx. 1) that the Israelites had come into the wilderness of Zin and encamped there at Kadesh in the first month, we must understand that it is the first month of the third year after their Exodus from Egypt. But we further learn in v. 22, ff. that they left Kadesh and came to Mount Hor, and that there Aaron died; now this latter event must have happened (according to ch. xxxiii. 38) in the fifth month of the fortieth year after their exit from Egypt, and therefore about thirty-seven to thirty-eight years after their arrival at Kadesh. So that a period of nearly thirty-eight years is embraced in a few verses, which period comprises their sojourn at Kadesh, their journey from thence to Mount Hor, and their stay at Mount Hor up to the death of Aaron; and yet these events are related in such a way, and in such immediate connection, that it would appear as if they followed at short intervals. There is not the least intimation of such a long series of years having intervened; we can only gather this fact from a comparison with other passages. This phenomenon cannot be easily explained, on the hypothesis of the Pentateuch having been composed as a connected historical work—and as such it is presented to us—by Moses, or any contemporary with, and actor in, the events which it treats of.

Had such a person been the author of this work, he must have either written it all at one time and in unbroken continuity, which could only have been the case after the expiration of the events recorded, or in different divisions one after another, at various intervals. But it would, in any case, be expected that, as certain principal epochs in the history are dated according to the time elapsed since their Exodus from Egypt, such an interval as this—of about thirty-eight years—would not have been entirely omitted, and that the arrangement would not have been such as to lead to the idea that the events occurring after the interval stood in immediate connection with those before it, or that the former followed closely on to the latter. It may be suggested that, possibly, Moses had during this period brought his

history up to the encamping at Kadesh to a conclusion, and that he did not write the later portion after the thirty-eight years till some considerable time after. But it is impossible to imagine that he could have skipped so long a period with such seeming unconsciousness, and that he would not have at least remarked in a few words, that they had remained in this place for so long a time, and that the events that followed occurred so many years after those that immediately preceded them. It is indeed impossible to realise to oneself how a contemporary historian could have described events in this manner, fully acquainted as he must have been with the relations of the dates of the various events described. *This great chasm in the history does, without all doubt, present very great difficulties.* The Israelites must have established themselves at Kadesh, or at Mount Ilor, or at both places, for a long series of years. But if this were the case, it is hardly conceivable that, circumstanced as they were, nothing should have happened to them which deserved to be recorded as much as many other events described in the Pentateuch. Even if their time passed free from attacks from without, one would have thought that such a period of leisure would have been exactly fitted for the delivery and inculcation of laws, and indeed much more suitable than the unquiet period during their preceding and subsequent journeying. But there is not the least intimation that Moses made use of this interval for such a purpose. Instead of this, the laws which the Pentateuch has preserved to us all expressly date, some from the time before the arrival at Kadesh, and some from the time following it, after the death of Aaron. But it is impossible to conceive that this period of thirty-seven or thirty-eight years, sixteen times as long as the whole remaining interval since the Exodus, should have afforded nothing either in the way of external wars or of internal regulations which exercised an influence on the development of the history, and was therefore worthy of record. It follows, then, that this gap can only be attributed to the want of completeness and accuracy of the history. But this could not be conceived as possible, if this account as we have it were the independent production of an author exactly informed of the whole course of events. Such a one would certainly not have as good as blotted out such a great interval in the course of the narra-

tive. This omission might be more readily attributed to a later historian, who had indeed obtained a correct knowledge of the several events during the time of the journeyings of the Israelites through the wilderness by means of early written records or oral tradition, but having had no personal participation in them, was unacquainted with the relation of the separate events to each other as regards their order of succession and dates, as well as the general course of the history.

§ 91.—*Conclusion against the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch.*

The conclusion, therefore, to which the foregoing line of argument leads us is, that it is impossible to solve the difficulties of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in a satisfactory way, by the assumption of its having experienced later interpolations, while the work in general, as a connected historical writing, is by Moses himself.

Many single passages, indeed, which have been previously brought forward, may be perhaps considered as only additions by various readers and transcribers at a later time, and must not be permitted to influence the judgment as to the real authorship. But yet only a few, and those the most trifling, of the difficulties pointed out can be thus removed; others, particularly those alleged in the last few pages, and some also in the earlier ones, do not admit of this mode of explanation, since the apparent difficulty in them is so bound up with the whole composition of the work, that it cannot be removed by cutting out individual passages, which might naturally be looked upon as later interpolations. If, however, we should assume that the Pentateuch is based on an historical work composed by Moses, still this work must have experienced such alterations, partly through enlargements, partly through transpositions, and partly through omissions of very important parts, that it no longer presents its original character.

§ 92.—*General Improbability of the Mosaic Authorship.*

A more general, although not in itself a decisive, argument now presents itself, viz., the improbability that Moses should have left behind him an historical work of such extent and purport.

Our previous remarks have, we think, removed all doubt as to the art of writing having existed among the Hebrews at the time of Moses. There is not much difficulty in believing that a man like Moses, called by God to be the leader and lawgiver of His people, should have left behind him, in writing, a complete series of legal precepts, full of minute details, since he wished them to be minutely observed by his people; but it seems more doubtful that he should have felt it necessary to write down in detail a connected narrative of the historical events of his nation down to his own time—events in which he must have taken just the same part as those for whom he must at first have written them; which events the people themselves had, like him, gone through, and of which they must have had a sufficiently lively recollection: which, too, were so important that it was not at all to be feared that they could easily escape the memory of his countrymen. They might, for a considerable time, have been propagated by word of mouth, before any need was felt or any occasion arose to record the whole course of them in writing. The writing down of *contemporary* events that had only just been experienced cannot well be imagined to have taken place at an earlier age of a people than when the literary art had become somewhat common, and was exercised with ease; but this certainly was not the case among the Hebrews in the Mosaic age, nor was it so till a later period, in which the literary art of the people principally flourished. But if any written record had been made in the earlier time as to the history of the people by contemporary authors, eye-witnesses and actors in the events, it would most probably have been a very meagre chronicle, consisting of a mere statement of names of places and persons, at most with short intimations of events in their order of succession, or with indications of the time of the year and the day in which they happened. Such a work on the journeyings of the Israelites through the wilderness has actually been preserved to us in the Pentateuch itself: it is a list, in Num. xxxiii. 1–49, of the different places of encampment of the Israelites during their journeyings. Such a list might very well have been written down by an actor in the events, and the composition of it is at the beginning expressly attributed to Moses. But if Moses made out this list, in which the chief external concerns of their

journeying are very briefly noticed, it is improbable that he should, at the same time or before, have composed a copious continuous historical work concerning these same events. Anything more detailed than such a list as this was not necessary for the people at that time. The memory grasped it easily and naturally, and for the younger members, an oral narration could supply and complete the account of the several events. For generally in the ancient world, even long after the art of authorship had been exercised, living oral tradition remained the chief medium for the transmission of historical knowledge.¹ All this would not, of course, entitle us, as we have already remarked, to deny to Moses the composition of the Pentateuch, if the latter appeared from its whole character to be the work of a contemporary author, and of an actor in the events therein described. But since, as we have already seen by considering the work from different points of view, this is not the case, these more general considerations become an additional confirmation of the other arguments against the Mosaic authorship.

§ 93.—*Conclusion as to the Composite Authorship of the Pentateuch.*

If what we have already considered has led to the conviction (*a*) that there are considerable portions of the Pentateuch which were written down by Moses, and in his age, in the form in which we now read them, and (*b*) that Moses did not compose the Pentateuch, as we now have it, as a connected historical work, but that it is, at any rate in its existing arrangement, the production of a much later time, the necessary consequence is that the Pentateuch is not the work of "a completely independent historian who can be looked upon as the first actual composer of the whole book, and of all its separate parts, but that the author or redactor of it must have met with some written records, more or less, larger or smaller, which he introduced into his work. To this class certainly belong the single laws, or collections of laws, which we have found in the Pentateuch, bearing

¹ Cf. Dent. xxxii. 7: "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations; ask thy father and he will shew thee; thy elders and they will tell thee." Joel i. 3: "Tell ye your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation." Cf. also Ps. lxxviii. 2, ff.

the genuine Mosaic stamp, as well, likewise, as the lists of halting-places and the songs belonging to the Mosaic age.

That such is the case with many portions of the Pentateuch is indicated by special signs of various kinds, some of which we have already alluded to in passing; such as the want, so often felt, of a suitable arrangement of the laws contained in it; the frequent repetitions of the same laws, even with variations; the concluding formulas by which separate laws or series of laws are often distinguished as a complete whole, although there is much in other places that seems to belong there; and the fragmentary, incomplete, and unchronological form of the whole. As regards the laws, which belong to Moses, it is very probable that these were originally published by him, partly separately, partly in small collections of laws belonging to the same subject, or relating to similar subjects, and that they existed for some considerable time in this form. The opening and terminating clauses of the separate sections of the Pentateuch indicate such an origin. Likewise, also, the list of halting-places (Num. xxxiii. 1-49) perhaps originally formed a short independent writing, and is, as we have already intimated, perhaps the earliest record relating to the journey of the Israelites through the wilderness. So also the songs, which belong to Moses or his age, may have originally existed by themselves, although they may have been in very early times united into small collections of songs, as in the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah."

GENESIS.

§ 94.—*Origin of the Book of Genesis.*

The question, however, may now be raised whether the author of the existing Pentateuch was the *first* who worked up the Mosaic laws, songs, and other original documents, together with what oral tradition furnished, into a *continuous historical work*, or whether this had been previously done by some one or more, whose writings he made use of, amplified, or generally revised? This question would naturally not arise as to the four last books, if Moses could be regarded as their author, because we must then assume, without further question, that he, as principal actor in the events they record, could not have derived his account of them from any written

sources, but simply from his own experience and recollection. But, even under this supposition, the question would essentially hold good with regard to Genesis.

Since the contents of Genesis only go down to the deaths of Jacob and Joseph (about 400 years before Moses), this book, if, in the shape we now have it, it were a Mosaic writing, could not be the composition of a contemporary historian, even as regards the last portion of its contents, but was written by one living several centuries later; the case also would be stronger with regard to the first part of the book, the contents of which belong to a far earlier time. The view, that the Book of Genesis is founded on early documentary sources, has been repeatedly broached in earlier times by those who attributed this book and the Pentateuch generally, either altogether or in part to Moses, as, *e.g.*, Clericus in the *Dissertatio Tertia* of his "Commentary on Genesis" (1693); also R. Simon, and other later authors; but it has found far more favour with those who place the composition of this book and the Pentateuch generally at a later time. The nature of these documentary sources has been variously viewed; sometimes they have been considered as short fragmentary records relating to separate events, or series of events; sometimes as longer continuous historical narrations; and sometimes it has been thought that the actual composer of Genesis had simply recorded these earlier sources of information just as he found them, so that no more was due to him than the selection and the union of them into the existing book.

The warrant for the assumption of the use and admission of earlier documentary sources has been found in the fragmentary character which some parts of Genesis seem to bear; in the introductory clauses by which certain portions are separated from what goes before; in the repetitions of the same, or very similar events, which are often found; and in the difference of the language, which is evident when we compare various parts, and particularly in the *naming of the Deity*. In some sections God is always, or almost always, designated as אֱלֹהִים; in others always, or for the most part, as יְהוָה; in one portion, ch. ii. 4—ch. iii. to end, under the united title of יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים. It has been held that these different modes of naming have come down to us from the different written sources.

§ 95.—*Opinions of Astruc—Eichhorn—Ilgen.*

The first who laid any particular stress on this last fact was a French Roman Catholic physician, J. Astruc, whose work appeared anonymously.

J. Astruc (Doctor and Professor of Medicine at Paris, d. 1766): *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux, dont il paraît que Moÿse s'est servi pour composer le livre de Genèse*, Brussels, 1753. He makes use here of the expression *Mémoires* to designate the separate early documents. As a translation of this, the word *Urkunden* (documents) has been for a long time used in German to designate such writings, though this word is not quite suitable to express what is intended; *Quellenschriften* (source-writings) is better. Astruc assumes the existence of two chief written sources, an *Elohim-document* and a *Jehovah-document*, and is of opinion that their elements pervade the whole of our Book of Genesis; but that, together with these, there are ten other additional documents, separate fragments of which are adopted in Genesis; that from these twelve documents Moses composed the whole of Genesis; and that originally he wrote it down in twelve columns, but that afterwards these columns were written continuously, one after another, and that by the fault of the transcribers certain matter got into the wrong places (*v. Michaelis*, "Introduction to the Old Testament," p. 295; *Vater*, "Pentateuch," III. 698, notes).

Astruc's view, however unnatural it may appear in the form in which he published it, exercised for a long time no unimportant influence on the formation of ideas as to the compilation of Genesis. Eichhorn's opinion comes the nearest to it.

Eichhorn's view is, that our Book of Genesis is founded on two pre-Mosaic documents which made known the history of the time they embraced—an Elohistie and a Jehovistic document—the contents of which the author of our book adopted, and formed his narrative of the various events on the principle of taking it from that one of the two documents which was most detailed on the particular point; as, *e.g.*, almost all the lives of Abraham and Isaac from the Jehovistic document, Jacob and Joseph's lives, on the contrary, out of the Elohistie document. Often, also, he in-

served in the narrative of one document, details about the same event taken out of the other, and endeavoured to unite the two; as, *e.g.*, in the history of the Flood. Together with these two chief documents (of which the Elohist document must have embraced the two first chapters of our Exodus), Eichhorn assumes that some others were made use of, and that passages borrowed from them were inserted in Genesis, though only in a few cases, as chapters ii. 4—iii. 34—xiv. xxxvi. (Esau's family), perhaps xxxiii. 18—34 (Dinah), and the blessings of Jacob, xlix. 1—27.

Ilgen states the case in quite a different, though much more unnatural, way.

David Ilgen (Rector at Pforta, d. 1834, at Berlin): "Documents of the Archives of the Temple at Jerusalem in their original form," first (and only) part, (which is entirely devoted to Genesis), Halle, 1798. His view is that Genesis, as a whole, must have been put together from seventeen early independent documents, and that these proceeded from three different authors: one Jehovistic and two Elohist, whom he distinguishes as the first and second Elohist, the first of whom approaches much nearer to the Jehovist than the second. The author of Genesis he considers put together these various ancient documents piecemeal in their original state, and arranged them one after another, so that, as Ilgen himself owns, he cannot be considered at all as the actual author of the book, but only as a compiler, arranger, or collector. Indeed his view of his mode of procedure is, that in one and the same narrative he did not usually extract some things out of one and some things out of the other document, but very frequently framed single verses out of the words of two different documents, *e.g.*, ch. xxx. belongs to the documents of both the Elohist and the Jehovist; *v.* 1 a. belongs to the first Elohist, *v.* 1 b. up to *v.* 3 to the second Elohist, *v.* 4 to the first Elohist, &c., *vv.* 14—16 to the Jehovist, &c. Thus Ilgen goes through the whole of Genesis, and thinks that he can everywhere show what belongs to each one of these earlier authors. But this cannot be done without the greatest arbitrariness; and, in this way, in many passages he alters the name of God which is used in them. Indeed the whole process of analysis, as Ilgen exercises it, is in the highest degree unnatural and improbable (in spite of many correct

isolated remarks). Nor does such a view at all explain, how writings, constructed as these documents must have been, could ever have been composed as independent works.

§ 96.—*De Wette—Ewald—Hupfeld, &c.*

De Wette's modification of the views of Astruc and Eichhorn appears a much more simple and natural way of looking at the matter. (*Einleitung ins A. T.* Ed. 1.) He supposes that the chief source of Genesis is a continuous Elohist writing, the elements of which pervade the whole of our book, and also the first part of Exodus up to ch. vi. The author of the existing Book of Genesis met with this and took it as his groundwork, interweaving with it other matters out of one, or probably more, separate Jehovistic documents. Von Bohlen essentially agrees with this, likewise supposing that Genesis is founded on an ancient connected Elohist writing. But he attributes the Jehovistic elements for the most part to the author of Genesis itself, as the first originator of them, and believes that with them he amplified the ancient writing. I pronounced in favour of this view in my "Programme" (1836), where I asserted that this early document must have pursued the history still further than it is treated of in Genesis, and that that portion particularly belongs to it, which we read in Exod. vi. 2, ff., and that we are thus enabled to understand the cause that induced the author to abstain in this passage from the use of the name Jehovah in his narrative, up to the calling of Moses. Tuch and Knobel, and also Delitzsch, have appropriated this opinion in their works on Genesis, and Tuch especially has paid much attention to my "Programme," and has mostly followed it. Tuch and Knobel endeavour to carry out in detail the separation of all which belongs to the ancient Elohist writing, from that which has been added by the later remodelling of those who have added to and enlarged it.

Other scholars also suppose that ancient written sources have been employed, but that these were merely separate small *fragmentary* bits, which, without any connection with each other, contained narrations of single events, or short series of events; *e.g.*, J. D. Michaelis, Jahn, Vater, and Hartmann.

Other scholars, also, in the last three or four centuries

have opposed these opinions, which among all their variations, agree in the assumption that the author of Genesis made use of some ancient written sources, and that this was done in such a way that even now they may be distinguished and picked out, and have endeavoured to prove that the Book of Genesis was an absolutely independent historical work, unconnected with any earlier writings. This was formerly attempted by Ewald with peculiar and most acute sagacity, in his first work, "The Composition of Genesis critically examined," Brunswick, 1823.

Ewald laboured particularly to weaken the argument derived from the difference in the name used for God, by showing that the denominations Elohim and Jehovah in Genesis are everywhere fixed by prescribed rules, grounded on the usages of the Hebrew language; and that nothing could be inferred from the use of one or the other name in different sections, or from the alternate use of both names in other sections, as a proof that, originally, different writings had been made use of. He likewise endeavoured to refute the other arguments which had been brought forward in favour both of a division into a Elohist and a Jehovist document, and also of the supposition that Genesis was compiled from many fragments, trying to establish the unity of the book by showing its connection and the uniformity of its language. Yet he does not absolutely proceed so far as to claim the book for Moses or the Mosaic age, and appears to consider it more as a poetical than as a really historical work.

Subsequently, however, Ewald was convinced of the untenableness of this opinion, and since 1831, even before the appearance of his "Israelitish History," acknowledged that earlier written sources had been made use of in Genesis.

Thus, in the *Berliner Jahrbücher für wissensch. Kritik*, 1831, March, and in the *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1831, Part 3, he lays down in general the following opinion, which approaches that of Eichhorn and his followers; viz., that Genesis, like the Pentateuch, is chiefly founded on an ancient writing, important remains of which pervade the whole Pentateuch, to which writing Deut. xxxii. 48, ff. belongs; that this writing is distinguished by a fixed plan, as well as characteristic language, especially by the constant denomination of the Godhead as Elohim up to the time of His manifesta-

tion to Moses under the name of Jehovah (Exod. vi. 2); also that the author included some other still older fragments (as, besides the Decalogue, the portion connected with it, Exod. xxi.—xxiii.) That, besides, at a later time a new work (likewise derived from written sources, as Gen. xiv.) was formed, treating of the ancient history, which, with greater freedom of description, transferred more modern manners and ideas to the ancient account, and particularly applied the name of Jehovah to God in the patriarchal ages, and only used the name Elohim where the nature of the case demanded it; and that then some portions out of this second work were interwoven into the ancient writing by the author of our Book of Genesis.

This view has been more fully developed, with other modifications, by Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*; v. above § 72.

Ewald there assumes, as we have seen,—but for the most part without bringing forward any actual proof,—that there were continuous historical works, the result of a repeated working at, and revision of, the ancient history, forming the contents of our Genesis and the following books of the Pentateuch and Joshua. He ascribes our Book of Genesis, in its present state, to an author whom he designates as the fourth (or, in the 2nd ed., as the fifth) narrator of original history, who must have lived in the eighth century, in the kingdom of Judah (under Uzziah or Jotham). Several other treatises, however, went before this work (1st ed. *three*, 2nd ed. *six*). The three which are here assumed in the 1st ed. appear to be the most important and influential of them, viz. : (a) The so-named “Book of Covenants” (between Israel and Elohim, between Jacob and Laban, Isaac and Abimelech, and Abraham and Abimelech), beginning with the history of Abraham, and containing important elements of our Book of Genesis, from ch. xi. 29 onwards (among other things, also, Gen. xlix.), also of the books of Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, and Judges. In this work God is everywhere called Elohim, and he dates its composition in the second half of the times of the Judges. (b) In the first third part of the reign of Solomon, the “Book of Origins,” was composed by a priest, which book began with the Creation of the world, and extended up to the building of Solomon’s Temple, and this was the first work containing the laws in detail. The

author of this likewise designated the Godhead as Elohim, but only up to His manifestation to Moses in the name of Jehovah, Exod. vi. 2-8, and after that, as a rule, he named God as Jehovah; this work contains, besides the passages out of the so-called "Book of Covenants," most of the sections in Genesis in which God is called Elohim, as. i. 1-11. 3, chapters v. x. xi. 10-26, &c. (c) The so-called third narrator of original history, who lived in the tenth or ninth century in the Northern kingdom, and likewise made use of the term Elohim for the name of God in the pre-Mosaic period; many of the Elohist elements in Genesis proceeded from him, as, ch. xx. (sojourn of Abraham at Gerar), ch. xxviii. 10-22 (Jacob's dream at Bethel), chaps. xxix.-xxxi. (Jacob's sojourn with Laban), and particularly, much of the history of Joseph, which he must have invested with its present charming dress (cf. De Wette, 6th ed. § 157, notes, p. 215, ff). In the 2nd ed. an author is introduced, who is there designated the fourth narrator (in 8th or 9th cent.), to whom sections of Genesis are attributed, as ch. iii., ch. xii. 2, 3, many ch. xviii. and xix. to v. 28, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxxii. 11, 12, &c.

Hupfeld has briefly enunciated a different opinion.¹

This writer in the main agrees with Ilgen. He supposes that Genesis is founded on three continuous historical writings *quite independent of one another*, two Elohist and one Jehovistic; that the first Elohist, or original writing, began with the Creation, and ended with the division of the land of Canaan (as in the second part of our Book of Joshua); that the second Elohist extended over the history of the patriarchs, and in general resembled the *Ithvistic*; ² but that the *Ithvistic*, like the first Elohist document, began with the Creation of the world: that our Book of Genesis was compiled in its present shape by a *later* editor out of these three documents, which were quite independent of each other, by using and collecting these sources verbatim, interfering, however, with the text in an arbitrary manner, in order to make a well-ordered and connected narrative out of them, at times also correcting the one source sys-

¹ In the German *Zeitschr. für christl. Wissensch. u. christl. Leben*, 1853. Nos. 1-3, 11-13, 17-19, 27-29, and printed separately under the title. "The Sources of Genesis and the Manner of their Compilation investigated afresh," Berlin, 1853.

² Hupfeld writes thus instead of Jehovistic.

tematically by means of the others, and also omitting much matter out of the several documents. Hupfeld does not put this forward merely as a general conjecture, but endeavours to show in exact detail what parts in Genesis belonged originally to one and the other documents.

Among those writers who suppose a *twofold* elaboration of the history contained in Genesis—an Elohistic groundwork and a Jehovistic revision—Franz Delitzsch may be reckoned, in his “Exposition of Genesis,” Leipzig, 1852, 2nd ed., 1853, 3rd ed., 1860; he, however, fixes the date of the former in the age of Moses, the latter in that of Joshua.

On the contrary, all those divines in modern times, who ascribe to Moses the authorship of the whole Pentateuch in its present shape, have declared against the supposition that early written sources were made use of in the Book of Genesis and partially adopted into it, *e.g.*, Sack, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Ranke, Drechsler, M. Baumgarten, Welte, J. H. Kurtz,¹ and Keil.

§ 97.—Sources of the History in Genesis.

But it must *à priori* appear to an unprejudiced judgment, even if the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch is presupposed, that it is altogether unlikely that the author of the history in Genesis should not have made use of written sources. If an historical work like our Pentateuch had been composed by Moses, or in the Mosaic age, we cannot doubt but that even before this time the art of historical writing had become prevalent among the Israelitish people, and had been employed in the history of the past time; likewise that writings of this kind were known to Moses, and that he made use of them in his description of the earlier events, which occurred centuries before his lifetime. The credibility of his own work, so far as it related to these ancient times, must be established by such a supposition, for the written sources made use of were less remote from the events and circumstances described in them, than the author who employed them,

¹ (a) “Contributions to the Defence and Proof of the Unity of the Pentateuch.” First contribution, “Proof of the Unity from Gen. i.-iv.,” Königsberg, 1844. (b) “The Unity of Genesis; a Contribution to the Criticism and Exegesis of Genesis,” Berlin, 1846.

and we may safely assume that historical events would be more correctly preserved in their account than could have been the case by a mere oral tradition.

Carpzov (*Introductio*, i. 62), indeed, and many of the ancient divines, take a different view of the matter, and consider that Moses, and the Biblical historians generally, received the whole contents of their works, both in matter and form, by immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and not by means of tradition or independent inquiry. Yet such an assumption is altogether unnatural and untenable if we take an impartial view of the contents and form of the historical works in the Holy Scripture, and learned theologians of the most rigorous orthodoxy at the present day no longer profess this opinion. Opinions, indeed, vary as to the exact mode in which the Holy Spirit co-operated in the composition of the historical works in the Holy Scripture, and what proportion this co-operation bears to the individual human agency of the author; but it will be acknowledged by all, without further question, that if their history treats of times and events which they had not themselves lived in or taken part in, the knowledge of them must have come to them by means of tradition, and this must be supposed to have been the case with Moses with regard to the facts recorded in Genesis. But the probability of the purity of tradition handed down from ancient times is always greater if it comes through writings removed as little as possible from the date of the events, than when it is merely oral. And even allowing the Mosaic authorship of Genesis, the credibility of the book would be more enhanced if the contents had been drawn from ancient writings, the authors of which, although not contemporary with the events narrated, were less remote from them than Moses was, than if the latter had derived everything from oral tradition.

This is again still more natural, if the composition of the book is assigned to a later post-Mosaic age; for this of course gives us more right to suppose that there were, at the time of the composition, some ancient writings in which the events and circumstances laid before us in Genesis were treated historically.

We have already seen (§ 80) that, apart from the connection of Genesis with the following books, there are passages

in the book itself which will not allow us to doubt but that its composition in its present shape took place a considerable time after Moses, indeed that it took place (according to ch. xxxvi. 31) at a time when Israel was already ruled by kings; when it may safely be assumed that earlier writings existed, fuller or briefer, treating of the history and circumstances anterior to Moses. For, as in the number and copiousness of the laws that were transcribed as early as the Mosaic age, we have a proof that the art of authorship prevailed to no small extent among the Israelitish people, we cannot doubt that it was also employed, before the time of David, on the primitive history of the people, and all that belonged to it; and we may assume, with the utmost probability, that the later author of Genesis made use of these early records as sources for his history.

This may have been done in the following manner. The author may have appropriated the historical material thus presented to him either wholly or in part, and have remodelled it as was best adapted to his own individual character as a writer, to the form selected by him, and the scope of his work. He would thus give to his book the appearance of being throughout an independent work issuing from one source, and not carrying in its form any such distinct traces of the variety of the materials used in it, as would allow these materials to be any longer discerned in their different individual character. This is in general the character of the historians of classical antiquity, and this is also required of a good modern historian. But such a use of materials presented by various sources of information demands of an author no slight measure of thought and literary skill, the existence of which we can hardly venture to assume in the case of the author of Genesis, at so early an age as the first Old Testament Scriptures must in any case be assigned to. Especially when we find that the art of historical writing among the Hebrews maintained a very simple character at a considerably later time, even as late as the Apostolic age. We can easily imagine, nor can we consider such a course at all open to censure, that an author, paying more attention, perhaps, to the subject than the form, might not make it his direct object to remodel the separate elements of the materials lying before him, and to imprint on them the stamp of his own

individuality, but might content himself with selecting from the ancient historical documents before him those which were suitable to his own purpose, and might adopt them wholly or in part, arranging them in chronological order; or, perhaps, he might take an ancient writing, and retaining its literary peculiarities and making it the groundwork of his own history, might amplify it by the means of other written records or oral tradition, without blending one work with the other so as to form an organic whole. When the question is raised whether early written records were made use of in Genesis, the most probable solution is that the author of the book adopted these early records wholly or in part into his work, retaining partially or entirely their original form and character without any general attempt to connect them organically, or to blend them into one whole; the result being that they can be still recognized in their identity in the existing Genesis, and in some cases at least be separated from one another.

§ 98.—*Variety of Sources shown by Historical Discrepancies.*

In an impartial consideration of Genesis, we shall be led by phenomena of various kinds to the conviction that the above is actually the case. Among these is the double narration of the same facts, and the difference of the dates to which the same fact is assigned in the various narratives, or the variations of detail in the different accounts.

As an example we may take the two-fold account of Esau's wives: (*a*) ch. xxvi. 34, ff., cf. ch. xxviii. 9; (*b*) ch. xxxvi. 2, ff. In these two passages the wives are given with different names, without any intimation how this difference may be reconciled. The two passages only agree in this—that Esau had three wives, and that two of them were of Canaanitish families, and the third from the race of Abraham. The names of the wives and the names of their fathers differ from one another. There are indeed some points of coincidence between them, but these are such as to make it more difficult to reconcile the difference, as many interpreters have done, by assuming that the wives and their fathers had several names, and that they were given under one name in the first passage, and by another in the second. Even if this were so, it would not be at all easy to explain how the author of Genesis, if he were an absolutely

independent author, should have cited these names in two different passages of his work, and have done it in such a way as to produce at least the appearance of a contradiction hard to reconcile. If, on the contrary, the author were dependent on written records, it is far more easy to conceive that he might have exercised but a very slight individual agency as an author, and have introduced into different passages of his work two differing statements drawn from two sources originally quite independent of one another; and if the statements were recorded by different authors, we can also easily conclude that they followed somewhat varying traditions on this point.

The narratives about the origin of the names *Bethel*, *Beersheba*, and *Israel*, afford us instances of the way in which a matter of fact is placed at different dates by means of a two-fold narration. There are two narratives about the origin of the name *Bethel*: (a) ch. xxviii. 19; (b) ch. xxxv. 9-15; both of these refer it to Jacob, who had a divine manifestation there. They bear a great general resemblance to each other, but vary in this, that in one, Jacob gave the name of Bethel to this place which was previously called Luz, on his journey into Mesopotamia; in the other, that he did this some years later as he returned from Mesopotamia. It is, to say the least, improbable, that both passages should have been composed originally in their present state by one and the same independent author. There are, likewise, two different narratives as to the origin of the name of the town *Beersheba*: (a) ch. xxi. 22-34; (b) xxvi. 17-33. Both these narratives have many points of agreement in the general character of the circumstances, and even in separate details; but they differ in this, that the former places the origin of the name in the history of Abraham, the latter in that of Isaac. So also there are two different narratives of the circumstances of God giving to Jacob the name of Israel, (a) ch. xxxii. 28, (b) ch. xxxv. 10; in the latter no notice is taken of the former event, or any intimation given to Jacob that the name given previously was then only confirmed to him.

By an assumption of a variety of sources of the Book of Genesis, we can also explain how it sometimes happens that the points of transition and connection of different sections are not strictly suitable.

So, *e.g.*, in ch. xx. 1, the מִשָּׁם , “thence,” (cf. xiii. 18), in its present connection has something unsuitable and indefinite about it, and cannot be explained except by the supposition that the author had retained it out of an ancient writing in which the narrative following it was in connection with another, and in which the מִשָּׁם , “thence,” had its proper reference to something going before.

§ 99.—*Names of the Deity: Jehovah—Elohim.*

The probability of the use of early written records is not diminished by the varieties of style and language, which may be observed when we compare different portions of Genesis. Of these the difference in the naming of the Godhead is the most conspicuous. As regards the two chief names, which oftenest occur in Genesis (as also generally), *Jehovah* (properly *Jahveh*), and *Elohim*, those who have of late endeavoured to maintain the literary unity of the Pentateuch are certainly correct in asserting that the two words are by no means absolutely of the same signification in the Hebrew language. *Elohim* is quite an appellative idea, and designates the Godhead generally, and can be used both of the true God and also of the false gods of the heathen. *Jehovah*, on the contrary, is as a kind of proper name, always the denomination of the one true living God, as He has manifested Himself to the people of the Covenant. Thus, there are many cases where the Hebrew author might say *Elohim*, but not *Jehovah*; but, on the other hand, there are innumerable cases where an Israelitish author could as well use one expression as the other. He would acknowledge no other true God but *Jehovah*, so that he might,—when he meant *Jehovah*, the living God worshipped by the people of Israel,—without any fear of being misunderstood, designate Him *Elohim*, the more general name of *God*; as, unless the context of the passage clearly suggested otherwise, it would be a matter of course in the mouth of the Israelites, that the true God was meant.

Thus, *e.g.*, in a narrative of the Creation of the world and mankind by God, an Israelite might just as well employ the more general expression *Elohim* as the more exact one *Jehovah*, as to the Israelites the former name would only suggest *Jehovah*, the God worshipped by them, since

to no other god could they attribute creative power. The same rule would apply to a narrative of the Deluge sent on the earth by God. Therefore, notwithstanding the difference in the ideas conveyed by the two words, founded on the usage of the language, the adoption of either one or the other is, in very many cases, dependent on the habit or discretion of the writer; and hence it arises that the consideration of the differences existing in this respect between various parts of Genesis, can at least *help* us as a guide in finding out and separating the various original records and their different composers. Thus we repeatedly find, that exactly those parts differ in this respect, in which we should be induced by *other* circumstances, to suppose that the original composers were different.

This is very evident at the beginning of the book, in the *account of the Creation*, in which, as I think, no impartial judgment can fail to see that two different narratives are combined, the former at least of which was originally written without connection with the latter. The former—the account of Creation divided into separate days' work (ch. i. 1—ii. 3)—throughout indicates the Godhead by the general denomination *Elohim*; the second, on the contrary (ch. ii. 4—iii. end), has the compound name *Jehovah-Elohim* throughout, with the single exception of the conversation between the serpent and the woman, ch. iii. 1–5, where the use of the name *Jehovah* would have been absolutely unnatural and improper, where, therefore, the name of God is called *Elohim*. As for the rest, this difference prevails throughout in these two portions immediately following one another; for which, if we suppose an identity of the original author, it will not be easy to find any sufficient ground.

It might be said that the author availed himself of the compound appellation of God, *Jehovah-Elohim*, in order to mark distinctly that the God in question here, of whom it is afterwards related that he gave the first human pair a positive command and attached a heavy punishment to its infringement, was no other than the one true living God, who afterwards gave the law to the Israelites through Moses, and visited its transgression with such heavy vengeance; also to show that that first positive divine command was, as it were, in connection with the Mosaic law. But in this way the difference existing between the two

sections is not explained, if we presuppose an original connection of the two. For then we should expect that the author would have either made use of the expression Jehovah as the name of God in ch. i. also, or else that in the following chapter, he would *not* have made use of it where God is spoken of as the Creator only, but only where he first appears as a Lawgiver.

There are, in addition, other circumstances which are not easily explained, if we assume that both passages were originally written by the same author and in immediate connection with each other. The second passage, ch. ii. 4, begins in a way in which, under the above circumstances, it hardly would have done. There is no notice at all taken in the second of the contents of the first, but rather, in the second, the fructification of the earth and the creation of living beings is related as if there had been nothing at all said about it in what goes before. There are, besides, some differences in the two sections, both in the facts related and in the ideas on which they are founded; as well as in the sequence of the different acts of Creation. According to ch. i. the creation of beasts follows that of the earth, before that of the male and female sexes of mankind; on the contrary, in ch. ii. the creation of beasts is between that of man and that of woman. In ch. i. the creation of herbs on the earth is immediately referred to the Word of God, whilst in ch. ii. it is stated that the springing up of the shrubs and plants depended on the rain and human cultivation. There is, also, a certain unmistakeable difference in the statements of the original relations of man with God; whilst, according to ch. i. God created man in His own Image, in chaps. ii. and iii. the narrative leads to the conclusion that man only attained his resemblance to God through his getting to the knowledge of good and evil. This difference is not indeed of such a kind as to forbid the possibility of dogmatical reconciliation, but it certainly is of a nature which would lead us with great probability to assume the fact of two original distinct authors. And thus the view, to which we are led by a consideration of the difference in the naming of the Godhead in these passages, is confirmed; viz., that we have here two different narratives, which were not originally recorded by one author in the form in which we find them in Genesis,

and that the author of Genesis probably met with both of them, certainly the former, in writing, and adopted them wholly or in part into his work. The reason why he appended the second narrative to the first is, perhaps, because in the latter the Creation is set forth from a somewhat different point of view, and the Creation of mankind especially is more copiously handled than was the case in the former, but more particularly because in the latter the history of the Creation of man is added to that of his Fall, which evidently is here the principal fact, while the Creation is stated, as it were, only as an introduction to it.

§ 100.—*Narratives of a similar character relating to different Patriarchs.*

On the other hand, the ideas to which we are led by the two-fold narrative of the different giving of names (cf. above, p. 267) are at least strengthened by the fact, that in reference to Beersheba, the sections referring to it (ch. xxi. 22-34, and ch. xxvi. 17-33) are distinguished also by a difference in the naming of the Godhead. The same relation is found between the narratives chaps. xx. and xxvi. 6-11.

The second of the narratives on the origin of the name Beersheba, ch. xxvi. 17-33, is throughout Jehovistic, so much so that it makes even the heathen king Abimelech use this name in his address to Isaac: "We see that Jehovah is with thee," "thou art now the blessed of Jehovah" (verses 28 and 29): on the contrary, the former (ch. xxi. 24-34) appears to have been originally entirely Elohistie (*v.* 22, 23); only at the end of it (*v.* 33), the God worshipped by Abraham is designated as Jehovah; but this probably affords another reason for supposing that just the end of the narrative from *v.* 31 on, has been, at a later time, somewhat revised, and that thus the Jehovistic element has been introduced.¹ Besides, it has been already

¹ In the (unprinted) "Lectures on Genesis" by the author (Bleck), we read as follows: "Doubtless our narrative was somewhat revised or enlarged, when it was included in Genesis. Most certainly it is owing to this, that God is designated as Jehovah in *v.* 33; likewise also, perhaps that *v.* 32, the land, to which Abimelech and Pihol returned,—viz., more into the interior of it, to the court—and in *v.* 34, the land wherein Beersheba lay, are called the land of the Philistines. This name (which is, perhaps, an inaccuracy, as the Philistines probably did not immigrate

remarked, that the two narratives are very similar to one another, so that it is not in itself very likely that the same thing should have been repeated in the histories both of Abraham and Isaac. In both narratives there is a strife about a well between the herdsmen of the Hebrew patriarchs (Abraham and Isaac), and the herdsmen of Gerar. In both it mentions Abimelech as Prince of Gerar, and Phichol as chief captain of his host; on both occasions they conclude a covenant with the Hebrew patriarchs, from which the name *Beersheba* (Well of the Oath) is derived.

It is worthy of remark on this point, that, in regard to the two passages of Genesis referred to, there are, shortly before, narratives of some other events in the lives of the patriarchs, which are also very similar to one another; in the former, ch. xx., essentially the same thing happened to Abraham and Sarah at Gerar with respect to King Abimelech, as in the latter narrative (ch. xxvi. 6, ff.) happened in the same place and with the same king to Isaac and Rebecca. Here also the resemblance is so great, that we cannot resist the idea that they are both founded on the same facts, which, by a somewhat different tradition, have been placed partly in the history of Abraham and partly in that of Isaac. Here, again, we find the latter narrative in a Jehovistic section, whilst the former is throughout Elohistie, except that quite at the end (v. 18) the name of God appears as Jehovah; but it is again, however, probable that this verse, judging from the other relations of its purport with the rest of the narrative, did not in this shape belong to the original composition of the narrative.¹

hither till after the time of Moses and Joshua; cf. Ewald, *Isr. Gesch.* i. 325, ff.) is conformable perhaps to the opinion of the Jehovist (xxvi. 1, 8, 14), but not, as it appears, to that of the Elohist. Perhaps it is also owing to this, that in v. 31, as to the etymological meaning of the name Beersheba, a different opinion is intimated from that which one would expect from what precedes, and one more correspondent to what is presupposed in the Jehovistic ch. xxvi. So that, perhaps, the original narrative in the Elohistie parent-writing only extended up to a part of v. 31, and that the remainder of vv. 31-34 was first added by the author of Genesis."

¹ Cf. as to this "Lectures on Genesis," on ch. xx. 18: "In the preceding part, the narrative throughout gives the impression that Sarah had only been a very short time in the house of Abimelech, perhaps only one day; under the idea of a longer time we could scarcely under-

§ 101.—Names of the Deity—The Deluge.

As in the instances hitherto quoted, it is equally the case elsewhere, that the two names for the Godhead occur quite close to one another in the narrative of several events in Genesis; but the name Elohim occurs much more frequently, so as to render it very probable that originally this name only existed in it, and that the Jehovistic passages were not added till a later revision.

This is most clearly the case in the history of the Flood, ch. vi. 5;—ix. 29. The consideration of the context here, quite apart from the changes in the naming of God, shows that the Jehovistic passages of the narrative did not originally belong to it.

It cannot fail to be observed that the connection is often interrupted by the Jehovistic passages, and that by cutting them out a more natural and clearer continuity of the narrative is almost always obtained. For instance, in the existing narrative certain repetitions keep on occurring; one of these, especially, is connected with a difference in the matters of fact related, introducing no slight difficulty and obscurity; and if we suppose that the narrative was originally composed in the shape in which we now have it, it is not easily to be explained. The fact is this. In ch. vi. 14, up to the end of the chapter, it is related, that *God* (Elohim) gave a command to Noah to build the ark, and to go into it with his family and with beasts of every kind, and that he should take a pair, a male and female of each sort, and that Noah followed this command of God. Then, in

stand why Abimelech had not come near to her before the divine manifestation. The close of the narrative, on the contrary, in which it tells us, that Jehovah had closed every womb in the house of Abimelech on account of Sarah, presupposes a longer duration for her sojourn with Abimelech, so long indeed, that the unfruitfulness sent on all the women in his harem had become perceptible. Doubtless v. 18 is an addition by the author of Genesis, not belonging to the Elohist parent-writing. Perhaps this is likewise the case with v. 17, at least with the אֵלֶּיךָ, which implies that they had not hitherto borne children; for this, on account of the masculine form, cannot well relate only to the women, but also applies to Abimelech with them, so that the verb embraces both the begetting and the bringing forth; the latter idea, however, is to be considered as the ruling one. It is very likely, that v. 17, although not entirely added by the author of Genesis, was somewhat altered by him."

ch. vii. 1, ff., it is again related, that *Jehovah* commanded Noah to go into the ark with his family and with the living things; but He tells him that he is to take with him one pair of all unclean beasts, but of clean beasts seven pairs.

Since the difference, which is here unmistakeable, is concurrent with the variation in the naming of the Godhead, it is at least extremely probable that both the passages do not belong to the first originator of the narrative.

But it is not likely here, as has been thought by Eichhorn and many others (who generally acknowledged such a division). (also Hupfeld), that two narratives of the Flood were originally given quite independent of one another, and that the author of Genesis had both these before him, and compiled his own account out of them. It is much more likely that the Jehovistic elements in this section, which are comparatively very few, have not at any time existed separate from the Elohistie components, but that the original, entirely Elohistie, narrative has been re-modelled by some later author so as to assume the state in which we now read it, and that the Jehovistic matter has been thus introduced.

It is probable that the narrative originally consisted of the following passages:—(a) ch. vi. 9–22; (b) vii. 6–viii. 19, with the exception of three sentences (viz., vii. 8, from הַיַּמִּים הַקְּדוֹתָהֶם to the conclusion of the first hemistich, *ib.* v. 10, that the waters of the Flood came upon the earth after seven days, and *ib.* v. 16, the last division of it, “and Jehovah shut him in”); (c) ix. 1–17; (d) *ib.* xv. 28 and 29. If we connect these component parts together, and cut out what lies between them, we shall arrive at a history continuous in itself of the great Deluge and of Noah up to his death.

The case is the same with several other sections of Genesis, in which, by exact observation, it appears very probable that the narrative in its original shape used the name Elohim only, but that it was subsequently enlarged or otherwise remodelled by another hand, and that thus the name Jehovah was introduced. But what we have already said is quite sufficient to prove that there are in Genesis a number of sections which are distinguished from others near them by usually employing the word *Elohim* for God, and by refraining from the use of the name Jehovah, the

name peculiar to the Israelites for the one true living God; also that the original composition of these Elohistic passages does not belong to the same author as the Jehovistic elements.

§ 102.—*Independence of the Elohistic and Jehovistic Narratives.*

It is still more unmistakeable that these Elohistic portions in the *first* part of our book refer to one another, presuppose one another, and follow one another in due course, whilst they take no notice of the contents of the Jehovistic passages lying between them. From which we may assume with the greatest probability that originally they followed one another immediately, and that they formed part of an ancient writing which preceded the composition of our Genesis, and were all united together in a continuous historical narrative. This ancient writing appears then to have contained the following narratives among the contents of the first part of Genesis:

(a) The account of the Creation of the Universe, and particularly of the world—ch. i. 1–ii. 3.

(b) A genealogical list, extending from the first human pair up to Noah, therefore from the Creation to the Flood;—ch. v.

This most probably immediately followed the Elohistic history of the Creation, as here only the contents of the above narrative are presupposed, the Creation of mankind being noticed only in a general way as the Creation of man and woman; no notice being taken of the contents of the Jehovistic accounts which intervene. Of the children of the first human pair, only Seth is mentioned here [*v.* 3, ff.], and he is spoken of in such a way that it quite has the appearance as if he were named as the firstborn, or, at least, that no earlier children of Adam were known to the author. An exception must be made as regards *v.* 29, where there is a clear reference to ch. iii. 17, and iv. 12; but it is very likely that this verse did not belong to the original idea of this genealogy, but was only added after a later revision,¹ since it has the name Jehovah in it, whilst God is styled Elohim only in this genealogy

¹ Cf. "Lectures on Genesis." "This is also confirmed by the fact that the same etymological remarks can be made also in the previous Jehovistic sections (iii. 20; iv. 1, 25), but not in the Elohistic ones."

vv. 1, 22, 24).¹ But that this genealogy did not originally stand in connection with what now precedes, is shown pretty clearly by the relation which the beginning of ch. v. bears to the end of ch. iv., where the birth of Seth and Enos is also related (ch. iv. 25, 26). We can scarcely think that an author who wrote a continuous historical work in a perfectly independent manner, could have stated these things in the way it is done here, and then immediately after have repeated the same in a different form. Another fact may be added, which here I can only just allude to, viz., that it may be shewn to be exceedingly probable that ch. iv. 17, 18, and ch. v. contain one and the same genealogy of the descendants of the first human pair as far as Lamech, only taken from a somewhat different tradition, and therefore differing from one another in detail; and that the names, some of which are identical (Enoch and Lamech), and the rest very similar, belong in both genealogies not to different but to the same person.² This greatly increases the probability that the two sections were not originally composed by the same person.

(c) A history of the Flood up to the death of Noah; just the same as that which we have (only somewhat revised) in ch. vi. 5–ix. 29, which, as we have seen, by cutting out the Jehovistic elements, can be, with great probability, restored into its original shape.

(d) A genealogical list from Shem to Abraham, xi. 10–26. This serves to connect the history of Noah with that of Abraham, as ch. v. serves to connect the history of the Creation with that of the Flood, and is so similar to the last list in its plan and whole character, that we must assume that it is by the same composer.

Thus, these four portions form a continuous, well-connected, brief history of the primitive age of the human race from the Creation down to Abraham; and, doubtless, these originally followed one another as component parts of an earlier writing, anterior to the composition of Genesis.

¹ Verse 28 stood, perhaps, in the original Elohist narrative, conformably to the mode of statement in the preceding part of the chapter, merely thus:—"And Lamech lived 182 years, and he begat Noah;" e. 30 following immediately.

² Ph. Luttmann was the first to suggest this (*Mythologus*, i. p. 170, ff.).

It may be regarded as probable, *à priori*, that this work carried on the history still further, also that many portions out of the remaining contents of the Book of Genesis originally belonged to it; those, namely, which are distinguished by the prevalent use of the name Elohim for the Deity, and by the avoidance of the name Jehovah; some of these sections have been previously considered.

Among these is the former of the two narratives of the origin of the name Beersheba, in its original shape, ch. xxi. 22-31, and the narrative of the sojourn of Abraham and Sarah with Abimelech, ch. xx., excepting the last verse, v. 18, perhaps also part of v. 17, the contents of which do not at all agree with the preceding account. We may also assume with the greatest probability that ch. xvii. also belongs to these sections; which contains the covenant concluded by God with Abraham, and the institution of circumcision. This account has a great similarity to ch. ix. 1-17, which gives the covenant of God with Noah, and on that account is most likely by the same Elohistic author. In this portion also God is throughout designated as Elohim, excepting in v. 1 (where without doubt in the original composition Elohim stood in the place of Jehovah). Further, the now very disconnected Elohistic statement, ch. xix. 29, on the preservation of Abraham and Lot at the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; ch. xxi. 1-21, the birth, circumcision, and weaning of Isaac, also the casting out of Hagar, and the Divine manifestation granted to her; ch. xxiii., the purchase of the Cave of Machpelah by Abraham; ch. xxv. 1-11, Abraham's union with Keturah, the children born from her, the exclusion of these and the children of his concubines from the rights of Isaac; also the death and burial of Abraham. Besides, probably, ch. xxv. 12-18, giving the descendants of Ishmael, and the twelve princes which were to proceed from him; a fragment which brings us to the fulfilment of the Divine promise given to Abraham (xvii. 20) that twelve such princes should spring from the race of Ishmael, and it is therefore very likely that it belonged originally to the same work, in which that promise and God's covenant with Abraham were stated; also, ch. xxvii. 46—xxviii. 5, the sending away of Jacob by Isaac into Mesopotamia. Besides, chaps. xlii.—xlv., the two journeys of Joseph's brethren into Egypt; chaps. xlvi. and

xlvi., Jacob's going down into Egypt, &c.; ch. xlviii., Jacob's adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh, together with his prophetic blessing with respect to them; further, ch. xlix. 28—ch. l. end, Jacob's death and burial, Joseph's death.

Other sections also, from their nature and circumstances, appear very likely to have been founded on a purely Elohistic connected document and the narrative belonging to it, but to have been afterwards amplified or generally remodelled, and that thus the Jehovistic matter which we now find in it has been introduced.

Thus, ch. xxii. 1–19, on the temptation of Abraham to offer up Isaac (where, according to Tuch's very probable idea, the original account consisted of *vv.* 1–13 and 19, and in *v.* 11, "the angel of Elohim" originally stood in the place of "the angel of Jehovah"); also ch. xxviii. ff. on Jacob's journey into Mesopotamia and his sojourn there; in this, in ch. xxx. 23, 24, there is a definite trace of a later revision of the original story, as two different interpretations of the name of Joseph are given one after the other, the first using the name Elohim and the second with Jehovah; also the greater part of the history of Joseph, and the immigration into Egypt of the Israelites, ch. xxxvii. xxxix. ff.

Now, although among the instances here adduced, individual points may appear to have but little certainty, from all that has been previously stated, we may, with the greatest probability, assume thus much:—that the component parts of an ancient Elohistic writing pervade our Book of Genesis, in which writing, the history of the primeval age, from the Creation of the earth downward, was handled, and the story of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, was also embraced.¹

¹ The passages of Genesis which have belonged to this Elohistic writing, are distinguished from the Jehovistic elements in it not only by the denomination of the Godhead, but also by many kinds of peculiarities in the language, *e.g.*, in naming Mesopotamia as **פְּרָן אֲרָם**, ch. xxxv. 9, 26, &c.; (on the contrary, **אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם**, in ch. xxiv. 10), the phrase **פְּרָה וְרָבָה**, ch. i. 22, 28; viii. 17, &c., **מִן** (with **ל** prefixed and suffixed), ch. i. 11, 12, 21, 24, 25; ch. vi. 20; ch. vii. 14; and many other things as well.

§ 103.—Name of the Deity in the Elohistic Writing.

But to obtain more intimate acquaintance with this Elohistic work, it is necessary for us also to direct our attention to the first part of Exodus. It can be shown, with the highest probability, that many of the narratives there, relating to the childhood of Moses and his calling, have originally belonged to this ancient Elohistic writing; This is especially the case with the narrative, Exod. vi. 2, ff., which is of great importance in confirming our whole view with regard to this writing, as well as in aiding us to form a correct judgment of its character. It is related here that God revealed himself to Moses as Jehovah; in it Elohim declares that He appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, under the name of God Almighty (אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה), but that by His name, Jehovah, He was not known to them. The only natural interpretation of this is that God had not been hitherto known to the patriarchs under the name of Jehovah, although He had manifested himself to them (and to men generally); but that He then for the first time manifested himself under this name to Moses, and through Moses to the people; whilst to the patriarchs He had manifested himself only under the more general appellative expression of the *Almighty God*. This, then, leads us to those passages of Genesis, in which God, appearing to the patriarchs, calls himself by this name, אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה, as ch. xvii. 1, (Jehovah) appeared to Abraham and said to him, "I am the Almighty God;" ch. xxxv. 11: "And God said unto him, (Jacob) I am God Almighty." And thus God is often styled by the patriarchs themselves; by Isaac, ch. xxviii. 3, and by Jacob, ch. xliii. 14 and ch. xlvi. 3. This occurs in sections the first named of which are decidedly Elohistic, and belonged to the ancient (Elohistic) writing, and in all probability it is the same with the remainder of them. This evidently leads us to the hypothesis that these passages and the narrative in Exodus stood originally in relation to one another, and that the latter originally belonged to the same continuous writing as the former.

It follows, therefore, as a peculiarity of this earlier writing, that it makes the revelation of God as Jehovah begin from the moment when God manifested himself to Moses under this title, whilst in the more ancient history

it does not represent God as being manifested or known in this way. Therefore, the work, of which the narrative, *Exod. vi. 2, ff.* is a part, cannot have contained those passages in *Genesis*, where God before the time of Moses is styled *Jehovah*, nor those where He is designated in this way by the patriarchs and others before Moses; as *ch. iv. 1, ix. 26, xiv. 22, xv. 7, xviii. 19, &c.*; and just as little can those passages belong to it which speak of a worship paid to *Jehovah* by men in the ages before Moses, as *ch. iv. 26, xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxi. 33, xxvi. 25.* Added to this, the author has judged it proper—and has done this, as it appears, with great consistency—to abstain entirely from the name *Jehovah*, where the author himself is the speaker, up to that point in the history where God manifested himself in this way to Moses, and this appellation was first introduced.

In like manner, in *Genesis*, the progenitors of the house of Israel are first spoken of by the names of Abraham and Sarah, at that point in the narrative where the change in the names they had borne up to that period—*Abram* and *Sarai*—was commanded by God, and the change continues thenceforward. That is the case in the Elohistic narrative, *ch. xvii.*, and this difference in the naming of the two ancestors, before and after this point, occurred without doubt also in the earlier Elohistic writing; but this difference is retained and followed out in the same way through *Genesis* in its present state, which is not the case with the naming of God.

The case is similar also with the name *Israel*. The first of the two narratives, relating the change of the name of Jacob into *Israel*, as we now have it, probably, does not belong to the ancient Elohistic writing (*ch. xxxii. 28–30*), but the second (*ch. xxx. 9, ff.*) certainly does belong. After this point, also, the name *Israel* is repeatedly made use of by the author, although, frequently close by it, the name *Jacob* is retained; perhaps because the name *Israel* prevailed in the ancient Elohistic writing from this point forwards. But the change has not been followed out by the author of *Genesis* with the same consistency as in the case of the name of Abraham, his reason doubtless being, that, in this case the name of *Jacob* was the usual appellation for the individual person—the ancestor—while *Israel* was made use of more in reference to the race that was to proceed from him.

But the cause why the author of the ancient Elohist writing, up to the time of the manifestation made to Moses, designated God only by the general appellation Elohim, or, more according to his attributes, אֱלֹהִים, can only be found in the supposition, that this true living God had made himself known to Moses for the first time under the name Jehovah, and only from that time forward had this name prevailed among the people of Israel. Von Bohlen is, therefore, quite incorrect in maintaining that, judging from its purport, this Elohist writing was of foreign, not Hebrew, origin, that it was constructed from the traditions of foreign people, and that it thus retained the foreign polytheistic forms, and especially the Chaldee ideas, and had nothing at all to do with the Hebrew people and the worship of Jehovah. The author, on the contrary, altogether shows himself to be a Hebrew, and it is quite clear from what has gone before, that from the beginning to the end of his writing, his object has been to show how the worship of Jehovah revered by His people as the one true living God, was introduced among the Israelitish people under this very form and name.

§ 104.—*Relations between the Elohist and Jehovistic Matter.*

Our previous statements on this subject have afforded some partial intimation of the true relation between the Jehovistic and the Elohist elements in Genesis. The view of many scholars, as before stated, has been that the author of Genesis had met with a connected Jehovistic document relating to the times and events treated of in this book, running parallel with the Elohist one, and had adopted the Jehovistic elements out of the one and the Elohist out of the other. It certainly cannot be asserted that there is any abstract impossibility in this, and that there may not have been connected historical statements anterior to our book of Genesis, relating to the period from the Creation to the descent of the Israelites into Egypt, or yet later, in which the true God was continuously designated as Jehovah, His usual denomination among the Israelites after the time of Moses. It cannot, however, I think, be proved, from what we have before us in Genesis, that this was actually the case. If we take a comparative view of the whole of the Jehovistic elements in Genesis it will be impossible to

show the existence of a continuous thread running through them, or any close connection between the several portions, either in contents or form, as is the case with the Elohist elements, particularly in the first part of Genesis. Indeed with regard to many if not most of the Jehovistic elements, it is not probable that in their present form, they have at any time had an independent existence apart from the Elohist matter. On the contrary, it appears that from the very commencement onwards, they were written solely with reference to the Elohist matter, with a view to its completion or expansion, and that this was done by the author of Genesis itself, in a general recasting of the original narrative.

This may be, in the first place, assumed with the greatest probability where Jehovistic matter exists in passages the whole character of which shows them to be original elements of the Elohist document. This is the case in some single verses, particularly at the end of sections as a transition to the following narration, or at the beginning, as the link with what precedes.

Many of the passages already noticed are of this sort; thus, in the genealogical list, ch. v., which is otherwise entirely Elohist, the etymological remark on the name of Noah, *v.* 29, (*v.* § 102); ch. xx. the conclusion of *v.* 18, perhaps, also, part of *v.* 17 (cf. § 100); ch. xvii. (the covenant of God with Abraham and the institution of circumcision), *v.* 1, in the joining on with what precedes (cf. § 102); ch. xxi. 1-21 (the birth of Isaac, &c.), the beginning, *v.* 1; ch. xxi. 22-34, the last verse, perhaps from 31 to 34 (cf. § 100).

This is equally true of other portions, which being originally elements of the Elohist writing, have gone through a complete revision or expansion, several Jehovistic interpolations being thus added.

We may instance the history of the Deluge, where it may be assumed with great probability that the Jehovistic matter was not added until its adoption into the Book of Genesis and by the author of the latter; and that it was derived from oral tradition, and not from any written sources. The same thing holds good of the Jehovistic additions and amplifications in the account of the offering up of Isaac, ch. xxii. 1-19, and also of other portions.

Thus, probably, many of the entirely Jehovistic narratives of Genesis were first written down from then existing oral tradition by the same author who had already met with the Elohistie document and made it the chief groundwork of his own history.

§ 105.—*Other and less important Written Sources.*

At the same time we cannot doubt that the author of Genesis made use of *written sources derived from some other quarter*, as well as this Elohistie fundamental writing, although it is difficult to ascertain anything certain as to the nature and mutual relation of these documents. Thus it is not unlikely, though not quite certain, that the author of our Book of Genesis was not the originator of the second history of the Creation in which Jehovah-Elohim is used, ch. ii. 4—iii. end, but took it out of another document, perhaps somewhat abbreviating at the beginning. Chap. iv., containing the history of Cain and Abel and the descendants of Cain, probably originated in this shape from the author of Genesis; but we may assume with certainty that he had already met with the Song of Lamech in verses 23, 24.

The meaning of this Song has been differently explained by expositors. But if we take an unbiassed view of it, I think it points clearly to a homicide which Lamech had himself committed in the person of some young man, on which account he feared and himself predicted, that a heavier Divine punishment should fall on him than on Cain. There is no intimation of such an event in the preceding narrative, and we must suppose that nothing precise was known to its author of the occasion or the reference of that Song; but this at once shows its high antiquity, and serves as an evidence that the author of the section in which it stands, *i. e.*, the author of Genesis, must have met with it in some other place, perhaps in some old collection of songs. Chap. xiv. is particularly noteworthy, and, in a historical point of view, of great importance among the Jehovistic sections of Genesis. Here we have the account how Abraham delivered his nephew Lot out of captivity, and in doing this was brought into contact with the King of Sodom, and with Melchisedec, the priest-king of Salem.

There is something quite individual in the whole cha-

acter of this narrative distinguishing it from the rest of the history in which it stands; and it is in the highest degree probable that the author of Genesis met with it already existing in a written form. There are in it historical facts, not appearing in themselves exactly essential, which are described with a peculiar distinctness and unmistakeable accuracy; from which we may assume that the original written record of the event was made in a comparatively very early time, in any case considerably earlier than that to which the composition of Genesis in its present state belongs.

We have another, to all appearance, primeval historical fragment in ch. x. 8–12 (the account of Nimrod and his kingdom), of which it may with certainty be asserted, that the author of Genesis, by whom probably the national genealogies in ch. x. were first composed as they now are, had already met with it in a written form. It may also be assumed with equal confidence with regard to the small fragment in which there is so much obscurity, ch. vi. 1–4¹ (the race of giants arising from the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men), that the author of Genesis had met with something relating to this circumstance in a written form, and inserted it here in an abridged shape. Neither is it improbable that the song containing the blessings of Jacob, ch. xlix. 1–27, did not belong to the Elohist original document, but was found elsewhere in a written shape by the author of Genesis.² In many other cases we have no precise grounds for deciding whether the author of Genesis was the original composer of the narra-

¹ Cf. the formerly quoted treatises by L. Reinke ("Contributions to the Explanation of the Old Testament," Vol. V. p. 93, ff.); and also particularly J. H. Kurtz, "The Marriages of the Sons of God with the Daughters of Men," Berlin, 1857; and "The Sons of God in I Mos. vi. 1–4." "Controversy against Hengstenberg." Berlin, 1858. *Vide* an appropriate judgment on this controversy by H. Hupfeld's, "The Theosophical and Mythological Theology and Scripture interpretation of Modern times." "A Contribution to the Criticisms on them," Berlin, 1861.

² Cf. "Lectures on Genesis": "From v. 10 (*until he come to Shiloh*—viz., as leader of his brethren—and the nations obey him, *i.e.*, until he had brought Israel into Canaan and the heathen nations had submitted to him. and he had provided a fixed resting place for Jehovah's sanctuary, cf. Josh. xviii. 1) it may be assumed with great certainty, that the composition of this song took place before David's time, and, indeed, according to v. 16, ff., very probably in the age of the Judges, at the time of Samson or immediately afterwards. But, according to this, the composi-

tive of various events, or whether he may have found accounts of them elsewhere in a written form.

From all that we have hitherto examined, thus much, I think, we may consider as established, viz., *that the author of Genesis actually made use of various early writings, and sometimes appropriated their statements, but that the ancient Elohistie writing formed his chief groundwork.*

§ 10f. — *Ewald's Opinion as to the Original Written Sources of Genesis.*

This Elohistie document is in reality that which Ewald designates as the "Book of Origins." He, however, supposes that there was a middle step between this and Genesis in its present extent with the addition of the Jehovistic elements, which latter he attributes mostly to the so-called fourth (2nd ed., the *fifth*) narrator. This middle work (2nd ed., *two* middle works) he supposes to be the composition of the so-called third narrator (2nd ed., of the third and fourth), who must have enriched the "Book of Origins" with many Elohistie and Jehovistic narratives, particularly in the history of Jacob, and still more in that of Joseph. I cannot say, however, that I see anything at all to lead me to this view. On the contrary, I feel no doubt that all the *real* Elohistie elements of Genesis, where God is throughout a connected passage designated as Elohim, in which, indeed, as the one true God He would have been called Jehovah by an Israelitish author, originally constituted elements of the continuous Elohistie document.

The cause that induced Ewald to make such a partition of the Elohistie sections as regards their original composition, is probably the circumstance, that in many of them Joseph, among the sons of Jacob, is treated of with a

tion would have taken place earlier, probably, than that of the Elohistie groundwork writing, and could not have been composed by the Elohist, as I, in *De libri Geneseos origine*, &c., have held to be probable, because of the אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק, v. 25; but the יְהוָה, v. 18, is also contrary to it, since I do not now seem to have sufficient reason to consider this verse as a later interpolation. But I do not venture to determine whether the Elohist, notwithstanding the יהוה, adopted the then existing song into his historical work, or whether this was first done by the author of Genesis. But it is certain it was not composed by the latter."

peculiar predilection; this, he thinks, is caused by the fact that these passages were composed by a descendant of Joseph, or at least by an author from the kingdom of the ten tribes; and we might certainly assume this, if their composition happened in so late a time as Ewald fixes (1000–900 B.C.) But if an ancient historical work of this sort, in the interest of the kingdom of Israel, is transferred to so late a period, it becomes difficult to explain how, in this shape, it at once made its way and found acceptance in the kingdom of Judah; which, however, must have been the case if, as Ewald holds, the so-called fourth (or 2nd ed., the fifth) narrator, belonging to the latter kingdom, soon after appropriated this document in a shape which assigned this pre-eminence to Joseph, and made it the principal groundwork for his history.

But there is another question, whether any continuous record of primitive history preceded and formed the groundwork of our Elohist writing, such an one as Ewald supposed in the so-named “Book of Covenants,” which must have begun with the history of Abraham. At this point, however, it is judicious that we should, at least in general, endeavour to solve *the question, to what age the Elohist writing belongs, and to what extent, and up to what point, the Israelitish history was handled both in it, and by the author of Genesis?*

§ 107.—*Extent of History embraced by the Elohist Writing.*

Since it results from what precedes, that the history in the Elohist writing extended, at the least, from the Creation up to the manifestation to Moses, we may suppose that the author of Genesis, who made this Elohist writing the chief groundwork of his work, did not break off at the end of the above Book, *i.e.*, at the deaths of Jacob and Joseph. But we are led much further if we bear in mind how many references we find in Genesis to a later limit, *viz.*, to the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the people of Israel, the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so that it appears unmistakeably the intention of the author to direct the attention of the reader to this limit (cf. particularly ch. xii. 7; xiii. 14, 15; xv. 14–16, 18–21; xvii. 8; xxiv. 7; xxvi. 3; l. 24, 25). If the Book of Genesis, as we have it, was composed, at all events, a

considerable time after the taking possession of the land of Canaan, we must certainly think that the author, after he had continued the history as far as we have it in Genesis, *i.e.*, up to the entry of the Israelites into Egypt, and the deaths of Jacob and Joseph, would not have broken it off there, since he had already (ch. xv. 14-16) brought prominently forward Jehovah's announcement to Abraham as to the distress of his descendants in Egypt, and their delivery therefrom, and return into Canaan. We may rather assume, with the greatest probability, that he continued this history still further, and related how Jehovah had, conformably to the early-given promises, delivered the people out of Egypt, and had helped them to the possession of the land of Canaan, therefore that he related the history up to the point to which it is carried in the rest of the Books of the Pentateuch, and in Joshua. This at once leads us to the hypothesis that either he composed these following Books in the shape in which we now have them, or that the further history which he wrote formed at least the groundwork of their existing shape.

But the same thing may be assumed also with the greatest probability of the ancient Elohistie writing.

Among the passages of Genesis above referred to, which direct the attention of the reader to the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the Israelites, two certainly belonged to the Elohistie writing (ch. xvii. 8), where God promised to Abraham that he would give to his seed the whole land of Canaan as an everlasting possession, and (l. 24, 25) where the dying Joseph took an oath from the Israelites that, when God should have brought them into the land promised to their forefathers, they should bring his bones up with them. We may then assume, with the greatest probability, that the Elohistie writing was not composed until, at least, a considerable time after the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the Israelites. In the passages (ch. xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11), which certainly belonged to the Elohistie writing, the author has brought prominently into view the divine promises made to Abraham and Sarah, as well as to Jacob, that kings should proceed from them; this is done in such a way that it may be supposed with great likelihood that he had the fulfilment of these promises before his eyes, and therefore that his work was not written, at

earliest, before the reign of Saul. Those passages, however, wherein the attention of the reader is directed to the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the Israelites, lead us to suppose, with the greatest probability, that the author of this work continued it up to this limit; since it is, in itself, very unlikely that an author belonging to this age should have begun an historical work with the Creation of the World, and continued it only up to the calling of Moses and the manifestation to him under the name of "Jehovah," and have there broken it off.

A weighty confirmation of this opinion is found in the following circumstances. We find it related with marked prominence (Exod. xiii. 19) that, in the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, Moses, in obedience to the command of Joseph (Gen. l. 24, 25), took his bones with them, and (Josh. xxiv. 32) that, after the taking possession of the land of Canaan, the Israelites buried these bones at Sichem, in the field bought by Jacob of the sons of Hamor for one hundred pieces of money. We may here assume that this interment of Joseph's bones was originally related by the same author who had before prominently set forth the solemn command of Joseph, and afterwards its fulfilment by the Israelites; any other author would hardly have thought it necessary to so particularly describe the burial of these bones. Thus the passage (Josh. xxiv. 32), in conjunction with Exod. xiii. 19, serves as a proof that the Elohist ground-work-writing really extended up to the account of the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the Israelites, and that at least some portions of this writing are adopted in the existing books up to the Book of Joshua, so that we may suppose that it forms their ground-work also.

§ 108.—*Sources of the Elohist Writing.*

Proceeding on what we have before ascertained, we may assume with the greatest probability that the Elohist writing cannot have been the first record which had been made of the primitive history of mankind and the rise of the people of Israel, and we may well suppose that the author of the above writing made partial use of ancient written documents relating to these times and events, composed at a very early date, but how early cannot be ascertained with certainty.

Since there can be no doubt, from the result of previous considerations, that the art of writing prevailed among the Hebrews even before Moses, it will not appear unlikely that it should have been employed at that early time on the primitive history of mankind, and especially of their own ancestors. It was very natural that during their sojourn in Egypt they should have felt a peculiar interest in the question, how their forefathers first came into this land, in which they continued to live as foreigners, separated from the Egyptians. This may have easily led some one to draw up from existing oral traditions a more detailed account of the history of Joseph, and this account might perhaps have formed the groundwork of the matter found in the Elohistie writing on this point, which was afterwards partially revised and expanded in our Book of Genesis. This affords an explanation of the great and accurate acquaintance with Egypt, the nature of the country, and the circumstances and customs of its inhabitants, which is shown in the history of Joseph as given in the existing Genesis, which J. D. Michaelis has pointed out, and lately Hengstenberg, "The Books of Moses and Egypt," Berlin, 1841 (particularly pp. 21-76, relating to Gen. xxxvii.-l., or the history of Joseph). We can thus account for and explain much more probably than by Ewald's violent method, how the history of Joseph is described generally with such distinctness and copiousness.

In another section of the Elohistie document (Gen. i.) there is a noteworthy peculiarity which is, however, mostly overlooked, or set aside by false interpretation, viz., that the exactly contrary method is followed in the mutual reckoning of day and night as part of a nycthemeron to that which was subsequently usual among the Hebrews; I mean, that here a nycthemeron is reckoned from one morning to the next morning, whilst subsequently, and even in the Mosaic legislation, the civil or common day is throughout reckoned from one sunset to another. To this we may add that, among the laws of the Pentateuch on the observation of the Sabbath contained in Exod. xx. 8-11, xxxi. 12-17, which in all probability were composed by Moses himself in the shape in which we now have them, express notice is taken of the purport of our narrative as above; and the completion of the Divine work of Creation

in six days, and the rest of God on the seventh day, are presupposed. These two things together lead us to the conclusion that the first composition of this narrative, which gave it at least essentially the same purport and contents it now possesses, cannot be placed at any rate later than the Mosaic age.

But although from these phenomena, as well as from a thorough general consideration of the case, we cannot doubt that the author of the Elohist document made use of early written records for the primitive history up to the deaths of Jacob and Joseph, yet the precise way in which Ewald accepts this, by adopting as its groundwork the so-called "Book of Covenants," which began with the history of Abraham, is entirely lacking in proof, and may indeed be termed clearly arbitrary. It would seem, however, that the author of our Elohist ground-writing did not employ the materials he derived from the earlier records exactly in the same way as the Jehovistic completer of the work dealt with his sources. Instead of simply appropriating them in all their original peculiarities of form, he adapted them in accordance with his own individuality as an author. And this is the reason why in the Book of Genesis we can often discover and separate with tolerable certainty the original elements of the Elohist writing, while we are unable to determine what use the author has made of the earlier records in his composition.

§ 109.—*Character and Nature of the Elohist Writing.*

As regards *the character and the nature of the Elohist ground-writing*, we may conclude from what has gone before, that it contained a connected narrative of the theocracy, *i.e.*, the history of the people of God in their relations with Jehovah, constructed, as it appears, with no slight literary skill, and extending from the Creation up to the complete possession by them of the land of Canaan.

The only portions treated with any degree of detail were the chief epochs in the history, those, namely, which were of essential importance in understanding the relations between God and the human race, and particularly between God and the people of Israel; thus, in the pre-Mosaic age, the Creation, the Deluge, God's choice of Abraham and His covenant with him, the histories of Jacob and Joseph; while, on the

contrary, the periods lying between these epochs are briefly compressed into short genealogical lists, by which two such epochs, or the chief personages prominent in, and representing them, *e.g.*, Adam and Noah, Noah and Abraham, are placed in connection with each other. The same thing, probably, applies to the long period between Jacob and Joseph, and Moses, which is filled up by a genealogy uniting the histories of both, perhaps that contained Exod. vi. 14, ff. It was a distinctive peculiarity of this writing—therein, doubtless, following an ancient and correct tradition—that it represented the one, true, living God as manifesting Himself to the pious long before Moses, as to Noah, Abraham, &c., but dated the first worship of Him under the name of “Jehovah” (afterwards His prevailing appellation among the Israelites) in and after the Mosaic age, *i.e.*, after the manifestation recorded in Exod. vi. 3. It follows, therefore, that neither God in His manifestations, nor men (before Moses) in their intercourse with God or with one another, were made to use this appellation; while the author himself also, when he speaks, throughout abstains from it. In a similar manner this writing refrains at first, as already remarked, from the use of the names Abraham and Sarah in relation to Abram and Sarai, and Israel in relation to Jacob, the former of which names are referred by it to the Divine grant, but from the moment this takes place it appears to have substituted these for the others hitherto used. This writing appears to have been generally distinguished by great uniformity of language, and regular consecutive progress in the narrative and setting forth the historical circumstances. It endeavoured to avoid introducing references to Mosaic or post-Mosaic circumstances and regulations into the patriarchal times; thus, in the Elohistie narratives in Genesis, relating not only to the Creation, but also to the Deluge, and to the oblations offered up by Noah and the patriarchs, no distinction at all appears between clean and unclean beasts, on which so great weight is laid in the Mosaic legislation.

§ 110.—*Date of the Elohistie Writing.*

With regard to the date of the composition of this Elohistie document, several passages in it, as we have already remarked, point to a time when the people of Israel were already

under the rule of kings; but, on the other hand, we cannot fix its composition later than in the beginning of that rule; probably in the reign of Saul. That it cannot be placed later, *e.g.*, in or after the reign of Solomon, as Ewald holds, in reference to the so-called "Book of Origins," or even, as he assumes with regard to the so-called *third* narrator of primitive history, a long time after the separation of the two kingdoms, is proved by the form in which the patriarchal history was set forth in it, as we can even now recognize in our Book of Genesis.

In the first place, it is certain that in this document Joseph, among all Jacob's sons, was portrayed with peculiar fondness. As the son of the beloved Rachel, he was the favourite of his father from the very outset, and preserved his peculiar love up to his death, insomuch that Jacob adopted Joseph's two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, and gave to each of them equal rights with his own sons; nor, through the whole narrative, does he less appear as the peculiar object of the Divine love and the Divine blessing, and in this respect distinguished far before his brothers. It does not certainly admit of a question, as before remarked (p. 289), that the author of the Elohist writing formed his narrative in general accordance with the historical tradition as he found it already existing in ancient, perhaps even pre-Mosaic, records. But we should expect, from the individuality which he exhibits as an author, that if he himself had belonged to a time when David and Solomon had raised the tribe of Judah to such great distinction and pre-eminence over all the other tribes, that the ancestor of that tribe would have come forward far more prominently among his brethren than is actually the case.

Ewald's view is quite inadmissible, that this glorification of Joseph was composed in an unhistorical manner, at a time when the jealousy and enmity existing between Judah and the tribe of Ephraim [which was descended from Joseph] had led to the formal separation into different kingdoms, by an author belonging to this latter tribe, or at least to the kingdom of Israel. If, however, such an unhistorical account of the patriarchal history, differing from the then tradition and drawn up in the interest of one party, had been then first published, it would have at once met with the most express contradiction from the other party,

viz., the kingdom of Judah, and would certainly never have attained such general acceptance as must necessarily be assumed. Under these circumstances, the way in which the person and history of Joseph, in comparison with the other sons of Jacob, is here treated of, admits of no probable explanation, except on the hypothesis that it rests on an essentially true tradition, and that it received its definite form from the author of the Elohist writing before Judah stood in pre-eminence to Ephraim, or the deadly jealousy existed between these two tribes which ultimately led to their separation.

We are brought to the same result from another point of view. If this writing were not composed until Jerusalem had been, for a long time, not only the chief city of the kingdom, but also the seat of Jehovah's sanctuary, we should expect that some reference to this city and its importance would have been introduced in the history of the patriarchs. Nothing at all of the kind, however, appears in Genesis, even in its present shape (*v.* § 112), and certainly just as little in the Elohist ground-work writing. But the patriarchal age and the individual patriarchs, especially throughout the Elohist narrations, are characterized by a degree of simplicity, as regards their worship of God and their whole way of life, which it would not be easy to explain if it were not composed till the magnificent era of Solomon, or even later; nor even if we assign it to the reign of David.

§ 111.—*General Relation of the Elohist Writing to the Book of Genesis.*

As regards *the relations of our Book of Genesis to this Elohist writing*, we may at least deduce from what has been already said that this book was, in many respects, a revision and amplification of the latter, and that in all probability, this remodelling was not limited to the primitive history only, up to the deaths of Jacob and Joseph, but that it also applied to the remaining part of the contents of the above-named work. We shall, however, here first consider this relation, so far as it is manifest in the first part of the history—in the Book of Genesis. In this, the reviser has amplified the earlier work with many entirely new and sometimes important sections, *e.g.*, the second history of the Creation, the narrative of the Fall of man, of Cain's

murder of his brother and his punishment, the genealogy of the nations proceeding from the sons of Noah (ch. x.), the history of the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues (ch. xi. 1-9), and many other narratives which the reviser had sometimes met with in a written form, but most of which he then for the first time recorded from the oral traditions then existing.

By the adoption and insertion of these passages into the ancient document, the elements of the latter were deprived of their original connected form. These elements were also, in a greater or less degree, submitted to revision. This, however, we cannot fail to observe, took place to a much larger extent in the later than in the earlier part of the book. At the beginning, the compiler allowed the elements of the Elohist writing to stand in nearly, if not quite, their original shape, merely intercalating other narratives. This is also here and there the case in the subsequent history of the patriarchs. But as, in the adoption of the Elohist genealogy (ch. v.), the etymological explanation of the name of Noah (*v.* 29) has allowed an allusion to steal in to the narrative of the Fall of man intercalated by the reviser, [betraying itself by the use of the name Jehovah] so also he has much amplified the Elohist narrative of the Deluge, in such a way, however, that it is not very difficult to separate his additions from the original account, and to restore this latter to its first form. This separation is sometimes possible also in the later narratives (as we have in part already seen), but it is by no means always the case. The author, in the further course of the book, has not fully adopted the Elohist work in all his narratives, but has somewhat revised and enlarged it, though in some places he has also abridged and omitted. Of this there are distinct traces.

Thus it results from the decidedly Elohist verse (ch. xix. 29), that just before, in the Elohist writing, there must have been an account of Lot, and particularly of his sojourn in Siddim; but the later reviser cannot have included this account in his work as he there found it, as what goes before referring to Lot, particularly as to his separation from Abraham, is Jehovistic. Just so, from the entirely Elohist narrative on the expulsion of Hagar with her son Ishmael (ch. xxi. 9-21), which certainly belonged to the Elohist document, we cannot doubt that the reviser must have found

in this document some narrative as to the begetting and birth of Ishmael, which he cannot have adopted, at least in its original form, since the narrative now existing in Genesis on this point (ch. xvi.) is Jehovistic. Yet perhaps ch. xvi. 1, 3 (part of 4), 15, 16, may belong to the Elohistie writing.

The manner in which the later author has continually, and in increasing measure as his work advanced, dealt with the ancient Elohistie document, prevents us in many instances from effecting any detailed determination and separation between the matter which belongs to it, and that which does not. But the auctorial individuality of the composer of Genesis, even in the later parts, is not so powerful as to enable him to work up the foreign matter and his own into an organized whole, agreeing throughout both in purport and form, as the Elohistie writing appears to have been. This shows itself, as we have seen, in the numerous repetitions of the same circumstances in a way not quite agreeing together, and also in unsuitable links of connection, *e.g.*, עֲשֵׂה, ch. xx. 1, &c., (*v.* § 98). The want of chronological agreement between some of the different narratives may, perhaps, be also explained from this view of the origin of Genesis.

As an example of this, we see that, by comparison of ch. xvi. 16, with xvii. 1, 17, and xxi. 5, Ishmael must have been about fourteen years old at the birth of Isaac, and therefore when, after the weaning of Isaac, he was expelled with his mother, Hagar, from the house of Abraham, he must have been at least from fifteen to sixteen years old, whilst the narrative runs just as if he had been quite a little child at the time. Other instances of a similar kind appear in the patriarchal history. We cannot deny that it involves a difficulty (*a*) that Abraham, on account of his being an hundred years old, was not willing to believe that a son should be born to him (ch. xvii. 17), and that he then, about forty years after, should have taken Keturah as his wife, and by her should have had six sons, and (*b*) that Sarah likewise should have found it so incredible, as to cause laughter that she, so decrepit as she was, "should have pleasure" (ch. xvii. and xviii.), and that nevertheless afterwards she should have been so fascinating that (according to ch. xx.) Abraham was induced, during his stay at Gerar, in order to avert danger, to give out that she was his sister. Most probably we have to suppose here a chronological dislocation

of the different elements, and a resulting inaccuracy. The narrative of the births of the different sons of Jacob affords still greater chronological difficulties.¹

§ 112.—*Concurrence of the Names for the Deity—Character of the Jehovistic Revision.*

As regards the Jehovistic character which most conspicuously distinguishes the elements of Genesis which have been added to the ancient document, this is not to be considered as accidental, but is caused by the fact that the later author proceeds from the view, that the patriarchs had already worshipped the true living God as Jehovah. Even from the time of Enos, the grandchild of the first human pair, we are expressly told (ch. iv. 26), they had begun "to call on the name of Jehovah;" which doubtless means that they had then begun to worship the Godhead

¹ *Vide* as to this, "Lectures on Genesis," ch. xxx. "It is unmistakably supposed here in v. 25, ff., that Jacob demanded his dismissal from Laban, on the one hand, after the birth of Joseph, and on the other hand, at the expiration of the last period of servitude allotted to him, *i.e.*, seven years after his marriage both with Leah and Rachel. But in this period of seven years everything could not well have taken place, which is here related as occurring in it, nor in the way in which it is here told; for Leah first bore four sons, one after the other, then Rachel's maid Bilhah two sons, then Leah's maid Zilpah two sons, after that Leah again had two sons and a daughter, and lastly Rachel had a son. We must at least suppose that one child was not conceived until the preceding one was born, as this is actually stated in the account given of them. In any case we must assume this of Leah's and Zilpah's children; it expressly tells us (v. 9), that Leah did not give her maid to Jacob until she saw that she had herself discontinued child-bearing, *i.e.*, until a certain period had elapsed after the birth of Judah; and on the other hand, the joy which she expressed at the births of her maid's two sons, proves that she herself was not pregnant at the birth of Asher, the last of them. If, therefore, we leave the sons of Bilhah and Rachel quite out of the question, we have nine children from Leah and Zilpah, each of which must have been conceived after the birth of the preceding one, and, at least once (after Judah's birth) there must have been a longer interval between. But the births of these nine children cannot well have taken place in a period of seven years. When we accurately investigate the details as they happened, we find that there must be an inaccuracy existing somewhere in the narrative. Luther has acknowledged the difficulty existing here: he supposes that the births of Gad and Asher, the two sons of Zilpah, and the last sons of Leah herself, Issachar and Zebulun, actually occurred in the subsequent period of Jacob's servitude (v. 25 ff.), and are only anticipated here, so as not to interrupt the following history.

not merely generally in the same way as the Hebrews after the Mosaic legislation did, as the *one*, only true, living God, but also to adore Him under this name of Jehovah.

It is, therefore, in conformity with this that the later author repeatedly notices in the further course of the work that the patriarchs called on the name of Jehovah (*e. chaps. xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxi. 33, xxvi. 25*); and that he makes not only the patriarchs, the ancestors of the Israelites, use this name, without any explanation, but even (*ch. xxvi. 28*), the heathen themselves. In this respect there is a distinct difference between the later author and the ancient work made use of by him. This latter represented the worship of God as *Jehovah* as being first revealed to Moses; while in the book, as we now have it, the two ideas and forms of narrative run on together. We may suppose with great probability that the worship of God as *Jehovah* did not actually prevail among the people of Israel until after Moses, and thus we find that the ancient Elohistic writing was influenced by, and followed, the more correct historical tradition in this respect. As in this point, the author of Genesis has transferred more modern relations to ancient times, we also find that he has here and there done the same in another respect, *e.g.*, that, in the history of the Flood, he represents the difference between the clean and unclean beasts as being observed, and in the sacrifice, which, after the ending of the flood, Noah offered to Jehovah, he makes it specially conspicuous that he offered it of every kind of *clean* beasts (*ch. viii. 20*). On the other hand, the work, in its first part, treating of the primitive history up to the deaths of Jacob and Joseph, has preserved in many ways essentially the same character and type which it bore in its early shape in the Elohistic writing, particularly in two points. (*a*) That among the sons of Jacob, Joseph is continually brought forward most prominently, and his history treated with peculiar copiousness and predilection. (*b*) Also that no reference is made to Jerusalem as a holy place, and the future sole seat of the Sanctuary, and no intimation exists that Jehovah was, either now or in future, to be worshipped with sacrifices at one prescribed place only; indeed, different places are spoken of in which the patriarchs built altars and offered to Jehovah as a proof of their piety, and

Beersheba in particular, but still more Bethel, are continually prominently mentioned in this respect.

Many interpreters have thought that there were references to Jerusalem and the service in the Temple there, viz. (*a*) in ch. xiv. 18, the habitation of the priest-king Melchisedec being called Salem, and (*β*) in ch. xxii. 2 (cf. v. 14), in Moriah being named as the place where Abraham was to offer Isaac. But they are incorrect in both instances. For the place called Salem in the first passage was certainly quite a different town from Jerusalem, and the same which is named (John iii. 23) as the place where John baptized; cf. my *Commentar. über die Hebr. Br.* vii. 1 (ii. 2, p. 285, ff.); and in the latter passage the question is not of Mount Moriah, but of a land of Moriah, or, according to the probably correct reading, *Moreh* (from which we might think that it was the same place where Abraham had previously built an altar, ch. xii. 6), and of a certain mount or hill in the region, which bore the name *Jahveh Jir'eh*, and certainly had no connection with the subsequent mount of the Temple; (cf. on this point my notes, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1831, pp. 520–524, which De Wette (ed. 4, ff. § 148, b.) also agrees with). On the contrary, it is not to be mistaken that among the towns in the land of Canaan, both those taken from the Elohist writing, and those in the newly added narrative, Beersheba, and still more Bethel, are those mostly celebrated in reference to the service of God there exercised by the patriarchs. As to Beersheba, cf. ch. xxi. 31, ff., xxvi. 24, 33, xlvi. 1–4, on Bethel, ch. xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxviii. 11–22, xxxi. 13, xxxv. 1–7, 9–15.

§ 113.—*Character and Date of the Jehovistic Revision.*

It cannot be questioned that Bethel is spoken of with peculiar affection as a place most well pleasing to Jehovah, receiving, as is twice told, this name Beth-El as the dwelling-place of Jehovah, where Jacob made a vow to build a sanctuary to Jehovah, and to pay to him the tenth of all the goods bestowed upon him. Thus, since Bethel, as here related, and generally in Genesis, is brought prominently forward in the Jehovistic or Jehovistically revised passages, we are led with great probability to the view that they must have been composed at a time when there

was a sanctuary of Jehovah there, still held in general respect by the Israelites, the sanctity of which appears to be commended in the history of the patriarchs, by the intimations as to its origin. Now Bethel was also, in the time of the judges, sometimes the seat of the ark of the covenant—in any case a holy place—where sacrifices were offered to Jehovah, and Jehovah's oracle was consulted (Judg. xx. 17, ff., 1 Sam. x. 3), and so it perhaps remained up to the time of David. Subsequently, on the contrary, after the separation of the two kingdoms, Bethel was a chief seat of the calf-worship instituted by Jeroboam in the kingdom of Israel, and on this account regarded with the greatest aversion by the pious Jews, so that the Prophet Hosea designates it as *Beth-Aven* (ch. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, 8; cf. viii. 5, f.), and Josiah, King of Judah, when he extended to Samaria also his reformation of God's worship, and his institution of the pure legal Jehovah-cultus, destroyed the high places and the altar at Bethel (2 Kings xxiii. 4, 15, ff.). Just in the same way was Beersheba also (according to Amos, ch. v. 5, viii. 14), at the time of Uzziah, King of Judah, a peculiar seat of the unlawful worship of high places and idols both for Jews and Israelites. It is difficult to imagine that these laudatory accounts of Bethel and Beersheba could have been composed in this age by a Jewish author devoted to the worship of Jehovah, or that they would have been adopted into Genesis, if this latter did not receive till then its present shape. It is equally improbable that this form could have been given to these accounts or to the Book of Genesis [as Ewald supposes, at least as to many of them about Bethel (chaps. xxviii. and xxxi.)], by an author of this age belonging to the kingdom of *Israel*, with the express view of recommending the cultus exercised in the towns of this kingdom, and in opposition to the Temple-service at Jerusalem. For then, as has already been remarked (p. 293), they and the work containing them would have met with opposition in the kingdom of Judah, and would not easily have found acceptance. These phenomena lead with great probability to the conclusion that the Jehovistic revision did not take place, and consequently that Genesis did not receive its present shape, subsequently to the separation, perhaps not later than the reign of David, and not

quite in the latter part of his reign; so that, though he might then have made Jerusalem his residence, and the ark might then have been brought there, it had not yet become a fixed idea with the pious Israelites to consider this place as the only seat and centre of the worship of Jehovah; some notice would else have been taken of it in Genesis, and probably more than was taken of Bethel. (Cf. Bleek, *De libr. Gen. origine, &c.*, p. 20, ff.)

Nothing in the contents of the book, in my view, entitles us to place the composition of Genesis at a later date than this; nor can I agree with De Wette (§ 159) that the passage, chapter xxvii. 40, warrants it. This is Isaac's blessing on his son Esau, the ancestor of the Edomites. It is announced to him that he shall live by the sword, that he shall serve his brother (Jacob, the ancestor of the Israelites), yet that in his wandering mode of life he shall break his yoke from off his neck. De Wette is of opinion that this most naturally refers to the Edomites, after they were conquered by David, again making themselves independent at the time of Joram, King of Judah (2 Kings viii. 20). His view is that the author who put this speech into the mouth of Isaac had these later events in view. The composition would thus have taken place about 130 years after the death of David. Yet Ewald fixes it at least a hundred years later, and, indeed, in partial reference to this speech (*Geschichte d. V. Israels*, i. 144). But even if we consider that this speech, both as regards its form and import, received its exact shaping from the composer of Genesis or of this narrative, yet it does not absolutely follow that he must have had in view the revolt of the Edomites from the kingdom of Judah at the time of Joram. It is perhaps to be taken in a general sense in reference to often recurring circumstances which existed at the time of David, and before David; as it is related of Saul that he, among other things, made war successfully against the Edomites (1 Sam. xiv. 47); and afterwards of David, that he smote them, and that they yielded, and that he put garrisons in their country (2 Sam. viii. 13). But this is so briefly related in the historical books, that we may very well imagine that it may have been combined with many changes of circumstances, which the author might have had in view, and with other relations also, which might

repeatedly have previously existed between the neighbouring nations, the Edomites and the Israelites. But so much, I think, we may consider as certain, that if the present shaping of our Book of Genesis did not take place until so late a time, and if it were the work of an author exercising so much individuality as must be supposed if he formed this speech in this manner, then we should throughout expect that he would have given admission into his work to references of many other kinds, particularly to Jerusalem as the fixed seat of the Sanctuary, which, at least in the patriarchal history, is absolutely not the case.

EXODUS.

§ 114.—*General Composite Origin of the Book.*

Our previous considerations lead to the conclusion that this book was originally written as the continuation of Genesis; that the author of Genesis, in his narration of the history of the patriarchs, had in view as his scope the further course of it up to the occupation of the land of Canaan; and that the same idea also prevailed with the author of the ancient Elohist writing. We are able, also, in the first part of the further history, up to the calling of Moses in the commencing chapters of our Book of Exodus, to prove with tolerable certainty, that the narrative of the Elohist writing forms the groundwork of it, but that the latter has received subsequent revision or amplification.

We have already seen (§ 85) that the same matters of fact are here often related twice, viz., that God manifested Himself to Moses, to appoint him as the liberator of the people, and that agreeably to this he negotiated with Pharaoh; and on the second occasion no notice is taken of the first account, so that we cannot well imagine that these narratives might have been, originally, written down consecutively by the same author in an independent way; and further that the genealogy of Moses and Aaron (ch. vi. 14–27), particularly as it there runs, is put in a very unfit and unnatural place. Thus, it is strange that, in the present shape of this book, in ch. iv. 14, when Moses excused himself to Jehovah on account of his dullness of speech, and begged that another might be sent in his stead, Jehovah says to him, "I know that thy brother Aaron the Levite can speak well;" and

this takes place without anything being said in what precedes about Aaron and his relation to Moses.

Without doubt the fragment (Exod. vi. 2-8) belonged to the Elohist writing, where it is related how God manifested Himself to Moses as *Jehovah*, whilst to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob he was not known under this name, but only as the *Almighty God*. The following sections out of the preceding chapters most probably belonged to the Elohist writing (*a*) Exod. i. 1-14, the sons of Jacob, their multiplying in Egypt, and their oppression by hard service; (*b*) *vr.* 15-22, the measures of Pharaoh to destroy all new-born male infants (this at least is quite Elohist, *vide* verses 17, 20, 21); (*c*) ch. ii. 23-25, God's thinking on the children of Israel. On the contrary, Exod. iii.-vi. 1, containing the reiterated appearances of *Jehovah* which were made to Moses in Midian, his return into Egypt, and his first fruitless interview with Pharaoh, is almost entirely *Jehovistic*, and, in its present shape, certainly did not belong to the Elohist writing. It is, however, probable that there was a short narrative in the latter as to his stay in Midian, and the manifestation made to him there, a relic of which perhaps exists (ch. iii. 11-15). As concerns the section, ch. ii. 1-22 (Moses' birth, preservation, bringing up, flight, and marriage in Midian), it is not easy to decide, as the Deity is not named in it. From the analogy of the Elohist genealogies in Genesis from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, we may suppose that the Elohist writing contained a genealogy from Jacob to Moses, and not improbably the very one which, abridged and somewhat remodelled, yet exists in Exod. vi. 14-27. This, however, stood perhaps quite at the beginning of the history of this time. There is much that is uncertain on this point, and it is impossible, from our present data, to completely restore the statements of the Elohist document.

Its existing revision and amplification, however, certainly proceed from the same author as the present form of Genesis. The further composition of the history of the liberation of the people from Egypt, and of the journey through the Wilderness, up to the point to which our Book of Exodus brings us, belongs without doubt to the same author, and it was written in the shape in which we have it in this book. There is also nothing in the book, as I think, which there is

reason to ascribe to a later time, than that to which, in our view, the composition of Genesis belongs.

The only thing which, in its present form, one would be inclined to ascribe to a period when the Temple of Solomon existed, is something in Moses' song of praise, Exod. xv.

I have already (§ 79) pointed out this song as one, which in its original conception is probably genuinely Mosaic, viz., that it is founded on a genuine Mosaic song, which perhaps afterwards received some additions through being used by the people, or may have been altogether somewhat revised, at a time when the people were in possession of the land of Canaan. We are led to this view by the way in which v. 13, ff., thankful allusion is made (in the same way as before to the destruction of the Egyptian hosts) to the fact that Jehovah guided with His favour the people preserved by Him, and led them by His power to their holy habitation, to the terror of the Canaanites, who were benumbed by fear, till Jehovah's people had passed over. From the context and the whole relation which this bears to what precedes, it is not likely that Moses would have expressed himself in *this* way immediately after the passage through the Red Sea, when he was in the one case returning thanks for the deliverance just experienced, and in the other expressing prophetically his confidence in the further Divine aid; for, as stated before, the latter does not appear expressed very differently to the former. It is therefore very probable that this part of the song, as it now stands, refers to the help of God already experienced, and just the same with the further portion (v. 17). It is doubtful in this verse, whether it relates to the land of Canaan in general, which, on account of its mountainous character, was designated the *mount* of Jehovah's inheritance, as Deut. iii. 25, perhaps also Ps. lxxviii. 54, or to a single mount where Jehovah's sanctuary had its seat. The latter is, of course, the more likely, from the way in which the expression is worded. There is, however, as I think, no sufficient reason to consider, as has been usually done, that it refers to the Temple of Solomon on Moriah, or only to the removal by David of the ark to Sion; by the way in which this immediately follows the allusion to the

¹ The popular work of K. H. Sack is quite conservative.—*Die Lieder in den historischen Büchern des A. T.* Barmen, 1864.

taking possession of the land of Canaan, we are much more inclined to the idea that the place is meant where Jehovah's sanctuary and the ark had its fixed seat for a long time after the taking possession of the land, viz., Shiloh, which lay in a mountainous district of the tribe of Ephraim. (Cf. Robinson, "Palestine," iii. 302, ff.)

§ 115.—*The Elohist Element in Exodus.*

The Elohist writing, therefore, without doubt formed the later author's foundation and chief source for the further course of the history as far as it is continued in Exodus. But from the way in which the author of the Elohist writing dealt with the names Abraham, Sarah, and Israel, we may suppose that after he had, in the appointment of Moses and Aaron, designated as Jehovah, the one true God, who had already been manifested to their ancestors, the author himself, in the further course of his history, would make use of this appellation, if not exclusively, at least in conjunction with the other one. Thus, in the further course of the history, the chief indication is lost to us, which might guide us in the search for those elements which originally belonged to the Elohist writing, viz., the complete abstinence from the name *Jehovah*; therefore, in the further portion of this history, the recognition of these elements becomes, if not impossible, yet incomparably more difficult and uncertain than in the preceding accounts; likewise in those passages which, from certain signs, we may sometimes assume with probability to have originally belonged to this writing, it can only be decided very doubtfully whether they were taken unaltered into our Pentateuch, or perhaps remodelled by a later author.

Thus much is, perhaps, certain, that the Elohist writing included the Mosaic law-giving, so that it was interwoven into the history of the journeyings of the people through the Wilderness, and that all those laws and legal ordinances were in it, which may, with tolerable certainty, be assumed to have been genuinely Mosaic; these we now have in the very shape in which they were published by Moses and written down by himself or in his time, and therefore they must have been long extant at the time of the composition of the Elohist writing.

Of this sort were, as we have already seen (§ 77), (a) the

ordinances as to the institution of the sanctuary, with its appurtenances, Exod. xxv. 1-xxxi. 11; whether, on the contrary, the section (chapters xxxv.-xl.) relating to the execution of these ordinances, which ascribes their execution to a too early time (cf. § 88), was a part of the Elohistic writing, as De Wette, Ewald, &c. assume, is, at least, very doubtful. Also (b) ch. xxxi. 12-17, the directions as to the observance of the Sabbath. (c) Ch. xx. 2-14, the ten commandments; and probably other legal precepts in Exodus, which do not supply any certain criteria.

There are also here many of the narrations which show pretty distinctly that they are elements of the Elohistic writing.

Thus particularly (a) Exod. xiii. 17-20 the journey of the Israelites from their exit from Egypt to Etham (cf. here, *vv.* 17, 18, 19, the names of God, and the reference of *v.* 19 to Gen. i. 24, 25; cf. on this point § 107). Also (b), the narrative in ch. xviii. of Jethro's visit to Moses (cf. § 88), which is distinguished by a frequent use of the name Elohim. The relation here, how Jethro took with him his daughter Zipporah, Moses' wife, and Moses' two sons, Gershom and Eliezer, and brought them back to Moses, does not agree with an earlier statement in a Jehovistic section, chap. iv. 20, ff., according to which Moses brought them with him on his return to Egypt from Midian, and it is unlikely that both these things should have been originally related by the same author. Many other portions also doubtless belong to the above writing, although any certain selection of them is very difficult to be made.

§ 116.—*Evidences of Composite Origin—Repetitions, Inaccuracies, &c.*

That the whole of Exodus, as we now have it, is not an absolutely independent work by one and the same author, either Moses or any historian contemporary with the events, is a result arrived at from a consideration of the facts already noticed as to the remarkable repetitions of the same laws, and the obscurity which is caused by the union of the historical matter with the legal ordinances.

This is shown, *e.g.*, most conspicuously in Exod. xxxiv. After it has been related in chapter xxxii. how Moses, in anger at the idolatry of the Israelites, had shattered in

pieces the two first tables of stone given to him on Sinai, we read in chapter xxxiv. that Jehovah commanded Moses to carve two other tables of stone, like the former ones, and that He, Jehovah, would write the same laws on them as had been on the others; then Jehovah, in His manifestation, represented Himself to Moses as a merciful and yet jealous God, and particularly bound him as a duty not to enter into a covenant with the Canaanitish nations (*v.* 16).

Immediately after this (*vv.* 17–26), as if in one context, and in the same discourse of Jehovah, there follow some commands of a very different import; in reference to these commands it has been already remarked (§ 84), that they already existed in the collection of laws delivered not long before, chaps. xxi.–xxiii.,¹ and in part literally identical, particularly the last of them (*vv.* 23–26), which are quite in the same order as those in chapter xxiii. 17–19. But in our section it states that, after the giving of this command (*v.* 27), Jehovah commanded Moses to write down all these words, for according to these words would he make a covenant with him and with Israel. According to the context, only the just-named single statutes can be meant. As we are further told (*v.* 28) that Moses remained there with Jehovah, fasting for forty days and nights, and wrote on the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments, we should be led by the context throughout to consider that the preceding commands enjoined in *vv.* 11–26 are meant, which also may really be reduced to *ten*. But we certainly cannot assume that these could have been the ten commandments, which were on the tables of stone afterwards preserved in the ark, for these latter were those (as clearly results from Deut. iv. 13, x. 4), which we find Exod. xx. 2–14, and which we are accustomed to consider pre-eminently as the ten commandments, and which have always formed the groundwork of the Israelitish law. This is also doubtless what is meant when we read, Exod. xxxi. 18, that Jehovah gave to Moses the two (first)

¹ Hupfeld, "Easter Programme, 1858"—[*De primitiva et vera temporum et feriarum apud Hebræos ratione, Partic. 3; De Anni Sab-bathici et Jobelei ratione*],—p. 9, points out Exod. xxi.–xxiii. as *antiquissimum legum codicem*. Parts 1 and 2 appeared at Halle, 1851, 1852. Joh. Bachmann writes on the other side, from Hengstenberg's point of view, the "Festival Laws of the Pentateuch again Critically Examined," Berlin, 1858.

tables of stone, written on with the finger of God. The exact import of the writing is not stated, but this is only because it was taken for granted as a well-known fact that they contained the same fundamental law as that chap. xx. 2-14. There is no intimation that they contained the commands which were named in chap. xxxiv., and shaped in the way they are there. These unmistakable inaccuracies and things not agreeing with the context, could not in any way have got into the narrative, if the latter had been appended to these laws by Moses himself or a contemporary of his, and above all, not very easily if the whole were the work of a thoroughly independent historian; it cannot be easily explained but by the supposition that the original narrative was revised at a later date, or that various statements were joined together.

The circumstances attending it lead us to think that the visit of Jethro to Moses (Exod. xviii.), is placed too soon in the history (cf. § 88); also, that the Mosaic ordinances on the institution of the tabernacle of covenant (chap. xxv. ff.) likewise have too early a place (cf. § 88). It is likewise previously remarked (§ 85), that in other respects the narratives (chap. xvi. 12, ff., xvii. 1-7), are in themselves somewhat obscure and inaccurate, not rightly agreeing, at least, with other accounts of the Pentateuch.

There are several times, in Exodus, accounts of something being written down by Moses, once in reference to historical matters of fact, and twice as to legal ordinances; yet there is plainly nothing about them, which, by its whole internal character, would show them to be genuinely Mosaic; and we certainly cannot consider these passages as affording testimony for the Mosaic composition of the Book of Exodus, not, at least, in the sense of an author.

(a) Exod. xxxiv. 27, ff. (as to this cf. p. 306). The question here is not in any way of anything written down by Moses, *in a book, i.e., a book of laws.*

(b) Exod. xxiv. 4, we read that Moses wrote out all the words of Jehovah, and (v. 7) "took the Book of the Covenant, and read it to the people." It is not clearly evident here of what extent the Book of the Covenant was which is here meant. According to the context, it certainly could only have contained those commands out of the laws in our Pentateuch which had been delivered in

the preceding part of Exodus. Yet these do not, in themselves, plainly bear the stamp of Moses' own composition, indeed, there are many among them which in their present shape are not likely to have been then issued by Moses, or to have been written down by him; that, however, is not expressly stated in the passage indicated.

(c) Chapter xvii. 14, we read, that after the defeat of the Amalekites, Moses received a command from Jehovah to write this for a memorial, בַּסֵּפֶר. From this expression, בַּסֵּפֶר with the article, many (like Rosenmüller, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, &c.) have thought that they could infer that a large well-known work like our Pentateuch must be meant, in which this account was to be included. But, first, the article depends only on the pointing, and without change in the text might as well have been expressed בַּסֵּפֶר, as the LXX has it, ἐν βιβλίῳ; and, secondly, the סֵפֶר בַּסֵּפֶר is used in direct reference to a writing down in a book, not in a previously-established larger work: 1 Sam. x. 25; Esther ix. 32; Jer. xxxii. 10; Job xix. 23. Nothing at all, therefore, can be deduced from this expression in favour of the composition of a larger historical work by Moses. The writing down which Moses was ordered to make is unmistakeably held up to view as something peculiar, which would not have been done if it were meant that he, having written the whole history of the journeyings of the Israelites through the Wilderness, was to include this portion in it. But of course it is not unlikely that the author of Exodus, or of this section, was acquainted with some writing about this event, which proceeded from Moses, or at least was attributed to him. Cf. *Theol. Stud. und Kritik*, 1831, Vol. III., pp. 511–13, and on the last passage, *ib.*, 1858, Vol. II., pp. 373, f. (Exod. xvii. 14 belongs not improbably to the age of Saul, when he waged the war of extermination against the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv.)

LEVITICUS.

§ 117.—Evidences of Composite Origin—Mosaic and Post-Mosaic Legislation—Elohistic Matter.

As regards the third book, Leviticus, we have seen that it contains, in greater number and extent than the rest of the books, those laws which bear in themselves the clearest

and most unmistakeable signs of having proceeded from Moses in the shape in which we now have them, and that they were thus written down by him, or at least in his age, although this is not expressly stated with respect to any of them.

Of this description are, particularly, the two lists of laws, (*a*) chaps. i-vii., on all kinds of offerings (§ 75), and (*b*) chaps. xi.-xvi., on all kinds of uncleanness and the purifying therefrom, and on the feast of the great day of atonement (§§ 74, 76); also (*c*) chap. xvii., the precept as to killing no cattle, except before the door of the sanctuary (§ 75).

Besides, probably (*d*) Levit. xxiv. 1-9, on the arrangement of the lights of the golden candlestick, and the preparation of the shew-bread. It is previously remarked as to these (§ 88), at least as regards the last, that they belong to the ordinances as to the institution of the sanctuary; and probably, originally, were placed among them, after Exod. xxv., and that they are presupposed as already known in Exod. xl. 4.

Also very probably (*e*) chap. xxv., the legal ordinances (*a*) on the year of sabbath, *vv.* 1-7, and (*β*) on the jubilee year, *vv.* 8-55.

The first was to be kept every seventh year, and all the land was to remain fallow; there was to be neither sowing, nor pruning of the vine; and even the corn that happened to be in the field from the previous harvest, and the fruit which grew on the untrimmed vine, were not to be considered by the owner as his own property, nor were they to be gathered by him, but they were to be enjoyed by every one, man-servant and maid-servant, hireling and stranger, just as by the possessor of the land. But the Jubilee year, that is, the fiftieth year, was not only to be kept as a sabbath year, but also had the distinguishing mark, that all property in land, and in houses which were in villages, which had been bought by one Israelite of another, should in this year return to their original owner; and in like manner, all Hebrews compelled through poverty to sell themselves to their neighbours as bond-servants, should in this year receive their freedom without further question.

These laws in Levit. xxv. do not bear, in their mode of expression, such decided signs of having been composed by Moses exactly in this shape, during the journeyings

through the Wilderness, as the ones first named (ch. i.-vii., xi.-xvii.). But, from their import, it is very probable that they proceeded from him, as in a later time when, after the taking possession of the land, the relations of property had been more firmly settled, it would not readily have occurred to any one to promulgate laws of such a purport, particularly the last, which would involve such great difficulty in its execution, and probably was never fully carried out. It is, therefore, probable that this law is, from its actual import, genuinely Mosaic, and only perhaps somewhat revised or amplified at a later time.¹

But in many of the laws contained in Leviticus, and particularly in those very laws which show in their present state that they are genuinely Mosaic, it is still more clearly evident than in those in Exodus, that they were originally given singly, or united in short, separated collections of laws relating to similar things, and that they were not originally interwoven into a connected history of the people of Israel. Cf. on this point the concluding post-scripts Levit. vii. 37, xi. 46, ff., xiv. 54-57, xv. 32, ff.

On the other hand, it may be maintained with certainty that the laws contained in Leviticus, in the shape we now have them in, were not, as a whole, issued or written down by Moses.

This results from what was before remarked (§ 84) as to the relation which Levit. xviii. and xx. bear to one another, and it is not easy to suppose that Moses could have written both of them so closely following one on the other. With respect to ch. xviii. it is likely that, though it is founded on genuine Mosaic laws, it was not composed in this shape until a later date (cf. *vv.* 3, 24, ff., 27, ff.); this is still more likely to have been the case with the repetitions in ch. xx., where nothing is added but more distinct and sharper threatenings of punishment.

Thus with regard to the section in Levit. xix., which contains a quantity of single laws, of quite different kinds, placed

¹ Hupfeld, *ut supra*, thinks that the law as to the year of sabbath, as it runs Levit. xxv. 2-7, first proceeded from Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, partly through error, the suffix (*v.* 11) being referred to the land instead of the produce of the land. That the law as to the jubilee may be old, and quite worthy of Moses; but that the rest enjoined for the fields is originally foreign to the law.

by one another without any particular arrangement; if we compare the decidedly Mosaic laws and lists of laws with this section, it does not give the impression that they could have been written down by the same lawgiver; likewise the collection of laws about feasts, ch. xxiii. Both sections have somewhat of a complete character, from which it is probable that they existed as short, separate collections of laws before their admission into the Pentateuch, perhaps both joined together with chapters xxi. and xxii. as well, in which latter are the laws about priests and the nature of victims for sacrifice; the latter also, probably, were not composed in their present shape until after Moses, and are very similar to the above sections.

As regards the union of the different laws and short collections of laws in our Book of Leviticus, De Wette has formerly made out (*Einleitung*, edits. 1-4), that after Genesis and Exodus were composed, the various parts of Leviticus were added gradually by different compilers. This supposition, however, according to what has gone before is quite inadmissible, and has been tacitly retracted, even by De Wette himself in edits. 5 and 6. From all that has gone before, we can hardly doubt that the largest part of the contents of this book existed in the Elohistie ground-work writing. This may be certainly assumed of all laws which show themselves to be decidedly Mosaic, and perhaps also applies to others, which do not now appear in the originally Mosaic form. But, on the other hand, also, some part, more or less, proceeded from the later author who revised and enlarged the Elohistie writing.

We cannot analyze this book in detail with any certainty, but I think it is tolerably certain that, whilst ch. xviii. formed an element of the Elohistie historical work, ch. xx. was only added by the Jehovistic author. The description of the land of Canaan as a land flowing with milk and honey (in *v.* 24) is in favour of the above view, and this is found in the certainly Jehovistic passage Exod. iii. 8-17, and in many other passages which could hardly have belonged to the Elohistie writing. But it is very probable that the Book of Leviticus towards the end experienced some alteration and enlargement at a later time, at least by the adoption of the previously (§ 83) noticed section, ch. xxvi. 3-45.

The author of this admonitory discourse, as it here runs, probably had the circumstance under his notice that the people had been punished, at least partly, by expulsion from their country; and consequently its composition in its present form must have occurred at a later date than that of the Jehovist. (Cf. more as to this § 130.)

The principal contents of Leviticus are not only of the highest importance for the knowledge of the sacred antiquities of the Hebrews, and the whole Jewish ceremonial law, but are also of great use in interpreting the New Testament, and in the expression of the ideas and conceptions of Christian doctrine; and particularly for the explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

NUMBERS.

§ 118.—*Nature of its Contents and Arrangement.*

The Book of Numbers contains, like Exodus, far more historical narration than Leviticus, although many sections of Numbers are of exclusively legal purport. The history of the journeyings of the people of Israel is, as we have seen, continued in it, though in a very disproportionate way, from their departure from Sinai (in the second month of the second year after their exit from Egypt), up to their arrival in the land of Moab, the other side of Jordan, so that nothing but this river divided them from the promised land, and two and a half tribes had already received the possession allotted to them on the other side Jordan, in the fortieth year, shortly before the death of Moses.

As regards the origin and present arrangement of this book, the case is substantially the same as with the two previous books.

In the first place, we have here also a number of sections which, in the shape in which we now have them, decidedly and unmistakeably bear in themselves the character of the Mosaic age.

It is so most decidedly with the legal ordinances, Num. xix. (§ 74); also chap. x. 1–8, about the holy trumpets (§ 77), which ordinance, however, is rather broken and fragmentary. Of the same sort is also the ordinance as to conveying without the camp everything which had become unclean through leprosy, or any other cause; and ch. vi.

22-27, the form of the high-priestly blessing; also the list of the separate marches and halting-places of the Israelites in their journey through the Wilderness (ch. xxxiii. 1-49), which is stated in *v.* 2 to have been written by Moses, a thing not done in this express way in any other sections of this book, any more than in Leviticus; besides, the three songs, ch. xxi (§ 79); and the sections, ch. i. ii. iv. (§ 77).

§ 119.—*Chronological and other Historical Discrepancies as proving its Composite Origin.*

On the other hand, the Book of Numbers, taken separately from the preceding books, affords in itself the clearest signs—for the most part previously alluded to—that, in its present extent and form, it cannot have proceeded from, nor have been composed by, Moses or a contemporary author. The following circumstances clearly prove this:—

(a) The quotation Num. xxi. 14 (§ 82).

(b) The form and way in which the narrative, ch. xv. 32-36, begins (§ 81).

(c) The section, ch. ix. 15-23, is very unsuitably placed, and thus bears a fragmentary character. This section contains the account of the pillar of cloud and fire which hung over the tabernacle after its first erection, serving as a signal to the Israelites when they should encamp and when they should depart. The same thing is placed more suitably in Exod. xl. 34-38, after the narrative of the completion of the sanctuary.

(d) The chronological inaccuracy in the narratives which appears most clearly in the relation borne by ch. i. 1 to ch. ix. 1 (§ 89).

(e) The great gap in the history of thirty-seven to thirty-eight years, ch. xx. (§ 90).

(f) The variation as regards the time of service of the Levites, between ch. viii. 23-26 and ch. iv. (§ 86).

(g) The contents of ch. iii. compared with the two preceding and the following chapter.

In Num. iii. some notices are first given as to the sons of Aaron, who administered the priest's office under him, *vv.* 1-4. Then follow, *vv.* 5-13, ordinances regarding the Levites; they were to be the servants of the sanctuary and the priests, and so far considered as dedicated to Jehovah,

instead of the first-born of the Israelites, who, according to the command previously given (at the exit from Egypt, Exod. xiii. 2-12) were to be peculiarly Jehovah's. It is related that Moses numbered the Levites according to their houses and their families, and gave to them their different employments in the sanctuary, *vv.* 14-38. There is, in general, something remarkable about this passage, if we compare it with ch. iv. ; for it is likewise related there, only in a somewhat different way, how Moses numbered the Levites, and allotted to each of their three families their duties in the sanctuary. The difference between the two statements is, that in ch. iii. the duties incumbent on the separate families of the Levites were of a more general kind, and do not refer so precisely and specially to the circumstances attending the nomadic life of the Israelites in the Mosaic age. This, however, induces us to think that these chapters did not both proceed in the same way from Moses, at least that they were not composed by him in this order of succession. If he had really issued these two kinds of directions to the Levites, we should certainly expect that he would have promulgated those in ch. iv., which related more to the then present circumstances and exigencies, before those in ch. iii.

In the following there is also still less consistency. The number of the whole of the Levites of the male sex from one month and upwards is given in ch. iii. 39, as 22,000, and this is also pre-supposed as the total sum of them in what follows, although it does not exactly agree with the preceding total of the separate families, as by that they would reach 22,300 (*v.* 22, Gershon, 7500 ; *v.* 28, Kohath, 8600 : *v.* 31, Merari, 6200). It is further related, *vv.* 40-51, how, at Jehovah's command, Moses numbered all the first-born of the Israelites of the male sex, from one month old and upwards, and that their total sum was 22,273,¹ and that instead of these the Levites were to be devoted to Jehovah. As there is an overplus of 273 of the first-born above the number of the Levites (under the supposition that the number of the Levites amounted exactly to 22,000), these

¹ According to Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, I. cccxi. ff.), this number amounted to one in a hundred of the whole population, and meant the boys at the age of their obligation to the vow: *i.e.*, up to the completion of the fifth year of their age. Cf. Levit. xxvii. 6.

273 had to be ransomed with 5 shekels each. The statement here as to the number of the first-born of the Israelites occasions a peculiar difficulty, if we consider it in relation to the number of the Israelites generally, as related in ch. i., ii. According to ch. i. 46, and ii. 32, the number of all the male Israelites from twenty years old and upwards, was, without the Levites, 603,550. If, however, the number of the first-born of the male sex, reckoned from one month old and upwards, amounted only to a little over 22,000 (according to ch. iii.), the number of them from twenty years old and upwards could only be reckoned at from about 11,000 to 14,000, and in that the first-born of the Levites would also be comprehended, so that, from the rest of the tribes, they would only amount to from about 10,000 to 13,000. According to this the proportion of the first-born males to the whole of the male Israelites would only be as one to forty-five. But this is a proportion that we cannot well think could have really existed. Although we are not able to say with any certainty how this, at all events, existing difficulty is brought about, there is not much doubt that both of these statements could not have proceeded from Moses or from a contemporary author, and if we put the rest of the circumstances together, it must appear very probable that ch. iii. was not composed till later than ch. i., ii., and iv., and that, perhaps, originally ch. iv. immediately followed ch. ii.

(h) The relation in which the list of halting places (Num. xxxiii. 1-49) stands to the rest of the contents of the book.

As already remarked (§§ 92, 93), this appears to be a record complete in itself, and not composed in connection with the more detailed history of the journeyings, and we may assume with certainty that its original author would not have placed it, as at present, among the more copious historical narratives of the Pentateuch. In the last part of it, from v. 45 forwards, the statement as to the halting places differs from the preceding continuous narrative (ch. xxi. 12, ff.); this discrepancy also strengthens the opinion that this list was not originally written by the same author who composed the preceding history. From all this we may conclude that if the *one* section—the list of the stations—were written by Moses, as is expressly stated (ch. xxxiii. 2), we

cannot assume the same of the *other*—the fuller narration which precedes it.

(i) There are, besides, certain sections in which the narrative contains repetitions of the same circumstances, differently related, so that the original narratives appear to have been subsequently remodelled, or different accounts of the same events worked in together.

Thus (Num. xiii., xiv.), in the account of the spies whom Moses sent out to reconnoitre the land of Canaan, and the murmurs of the people at the intelligence brought by them about the inhabitants of the land.

What we read in ch. xiv. 26–38, appears to be only another account of the same Divine manifestation to Moses as that previously given, *vv.* 11–25. The threatening of the Divine punishment also runs rather differently in the two. In the first declaration (*vv.* 11–25) to Moses only, we gather, that of all the Israelites who had been witnesses of Jehovah's wonders in Egypt and the Wilderness, and had so often tempted Him, not one should behold the promised land except Caleb. In the second declaration, immediately following, *vv.* 26–38, given to Moses and Aaron, it says, that except Caleb and Joshua, all those previously numbered from twenty years old and upwards should perish in the Wilderness, and that their children only, after a forty years' journeying through the Wilderness, should arrive at the land of Canaan. The first agrees with what goes before (ch. xiii. 20), where Caleb quiets the people who were agitated through the report of the spies: the second agrees with ch. xiv. 6, where Joshua and Caleb do this.

It seems highly probable to me, that the original narrative consisted of the following portions, ch. xiii. 1–xiv. 4, 10–25, 39–45; but that the remainder (ch. xiv. 5–10, 26–38) was not added till it was afterwards revised or enlarged. In all probability it is just the same here, as *e.g.*, in Genesis about the Flood, and elsewhere, that the original narrative, formed of the above-named components, existed in the Elohist writing, but that the remainder was added by a later reviser.

It may, doubtless, be safely asserted that the Elohist writing formed the chief ground-work for the history and legislation contained in the Book of Numbers, but that it received its present shape by means of the same arrangers

as the Books of Genesis and Exodus, and, on the whole, Leviticus also; although I think that it would be impossible to carry out with any certainty any detailed separation of its component parts.

§ 120.—*Date of its Composition.*

The question however arises, whether the contents of the Book of Numbers do not lead us to a later date for its composition than that we have fixed both for the Elohist writing and the Jehovistic revision. It may be positively asserted that as regards the book generally this is not the case. At most, some things in the prophecies of Balaam (chaps. xxii.—xxiv.) are all that can lead us to this idea.

Balaam was summoned from the Euphrates by Balak, King of Moab, in order to curse the Israelites who had encamped in the plains of Moab; instead of which he was compelled by the Spirit to bless them three times. There is certainly no sufficient reason for doubting the truth of the facts related. But, on the other hand, I think it must be assumed that the speeches of Balaam were not (as Hävernicks, Hengstenberg,¹ and others suppose) literally recorded just as he delivered them; since even a contemporary Israelitish author could not easily have gained an exact knowledge of them. We have more reason to suppose that the prophecies received the form in which we now have them through the Hebrew author, who composed the whole narrative, and, perhaps, knew nothing more definite of their purport than that the foreign seer, instead of cursing the Israelites conformably to the wish of the Moabitish king, had repeatedly blessed them.

That the prophecies, in the form in which we now have them, were written by a poet of Israel, results partly from their being in the Hebrew language, since it is altogether unlikely that the Mesopotamian seer would have used the Hebrew language among the Moabites (although Hävernicks, l. 1, 97, ff., holds this view), much less the Aramaic; and partly, also, because the name Jehovah is mostly used for God in these speeches, ch. xxiii. 8–21, xxiv. 6; and this name is used (ch. xxiii. 8, and xxiv. 6) as the designation of

¹ "The History of Balaam and his Prophecies," Berlin, 1842. Cf. as to Balaam's prophecies, Ewald's *Jahrbücher der Bibl. Wissensch.*, viii. pp. 1–41.

God in general, not particularly for the God worshipped by the Israelites, a fact which, in the mouth of a seer not an Israelite, does not admit of very easy explanation. Now, if our assumption as to the authorship is correct, we can, of course, very well suppose that in the composition of these speeches, the circumstances by which he himself was surrounded floated across the mind of the Hebrew composer of the narrative, and that in this way he came unconsciously to intermingle with it references bearing the marks of his own time, or the wishes and hopes which he entertained.

Starting with this idea, we may employ the contents of these speeches to ascertain the date of their composition, and that of the introductory narrative, as we now have it. They have been much used for this purpose by critical writers in modern times, who, however, have arrived at different conclusions concerning them. In fact, it is not easy to decide upon them. The two first speeches (ch. xxiii. 7-10, 18-24), are quite general in form, and afford no grounds for decision. Those in ch. xxiv. are the only ones that present any individual features. The last verses, amid all their difficulty and obscurity, seem to point to a time when the Assyrian was the ruling power in this country; and, therefore, by several modern writers, the composition of this narrative is placed in the Assyrian age (also by Ewald, *Gesch. Isr. i.* 144-148); and this has again been employed with the view of attributing the whole Book of Numbers, together with the preceding books in their present state, to this late period. But under this supposition, I think, the form of the preceding sentences is not easily to be understood. These point to a time when the kingship in Israel was yet young, probably to the age of Saul (*vv.* 7, 17), to the time when, after Saul had waged war with the Moabites and Edomites with a successful issue (1 Sam. xiv. 47; cf. here *vv.* 17, 18), he carried out the war of extermination against the Amalekites under their King Agag (1 Sam. xv.), in which he inducted the Kenites, as friends of the Israelites, though dwelling in the midst of the Amalekites, to quit their country, lest they also should meet with the same fate. (1 Sam. xv. 16; cf. here *vv.* 7, 21.)

We are, therefore, led by these speeches of Balaam to the same age as that in which we have fixed the composition of the Elohist work, and it is not improbable that

the narrative about Balaam formed part of this work; otherwise, we must suppose that the Jehovistic reviser met with it somewhere in a written form, and adopted it into his work. There might perhaps have existed in the Elohist writing, a shorter and somewhat differently-shaped narrative of Balaam's history; and this, at any rate, is pointed out to us in ch. xxxi. 8-16, since Balaam here appears under somewhat different circumstances than in our present narration (ch. xxii-xxiv.), as the one by whose counsel the Midianitish women had seduced the Israelites to unchastity and apostacy. It is not to be denied, however, that the last verses in Balaam's speeches (ch. xxiv. 22-24), present great difficulties; and these are not removed by the supposition of a considerably later composition. To me it continues to be the more probable view, that the conclusion of his discourse ran somewhat differently in the original narrative than it does at present, and that its present form belongs to a later time than the composition of the rest of the account, and of the whole Book of Numbers; although, as before said, even then it is difficult to settle the precise references of the words.

DEUTERONOMY.

§ 121.—*Nature of its Contents.*

The Book of Numbers concludes (ch. xxxvi. 13), "These are the commandments and the judgments, which Jehovah commanded by the hand of Moses, unto the children of Israel, in the plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho."¹ The reference here is to the legislation recorded in the preceding books. In reference to the discourses of Moses that follow, Deuteronomy begins: "These be the words, which Moses spake unto all Israel, on this side Jordan, in the Wilderness, in the plain," &c. (with a more exact indication of the locality); v. 3, "and it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel according unto all that the Lord had given him in commandment unto them, after he had slain Sihon," &c.; v. 5, "on this side Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this law, saying," &c. Deuteronomy then continues

¹ *Vide* Bleek in Rosenmüller's *Repert.* i. pp. 34-43.

the history from the point at which the fourth book left off, and pursues it more fully up to the death of Moses and beyond it. This book is almost entirely made up of discourses of Moses to the people, and they are indeed long and continuous; in some of these he brings before them the way in which Jehovah had guided them hitherto in their journeying through the Wilderness, both for admonition and warning (ch. i. 6—iv. 40), in others he sets forth anew to them, in a connected way, God's several commands, with emphatic intimations of the Divine blessings which would follow the observance, and the curse following the infringement of these commands (ch. iv. 44—ch. xxxvi. of which, chaps. vi.—xi, are of a more general hortatory character, and also chaps. xxvii—xxx). Of a more historical nature, there is in this book only (*a*) ch. iv. 41—43, dividing the two great discourses, and relating the appointment by Moses of three cities of refuge beyond Jordan, and (*b*) the four last chapters (chaps. xxxi.—xxxiv.) containing Joshua's appointment as Moses' successor, the delivery of the book of the Law to the Levites, and Moses' death. In this latter portion, however, there are two long songs of Moses (ch. xxxii. xxxiii.).

§ 122. — *Question of Authorship.*

On the composition of Deuteronomy viewed by itself, and also in relation to the preceding books, the following remarks may be made:—

(1) This book, in general, shews unmistakeably a greater unity than the preceding books, both in its mode of statement and in its whole character. This is particularly true of the larger discourses, both admonitory and legislative, (ch. i.—iv. 40; iv. 44—xxvi. to end). These are so homogeneous in their language and whole character, that we may assume as certain—and on this point there is scarcely a conflicting opinion—that they were on the whole composed in the shape in which we now have them, by one and the same author.

(2) This author, however, cannot well have been Moses.

We have already seen (*a*) that the Deuteronomic legislation contains those very laws, which by their form and purport are very unlikely to have been promulgated by Moses in this shape, *e.g.*, the precept as to kings,

ch. xvii. 14-20 (§ 83), and the legal ordinances as to military concerns, ch. xx. (§ 83); to which many others might be added; also (b), that there are certain passages in these discourses of Moses which contain much that it is most improbable should have been spoken by him in this way, as, *e.g.*, ch. ii. 12; xix. 14; iii. 11, 14 (§ 81). So also the mode in which, in Moses' discourse (ch. x. 6-9), the death of Aaron and the separation of the Levites are alluded to historically, is, in this present form, scarcely natural or probable. Looking at the close internal connection of these addresses, and the way in which they issue, as it were, from one mould, these separate passages must afford a proof that, although the discourses may be founded on genuine words of Moses, yet that they were not composed or written down by him in the shape in which we now have them. Agreeably with this, in ch. i. 1 the historical introduction to these discourses and the Deuteronomic legislation is from the stand-point of an author who was himself in the land of Canaan, on this side of Jordan (§ 81).

The following considerations must also be taken into account. As these admonitory discourses and the Deuteronomic lawgiving are here given, they have the appearance of having been delivered to the people on one and the self-same day—on the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year (ch. i. 3; iv. 40; xxvii. 1, 10, 11). But this, from their large extent, is in itself not very likely; still less probable is it, even if this were so, that Moses himself should have immediately written them down. For the short time which elapsed between the day named as that in which he delivered the discourses and his death would hardly have sufficed for such a task, especially if one considers how largely his attention must have been claimed by the guidance of so numerous a people. Combining these considerations, we are justified in supposing that his longer discourses, together with the Deuteronomic legislation in their present form, and consequently Deuteronomy itself, did not proceed from Moses, but are the work of another and later author.

§ 123.—*Immediate Aim of its Composition.*

(3) It may be considered certain that the Deuteronomic legislation, with the discourses containing it, and also

Deuteronomy generally, were written as a continuation and supplement to the preceding history of the people and legislation of Moses. The views of Vater, Von Bohlen, Vatke, and George, that Deuteronomy, and the legislation contained in it, are more ancient than the preceding books and their legislation, are decidedly incorrect. We may, accordingly, regard it as certain that the Deuteronomic legislation and the discourses containing it did not belong to the Elohist writing. From what has gone before, the only question for us can properly be, whether these Deuteronomic discourses belong to the matter which was added to the original work by the Jehovistic reviser, to whom the preceding books essentially owe their present shape, or whether they are the work of some different and later author, who had before him the legislation and historical narratives of the other books, and further extended them by means of the Deuteronomic legislation.¹ This latter opinion I decidedly hold as the correct one.²

The impression left by a perusal of Deuteronomy is, that its author had no purely historical aim. His object was not merely to give an historical record of the laws which Moses delivered to the people shortly before his death, but his aim was essentially hortatory, with a view to his contemporaries, and with reference to the circumstances and exigencies of his own time. We cannot exactly say, with Riehm, that the author only wished to supply a book of the law intended for those of the people who were ignorant of the law; for without doubt he had in view the people as a whole; but, in the first place, he addressed the people of

¹ The former is the opinion of Stähelin, "Critical Investigations on the Pentateuch." &c. (cf. his "Contributions to the Critical Investigation on the Pentateuch, the Books of Joshua and Judges, Theological Studies and Criticisms," 1835, ii. p. 474); the latter is the opinion of De Wette, Ewald, Von Lengerke, and others; and I myself declared in Rosenmüller's *Repertorium*, 1822, that the writer of Deuteronomy was not identical with the author of the four first books, although then I had not yet distinguished between the Elohist and Jehovistic treatment of the latter; but De Wette's statement is incorrect as to my opinion there given.

² The work by Ed. Riehm offers some valuable contributions on this point: "The Lawgiving of Moses in the Land of Moab: A Contribution to the Introduction to the Old Testament," Gotha, 1854, which endeavours to ascertain the signs existing in Deuteronomy of the circumstances of the author's time, and also the date of its composition from the framing of its lawgiving.

his own (the author's) time, and aimed to set before them in a most emphatic way what they were to do and what they were not to do, if they would conform themselves to the will and laws of God, and to point out to them the blessings and the curses which the fulfilment or the infringement of these laws would infallibly bring upon them. Added to this, the Mosaic legislation in this book, which is also found in the other books, is given in a more connected form as a kind of general survey, and is not complete; *e.g.*, there are many laws not repeated here, as those on offerings (Levit. i.—vii.); that on the great day of atonement (Levit. xvi.); that on the water of cleansing (Num. xix.); that on the offerings at the feasts (Num. xxviii. f.). Without doubt, the author brought forward into chief prominence those laws, for the inculcation of which there was then a peculiar need. Some of the earlier laws were given in a rather altered shape, suitable to the changed circumstances of the later time. Sometimes, also, new legal precepts are adopted, referring to circumstances which did not arise till a later time. If, however, we compare the Deuteronomic lawgiving with that of the preceding books, we must acknowledge that the former is conceived in essentially the same spirit as the latter, and also in the same spirit as those laws in the middle books, the genuine Mosaic character of which is not to be questioned. When the two differ either as to form or subject, their relation to each other leads us, with the greatest probability, to the view that the lawgiving in Deuteronomy was directed to the circumstances of a later time than that contained in the preceding books, and was not composed till after the time of the Jehovist and Elohist.

§ 124.—*Laws as to Levites, Sacrifices, &c., pointing to a late Date of Composition.*

This is shown particularly in the laws which relate to the *priests and Levites*, and to *the offering up of sacrifices in one place*.

(a) I have previously (§ 86) referred to the difference between Num. xviii. 20–32 and Deut. xiv. 22–29, regarding the revenue of the Levites (cf. also Deut. xii. 18, ff.; xxvi. 12). There is no doubt that what is stated in Deuteronomy on this point belongs to a later age than the

law in Numbers. Yet we cannot here consider it as certain whether it was necessarily a later time than the Jehovistic revision of the work. This is likewise the case with some of the other differences between Deuteronomy and the preceding lawgiving, particularly as regards the first fruits of the field and the first-born of the cattle.¹

But the difference as to the Levites' places of habitation leads us farther.

According to Numbers xxxv. 1-8, the Levites were to be assigned towns of their own, in all forty-eight, together with the district thereto belonging, for the use of their cattle; and these were divided among them by lot by Joshua (Josh. xxi.). But there is nothing in Deuteronomy about their possessing particular towns. In this, the Levites, or at least the most of them, appear as homeless, and living scattered about in different towns amongst the rest of the Israelites. This state of things is presupposed, and referred to in the legal precepts (ch. xii. 12, 18, ff.; xiv. 27-29; xvi. 11-14; xviii. 6; xxvi. 12). We find, indeed, at the time of the Judges, that single Levites wandered about the country without, as it appears, having a fixed habitation in any of the Levites' towns (Judg. xvii.-xix.). But this was, perhaps, at that time, only in isolated and rare cases (cf. 1 Chron. xiii. 2). But it was otherwise arranged after Solomon's death. After the separation of the ten tribes from Judah and the house of David, Jeroboam instituted priests out of the people for the kingdom of Israel, without regard to the tribe of Levi, and the Levites and Levitical priests, who were among the ten tribes, went over to the kingdom of Judah (cf. 1 Kings xii. 31, xiii. 33; 2 Chron. xi. 13, ff., xiii. 9). These took refuge not only in the priests' towns of the kingdom of Judah (which would not have sufficed for the purpose), but also in various districts in the country, wherever they found lodging-places; and perhaps it was not till this time that the Levites and priests were to be found in those particular circumstances which are presupposed, without further question, in Deuteronomy. From this we may consider it as tolerably certain that the Deuteronomic lawgiving, with the discourses containing it, was not composed till a considerable time after the separation between the two kingdoms had taken place, and also

¹ See Richm, p. 42, ff.

a considerable time after the composition of the preceding books of the Pentateuch.

We must, besides, consider the different relations between the priests and Levites as shown in Deuteronomy and the middle books of the Pentateuch.

The Levites always appear, in the preceding books, in a subordinate position only, as servants of the Temple who had to manage the exterior duties of the Sanctuary, and there is a wide difference between them and the priests, who alone performed really sacerdotal functions. Besides, the priests were designated as *sons of Aaron* (or "Aaron and his sons"); the Levites, on the contrary, as *brethren of Aaron*, *i.e.*, as belonging to the same tribe. But in the Deuteronomic legislation no such wide distinction exists between the Levites and priests; also, the Levites, as such, performed priestly functions, and the priests are no longer called *sons of Aaron*, but *sons of Levi*—הַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי לֵוִי (ch. xxi. 5; xxxi. 9), or הַפִּתְּחִים הַלְוִיִּם (ch. xvii. 9, 18; xviii. 1; xxiv. 8; xxvii. 9); these denominations for the priests do not occur except in later writings (Jer. xxxiii. 18 (21); Ezek. xliii. 19; xlv. 15; Is. lxvi. 21; 2 Chron. xxx. 27; xxiii. 18). It is not improbable, as Riehm is of opinion, that the author of Deuteronomy first used these appellations; but if Deuteronomy were contemporary with the other books of the Pentateuch, or written by Moses himself, doubtless these names for the priests would have been more widely spread than appears to have been the case.¹

(b) The circumstances are similar in the laws as to the Sanctuary and the local unity of the cultus, particularly as regards the offering of sacrifices. The Deuteronomic lawgiving and that of the middle books agree so far, that they look upon the Sanctuary, the seat of the Ark, as the place where all oblations were to be offered. This is, *e.g.*, expressed or presupposed in the oblation-laws, Levit. i.-vii., and in every other place; and even Exod. xx. 24 does not decidedly lead to the view that contemporaneous offerings were permitted at several places. But here the seat of the Sanctuary itself is not treated of as confined to one fixed, prescribed spot, nor is any stress generally

¹ See further as to this, Riehm, p. 33, ff., p. 94, ff.

laid on the injunction that all offerings were to be made at that one place.

The law (Levit. xvii.) forms a special exception in the last respect. This makes, as we have seen, no precise distinction between the slaying of beasts for sacrifice, and merely for food, but forbids, generally, under pain of death, the killing of beasts in any other way except by bringing them to be killed before the door of the Sanctuary. This is, without doubt, a genuine Mosaic law, which was adopted by the author of the history, perhaps by the Elohist, and then retained by the Jehovist, although in their time it had not for a long while been observed in this form, and in fact could be no longer observed. It is, therefore, not adopted in the Deuteronomic lawgiving. Indeed, on the contrary, here (Deut. xii. 15, 16, 20-24), as if partly in opposition to the above law, there is an express permission that (except for sacrifices) the Israelites might slay beasts and eat their flesh after their desire, according to the blessing of Jehovah, their God; only that they were to refrain from consuming the blood, and were to pour it out on the earth like water; whilst, according to Levit. xvii. 6, the blood was always to be brought to the priest, and was to be sprinkled before the tabernacle.

On the contrary, it is expressly commanded in the Deuteronomic law (ch. xii.) that when the Israelites should dwell in their land, they should destroy all places of heathen worship, on mountains, hills, and under every green tree, and that they should not serve Jehovah, their God, in any such place, but only on that spot which He had chosen as His habitation out of all the tribes of Israel; and that thither only should they bring their burnt-offerings and other oblations, also their vows, tithes, and the first-born of their cattle. It is presupposed here (*vv.* 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26), as in other passages, that the Sanctuary (the Ark) had a fixed place in the land, chosen by Jehovah, where the worship was to be carried on (*v.* Deut. xiv. 23, ff.; xv. 20; xvi. 1-16 (as to the keeping of the three chief feasts; *vv.* 2, 6, ff. 11, 15, ff.); xvii. 8, 10; xviii. 6; xxvi. 2; cf. also xxxi. 11). The Ark received a fixed position of this sort, when Joshua set it up at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1); just as later, after David's time at Jerusalem.

If these laws proceeded from Moses, and had been ac-

known to be Mosaic, we should have no difficulty in supposing that even then they would be often violated by the people. But we should also expect that the more pious would have kept these laws in view, and have endeavoured to exhort the rest of the people to their observance. But we find that this (apart from the narrative, Josh. xxii. 11-34, of which further on, § 136), was not the case, not even at a later time, long after the building of the Temple.

First, up to the age of Solomon, we everywhere find several holy places existing together, and looked upon as lawful. Besides *Shiloh*, where Joshua set up the tabernacle, and where it remained until about the age of Samuel (1 Sam. i. 3: iv. 3), *Shechem* is also treated by Joshua himself as a place for Jehovah's Sanctuary (Josh. xxiv. 1, 26). Two other holy places, at least, are named in the Book of Judges besides Shiloh, viz., *Mizpah* and *Bethel*, in which, as at Shiloh, the Israelites assembled and brought offerings to Jehovah (Judg. xi. 11; xx. 1, 18; xxi. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 19). They offered besides at *Bochim* (ch. ii. 5), and, according to ch. vi. 24, Gideon built himself an altar at *Ophrah*, which he called *Jehovah-Shalom*, the name it bears "to this day." It was just the same in the age of Samuel. The Ark had its place at *Kirjath-Jearim*, after it was brought back by the Philistines, who had captured it in war (1 Sam. vii. 2); but *Mizpah* and *Bethel* appear also as holy places at that time, where sacrifices were made (1 Sam. vii. 5; x. 3, 17, ff.), and Samuel himself set up an altar to Jehovah at his dwelling-place, *Ramah* (ch. vii. 17); there were other holy places at that time, with altars where sacrifices were offered to Jehovah in the region of *Zuph* (1 Sam. ix. 5), at *Gilgal* (ch. xi. 15; xiii. 8, ff.; xv. 21, 33), at *Bethlehem* (ch. xvi. 4); also, at the time of Saul, at *Nob* (1 Sam. xxi. 1); at the time of David at *Hebron* (2 Sam. v. 3; xv. 7, ff.). In Solomon's time the people offered on *high places*, and Solomon himself on the high place of *Gibeon* (1 Kings iii. 2, ff.). All these facts are so narrated as to lead to the view that they were not regarded at that time as anything illegal, even by a prophet like Samuel. The historical books, also, of Samuel and Judges speak throughout of this practice, as not displeasing to Jehovah, but as something quite in order.

Also, for a long time after the building of Solomon's

Temple, sacrifices were offered on high places as well as at the Temple, and even by those kings who were noted for their piety and adherence to Jehovah's laws, and for being desirous with all zeal to promote the worship of Jehovah; as *Asa* (1 Kings xv. 14), *Jehoshaphat* (ch. xxii. 44), *Joash*, the pupil of the priests (2 Kings xii. 4), *Amaziah* (ch. xiv. 4), *Uzziah* (ch. xv. 4), and *Jotham* (ch. xv. 35). In the Books of Kings and Chronicles it is always pointed out as *blameable* that even these pious kings should have allowed the worship in the high places to remain. But this is merely the verdict of the author of these books, which in no case could have been composed before the Babylonian exile. As the kings above-named are depicted in everything else as such zealous servants of Jehovah, we can scarcely think that they would not have aimed at putting a stop to the worship at high places, where sacrifices were offered to Jehovah at other altars besides in the Temple, if the Deuteronomic law, so expressly showing this service to be contrary to the will of Jehovah, had been acknowledged by them as Mosaic.

What has gone before is sufficient to prove that the Deuteronomic legislation was not composed by the same author whom we have before us in the middle books of the Pentateuch, and, indeed, that it was composed at a considerably later time than that to which, in all probability, we should assign the Jehovistic revision of the ancient Israelitish history and Mosaic lawgiving as we now have it in the preceding books of the Pentateuch. The form and way, also, in which the fourth book, Numbers, concludes (ch. xxxvi. 13), render it very unlikely that the same author should have had in view to add immediately on to it a fresh act of legislation as proceeding from Moses at the same time and place. It is, however, possible that this conclusion already existed in the Elohist ground-writing, and was retained by the Jehovistic author as merely taken from thence, and thus, in itself at least, it cannot decide with certainty against the Jehovist as the author of Deuteronomy. But it cannot escape the attentive reader that the Deuteronomic legislation differs much from that of the earlier books in language, mode of statement, and entire tone, and also in the admonitory, warning, and threatening character which pervades the whole of it, and in this

way leads to the idea of a different author than either the reviser of the earlier books or the Jehovist.¹

§ 125.—*Internal and External Evidence as to Date of Composition.*

(4) As regards the *date of the composition* of the Deuteronomic lawgiving I remark as follows:

(a) It is evident, from what goes before, that it cannot be fixed until a long time after Solomon, perhaps not before the age of Hezekiah, king of Judah. For, up to that time, we find that even pious kings, those devoted with sincere zeal to the laws of Jehovah, as Uzziah and Jotham, the grandfather of Hezekiah [Ahaz, the father of Hezekiah, cannot be considered among these, since he not only carried on the worship in high places (2 Kings xvi. 4), but also disgraceful idolatry (*ib.* v. 3; 2 Chron. xxviii. 2, f., 22, ff.)] without hesitation worshipped in high places, and sacrificed to Jehovah at other altars besides those in the Temple, which they certainly would not have tolerated and promoted in this way, if the Deuteronomic lawgiving, so decisive on this very point, had been acknowledged by them.

There were, perhaps, at least after the beginning of the eighth century B.C., certain pious men endued with the prophetic spirit, who had come to understand that this cultus (which often led to actual idolatry, the altars erected for Jehovah's worship being frequently made use of for the service of other gods) was opposed to the essence of the Mosaic law, and they began to work against it. Thus we see that the prophet Hosea in Israel, and Isaiah and Micah in Judah, express themselves with disapprobation of it (Hosea iv. 13; Isaiah i. 29; Micah i. 5). But among the kings of Judah, Hezekiah appears the first who aimed at rooting out in his kingdom not only all idolatry, but also the worship in the high places, and desired the destruction of all altars except those in the Temple (2 Kings xviii. 4; 2 Chron. xxx. 14, xxxi. 1). We may from this assume, with the greatest probability, that the composition of the Deuteronomic legislation did not take place before the eighth century B.C., at the earliest in the reign of Ahaz; but probably even later, and not before the reign of Hezekiah. We shall find this confirmed afterwards in other ways.

¹ Cf. many things in De Wette, § 156, *a* and *b*.

(b) On the other hand, the composition took place before the Babylonian Captivity.¹ We cannot well imagine how an Israelitish author, at the time of the Babylonian exile, when the whole people were scattered without any independence among heathen nations, and the Temple was destroyed, could have found any inducement to compose a system of laws for the people, partly at least new; a system, too, containing special laws on the offering of sacrifices and keeping feasts at the place of the Sanctuary, the institution of priests, waging war, the kingship, and the like, without at least noticing the circumstances of the people at that time, and what these circumstances permitted them to fulfil, and what they imposed as peculiarly binding.

Of course, different passages, as ch. iv. 27–31, ch. xxix. ff., make it seem likely that the author had the scattering of the people present to his view, not because the people were threatened with such a carrying away and dispersion as a punishment of their numerous infringements of the law, but because, in doing this, the attention appears unmistakably directed more to the bringing back and deliverance of the people than to the decree of punishment. But a similar state of things, considered as a whole, occurred to the people of Israel long before the Babylonian exile, through the dissolution of the kingdom of the ten tribes, occurring almost 150 years earlier, after which by far the greatest part of the people of Israel were scattered among foreign nations. From the passages cited, it is of course very likely that the author had this circumstance in view, and that, therefore, the composition of it did not take place before the breaking up of the kingdom of Ephraim, and certainly not before the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah. But the passage (ch. xxviii. 68) is most clearly in favour of the composition having taken place before the breaking up of the nation of Judah; in this, in threatening the Divine curse on the infringement of the law, it tells us that Jehovah will bring the people again to Egypt in ships, and that they shall be there sold by their enemies as bondsmen and bondswomen. An author at the time of the Babylonian

¹ De Wette (Edits. 1 and 2, § 160), following Gesenius (*De Pentat. Sam. origine*), was inclined to fix the date of the composition at the time of the Captivity; but he has retracted this in the subsequent editions, following my notes on Rosenmüller's *Repert.* i. p. 21, ff.

exile could not well have expressed the Divine curse in this way. To this may be added that, even in those passages which speak of a dispersion of the people, it nevertheless partly follows from the context that the author had floating before his mind no definite idea of the complete dispersion of the whole people, such as took place in the Babylonian exile; see likewise particularly ch. xxviii. (vv. 38–44, 49, ff.).

At the destruction of Jerusalem, and the breaking up of the state of Judah by the Chaldeans, the Edomites must have shown themselves particularly hostile towards the Jews, either through malicious joy or through being actual helpers in their overthrow. Thus we find in the prophets of this time, as Obadiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, complaints about the cruelty of the Edomites towards their brethren the Jews, and threatening prophecies against them. But in Deuteronomy there seems a very mild and kindly feeling towards the Edomites (ch. ii. 4–8, xxiii. 8, ff., in a higher measure than Numbers xx. 14–21). This renders it very probable that these Deuteronomic discourses were composed before the destruction of Jerusalem, as we may assume that, if this had not been the case, more indignation and wrath would have been expressed in the passages alluded to.

From internal reasons, therefore, we cannot well doubt that the composition of the Deuteronomic lawgiving occurred before the Babylonian exile.

(c) The *external* grounds of argument are likewise decidedly in favour of this view; e.g., the use made of Deuteronomy by Jeremiah, and perhaps even by Ezekiel.

As to Ezekiel (*v. Von Lengerke, Canaan*, p. cxxxiii. notes 2), however, the passages in question are not very certainly allusions to Deuteronomy, and I shall, therefore, lay no particular stress on them. But there is in Jeremiah (ch. xxxiv. 13, 14) (in the time of the reign of Zedekiah) a manifest reference to the law as to setting free all native slaves in the seventh year, just as it occurs in Deut. xv. 12 (the similarity is slighter with Exod. xxi. 2); and there are often also in this prophet recollections and imitations of the admonitory and threatening discourses of Deuteronomy, particularly ch. xxviii. xxix. (Deut. xxviii. 26, cf. Jer. vii. 33; Deut. xxviii. 25, cf. Jer. xv. 4, xxiv. 9, xxix. 18, xxxiv. 17; Deut. xxix. 24–26, cf. Jer. xxii. 8, 9; Deut. xxviii. 49, ff., cf. Jer. v. 15; Deut. xxix. 18, cf. Jer. xxiii. 17, &c.).

Not less favourable to this view is the history of the discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple at the time of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 3, ff.; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8).

Josiah, king of Judah, great-grandson of Hezekiah, who came to the throne at eight years of age, 642 B.C., in the eighteenth year of his reign (624 B.C., thirty-six years before the destruction of Jerusalem), sent his scribe into the Temple to the high priest Hilkiah, desiring him to deliver over the money collected by the door-keepers of the Temple, in order to pay the artificers and other workmen who were repairing it. Then the high priest told the scribe that he had found the Book of the Law in the house of Jehovah (in Chron. xxxiv. 14 we read that, as they were bringing out the money that had been brought into the house of Jehovah, Hilkiah found the Book of the Law of Moses). The high priest gave over the Book of the Law to the scribe, who brought it to the king, and read it before him. When the king heard the words of the Book of the Law, he rent his clothes, and commanded that inquiry should be made of Jehovah for him and his people regarding the contents of the Book found; "for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this Book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us" (v. 13). On this account, Huldah the prophetess was sent to, who predicted destruction on Jerusalem and its inhabitants, according to the purport of the book, because of the idolatry practised; yet that the destruction should not begin during the lifetime of Josiah. The king, on this, summoned together the elders of Judah and Jerusalem, and the whole contents of the book found were read to them; and the king and all the people solemnly engaged to fulfil all the words of the Book of the Covenant which was found. Then the king held a great general passover in Jerusalem, the like of which had not been held since the time of the Judges. According to 2 Kings, Josiah, at that time, first began, after the finding of the Book of the Law, to eradicate both in Judah, and also even in Samaria, all the idolatry which was carried on in the land and even in the Temple at Jerusalem. The statement in Chronicles, however, is probably more exact; according to this the king began to restore the pure worship of Jehovah some time previously,

subsequently to the twelfth year of his reign, since he himself, many years earlier, had devoted himself to Jehovah.¹

We can perceive pretty certainly, from the narration of the historical books, that what was read to the king by the scribe was the warnings and curses which are in Deuteronomy, particularly ch. xxviii. 30, ff. (cf. Movers's *Zeitschrift*, &c., xii. 88, ff.). We cannot, therefore, very well doubt that the Deuteronomic lawgiving was contained in this book, so that we have, in this narrative, an evidence of its existence before the Babylonian exile.

§ 126.—*Conclusions as to Date of Composition.*

(d) According, therefore, to all that has been hitherto stated, the composition of the Deuteronomic lawgiving occurred in the period between Hezekiah and Josiah. It has been sometimes supposed that it did not take place until immediately before the finding of the Book of the Law in the Temple, and a particular share in the work has been attributed to the high priest Hilkiah himself—that part, namely, which seems drawn up in the interests of the priests and Levites. But what has been urged on this point is often, to say the least, quite uncertain, often absolutely improbable.

We find many striking remarks on this point in Movers, who, particularly, correctly asserted that the strict prohibition of all worship in high places, and all and every offering of sacrifice, except in the Temple at Jerusalem, was anything but favourable to the pecuniary interest of the priests and Levites, since the more sacrifices were offered, and in the greater number of places in the land, the greater would be their share arising out of them. It, of course, follows from the narrative of the discovery of the Book of the Law, and of the strong impression made on the king Josiah by the reading of the curses therein denounced on the infringers of the law, that the contents of it had not before come to his ears, and were perhaps little known among the people at that time. But this can be easily explained, even on the view of the earlier existence of the book, when we remember how the two predecessors of Josiah, both his grandfather and father, *Manassch* and *Amon*

¹ See as to this Movers, "Investigation on Chronicles," p. 334, ff.; and in the *Zeitsch. für Philos. und Kathol. Theolog.* xii. p. 97, ff.

(the first of whom reigned fifty-five years), allowed not only the worship in high places, but even actual idolatry, to gain ground in Judah, and indeed promoted it in every way.

Of course it is possible that the Deuteronomic legislation was not composed until the preceding year of the reign of Josiah, when he was, according to Chronicles, already taking pains to reinstate the worship of Jehovah in the land, and to root out all idolatry from the whole district of Judah, and even of Samaria. No doubt the king was guided in these efforts of his earlier years by pious men devoted to Jehovah's law, by priests and prophets; and as the Deuteronomic legislation proceeded from similar efforts and zeal, we might, of course, suppose that it was first originated at this time, between the twelfth and eighteenth years of the reign of Josiah. But we have already seen (§ 125) that similar efforts occurred at a considerably earlier time. But if the composition of the Deuteronomic legislation took place at the time of a king who had proceeded with such zeal to reinstate the pure worship of Jehovah in the land, as according to Chronicles Josiah did, even before the discovery of the Book of the Law, indeed ever since he was of age and independent, it is not strictly probable that, in the threatening of the Divine curse against the infringers of the law, the king should be specially included, in the way it is done in ch. xxviii. 36. The same circumstance would make it unlikely that it was composed at the time of the pious king Hezekiah. We may much rather suppose, on the contrary, that this law-giving, in its present state, was composed at the time of Hezekiah's successor, the idolatrous Manasseh.

The friendly disposition, perhaps, shown towards Egypt (ch. xxiii. 8) tends to influence us against the idea of a composition at the time of Josiah, yet not with certainty, since the war between the Jews and Egyptians did not occur till the last period of the reign of Josiah, who met his death from it at Megiddo.

Ewald and Riehm fix the date of its composition in the time of Manasseh, although partly on doubtful grounds, and with closer definitions than are exactly tenable; as, *e.g.*, Ewald ascribes the composition to some one belonging to the kingdom of Judah, living in Egypt (during the second

half of the reign of Manasseh), for which idea there is no adequate motive at all.

But if the hypothesis as to the time of the composition be correct, we must assume that the work in this state had not at that time much publicity, and that its general promulgation did not ensue until after the Book of the Law—with this Deuteronomic lawgiving—was found in the Temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah, where it had perhaps been deposited in the time of Manasseh.

§ 127.—*Evidences of different Authorship in the Blessing and Song of Moses.*

(5) It has been already intimated (§ 123) that the Deuteronomic lawgiving, and the discourses containing it, were, without doubt, only written as a continuation of the preceding part of the Pentateuch; we cannot, therefore, question that the author of it annexed it to the further course of the history, viz. to that which is related in the last chapters of Deuteronomy, up to the death of Moses (ch. xxxi.—xxxiv.). Yet in these the author of Deuteronomy must not be considered as the first originator, as, in general, he may be in the preceding part of the book; at least not in regard to the two poetical passages, the “Song of Moses” (ch. xxxii.) and the “Blessings of Moses” (ch. xxxiii.).

First, as regards the blessing of Moses, I formerly endeavoured (Rosenmüller’s *Repertorium*, i. pp. 25–32) to establish the view of its high antiquity, and regarded it as perhaps genuinely Mosaic, and more ancient than Jacob’s blessing (Gen. xlix.), which was imitated from it. I do not any longer consider this as correct.

That it was not composed by Moses in the shape in which we now have it, is clearly shown by the manner in which (v. 3) the lawgiver is spoken of; “(the people) receive of thy (Jehovah’s) words, the law which Moses commanded us, as the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob.” It is, therefore, not improbable that the song originally was not composed with the view of passing for a Mosaic blessing, but that the author of the Deuteronomic legislation had adopted a song which he met with, originally devised with another aim, and had given such a reference to the sayings relating to the different tribes of the people of Israel as is indicated by its present place in the Pentateuch, and the

introductory words to the whole and to the separate sayings. The original composition of this song appears to have taken place in the period between Solomon's death and the beginning of the Assyrian exile, most probably about 800 B.C., when both kingdoms were ruled by powerful and energetic monarchs—Israel by Jeroboam II., Judah by Uzziah.

From the way in which (Deut. xxxiii. 13, 17) *Joseph* (Ephraim and Manasseh) is spoken of as being especially fortunate, we should be inclined to fix the date of the composition at a time when Ephraim was still predominant among all the tribes, therefore before the age of David. But by the sayings about *Benjamin* (v. 12) we are led to a time after the building of the Temple, for the purport of these sayings can only refer to a position of Jehovah's sanctuary in the territory of this tribe, among whose towns "Jebusi, which is Jerusalem," is quoted (Josh. xviii. 28). Besides, the sayings about *Levi* (vv. 8–11) point to a time when this tribe was in high estimation as the priestly tribe, but had incurred the enmity of those Israelites who were inclined to idolatry. There is nothing about *Simeon*, which one would expect between vv. 6 and 7 (Reuben and Judah). This may be, perhaps, explained by the fact that this tribe, whose possessions, according to Josh. xix. 1, 9, were allotted among the possessions of the tribe of Judah, had become, in the course of time, quite lost among the latter tribe, and had been absorbed in it, so that the towns of the tribe of Simeon are subsequently spoken of as towns of Judah (cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 6, xxx. 3^o; 1 Kings xix. 3). But from the way in which the rest of the tribes are spoken of, we must assume that they still existed at the time of the composition of this song, and particularly the tribes of the kingdom of Israel, as Ephraim and Manasseh (vv. 13–17), Zebulun and Issachar (vv. 18, ff.), Naphthali (v. 23), &c. The purport of most of the sayings, and particularly the conclusion of the whole song, leave us no room to doubt that it was composed at a time when the Israelitish people, the ten tribes, were, as a whole, in happy circumstances.

According to this, the composition occurred, on the one hand, at a later time than that of either the Elohist writing or the Jehovistic revision, so that the song could not have existed in these works; on the other hand, at an

earlier time than that of the Deuteronomic legislation; but not, as Ewald thinks, in a yet later age, as that of Josiah; nor even, as others would have it, at the time of the Babylonian exile. For the latter view *v.* 7 is chiefly relied on: "Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah, and bring him unto his people." Yet, just at the time of the Babylonian exile, a poet certainly would not have expressed a wish for the bringing back of the people or of a single tribe, in the words "bring him unto his people."

The preceding song (ch. xxxii. 1-43) is similarly circumstanced with the blessing of Moses.

It is previously (§ 83) remarked that this alludes both to the favour of God, which helped the people to the possession of Canaan (*vv.* 12-14), and to their ingratitude and idolatry (*vv.* 15-18), as something which had passed. It also brings prominently forward the punishment through foreign nations which was decreed for Israel on this account, and also that He would again forgive them, and revenge them on their adversaries.

This song presupposes a different and less happy condition of the people to that in ch. xxx., and it was composed at a different time. It is possible that it might be by the same author, but at a later time; as the former was at the time of Uzziah, so this one might be in the time of Ahaz; perhaps it was not composed until after the breaking up of the Ephraimitish kingdom at the time of Hezekiah. In any case, this song bears no appearance of having been composed (as Ewald rightly remarks, *Isr. Gesch.*, i. p. 165. ff.) with the intention of passing for Mosaic, and it cannot therefore have been originally devised by the author of Deuteronomy himself in the name of Moses, but he, having met with it, first gave it this application, and assigned it a suitable place in his historical work.

On the contrary, the historical narrative preceding this song, and that which immediately follows it, are, without doubt, by the author of Deuteronomy himself.

(a) Chap. xxxi. What is here related as to the appointment of Joshua as Moses' successor is elsewhere told in a different way (Num. xxvii. 15-23). Here in Deuteronomy the narrative is very much enlarged, and conceived quite in the spirit and tone of the preceding discourses containing the Deuteronomic lawgiving.

(b) Chap. xxxii. 48-52. Here that which was told in Num. xxvii. 12-14 is again repeated (cf. § 67).

§ 128.—*Internal Statements as to Authorship.*

(6) Before we go farther, we will here take one point into consideration—the *statements furnished in Deuteronomy itself as to the author* of the Deuteronomic lawgiving, or the Book of the Law generally. As regards the preceding books, we have seen that, although certain passages in them speak of a “writing down” by Moses, yet that none of them go as far as to assert that Moses was the author of the connected historical work as we have it, and that we do not find such statements in reference to those laws which, by their whole nature, purport, and form, show themselves to be decidedly by Moses himself, or to have been written in his age. Deuteronomy seems to be somewhat differently circumstanced as regards the former point.

In Deut. xxxi. 9 it is related that “Moses wrote *this law*,” and in v. 24, “he made an end of writing the words of *this law* in a book,” and gave it over to the priests and elders (or the Levites), in order that they should “lay it in the side of the Ark.” It is not improbable that this refers to the whole of our Pentateuch, and in any case certainly to the Deuteronomic lawgiving. The meaning is perhaps the same (ch. xxviii. 58-61; xxix. 19, ff., 26), where in the discourse Moses speaks of *this book*, or this Book of the Law, wherein all the words of *this law*, as well as the curses on the infringers of it, are written; and also ch. xvii. 18, where among the laws as to kings it is ordered for the future kings that they shall make a copy of *this law* from the one kept by the Levitical priests. Now, if in a discourse of Moses a book of the law is spoken of in this way, a work cannot be intended which was not composed until after Moses.

But on closer consideration, even on the hypothesis of a Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch or of Deuteronomy, these passages would still afford great difficulty. For on this view it would appear as if Moses had alluded to a book of the law, and the Deuteronomic law in particular, with the curses on the transgressors of it, as a thing already finished and in his possession, not only before it was complete, but even whilst he himself was pronouncing these

very curses. Besides, the narrative (ch. xxxi.) offers the following difficulty; in that it is already stated (*v.* 9) that Moses gave over the law written by him to the Levitical priests and the elders, and then again in *v.* 24 it tells us that he finished writing out this law, and gave the Book of the Law to the Levites to be deposited in the side of the Ark; these statements can only be reconciled in a forced and artificial manner. To this we may add, that this book then given over by Moses could not well have contained the account of this very giving over (ch. xxxi.), whilst this narrative, as already remarked, very much agrees with the preceding Deuteronomic discourses, both in their whole spirit and character, and also in their tone and language, so that it is not likely that the narrative should have been added by another and later author than the composer of the discourses.

It cannot, therefore, be denied that all the passages of Deuteronomy which speak of, or presuppose, a writing down of the Book of the Law by Moses, offer important difficulties, which can hardly be obviated if we assume the composition of the whole Pentateuch or of Deuteronomy by him; but the peculiarities pointed out are more easily to be understood on the supposition of their having been composed by a later author, since thus we can more readily imagine that he may not have had clearly and precisely before his view the proper relation between these discourses composed in the name of Moses and the Book of the Law.¹

§ 129.—*Written Sources employed by the Composer.*

(7) The last chapter (xxxiv.) relates Moses' death, his burial (by Jehovah), the thirty days mourning of the Israelites for him (as for Aaron, Num. xx. 29); how the Israelites then obeyed Joshua (*vv.* 1-9), and how thenceforth no prophet arose in Israel who was like unto Moses (*vv.* 10-12). There can be no doubt that both the original Elohist writing and also the Jehovistic enlargement, must have related the death of Moses before the addition of the Deuteronomic lawgiving, for this is already prepared for (Num. xxvii. 12-23). It is not improbable that the account of Moses' death contained in the earlier forms of the

¹ V. "My Notes in *Theolog. Stud. und Krit.*" 1831, iii. pp. 513-519.

work was actually the same as that which we now have at the conclusion of Deuteronomy. The author of Deuteronomy may have met with it in the work, and perhaps, slightly revising it (in the same way as ch. xxxii. 48-52 in comparison with Num. *ut supra*), gave it a place after the Deuteronomic lawgiving, and after the two songs likewise added by him (ch. xxxii. and xxxiii.), such as the actual extent of the work required.

(8) Likewise it is not improbable that the account of the separation by Moses of the three cities of refuge beyond Jordan (ch. iv. 41-43) existed in the *Jehovistic* revision, perhaps after Numbers xxxv., as an ordinance relating to the same thing is related there (ch. xxxv. 6, 9-14); so that the author of Deuteronomy merely gave it a different position, and has perhaps somewhat remodelled it in point of form. The narrative (*Josh.* xx.) varies rather from this; in the former the Israelites at the time of Joshua had established six cities of refuge in all, not only on this side but also on the other side of Jordan (cf. as to this § 134). Likewise it does not seem improbable to me that what we read Deut. xxvii. 1-8, how Moses and the elders of Israel commanded the people that, on crossing over Jordan, they were to erect on Mount Ebal an altar of unhewn stones (according to Exod. xx. 21), and to offer on it burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, was originally in the *Jehovistic* revision of the work, and was adopted from thence by the author of Deuteronomy, and joined on to v. 9, ff., but that it was perhaps somewhat remodelled, *e.g.*, as regards the enjoined writing down of "all the words of this law" (vv. 3-8).

At all events, we must consider generally that the chief source of the author of Deuteronomy was the historical work in which he inserted his additions, viz. that of the *Jehovist*. He has, however, besides this, perhaps made use of other written sources; certainly so in the two songs (ch. xxxii., xxxiii.). As regards the Deuteronomic legislation proper, it was in general, without doubt, first composed in its present form by the author of Deuteronomy himself, as well as the Mosaic discourses containing it. Yet, from the purport of them, it is possible that certain portions previously existed in a written form. We read (1 Sam. x. 25) that at the institution of the kingship Samuel declared to the people "the manner of the kingdom," and

that he wrote it in a book, and laid it up before Jehovah. This may have been made use of to form the groundwork of the laws as to kings in Deuteronomy. And the like is, perhaps, the case with several other Deuteronomic laws which differ from those of the middle books; *e.g.*, the law that the tithe of the produce of *every third* year should be devoted to the poor, particularly to the Levites (Deut. xiv. 28; xxvi. 12; cf. Amos iv. 4). It is also possible that the variations which occur in the accounts of several circumstances and events in the journey through the wilderness, as compared with the narrative in the preceding books, are owing to the different written sources which the author had at his command. This is the view of Ewald and Von Lengerke. But it cannot be laid down with any certainty whether and how far this was the case, and how far the variation was grounded merely on a different verbal tradition or only on the inaccuracy of the author.¹

§ 130.—*General Conclusion as to the last Revision of the Pentateuch.*

(9) Ewald has, as we have seen (§ 72), expressed the opinion² that the author of Deuteronomy wrote it originally (except ch. xxxiii.) as an independent work, or rather as a part of a larger work composed by him, in the preceding part of which he also wrote in *his way* the whole Mosaic history, and that a yet later editor had taken out of it the present contents of Deuteronomy, and united it with the rest of our Pentateuch. But there is absolutely nothing which can give us a right to hold such an opinion. I think we may much rather assume it as certain that Deuteronomy was written as a supplement and enlargement of the ancient historical work in the shape which the latter had assumed by means of the Jehovistic reviser of the four first books of the Pentateuch; and we may consider, with the greatest probability, that the author of Deuteronomy

¹ Ewald (i. 168, f., ii. 40, Notes) and Von Lengerke (pp. lx. ex. f.) find a distinct proof of their opinion particularly in chap. xvii. 16, xxviii. 68, where it tells us that Jehovah had previously told the people that they should never again return unto Egypt, whilst such a prohibition in terms does not exist in the preceding part of our Pentateuch. But we cannot determine with any certainty whether the author had anything more distinct in view than that which we read in Exod. xiii.

² 2nd edit.

was also the last editor of the whole Pentateuch, and that the work received from him the extent and arrangement in which we now have it. As this was, at any rate, connected with a fresh transcription of the former part of the work, we may easily imagine that by his hand perhaps certain things were altered or inserted in the preceding books. In my opinion, however, this can only be assumed in reference to the section before considered (§§ 83 and 117), Levit. xxvi. 3-45, which unmistakeably is very similar in its whole tone and character to the discourses in Deuteronomy.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

§ 131.—*Preliminary Considerations as to its Origin.*

THE Pentateuch, as Moses' book of the law, has a suitable conclusion in the end of Deuteronomy. This is not the case with it as an historical work. The incompleteness is evident even now with Deuteronomy added, and must have been much more striking before this was annexed. The death of Moses, which is the last thing related, occurs at a point which forms a pause in the history, but it is not a satisfactory finish to a work which began with the Creation and handled the earlier history in the way in which it is done in the Pentateuch. At the death of Moses, the Israelites had not yet trod the actual land of Canaan; only two and a half tribes had their possession allotted to them beyond Jordan, but outside the land, and indeed on the terms that the fighting men among them should act with their brethren in helping them to take possession of the land, and Joshua was appointed commander in order to effect this. We cannot well think that an historical work written, as we have seen, at all events not till a considerable time after the taking possession of the land of Canaan, would relate all the preparations which had been made for the conquest of the land, and then have broken off without including in the narrative the actual taking possession, and the division of the land among the rest of the tribes. We have already seen that both the original Elohistic writing and its Jehovistic revision, in the history of the patriarchs, indicated the possession of the land of Canaan by Abraham's and Jacob's seed as their terminus in such a way that we cannot doubt that the authors then had in view to include this taking possession in their history, and therefore to extend it to that point which is reached by our Book of Joshua. And thus we are induced to inquire as to the connection and relations of *this book* with the Pentateuch. We have

already (§ 107) seen that the account at the end of the Book of Joshua (xxiv. 32) as to the interment of Joseph's bones in all probability existed in the original *Elohistic* writing, and we find therein a confirmation of the idea that the last part of its contents formed at least the groundwork of our Book of Joshua. For we may suppose from what has gone before that the *Elohistic* writing experienced, in this part also, certain alteration and extension through its *Jehovistic* reviser, although we must expect that it would be just as difficult or impossible to distinguish exactly in detail the one from the other, as it was in the middle books of the Pentateuch. It might, however, be possible that the author of Deuteronomy met with and revised also this part of the history, and enlarged it with additions, or here and there otherwise remodelled it; in this case we should rather expect, from the peculiar character of this author, to distinguish his hand, at least in part. An *analytical review of the contents* of this book will then confirm us in the idea that it actually happened in the way indicated.

§ 132.—*Review of Contents.—Chapters i.–iv.*

The Book of Joshua begins (ch. i.) with the account how, after Moses' death, Joshua received command from Jehovah to lead the people over Jordan in order to take the land of Canaan in possession, in which Jehovah would certainly help him, only that he was to be firm in the observance of the whole law which Moses had commanded him.

This law is here expressly alluded to as a complete body of laws combined in a written book. It tells us (*v.* 8), "this book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success." There are like passages, particularly in Deut. xvii. 11, 12; xxviii. 14.

Joshua then commanded the officers of the people to supply themselves with provisions, for that in three days they should go over Jordan. He brought to the recollection of the two and a half tribes, who had already received their possession on the other side Jordan at the hands of Moses, the conditions imposed upon them by the latter

(Numbers xxxii.)—that they should help their brethren in taking possession of their land, and that up to that time their men fit for war should march forth with the other Israelites, to all of which they agreed without further question. Then it is related (ch. ii.) how Joshua sent out of Shittim, where the Israelites were encamped at the time of Moses' death (Num. xxv. 1), two spies to the other side of Jordan, particularly to the town of Jericho, where they found a kind reception from the harlot Rahab, and, with her help, fortunately escaped. In ch. iii. and iv. is related the wonderful passage over Jordan of the whole people, the waters going back before the Ark which was carried before them, until the whole people had finished crossing, and until Joshua had erected in the middle of Jordan a memorial of twelve stones, the Israelites having previously taken out of the middle of the stream, and brought into their quarters, twelve other stones, which they then erected at Gilgal as a sign of remembrance of these wonderful events.

As the account runs here, two different memorials are clearly intended, one of which was erected in the middle of the stream, where the Ark had stood whilst the Israelites were passing through, the other one at Gilgal. It tells us, as to the first (ch. iv. 9), that the stones "*are there unto this day,*" which points to an author living a considerable time after the event. The account, as far as regards the intention of this memorial, is however, somewhat obscure, because these twelve stones would hardly have been visible in the middle of Jordan. The whole narrative is otherwise also somewhat loose and obscure. Chapter iv. 11 tells us that when the whole people had finished crossing over, the Ark of Jehovah also was carried over, accompanied by the priests; and then, in v. 15, ff., it is again related how Joshua gave Jehovah's command to the priests to come up out of Jordan. We are by this led to believe that here two different narratives are worked into one another, or, which is still more likely, that the original account has been rather altered by a subsequent revision. In this case, one might easily suppose that, in fact, only one memorial was erected, and that the later tradition placed this at one time at Gilgal, at another time in the stream of Jordan itself, which, in the present state of the narrative, are joined together. It is,

however, to be remarked that we have again (chap. iii. 3) the expression חֲבֵרֵי הַלְוִיִּים, which we meet with repeatedly in Deuteronomy, but, except this, only twice in the Scriptures of a later time; and that, according to the whole narrative, the conveyance of the Ark was not done by the Levites, as was conformable to the Mosaic law, but by the priests, who appear here, as is often the case in Deuteronomy, not precisely distinguished from the Levites, and with no peculiar prominence above them (cf. § 124).

§ 133.—*Review of Contents.—Chapters v.—xii.*

In chapter v. we read how the account of this passage over Jordan by the Israelites inspired dread in the kings of the Amorites and other Canaanitish nations (v. 1); how Joshua at Jehovah's command circumcised the whole people, which had been omitted in regard to those who had been born during the journeying in the wilderness; and how, therefore, the town of Gilgal got its name (as it were, the *rolling away* the reproach of Egypt) *to this day*. There also they kept the Passover, and eat the corn of the land, since from this time the gift of manna ceased (vv. 2–12); to which (ch. v. 13 to end of ch. vi.) follows the narrative of the capture of the town of Jericho by the Israelites; how the whole town and all that were in it were placed under a curse, except Rahab and her family, “who dwelt among the Israelites *even unto this day* ;” that the silver and gold, and the brass and iron vessels, were to be brought into the treasury of Jehovah, but that everything else was to be destroyed, and that no Israelite should dare to appropriate anything therefrom. Notwithstanding this, one of them (according to ch. vii.), *Achan*, had appropriated some of the accursed things, a costly mantle, besides gold and silver, on which account Jehovah's wrath arose against the people, and He caused them, by an expedition against the town of Ai, whose capture they thought would be very easy, to be smitten and lose thirty-six men. The Israelites, and particularly Joshua, fell into despair about it. Lots were cast, which pointed out Achan as the guilty one, who confessed his sin, and was stoned. They erected over his body a great heap of stones “*unto this day*” (v. 26), “wherefore that place was called the valley of Achor” (of grief) “unto

this day" (*ib.*). Chap. viii. 1-29 relates the capture of the town of Ai, to which an ambush arranged by Joshua was chiefly conducive. This ambush, according to *vv.* 3, ff., consisted of 30,000 men, who stood between Ai and Bethel; but *v.* 12 also tells of an ambush, likewise between Ai and Bethel, which only amounted to 5000 men.

There is a decided variation in these two statements, and they do not quite convey the idea that the first and second ambush were two separate occurrences, so that there is a certain obscurity in this passage.

The town of Ai is (*v.* 28) turned into a rubbish heap of utter desolation "*unto this day.*" The king of Ai was hanged, and over his corpse a great heap of stones was erected "*unto this day*" (*v.* 29). Then *vv.* 30-35 tell us how Joshua, following the precept in Moses' Book of the Law (Deut. xxvii. 5), built on Mount Ebal an altar of unhewn stones, and then wrote on the stones a copy of Moses' Book of the Law, which the latter had written in the presence of the children of Israel; how that then, whilst the whole of the Israelites had placed themselves on the two sides of the Ark, one part of them on Mount Ebal, the other on Mount Gerizim, he read out to them all the words of blessing and curse exactly as they stood written in the Book of the Law of Moses.

There is here a clear and even literal reference to Deut. xxvii., where all this had been ordained by Moses; and if we compare the two we cannot doubt that they were written down by *one* author, both the ordinance by Moses, and its execution by Joshua in the way it here runs. The expression, הַבְּהֵנִים הַלְלוּם, also again occurs here. This section of the Book of Joshua (ch. viii. 30-35), as it now runs, shows itself pretty clearly to be a later interpolation in the rest of the history, as the passage following (ch. ix. 1, ff.), "when all the kings this side of Jordau heard of it they gathered themselves together with one accord to fight with Joshua and Israel," &c., cannot, from its purport, relate to the section immediately preceding, but only to the capture of Ai, as is indeed clearly shown in *v.* 3. This section (*vv.* 30-35) therefore appears to have been inserted here by the author of Deuteronomy, and this affords a ground of proof that the latter met with some writing in which the conquest of Ai, and what we read in

ch. ix., was written. Perhaps, however, there was also in this writing a short statement how Joshua built an altar on Mount Ebal of unhewn stones, on which to offer burnt-offerings and thank-offerings to Jehovah. *Vide* remarks as to this on Deut. xxvii. 1-8 (p. 340).

It is next related in ch. ix. how the Gibeonites, by their craft, escaped the hostility of the Israelites towards the rest of the Canaanitish nations by sending ambassadors to Joshua, and feigning that they dwelt in a far-distant country, so that they would not come at all in contact with the Israelites as possessors of the land of Canaan. This induced Joshua and the princes of the people to conclude a league of peace with them, which afterwards, when in the further course of their march they soon came to the possessions of the Gibeonites and became aware that they had been deceived by them, they would not break, and allowed them to live. It was, however, determined that the Gibeonites should serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation of the people and for Jehovah's altar, "*even unto this day, in the place which He should choose*" (v. 27).¹ Ch. x. relates the wonderful victory of the Israelites over five kings of the Amorites, and the capture of their possessions. These kings had, at the summons of one of them, Adonizedec, king of Jerusalem, marched against the Gibeonites, the new allies of the Israelites, who then appealed to Joshua for help. Joshua then came up from Gilgal, and defeated the combined kings at Gibeon, and those who retreated were slain by great hailstones which fell from heaven. It is next told how, at Joshua's command, the sun and the moon stood still until the people had avenged themselves on their enemies (v. 12, ff.).

What is added at this point gives us a hint how this expression was originally intended. The author appeals for his statement to the סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, probably a collection of songs, which, as before (§ 60) remarked, could not, according to 2 Sam. i. 18, have been made before the age of David, or, at least, not completed. We read in v. 13, "Is not this written in the Book of Jasher? so the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down for about a whole day (v. 14), and there was no day

¹ A formula which reminds us of Deuteronomy, but has very much the appearance of a later addition.

like that before it or after it that Jehovah hearkened unto the voice of a man, for Jehovah fought for Israel." How far the quotation goes in this, and where the historian himself again comes in, is not very clear;¹ but it is evident from the way it is quoted that he appears to have only adopted the standing-still of the sun on this day out of the book which is quoted by him, and that in that book it was most probably not intended in an actual and literal way, but only as a figurative, poetical expression, as if the sun itself had taken part with the Israelites, and had appeared to delay its stay in the heavens till the overthrow of the enemy was complete.

It results from this quotation, and the way in which the passage is here used (the moon being named as well as the sun as standing still in the valley of Ajalon, thus producing a still greater perplexity), that the narrative in its present state was not composed till a tolerably late date; yet it is, perhaps, founded on an earlier written account, which has been somewhat remodelled. In this way, much that is obscure, and many discrepancies in the contents of the narrative itself, may be easiest explained. Thus it tells us in *v.* 15: "Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp in Gilgal," as if everything had finished; but, nevertheless, we are told in what immediately follows of the further continued pursuit, from which, according to *v.* 21, the Israelitish host returned to Joshua at the camp at Makkedah, where the hostile kings had concealed themselves in a great cave; and the return of the Israelites to their camp at Gilgal is related in *v.* 43. It is further related (*vv.* 22–27) how the five hostile kings were caught and slain by the Israelites, and their bodies thrown into the cave where they had hidden themselves, and that great stones were rolled before the mouth of it "*unto this day*" (*v.* 27). In *v.* 37, on the contrary, it is related in the capture of the town of Hebron that the king of that place was slain with the edge of the sword, and yet he must have been one among the former five kings. This must, perhaps, be understood as referring to the successor of the king who was slain; yet one would expect some short intimation as to this in the narrative itself. It is also remarkable that among the five kings (*v.* 3) the king of Eglon appears under the name of

¹ Cf. "My Notes in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*" 1863, p. 806. f.

Debir; on the contrary, in *v.* 38, Debir is named as a particular city, after Eglon.

At all events, this chapter aimed at giving the account of the complete conquest of the nations dwelling in the southern part of the land of Canaan. Ch. xi. 1-15 treats of the conquest of the nations lying in the northern portion of the land; *vv.* 16-20 relates to the two together, the conquest both of the southern and northern nations, therefore to the taking of the whole land, which is there recapitulated. It is next noticed in *v.* 21, that they conquered and rooted out the gigantic race of the Anakim, so that only a few of them were left in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod; then it tells us (*v.* 23), "And Joshua took the whole land, according to all that Jehovah said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes; and the land rested from war;" and this appears as a complete concluding formula. Then follows in chapter xii. a list of the conquests which the Israelites had made in their land, both on the other side of Jordan under Moses, and on this side the river under the leading of Joshua; the Canaanitish princes, however, which were conquered by the latter, are very particularly named in detail (*vv.* 9-24; 31 in number).

There are many kings in this list, however, who are not mentioned in what goes before; perhaps the author of the book may have known nothing more special about their conquest. This list stands in a similar relation to the historical narration in the previous part of the book, as the list of halting-places (Num. xxxiii.), to the more copious history going before, and may have existed at a tolerably early date, and have been met with by the composer of the continuous and more ample history; if not exactly the whole section (ch. xii.), at least this list from *v.* 9 forward. In what precedes this, in *v.* 7, it appears inferred, just as at the end of ch. xi., that Joshua had finished taking possession of the whole land, and had shared it out to the Israelites, according to their division of tribes, with which what follows does not at all appear to agree.

§ 134.—*Review of Contents.—Chapters xiii.—xxiv.*

In ch. xiii. 1, ff., the command is given to Joshua, as he was then old, to divide the land between the nine and a

half tribes who had not before received their possessions at the hand of Moses; it is expressly stated as to this, in *v.* 2-6, that part of the land had not yet at that time been taken by the Israelites, viz. the south-west portion, where was the territory of the Philistines, and the northern part, the country round Lebanon. Joshua, however, was to divide these lands, for Jehovah would give them to him. In mentioning the half-tribe of Manasseh, which was to receive its possession on this side Jordan with the nine tribes, it is remarked in *v.* 8, ff., that the other half of it had already received its share with Reuben and Gad from Moses, on the other side of Jordan; and the possessions of these two and a half tribes are stated in detail in what follows up to the end of the chapter.

Ch. xiv. begins as if the intention was at once to state the separate possessions which the Israelites had assigned to them by Joshua and the high priest Eleazer in the land of Canaan, viz. the nine and a half tribes; but the only statement is, that the tribe of Levi had no particular tract of land given them, and the reason is given for it. From *v.* 6 on to the end it is then told how Caleb reminded Joshua of the promise given him by Moses that he should have as his possession that district which his foot had formerly trod when he spied out the land (*Num.* xiv. 24; and particularly *Deut.* i. 36), in consequence of which Hebron was pointed out to him as his own possession, which had before borne the name Kirjath-Arba, from the Anakim, Arba. It concludes with *v.* 15, to the effect, "and the land had rest from war," which, so far as this section stands at present, appears altogether out of place.

In what follows, the whole possessions which fell to the lot of the different tribes are more fully detailed; and first, in ch. xv., the territory of the tribe of Judah, and ch. xvi. and xvii., that of Joseph's successors, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Here (ch. xv. 13-20) there is again a special account of Caleb, and it is related that the city of Hebron was given over to him, together with other notices about him, but without any notice at all being taken that all this had been already mentioned in what precedes (ch. xiv.).

We must here suppose that originally ch. xv. joined immediately on to ch. xiv. 1-5, and that ch. xiv. 6-15 is a later interpolation; and, since *v.* 9 particularly appears to

be a literal reference to Deut. i. 36—a much more exact reference than to the corresponding passage in Numbers—from what has gone before, it cannot be deemed improbable that it proceeded from the author of Deuteronomy. What we read about Caleb in ch. xv. bears much more, in its whole character, the stamp of originality than ch. xiv. does.

At this point we may remark that in ch. xv. 63 we read that the children of Judah were not able to drive out the Jebusites, the ancient inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem, “but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day.” Clericus remarks, and with justice, that this passage is a proof that this was composed before the time of David; for David succeeded in taking possession of the city, and particularly the stronghold of Jebus or Jerusalem, in spite of the opposition of the Jebusites (2 Sam. v. 6, ff.; 1 Chron. xi. 4, ff.), and made it his court and the seat of the Sanctuary. Of course, there appear to have been, since then, individual heathen inhabitants who dwelt with the Israelites in the place, as clearly appears from 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, ff., where, in the latter part of the reign of David, Araunah, the Jebusite, showed himself to be one who looked upon Jehovah as the God of David, but not as his own God. But if this remark (Josh. xv. 63) was not made until the time when David had taken possession of the city, it would hardly have been to the effect that the children of Judah were not able to drive out the previous inhabitants; for the power to do this could not then have been wanting to them, and in David’s time there were perhaps only a few solitary Jebusites, who had remained living there. So that it follows with great probability that this list was originally made in the time between Joshua and the capture of Jerusalem by David.

It can be objected, on the contrary, that the name *Jerusalem* occurs here for this city (as also ch. x. 1; xviii. 28). Of course it is to be supposed, with great probability, that the city did not receive this name, “abode or possession of peace,” until after David had made it his court, and the seat of the Ark of Covenant. But as we have often found in this book traces of a later revision, we may well imagine that, in this way only, the twice repeated name Jerusalem

got into it; although, in fact, both the יִשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם, and afterwards the בְּיִרְוִשָׁלַם, might well be omitted without anything being missed. (As to the latter *v. ch. xvi. 10.*)

In the statement of the possessions of the tribe of Ephraim, it is remarked (*ch. xvi. 10*), that the Ephraimites had not driven out the Canaanites who dwelt at Gezer, and "the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute." If we compare this with *1 Kings ix. 16*, we are there told that, in Solomon's time, the Egyptian king captured and burnt the city of Gezer, and destroyed the Canaanites dwelling in it, and gave the city and district to Solomon as a present to his daughter, Solomon's wife; and that then Solomon rebuilt the city. But, beyond doubt, after this, it was not again peopled with Canaanites but with Israelites; this account, therefore, leads us clearly to the idea, that this (*ch. xvi. 10*) must have been written before the destruction of Gezer by Pharaoh.

In the statement of the possession of the half tribe of Manasseh, it is remarked (*ch. xvii. 3*), that the daughters of Zelophehad, who had no sons, received a special possession in the land; there is in this an express reference to the purport of *Numbers xxvii. 1-11*, where Moses promised this to them, and they were absolutely the cause of the legal precept there as to female heirs. Besides, it is here remarked about the Manassites, that they had not been able to drive out the Canaanitish inhabitants of the cities allotted to them as a possession; and even subsequently, when the children of Israel had become stronger, they had, indeed, put the Canaanites under tribute, but had not then been able to drive them out.

Five tribes had now had their possessions assigned to them, and seven were yet left. In *ch. xviii. 1, ff.*, it is told how the ark had its resting-place fixed at Shiloh, in the tribe of Ephraim, this region having already yielded to the Israelites;—how Joshua summoned the Israelites to a meeting of the people, in order to select men out of the midst of them to survey the rest of the land, in order that it might then be divided by lot among the seven tribes, and that this was done. In *v. 11*, to the end, there is an account of the borders of the district falling to the tribe of Benjamin, and likewise in *ch. xix.*, of that coming to the six other tribes,

and at last, *vv.* 49, 50, a special possession is assigned to Joshua personally in the city of Timnath-Serah, on Mount Ephraim, which he built (fortified) and then inhabited.

It is to be remarked here, that in the account of the possessions of the Danites, it is related *ch.* xix. 47, that the Danites had waged war with the city of Leshem, and had taken it in possession, and called it by the name of Dan, their ancestor. As this is here told, it appears to relate to something occurring later than the division of the land by Joshua, and we are confirmed in this by comparing it with *Judges xviii.* 27, ff., where it is related, as a whole, in the same way, but evidently as at a later time, only the earlier name of the city is stated to have been Laish.

It is then related in *ch.* xx. how the Israelites, following Jehovah's command to Joshua, fixed on six free cities in their land, three on this side, and three on the other side Jordan, wherein a sure refuge was afforded to those who might, unintentionally, have committed a manslaughter. There is here an express reference made to the law delivered before to Moses by Jehovah, *Numbers xxxv.* 9-34, according to which the Israelites were to select such cities when they had passed over Jordan.

But, on the contrary, our narrative here does not quite agree with *Deut. iv.* 41-43, according to which the three free cities beyond Jordan, the names of which are even given, had already been fixed upon by Moses (*cf.* § 129). It does not seem improbable to me, that what is here given in the Book of Joshua belonged to the Elohist writing, on the contrary, that which stands in Deuteronomy on this point originally proceeded from the Jehovist.

There is likewise in the following chapter an express reference to a Mosaic law, *Numbers xxxv.* 1-8, as to the special cities to be assigned to the Levites; these are here, *vv.* 1-42, assigned to them, and are describe dseverally by name, according to the different families of the Levites, and according to the various tribes in which they lay. Verses 43-45 form the conclusion to the whole account of the taking possession and division of the land. This, however, is expressed in a more forcible way than seems suitable to the special statements in what goes before, since it tells us that the Israelites had taken possession of the *whole* land which Jehovah had promised to their fathers, and that

Jehovah had given them rest on all sides, and that not one of all their enemies could stand against them.

Next follows ch. xxii. where it is related that Joshua, after the complete taking possession of the land of Canaan, dismissed again to their own country the warlike men of the two and a half tribes, whom he had taken over Jordan with him, in doing which he admonished them to observe the law which Moses had commanded them, to love Jehovah, their God, and to walk in all his ways, *vv.* 1-8. They then actually returned to their own country, and on the way they set up a great altar by Jordan, *vv.* 9, 10. But when the other tribes heard of this, they considered it as idolatry, assembled at Shiloh, and had it in contemplation to march against the two and a half tribes; but this they abstained from when the latter explained by their deputies as to the intention of the altar, that it was not intended either for burnt-offerings or meat-offerings, but only to serve as a witness for them and their children that they had a part in Jehovah (*vv.* 11-34).

It is unmistakeable that at least the latter part of this narrative, from *v.* 11, puts us very much in mind of Deuteronomy, and appears to bear in it the character of a later time, since, as shown § 124, the Israelites, after the taking possession of the land, and from the time of Joshua forward, nowhere appear actuated with such a zealous aversion to this sacrificing on various altars as they are here depicted to have done.

Then (ch. xxiii.), some long time after, when Joshua was become old, and God had given rest to Israel from all their enemies, he held a general meeting of the people, and admonished them to a firm adherence to the law of Jehovah, and expressly warned them against intermingling and joining themselves with the Canaanitish nations. Verse 6, "Be ye therefore very courageous to keep and to do *all that is written in the Book of the Law of Moses*, that ye turn not aside therefrom, to the right hand or to the left, &c." (Cf. Josh. i. 8, above § 132.)

In ch. xxiv. there is again an account of a general meeting of the people, which Joshua held before Jehovah at Shechem (which presupposes that the sanctuary was there); he here sets forth to them in a short sketch the former guidance of God, since the selection of their ancestor Abra-

ham. This is done in the same way as in Deuteronomy, to the discourses in which there is a great resemblance here in character. Cf. particularly *vv.* 25–27 with Deut. xxxi. 24, ff. The people were laid under fresh obligations to reverence Jehovah, and Joshua then wrote these addresses in the Book of the Law of God, and set up a great stone as a witness, under the oak by the Sanctuary of Jehovah, and afterwards dismissed the people, each to their possession. Verses 29–31 tell of the death and burial of Joshua (at 110 years old), and how Israel served Jehovah so long as Joshua lived, and those God-fearing elders who *outlived him*. Verse 32 tells us that the bones of Joseph, which the Israelites had brought with them out of Egypt, were buried at Shechem, in the field bought there by Jacob; *v.* 33, the death and burial of Eleazer, Aaron's son.

§ 135.—*Result of Analysis of Contents.*

This analytical view of the contents of the Book of Joshua serves to confirm what we propounded as a theory as to its origin. In the first place, from what we have ascertained, it is most clearly evident that this book is just as little, and perhaps not even so much, an absolutely independent work as the Books of the Pentateuch. The opinion of its integrity has been asserted by, among others, L. König ("Old Testament Studies," 1st Part, "Authenticity of the Book of Joshua," 1836), and Keil ("Commentary on the Book of Joshua," Erlangen, 1847, and "Introduction to the Old Testament"), the first of whom endeavours to claim the book, with the exception of the five last verses, ch. xxiv. 29–33, for Joshua himself as author, and it is also ascribed to him in the Talmud (*v.* above § 68, notes), and by many other writers. Keil dates its composition about twenty to twenty-five years after the death of Joshua, and attributes it to an Israelite, who was a contemporary with the events of the book. These two opinions are opposed by the frequent occurrence of the formula, "*up to this day*," in reference to memorials which had been erected, or arrangements and circumstances in the people of Israel. Cf. ch. iv. 9; v. 9; vi. 25; vii. 26, twice; viii. 28, 29; ix. 27; x. 27; xiii. 13; xiv. 14; xv. 63; xvi. 10.

These expressions seem to point to an author who was not quite so near to the events in point of time.

§ 136.—*Considerations as to Authorship—References to Deuteronomy—Written Sources employed by Composer.*

We have met with several things in this book furnishing a clear reference to *Deuteronomy*, which, therefore, cannot have been written before the latter. The matter of this nature bears such a close affinity, however, both in its style of writing, and its whole character, to *Deuteronomy* itself, that we are thus led to suppose that it is the work of the same author. And since we are not led to any date later than that of *Deuteronomy*, at least by any passage in the book, we have good ground for supposing that the author of *Deuteronomy* was also the last reviser of the Book of Joshua, and that through him it received the form and extent in which we now have it. ✓

On the other hand, it results from what has gone before, that this reviser could not well have been the independent author of the whole book, and the original composer of all its separate parts.

We have seen, (*a*) that certain sections, which decidedly bring *Deuteronomy* to mind, or refer to it, appear also in other ways to be later insertions in a previously existing narrative, as particularly, ch. viii. 30–35, xiv. 6–15; and, (*b*), that, in several passages, the accounts run as they could not have done if they had not been written at a considerably earlier time than that to which *Deuteronomy* belongs; we may instance ch. xv. 63, and xvi. 10, the first of which points to a time before the capture of Jerusalem by David, the latter to one before the conquest of the city of Gezer by Pharaoh in the time of Solomon. On this point, cf. ch. viii. 28, where it tells us about the city of Ai, that the Israelites had turned it into a rubbish heap of utter desolation “*up to this day*,” at the time of Isaiah, however (ch. x. 28), the town again existed, so that the above must evidently have been written before the age when it was rebuilt.

The opinion, however, is altogether improbable, which Claudius Heinrich van Herwerden has expressed,¹ who

¹ *Disputatio de libro Josuæ sive de diversis ex quibus constat Josuæ liber monumentis deque ætate qua eorum vixerunt auctores.* Gröningen, 1862.

regards the book as a compilation from ten different documents (*monumentis*), and endeavours to distinguish their several elements. On the contrary, we cannot doubt that the last reviser, the Deuteronomist, had fallen in with a connected narrative of the history of the people of Israel, extending from Moses' death up to the taking possession and division of the land, and to the death of Joshua, that narrative, namely, which existed in the work of the *Jehovistic reviser* of the preceding history of the people of God. This last part of the historical work met with by the Deuteronomist certainly contained a continuous narrative from Moses' death up to the death of Joshua, and was particularly devoted to the account of the capture of the land of Canaan by the Israelites, and its division among the various tribes. The Deuteronomist sometimes inserted separate narratives in this section, and sometimes somewhat remodelled what he met with in the latter. Both seem to be done in the same spirit as that from which the interpolations in Deuteronomy proceeded, namely, with a view of emphatically enjoining the observance of the legal form of God's worship, and an attention to the written law.

The following narratives of this sort, inserted by the Deuteronomist, we have already become acquainted with, (*a*), the account of the renewed obligation laid on the people to keep the Mosaic law (ch. viii. 30–35), at least in its present form; *v.* above § 133; (*b*), the account of the granting of Hebron to Caleb (ch. xiv. 6–15). Most probably, also, there are of this nature, (*c*), the portion (ch. xxii. 11–xxiv. 28, according to Ewald i. p. 219, 2nd Edit., also verses 29–31), the great resemblance of which to Deuteronomy has been previously spoken of, and of which we may assume with great probability, that it was altogether inserted by the author of Deuteronomy.¹ But the passages which show tolerably clear traces of being revisions or additions by the Deuteronomist are ch. i. 1–9 (particularly verses 7–9); *ib.* verses 16–18; chapters iii. and iv. The narrative of going over Jordan (ch. ix. 27; x. 12–15), on the standing still of the sun and moon, and the quotation

¹ Otherwise, if the Deuteronomist did meet with something of the purport of this section in the earlier writing, it must at least be assumed that he remodelled it to a very great extent.

from the Book of Jasher on these events, and probably several others.

But as regards the Jehovistic writing which was met with by the Deuteronomist, from reasons which have gone before, we cannot doubt that the writing of the *Elohists* formed the ground-work and chief source for this part of it, and that most of the narratives of the book existed in the latter, both the going over Jordan and the conquest of the land of Canaan, and its division among the tribes. No doubt it contained a continuous account of all this period, as we have previously (§ 107) seen that, without doubt, the statement as to the burial of Joseph's bones belonged to it. Thus probably the narrative (ch. xx.) also belonged to it, whilst the account differing from it (Deut. iv. 41-43, v. § 129) not improbably proceeded from the Jehovist. We may likewise assume with certainty that the ancient list of the thirty-one Canaanitish kings conquered by the Israelites belonged to the Elohistic writing, and doubtless much other matter which has been retained out of the latter by the Jehovist, and again from his writings by the Deuteronomist.

In this, however, as before often remarked, we cannot throughout distinguish in detail, with any certainty, between the Elohists and Jehovist. We may, however, assume, with the greatest probability, that this part of the work of the Elohists was not altogether the first written account about the people of Israel at Joshua's time, and that this historian sometimes at least made use of written sources; thus, besides the list of the Canaanitish kings conquered by the Israelites, there were, in all probability, other ancient lists as to the possessions of the several tribes in the division made by Joshua, which formed, at least, the ground-work for what we now read on these points.

An appeal has sometimes been made to ch. v. 1, in favour of a record contemporary with the events having been made; in this passage the first person plural is once made use of for the Israelites when they passed over Jordan: "When all the kings of the Amorites, &c., heard that Jehovah had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until *we* were passed over (עַד עִבְרָנִי)." But this expression is so isolated that we

can scarcely believe that it can have been retained out of the original written narrative of Joshua or a contemporary of his; probably here we should read עִבְרָם, as it is not only in the margin, but also in Cod. 37 as the reading of the text, and is so printed by the ancient translators. The other reading, therefore, is of later date, arising from accidental error.

RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE PENTATEUCH AND
THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

§ 137.—*General Retrospect—Elohistic Writing and Jehovistic Revision.*

If we now take a retrospect of the results of our previous investigations into the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, we shall find the following chief points established :

(1) We can have no doubt that the art of writing was practised among the Hebrews at the time of Moses, because there are in the Pentateuch so many sections, which are presented to us in a form which would admit of no explanation if we suppose that they were composed at a later time. Nor, again, could the art of writing have prevailed to the extent it must have done, if it had not been—even though to a slight extent—in use among them during their sojourn in Egypt. It is not improbable that several records of the primitive history of the human race, and of the ancestors of the Israelites, were made during this period, particularly the history of Joseph : which records form the basis of what Genesis tells us on these points.

(2) The legislation of the Pentateuch is, essentially, genuinely Mosaic. Many laws in it are presented to us in exactly the form in which they proceeded from Moses, and, doubtless, were written down by him, since in a later age they could not well have been composed in this shape. With regard to other laws which can be proved, or can probably be shown, to have been composed at a later age, they sometimes, indeed, present variations in several points from the genuine Mosaic laws, but yet so as to harmonize with the latter throughout, in respect to their spirit and essential character. They almost all have the effect of rendering the Mosaic legislation more suitable to the altered circumstances of a later time, so that it might then find an immediate application, which could not be the case without alteration, in many of the laws proceeding from Moses himself, which related only to the nomadic state of the Israelites during their journeyings through the Wilderness.

(3) Much other matter contained in the Pentateuch also proceeded from Moses, or was written in the Mosaic age, as several songs, several accounts of numberings of the people, and the list of halting-places (Num. xxxiii.) On the contrary, in all probability, neither Moses, nor any of his contemporaries, wrote any continuous history of the events of that time, still less one in which the whole legislation was interwoven, as is the case in the Pentateuch.

(4) We see also that some early records were made containing the events of the period from the death of Moses to that of Joshua, particularly respecting the division of the land among the various tribes, and the like; but that a connected historical narrative of this period was not written at an earlier date than the history of the people in the Mosaic age.

(5) The first continuous historical work, distinct traces of which appear in the works remaining to us, dealt connectedly with the history from the Creation up to the death of Joshua, or up to the taking possession and division of the land of Canaan, and its composition took place in all probability in the age of Saul. It treated of the chief epochs only in the history with any degree of copiousness: those, namely, which were peculiarly important for understanding the relation of God to mankind, and the Divine dealings with men; such as the Creation, the Flood, the Call of Abraham and God's covenant with him, the histories of Jacob and Joseph, and those of Moses and Joshua. The period lying between these events is only cursorily treated of in short genealogical lists serving to unite two epochs and their chief representative characters. This work is that of the so-called *Elohists*. Its distinguishing mark, founded on the consciousness that God had not been worshipped as Jehovah among the people of Israel before the time of Moses, is that the earlier history abstained altogether from this designation of Him. This chiefly enables us to recognize in many places elements belonging to this work, and even to distinguish them with tolerable certainty in our present Scriptures, up to the time of the revelation made to Moses as to the worship of God by the name of Jehovah; but this is not the case in the later history. There are, however, distinct signs that it treated of the history up to the point

stated, viz., the taking possession and division of the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel. We can also infer with the greatest probability that it likewise included the Mosaic legislation, and contained those laws particularly which show themselves by their form to be genuinely Mosaic, as well as the songs and other documents of the ages both of Moses and Joshua, so far as they were known to the author. This work contained, therefore, a very important, and, in extent, the largest part of the elements of the four first books of the Pentateuch, besides the account of the death of Moses (on the whole corresponding to Deut. xxxiv. 1-8) and the greater part of the Book of Joshua. It is in this work that the ancient history of the people of the covenant has received the essential type which it now bears in the Pentateuch, at any rate up to Deuteronomy.

(6) This work was enlarged and revised by a somewhat later author, probably in the age of David, and not quite in the last portion of the reign of this king. The ancient work remained as the basis; but it was augmented by many new sections which the author sometimes met with in a written form, and sometimes wrote down himself from the then oral tradition. The narratives of the early writing were also remodelled by means of additions and alterations, also by abridgments and omissions in places where the *Jehovist* made use of sources drawn from other quarters as to the same circumstances and events. It differed from the work which went before it, principally that in dealing with the pre-Mosaic period, the author arbitrarily employed the expression Jehovah as the peculiar designation of God from the beginning, in the history of the Creation and everywhere following; and also, as a matter of course, represents God himself, and persons before Moses, as making a premature use of this name, and worshipping God as Jehovah, proceeding on the view that this worship began after the time of Enos, the son of Seth (Gen. iv. 26). As regards other things in the ancient Israelitish history, he has essentially kept close to the type which prevailed in the Elohistic ground work writing.

The earlier work was considerably enriched by means of this revision, but it lost as much in auctorial individuality. This work then, when compared with our books, embraced

(a) the four first books of the Pentateuch, essentially the same in extent as we now have them, with very slight exceptions, namely, Levit. xxvi. 3-45; (b) the narrative taken from the Elohist writing as to the death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 1-8); (c) the Book of Joshua, in the form in which the author of Deuteronomy met with it. The whole work, however, just as the earlier Elohist one, appears to have made no further pretensions than to be considered as a private literary undertaking, and as a work, does not appear to have received any special public authority, except in so far as the Mosaic system of laws was included in it.

§ 138.—*The Deuteronomic Revision, its Character and Date.*

(7) Next succeeded the last revision of the work by the author of *Deuteronomy*, from whom it received the form and extent in which it is now presented to us in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. The author of this revision adopted in its entirety the work (of the Jehovist) just referred to, in the form in which he found it, only here and there allowing certain changes and additions, particularly in the history of the time of Joshua. In the first books of the Pentateuch, the only changes, perhaps, are the insertion of Levit. xxvi. 3-45, and some transpositions, e.g., Deut. iv. 41-43 (as to the three cities of refuge beyond Jordan), and ch. xxvii. 1-8 (as to the altar erected on Ebal). The chief alteration, however, arises from the enlargement of the work by the adoption into it of Deuteronomy itself (ch. i.-xxxiii.). This author's object was simply to recommend and enjoin most emphatically the legal worship of Jehovah as the only true God, and the general observance of the Mosaic laws, and to enforce this by an intimation of the heavy punishment and Divine curse which the continual infringement and disobedience of them had already brought, and would still continue to bring, on the people, which could only be averted by an earnest and exact compliance with the Divine commands. The form adopted by the author for this purpose is to represent Moses himself, immediately before his death, as referring in long discourses to the Divine dealings with the people up to that time, and as repeating again, in a connected form, God's commandments to them, enforcing their observance, and delivering the most emphatic threatenings against

their infringement. The Mosaic laws, therefore, as they had been delivered in the preceding books, are again repeated in their spirit and actual import, but with some modifications, adapting them to the altered circumstances. Some laws also are added referring to a new state of things, *e.g.*, the laws about kings. The author, however, had particularly in view the worship of idols and images, which, in his time, was continually practised among the people, and was so difficult to eradicate, because, besides the altar in the Temple at Jerusalem, there were so many other so-called high altars, not only in the kingdom of Israel, but also in Judah, on which it was not held to be forbidden to sacrifice to Jehovah, and over which the true priests of Jehovah could not easily have such control as to prevent their frequent abuse in the worship of other Gods. It might, therefore, have proved an absolute necessity to the more pious Israelites, who were zealously devoted to the worship of Jehovah, to bring again to special remembrance that law of Moses, the object of which was to cut off all idolatry by an absolute prohibition to kill any cattle, except before the tabernacle (Levit. xvii.), simply modifying it so as to adapt it generally to the circumstances of the time. This is done in Deuteronomy by the law which confined every sacrifice, and every festival connected with sacrificing, to the fixed place of the sanctuary. It is possible that the author made use of other written sources besides the work of the Jehovist; but on this point nothing exact can be ascertained, except that it may be assumed with the greatest probability that he met with the song and the blessing, which he adopted in ch. xxxii. and xxxiii., as they do not appear to have been originally composed with a view of passing as Mosaic.

The reign of Manasseh, king of Judah, in the first half of the seventh century, B.C., may most probably be assumed as the date of the composition of Deuteronomy, and the last revision of the whole work. In any case, we must assume a date before the eighteenth year of Josiah (B.C. 624), when the Book of the Law found in the Temple was made use of by that king. This book certainly did not contain Deuteronomy alone, although this book was perhaps the first read by the king, which struck such excessive terror into him. It must also have comprehended the preceding Books of the Pentateuch (2 Kings xxiii. 21 (cf. Deut. xvi.) is in favour

of this), and very probably the Book of Joshua also, although, in the narrative of the discovery of the Book of the Law, there is no particular mention of its contents.

After the discovery of this book in the Temple, it was, however, generally acknowledged by the Jews as an authentic book of the law, so far as it treated of the Mosaic history. Up to this time, the Mosaic laws existed partly in separate collections of laws, partly in the historical works preceding Deuteronomy, without, however, any one book having received generally acknowledged authority above another. It might, therefore, have been very possible to deal with the laws in an arbitrary fashion (cf. Jer. viii. 8, where the lying pens of the Scribes are spoken of which made the law to lie); perhaps partly by falsifying it (in ch. ii. 8, we find *הַתִּירָה הַפְּסִי הַתִּירָה* spoken of), and Zeph. iii. 4. This, however, ceased when the law, in the extent in which it was found, both Deuteronomy and the preceding books, were considered as the authentic codex of the Mosaic Book of the Law, and as such, and also as Scripture, had normal canonical authority attributed to them, which authority the work has since then maintained. The division of the last part of the work which treated of the history of Joshua, from the Pentateuch, and its being regarded as a separate work, was connected with this. This, however, was perhaps done rather later, perhaps not till after the exile, by Ezra, when the latter laid the people under a fresh obligation to observe the Mosaic law (as to which *v.* § 293); at the same time as the separation of the book of Joshua from the Pentateuch, the division¹ of the latter into five books took place.²

A SHORT EXAMINATION OF THE ADVERSE ARGUMENTS.

§ 139.—*The Samaritan Pentateuch.*

It now remains for us to consider shortly the chief arguments which have been brought to bear *against* the opinion we have here developed as to the origin of the Pentateuch.

¹ This division arose spontaneously from the variety of the contents, since Leviticus easily separates itself from the rest of the bulk, and the line of demarcation is equally evident between Genesis and Exodus, as between Numbers and Deuteronomy.

² The frivolous remarks of R. Dozy ("The Israelites at Mecc.," Leipzig, 1864) do not deserve notice.

both as to its gradual formation and its comparatively late completion, and *in favour* of its higher antiquity, and the unity of the authorship of the whole of it. Three points have been principally appealed to for this purpose: (a) the character and uniformity of the language in the whole work: (b) the external evidences and signs of its earlier existence in the other books of the Old Testament; (c) the acknowledgment by the Samaritans of the Pentateuch as the Book of the Law.

We will begin with the last point. It is an unquestionable fact that the Samaritans, who did not hold as canonical any of the other books of the Jewish canon, acknowledged the Pentateuch as the Book of the Law—with many variations, indeed, from the readings of the Jewish recension—but yet in quite the same extent as the Jews. This, it has been thought, would not have been the case if the Pentateuch, in its present extent, had not existed, and had not also been generally acknowledged as the book of the law, before the separation of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, since, from the lasting enmity and jealousy which arose after that time between the people of the two kingdoms, it cannot be thought that either the Israelites or the Samaritans would have adopted a book of the law from the Jews if they had not previously accepted it. This fact has often been employed to prove that the whole Pentateuch, if not, indeed, the work of Moses, must have existed and been acknowledged as the Book of the Law before the death of Solomon. This argument, however, has been given up by the most modern advocates of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch, particularly by Hengstenberg and Hävernick; and a close impartial consideration of the actual historical circumstances shows that it is, in fact, altogether untenable.

The Samaritans were the inhabitants of the territory of the ten tribes after the breaking up of their kingdom by the Assyrians, and were formed by the intermingling of the Israelites left behind in the land with the new colonists planted there by the Assyrian kings, Cuthites, Babylonians, and the inhabitants of other Assyrian provinces. We read that numerous lions made their appearance, and destroyed the inhabitants, and that this was looked upon as a judgment which the *God of the land*, Jehovah, had sent, because

He was no longer worshipped there, since the Israelitish priests, and the principal persons generally, were certainly among those who were carried away. The Assyrian king, therefore, gave permission to one of the Israelitish priests to return out of exile, who established the worship of Jehovah at Bethel, from which time forward the different nations in the land each worshipped their own old Divinity, but, at the same time, revered Jehovah as the God of the land they now dwelt in. (Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 24, ff.; Ezra iv. 2.)

It is nowhere here actually expressly stated that, after the dissolution of the Israelitish kingdom, any Israelites still remained in the land. But the nature of the case forbids any doubt on the point; just as in the scattering of the nation of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, we cannot imagine that all the Jewish inhabitants, without exception, were carried away, or had emigrated. In both cases, it would be only the principal people, and those fit for war, who would be removed by the conquerors, among them, *e.g.*, the priests, whilst the smaller folk, from whom they had no hostility to dread, were left behind, and particularly the people in the *country*. The account in 2 Kings xvii. 24, 26, refers only to the Samaritan *cities*, in which the new colonists were to be planted.

We may, however, assume that after the institution of the worship of Jehovah among them, these heathen colonists became more mixed up with the Israelites, who had themselves often practised idolatry before the overthrow of their people, so that they soon became an actual mixed people. The view that is broached by Hengstenberg ("Authenticity of the Pent." I., p. 3, ff.) is decidedly incorrect, that the later Samaritans were of *purely* heathen origin.¹ Under this supposition the whole of the subsequent history of the Samaritans, and their relations to the Jews, would be absolutely unintelligible. It is related of Hezekiah in the Chronicles that when he destroyed idolatry in the land, and wished to institute a general passover, he sent his messengers to the inhabitants of Ephraim and Manasseh, and even to Zebulun, and that a number of the people came out of the Israelitish kingdom, and partook of the passover at Jerusalem; so that afterwards the altars

¹ Cf. Notes by H. Petermann, who stayed two months at Nablous, in Herzog's *Encyclop.* xiii. p. 357.

in high places were broken down, even by force, not merely in Judah, but also in Israel, 2 Chron. xxx. 1, 5, 10, 11; xxxi. 1. Nothing is said about this in the Book of Kings, and it is not clear from the narrative in Chronicles whether this took place before the breaking up of the kingdom of Israel, or after it. But what is related of Josiah is more certain, that he destroyed in Samaria the altar at Bethel, and generally all high places and idol-altars in this land; 2 Kings xxiii. 15, 19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, 7. This shows that at that time the King of Judah must have been able to extend his power even over Samaria, without being hindered by the Assyrians or Chaldeans.

At a later time, when the Jews, by the permission of the Persian king, again returned from Babylon to their land, and under the guidance of Zerubbabel and Joshua began to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, the Samaritans wished to take part with them in this undertaking, and in the cultus in the new Temple. This was roughly refused on the part of the chief men of the Jews. (Ezra iv. 2, ff.) Exasperated at this, they threw hindrances in the way of the further building of the Temple and the fortification of the city, by arousing suspicions against them in the mind of the Persian king, and for a long time with success. On this account the ill-will of the Jews against them must have still increased. We must, however, assume that the whole of the Jews did not sympathise with the harshness exercised by their chiefs against the Samaritans, as many of them, even priests, had not hesitated, at least in Nehemiah's time, to ally themselves with foreign wives, which certainly was strongly censured by Nehemiah himself (cf. Neh. vi. 17, f.; xiii. 23-30).

Subsequently, the Samaritans prepared for themselves a temple of their own for the worship of Jehovah on Mount Gerizim. The circumstances that led to this are thus related by Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 7, 8. Under Darius Codomanus, the Samaritan satrap Sanaballetes gave his daughter in marriage to the Jewish priest Manasseh, son of Johanan, high priest at Jerusalem, and brother of the high priest Jaddus, in the hope that by this union he might gain over the Jewish people. But the high priest Jaddus and the Jewish people disliked this marriage, and demanded of

Manasseh that he should renounce either the priesthood or his Samaritan wife. His father-in-law, however, promised him that if he retained his wife he would make him high priest in the Temple which he was proposing to erect on Mount Gerizim, similar to the one at Jerusalem. Besides Manasseh, there were many other Jews, and even priests, who had entered into similar unions with foreign wives. These all sided with Manasseh, and accompanied him to Samaria. Here afterwards the temple on Mount Gerizim was actually built by permission of Alexander the Great, and the city of Sychem at the foot of the mount became then and afterwards the place of refuge for the Jews who were thrust out by their compatriots for breaking the law, and so went over to the Samaritans.

Such is the statement of Josephus. A difficulty arises here on comparing the above with Nehemiah xiii. 28, ff. Nehemiah there tells us that he drove away one of the sons of Joiada, son of Eliashib, the high priest (according to ch. xii. 11, Joiada was the grandfather of Jaddua—the Jaddus of Josephus) because he allied himself in marriage to Sanballat, the Horonite. Now it is not likely that this Sanballat can be any other than the one named by Josephus, although Nehemiah, according to the most probable reckoning, lived about 100 years before Alexander. It is most probable that Josephus put Sanballat at too late a date, and that he brought the two facts too close together, viz., the expulsion of the priest Manasseh, the son-in-law of Sanballat, and the erection of the temple at Gerizim, and that the two were not so immediately connected together as appears from his statement.

We may, however, on the whole, regard the following points as pretty firmly established: (*a*) That in the age of Nehemiah the Levitical priest (Manasseh) being expelled from Jerusalem made it a chief object to establish the worship of Jehovah among the Samaritans, for which they had shown a desire at the time of Zerubbabel; and (*b*) that this worship of Jehovah subsequently received a firmer support by means of the temple built on Mount Gerizim in the time of Alexander. At that time those peculiarities in religion and cultus had already begun to develop themselves among the Samaritans, which they subsequently maintained up to the present day, when they exist as cer-

tainly a very small sect of about 200 souls, the members of which live at Nablous (Sychem) and Jaffa.¹

§ 140.—*The Date of the Reception of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

It now becomes the question when the Samaritans received the Pentateuch. There is no precise information on this point in history. But in that which is known to us, there is nothing which would be incompatible with the results of our investigation as to the formation and last revision of the Pentateuch. The Mosaic law obtained formal validity in the kingdom of Israel as long as it lasted, but without any one prescribed book being looked upon as the authentic codex of the Law, any more than was the case in Judah, which renders the continual infringement of the law through idolatry more easy to account for. The case was the same with the Samaritans after the dissolution of this kingdom, when the worship of Jehovah was again established there by means of the Levitical priest sent back out of Assyria. This worship was, doubtless, grounded on the Mosaic law, but without any prescribed book being considered as an authentic document for the same. We cannot doubt, besides, that at the time of Josiah, who extended his reformation in modes of worship as far as Samaria, the Samaritans also had heard of the discovery in the Temple of the Book of the Law, that is, an authentic copy of it. It would be quite possible that at that time some copies of it may have found their way among the Samaritans. It is, however, more probable that the formal adoption of the Pentateuch in this form, as the authentic codex of the Divine Law, did not take place among them until after the Babylonian Captivity, when they were dissatisfied with the various and irregular modes of religious service so long prevailing among them, and began to arrange a settled monotheistic worship. And since in this, as it appears, they allowed themselves to be specially guided by the Levitical priests from Jerusalem, there is nothing at all improbable or difficult in assuming that, by their direction and through their interposition, they adopted the Penta-

¹ The latest accounts as to them are by Robinson, "Palestine," iii. 1. Cf. J. F. L. Bargés (Prof. of Heb. and Chal. at Paris), *Les Samaritains de Naplouse, Episode des Pèlerinages dans les Lieux Saints.* Paris. 1855, p. 131 (v. also Ewald, *Jahrbuch*, vii. 124, f.).—Stanley, *Lectures on the Jewish Church.* Series I.

teuch in the extent in which it was then held by the Jews as an authentic codex of the Book of the Law, and as such afterwards adhered to it.

Two special considerations are in favour of their not having thus adopted the Pentateuch at an earlier time: (*a*) that they did not accept the Book of Joshua also as a Canonical Scripture,* which points out that their adoption of our Pentateuch occurred at a time when the Book of Joshua was already separated from the Book of the Law, therefore, probably, after the Babylonian exile and the age of Ezra; and (*b*) the great similarity of the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch to the Alexandrian text, forming, as it does, the basis of the LXX, which (cf. § 336) makes it very likely that the Samaritans first received the manuscripts of the Pentateuch, from which their text was formed, from some of the Jews in Egypt, at a time when the text there had experienced many corruptions, and in some cases arbitrary alterations. This idea, however, is only admissible on the hypothesis that the adoption of the Pentateuch, as the authentic codex of the Divine Law by the Samaritans, did not take place until some time after the Babylonian Captivity. So much the less reason there is, therefore, for regarding the fact that the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch substantially in the same form and extent as the Jews, as an argument against the view as to its mode of origin which we have maintained above.

Hengstenberg, therefore, in endeavouring to prove that the Pentateuch existed as a whole before the breaking up of the kingdom of the ten tribes, conducts his argument in another way, viz., by appealing to the traces of the contents of different parts of it existing in the works of Hosea and Amos, prophets who flourished in the above kingdom, and also in the Book of Kings containing its history.

§ 141.—*Traces of the Pentateuch in the other Books.*

This brings us to the *second* of the chief objections brought against our view; this objection is based upon the traces and evidences of the Pentateuch existing in the other scriptures of the Old Testament. I content myself in regard to this point with the following short remarks:—¹

¹ I can only give here a few hints, as a more exact investigation would carry us too far, and could not be made without a copious and

(a) As regards the *historical books* of the Old Testament, it is often difficult to distinguish decidedly between what belongs to the author of the books themselves, and what to the times and persons whose history they relate. This is particularly the case with the speeches made by the persons treated of, in which it can seldom be asserted that the actual words which they made use of are exactly given; and it might thus easily happen that the author would put into the mouth of a person belonging to a former age certain expressions derived from the circumstances and ideas of his own (the author's) time. This is most certainly the case in some sections of the Book of Joshua, and most of all in Chronicles, sometimes also, perhaps, in the Book of Kings, the composition of which last works, in their present form, cannot in any case be placed before the Babylonian Captivity. With regard to the Books of Judges and Samuel, it has been previously remarked that the way in which the various altars which were set up to Jehovah in different places are spoken of without any intimation on the part of the author that this diversity of worship was at all contrary to the law, or displeasing to Jehovah, would be unintelligible, if the Deuteronomic legislation had existed and had been acknowledged at the time of the original author of these books (*v.* § 124).

(b) With regard to the Psalms it is, for the most part, very uncertain, and at the present time a point of controversy, to what age they severally belong. They do not, however, generally afford much which bears on the point in question. There are, indeed, many references in them to the Israelitish history, as related in the Pentateuch, but fewer to particular laws, and least of all to those contained in Deuteronomy.

(c) The evidences of the *prophetical scriptures* is the most trustworthy, inasmuch as the age of their composition is in general pretty certainly fixed. (As to the prophets of the

penetrating consideration of many separate passages, and without first having ascertained the dates and nature of the rest of the books themselves. Cf. besides as to this matter generally, Hengstenberg's "Authenticity," i. 48-180; also De Wette, § 162: Vater, iii. 574, ff.; Jahn, *Einleitung*, ii. 26. ff.; Hävernick, §§ 136-142 (i. pp. 554-625) in which, however, there is much need of sifting.

exile, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, *v.* above, Deut.) But as regards the earlier prophets previous to the age in which we have placed the completion of the Pentateuch by the addition of Deuteronomy, there are in these manifold references to the Israelitish history at the time of Moses and before Moses, as it is related in the Pentateuch, and also, sometimes, references to the Mosaic legislation, but the latter are more of a general character and allude less distinctly to separate laws, and nowhere is there any certain or even probable reference to Deuteronomy.

Hengstenberg has endeavoured to point out numerous references and allusions to Deuteronomy in Hosea and Amos (*ut. supra* i. pp. 48–125). But nothing which he produces in this respect is at all tenable, or in any way probable, and the most part quite wide of the mark.

§ 142.—*Uniformity of Language in the Pentateuch.*

Finally, the similarity in language in the whole work, and its difference from the later historical and other scriptures of the Old Testament, have been appealed to in favour of the unity of the authorship and the high antiquity of the Pentateuch. This is specially maintained by Jahn, Bengel's *Archiv.*, Vols. II. and III. But Jahn, in his collections, both where he cites those words and phrases which only exist in the Pentateuch and not in the other books, and also where he collects those words which are frequently met with in the later books, but do not occur at all, or only seldom, in the Pentateuch, most frequently brings forward those expressions, for the use of which there is, from the contents of the books, no occasion at all either in the other Scriptures or in the Pentateuch. Generally, the comparative view which Jahn gives is regarded, even by those who agree with him in his conclusions, as thoroughly uncritical, *e.g.*, by Hävernick (I. 1, p. 182, *notes*). But the passages Hävernick has collected with a like aim (§ 31, pp. 177–196) are equally liable to the same verdict, and are sometimes strangely mistaken.

As an example of this sort, he alleges (p. 187) that the form הָיָה (*here*) exists in the Pentateuch, but, on the contrary, that it is הָיָה in 1 Sam. xxi. 10, according to a later mode of writing; and also הָיָה in the Pentateuch, as sig-

nifying *pain*, but that in other authors it is mostly יָסָ; he does not reflect that these variations do not concern the text as written by the author, but only the pointing, which was not added till many centuries later; and thus many other things are equally mistaken. Where, in regard to form or way of reading, there is any difference between passages in the Pentateuch and other parts of the Scriptures, that which is found in the former, whether it be in Deuteronomy or in the first books, he at once pronounces the more ancient, even where in the internal circumstances there is no peculiar cause for doing this.

It has been previously intimated that different parts of the Pentateuch are occasionally distinguished by variation in the language. This cannot escape observation on a comparison of the Elohistie passages in Genesis with the Jehovistic, as they are distinguished from one another throughout by many peculiarities in the language, besides the difference in the naming of the Godhead. Deuteronomy also, as before remarked, presents a very peculiar character in its language in comparison with the other books, and has much in common with the later prophets in the usage of the language, particularly with Jeremiah, even in respect to certain phrases and modes of expression, so that from this cause a rather important argument can be drawn in favour of a comparatively later composition of the former book.

The fact that Deuteronomy actually exhibits many points of similarity to the other books in peculiar forms of expression, just as the so-called Jehovist resembles the so-called Elohist, is naturally caused by this, that as the Jehovist did not write independently of the Elohistie writing, neither did the Deuteronomist disregard the Jehovist or the four first books of the Pentateuch, but, on the contrary, the originator of the later revision of the work had before him the earlier revision, and very much adhered to it. A certain similarity in some points might be effected in two ways, either that the later redactors, wholly or in part adopting the work in its earlier shape, and, at all events, writing it out again, must have obtruded into the original statements some of their own peculiarities in the usage of the language—this has been certainly done by the Jehovist in many originally Elohistie passages—or that they so zealously

devoted themselves to the works of the earlier authors that they appropriated some of their peculiarities.

In one or the other way we must, doubtless, explain a peculiarity in some of the linguistic usages which pervade the whole Pentateuch, viz., that \aleph and ψ are of the common gender, and are also put for the feminine, which is very seldom found in other authors, and also some other things of this sort (cf. De Wette, § 157 *b*, note *a*). These, however, are in no way of a nature to prove the original unity of the composition of the whole work, in opposition to all the other peculiarities favouring a contrary view.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

§ 143.—*Its Name—Nature of its Contents.*

THE Book of Judges derives its name, **סִפְתוֹתֵינוּ** (LXX, *κριταί*, Vulgate, *Liber Judicium*), from its contents, being chiefly devoted to the history of the so-called *Judges*.

This is the peculiar denomination for the men who, in the period between Joshua and Samuel, stood at the head of the people, particularly as leaders in war.

The word is exactly the same as that which was used for the highest authority at Carthage, the "suffetes," or, according to the reading of the most ancient manuscripts of Livy, spelt with a single *f*, "sufetes," and in a Carthaginian inscription, **שפ**, just as in Hebrew. We may therefore readily suppose that the word was originally the usual indication for the highest authority among the ancient Phœnicians both in peace and war. Among the Hebrews, however, the *Shophetim* in this age were not, as in Carthage, a constant authority chosen by prescribed law; nor was the dignity an hereditary one, handed down from father to son, as was afterwards the case with the Kings. They may be most properly compared to the Roman Dictators; they made their appearance only at certain times as they were called forth by the spirit of God, in order to liberate the people when the latter were in distress through the oppression of other nations.

If, however, they had once taken the lead in battle against the oppressors of the people, they generally appear to have retained the authority of a chief till their death, and to have continually exercised a considerable influence in public matters, not only, indeed, in foreign, but also in internal matters, some Judges having given decisions in internal dissensions. Thus it tells us of Deborah (Judges, iv. 5) that the children of Israel came to her for judgment. This may also have been the case with others of the *Shophetim*, although it is not expressly told of them, as it is natural that the warlike matters, in which they distinguished themselves in the liberation of the people, should be most

prominently brought forward in their history. The last Judges, however, Eli and Samuel, whose history is not related in this book, exercised this office as long as they lived, as the chief men of the people in guiding their civil and ecclesiastical matters.

Most of the preceding *Shophetim*, however, do not appear to have extended their authority over the whole of the tribes, but only over that one to which they belonged, and over the neighbouring ones who were in a similar distress, and felt a common need.

The Book of Judges consists of the following *elements* :—

(A) Chapter i. 1—ii. 5. We here find recorded that after Joshua's death the tribe of Judah was nominated by Jehovah to be the leaders and champions of the Israelites against the Canaanitish nations, and that this tribe, in conjunction with Simeon and some others of the tribes on this side Jordan, fought various successful battles with these nations for the possession of their land and the cities in it, but yet that they allowed many Canaanites to dwell among them (ch. i.), which the angel of Jehovah reproved as an act of disobedience to the divine command, and threatened them with the consequences (ch. ii. 1–5.)

(B) Chapter ii. 6–23. General reflections on the history of Israel (during the period of the Judges), as presented in the chapters which follow, forming, as it were, a moral and practical introduction.

Here we find brought prominently forward, how the people continually vexed Jehovah by their idolatry, and how Jehovah had, on that account, repeatedly sent misery and oppression on them, until He raised them up a Judge, who delivered them from their enemies as long as he lived; but yet that they did not hearken to these Judges, and through all these vicissitudes of Jehovah's wrath and favour, would not be moved to a lasting conversion.

In the beginning of this section we have the same circumstances related, and partly in the same words as in Josh. xxiv. 28–31, that Joshua dismissed the people each to their own property, to take possession of the land, and that the people served Jehovah as long as Joshua lived, and the elders, his contemporaries, who long survived him. On the other hand, this section contains no reference to the contents of the preceding section (A).

(C) Then follows, in ch. iii.–xvi., the history of the bondage which the Israelites repeatedly had to endure under different neighbouring nations, until they were delivered by Judges raised up by Jehovah.

The narrative of this is sometimes more copious and distinct, and sometimes a mere summary. Othniel is named as the first of the Judges, nephew and afterwards son-in-law to Caleb. The history of Samson (ch. xiii.–xvi.), who was Judge twenty years, is related last and most in detail; of the others, the histories of Deborah and Barak, ch. iv., v. (with a song of great beauty, ch. v.), of Gideon and his son Abimelech (ch. vi.–ix.), and of Jephtha (ch. xi. 1–xii. 7), are the most fully narrated.

(D) An appendix consisting of two different narratives of this period follows the history of the Judges.

(a) In ch. xvii., xviii., we read that an Israelite named Micah had set up the private worship of God in his house at Mount Ephraim, and had appointed a Levite for this purpose, and that the Danites who had come out to conquer for themselves a possession in the land, and had taken for this purpose the city of Laish, since called Dan, stole away all the objects relating to this private worship and established them among themselves at Dan, where they remained during the whole time that the ark was at Shiloh; (b) chaps. xix.–xxi. contain the infamous action perpetrated by the inhabitants of Gibeah in the tribe of Benjamin on the concubine of a Levite who was passing the night among them. The other tribes summoned by the Levite to take revenge, waged a war of extermination against the tribe of Benjamin, and entirely rooted it out, so that they were induced to suggest a plan to the Benjamites, to provide for the continuance of their tribe by means of an act of rape.

It is plain from the narrative, that these two events occurred very soon after the time of Joshua, although the date is not distinctly stated; for at the time of the earlier event the Danites had not acquired any fixed possession, and according to ch. xviii. 30, the Levite Jonathan, who was their priest, was a grandson of Moses (according to the correct reading). At the time of the later event Phinehas, Aaron's grandson, was still priest of the ark in Bethel (according to ch. xx. 28); there is no adequate reason to consider (with Studer) these words as an addition by some later

reader or transcriber; Jebus, afterwards Jerusalem, was then entirely inhabited by the Jebusites (ch. xix. 11, f.).

§ 144.—*Evidences of Composite Authorship.*

As regards the *origin* of the book, the Talmud¹ attributes it to Samuel, and this is also the opinion of most of the Rabbins, and many of the earlier² Christian writers. However, the book itself supplies nothing at all that would lead us to accept Samuel as its author. From the summary of its contents which we have given, it is probable, that the book, in the form in which we now have it, is not an absolutely independent historical work.

Thus, for instance, we cannot well imagine that the same author could have written, in a perfectly independent way, the two introductions to the history of the Judges, ch. i. 1—ii. 5, and ch. ii. 6—23, and have placed them in the connection and sequence in which we now find them.

It is not in the least probable, that if an author had just written ch. i. 1—ii. 5, where, quite at the beginning, it is stated, that after Joshua's death Judah was marked out as the leader, and other circumstances after this are summarily handled, he would have then gone on as in ch. ii. 6, "and Joshua let the people go," &c., and in v. 8, "and Joshua died," &c.

Thus also, the statement in ch. i. 18, that Judah had mastered the cities of Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, with their territories, is not easily reconcilable with ch. iii. 3, in which *five* princes of the Philistines are named among those Canaanites whom the Israelites had not rooted out of the land, and among whom they dwelt.

It is not improbable that these three cities were indeed conquered by the tribe of Judah, but that they subsequently recovered their independence, so that the first statement refers to one time and the second to another; but it is not at all likely that one and the same person should have been the author of the two statements coming so closely one after the other, without reconciling their contents.

¹ *Baba Bathra*, fol. xiv. 2. Samuel scripsit librum suum et Judicis et Rutham.

² Cf. Gustav Rösch (*Theolog. Stud. und Kritik*, 1863, p. 736), who appears to consider this view as not altogether improbable.

It is not easy, however, to ascertain with any certainty how the matter actually stands. Ch. i. now begins "After the death of Joshua it came to pass, that the children of Israel asked Jehovah;" this fits on very suitably to the conclusion of the Book of Joshua, so as to make it likely that these summary statements were originally written in connection with a history of the people of Israel up to the death of Joshua. This, however, must have been done before the last revision of the Book of Joshua and of the Pentateuch, and not by the Deuteronomist, its originator, as we must doubtless assume a considerably earlier time¹ for the penning of the account in ch. i.

It might be possible that these accounts were originally written by one of the early workers at the ancient history, either the Elohist or the Jehovist.

But then we must not fail to consider that many of these accounts exist, and in part literally, in the Book of Joshua itself, and found their place there, at all events, before the last revision by the Deuteronomist.² As the matter stands, we may conclude, with great probability, that these accounts were originally written and put together as they now stand in this section, and that from this they were afterwards joined with the context in which we read them in the Book of Joshua. It is most probable that the first author of a connected ancient history of the people of Israel, the Elohist, added the matter given in this section, after his account of the death of Joshua, and that afterwards, the details concerning certain cities and districts among the allotted possessions of the west-Jordan tribes, which the latter had neither taken, nor driven the Canaanites out of, were inserted by the later Jehovistic reviser in an earlier place, where the possession assigned to these tribes is spoken of.

¹ We are led to this opinion, both by its whole nature and by certain passages: *e.g.*, *v.* 21. where it tells us that the Benjamites had not driven out the Jebusites, and thus the Jebusites had dwelt among the children of Benjamin "up to this day," and *v.* 29, that Ephraim had not driven out the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer, and therefore the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of them at Gezer. As to these two passages, *v.* Josh. xv. 63; xvi. 10 (p. 353).

² Thus, ch. i. 10-15 (Josh. xv. 14-19), *v.* 20 (*ib.* *v.* 13), *v.* 21 (*ib.* *v.* 63), *v.* 27, 28 (Josh. xvii. 11-13), *v.* 29 (Josh. xvi. 10).

§ 145.—*Written Sources employed—Date of Composition.*

Thus chap. i. would originally have been a part of the Elohist work. Whether a history of the people under the Judges was also contained in the latter, I will not venture to decide. The mode of narration however, in the history of the Judges, often reminds us more of the Jehovistic reviser of the preceding history than of the Elohist, as ch. iii. 5, the way in which the Canaanitish nations are named; and it seems probable to me, that the latest revision at least of the history of the Judges did not proceed from the latter author (the Elohist), but rather from the former.

We may then, perhaps, assume (*a*) that the general reflections (ch. ii. 6–23) do not belong to this author (the Jehovist), but were inserted at a considerably later date:¹ and (*b*) it is still more certain, that the author of the history of the Judges has, in some instances, met with written records, and made use of them in his work.

This is the case *e.g.* with the history of Deborah, in which he, at all events met with the ancient and probably genuine song of Deborah (ch. v.); the history of Gideon, which is distinguished by a linguistic peculiarity, viz., the use of the prefix בְּ for בְּיָדָאֵל , which does not usually occur in prose (ch. vi. 17; vii. 12; viii. 26); also the history of Samson, and perhaps other things.

I notice, that in ch. xi. 15, ff., in the history of Jephthah, in Jephthah's message to the king of the Ammonites, there are express references to the narratives Num. xx. ff., and that particularly *vv.* 19–22 coincide, even in expression, with Num. xxi. 21–24, in such a way that the author must unmistakably have had the former narratives before him, as they appear in Numbers, and it is not altogether improbable that they were both the work of the same author (the Jehovist).

Except the above, we do not discover any other distinct traces in the Book of Judges, as to the age in which the history was composed. But there can be no doubt that it took place at an earlier time than the Deuteronomic revision of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and at a

¹ Riehm has the right view as to the signification of the passage, chap. ii. 6–23, in the organism of the book, in the *Theolog. Stud. und Krit.*, 1862, p. 405.

time when it was not considered decidedly unlawful to worship Jehovah by sacrificing in various places at the same time.

Various holy places are here spoken of together, and we often read that the people, or some pious men among them, erected here and there altars to Jehovah and sacrificed on them, without any intimation being given that this was contrary to the law, or displeasing to Jehovah: *v.* ch. ii. 5; vi. 24, 26; xi. 11; xiii. 19.

On the whole, there is nothing to indicate a later time than about the date of the Jehovistic revision of the preceding history.

The section ch. ii. 6–23, is the only one which admits the supposition that any part belonged to a later time.

As regards the appendix of our book, ch. xvii.–xxi., we can assume as certain that both the stories in it are the work of the same author. But as regards the date of the composition, from the observation which repeatedly recurs, that at that time “there was no king in Israel” (ch. xviii. 1; xix. 1) —twice with the addition, “that every man did that which was right in his own eyes” (ch. xvii. 6; xxi. 25)—it follows that the composition must be placed at a time when the people of Israel were governed by Kings. On the other hand, however, the great distinctness and unmistakeable precision of the narratives show that they were derived from faithful tradition, and make it probable that the written record of them was not long subsequent to the events. The passages above also render it probable that the people had not yet long enjoyed the advantage of a regular kingly rule, so that we are not led to a later time than that to which the early revisions of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua (the Elohist or Jehovistic) belong.

The passage, ch. xviii. 30, appears to be opposed to this view. We are there told that the Danites had set up the image (stolen from the house of Micah) among them, and that Jonathan and his sons were the priests for the tribe of Dan, עֲדֵי־יוֹם נְלוֹת הָאָרֶץ. This, it is thought, relates to the Assyrian Captivity, in which the Danites were carried away into exile with the rest of the ten tribes, and it follows therefrom that these narratives could not have been composed before this time. I, too, am certainly of opinion that if the reading of the text be correct, it would most

probably relate to the above. But the expression itself, as it here runs, has something unnatural in it, in prosaic language, and it is not the least probable that the author would have made use of it. Besides, the accepted sense is improbable both in itself, and in respect to the context immediately following. For as, after the disruption of the ten tribes from Judah, the Levitical priests generally went over to the latter tribe, it is not probable that the successors of the Levitical priest Jonathan should have continually officiated as priests in Dan. As regards the context, we read, *v.* 31, that they set up Micah's image "all the time that the House of God was in Shiloh." The House of God, *i.e.*, the Tabernacle with the Ark, remained in Shiloh up to the time of the high priest and judge, Eli, when the Philistines captured the ark in battle. When it was given up by the enemy, it was not brought back again to Shiloh, but to Kirjath-Jearim, and subsequently to Jerusalem (1 Sam. iv. ff.). The context shows clearly that nothing else can be meant by the *terminus ad quem*, up to which Jonathan's successors exercised the office of priest to Micah's image, *v.* 30, than the time indicated in *v.* 31, during which Micah's image remained an object of worship among the Danites.¹

We must, therefore, assume, with Houbigant, that *v.* 30 originally ran עַד-יוֹם נְלוּת הַאֲרוֹן, *up to the time when the ark was in captivity*, *viz.*, captured by the Philistines. The sense, accordingly, in both verses is, that the Danites held and retained this cultus, as long as the Tabernacle and the Ark were among the tribe of Ephraim, at Shiloh. The present reading is, indeed, ancient, since it appears in the ancient translators, but it is certainly not original.

The contents of these narratives do not, therefore, compel us at all to place them at a later time than the preceding part. They *could*, therefore, have been originally composed as an appendix to the preceding book, and by the same author who wrote the preceding account of the history of the people during the time of the Judges; although I do not venture to assert that this actually is the case. But it appears to me that we may, at any rate, assume with tolerable certainty that the composition of all the component parts of this book, excepting ch. ii. 6–23, took place at a

¹ Cf. for the reading of the text, Jer. vii. 12, ff.; xxvi. 6, 9.

pretty early time, at all events considerably earlier than the last Deuteronomic revision of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and that the author occasionally made use of still older records.

§ 146.—*Various Opinions as to its Origin and Date.*

It is certainly erroneous to place the composition of this book, as some have desired to do, at the time of that of Deuteronomy, or even later still.

Thus, among others, G. L. Studer,¹ Professor at Berne, has a peculiar view about the origin of the book.

He is of opinion that it is based upon an ancient book, in which the history of the Judges had been related, without attention to chronology, but according to the several tribes to which they belonged. That it was an ancient Book of Heroes, in which an honourable memorial was furnished to the most valiant men of each tribe, before the institution of the kingship; that the arrangement of the old book was retained in the subsequent remodelling, but that the later composer had arranged it as if the several judges in this order had followed one another chronologically.

This opinion is, however, not well founded. It is not at all surprising that the Judges, whose history the book gives us, should have belonged to different tribes; but there is nothing in the way in which they follow one another, that entitles us to look at the matter in the way Studer does. Indeed, there is much that is contrary to his opinion. Thus, the first, Othniel, was of Judah, and the ninth, Ibzan, again of Judah, for he belonged to Bethlehem, which we must probably consider as the one in Judah, and not the one in Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15); the fourth, Debcrab, was of Ephraim, and the eleventh, Abdon, was of the same tribe. There is none named belonging to Simeon, for it is an arbitrary supposition that Shamgar belonged to this tribe. The fifth, Gideon, and the seventh, Jair, were of Manasseh; on the contrary, of the two tribes the other side Jordan, Gad and Reuben, there is only Jephthah, of Gilead. But it is, of course, possible, and from chronological reasons not altogether unlikely, that some of the Judges,

¹ "The Book of Judges Grammatically and Historically Explained. Berne and Leipzig, 1835. Again appeared under a new title, 1842.

who are stated in our book to have followed after one another, may have flourished contemporaneously with one another, at different parts of the land. On the other hand, Studer is certainly wrong in placing the composition of the chief part of this book in the Deuteronomic age, at the time of Josiah, and that of the appendix as late as the Babylonian Captivity.

Ewald's¹ view is still more involved. Much, however, in it is incapable of proof, and part quite erroneous.

He supposes the sources of our book to consist of (a), a work which was composed at the time of King Asa or Jehoshaphat,² about 900 B.C., for the purpose of proving how unfortunate the times had been when Israel was not ruled by kings, and that in it the history was drawn up according to the high priests (?). That the remains of it in the present book are ch. i. (which, however, the author took from the so-called Book of Covenants, v. above, pp. 207 and 261), and ch. xvii.—xxi. (b) Another work, in which the history was written according to the Judges, and made up the round number twelve (an ill-founded assumption). The author made use of the Book of Covenants³ for some passages, such as ch. ix. and x. 8. Out of this work, which continued the history up to perhaps 100 years after Solomon⁴ (since there are traces of it in Chronicles), ch. iii. 7 to ch. xvi. was derived, although remodelled in our book. (c) Special histories, such as that of the life of Samson. That a last redactor, a Levite living in Judah, compiled our book out of these sources, in the second half of the Babylonian Captivity, and, indeed, as one whole with Ruth, Samuel, and the Books of Kings; and that the history of the Judges was as an introduction to the history of the Kings.⁵

¹ *Isr. Hist.* i. 190, ff.; 2nd Edit. i. 186, ff., 201, ff., 213, ff.

² Edit. 2. In the time of Asa.

³ According to Edit. 2, he also made use of for chaps. vi.-viii. a very ancient source, a history of Gideon written in the northern part of the land.

⁴ Edit. 2. "Up to about one hundred years after Solomon."

⁵ As Ewald ascribes the books named here to the same last reviser, and, partly, to the same original author, it will be judicious here to abridge his opinions (v. *Gesch. Isr.* i. 175, ff.). He distinguishes three periods in the origin of these books, or, as he calls them together, "the great Book of Kings." I. The first beginnings and attempts at the

Ewald's chief grounds for this opinion are the similarity he traces between the general reflections in ch. ii. 6-23, [which he attributes to the last reviser], and those on the

history of kings, (a) "Annals of the Kingdom." in which the history of the several kings was described, composed by the court-historian (כִּנְיָן). These appeared after the death of each king by the command of his successor, but contained more of an enumeration of events and names of functionaries than a continuous, lively historical narrative. (That these were parts of the oft-quoted Book of the Chronicles of the Kings, &c., as to which, *v.* above, p. 178, ff., and under, *v.* the Books of Kings.) Many statements in Chronicles about the reign of David are gained from these: 1 Chron. xi. 10-47, xii. 1-40, xx. 4-8, xxvii. (with the exception of *v.* 23, f.); besides 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, xxiii. 8-39 (this section abridged at the end); about Solomon, 1 Kings iv. 1-19, *v.* 2, f., 6-8; also, perhaps, the accounts of Solomon's buildings, and much else in the Books of Kings. (b) *Certain ancient historical narratives*, composed from a prophetic point of view. To these belong 2 Sam. v. 17-25, and something in *ib.* ch. vii., and other narratives, at least as regards their sources; besides, the historical remarks in the prophetic books of the Old Testament, *e.g.*, Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix. (2 Kings xviii. 13-xx.), which section of the work is derived from a pupil of Isaiah. II. Whilst in the "Annals of the Kingdom" the interest lay more in matters of fact, and in the narratives distinguished under (b) the prophetic apprehension prevailed, both these influences were united in the historical works which set forth in a summary way, and in a connected form, the history of the greater part of the time, with suitable selections of the matter accumulated in the "Annals." (1) The most ancient work of this kind which is recognizable by us, composed at the time of Asa, handled the history of the Kings up to the separation of the kingdoms, and the history of the Judges as an introduction. The remains of it are Judges i. 17-21, and a good deal in the history of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. ff.; its last traces show themselves in 1 Kings xii. Whilst the superiority of this consisted in its beautiful copiousness and the figurative vivacity of its mode of statement, the work (2) of the prophetic narrator was distinguished by a higher, prophetic apprehension; its author was a prophet and Levite in the southern kingdom, at the time of the Israelitish King Jehu. This work embraced the history from Samuel to Jehu, and from it the greatest part of the Books of Samuel are taken, besides the 1 Kings chaps. i., ii.; also many bits in the narratives that follow; the last, 2 Kings ix. 1-x. 27. The work (3) of the *third* narrator was not much later, which describes the history of the kings for about one hundred years after Solomon, and prefixed to it a history of the Judges; from this are derived Judg. iii. 7-xvi.; 1 Sam. v.-viii., xxxi., amongst others. The mode of statement in this, however, was dryer and more meagre; the prophetic apprehension, also, did not so much prevail. Besides this larger work, there were special accounts of several heroes, such as Samson. III. This time of flourishing is followed by the third period, in which historical writing gradually re-

transgression and punishment of the ten tribes, 2 Kings xvii. 7, 23. This opinion, however, is improbable, because between the Book of Judges (or Ruth) and the Books of Samuel, there is no suitable connection or transition. We should certainly expect that the last author would have given some intimations about the time between Samson, on the one hand, and Eli and Samuel, on the other; but this is not the case.

The same argument is also opposed to the opinion of Bertheau ("The Books of Judges and Ruth Explained," Leipzig, 1845), which is generally allied to Ewald's, and, likewise, quite groundless.

He also is of opinion that chaps. i. 1–ii. 5, and xvii.–xxi., are by the same authors, but not earlier than the time of

trograded along with the general state of the people. In this period two or three works were written, in which old recollections out of the most prominent parts of the history are set forth with greater freedom. There are fragments of it in 1 Sam. xii., xv.–xvii., xxiv., xxvi., xxviii. There were besides an account of the life of Solomon, various remodellings of the history of Elijah and Elisha, and a work containing the history of Ruth and other similar stories. The earlier works were chiefly compiled and revised. This was first done, in a Deuteronomic sense, by an author at the time of Josiah, the "*last reviser but one.*" The latter took as his basis the work of the "*prophetical narrator,*" and blended with it the matter taken out of others of the before-named works, and inserted his own additions (1 Sam. vii. 3, ff.; much in the 1 Sam. xii.; besides 1 Kings ii. 2–4; and many things in the Books of Kings, as 1 Kings iii. 14, vi. 11–13, viii. 22–61, ix. 6–9; in the portion xiii. 1–32 the allusion to Josiah); he also carried the history still further up to Josiah, for which, in like manner, other works formed the basis. *The last reviser*, a Levite in the second half of the Babylonian Captivity, edited our present Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings as one whole. This latter took the work of the previous reviser as his basis, but added to it a history of the Judges, remodelled according to the previously-named written sources; also the history of Ruth. From 1 Sam. i. to 1 Kings ii. he gives the work of his predecessor, unaltered, with the exception of some additions and transpositions in 2 Sam. xxi.–xxiv.; but from 1 Kings ii., he merely gives extracts out of the above work as well as out of others, in which he only retains that matter unabridged which relates to religion and the Temple. The additions by his own hand are reflections, such as 2 Kings xvii. 7–23, and the judgments passed on their conduct in the history of each king, &c.; and much in the history of Elijah and Elisha; also the history of Zedekiah—for which, however, he made use of written sources, a Jer. xl.–xliii.

the Assyrian Captivity. He further supposes that the author of our book met with (*a*) a list of the Twelve Judges, in which the duration of their office and their place of burial was stated; (*b*) an historical work which described the time of the Judges for six generations, a judge in each generation, and that it proceeded from various special sources. He, however, also holds that our historical books of the Old Testament were composed as *one* great historical work by Ezra; an opinion which, in many respects, is altogether inadmissible.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

§ 147.—*Contents and Aim—Date of Composition—Sources.*

THIS book tells a family history of the house of the ancestors of David, the story of Ruth, a Moabitess, the great grandmother of David.

In a famine during the time of the Judges (ch. i. 1, בְּיָמֵי שֹׁפֵט הַשְּׁפִטִים) Elimelech, a Jew, went from Bethlehem to Moab, with his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion. There the father died, likewise (after a ten years sojourn in Moab) the two sons who had married Moabitesses, Orpah and Ruth. When Naomi was returning with her two daughters-in-law to Judah, she advised the latter to betake themselves to their homes. This was done by only one of them, Orpah, whilst Ruth, the widow of Mahlon, would not separate from her mother-in-law, but went with her to Bethlehem, and dwelt with her there (ch. i.). It is then further told, with poetic distinctness, how it came to pass that she was there married to Boaz, a relation of her first husband. She bore him a son, Obed, who is described as the father of Jesse, the father of David. By this, the probable point of time when the story occurred is rather more closely indicated than in ch. i. 1, where the time is generally stated as that of the Judges. It happened, therefore, in the third generation before David, though the fact that in the Biblical genealogies some links are not unfrequently left out, and the possibility that this may have been the case here, prevents our speaking with absolute certainty. Such an omission certainly takes place in the Appendix (ch. iv. 18–22) [apparently not proceeding from the original narrator, but added afterwards], in which, after the descent of David from Boaz and Ruth has been stated, a genealogy is added, from Pharez (the son of Judah) to David. According to this, Boaz would be the grandson of Nahshon, a contemporary of Moses; but there must certainly be a number of links omitted between Nahshon and Boaz (as likewise between Hezron, the son of Pharez, and Nahshon). In any case, Josephus (*Ant. v. ix. 1*)

places this history too late, in fixing it *after* the age of Samson, in that of the high priest Eli, immediately before Samuel.

As regards the chief intention of the book, Bertholdt and Benary have considered it to be, to recommend the duty of the Levirate marriage. But this point is not sufficiently prominent to lead us to think that the author had it particularly in view, and still less can we imagine that he composed the history purely with this aim, as the above-named scholars think. In support of this view, the significations of the names of the persons in the book are appealed to. But this does not appear in any remarkable way except in the two sons of Elimelech, whose names Mahlon and Chilion (*weakness* and *destroying*) might refer to their early end. But even if these two names were not historical, certainly those of the chief persons, Boaz and Ruth, are so, in which no symbolical meaning referring to their history is at all prominent. We might, rather, suppose with Dereser and others, that the author had a covert intention to reprove the insolence and intolerance of the Jews towards foreigners; such a tendency, however, has no general prominence. It is unmistakeable that the narrative was written in reference to David; as it treated of the forefathers, the great grandparents of this much commended king, and it doubtless has an actual historical object.

As regards the *date of its composition*, it was not, perhaps, very early. In favour of this is (*a*), the reference of the narrative itself to David, which leaves no doubt that at least it was not composed before the reign of David, probably still later; and it is certainly wrong when the Talmud (*v.* above § 144, notes), together with many rabbis and Christian writers, consider Samuel as the author, to which opinion the narrative itself lends no support; (*b*) that the date of the events is indicated with no precision, as “the days when the Judges ruled,” which allows us with probability to infer no inconsiderable distance of time from the conclusion of this period; (*c*) the passage, ch. iv. 7, “Now this (was the manner) in former time (עוֹלָם) in Israel concerning redeeming and concerning changing, for to confirm all things; a man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour: and this was a testimony in Israel

(הַתְּעוּדָה).” This clearly shows that a considerable period had intervened between the events and the composition, and that at the time of the latter the custom spoken of no longer prevailed among the people.

We shall be able, therefore, to assume, with tolerable certainty, that the composition did not occur till some centuries after the period of the Judges, but how many it is difficult to say. There is no sufficient reason for fixing the date of the composition, with Ewald (i. 207), Bertheau, and others, at the time of the Babylonian Captivity; or, as Ewald does, to attribute the book to an author himself living in exile. We may, on the contrary, assume with probability that the composition took place before the Deuteronomic lawgiving, at a time when the duty of the Levirate marriage depended more on custom only, and was not yet commanded by a written law (Deut. xxv. 5-10). It is equally probable that, at the time of the composition, Israel was not involved in severe struggles with neighbouring foreign nations, so that a kind disposition existed towards them. In favour of this idea is the way in which David's descent from a Moabitess is here related with complete historical impartiality, without showing any intention of specially justifying it.

The book has some peculiarities in the language, sometimes of an Aramaic description, but not pervading it generally, nor such as to admit of any definite conclusion about the date of the composition.

As regards the author's sources, it cannot be decided whether he met with any matter in a written shape, and made use of it, or whether he merely used the oral tradition which had been kept up in the family of David, and came to him from thence.

The history of the book is, moreover, complete in itself, and there is, therefore, no adequate motive to consider with Ewald (i. 207, f.), that it is only a single section out of a larger series by the same author, the remaining parts of which have not been preserved to us. This portion only, Ewald thinks, has been preserved, because the last redactor of the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings included it in his work, and gave it its place after the history of the Judges. It is also the view of Bertheau, that the Book of Ruth, although not composed by the author of the

history of the Judges, yet formerly only formed an appendix to it, just as Judges, ch. xvii.—xxi.¹

In the LXX also, it has its place after the Book of Judges, and so sometimes in the earlier Hebrew codex (*v.* after §§ 295, 298); we also find evidences that sometimes it was reckoned with the Book of Judges as *one* book; but this was only done in order to make out a prescribed number (twenty-two, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet), *v.* § 18. In all probability, it has always constituted a separate book, different from the two appendices of the Book of Judges.

¹ Possessing beforehand the Book of Ruth, the want of a genealogy of David in 1 Sam. certainly causes no difficulty.

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL AND KINGS.

§ 148.—*Name and General Contents.*

IN the LXX and the Vulgate, these books form *one* work, but are divided into *four* books. In the LXX and the Greek ecclesiastical writers, as the 4 βιβλοι βασιλειῶν, in the Vulgate as *Libri Regum*, and likewise in the Latin Fathers, but also (according to the LXX) *Regnorum*. In the Hebrew Canon, on the contrary, they appear as two different books: the two first as the Book of *Samuel*, סֵפֶר שְׁמוּאֵל, so-called from him, who appears, in the first part at least, as the chief personage; the two last as the Book of *Kings*, סֵפֶר מְלָכִים. In our editions of the Hebrew Bible, each of the books is again divided into two parts (in which the severance of the 1st and 2nd Kings, in the middle of the narrative about Ahaziah, is very awkward); but this division only exists in the printed editions, and was first introduced by Bomburg (sixteenth century) from the LXX and Vulgate. It does not appear in the Hebrew manuscripts, as the Jews, in stating the number of their sacred books, only reckon *one* Book of Samuel and *one* Book of Kings.

As regards the general contents of this book, *the First Book of Samuel* begins with a prediction of the birth of Samuel, and the birth itself, during the high-priesthood of Eli, who (according to ch. iv. 18) judged Israel forty years. It then proceeds to narrate the fortunes of Israel in the last part of Eli's rule, then under Samuel as the last judge of Israel, and under Saul as the first king, whom Samuel was, against his will, compelled to clothe with this dignity, pursuing the history down to the death of both. *The Second Book of Samuel*, closely joined on to the first, contains the history of the reign of David up to the pestilence sent on account of the numbering of the people. *The Books of Kings* begin with the last illness and death of David, and the naming of Solomon as his successor, and then give the history of the latter's reign (1 Kings i.–xi.); then that of the revolt of the Ten Tribes after Solomon's death, and the history of the two divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah together, under their different kings, up to the breaking up of the kingdom of Israel (1 Kings xii. up to 2 Kings xvii.); next the history of the still

existing Kingdom of Judah up to the time of its destruction by the Chaldeans, and the carrying away of the Jews into Babylon (2 Kings xviii.—xxv.). At the conclusion there are some short notices of the people who remained behind in the land, and how they were induced, through fear of the Chaldeans, to leave the country, and fly into Egypt: also about the Jewish king, Jehoiachin, formerly carried away to Babylon, that the Babylonian king, Evil-Merodach, set him free from his captivity, and allowed him a maintenance for the rest of his life.

§ 149.—*Diversity of Authorship—Special Tendencies of the Narratives in Kings as distinguishing them from those in Samuel.*

Our review of their contents shows that the Books of Samuel and Kings, as we now have them, form a connected, continuous, historical narrative from the birth of Samuel to the Babylonian Captivity; and if the union of them in the LXX into *one* work is taken into consideration, it might well be supposed that they were all the work of one and the self-same author, who could not have composed it before the last period of the Babylonian exile. This is the opinion of Jahn, Eichhorn, Herbst, and others (formerly also of De Wette, *Beiträge*, i. p. 42, f.). But this opinion is decidedly wrong, as De Wette himself also decided (*Einleit.* § 186), as the two works present internally, in many respects, very different characteristics.

In this respect, the following points deserve special consideration:

(a) The historical narrations in the Books of Kings have unmistakeably a preponderating prophetic-didactic aim. Their chief object is to show how the people and their kings continually excited the Divine wrath through their disobedience, and thus brought on them the Divine judgment, manifesting itself in the destruction of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and that this took place especially on account of their idolatry and illegal worship in high places; in this respect they have quite the character of the Deuteronomic legislation.

Thus we read words of blame quite at the beginning of Solomon's reign, 1 Kings iii. 2-4: "Only the people sacrificed in high places, because there was no house built unto the name of Jehovah, until those days. And Solomon

loved Jehovah, walking in the statutes of David his father: *only* he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places. And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place: a thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar." The following kings, some of whom are otherwise designated as pious, are likewise blamed, because they set up high places, or allowed them to remain:—*Vide* 1 Kings xiv. 21, f., xv. 14, xxii. 44; 2 Kings xii. 4, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35, xvi. 4, xxi. 3; and Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 4, is commended, because he did away with the high places; cf. *ib.* xxiii. 8, ff., 13, 15.

Now, if the same author also wrote the Books of Samuel, we should expect that in the history of Samuel and David, he would have spoken of it as something illegal and displeasing to Jehovah, when altars were erected and sacrifices made to Jehovah in other places besides that in front of the ark. This, however, is not at all the case. Acts of this kind are narrated without the narrator taking any offence at them—nay, on some occasions they are represented even as something well-pleasing to Jehovah; *e.g.*, 1 Sam. vii. 5, ff., 17, ix. 13, x. 4, xiv. 35; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18–25, &c.

(*b*) To this we may add that, in the Book of Kings, even before the discovery of the Book of the Law in Josiah's days, frequent allusions are made to the law as being in a written shape, and as acknowledged in a distinct form (1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xvii. 37, ff.); and the same is doubtless intended, when, in many passages, the statutes and Commandments of God are spoken of, sometimes in Deuteronomic expressions; cf. 1 Kings iii. 14, vi. 12, viii. 58, 61, ix. 4, 6, xi. 38; 2 Kings x. 31, xvii. 13, 15, 34, xviii. 6, xxi. 8. We do not find anything similar to this in the Book of Samuel, although the opportunity for it is not wanting; this also testifies to another author, and a different date of composition.

(*c*) Earlier historical works are often quoted in the Books of Kings, as we have before seen (pp. 175, 178, ff.), as written sources, in which many things may be found relating to the several kings, from Solomon nearly down to the Captivity; this is not the case in the Books of Samuel, in which only *one* quotation occurs, and that, indeed, of another kind, *viz.*, 2 Sam. i. 18, from the Book of Jasher, from which the elegy of

David on the deaths of Saul and Jonathan is taken. If, however, the Books of Samuel were by the same author as the Books of Kings, there can be no doubt the history contained in them of Samuel, Saul, and David, must also have been treated of in the earlier historical works, and that the author would have derived his narrative chiefly out of the latter; and we should expect that, following his course of procedure in the Books of Kings, he would make allusion to these written sources.

Add to this, that in the history of Samuel, Saul, and David, there is no allusion to the Captivity, which, if the author had lived in that age, would have easily crept in; also that the two works differ in language. The Books of Samuel show scarcely anything of that tendency to Aramaic, which we often find in the Books of Kings. We must, therefore, certainly consider it an incorrect view that the Books of Samuel were originally written by the same author as the Books of Kings.

§ 150.—*Connection between the Books of Samuel and Kings.*

But, on the other hand, we cannot well think, as has been generally supposed, that the Books of Samuel, in the extent in which we now have them, could have been written and issued by themselves as an independent work, nor could this have been the case at a later time with the Books of Kings. It is, at any rate, quite clear that the Books of Kings carried on the history from the very point where the Books of Samuel broke off, and that they often refer to the contents of the latter. The later author of the Books of Kings might have written his work as a mere continuation of that which is contained in the Books of Samuel; yet even then, the exactitude of the union and the back references would be somewhat remarkable. But the Books of Samuel themselves offer still greater difficulties. By 2 Sam. v. 4, ff., where the number of years of David's reign is stated, we are led to a date at any rate after David's death for the composition of the work; we can, therefore, scarcely imagine that the author of this work, relating the history of the people of Israel from the birth of Samuel onwards, would have left off just at that point where these books now conclude, namely, the narrative of the pestilence sent on account of the numbering

the people and of the erection of an altar on account of its ceasing, without at least describing the death of the monarch which followed almost immediately. The former event manifestly affords no natural conclusion for a work narrating the history of Samuel, Saul, and David.

We are also induced by other circumstances to suppose that the author continued his narrative so as to include David's death, and among these circumstances are the following:—

(a) 1 Sam. ii. 27–36, it is related that a man of God came and acquainted Eli the high priest, that his and his father's house, *i.e.*, the high priestly house of Ithamar, should be overthrown: that, instead of them, Jehovah would raise up a faithful priest, who should walk before His Anointed for ever, and that those who were left of the house of Eli should crouch down before him. We must compare with this, 1 Kings ii. 26, ff., where we are told that Solomon, after his accession to the throne, thrust out Abiathar (great-great-grandson of Eli) from the priesthood because he sided with Adonijah, in order, as it expressly tells us, to fulfil the word of Jehovah “which He spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh.” Therefore, in regard to the announcement made to Eli, we must look upon Solomon as *the Anointed* of Jehovah, before whom the priest of another family was to walk. We may now, however, assume with great probability with Ewald (*Geschichte Isr.* i. 190), that the author, who gave the account of this threat made to Eli, which is also repeated more shortly, 1 Sam. iii. 11–14, had it at that time in view to relate its fulfilment by Solomon, and that this was actually done by him as we read it in 1 Kings ii.

(b) We may likewise assume with probability that the author who related in 2 Sam. vii. how David was debarred by the revelation to Nathan from erecting a costly temple for Jehovah, and how it was revealed to him that this should be done by his posterity in accordance with the Divine will, had also intended to describe how this was fulfilled by the building of Solomon's Temple; also that he actually did this afterwards in his work, as appears in 1 Kings, where also express reference is made to the former narrative of the instructions given to David, ch. v. 17, ff., cf. viii. 17, ff.

We can, therefore, assume with tolerable certainty, that the author of the Books of Samuel related at least a part of the history of Solomon in this work of his, and with great probability, that much of it has been preserved in the beginning of the Books of Kings. This work, however, cannot have contained all that we read about Solomon in the Books of Kings, and even what there is in the first chapters, as it is there represented to us, is put before us in an altered shape, at least in part.

This is shown by the mode [to which we have already referred] in which, 1 Kings iii. 1, ff., Solomon's worship in high places is spoken of; likewise also (ch. ii. 2, ff.) by the admonitions of the dying David to Solomon, that he should keep Jehovah's statutes, commandments, judgments, and testimonies, as they are *written* in the law of Moses, &c.

If we combine all these considerations, we shall come to the conclusion that the later author of the Books of Kings wrote his work as an appendix and continuation of the more ancient record; but that, in doing this, he separated from it the last part of it, from the plague and David's death forward, and having somewhat remodelled and enlarged it from other sources, placed it at the head of his continuation. It might be possible that he remodelled and altered certain things in the preceding parts, embracing the Books of Samuel; but it appears to me that no adequate ground is afforded for such an opinion, much less for that of Ewald, that the book experienced a revision in detail in the period before the composition of our Books of Kings, not, however, until the Deuteronomic age, at the time of Josiah.

§ 151.—*Extent and Date of Composition of the Books of Samuel.*

We cannot ascertain with certainty (*a*) up to what point the history was continued in the earlier work, probably, however, up to the death of Solomon and the separation of the two kingdoms; and (*b*) when it was written. The statement of the Talmud (*v.* § 144, note 1) in which these books are attributed to Samuel himself, need not be here taken into consideration, since in their present extent they proceed far beyond Samuel, who died before Saul (1 Sam. xxv. 1, xxviii. 3), and the title שמואל certainly originally related not to the supposed author, but only to the most

prominent person in the first part. The date of the composition fixed by Hävernicks as soon after David's death is also too early. This opinion is improbable in itself, even without taking into consideration our view as to the further extension of the work. 1 Sam. xxvii. 6 is opposed to this view, where we are told that Achish, the Philistine king of Gath, gave David, when he was staying with him in his flight from Saul, the city of Ziklag, and then it is added, "wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah even unto this day." This remark, as it here runs, shows clearly (*a*) that it was written at a time when the Kingdom of Judah was still existing, and is therefore opposed to the identity of the authors of the Books of Samuel and Kings; and (*b*) it also proves that it was not written until after the separation of the two kingdoms, and perhaps some considerable time after. It would have been impossible that in Solomon's time it could have thus run, as *e.g.* Hävernicks thinks, "it pertained unto the Kings of Judah even unto this day," as Solomon could not be designated the King of Judah, though he belonged to the tribe of Judah, and in no place is he so called. The composition, therefore, probably occurred later than Ewald thinks, who fixes it about 20-30 years after the death of Solomon. How much later, however, cannot well be decided, nor whether it was before the destruction of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes or after it. The former, however, is the more likely, as we find no signs in the Books of Samuel at all pointing out that the author had under his view the scattering of an important part of the people. We are also led to the former view by the impartiality, before remarked, with which the author speaks of altars being erected and sacrifices offered in various places, without any intimation of a censure.

§ 152.—*Sources of the Narrative of the Books of Samuel.*

As regards the sources from which the author has derived his matter, it was in part from verbal tradition and in part also from early written records. The latter is particularly the case with regard to the poetical pieces included in it.

These are as follows:

(*a*) 2 Sam. i. 19-27, David's beautiful elegy on the deaths of Saul and Jonathan, entitled, from *v.* 18, "*the Song*

of the Bow," קִישָׁת (perhaps in reference to Jonathan's bow named in *v.* 22); the author took this song out of the Book of Jasher, as he expressly says in *v.* 18, and it was therefore included in this latter book (cf. p. 175).

(*b*) 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34, a short and likewise certainly genuine song of lamentation of David on the death of Abner.

(*c*) 2 Sam. xxii., a song of David's, composed "in the day that Jehovah had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul." This same song also exists in Ps. xviii., with many differences in detail, but none of them essential. There is little dispute as to the genuineness of this. Our author perhaps met with it singly, and from the historical work it was adopted into a collection of Psalms.

(*d*) 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7, "the last (poetical) words of David" (וְאַלְמָה דְּבָרַי דְּרוּר הָאֲחֵרִים), a short, beautiful, didactic song, which bears the complete stamp of genuineness, and was perhaps met with by our author in some collection of songs or "Mascals," where it had perhaps the superscription which is here adopted (*v.* 1), "David the son of Jesse said, and the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet Psalmist of Israel, said."

(*e*) 1 Sam. ii. 1-10, a song which is said to be a prayer of Hannah's, the mother of Samuel, after the birth and weaning of her son. Its contents show quite clearly that the song did not have this origin, and that it could not have originally been intended to pass as a song of Hannah's. It is, on the contrary, clear that it was first composed in reference to some Israelitish king (*v.* 10), who was engaged in war with overbearing foreign enemies, and had been victorious therein (*vv.* 1, 4). It can only be ascribed to Hannah by error, for which *v.* 5 gives the reason ("so that the barren hath borne seven, and she that hath many children is waxed feeble"). It is therefore certain that the historian did not first compose it, and then place it in Hannah's mouth, but that he somewhere met with it, and gave it this reference. But there is no sufficient cause for assuming, with Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* p. 212), that it was not inserted till later, in his assumed revision of the work at the time of Josiah, the originator of which he styles, in the 2nd ed., the last reviser but one of this history.

§ 153.—*Traces of Historical Records made use of in the Books of Samuel.*

But apart from these poetical passages, we may assume with probability that, in some points, the author of these books had met with and made use of some earlier written records relating to the times and events which he wrote about. The form of the narrative in some places admits of a natural explanation on this hypothesis alone, nor, in fact, is it intelligible, if we consider the composer as an author who was thoroughly independent of, and not relying on, foreign sources of information.

This is particularly shown in the narrative of David's becoming acquainted with Saul (1 Sam. xvi.—xviii).

It is related (ch. xvi. 14–23) that David was brought to Saul as a skilful player on the harp, that, by his harp-playing, he might cheer Saul in his dejection. We further learn, that as Saul was pleased with David and made him his armour-bearer, the latter, from that time, remained continually about Saul as his servant, and that when the melancholy came on, he drove it away with his music. Then follows immediately the account of the giant Goliath, and David's fight with him (ch. xvii. 1–xviii. 5). Here, however, David again appears as the keeper of his father's sheep; again, also (ch. xvii. 12), his family and home are mentioned, as if he had not been spoken of at all in what went before. It deserves special notice that ch. xvii. 55–58, leads to the view that when he went out against Goliath he was a complete stranger to Saul and his attendants. Saul inquires of Abner, "whose son is this youth?" and when Abner assured him that he did not know, the king charged him to acquaint himself with it; and when, after the defeat of Goliath, David was brought to Saul, the latter again inquires, "whose son art thou, thou young man?"

It cannot be denied that the narrative (1 Sam. xvii. 1–xviii. 5) does not agree with the preceding statement in ch. xvi., and it is not probable that the whole should have been continuously written in this form, or that an independent author, in his account of certain circumstances, should arbitrarily depart from his former statement of them. On the other hand, it is improbable that the whole of ch. xvii.

was, as Ewald thinks (1st ed. i. 199), subsequently inserted (in his assumed revision of the book at the time of Josiah).¹

In addition to the improbability that the early author of David's history should have omitted this deed, there are repeated references to it in what follows, and these so woven in with the narrative that it would not be feasible to consider them as later interpolations (cf. ch. xix. 5, xxi. 9, 10).²

With greater probability we may assume that the author of our book had met with a written record of David's fight with Goliath, and adopted it into his work in 1 Sam. xvii. 1-xviii. 5, with perhaps a few additions.

Thus perhaps (in *v.* 12) the וַיִּזְכֹּר is inserted by the author as a reference to ch. xvi. 18, and also the remark that David now and then left Saul, in order to feed his father's flocks in Bethlehem, which is intended, as far as possible, to bring the latter narrative into conformity with ch. xvi. 21-23, although he fails in bringing it into complete harmony with the rest of his story.

This opinion is also confirmed by the way in which this portion closes (1 Sam. xviii. 5), comparing it with what immediately follows.

We read (ch. xviii. 5), "And David went out whithersoever Saul sent him, and behaved himself wisely: and Saul set him over the men of war, and he was accepted in the sight of all the people, and also in the sight of Saul's servants." This appears quite appropriate in a concluding formula winding up the narrative of the former event, but as it stands here in the continuous history of these times, it is certainly out of place. We find in *v.* 6, ff. how great was the immediate impression David's deed had made, and how, when they returned from the slaughter of the Philistines, the women came out rejoicing from all the cities of Israel to meet the king, singing, "Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands," and how Saul was, on this account, envious of and angry with David, and, in order to remove the latter away from him, made him captain over a thousand.

¹ According to the 2nd edit. iii. 91, ff., the section ch. xvii. 1-xviii. 5. consists of the narratives of the more ancient, the second, and a third narrator, which were completed by a fourth narrator, and from him received their present shape.

² Ewald does not say what he thinks of these passages.

Besides, there is in 2 Sam. xxi. 15–22, a short account, like a chronicle, of different wars which David, as king, waged with the Philistines, and it tells (v. 10), with regard to one of them, that one Elhanan, of Bethlehem, slew Goliath the Gittite, the shaft of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.¹ As this statement here stands, whether we consider this Goliath as identical with the one named in 1 Sam. xvii., or whether we look upon them as different persons, we shall in either case be led to suppose that the author must have met with this chronicle recorded in some earlier writing, and from thence transferred it into his work.

It might be possible that there were two Goliaths of Gath, the elder of whom was perhaps named after the other. Yet it is somewhat remarkable that, with regard to the second, the size of the shaft of his spear is stated exactly in the same way as it was about the first, "that it was like a weaver's beam." We may, therefore, be inclined to think with many (as Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 91, f.) that it was one and the selfsame giant Goliath, whose defeat had been attributed by different traditions either to David, as the first warlike act by which he became distinguished, or to Elhanan, one of David's heroes, when he was king. But if there were two different Gittites of the same name we should certainly expect that, if the short accounts (2 Sam. xxi.) were originally composed by the same author who wrote the more copious narrative of the defeat of the first Goliath, and indeed in connection with the latter as elements of the same historical narration, he would have given some intimation as to the relation of the second Goliath to the first, both being depicted in so similar a manner.

A similar reception into the work may be supposed with regard to several other sections of these books, also containing short collections of chronicles.

This is the case with 1 Sam. xiv. 47–52, containing notices of certain wars and of Saul's family; 2 Sam. viii., containing

¹ In the parallel passage, indeed, in Chronicles (1 Chron. xx. 5), instead of this, we find that Elhanan slew Lahmi, brother of Goliath the Gittite (בֵּית הַלְחָמִי instead of אֶת־לַחְמִי), and many interpreters consider this to be the correct reading also in Sam. *ut supra*. But it is much more likely that it is an emendation of the author of Chronicles, in order to do away with the difficulty of the statement.

accounts of several of David's wars, and his chief officers. As regards these wars with the neighbouring nations, it is very possible that these are in part the same as those described more fully in ch. x.—xii.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39—list of David's heroes, with short notices of some of them.

We must also observe that this view enables us more easily to explain the relations of the two narratives—1 Sam. xxiii. 19–xxiv. 22, and xxvi.

We have here two very similar narratives, how the Ziphites betrayed David to Saul, who had come out with 3000 men, but fell into the hands of David at the hill Hachilah, and how the latter generously allowed his persecutor to go unhurt. In the existing book this is related as two different events, happening one after the other. The narratives offer many variations, but agree in the points above named in such a way as to enable us to regard it at least as probable that both of them are founded on the same fact, which is related according to different traditions. The readiest explanation is afforded by supposing that the author of our books found one of the traditions already recorded in writing. This hypothesis, however, is not altogether necessary.

§ 154.—*References to the Writings of the Books of Samuel.*

We may, I think, in general regard it as tolerably certain that the author of these books had met with written records relating to the times and events which he treated of, and that he made use of them in his work, besides the songs which he also adopted. But I think it quite impossible to define generally with any certainty or even probability, as some writers have endeavoured to do (cf. De Wette, § 179), how many earlier writings the composer made use of, and what he borrowed from one or the other. It is an entire mistake to limit the composer's own share to merely stringing together and arranging these earlier writings.

I have also previously remarked (p. 175) on the erroneousness of the earlier view (cf. Carpzov, *Introduct.* i. 213, ff., and others), which is also held by some modern scholars, e.g., Gramberg (*Chron.* p. 28), Movers (*Chron.* p. 178), and De Wette, § 192 *b*, that in 1 Chron. xxix. 29, the three quotations merely refer to the different parts of the

existing books of Samuel; the first part (1 Sam. 1–24) being called “Dibre Schemuel,” and the remaining portions “Dibre Nathan” and “Dibre Gad.” The earlier writers held also that our Books of Samuel were gradually written in these divisions by the three prophets named. But three different works are certainly intended by the chronicler, the second of which, the “Dibre Nathan,” he once before (2 Chron. ix. 29) quoted for the history of Samuel.

On the other hand, as I before (p. 177) remarked, it is very doubtful whether the quotations in Chronicles, as Hävernick, &c., think, refer to works of the prophets named, containing their prophecies (perhaps together with historical statements), which served as chief sources for the composer of our books of Samuel, or whether the titles only refer to those persons whose history formed a chief part of the contents of the books in question. The expression דְּבַרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל, of course, admits the former view, but it may as easily point out a work of which Samuel was the subject, as in the former passage of Chronicles דְּבַרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, and דְּבַרֵי דָוִד, and many other passages show. We can, however, assume with great probability that, since the Chronicler, without doubt, was acquainted with our Books of Samuel in their present shape and under their present title in the Hebrew Canon, שְׁמוּאֵל, he meant them by the “Dibre Samuel.” The two other citations to the “Dibre Nathan” and “Dibre Gad” must, then, refer to other works which are not preserved to us.

It might be possible that the Chronicler was acquainted with our books, not only in the form in which they exist in the Canon, but also in the earlier shape and extent in which the author of the Book of Kings had met with them, in which form they then contained the history of Solomon, and that this work was meant by the Dibre Nathan. But this is a question which does not admit of any definite verdict.

§ 155.—*Considerations as to Date of Composition and Author.*

With regard to the *Books of Kings* the following remarks may be added to what has been hitherto said. They conclude with narrating (2 Kings xxv. 27–30) that the Jewish king Jehoiachin (599 B.C., eleven years before the

destruction of Jerusalem),—having been carried away to Babylon, in the thirty-seventh year of his exile (therefore 562 B.C., and twenty-six years before Cyrus's permission of return) was released from his captivity and treated with respect by Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon, soon after the commencement of the latter's reign. Jahn erroneously holds, that as the death of Jehoiachin is not stated here, the composer must have produced his work before the death of this king; we may rather conclude, as Bertholdt has rightly remarked, from *vr.* 29, 30 ("all the days of his life"), that it was not written until after Jehoiachin's death. Neither can we, with Hävernäck (*ii.* 1, p. 170), draw the conclusion that Jehoiachin died before Evil-Merodach, and therefore not long after his liberation from captivity, as the latter only reigned two years. For Evil-Merodach's successor might have continued to treat him as his predecessor had done without any necessity for this being particularly noticed. The expression, however, twice repeated, "all the days of his life," leads to a somewhat longer period for the continuance of Jehoiachin's life after his freedom from prison, and of his enjoyment of the kindness spoken of.

On the other hand, we cannot doubt, as Ewald rightly remarks (*i.* 213, ff.), that Jehoiachin died during the Chaldean dominion, and likewise that the composition of the book occurred before the termination of the exile, for else we should expect to find some intimation as to the liberation of the people out of the captivity inflicted on them for their disobedience.

There are, also, several things in the course of the book which lead us to conclude with probability that the composer had the circumstances of the exile before his eyes, but *not* the liberation of the people out of it, but that the longing of his heart was directed to it.

Thus we may assume, with great probability, that in the narrative of the visions to Solomon after the consecration of the Temple (1 Kings ix. 6-8) the form in which the Divine communication is given belongs to the author, *i.e.*, to the composer of the existing books, and that he wrote it at a time when the people were still far away from their country, and the Temple had been destroyed (*cf.* also 2 Kings xx. 17, ff., xxii. 19, f.).

As regards the author of these books, the Talmud¹ names Jeremiah, and most of the Rabbis also attribute the work to him, as well as many of the earlier Christian divines, with Hävernäck amongst the most modern. If we only look to the prophetic-didactic character of the work in general, this opinion would commend itself to our consideration. We may also notice that the last section (2 Kings xxiv. 18–xxv. 30) is on the whole identical, and for the most part even verbally, with the last chapter of Jeremiah (ch. lii.). Now, it is not very likely that this chapter should have been taken by the composer of these books so literally out of the Book of Jeremiah immediately after the latter appeared; nor can we, without difficulty, assume that it should have got into the Book of Jeremiah out of the Books of Kings, as it occurs in the two different recensions of it—the Hebrew and the Alexandrine; and therefore we might be disposed to attribute the composition of our books to Jeremiah himself. But this, however, is decidedly erroneous. Jeremiah began his prophetic work in the thirteenth year of Josiah; from that time up to the carrying away of Jehoiachin is about sixty-six years; so that the prophet must have then been at least eighty-six years old, and still older when this last section was written. It is not altogether probable, therefore, that this last chapter of Jeremiah was written by the prophet himself. It was probably added by Baruch, who, as we shall see, superintended the compiling and editing of the Book of Jeremiah. We may therefore suppose that Baruch was also the author of the Books of Kings, by which idea many points of resemblance which they present to Jeremiah are adequately explained. Their composition would then have taken place in the last period of the exile, most probably in Egypt.²

§ 156.—*Historical Sources employed in the Books of Kings—
Mode of Adoption.*

As to the *sources* from which the composer derived the matter of his work, they were of a written nature, with the exception of the last part, some portions of which he might

¹ *Baba Bathra*, f. 15, 1: "Jeremias scripsit librum suum et librum Regum et Threnos.

² The passage 1 Kings v. 14 points out a composition *east* of the Euphrates; therefore in Babylon.

have described from his own experience; we partly observe this from his own express statement. In the first place, as regards the account of the last sickness and the death of David, and also the reign of Solomon, we cannot doubt from what has gone before, that he took his material in great part out of the work which contained our Books of Samuel and also the history of Solomon. He also, however, made use of at least one work in particular on the history of Solomon, under the title "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Kings xi. 41; cf. as to this p. 175). Nothing, however, is known to us with regard to this work, or the age in which it was written.

For the history of the succeeding kings, both of Israel and Judah, the author everywhere refers to the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and to that "of the Kings of Judah;" the first he quotes sixteen times, the latter, in all, fifteen times. As to this great work, and the various indications of it in different passages, cf. above, p. 179, ff. I may remark, in addition, as to its nature and origin, the prevailing opinion is, that these books were public national annals, which, it is thought, were written concerning the reigns of the several kings, at latest just after their deaths, or some of the noteworthy events even in their life-time, by some appointed officers of the court, the מַזְכִּירִים, who are so often mentioned. But what the peculiar office and business of these *Maskirim* were is very doubtful; and it appears very unlikely to me that we should look upon them as a kind of Court-historians.

If the duty had been imposed upon them of at once recording in writing any and every remarkable event that took place, this was simply to bring it to the recollection of the kings, their masters, and not with any view of writing a history. It has been thought to have been the case that, always after the death of any king, his successor took care to have the history of his predecessor inserted in the public national annals. But this is not very probable, particularly in the kingdom of Israel, if we consider the entire state of things in this kingdom, and the sudden changes of the ruling families, and the way in which each of them came to the throne.

It seems probable to me that what is quoted under the title of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and the

Kings of Judah, and the like, was a more copious work, which was not composed till a later period, and at one time—whether as a mere private undertaking, or perhaps under official authority, I do not venture to say—in which the history of the two kingdoms followed the succession of the kings, and was written with tolerable copiousness, making use of earlier special writings about certain kings and periods, sometimes adopting these entirely or in abstract, as we have seen was done in regard to a history of Jehu, the son of Hanani, and a writing of Isaiah about Hezekiah (cf. p. 180, f.). This work, however, cannot well have been written or completed, as regards the history of the kings of Judah, before quite the last period of the kingdom of Judah. It was, in any case, the chief source used by the author of the Books of Kings for the history of the kings of both kingdoms after Solomon; and perhaps it has been also partly used for the history of Solomon.

It is very possible, indeed not improbable, that he also made use of some other older works containing special histories, the titles of which we in part know from citations in the Chronicles.

The account of the doings of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, take up a disproportionately large space in the existing books, and we may assume with the greatest probability (as Ewald does, i. 204, ff., and others) that these had been before treated of in a separate writing on which these narratives are based. But it cannot well be decided, whether our author made a direct use of this writing, or whether perhaps he only used indirectly that part of it which was contained in the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

The *form and way* in which our author has made use of his sources appear to be in general tolerably free and unfettered. This is shown by the similarity of character which pervades the work, appearing in the whole way of looking at the history, and in the mode in which he always brings forward the behaviour of the several kings in regard to idolatry, the worship in high places, and also the laws of Moses, joined to a certain uniformity of narrative, particularly at the close of the reign of each king, and a prevailing similarity in the mode of statement and language. Yet he has sometimes retained almost literally the form of expression used in his sources, especially where he has taken

out of the latter detailed narrations of certain events. He has then retained special peculiarities of expression which run in a way that cannot be explained except by the supposition that their original composition is of an earlier date.

We may instance the following passages: 1 Kings viii. 8. (In the consecration of the Temple, in reference to the ark), "and the staves (of the ark) were drawn out that the ends of the staves were seen out in the holy place before the oracle, and they were not seen without; and there they are unto this day." This points clearly to a period of composition considerably subsequent to Solomon; but to a time also when the Temple and the ark yet existed. I remark as to this that Stähelin and De Wette (§ 185, note *a*) are wrong in thinking that Solomon's prayer at the consecration of the Temple (1 Kings viii. 15, ff.) could not have been composed until the time of the exile. Of course it is very probable that the prayer in this form was first composed by a later author, and indeed at a time when the people of Israel had been in part carried away by foreign nations (v. 33, f., 46, ff.); but, on the other hand, these passages (vv. 33, 48, and also v. 25) do not leave any doubt that the author had a state of things in view when the Temple, the city of Jerusalem, and the kingdom of David, still existed (as Ewald also, i. 211, rightly judges). We may therefore assume, with great probability, that the prayer received this form before the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, and probably before the breaking up of the kingdom of Israel, and that the author of our book retained it in the same form in which it occurred in his sources.

The account (1 Kings ix. 21) that Solomon levied for bond service all those of the Amorites, Hittites, &c., who were left, whom the Israelites had not been able to banish (annihilate) "unto this day," presupposes also the continued existence of the nation of Judah.

1 Kings xii. 19: "So Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day." This expression can only be naturally explained as referring to a time when the kingdom of Israel still existed.

2 Kings viii. 22: "Yet Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day."

2 Kings x. 27. At the beginning of the reign of Jehu over Israel we find the image and house of Baal at Samaria broken down, and made into a draught-house (a *cloaca*), “*unto this day*,” a mode of expression which renders it probable that this was originally composed at a time when Samaria was still the chief city of Israel.

There are some other passages which are less certain, which, however, may perhaps be classed with the above, as 2 Kings xiv. 7, 26, f.; xvi. 6.

In general, however, there can be no doubt that the author has considerably abridged the statements of his written sources in the history of many of the kings both of Israel and Judah, and has altogether omitted much matter that they contained; he appears to have only brought forward those details which corresponded with his own prophetic-didactic point of view and served to point out how the kings conducted themselves as to God’s law, particularly in reference to the *cultus*, and to show how some brought on the Divine judgments through their disobedience and their breaking the law, and others, by their piety and endeavours to keep the law, warded them off, at least for a time.

THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.¹§ 157.—*Their Names and General Character.*

THESE two books were always from ancient times reckoned by the Jews as *one*. This was also the case with Josephus and the Talmud, and afterwards in the Indexes of Origen, of the Council of Laodicea, of Hilary and Jerome.² The Hebrew Jews also comprehended both under the name of "Ezra." In the LXX and Vulgate, however, this work is divided into *two* books, as the *first* and *second* Book of Ezra (in Origen, "Ἐσδραῖς πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος"). The second has also, both in the Hebrew text and the old translations, a peculiar superscription, by which it is divided from the preceding book, דְּבַרֵי נְחֵמְיָה בֶּן־חַכְמָיָה לֹגוֹי נְעֻמְיָה וִיּוֹדֵי כֶלְכֵּיָהּ, λόγοι Νεεμία υἱοῦ Χελκία.

These books comprise the history of the Jewish people after the Babylonian exile, from the first year of Cyrus onwards, when the first caravan of exiles, under Zerubbabel, returned from Babylon to Judæa, up to the time of Nehemiah or the Persian king Artaxerxes Longimanus, at least to the thirty-second year of this king. They embrace, therefore, a period of at least 100 years.

As regards the mode of statement in these books, the narrator sometimes makes use of the first person, so that he describes the events as a partaker in them, and it is clear that by this in the first book (except ch. v. 4) "Ezra" is meant, and in the second, for the most part, "Nehemiah" (except ch. x.).

The *language* in the second book is entirely Hebrew, and also the greatest part of the first. Ezra, however, contains two sections in the middle of it in Chaldee (ch. iv. 8–vi. 18; vii. 12–26).

§ 158.—*Ezra—Summary of Contents.*

Their more special contents are as follows:—The former book begins (the expression וּבְשָׁנָה, LXX, καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ,

¹ The relations of these two books to each other are of that kind, that an investigation as to their origin cannot be advantageously conducted, except by considering both together.

² *Vide* the passages referring, §§ 303 and 309–311; cf. § 18.

appearing to connect it with something going before) with the account how the Persian king "Koresch" (Cyrus), in the first year of his reign, at the incitement of Jehovah, made a proclamation to the Jews in his kingdom to return home to Jerusalem, and there to rebuild the Temple, and that in consequence the chief men, particularly of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the priests and Levites, began their return home under the leadership of the Jewish prince Scheshbazzar (= Zerubbabel, the former name being, according to ch. v. 14, 16, that which he bore in Babylon and among the Persians), to whom Koresch delivered over the sacred vessels of the Temple, which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem to Babylon (ch. i.). Ch. ii. follows with a list of those who then returned with Zerubbabel and the other chiefs according to their several families or their former dwelling-places; the whole number was nearly 50,000 persons. The free-will offerings for the restoration of the Temple are also named. Next follows the full narrative of the exertions of those who had returned to re-establish the Jehovah-cultus at Jerusalem. In the seventh month the whole people came together into Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, and sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings which Zerubbabel and the high priest Jeshua had set up in the place where it formerly stood. In the second year after their return they began to rebuild the Temple, and laid the foundation thereof. This excited great joy among a part of the people, but also grief and lamentations among those who had seen the old Temple in all its former greatness (ch. iii.).

When the Samaritans heard of this (the descendants of those who were planted in the country of the ten tribes after the breaking up of their kingdom by the Assyrian king), they wished to take a part in building the Temple and in the sacrificial service in it. This being denied them by the chief men of the Jews, they endeavoured to thwart the whole undertaking, and succeeded in doing so during all the life-time of Koresch up to the reign of *Darjavesch* (Darius) (ch. iv. 1-5). It then further tells us that they (the Samaritans), at the beginning of the reign of *Achaschverosch* (Xerxes), sent a written accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem (ch. iv. 6), and that, in the days of King *Artachsaschta* (Artax-

erxes), Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and their companions wrote a letter to the king in the Aramaic language (ch. iv. 7). Then follows, without any further link with what precedes (*vv.* 8–16), a letter in the Chaldee language to the King Artachschashta, but not from the men named in *v.* 7, but from quite different persons, a chancellor named Rehum, and a scribe Shimshai, who, in conjunction with some other Persian officials in Samaria, called the king's attention to it as a suspicious circumstance that the Jews were again building up and fortifying Jerusalem.

The Chaldee language is used continuously up to ch. vi. 18. We first read that the king Artachschashta commanded in his answer that they should put a stop to the further building of the city, which command was put in force by the above-named officials going in person to Jerusalem (ch. iv. 17–23); as to which we are told in *v.* 24, “Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem” (the Temple-building) “unto the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia.” This, therefore, takes us back to *v.* 5, where the same thing is already told. It is then further related (ch. v. 1, ff.) that, at the time of the king Darjavesch, Zerubbabel and Jeshua were roused up by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah to begin the building of the Temple, and that the governor Tatnai and some other Persian officials had a conversation with them about it, and on this account applied to the king in a letter informing the latter that the Jews appealed to the permission given them by Koresch. The document relating to this was found in a palace in Media, whereupon Darjavesch issued the order that the Jews were not to be hindered in their undertaking of building the Temple, but that they were to be assisted in it in every way. This command of the king was then executed, so that through the prophesyings of Haggai and Zechariah the building went on prosperously, and the Temple was finished, and then dedicated in the sixth year of the reign of Darius, and priests and Levites were appointed (ch. vi. 18).

In regard to this section I remark as follows:—

(a) That on one occasion we find the first person plural used (ch. v. 4): “Then told *we*” (the Jews in Jerusalem) “unto them” (the Persian officials¹) “the names of the men

¹ The A. V. runs differently here.

who make this building;” but this mode of expression only occurs *once*, and the Jews are elsewhere spoken of in the third person plural throughout this section.

(b) The undertaking of the Jews is described (ch. v. 3, 9) as the building of the Temple and the completion of the walls. The latter can only apply to the walls of the fortifications of the city (cf. ch. iv. 16).

(c) In ch. vi. 14 we read, “And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai, the prophet, and Zechariah, the son of Iddo. And they builded and finished it according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Koresch, and Darjavesch, and Artachschashta, king of Persia:” and then immediately afterwards, in v. 15, “And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius, the king.” We cannot very well believe that here, in v. 15, another later Darjavesch is meant than the one just before named (v. 14); therefore the building named in v. 14, which took place according to the ordinance of Koresch, Darjavesch, and Artachschashta, cannot be intended as the Temple-building, which, according to v. 15, was completed in the time of Darjavesch, but in a more general sense, as the rebuilding of the city, for Artachschashta is, without doubt, to be understood here as a later king than Darjavesch.

The Hebrew language begins again at ch. vi. 19, although what immediately follows is closely connected with the preceding matter, as it speaks of the feast of the Passover which the returned Jews celebrated, full of joy that Jehovah had inclined towards them the heart of the Persian king—who here (v. 22) is called “the King of Assyria”—so that he assisted them in their building the Temple (ch. vi. 19–22).

The remainder of the book is taken up with the history of *Ezra*, a Jewish priest learned in the law, who, in the seventh year of the Persian king *Artachscha*, with the permission and assistance of this prince, led a second caravan of some thousands of Jewish exiles back to Jerusalem. Among his doings at Jerusalem, the earnest zeal is brought prominently forward, with which he urged the putting away of the foreign wives, with whom some of the

Jews, even priests and Levites had allied themselves. This section, which is connected with what goes before by the words *וְאַחֶר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה* (ch. vii. 1), is entirely written in Hebrew, up to Artachschasta's letter (ch. vii. 12–26). Ezra is, for the most part (ch. vii. 27–ix.) spoken of in the first person, so that this section shows that it was written by himself. He is, however, spoken of in the third person: (a) at the beginning of the section (ch. vii. 1–11), in which the letter of *Artachschasta*, containing the permission and authority of the king to Ezra, is introduced; and (b) ch. x. (v. 1, ff., 5, ff., 10, 16); this is, however, in close connection with ch. ix.

§ 159.—*Nehemiah—Summary of Contents.*

The *second book* has, as already remarked, the special title, "The History of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah." From the very beginning Nehemiah is here spoken of in the first person, so that he himself appears as the author relating the history. He informs us that, being cup-bearer to the Persian king Artachschasta, in consequence of the intelligence he received as to the distressed condition of his fellow-countrymen at Jerusalem, he proceeded thither with recommendations and authority from the king in the twentieth year of his reign, and that, in spite of the opposition of the Persian officials and those around them, particularly Sanballat, he succeeded in building up and completing the gates and walls; also that, by his own management, he put a stop to the usury and oppression of the poor amongst his fellow-countrymen themselves, whom he ruled as Persian governor in Judah for twelve years, up to the thirty-second year of Artachschasta (i. 1–vii. 3).

It is then further told, that as the population was still too small for the great extent of Jerusalem, and the city was not finished building, he therefore determined to draw up a list of the inhabitants according to their families, but that he found a list of families of those who had come there at first (ch. vii. 4, 5). This list of the exiles who had returned home with Zerubbabel is then given (v. 6–73). It is the same as that given in Ezra (ch. ii.), only in another recension. There are some variations between the two recensions in single names, and particularly in the numbers of the members of different

families.¹ But the agreement is for the most part quite literal.

We should expect that a second list would now be given of the census set on foot by Nehemiah. But a section of quite a different purport follows first (ch. vii. 73-x.). In this we read that in the seventh month, Ezra read the Book of the Law of Moses before the people assembled in Jerusalem, and that they kept the Feast of Tabernacles and then a fast-day, and, finally, that they were laid under a solemn obligation to the Book of the Law. Nehemiah is named among those who were present, and taking a part in this (ch. viii. 9; x. 2). The person who narrates often expresses himself in the first person plural, as having been personally among those taking part in these matters (x. 1, 31, ff.), and might well have been Ezra, although he himself is spoken of in the third person.

What follows, however (ch. xi. to xiii.), is closely connected with that which preceded the section just spoken of (ch. vii. 73). We are there told (as in Ezra, ch. ii. 70) that the priests, Levites, porters, singers, and the Israelites generally, dwelt in their (various) cities (in the country), and it is here (ch. xi. 1) related, as an exception from the above, that the chiefs of the people dwelt at Jerusalem, and in regard to the remainder, that a tenth part was chosen by lot, who were likewise to dwell at Jerusalem, and that the others might continue to inhabit the remainder of the cities in the land. A further list follows of the most distinguished men who lived at Jerusalem, both of the chiefs of families of Judah and Benjamin, and also of the priests, Levites, and porters, also the names of the other cities in the land, which were inhabited by the rest of the Israelites (*vv.* 3-36). Then follows a list of the priests and Levites who came up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and also of those who lived in the time of Joiakim the high priest, Jeshua's son (ch. xii. 1-21), together with notices of some other lists of Levites, which are not very clear in regard to the date of their times (*vv.* 22-26).

¹ The whole number of the members of the community is stated as 42,369 in both recensions, besides 7337 male and female servants, and 245 (200 Ezra) male and female singers; but if we reckon up together the numbers stated of the different families, in Nehemiah we get only 31,089, in Ezra only 29,818.

As it runs in *v.* 26, "These were in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and in the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe," it appears to be presupposed that, besides those living in the time of Joiachim, those also living in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah were named; yet none of the latter are particularly mentioned in what goes before.

The remaining portion of the book relates, first, the dedication of the completed walls of Jerusalem, for which the whole of the Levites and singers were collected together at Jerusalem (*ch.* xii. 27-43); Ezra relates as to this (*v.* 36), that he followed in the procession of one of the thanksgiving choirs; then (*vv.* 44-47) the appointing of men to collect and take charge of the heave-offerings, first-fruits, and tithes; also (*ch.* xiii. 1-3), that care should be taken to separate the foreigners from Israel conformably to the law of Moses. It next tells how Nehemiah, after he had again visited Artach-chasta (king of Babylon, *v.* 6), and had returned from thence at the end of a year, determined to do away with various abuses which had gained ground, such as neglect in the payment of the dues to the Levites, the profanation of the Sabbath by work and business, and the unions of the Jews with foreign wives; as to the latter point, he drove away a priest of the high priestly family who had allied himself in marriage to Sanballat the Horonite (*ch.* xiii. 4-31). In this last section, Nehemiah himself is everywhere the narrator, speaking of himself in the first person; thus also *ch.* xii. 31, 38, 40; but it runs differently in *v.* 47, "and all Israel in the days of Zerubbabel, and in the days of *Nehemiah*, gave the portions of the singers and the porters," &c.

§ 160.—*Dates of Events recorded—Persian Kings mentioned, and their Dates.*

The chronology of these books is not without difficulty, and the view we entertain on this point will have its influence on our opinion, both as to the origin of the books, and also as to the relation borne by the author or authors to the events related. The dates are here everywhere stated according to the years of the reigns of the Persian kings. These are called by the names common among the Hebrews, and run somewhat differently in Greek and other authors; and from these names it is sometimes difficult to tell which

of the kings is here intended among all those whose order of succession and regnal years are known to us from other sources. There are four names of Persian kings occurring here.

(1) *Koresch*, who, in the first year of his reign, assisted the return of the Jewish exiles, of which assistance a number availed themselves under the guidance of Zerubbabel and Jeshua. There is no reason to question the generally acknowledged fact, that Koresch is equivalent to *Cyrus*, and the return of this first caravan of Jewish exiles occurred accordingly in the first year of Cyrus, viz., of his dominion over the old Babylonian monarchy (536 B.C.).

(2) *Darjavesch*.—A Darjavesch is here mentioned as being the Persian king under whom the work of the Temple-building carried on by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, which was stopped by Cyrus, was begun again in the second year of his reign, and was completed in the sixth (Ezra iv. 5, 24; v. 5, ff.; vi. 1, 14; cf. Hagg. i. 1, ff., ii. 1, ff.; Zech. i. 1). Darjavesch is the Greek *Δαρείος*, as he is also called in the LXX. There can be no doubt, and it is also acknowledged, that this Darjavesch, under whom the new temple was finished, and the prophets Haggai and Zechariah prophesied (cf. for this also Ezra vi. 14), was *Darius Hystaspes* (520–486 B.C.); between him and Cyrus, Cambyses intervenes (529–522 B.C.), and Pseudo-Smerdis (521 B.C.); so that the completion of the Temple would fall in 514 or 515 B.C., twenty-one years after the first permission to return.¹

(3) *Achaschverosch*.—We read in Ezra iv. 6 that, at the beginning of his reign, an accusation was written against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. A Persian king, Achaschverosch, also occurs in the Book of Esther, and it is tolerably well acknowledged that *Xerxes* is meant, and this name has a connection with the former. The original form of the name in the ancient Persian has been retained in the cuneiform writing, and there runs Khesch-wersche and Ks'harsa, and from this has arisen both the form *Xerxes* in the Greek authors, and *Achaschverosch* in the Hebrew. We may therefore assume, with the highest probability,

¹ Bleek has overlooked the passage Neh. xii. 22, where the Persian Darius is evidently *Darius Codomannus*, as Bertheau also allows. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xi. : ch. viii. as to Jaddua, who at the time of Alexander was the high priest.

that in these passages (*Ezra ut sup.*) *Xerxes* is intended by Achaschverosch (486-465 B.C.), and not *Cambyses*, as many have thought.¹

(4) *Artachsasta* (*Artachsaschta*).—This name is often mentioned, particularly (a) *Ezra* iv. 7, 8, as that of the Persian king, to whom both Bislam and his friends, and also Rehum and his friends, wrote, making accusation against the Jews; (b) *Ezra* vii. 1, ff., as that of the king, under whom, in the seventh year of his reign, *Ezra* set out with the second caravan to return to Jerusalem out of exile; (c) *Neh.* ii. 1, ff., v. 14, xiii. 6, as the king under whom *Nehemiah* was governor over Judæa, at least from the twentieth to the thirty-second year of his reign. It is very questionable whether the same man is to be understood in all these passages, and if so, who it is. But most probably it is everywhere the same man, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the successor of *Xerxes* (465-424).

The name is in favour of some *Artaxerxes* being intended. The name of *Artaxerxes* runs in ancient Persian inscriptions as *Artachschatra*, almost exactly as in the Hebrew. Added to this, in *Nehemiah*, the *Artachsasta* under whom *Nehemiah* was the Jewish governor must have reigned at least thirty-two years; and on this account *Xerxes* cannot be meant here, as *Josephus* thinks (*Ant.* xi. 5. 6). On the other hand, the *Artachsasta* of *Nehemiah* cannot be *Artaxerxes II.*, *Mnemon* (404-361 B.C.), as some have thought; for, according to *Neh.* iii. 1, at the time when *Nehemiah* first came to Jerusalem (in the twentieth year of *Artachsasta*), *Eliashib* was high priest at Jerusalem; but the latter was, according to *eh.* xii. 10, a grandchild of *Jeshua*, a contemporary of *Zerubbabel*, and therefore cannot well have filled this office about 150 years after *Cyrus*, as would be the case if he occupied it in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

Where, in other places in the Book of *Ezra*, an *Artachsasta* is mentioned, no later king can be meant than *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. But it is also very improbable

¹ Thus also *Gesenius* (*Theol.*), *Winer*, *Hävernick*, *Ewald* (*Isr. Hist.* iv. 118, f.), *Hitzig* (*Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1837, iv. p. 933, &c.); *Kleinert's* opinion is also correct, "On the Origin, Elements, and Antiquity of the Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*" (in "The Contributions to Theolog. learning of the Proff. at Dorpat," 1 vol. 1832, pp. 1-304), p. 5, ff.

that in these passages one or more princes should be meant, who are spoken of by the Greeks under altogether different names; and since Artaxerxes Longimanus is the first of the Persian kings who bore the name of Artaxerxes, we must, without doubt, consider that it is this king who is meant where Artachsasta is mentioned in the Book of Ezra.

Therefore, Nehemiah's first journey to Jerusalem, and the first year of his government of Judæa, would fall about the year 445 B.C. The arrival of Ezra would fall about thirteen years earlier, about 458 B.C., in the seventh year of the *above* king, but not in the seventh year of Xerxes, as Michaelis, Jahn, and others have thought; and likewise we must understand the king mentioned in Ezra (ch. iv. 7, 8) to be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and not *Cambyzes*, as Josephus thinks, or *Pseudo-Smerdis*, as Gesenius, Winer, Hävernick, &c., consider.

§ 161.—*Nehemiah—Traces of Composite Authorship.*

As to the *origin* of these books, it is already remarked that the Jews include both books under the denomination of the Book of Ezra, and that both the Talmud¹ and some ecclesiastical writers point out Ezra as the composer of the whole. In later times, on the contrary, most persons attribute the former book to Ezra and the latter to Nehemiah; thus Hävernick, Keil, and others. It is, however, certain, as we have seen, that sometimes Ezra appears as the person narrating in the first book, and Nehemiah in the second, and that in such a way that there is neither reason for, or probability in, thinking this to be a mere fiction—an embellishment of the facts by some later foreign composer. Particularly where, in the second book, Nehemiah is spoken of in the first person, it is done in such a way, and the mode of statement has generally such an individual character of identity, that the assumption of an intentional fiction by a later composer has everything against it. On the other hand, however, there are peculiar features in these books which make it appear unlikely that, in the shape in which we now have them, Ezra and Nehemiah were their respective authors.

We will consider the *second* book first. We have seen

¹ *Baba Bathra*, f. 15, 1: Esra scripsit librum suum et genealogiam in libro Chronicorum usque ad se.

(a) that in this Nehemiah appears as the narrator in the first and last portions of the book, so that these, at least, must be considered as in general composed by him; (b) that the last part, from ch. xi. 1 onwards, is connected in form with the first part at ch. vii. 73 *a*, but is not connected with the middle portion (ch. vii. 73—ch. x. to end) now lying between them. This middle section is distinguished from what precedes it and what follows it by its whole style (cf. De Wette, § 197 *a*, Notes *c*), Nehemiah being spoken of in the third person as a partaker in the events (ch. viii. 9, x. 2). Hävernäck even acknowledges the difference, and assumes that this middle portion was originally composed by Ezra, but is of opinion that Nehemiah himself inserted it where it is. But that Nehemiah himself should have appropriated his contemporary Ezra's record of events, in which he (Nehemiah) himself had personally taken a part, and should have inserted it without further question in his own work, is an assumption which is in itself very improbable, and the more so here, if we observe the well-defined connection between the third portion of this book and the first; this connection is not easily to be understood, if the independent author of these two parts had himself inserted a middle section, though derived from another source. On the contrary, we cannot doubt that, in Nehemiah's work, the third portion originally immediately followed the first, and that the middle section (ch. vii. 73 *b*—x. to end) was not inserted till later by some foreign hand.

With regard to the remaining part of the book, the list of the exiles who returned home with Zerubbabel (ch. vii. 6—73) was not originally composed by Nehemiah himself, but, as he himself says, was found and adopted by him. There are, besides, certain things in the last part, which we cannot well assume to have been written by Nehemiah in their present shape; but, since they are found among other matter which bears Nehemiah's own individual stamp, it is very probable that they have been inserted or altered by a later hand, perhaps the same that gave the middle section its position in this book.

Thus (a) ch. xii. 1—26. Lists of priests and Levites, which could not have been written by Nehemiah in this shape.

In favour of this we may mention (a) that *v.* 10, *f.*, the

successors of the high priest Jeshua are named up to *Jaddua*, the great-grandson of Eliashib; but Eliashib was high priest at Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, when Nehemiah first came to Jerusalem. Now we have seen, from ch. xiii. 28, that Nehemiah lived to see a grandson of Eliashib married; but that he should have lived to see one of the following generation, and, indeed—for so, doubtless, it is intended in the genealogy—acting as high priest, is at least not probable. (β) Verse 26: “These were in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua, and in the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe.” (γ) Verse 23: “The sons of Levi, the chief of the fathers, were written $\text{עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרַי הַיָּמִים}$ even unto the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib.”¹ Now $\text{דְּבָרַי הַיָּמִים}$ is the title of our Books of Chronicles; it is doubtful whether these are here meant, or some other similar work. There is no such list in the existing Book of Chronicles; nor is it very probable that Nehemiah should have referred to a foreign writing for a list of the Levitical heads of families up to the son of Eliashib in the way in which it is done here. We shall, therefore, have to assume, either that all this section (ch. xii. 1–26) was inserted by some later hand, or that—if, indeed, there was something in Nehemiah’s work bearing on these circumstances—it experienced subsequent alterations.

(b) Ch. xii. 47: “And all Israel in the days of Zerubbabel, and in the days of Nehemiah, gave the portions of the singers and of the porters,” &c. This also cannot well have been written by Nehemiah.

With exception, however, of a few isolated additions or alterations such as these, this part (ch. xi. to xiii.) without doubt, together with ch. i. 1–vii. 73, formed the genuine work of Nehemiah, which he composed, with special reference to his own labours for his people, subsequently to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (433 B.C.), perhaps under the title now prefixed to the book ch. i. 1: “The words of Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah.”

§ 162.—*Ezra—Its authorship.*

The *first* book (*Ezra*) is divided into two parts, the first of which (ch. i.–vi.) relates the history of the first caravan of the returning exiles under Zerubbabel and Jeshua, from

¹ V. 10 tells us, “Eliashib begat Joiada, and Joiada begat Jonathan.”

the first year of Cyrus up to the completion of the Temple in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes. The second portion contains accounts of the return of the second caravan under Ezra, and of Ezra's doings at Jerusalem. The second part is, without doubt, mainly composed by Ezra himself, who also generally speaks of himself in the first person (ch. vii. 27-ix.). Where Ezra, however, is spoken of in the third person, as in the whole of the tenth chapter, and also in the beginning of this part (ch. vii. 1-11), we cannot on that account assume, with any degree of certainty, that Ezra himself did not write it. As ch. x. is closely connected with what precedes it, there is the greatest probability that it was written by the same author in immediate connection with what goes before. Nor can we very readily imagine that Ezra began his historical narrative with ch. vii. 37; and it is also not very likely that he would begin it with the letter of Artaxerxes—ch. vii. 11 (or 12)-26—but rather that he would bring forward an historical introduction to this letter, such as we read *vv.* 1-10 (or 11). Only we must, perhaps, assume that it was somewhat remodelled by a later hand. Thus it is not likely that Ezra himself should have written as it runs in *v.* 6: "He was a סוֹפֵר קְהוּלָה in the law of Moses, which Jehovah, the God of Israel, had given." It is likewise not improbable that the genealogy of Ezra (*vv.* 1-5) is by a foreign hand. Perhaps the beginning originally ran thus: *v.* 1, בְּמִלְכוּת אֲרִתַּחְשֶׁסְתָּא מְלֹךְ-בְּרַם עֲזָרָא בְּנוֹ-שִׁרְיָה; *v.* 7, וַיַּעֲלוּ מִבְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל; *v.* 6, עֲלָה מִבְּבֶל.

The genealogy of Ezra (ch. vii. 1-5) is carried back to Aaron, whereas the nearest ancestors of Ezra (by comparison with 1 Chron. v. 40) appear to be passed over.¹

¹ As the author refers here to my *Licentiate Dissertation. De Compositione Librorum Esdræ et Nehemiæ*, I will quote the passage in question verbatim; my discussion has remained unprinted according to the custom here, and its publication would be of little use, because in all the chief points I arrived at the same results, which are well known to the learned world from Ewald's writings. My words are as follows:—Si versus Esdr. vii. 1-5, cum recensione 1 Par. v. obvia comparamus, statim intelligimus, Serajam, cujus filius Esdras nominatur (Esdr. vii. 1), eundem esse atque summum sacerdotem ejusdem nominis, quem 1 Par. v. 40, invenimus; itaque nec pater neque avus Esdræ commemoratur, sed genealogia incipit a viro, qui ante Josuam summum sacerdotem vixit (cf. Ewald, *Hist.* iv. p. 145). Esdras ipse, ut per se liquet, stemma suum ad Aaronem reducere non poterat et majores proximos, adeo patrem, omittere. Schir-

§ 163.—*Ezra—Difficulties in the Arrangement—Later Additions and Revision.*

As regards the first part of this book (ch. i.–vi.), connected with the second by the words (ch. vii. 1), “Now after these things,” the difficulties it presents arise chiefly, not from the alternation of the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages, but from other points.

Considered in itself, especially from the connecting link (ch. vii. 1), it appears most probable that we should ascribe

merus opinatur, genealogia præmissa Esdram genus suum ab Aarone descendens indicare et auctoritatem suam ita firmare voluisse; sed ejusmodi causam quominus statuat, jam id impedit, quod ad unum omnes sacerdotes originem ab Aarone ducebant. Contra omnia bene explicantur, si versus nostros a Paralipomenon scriptore, cujus genealogiarum amor satis est notus, insertos esse concedis. Scriptor noster, ut mihi videtur, in Esdræ libello nil nisi verba עזרא בן־יִשְׁרָיִה (cf. Neh. i. 1) inveniens, ut Esdram, virum illustrissimum, honore afficeret, seriem sacerdotum, jam 1 Par. v., nobiscum communicatam, inde a Seraja descripsit. Neque id arbitrio factum esse contendo; facile enim scriptor nosse scire potuit, Esdram e posteris Serajæ illius esse, quem Chaldæi (cf. 2 Reg. xxv. 18, 21) post Hierosolyma expugnata occiderant. Ceterum persuasum habeo, scriptorem nostro loco totidem nomina sacerdotum, quot 1 Par. v. exstant, voluisse enumerare; quam ob rem si hodie Esdr. vii. sex nomina desunt, id librariorum aut ipsius scriptoris negligentia attribuire non dubito. Injuria enim Moversius “Critical Investigations on the Biblical Chronicles.” (p. 23) dicit “The genealogy is here perhaps abridged by the compiler, because he had already given it before more completely”: non verisimilis est sententia Moversii (p. 12), quem etiam Bertheau (*Chron.* p. 63) secutus est, “that the author has only enumerated five links from David’s time, from Zadok down to Ezra, a period therefore of about 600 years,” ut accuratior utriusque loci comparatio docet. Scriptor noster si brevitatis studio ad nomina nonnulla omittenda fuisset commotus, non tam in initio quam in fine enumerationis quædam emisisset. Zadoqus, Esdr. vii. 2 memoratus, non pro homine Davidis æquali haberi poterit; sed idem est, quem 1 Par. v. 38, invenimus. Si putas, scriptorem nostrum sacerdotum seriem e loco 1 Par. v. describentem nomina inverso ordine ante oculos habuisse, error eo facilius explicatur; quum enim a versu 1 Par. v. 40, usque ad versum 37 pervenisset, Asarjam cum Amarja. v. 33 memorato, commutavit, ita ut ab Asarja statim ad Merajothum transiret. Quam commutationem mirari non possumus. quum et v. 33 sq. et v. 37 sq. eorundem nominum eandem habeas seriem (אמר־יה אהיטוב צדוק). Similiter res se habet, si librariis errorem attribuere malis; et nescio an hæc Eichhornii (*Introduction*, § 497) sententia sit hoc modo loquentis. “The shortening of the genealogy in Ezra vii. proceeds probably from an accidental omission, which would be very possible from the similarity of the names אמריה and עזריה.” Sed hæc mittamus!—K.

the composition of this first part also to Ezra; and we might well imagine that, when narrating his own history and that of his own time, he would have prefixed a narrative of the earlier events, from the return of the first caravan of exiles. The transition from the Hebrew language to the Chaldee (ch. iv. 8-vi. 18) is evidently brought about by the author having met with the letters of the Persian officials and of the king, written in the latter language, which he made use of, and partly adopted. In this way he might be led to keep to this language for his own narrative; and we may very well imagine that he would afterwards go back to the Hebrew, in which he had begun. It has been sometimes thought that Ezra, or the author of the whole Chaldee section (ch. iv. 7-vi. 18), met with it previously as a separate writing, and inserted it here.¹ But this section has no appearance of having any complete termination, so as to lead us to believe that it ever existed as a separate writing.

The chief difficulty which the arrangement of this book presents is this: In the beginning (ch. i. 1-iv. 5) the narrative runs on connectedly and naturally, from the assistance given by Cyrus to the exiles for their return, up to the hindrances which the opponents of the Jews wished to place in the way of their rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, and, indeed, from the time of Cyrus up to the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. But the following verses, when taken in connection with this, present a difficulty; for, in *vv.* 6 and 7 (written, however, in the Hebrew language), an accusation is first spoken of in *v.* 6, which their opponents (the Samaritans) had made against the Jews at the time of the reign of *Achaschverosch*, and then a letter from Bishlam and other officials to the king *Artachschashta*; and then is given (*vv.* 8-22), in the Chaldaic language, the written accusation of Rehum, Shimshai, &c., against the Jews, and the answer of the king *Artachschashta*. From the way in which this joins on to what has gone before, we should be led to suppose that all these letters related to the building of the Temple, and that the author took this view is plain from the statement which immediately follows these letters (*vv.* 23-24), that, after the reception of the letter of Artach-

¹ Eichhorn, Hävernick, Keil (*Apol. Versuch über die Bücher d. Chron. u. Ezra.* 1833, p. 115, ff., and *Einleitung*, § 146), also De Wette, § 196 a, and others.

schaschta, Rehum, Shimsai, and their companions, restrained the Jews in Jerusalem by main force, so that the work of the Temple in Jerusalem was stopped, and remained so until the second year of the king Darjavesch.

On these facts an argument is grounded, that the *Achaschverosch* and *Artachschaschta* mentioned in Ezra ch. iv. are to be identified with the kings between Cyrus and Darius, viz. *Cambyses* and *Pseudo-Smerdis*. This, however, as already remarked, is scarcely allowable. In the letters which are given, both to and from Artachschaschta, there is, in fact, no reference to the building the Temple, but only to the building up and fortification of the city of Jerusalem, and the restoration of its walls (vv. 12, 13, 16, 21); this is all quite consistent with regarding the Artachschaschta mentioned here as the same king, in whose time Ezra and Nehemiah returned, viz., *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, inasmuch as Nehemiah, on his arrival at Jerusalem, did not find much of the city built, and the walls were not yet reinstated. It is, therefore, owing to a confusion of persons and things on the part of the author that these accusations made against the Jews at Jerusalem at the time of Achaschverosch and Artachschaschta have been made by him to refer to the building of the Temple, which had then been completed for a considerable time. But we can hardly imagine this of Ezra, or, generally, of any one living at the time of Artaxerxes, or even at an early date after him, but only of some one writing at a much later time.

The view is hardly tenable, that this part was in the main written by Ezra, or some still earlier author, but that ch. iv. 6–24 was inserted by some foreign hand. Certainly, ch. v. 1, from its bearing, would not be at all unsuitable to join on to ch. iv. 5 (ch. iv. 5 tells us that the Temple-building was stopped until Darius' time; and ch. v. 1, that it was again undertaken by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, at the urging of Haggai and Zechariah, the prophets). But, if this were the case, it would be difficult to explain how the author came to write from ch. v. 1 onwards in the Chaldaic language instead of, as heretofore, in the Hebrew, whilst this transition can be more easily and naturally accounted for if the portion lying between also proceeded from him (cf. p. 427).

The words, then (ch. vii. 1), "Now after these things," uniting Ezra's history with that of the former time, could

not, perhaps, have been prefixed by Ezra himself, but either by the author of the first part of the book, or by some still later editor, who united the two parts, the history of the people at the time of Zerubbabel, and that of Ezra; in the latter case we should have to assume that this last editor added the concluding verses of the first part, which are written in Hebrew (ch. vi. 19-22), as to the feast of the Passover solemnised by the returned exiles. There is, however, no sufficient reason for ascribing the last editing of the book, and the union of the two parts, to a later time than that of the composition of this first part; for the concluding verses of the first part (ch. vi. 19-22) belong to the author of this first part, who has here returned again from the Chaldee to the Hebrew, in which he began, the reason being that he was intending to make Ezra's writing follow, which was written in Hebrew.

From this writer, then, proceed the few slight additions and alterations which are made in the writing of Ezra in the second part of the book (ch. vii.-x.).

The middle section in the second book (Neh. vii. 73-x.) formed also, with the greatest probability, an original component part of the work of Ezra.

Certainly both Ezra and Nehemiah are spoken of in it in the third person; but the narrator speaks as himself a sharer in the events, and the narrative is also so distinct and special that this can hardly be considered as a mere historic fiction.

This section joins on very suitably to the last chapter of the Book of Ezra (ch. x.), and doubtless this was originally its place. Only, the question arises how it happened that this section came to be transposed from the above-named situation into the Book of Nehemiah. This can only have taken place through a later redaction, which combined the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah into *one* work, which was, no doubt, the same revision that prefixed to the writing of Ezra the history of the period from the return of the first caravan under Zerubbabel down to the completion of the building of the Temple.

This transposition may have been occasioned by the fact that Nehemiah is named (Neh. viii. 9, x. 2), together with Ezra in the last part of the section, in the narrative of the people being bound to the observance of the law of Moses

(Nehemiah not having been hitherto mentioned). This led the redactor to consider it suitable to prefix the first part of Nehemiah's work, containing the account of his arrival at Jerusalem, by which means the last portion of Ezra's work was placed between the two parts of Nehemiah's.

The additions and alterations in the last part of the Book of Nehemiah, which have been already noticed, doubtless proceed from this same author, and he is, in the main, the last editor of the whole work which embraced our Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and related the history of the restoration of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation from the return of the first caravan of exiles, in the first year of Cyrus, to, at least, the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (536-433 B.C.); and from him the work received its present extent and form.

§ 164.—*Written Records made use of by the Composer—Date of last Redaction.*

This author has, however, to a great extent, made use of earlier written records for his work, sometimes adopting them verbatim, and sometimes somewhat remodelling, enlarging, or abridging them, for the periods both before and after the completion of the building of the Temple; for the latter period the following writings may be specially mentioned:—

(1) Ezra's and Nehemiah's own records of their doings and their history, which appear, with a few alterations—the former in Ezra vii.-x., Neh. vii. 73-x.; the latter in Neh. i.-vii. 73, xi.-xiii.¹

(2) Various letters between the Persian officials and kings, relating to the circumstances of the returned Jews.

These are: (a) A letter from Rehum, Shimshai, and other Persian officials in Samaria to Artaxerxes, with the king's answer to it (Ezra iv. 8-22). This correspondence occurred, at all events, in the period before Nehemiah's first arrival, perhaps also before Ezra's, or else in the interval between the arrivals of the two, and really referred to the building up and fortification of the city of Jerusalem; but the last redactor, having adopted it here, erroneously referred it to the building of the Temple.

¹ Ewald ascribes the composition of the letter of Artaxerxes (Ezra vii. 12-26) to the last editor of the whole work.

(b) A letter of some other officials, Bishlam and others, likewise to Artaxerxes,¹ and (c) a written accusation to Xerxes against the Jews. These two documents he has not adopted, but has only given short intimations about them (Ezra iv. 6, 7); these he has also referred to the building of the Temple, although they could have no relation to it, as the Temple had been already completed at the time of Darius Hystaspes.

It is also possible that the editor met with these three letters in an historical work relating to the affairs of the Jews at the time of Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus; but nothing certain can be settled as to this.

He has likewise made use of earlier written records for the preceding history up to the completion of the building of the Temple.

This is certainly the case with the list of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel, which is given in Ezra ii., and, according to another recension than that in Nehemiah. It cannot be decided certainly whether the editor met with this list by itself, and in that way adopted it here, or whether he took it out of some other connected work on the history of the first caravan of exiles and the Temple-building, into which it had already been admitted. Ewald adopts the latter view, since the last part, that which is common to both passages (in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah—Ezra ii. 63–70 (or iii. 1), Neh. vii. 65–73) is pure historical narration. This is, perhaps, possible. But we may at least assume, with great probability, that the editor met with some historical narrative of the building of the Temple at the time of Darius, composed, perhaps, by one of his contemporaries, and that he made use of it, and that the personal form of statement used in this narrative has been retained in ch. v. 4 (“we told them the names of these men”).²

As to the *date of the last redaction of the work*, it certainly took place at a somewhat late period, as may be gathered both from the way in which Ezra’s and Nehemiah’s own

¹ Ewald’s opinion is untenable (*Isr. Hist.* iv. p. 119. ff., Note 2), that Bishlam, Mithredat, and Tabeel (ch. iv. 7) were Jews dwelling in Jerusalem.

² Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iv. p. 570; cf. *Göttinger Gel. Anz.* 1851, p. 874, f.) would read לְבָנֵינוּ instead of לְבָנֵינוּ (LXX, $\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron\nu$ or $\epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu$). His view is different, i. p. 255.

records are made use of, and from the author not appearing to have any clear and connected knowledge of the relation the several Persian kings bore to one another, particularly as to the person and age of the king *Darjavesch*, in whose time, as he found out in his historical sources, and also in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the building of the Temple was again begun and finished.

According to Ezra iv. 24, in connection with what goes before, he appears to presuppose that this *Darjavesch* had lived later than *Artachsaschta* (= *Artaxerxes Longimanus*), and also to have identified him, not with *Darius Hystaspes*, but with *Darius Nothus*, living 100 years later (423–404 B.C.). From this we cannot doubt but that his own time was very much later, perhaps not before the Macedonian epoch.

It has been also previously remarked that the work, at the beginning (Ezra i. 1), appears to be connected with something going before; and it was, perhaps, the intention of the last redactor that it should form the continuation of some other historical work, which had carried the history of *Jehovah's* people down to the time of the captivity; this work was, not improbably, our *Books of Kings*, at the conclusion of which the beginning of this work would follow very suitably. Others, however, entertain a different view (cf. § 168).

THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

§ 165.—*Name and General Contents—Various Opinions as to their Character.*

THIS work also forms only *one* book in the Hebrew Canon, and is only reckoned by the Jews as *one* in the number of their sacred books, under the title דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, *Chronicles, Annals*. The Greek translators, however, divided it into two books, and were followed by the Vulgate, Luther, and the present printed editions of the Hebrew Old Testament. The title of the work in the LXX is Παραλειπόμєνα, which meant that it contained the various facts which the other historical books omitted, being, as it were, additions or supplements to them. Accordingly it is called by the Latins *Paralipomenon Liber Primus et Secundus*. Jerome, however, remarks that *Chronicon Totius Divinę Historię* would be a more suitable title for the work.¹ Afterwards, from Luther, the name *Chronicles* gained currency amongst us.

It is an historical work, extending over the longest period of any of the historical books of the Old Testament, stretching from Adam down to the Babylonian Captivity, or rather its conclusion by means of Cyrus. Its contents run in a certain manner parallel with the whole course of the historical books contained in the first and second divisions of the Canon, the Pentateuch, and the *Prophętę Priores*. The matter is, however, handled with very different degrees of fullness.

The first nine chapters (1 Chron. i.–ix.) contain genealogical lists of heads of tribes and other persons, from Adam down to the later period of the Captivity, with some short historical and geographical notices. The statements in this list agree in general with those in the other books (the Pentateuch, Joshua, Samuel, also Kings, Ruth, Ezra, and Nehemiah), sometimes, however, presenting enlargements and variations, whilst, in addition to the names known to us from other sources, many other fresh ones are mentioned

¹ *Prol. Galeat. in Libr. Regg.*, “דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, *i.e.*, verba dierum, quod significantius Chronicon totius divinę historię possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur.”

which would be otherwise unknown to us, and several of the lists are only to be found in Chronicles.¹

From ch. x. forwards the more copious historical narrative begins with the deaths of Saul and Jonathan, and treats of the history of David to the end of the first book; then the history of Solomon (2 Chron. i.—ix.); then the account of the revolt of the ten tribes from Judah; and whilst the history of the kingdom of Israel and its kings is entirely passed over, that of the kings of Judah is continued down to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldaeans (ch. x.—xxxvi.); and, finally, the permission to return out of exile at the time of Cyrus (ch. xxxvi. 22, 23). In the history of David, Solomon, and the other kings of Judah, Chronicles gives many separate narratives in common with the Books of Samuel and Kings, sometimes agreeing verbatim, sometimes with many variations, sometimes also in a different order of succession. Many other narratives given in the above books do not exist in Chronicles, whilst the latter contains many which are omitted in the former, particularly those relating to the Levitical cultus.

The parallel passages are as follows:—

1 Chron. x. 1-12.	1 Sam. xxxi.
„ xi. 1-3.	2 Sam. v. 1-3.
„ 4-9.	„ 6-10.
„ 10-47.	„ xxiii. 8-39.
„ xiii.	„ vi. 1-11.
„ xiv. 1-16.	„ v. 11-25.
„ xv. 25-29.	„ vi. 12-16.
„ xvi. 1-3, 43.	„ vi. 17-20 a.
„ xvii.-xix.	„ vii. viii. x.
„ xx. 1-3.	„ xi. 1, xii. 29-31.
„ 4-8.	„ xxi. 18-22.
„ xxi. 1-27.	„ xxiv.
„ xxix. 27.	1 Kings ii. 11.
2 Chron. i. 3-13.	„ iii. 4-15.
„ 14-17. }	„ x. 26-29.
„ ix. 25-28. }	„ v. 1-18.
„ ii. 1-18.	„ vi. vii. 13-51.
„ iii.—v. 1.	„ viii.
„ v. 2—vii. 10.	„ ix.—x. 29.
„ vii. 11—ix. 28.	„ xi. 41-43.
„ ix. 29-31.	„ xii. 1-24.
„ x.—xi. 4.	„ xiv. 21-31.
„ xii. 1-3, 9-16.	„ xv. 1. 2. 7, 8.
„ xiii. 1. 2. 22. xiv. 1.	„ 11-16.
„ xiv. 2, xv. 16-19.	

¹ Vide De Wette, § 187, note b; Bertheau, *Chron. Introd.* p. xxix. ff.

2 Chron. xvi. 1-6, 11-14.	1 Kings xv. 17-24.
„ xviii. 2-34.	„ „ xxii. 2-35.
„ „ xx. 31—xxi. 1.	„ „ 41-50.
„ „ xxi. 5-10, 20.	2 Kings viii. 17-24.
„ „ xxii. 1-6.	„ „ 25-29.
„ „ 7-9.	„ „ ix. 16-28.
„ „ 8.	„ „ x. 12-14.
„ „ xxii. 10—xxiii. 21.	„ „ xi.
„ „ xxiv. 1-14, 23-27.	„ „ xii.
„ „ xxv. 1-4, 11. 17-28.	„ „ xiv. 1-14, 17-20
„ „ xxvi. 1-4, 21-23.	„ „ 21, 22, xv. 2-7.
„ „ xxvii. 1-4, 7-9.	„ „ xv. 33-38.
„ „ xxviii. 1-4, 26, 27.	„ „ xvi. 2-4, 19, 20.
„ „ xxix. 1-2.	„ „ xviii. 2, 3.
„ „ xxxii. 9-15, 16-19.	„ „ 17-35.
„ „ 20-21.	„ „ xix. 14, 15, 35-37.
„ „ 24, 25, 30-33.	„ „ xx. 1, 2, 12, 13, 20, 21.
„ „ xxxiii. 1-10, 20.	„ „ xxi. 1-9, 18.
„ „ 21-25.	„ „ 19-24.
„ „ xxxiv. 1, 2, 8-28.	„ „ xxii.
„ „ 29-33.	„ „ xxiii. 1-20.
„ „ xxxv. 1, 18-24, 26, 27.	„ „ 21-23, 28-30.
„ „ xxxvi. 1-4.	„ „ 30-34.
„ „ 5, 6, 8.	„ „ 36-37, xxiv. 1, 5, 6.
„ „ 9-10.	„ „ xxiv. 8-10, 13, 17.
„ „ 11-12.	„ „ 18-19.
„ „ 17-20.	„ „ xxv. 1, 17-21.
„ „ 22-23.	Ezra i. 1-3 a.

During the last fifty years this work has been the subject of repeated investigations and vehement controversies, particularly as to its relation to the other historical books of the Old Testament, especially Samuel and Kings, and also as to its historical credibility.

This latter point was specially assailed by De Wette.¹ Eichhorn has endeavoured to establish the view that the authors of the Books of Samuel and Kings, on the one hand, and of the Chronicles, on the other hand, have made use of written sources in common; thus, in the accounts of David and Solomon, they used brief, ancient biographies of these kings, containing all those narratives which Chronicles has in common with the other writings. De Wette convincingly attacks this idea, and also the manner in which it was propounded. He asserts as a fact, that the author of Chronicles made use of our Books of Samuel and Kings, and that these were the only early writings which he employed as his sources, but that he used them neither skilfully nor

¹ *Beiträge, &c.*, i. 1806 (also *Krit. Vers. über die Glaub. des BB. Chron.*)

faithfully—sometimes misunderstanding them and sometimes arbitrarily altering and adding to them, and that this was done with a special hierarchical and Levitical interest. Against this appeared J. G. Dahler's (d. 1832. at Strasburg) *De Librorum Paralipomenon Auctoritate atque Fide Historica*, Strasburg and Leipzig, 1819; and against Dahler appeared Gramberg's (d. 1830, at Züllichau) "The Historical Character and Authenticity of Chronicles again Examined," Halle, 1823, in which he asserts the entire unauthentic character of Chronicles, and endeavours to prove it in a very crude and superficial way.

Since then, however, more exact and searching investigations have been instituted in various quarters into the Books of Chronicles, both as to their origin and their historical value, some of which have endeavoured to make good their complete authenticity, even in details, and some, while allowing many inaccuracies and historical errors, still at least endeavour to ward off the odious charge of intentional falsification in dealing with the history.¹

De Wette, also, has very much softened down and modified his earlier opinions in the 5th and 6th editions of his *Introduction*.

§ 166.—Date of Composition.

As to the different points in dispute with regard to this book, I content myself here with shortly remarking as follows:—

(1) As to the *date of composition*, the conclusion of the work shows that it could not have been composed before the end of the Babylonian Exile. It was written later, therefore, not only than the Book of Samuel, but also than Kings. But it was, probably, considerably later. This is shown by several circumstances.

(a) The position of the work in the Hebrew Canon points to a time after Nehemiah (cf. § 297).

As an historical work on the history of the people of the covenant, it does not take a place in the second part of the Canon, as the Books of Samuel and Kings, but in the third,

¹ Thus Keil (*Apol. Versuch über die BB. der Chron. und die Integr. des B. Ezra*, Berlin, 1833, and *Einleit. in A. T., Movers (Krit. Untersuch. über die Bibl. Chron.*, Bonn, 1834), Hävernick, De Wette (by whom is the article on Chron. in Herbst's *Introd.*), Ewald (*Gesch. Isr. i. p. 225, ff.*), Bertheau (*Die BB. d. Chron. erklärt*, Leipzig, 1854), and others.

as the last of the Ketubim. This renders it very probable that at the time of the composition and publication of the Chronicles the second part of the Canon was already compiled and concluded; and this most probably was done by Nehemiah.

(b) In 1 Chron. xxix. 7, there is, even in the time of David, a reckoning in Darics, אֲדָרְכָּיִם. This was a Persian coin, which is also met with in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Whether, as is sometimes supposed, they were first issued by Darius Hystaspes, is uncertain, but, in any case, it was by some Persian king. The above passage shows clearly that, at the time of the composition of Chronicles, these coins must have become current in commerce among the Jews in Palestine; or else the author could not have so naturally applied a reckoning in Darics to the times of David, as if they had then been current coins.

On the other hand, it has been incorrectly supposed, as by Movers, that it must follow from this passage that the composition took place *during* the Persian dominion, and *before* Alexander. This inference is, at any rate, far from being certain, since we may very well imagine, and it is natural in itself, that when once many specimens of a gold or silver coin have been introduced and circulated in a country, they would remain there, passing current for a long time, even when the dynasty which issued them had ceased to rule.

(c) 1 Chron. iii. 19–24. In the statement as to the race of David, Zerubbabel's descendants are also named with them. The passage is not devoid of obscurity, and the text also is not certain, as the LXX differs from the Hebrew text. It is, however, probable that the latter is, on the whole, the original one (cf. Bertheau on this passage). But the most probable explanation of it is, that six generations of his descendants are named after Zerubbabel, which, if we reckon thirty years to each generation, and also assume that no intermediate link is omitted, will bring us down at least to the end of the Persian dominion, if not to the time of the Græco-Macedonian rule.¹

The following circumstances also agree in general with

¹ Cf. my table in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, i. p. cccxx., and the already mentioned passage, Neh. xii. 22, which likewise brings us down to the time of Alexander the Great.

the above. One Hattush is named in *v.* 22 as a great-great grandchild of Zerubbabel; this, not improbably, is the same Hattush who is mentioned (*Ezra viii.* 2) as a descendant of David, who came down to Judea out of Babylon, with Ezra, and, as in the following verses in Chronicles (*vv.* 23, 24), the grandchild of a younger brother of Hattush is named, we are brought at least to the year 400 B.C. as the earliest time in which this could have been written; and if any intermediate links after Hattush are omitted, it must have been a still later time.

The contents of the Books of Chronicles afford no grounds for fixing the date more exactly.

Gramberg (and also Spinoza) certainly fix the date too late in not placing the composition until the Maccabean age, perhaps in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is no confirmation for this.

§ 167.—Sources of the Chronicles.

(2) From the late date of its composition, we cannot doubt that the author derived by far the greatest part of the matter of his work from written sources—*i.e.*, some older historical works

We have already seen (*p.* 176, ff.), (*a*) how often the chronicler refers to other works relating to the history of the kings of Judah; we cannot therefore doubt that he made use of them, to some extent at least, in his own narrative; and (*b*) that the work so frequently quoted by him, under the title the “Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,” and “Book or History of the Kings of Israel,” and the like, was, without doubt, the *same* work as the “Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel,” cited in our Books of Kings, and not a different work, as has sometimes been supposed, even by Bertheau, Dillmann, &c.

As regards the relation which the Chronicles bear to our other Old Testament books, particularly Samuel and Kings, considering the time when the chronicler lived, there can be no doubt that he was acquainted with the above books, as works having public authority—indeed as parts of a canonical collection of Holy Scriptures; and we can again, therefore, presuppose it as certain that he made use of them in his work; he once expressly quotes (*cf.* *p.* 176), most probably, the Books of Samuel, as דְּבָרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל הַרְאָה (1 Chron.

xxix. 29). If we actually compare the books themselves, no room for doubt is left that the author made use of them, and that they were, in the history of the kings, the chief source for his work, and that they formed the principal groundwork of his historical narrative (cf. De Wette, § 192 a).

§ 168.—*Aim of the Composer.*

(3) The *aim* of the composer of Chronicles may in general be described as follows. He desired to give a short historical review of the affairs of the Jewish people, and partly to collect together and partly to supplement that which was contained in the historical books already regarded as possessing public authority. The author unmistakeably writes from a more limited point of view than that of the Books of Samuel and Kings. His aim is not directed to the whole people of the covenant—the twelve tribes—but only to the kingdom of Judah—the tribes of Judah and Levi—and specially to Jerusalem and the kingdom of David.

It is only in the genealogical lists in the first chapters that he treats of the other tribes as well; even in these, however, he speaks with peculiar fullness of Judah, Levi, and the house of David. His more copious historical narrative does not begin until he comes to David; and although in the further course of it, after Solomon's death, the revolt of the ten tribes from Judah is, indeed, briefly mentioned, the further history of the kings and kingdom of Israel remains quite unnoticed, the work dealing only with the history of the kingdom of Judah and its kings.

The Chronicles, however, bring into special prominence all that concerns the relation of the kings¹ to the Mosaic law, particularly as regards the Levitical cultus, and especially the musical part of it; whilst many things are omitted which are given in the other books, *e.g.*, the whole account of David's youth; his intercourse with Bathsheba, and the conduct of David's children (2 Sam. xi.—xx.); Solomon's idolatry, and other misdeeds, 1 Kings xi. &c. (Cf. De Wette, § 190 (c), Note 3.)

¹ Graf, *Stud. und Kritik*, has endeavoured to prove the narrative of the Chronicles as to the Captivity and conversion of Manasseh to be unhistorical, whereas Gerlach has entered the lists in favour of its authenticity in the same periodical.

§ 169.—*Comparison with the Books of Samuel and Kings.*

(4) As regards the *method* which the author has adopted in *appropriating the statements of his sources*, as it appears from a comparison of the narrative in Chronicles with that in the Books of Samuel and Kings, I only mention the following points, which at the same time serve to prove the secondary character of the former books.

(a) The Chronicler often agrees literally with the statements in the above books, and when he differs from them in details it is often in such a way as to show that the Chronicler's statements are later emendations.

Of this kind are the variations in orthography, as, *e.g.*, that frequently in Chronicles the *scriptio plena* occurs, where there is in Samuel and Kings the *scriptio defectiva*; thus רָיִן instead of רֵן , &c. (cf. De Wette, § 189, Note *d*). Besides, forms in the other books, which are somewhat unusual and incorrect in grammatical and other respects, are altered in the Chronicles to a regular and customary shape (cf. De Wette, § 190 *a*, Note *b*). Instead of the more ancient names of cities, those in use in later times are substituted, while a more definite mode of expression takes the place of vaguer ones.

(b) Sometimes, instead of those modes of expression which did not appear suited to the more cultivated dogmatic intuition of a later time, or which might give offence, others in which this was not the case are substituted. Thus, instead of 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, "And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel," we have 1 Chron. xxi. 1, "And Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel." (Cf. De Wette, § 190 *c*, Note 1).

(c) Sometimes it appears that the composer of Chronicles found the expression he met with to be somewhat obscure, and in endeavouring to give it greater definiteness and clearness he failed in accuracy and precision.

This is the case in the following passage (1 Kings x. 22). We read that Solomon had ships of Tharshish, which brought him, every three years, gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks; and we may conclude from ch. ix. 26–28 that they had their station in the Edomite harbour, Ezion-

Geber, beside Eloth in the Arabian Gulf, and sailed from thence to bring the above products from Ophir. Therefore the expression *ships of Tharshish* in the above passage can only be intended as the designation of a larger kind of sea-ship. And it is still clearer in 1 Kings xxii. 49 that Jehoshaphat king of Judah made ships of Tharshish, in order to go to Ophir for gold, which, however, were broken up at Ezion-Geber. The author of Chronicles, however, has in both passages understood the term "ships of Tharshish," in a limited sense, for ships which actually went to Tharshish, and he expressed it accordingly in both the corresponding passages—2 Chron. ix. 21, "For the king's (Solomon's) ships went to Tharshish," &c.; *ibid.* xx. 36, 37, that Jehoshaphat the king of Judah had joined himself with the Israelitish king Ahaziah, "to make ships to go to Tharshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-Geber; but the ships were broken, so that they could not go to Tharshish." But Israelitish or Phœnician ships, which were intended to go to Tharshish, could not have had their station in a harbour of the Arabian Gulf; they might, perhaps, if they were to go to Ophir. But the remark (1 Kings ix. 28) that the ships were to go to Ophir, is left out in Chronicles, as it would not have at all suited with the above comprehension of the expression, "*ships of Tharshish.*"

§ 170.—*Special Character of the Narrative.*

(5) As in the example just quoted, so it is often elsewhere the case that the statements in Chronicles are deficient in precision; and where we are able to compare it with the older canonical books, Samuel and Kings, we are generally justified in basing the formation of our opinion on the latter, and in making them our starting-point. We must not, however, assume that everything which Chronicles contains over and above these books must be unhistorical and untrustworthy, or that the alterations or additions are purely arbitrary. We may in general consider, that the matter was derived by the Chronicler from other ancient sources, and that these were mostly the same which were made use of, and selected from, in the composition of the Books of Samuel, and particularly of the Books of Kings.

We must, of course, allow, that the later author's point of view and his way of looking at things has not been

without influence on the whole manner in which events have been conceived of and depicted. This has been the case particularly in the speeches of the persons written about, which in their present form were, in part perhaps, composed by the author; in these, even when relating to more ancient times, references have got in to circumstances which were not in existence till later; as, *e.g.*, to a form of Divine service and of the whole legislation, which did not prevail till after the composition of Deuteronomy. But in this we must not forget that ancient authors generally used greater freedom in reporting the speeches of others than modern historians do, and that therefore no ground can be derived from thence for suspecting the historical truth of Chronicles in general. If we only possessed this work alone as an historical source for the times and circumstances treated of in the Chronicles, the latter would in no way afford us a complete and exact picture of them; but, together with the other books, it gives us very valuable and important additions to the accounts of the latter, and a crowd of important details, which serve to make them complete both in general, and in special points.

§ 171.—*Author—Relation to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.*

We have already remarked that the conclusion of the Book of Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, ff.) agrees verbatim with the beginning of the Book of Ezra (Ezra i. 1–3 *a*). This probably first caused the Book of Chronicles to be ascribed to Ezra in addition to that which bears his name.¹ Movers has modified this view by stating that Chronicles and the Book of Ezra were composed by the same author, and originally indeed as *one* continuous work, which was not divided into two books until later. Other scholars, also, recognising the common origin of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, have extended it also to Chronicles, and have considered that the *three* books were originally written as *one* continuous historical work, and that it was not divided into three books until later; wherefore the above verses were allowed to stand both as the conclusion of the

¹ Thus the Talmud (v. p. 381, Notes), and most of the Rabbis, and also Theodoret and most of the later Christian divines, as, particularly, Carpzov, subsequently Eichhorn, and in modern times Hävernicks, Keil (*Introd.*), Welte &c.

first (Chronicles) and also as the beginning of the second (the Book of Ezra).¹

This opinion has, certainly, much in its favour. It is undeniable, and has been thoroughly established by Bertheau (pp. xv.—xx.), that Chronicles affords so much that is allied to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, both in the whole way of looking at and handling the history, and also in many particular points in the style and language, that it can therefore be assumed with great probability that it had the same author or editor as the latter books. I cannot, however, feel quite certain that this view is correct in the shape given above. If it were so, it cannot rightly be understood what could have induced those who divided the larger work into different books (and this we must consider was done at the same time as its insertion in the Canon) to retain the verses in question both as the conclusion of one book and the beginning of another. Keil formerly put forth the opinion that the verses in question originally constituted the end of the Chronicles, and that Ezra borrowed them from thence as the beginning of his work. This opinion is certainly untenable, according to our former investigations; the verses also properly afford no regular conclusion, such as one would expect in a work like the Chronicles, so that it is not probable that they were originally composed for the termination of the book. On the other hand, they are quite suitable for the beginning of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, especially if we assume that the author looked upon this work as the continuation of a work handling the preceding history, such as our Books of Kings.

I certainly consider it very probable that the author of the Chronicles is the same man as the last editor of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. But I believe that the case is thus: he previously edited the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah as a continuation of the narratives of the historical works already in the Canon, following on to the Book of Kings, and in conclusion of the same; that he then at a later time wrote the Book of Chronicles also, and borrowed the

¹ Thus Zunz ("Statements as to the Divine Service of the Jews," Berlin, 1832, p. 18, ff.), Ewald, Bertheau, Dillmann (*ut supra*); also Davidson [in the 2nd vol. composed by him of the 10th ed. of Horne's "Introduction," London, 1856.]

beginning verses of his former works as the conclusion of the latter. A Jewish author, living at the end of the Persian or at the beginning of the Grecian dominion, would have been more likely to consider it as a bounden duty to design the history after the exile in connection with and as a continuation of the Books of Kings which already had canonical authority, than to add to these latter books supplementary portions about the history before the exile.

We must certainly regard one of the Levites at Jerusalem as the author of the two works, and not improbably, as Ewald and Bertheau held, one of the Levitical choir-masters. We are led to this by the great interest everywhere shown for the Levites (even more than for the priests exactly), and particularly for the Levitical singers, and the musical part of the cultus.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

§ 172.—*Summary of Contents.*

THE contents of the book are as follows:—A Persian king, Abasuerus (Achaschverosch—doubtless Xerxes is intended, cf. above, p. 420), in the third year of his reign, gave a great banquet, first, for 180 days, to the principal men of his kingdom, and then for seven days, to all the people of Shushan; on the last day he ordered his seven eunuchs to bring before him the queen Vashti, who was also giving a feast in her palace to the women, in order that she might show her beauty to the people and chief lords. But when the queen refused to come, he determined, by the advice of those learned in the law, and his chief men, particularly of a certain Memucan, to put Vashti entirely away by a royal edict, as it was feared that her example would act prejudicially against the obedience of other women towards their husbands. Upon this, the king sent a letter into every district of his great kingdom, written in the language of each, with the command that every man should be master in his own house (ch. i.). Then the most beautiful young women in the country were collected and brought to Shushan, and each, after her twelve months' time of purifying, was presented to the king, that he might choose the most agreeable of them as his queen. This choice fell, in the seventh year of his reign, on a Jewess of the name of Hadassah, or *Esther*, the foster-daughter of Mordecai, her cousin, of the tribe of Benjamin, at whose advice she did not disclose her Jewish descent. She was, therefore, chosen as queen (ch. ii. 1–20). Mordecai soon had an opportunity of disclosing the plot of two door-keepers for the assassination of the king, which he made known to the king through Esther, whereupon the conspirators were hanged; and the matter was written down in the chronicles of the kingdom (ch. ii. 21–23).

After that, the king promoted a certain *Haman* as a prince in his kingdom, and all the servants of the king were, in obedience to the king's command, to bow down and prostrate themselves before this man. As Mordecai,

however, did not consent to do this, Haman conceived the most violent indignation against him and his people, and induced the king, promising him 10,000 talents of silver for his treasury (which, however, was again made over to him by the king), to make an edict, which was published in all the provinces of the empire, that on one and the self-same day, the 13th of the month Adar, in the twelfth year of the king, all the Jews, young and old, should be destroyed and their goods plundered (ch. iii.).

This edict excited the most bitter lamentations among all the Jews in every province. Esther, however, first heard of it from Mordecai, who came to the king's gate clothed in sackcloth and ashes, with a mournful cry. She at first found it difficult to do anything in favour of her countrymen with the king, as she had not been summoned to the king for thirty days, and she feared to approach him without an order; Mordecai, however, found means to awaken her resolution. After she and Mordecai, with the other Jews in Shushan, had fasted for three days, she placed herself in the king's inner court, and was kindly received by him, and obtained from him her request that he, with Haman, would eat with her that day; and when at table the king again inquired as to her demand, and promised that it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom, she yet again asked that the king would, with Haman, come to a banquet which she would prepare for them (ch. iv. 1-v. 8). In the meantime, Haman was exasperated afresh against Mordecai, who had not stood up before him at the king's gate, and at the persuasion of his wife caused a gallows to be erected, fifty cubits high, thinking to persuade the king the next morning to hang Mordecai thereon (ch. v. 9-14). In the night, however, the king, unable to sleep, had the annals of the kingdom read out to him, and in it came to the account of the plot of the two door-keepers against his person, which was made known and frustrated by Mordecai. Hearing that no recompense had been made to him for it, he asked Haman, who had just arrived, in order to obtain the king's command for Mordecai's hanging, what should be done unto the man whom the king loved to honour. Haman, under the idea that the king was thinking of him, named the very highest marks of honour, which Haman was then

immediately obliged to have carried out in favour of Mordecai, to his (Haman's) bitter vexation (ch. vi.).

When Haman and the king banqueted with Esther, and the king repeated his question to her as to the nature of her demand, she begged him to spare her life and that of her people, and in answer to the further inquiries of the king, pointed out Haman as the one who had planned this mischief against them. When the king, who had gone out for a moment, found, at his return, Haman kneeling before Esther's couch and begging his life of her, he was much enraged, and had him immediately hanged on the same gallows which Haman had caused to be put up for Mordecai (ch. vii.); the king gave Haman's house to Esther, who set Mordecai over it, and the king gave the latter his ring which he had taken from Haman (ch. viii. 1, 2). At the further request (attended with fresh danger to her life, cf. ch. viii. 4, with iv. 11, and v. 1, 2) of Esther, the king allowed her and Mordecai to take in his name the measures which they wished for the frustration of the former edict for the destruction of the Jews; whereupon Mordecai wrote letters, on the 23rd of the third month, to the Jews and rulers of the 127 provinces of the king, sealed with the king's ring, in which letters the king gave the Jews permission everywhere to assemble and stand up for their lives, and to destroy every one that attempted to treat them with hostility, together with their wives and children, and to plunder their goods, on the day previously fixed for their own destruction, the 13th day of the twelfth month, Adar.

This edict excited joy and gladness in Shushan, and also among the Jews in every province to which it was sent, and many inhabitants of the country became Jews for fear of the Jews themselves (ch. viii.). This also had the result that, when the dreaded day arrived, the Jews assembled in every town in opposition to their adversaries, and, being supported by the king's officials under the fear of Mordecai, put to death all their enemies. In Shushan they slew 500 men in the one day; and as Esther was not yet satisfied, the king granted her request that the Jews might act in a similar way the next day, the 14th Adar, in which 300 men were slain, and the ten sons of Haman hanged on the gallows. In the rest of the king's territories, 75,000 men

of their enemies were slain by the Jews in the one day (the 13th Adar); but on their spoil, however, they did not lay their hands. The day after this massacre (in Shushan the 15th, in the provinces the 14th Adar) was kept as a day of feasting and joy (ch. ix. 1-10). Then Mordecai wrote out an account of these things; and he and Esther sent letters into all the Persian provinces, commanding all the Jews to ever after keep as a festival every year the 14th and 15th Adar as the days of *Purim*, from פּוּר Pers. *i.e.* "the lot," in reference to the lot which Haman (according to ch. iii. 7) cast in regard to his design for the destruction of the Jews, the meaning of which, however, is not very clear (ch. ix. 20-32).

Finally (ch. x.), the might and greatness of Ahasuerus and also of Mordecai are set forth, and it is remarked that they are written in the "Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia."

§ 173.—*Name—Opinions as to Authority.*

The above is a *resumé* of the contents of the book which is called the Book of *Esther* (מְגִלַּת אֶסְתֵּר), from the person playing the principal part in it. In the Hebrew Canon it is one of the so-called מְגִלּוֹת, which were read out on certain feast days particularly, and this book on the Feast of Purim, the 14th and 15th Adar, as it tells the origin of the feast; among the Jews it is also called מְגִלָּה, κατ' ἐξοχήν. The later Jews generally set a great value on this book, and sometimes place it by the side of the Torah, and set it before all the other Ketubim, and even the Nebiim.

Moses Maimonides expresses the opinion, that in the days of the Messiah all the Nebiim and Ketubim would be abrogated, with the exception of the Book of Esther, which would be as lasting as the Torah and the Oral Law, which would never be done away with (cf. Carpzov, *Introduction*, i. 366).

There are, however, indications that at earlier times it could not have been held in such high esteem among the Jews.

The Talmud of Jerusalem, when speaking of the institution of the Feast of Purim by Esther and Mordecai, says

that eighty-five elders, among whom were more than thirty prophets, ridiculed the ordinance as an innovation; this necessarily presupposes that at an earlier time it could not have stood in such high authority among the Jews as it subsequently did.

There have been more scruples about the authority of the book in the Christian Church. Thus we find (cf. §§ 308–310) distinct evidence that in the first century, not indeed in the Latin but in the Greek Church, it was sometimes not considered as canonical at all, and sometimes that it was numbered among the books of the second class, together with our Old Testament Apocrypha. Junilius (*De Partibus Legis Divinæ*, ch. iii.) writes, that in his time it was very much doubted if the Book of Esther belonged to the Canon. This doubt in the Christian Church was caused, in all probability, by offence being taken at the spirit that pervaded it, and on this account it was thought that it could not be regarded as canonical Holy Scripture. In later days no one has shown greater dislike to it than Luther, who writes, *De Servo Arbitrio*, “Liber Esther, quamvis hunc habeant in canone, dignior omnibus, qui extra canonem haberetur.” Cf. *Tischreden* [W.A. xxii. 2080]: “and when the doctor revised the second book of Maccabees, he said, ‘I am so hostile to this book and to Esther, that I would that they had not remained extant; for they judaize too much and have many heathen barbarisms.’”

Semler and others have taken equal offence at the spirit of the book, as is the case also with the Catholic divine, Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca Sancta*), who would number it among the Deutero-canonical books.

However, Christian scholars, both Protestant and Catholic, have not been wanting, who have declared that this reproach against the book is absolutely unjust, and find nothing in it which is opposed to the spirit of holiness, or on account of which it should not have its place among the other books of Holy Scripture.

This is the view of Carpzov and others, and to some extent Hävernick also. The latter indeed acknowledges, which is not the case with many Christian interpreters, that the chief persons here treated of, Esther and Mordecai, clearly bear the stamp of a later and degenerate Judaism, without theocratic piety or enthusiasm; but that the book

has no further aim than to give a simple faithful statement of events and characters, without at all embellishing them, or hypocritically concealing the consciousness of the abandonment of God existing at the time, and without endeavouring to give an extraneous colouring to them.

At the same time it is perfectly clear to an unprejudiced reader that the author himself finds a peculiar satisfaction in the characters and mode of acting of his Jewish compatriots, Esther and Mordecai, and that the disposition shown by them appears to him as the right one, and one worthy of their nation. We may, therefore, with truth, maintain that a very narrow-minded and Jewish spirit of revenge and persecution prevails in the book, and that no other book of the Old Testament is so far removed as this is from the spirit of the Gospel.

It is also remarkable, and serves as a characteristic of the untheocratic spirit of the work, that in the whole book the name of God is not once mentioned, neither אֱלֹהִים nor יְהוָה; the author did not lack especial opportunities in the circumstances narrated, either for naming God or of bringing his narrative into relation with God; and Hävernick (ii. 1, p. 359) is quite wrong in saying that the nature of the case prevented the employment of the name of God. [R. Aben Ezra taught with respect to the omission of the name of God (cf. Carpzov's *Introduct. in Libros Hist. V. T.* p. 359), "Studio id factum, ne nomen Dei apud Persas idolatras profanaretur." Riehm (*Studium und Kritik*, 1862, p. 407, f.) more correctly refers to the danger of profanation of the holy name at the Feast of Purim, as the author directed (cf. ch. ix. 22) that his book should be read out at the joyous time of feasting.]

§ 174.—*Authenticity of the Historical Narrative.*

We may be more doubtful about the *historical character* of the book.

In this point of view it has been particularly assailed by Semler, and declared to be mere fiction. Semler's view has been completely adopted by some, although others go no farther than to consider that the fidelity of the historical narrative has been destroyed by its profuse embellishments. Many expositors, on the contrary, have endeavoured to vindicate its historical fidelity; among these, particu-

larly Hävernicks; also Mich. Baumgarten, *De Fide Libri Estheræ*, 1839; Keil; J. A. Nickes (a Benedictine at Rome), *De Estheræ Libro et ad eum quæ pertinent Vaticiniis et Psalmis, Libri Tres. Pars Prior* (Rome, 1856), ch. ii., *De Historica Libri Estheræ Auctoritate*, pp. 17–71 (unimportant) (cf. also Stähelin's "Special Introduction," §§ 51, 52). On the other hand, however, cf. particularly De Wette, 5th and 6th eds. § 198, Note b.

The prominence of several peculiar features certainly appears to favour the historical character of the book, particularly the naming of several otherwise unknown persons, as, e.g., ch. i. 10, the seven eunuchs, and ch. i. 14, the seven chief officers of the king; ch. ix. 7–9, the ten sons of Haman, &c. Also the customs and arrangements of the Persian Court appear, at least in part, to be depicted in a faithful and life-like way. But the whole is of such a nature that an impartial judge could not easily look upon it as a purely historical narrative. I call attention only to the following points:—

(a) How can we imagine that the Persian king, having made up his mind, at the instigation of a favourite, to root out all the Jews in his kingdom, should have made this intention known by royal proclamation in all the provinces of his empire twelve months before the time he had fixed for the execution of it, and that not merely in private to the governors, but to the people themselves (ch. iii.)?

In order to explain this, it has been imagined that it was intended to drive the Jews out of the Persian empire; that Haman himself had in view, by the early notice of the king's command, to induce the Jews to save themselves by flight, so that he might the sooner appropriate their possessions for the government; and that it was only intended that those of them who were not able to escape should be put to the sword. But in the narrative itself there is not the slightest intimation, as we might have expected from its circumstantiality in other things, that the Jews had been induced to contemplate flight. Another fact, which is usually quite unnoticed, must also be taken into account: viz., that Judea was at that time one of the Persian provinces, and was again almost entirely inhabited by Jews. From this it would follow that the king had by his edict commanded the destruction of all the Jews even in Judea,

and therefore of nearly all the inhabitants of the country, and had made it all known twelve months previously; this is indeed hard to believe.

(b) Not less incredible is it, that when the king repented afterwards of the command, which, however, he could not recall, the mere circumstance of the Jews being permitted by a second edict to defend themselves against their enemies and assailants should have had the effect, that all, in every land, should be overcome by the Jews, and that they should put to death 75,000 men, subjects with them of the king. If even the officials of the king assisted them, inspired with fear of the then favourite Mordecai, yet, according to the first, and still unrevoked, edict of the king, they could not give them active support. It is also entirely unnatural that, after the Jews in Shushan had already slain 500 of their adversaries on the same day in which their own murder had been ordered by the first edict of the king, the king should, at the request of Esther, not yet satiated in her lust for revenge and thirst for blood, have allowed this slaughter to continue on the following day, when on the Jews themselves no further attack was permitted.

(c) It is very difficult to believe that the *whole* of Shushan should have been terrified by the first royal edict under Haman, and should have been inspired with so great joy by the second under Mordecai, as appears to have been the case from ch. iii. 15 and ch. viii. 15.

(d) It is also very improbable that the king should have sent a particular edict into every province, with the command "that every man should bear rule in his own house" (ch. i. 22).

(e) It is also a point of considerable difficulty and obscurity, that Esther, as the royal consort, was able to conceal her descent so long from the court, the king, and Haman himself, as it is stated in the history.

The strongest argument, however, in favour of the general historical character of the book, is the Feast of Purim itself, which is observed in memory of these events.

It is mentioned 2 Macc. xv. 26, where we are told that it was settled, that the victory over Nicanor was to be celebrated every year on the 13th Adar, on the day before the *ἡμέρα Μαρδοχαϊκή*. It is also what is intended John. v. 1 (*ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*).

This feast, as it is celebrated, certainly presupposes the events of our book. It might, however, be possible that it originally had some other or a more general signification, something in reference to the freeing of the people out of captivity, or the like; and that a later idea gave it this particular reference to one single deliverance, as related in this book. The (in itself) obscure name פִּרְיָוִן, as already remarked, is interpreted from the Persian as *lot*, derived from the lot which Haman cast, to fix the time for the destruction of the Jews (ch. iii. 7, ix. 24). But what we there read of Haman's casting the lot is very immaterial to the events themselves, and could scarcely have been generally known, especially to the Jews; so that to me, at least, it is very doubtful whether this derivation of the name be an historical and authentic one. Generally, if this book is based on historical matter, which is of course not unlikely, it cannot easily be ascertained of what kind and of what extent this matter may have been.

§ 175.—*Authorship—Date of Composition.*

As to the author and the date of the composition of the book nothing exact can be ascertained. The Talmud¹ ascribes it to the great synagogue; Aben Ezra and most of the Rabbis gave it to Mordecai, as do many Christian divines.

It is thought that the book itself indicates Mordecai as its author (chap. ix. 20, 32). De Wette also (§ 199) thinks that the author there wishes to represent himself as Mordecai. This, however, does not appear to have been the case. These passages, indeed, speak of a book in which Mordecai related the events and ordained the institution of the feast. The author, however, does not appear exactly to wish to intimate that this writing was the very book before us.

The whole literary character of the work leads to the conclusion that it was not composed in these early times, but most likely not until after the Persian age, perhaps considerably later. Whether it was written in Palestine, or in Persia itself, I do not venture to decide. At all events, the author appears to have had an opportunity of


¹ *Tr. Baba Bathra*, fol. 15, 1: Viri Synagogæ magnæ scripserunt Ezechielem et duodecim minores prophetas, Danielem et volumen Esther.

making himself acquainted with the regulations and customs observed at the courts of Oriental princes, whether as an eye-witness, or in some other way, is difficult to decide. It is, however, easily perceived that he was not deficient in skill to make use of this knowledge for the purpose of his narrative.

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